

EPHESUS,
AND
THE TEMPLE OF DIANA.

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AND
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BY
EDWARD FALKENER.

‘The Empress of Ionia, renowned Ephesus, famous for war and learning.’

Anthol. Græca, iv. 20, § 4.

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P R E F A C E.

ON looking over my portfolios of drawings taken in Asia Minor seventeen years ago, it occurred to me that those treating on so noble a city as Ephesus might not be unacceptable to the public. The plans and drawings here exhibited will show that the limited period of one fortnight, a long period to stop in so unhealthy a spot, must have been greatly occupied in measuring and drawing, without giving much time for more general researches. Even had I stayed longer, I should not have been in a position to direct my investigations to many points which I should have felt imperative after writing my monograph. Many things, of course, can be described only after seeing the remains; but very many, and generally points of greatest interest,

require to be known previously, so as to direct the explorer to seek for them. In the present instance, the position of the Temple, the Magnesian gate, the portico of Damianus, the monuments of Androclus, of Heropythus, and of Dionysius, the relative position of the ports and rivers, of the lakes and marshes, the extent to which the sea has receded—all these and many others, should have been known to the investigator previously to entering on the field of his labours. But having visited these remains without any idea at the time of publishing a description of them, the reader's indulgence is requested if on some points I have not presented him with such fixed and certain results as a more lengthened stay would have enabled me to offer.

It has been asserted that explorations conducted by private individuals are preferable to expeditions sent out by direction of the State; that the voluntary practice which has generally been followed in England is better than the system of State support adopted in continental countries. Being one of the corps of travellers

on the voluntary system, I may be permitted to state my convictions of the superior advantages derivable from an organized and well-appointed expedition. It is true that this country has sent out expeditions in furtherance of the Fine Arts; but these expeditions have been generally dispatched after researches and discoveries have been made by private individuals. We have sent out expeditions to secure marbles—as at Nineveh, after the discoveries of Mr. Layard; at Xanthus, after the discoveries of Sir Charles Fellows; at Halicarnassus, after the assurance by Mr. Newton of the existence of sculptured marbles; and lately at Cyrene, after the discoveries of Lieutenants Smith and Porcher. The results of some of these expeditions have been published in a magnificent form by private enterprise, and with most satisfactory results. Still, it must strike many persons, that if well-appointed expeditions to some of these places had been sent out in the first instance, expeditions consisting of an archæologist, an architect, and a draughtsman, more important or more complete results might have been

obtained; and certainly with regard to Government, it would look more generous and more just, were it to have lent its aid before the discovery of marbles, rather than content itself with sending out vessels to secure them; were it to assist in investigating questions of topography and science, of art and antiquity; in measuring the architectural and other remains, in representing and publishing the works of sculpture, rather than in prizing only the marbles, and leaving the rest to the chance of individual enterprise. The Elgin marbles were purchased by our Government at a considerable loss to the noble earl who brought them to this country; the Phigalian marbles were obtained, after their discovery by Mr. Cockerell and his fellow-travellers, but the Æginetan lost, in consequence of our Government not having been sufficiently early in proffering its assistance.

It is true that what the State has not afforded, our Dilettanti Society has on several occasions supplied; and its "Ionian Antiquities," its "Inedited Antiquities of Attica," in earlier days; and in our

own its publication of the "Principles of Athenian Architecture," by Mr. Penrose; these and other works are valuable monuments of its labours, — labours conducted with the sole object of benefiting art.

In contrast with our own Government, attention may be directed to the French Government, which has, for two centuries, sent out expeditions to every ancient country with which it has been connected; expeditions equipped, not with the mere object of collecting marbles for its Museum, but of investigating the antiquities, the arts, the monuments, the riches, and products of the country. It has sent out archæologists, philologists, numismatists, architects, painters, botanists, geologists, and scientific men in all departments; and it has published numerous and most valuable works on Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor, Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Algeria, Morocco, and other countries. The French Government has in this respect done for the Fine Arts, what our Government has done for commerce; and therefore, in treating on a subject of ancient art, the author is bound, as an artist, and

a lover of art, to express his appreciation of the services thus rendered by the French Government to the study of art and antiquity. Nor let it be supposed that Government assistance precludes the development of private enterprise. The names of the Duc de Luynes, les Comtes de Laborde, (père et fils,) MM. Lenormant, Beulé, and other distinguished travellers, are a sufficient proof that in France, no less than with us, private individuals can be found willing to devote their fortunes to the service of art.

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INTRODUCTION.

IT is wonderful to consider, as we walk through this vast metropolis of the present day, that cities of antiquity as large as London have once existed and disappeared, leaving not a trace behind; it is wonderful to reflect that as many multitudes of persons as we now see moving constantly about, each occupied in the busy affairs of life, once existed there, and have passed away, without children or successors to record their history. It is peculiarly solemn and striking, in travelling in these regions, to journey sometimes for days together without meeting with a modern town, and this in plains and valleys which we know to have been once densely populated; to wander over the remains of cities, sometimes so perfect that their inhabitants seem only to have left them yesterday; to find these cities often so

close together as to excite marvel how their inhabitants could have subsisted,—and now, instead of the pleasant faces of mankind, to see a howling wilderness; to behold splendid public buildings in some ancient city,—so splendid as to denote considerable importance and prosperity,—and to search history in vain for the name inscribed upon its walls: and, on the other hand, to search for the remains of some well-known city of antiquity, and not to be able to fix even upon its very site. Great must be the joy of the traveller who discovers gold; encouraging, his feelings who brings to light new paths of commerce; enthusiastic, his who is the first to set his foot on, and give his name to, unknown lands; but even these feelings can scarcely equal his who walks amidst the almost perfect monuments of some ancient city, reflecting that he is the first and only European being who has seen them since the city was deserted. But when the traveller is an antiquary, not only are these emotions heightened in his bosom, but other pleasures crowd upon his mind. Each stone becomes of interest to him; he examines each building with attention, to see what peculiarities it may exhibit,

what analogies it has with other structures, how it may explain some obscure text; he studies the arrangement of these several buildings as a whole and with each other; he considers how this arrangement has been made to suit the peculiar position of the city, how the natural advantages have been improved, and natural defects remedied; he attempts to ascertain the general type of each structure, making allowance for the casual modifications of particular instances; he endeavours to distinguish the epochs of the different buildings, and to picture in his mind's eye what must have been the appearance of the city at some earlier epoch,—how, in some instances, the original regularity of arrangement has been marred by the addition of later buildings; how, in others, the original simplicity has gradually given place to prodigal magnificence; he observes the peculiar habits and customs of different provinces, how one form prevailed in some, and another in others. But one of his highest sources of delight is to walk over the prostrate ruins of some great city, where all appears confusion and decay, where to the eye of the ordinary observer all is a field or mass of undistinguishable ruin; and such, indeed,

it appears at first even to his own eye; but as he stoops down and examines, he perceives some corner-stone, some foundation-wall, some apex of the pediment, some acroterial ornament, while all about are broken shafts and capitals. Having made out a temple, he looks about and considers where should run the lines of the surrounding temenos, and assisted thus by his previous judgment and experience, to his great joy, he discovers traces of that which he was in quest of, and of which no signs at first appeared. He considers, then, where was likely to be the forum of the city, and seeing bases of columns existing in different parts, and at great distances from each other, he searches for and discovers evidences of connecting porticos, and thus makes out the entire quadrangle. Connected with these buildings, he expects to find traces of gymnasia or other buildings, and these he endeavours to identify and restore. He now searches among the mountain-slopes, and selects the spot which he thinks would be most eligible for the theatre or the stadium,—sites which afford a fine expanse of scenery, and the natural form of which would facilitate the labours of the architect, and effect

economy. Here, perhaps, he finds no superstructure remaining, but on climbing its slope, he perceives what can be no other than the cavea and the orchestra. At length he realises his conjectures by discovering some solitary block representing the peculiar moulding of the marble seats. Thus it is that, by degrees, that which appeared nothing but confusion, arranges itself, like Ezekiel's bones, into shape and form. Here is the whole city lying out before him in a manner which appears half imagination, half reality. And now, having realised it in his own mind, he points it out to the astonished eyes of his companions, who can no longer resist the evidence of their senses.

This is, more or less, the nature of the researches in every ancient site; for however perfect may be some of the monuments, other portions of the city have been swept away, and require to be restored in order to connect the whole.

The city of Ephesus is now, in fulfilment of sacred prophecy, a desert place: "the candlestick has been removed out of his place,"—the flame, the sword, and the pestilence have done their part; and the land is guarded by Divine vengeance from the intrusion of thoughtless man, by the

scorpion¹ and centipede, by marshes infested with myriads of serpents, and by attendant fever, dysentery, and ague. It may be objected that this scene of desolation may not be an evidence of the accomplishment of prophecy, but that it is caused by similar changes and vicissitudes of empire that have overthrown and laid waste so many other cities. It is true that many of what were once the finest and most opulent cities of Asia Minor are now desolate, that the healthful and smiling plain is now covered with the pestilential marsh, and sad and lamentable is the list of travellers who have lost their lives in exploring these regions;² but a reflection on the justice and benevolence of God will show that, though these cities were not threatened in particular with a denunciation from God, their licentiousness and wickedness procured their downfall; and it is extremely remarkable, that out of seven prophecies addressed to different

¹ I fortunately escaped without being bitten by these reptiles, so I cannot say whether the scorpions of Ephesus are as hospitable to strangers as those of Latmus, a neighbouring city of Caria, which are reported to have been so kindly inclined toward strangers, that if they bit them they did them no harm, whereas when they bit natives, they died immediately.—Apollonius, (Dyscolus,) *Hist. Mir.* cap. xi.

² Texier, *L'Asie Mineure*, Preface.

Churches, not one has failed. If all the Churches had been denounced, and all seven were now in ruins, we might say that they, in common with many other cities, were ruined by the revolution of ages; but instead of this, we find that three only were denounced, and four commended, and these four are precisely those which are now remaining. If the sacred prophecies had been written, like the heathen ones, from a wise and cunning foresight of future probabilities,¹ Ephesus, "that derives its origin from the purest Attic source, that has grown in rank above all the cities of Ionia and Lydia,"² "the magnificent and spacious city,"³ the "metropolis of all Asia,"⁴ the "chief city of Asia,"⁵ "one of the eyes of Asia,"⁶ "the Empress of Ionia, renowned Ephesus, famous for war and learning,"⁷ the seat of the Panionium,⁸ or sacred confederation of the Ionians, the "mart

¹ The Sibylline oracles denounce most of the cities of Asia Minor, many of which are still in a flourishing condition, as Tralles, Philadelphia, Smyrna, &c. This last city the Sibyl describes as ruined more hopelessly than Ephesus.

² Philost. *Vita Apol.* viii. 7, § 8.

³ Vitruv. x. Præf.

⁴ Mionnet, *Medailles*, (Μητρόπολις).

⁵ Id. (πρωτων Ασιας); Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, p. 117.

⁶ Plin. v. 31; Strabo, p. 557. ⁷ *Anthol. Græc.* iv. 20, § 4.

⁸ Diod. Sic. xv. 5; Pompon. Mela, i. 17.

of commerce,"¹ abounding in natural productions,² strengthened by the greatness and extended celebrity of its idol, and which called itself, as we do London, the good old city, "the good city of Ephesus,"³—blessed with these natural advantages, whatever vicissitudes might have fallen upon the rest of Asiatic Greece, Ephesus, we might feel sure, would have remained; and if war had dismantled any of her towers, the conquerors themselves would have been glad to build them up again for their own advantage. Sardis, too, seated on the fertile banks of the Hermus,⁴ boasting in its impregnable acropolis,⁵ and its countless riches,⁶ "the most illustrious city of Lower Asia, which

¹ Strabo, p. 642.

² See ch. v.

³ ΤΟ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΝ, Mionnet, iii. 465, 8.

⁴ At a short distance from Sardis Xerxes found a most beautiful plane-tree, so very beautiful, that, although surrounded by the ensigns of his power, although conducting the greatest armament ever heard of, he could not refrain from expressing his admiration of it by adorning it with chains of gold, and assigning the guard of it to one of the Immortal Band.—(Herod. vii. 31.)

⁵ See Herod. i. 84; Arrian, i. 18; Lucian. *De Mercede cond. pot. famil.*

⁶ The country of Gyges and Cræsus. See also Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vii. 9. Gold was produced both from its Mount Tmolus, and its river Pactolus.—Herod. i. 93; v. 101; and Philost. *Vita Apol.* vi. 37; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 21; Justinus, xxxvi. 4; Virg. *Æn.* x. 142; Lycophron, 272, 1362.

not only excelled the other cities in wealth and power, but was the capital of ancient Lydia, and the second residence of the Persian monarchs,"¹—Sardis, at least, might have fancied itself secure. Laodicea also, "the beautiful city,"² watered by the celebrated Mæander, noted for the excellence of its territory,³ for its opulence and splendour, the seat of the Roman proconsulate, and of such importance and magnificence as to have had three large theatres, (one more than is now to be seen among the ruins of any other city of Asia Minor,)—Laodicea might have been esteemed in too flourishing condition to render abandonment and desolation possible. But these are those which were threatened, and these are they which are destroyed. Pergamus and Thyatira, both which cities were commended, although to each of them admonitions were addressed to certain portions of their inhabitants, yet remain respectable towns; while Smyrna and Philadelphia, which were the only

¹ Paus. iii. 9.

² *Sibyl. Orac.* lib. v.

³ Strabo, p. 578: The luxuriousness of this district is such that an adjoining city, "Eucarpia, was so called from the fertility of its soil. Metrophanes reports that a single bunch of grapes grown in this district was sufficient to break down a waggon, (!) and the barbarians (natives) relate that Jupiter granted this district to Ceres and Bacchus."—(Steph. Byz. *sub voce.*)

two that were found perfect, (though, alas! not now so,) are still existing as flourishing and great cities.

But our remarks, at present, are not with these cities,—they are confined to the subject of illustration, the city of Ephesus. This city, the port of Ionia, situated on the river Cayster, was, during the whole period of classical antiquity, a place of the highest importance. Owing to its favoured situation, it became the mart of commerce of Asia Minor, and here was exchanged the produce of Greece and Egypt with that of the Persian empire and inner Asia. The wealth of the town, arising from such intercourse, exposed it to the covetousness of the Persian monarchs; but after a long period of three hundred years, during which it struggled, in common with the other cities of Asia, to maintain its independence, it was obliged to call to its assistance the Greeks of Europe, who, from protectors, became its most cruel oppressors. For upwards of a century it was held by the successors of Alexander, and after the defeat of Antiochus the Great, it fell into the hands of the Romans. The city suffered by an earthquake in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius,

and though frequently wasted and destroyed, it ever rose to greater magnificence after each catastrophe. Its final destruction, which happened A.D. 253—262, cannot fail to impress the mind of the philosopher and the Christian, who think of its former glory, its Christian celebrity, and its final desolation.

The early colonists introduced with them the worship of the goddess Diana; but owing to the connection of Ephesus with Central Asia, an Oriental character was gradually given to her rites. It was not the nimble goddess of the woods, but an uncouth, mammiform divinity which was exposed to view, and which represented the GREAT MOTHER OF NATURE, and *Source of all things*. Her temple, built at the joint expense of all Asia, was esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world; not merely from the engineering difficulties which its builders had to overcome, but on account of its magnificence and grandeur, the purity of its architecture, the beauty of its sculptural adornments, and the extraordinary collection of works of art, in painting and sculpture, which it contained. Seven times destroyed, it was seven times rebuilt, each time with greater magnificence; one

of its conflagrations being noted in history as the work of an execrable fanatic. This sacred shrine was revered in Greece and Asia. When Darius destroyed all the other temples of Asia, this alone was spared. Here met for worship the Greeks of Europe and of Asia. Here, in honour of Diana, sacrificed the great Macedonian Conqueror, the proud Persian Satrap, and the Roman General: Alexander, Tissaphernes, and Antony did honour to her fame.

This celebrated city, the chief seat of Asiatic grandeur, opulence, and civilization: this city, which witnessed the labours of apostles; this city, which became a monument of the fulfilment of divine prophecy: this city, so famous both in pagan and in Christian times, it is our present object to describe.

I visited the country in the years 1844 and 1845, when I travelled through all the most interesting portions of Asia Minor, visiting every ancient site, and exploring the ruins where these remains were considerable. Being alone, I had no opportunity of excavating at any place, and contented myself with taking such hasty notes and sketches as time would permit. Here I

remained one fortnight, notwithstanding that the ruins are situate on the borders of a pestilential marsh; and during this time succeeded in taking a general plan of the whole city, with detailed measurements of its buildings. The temple has been swept away, and its very site is undistinguishable: and it was not till my return to England, and sitting down to search into the accounts of ancient writers, with a view to prepare a descriptive accompaniment to the drawings, that I became convinced of the true site which the temple had occupied, and longed to return to those classic regions, that I might reduce my conjectures into certainty: this, although fourteen years have elapsed since I wrote this monograph, I have not been permitted to accomplish, and the task must be left to some future explorer to see whether these conjectures are realized, and to raise for himself a reputation by discovering that temple, which was of such celebrity, that one in olden time thought to acquire reputation by destroying it.

In treating on an ancient subject, we have always to lament the loss of those works of the ancients which had reference to it. Among those

who wrote on the city of Ephesus, besides the writers on the Temple of Diana,¹ are the following :—

Xenophon, the Ephesian,—On the Public Affairs of the Ephesians.²

Creophilus,—On the Annals of the Ephesians.³

Evalcas,—On Ephesian Affairs.⁴

Baton, of Sinope,—On the Tyrants of Ephesus.⁵

Mutianus, the Roman Consul,—Itinerary.⁶

Æschrion, of Sardis,—On Ephesus.⁷

Besides these, it is probable that there were other ancient authors who wrote on the city of Ephesus. Horace, in the Introduction to his Odes, says,—Some have expatiated on the splendour of Thebes, of Ephesus, &c., but he would choose a different subject.⁸

¹ See part ii. ch. 1. ² Suidas.

³ Athenæus, viii. p. 361. ⁴ Id. xiii. p. 573. ⁵ Id. vii. p. 289.

⁶ Plin. *II. N.* xvi. 40. ⁷ See Lobeck, *De Cercopibus*, p. 7.

⁸ Hor. *Od.* i. § 72.

PART I.

THE CITY OF EPHEBUS.

"The Empress of Ionia, renowned Ephesus, famous for war and learning."

Anthol. Græca, iv. 20, § 4.

I.

INACCURACY OF OUR PRESENT INFORMATION.

A DISTINGUISHED French traveller in the latter part of the 17th century, speaking of the ruins of Ephesus, thus observes :—"The greater part of these ruins we cannot make out, whatever application and diligence we may employ";¹ and the result has been that the most confused and contradictory opinions are held by those who have treated on the subject; and that travellers often know less about the edifices of this famous city after they have visited its ruins, than they did before.

Thus no fewer than seventeen² travellers have mistaken the ruin at the head of the marsh, (the Great Gymnasium,) for the vestiges of the Temple of Diana; two³ regard it as a church, and one⁴ as a

¹ Corneille le Brun, *Voyage au Levant*, p. 29.

² Tavernier, i. 81; Spon and Wheler, i. 334; Tournefort, ii. 515; Poleni; Dr. Pococke, p. 51; Chishull, p. 26; Van Egmont and Heyman, i. 106; Cte. Caylus, p. 433; Revett the architect, in Chandler, p. 160; Cte. de Forbin, p. 21; W. J. Hamilton, ii. 24, 82; Choiseul Gouffier, i. 311; Prokesch, ii. 109; Usborne, p. 309; and M. de Monconys.

³ Dallaway and Arundell.

⁴ Guhl.

Temple of Neptune. One of these writers indeed, Count Caylus, looked upon the ruins scattered about the whole plain as the dependencies of the temple, and supposed that the city itself was stationed at Aiaslik.¹ Tavernier and Le Brun consider the arch of the stadium to be the door of the temple; and Chishull imagined it formed part of the edifice erected for the third General Council; while Usborne takes the Roman temple by the Agora² to be the remains of the first temple burnt by Herostratus.

Nor are travellers zealous only for the glory of Diana, they are equally so for the glory of the Church. Believing the Catholic Church to be a visible church, they suppose that the Churches of the Apocalypse were churches of brick and stone; and accordingly they use their utmost endeavour to discover if it were but the dust of these once sacred edifices. Two writers, as we have seen, regard the ruin at the head of the marsh as the remains of a Christian cathedral; another³ conceived that the ruin at the back of the city⁴ must formerly have been a church, and with the zeal of an antiquary endeavoured to transform the paintings of pagan mythology into the emblems of Christian symbolism. But the great majority of travellers strive to appropriate to themselves the mosque of Sultan Selim; they endeavour to persuade them-

¹ The Cte. de Forbin, p. 22, and Tournefort, p. 513, also took Aiaslik to be Mount Pion.

² The Temple of Augustus.

³ Rev. Mr. Arundell.

⁴ The Opistholeprian Gymnasium.

selves that a building erected about twelve hundred years after Christ existed in the time of St. John, and pleasantly fancy they can discern in the figure of a Turkish lantern the representation of the host and chalice.¹ Again, a tazza forming part of one of the fountains of ancient Ephesus, has been christened by these zealous antiquaries² as the font used by St. John for baptizing the heathen, and each considers it right to break off a small piece, in order to fulfil "les petits devoirs d'un voyageur." Nor do they respect St. John only; St. Paul comes in for an equal share of their attention. They select one of the best preserved towers of the city wall for his prison,³ and one of them in the fervour of his zeal slept in it a whole night. And as in Jerusalem they point out the house of the rich man, the house of the poor man, and the window out of which Pontius Pilate looked; so here they show you the tomb of the Virgin Mary,⁴ the tomb of Mary Magdalene, the tomb of St. John, and the tomb of Timothy; not to mention the tombs of the seven sleepers.⁵

¹ Van Egmont and Heyman, p. 112.

² Van Egmont and Heyman, M. de Monconys, Le Brun.

³ Van Egmont and Heyman, Prokesch.

⁴ When Ephesus decreased in splendour she was obliged to give up this source of profit to the more fortunate Jerusalem.

⁵ Arundell, *Asia M.* p. 253; *Seven Churches*, p. 26.

II.

ORIGIN OF EPHEBUS—ANCIENT NAMES, PARTS, SUBURBS, AND DEPENDENCIES OF THE CITY.

THE foundation of Ephesus dates back to the birth of Diana. At Ortygia, near Ephesus, we are informed by Strabo,¹ "there is a magnificent wood planted with all kinds of trees, but principally the cypress. It is traversed by the Cenchrius, in which it is said Latona washed after her accouchement. For here it is that she is reported to have lain in: it is here that she met with Ortygia,² who nursed her children, and here is the olive-tree under which she reposed after being delivered. Above this wood is Mount Solmissus, where they say the Curetes, by the noise of their arms, deafened the jealous Juno, who was anxious to discover the accouchement of Latona, and by this means succeeded in concealing it from her."

In treating of Ephesus, it is our duty to turn a

¹ Strabo, pp. 639, 640.

² Some derive the name of Ortygia from Latona, who flew to this spot when changed into a quail (ὄρνις) by Jupiter, to avoid the pursuit of Juno.

partial ear to the story told us by the Ephesians, and to believe with them, that "Diana and Apollo were not, as the vulgar believe, born in the isle of Delos, but in the Ortygian grove in the territory of Ephesus."¹ "The olive-tree under the shade of which Latona was delivered, was still to be seen² in a flourishing condition, and the grove had become a consecrated spot. It was there that Apollo, having slain the Cyclops, found a retreat from the vengeance of Jupiter. It was there that Bacchus, after his victory over the Amazons, pardoned such of them as fled for protection to the altar of Diana: and it was there that Hercules,³ after his conquest of Lydia, established the temple with its rites and ceremonies."⁴ The city would appear to have been dedicated to Diana in the most remote antiquity, in consequence of the fertility of the soil; the ancients believing that for such blessing they were indebted to the mother of nature. Pausanias ascribes the origin of the city to Cresus,⁵ a native of the place, and to Ephesus, who is thought to have been a son of the river Caystrus, and from whom the city took its name.

¹ Tacitus, *An.* iii. 61. This myth we of course find referred to in the medals of the Ephesians. See Mionnet, *Suppl. tom. vi.* Ionie, Nos. 714, 775, and 818.

² In the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 22.

³ Diod. Sic. iv. 16.

⁴ Tacitus, iii. 61.

⁵ This would seem to indicate a Cretan origin.

⁶ Paus. vii. 2. Gyrardus reports other derivations, but without crediting them.—(*Hist. Deor. Syntag.* xii. 368 κ.) Eustathius

Ephesus, (says Pliny,¹) has had many names. In the time of the Trojan war it was called Alopes:² soon after, (continues Pliny,) it was called Ortygia, and Morges; Smyrna trachæa, Samornium,³ and

derives the name of Ephesus in a different manner :—"They relate (says he) that the Amazons being attacked by Hercules, when he was commanded by Eurystheus to obtain for him the belt of Antiope, took refuge at the altar of Diana, where they found pardon or safety; and that from this the place was called, by *paragrammion*, or changing of letters, Ephesos instead of ἀφειος." —(Com. Dionys. *Geog.* p. 147.)

¹ *Hist. Nat.* v. 31.

² Hyginus, *Fab.* xiv. Strabo has a long disquisition on this name. The word appears first in Homer, (*Iliad*, ii. 856-7,) but what authority Pliny and Hyginus have in giving this name to Ephesus does not appear: possibly from the works of some historian now lost to us. Strabo, however, is much more diffident in the application of this word. He says (p. 550) "Some place the Amazons between Mysia, Caria, and Lydia, near Cyme, as Ephorus is of opinion, who says that part of the country inhabited by the Ionians and Æolians was formerly occupied by the Amazons." He then proposes to read the passage in Homer thus: "Odus and Epistrophus conducted the Amazons: they came from Alope, where the Amazons resided: that distant country where silver is produced." After summing up the opinions of various commentators on the position of Alope, Strabo continues: "These places are much nearer the Troad than the territory of Ephesus; and yet Demetrius ridicules those who place the Amazons in the environs of Pygela, between Ephesus, Magnesia, and Priene, because the expression of Homer, *distant*, cannot apply to these places; and yet it is less applicable to those of Mysia and Teuthrania, which they advocate." He then goes on to show that Homer frequently uses such equivocal expressions, and therefore, on the whole, he seems inclined to believe that Homer referred to Ephesus under this name.

³ Steph. Byz. voce "Ἐφεσος and Σαμωρνα.

Ptelea.¹ Of its name Ortygia we shall have to speak in describing the parts of the city; suffice it to say that Stephanus Byzantinus assigns it as an ancient designation of the whole city.² Smyrna signifies *myrrh*, and the city probably took this designation "from the luxuriousness of its soil, and indeed we know that it was celebrated for the excellence of its perfumes."³ The distinctive epithet of *trachæa* was applied to it from the rugged character of Mount Coressus. Strabo,⁴ however, and Stephanus Byzantinus⁵ both derive the word Smyrna from an Amazon, who, the former relates, conquered Ephesus, and gave her name to the city and its inhabitants; and he quotes Callinus,⁶ who in his hymn to Jupiter calls the Ephesians by the appellation of Smyrnians,—"O Jupiter! have pity on the Smyrnians, and

¹ Id. See also Πτελία. From the first of these names, Alope, Guhl imagines (*Ephesiaca*, p. 25,) the city had a Pelasgic origin, especially as he finds it called Hemonia after a city of Thessalia, the original country of the Pelasgians; and he refers in proof of his opinion to an Ephesian inscription, (Boeckh, *C. I. G.* 2956 a) where the city calls itself Pelasgic. "Meneorates of Elæa, in his Treatise on the Origin of Cities, says the present coast of Ionia commencing with Mycale and all the adjacent isles were anciently inhabited by the Pelasgi. . . . The Pelasgi rose rapidly, and disappeared as suddenly; particularly at the period of the Æolian and Ionian colonization."—(Strabo, p. 621.) Herodotus says the origin of the Ionians was Pelasgic, but he derives it from Achaia instead of Asia.—(Herod. i. 146; vii. 94-5.)

² *Vocē* "Εφεσος.

³ Athen. xv. p. 689.

⁴ Strabo, p. 633.

⁵ *Vocē* "Εφεσος. ⁶ A poet of Ephesus.—(Guhl, *Eph.* 142.)

remember the fat bullocks they used to offer thee.”¹ The laying claim to derivation from Amazons, river-gods, and demi-gods, or heroes, can only prove the great antiquity of the place, and therefore it is most probable that the appellation of Smyrna was derived as above suggested, especially as this is countenanced by another name of Ephesus given us by Pliny,—Morges, which is probably a corruption of *Ἀμώρην*, a purple flower used in dyeing; and it is remarkable that purple is especially mentioned by an ancient but anonymous geographer as one of the particular products of Asia.² Another corroboration of the city having taken its name from a herb or flower, occurs in the two streamlets of Ephesus, called Selinus, signifying *parsley*. Samorna appears from Salmasius to have been the same as Panormus, but Guhl³ takes it for a corruption of Smyrna. Lastly, Ptelea is evidently derived from the trunk of an elm-tree, on which, out of which, or under which, the Amazons placed or formed the statue of Diana.⁴ The only other name by which the city was called was that of Arsinœ, the wife of Lysimachus, but the name appears to have lasted only during his lifetime.⁵

¹ Stephanus uses Tracheia as a general term for the whole city.

² *Geog. Vet. Script. Græc. Min.* Oxon, 1712, vol. iii. p. 11. The Biblical student will not fail to remember Lydia of Thyatira.

³ *Ephesiaca*, p. 31; Choiseul Gouffier, i. 323.

⁴ Callimachus, *Hymn V.*; Dionysius Periegetes, v. 825; Scaliger.

⁵ Steph. Byz. *voc.* *Ἐφεσος*; Strabo, p. 640.

Ephesus was originally situated at a distance of seven stadia, (or between six and seven furlongs,) from the sea. It occupied Mount Pion, a circular hill, and the slopes of Mount Coressus, a long range of lofty craggy mountains, separated from the former by a narrow valley. This valley and part of the plain in front of Pion were included in the line of the city wall.

The parts of the city the names of which have come down to us are, Tracheia, Mount Pion or Prion, Opistholepre, or the part behind Lepre, or Lepre-acte, as it is indifferently called, Smyrna or Smyrna-Tracheia, Benna or Bennamia, Elæa, Sisyrba, Daitis, and Evonymia. Besides these there were the quarters of the inhabitants of Teos and Carina, of Lebedos and Colophon, and lastly, that of the Selinuntians of Sicily. There was also a hill called Ceryceum, part of which appears to have been included in the city wall.¹

PART
THE

The steep flanks of the mountain were called Tracheia, from their rugged character, which description answers to the eastern extremity of Coressus towards Mount Pion.²

TRACH

¹ See Guhl, *Ephes.* pp. 5, 129. Ephorus the historian, who lived about 350 B.C., says Ephesus was divided into five quarters—Benna, Evonymia, Ephesus, Teos, and Carina. — (Steph. Byz. *De Urbibus*, voce *Bennamia*.)

² Tracheia is incorrectly shown on Mount Pion in Choiseul Gouffier's plan.

PRION,
OR
E-ACTE.

Strabo¹ describes Mount Pion, in his time, as being *above the city*, and as being crowned by part of the wall. Pliny,² on the other hand, who died only fifty-seven years after Strabo, speaks of Ephesus as standing *upon* the hill Pion, under which is the river Caystrus. An examination of the ruins, and an inspection of the restored plan of the city, will reconcile these different statements. It will be there seen that all the public buildings are in the plain at the foot of the mountain, and that these lay so close together, as to render it probable that this part of the city was reserved exclusively for public buildings, thereby giving it the highest degree of grandeur and beauty. This principle of grouping the public edifices together should always be observed in laying out the buildings of a great metropolis. The private buildings, as we shall presently see, were, on the other hand, placed, alike for health, beauty of prospect, and defence, on the elevated parts of Pion and Coressus. Thus Strabo refers in the above passage to the public buildings of the city, and Pliny to the private ones.

This hill was extremely fertile, so much so as to be classed by Pausanias³ among the curiosities of Ionia worthy of description. It is from this circumstance that it derived its name of Pion, which signifies *fat, rich*; and it is probable, from the

¹ Strabo, p. 633. ² Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 29.

³ Paus. vii. 5.

connexion this mountain had with Hercules, that it gave its name to Pion, one of his descendants.¹ Strabo, however, in the above passage calls it Prion, and it is remarkable that this name also agrees perfectly with the character of the mountain, it being craggy and strongly indented like a *saw*, which is expressed moreover in another name of the mountain, Lepre-acte,² or the rough coast, which particular designation applies to the eastern part of the hill.³

In some MSS. it appears to be written Preon,⁴ which signifies the projecting part of a mountain; but though Mount Pion does not project from the general line of Coressus, it is separated from it only by the narrow valley at Tracheia. Notwithstanding the authority of Strabo, it would appear that the first reading (Πιον) is the right one, especially as Pausanias so writes it, coupling the term, moreover, with the expression of fertility,—“the fertile Mount Pion.” On medals it is always written ΠΕΙΟΝ, not ΠΡΙΟΝ.⁵ The form of this mountain con-

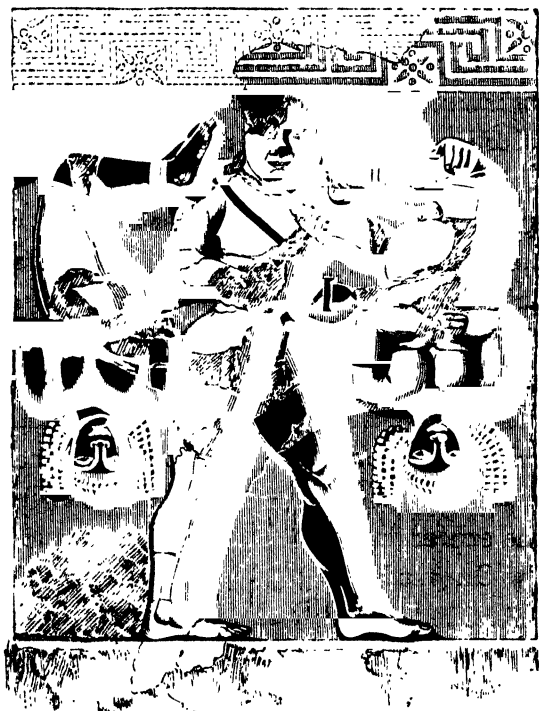
¹ Paus. ix. 18.

² Strabo, p. 633. Choiseul Gouffier observes (i. 323) that the same term was applied for similar reasons to mountains in Sardinia and Carthage; and the Spaniards also have the same term in *Sierra*.

³ Though this name is in perfect accordance with the character of the mountain, it is possible that it originated from some tender recollections of their mother country, Ἀττὴ being one of the primitive names of Attica. ⁴ Antonius Liberalis, *Metam.* 11.

⁵ Mionnet, *Med.* tom. iii. Ionie, No. 282; Suppl. tom. vi. Ionie, 413-15.

sists in two rounded summits, which are very faithfully represented in Laborde's panoramic view of the city,¹ and this form must be borne in mind



with reference to the myth of Hercules and the Cercopes.² The demi-god, who was called *Melam-*

¹ *Voyage en Orient*, fol. 1838. A reduced outline of this view appears in accompanying plate.

² Zenobius, *Adagia*, v. 10.

pygus, was sent by Omphale against the Cercopes who lived near Ephesus.¹ After being annoyed some time by the tricks they played him, he caught two of them, Passalus and Achemon, and fastening their legs together, swung them over his shoulder, suspending them at the end of his stick or club. The miserable wights, while hanging in this situation with their heads downwards, suddenly perceived Hercules to be that very Melampygos whom their mother had cautioned them to avoid; but notwithstanding their critical position, they were unable to restrain their risible nerves, and burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter, which communicating to Hercules, in a fit of generosity he gave them their liberty.² This subject is represented in one of the metopes discovered by Mr. Angell at Selinus;³ from whose careful drawing we have taken the accompanying cut. Now the learned are all agreed that this fable has reference to the character of the country. Gerhard⁴ understands by this Melampygos, this *podex niger*, a black and fertile soil. But it may also denote a rough and rugged spot, the deep ruts and chasms of which would always be in shadow: and thus it is expressed in Suidas, who calls Hercules *dasyproctum*, or *hirsutus podex*.⁵

¹ Apollod. Ath. Bibl. lib. ii. cap. vi. 3.

² See *Adagia*, Zenob. i. 5, v. 10; Diog. i. 3, vi. 38; Suidas, i. 13, ix. 79; and Ed. Gerhard, *Auserl. Griech. Vasenb.* theil ii. p. 86, tafel cx.; Diod. Sic. iv. 31; Lucian, in *Alex.*

³ Harris and Angell, *Sculpt. met. of Sel.* pl. viii.

⁴ *Auserl. Vasen.* ii. p. 92.

⁵ Suidas, *Adagia*, ix. 79.

But whether we take one or other of these meanings, we find it expressed in one or other of the names of the mountain; from which circumstance, coupled with its *form, which is very remarkable*, and the fact of one of Hercules' sons being named after Mount Pion, we may fairly assume that this is the mountain referred to in the legend.¹ On this mountain the Cercopes had established themselves, and the fable is consequently of importance, showing that this was the earliest part inhabited. And in reply to the objection that absurd stories like this, and that of the fish and hog, which we shall come to presently, prove nothing, it should be considered that the ancients were in the habit of impressing their history upon posterity, and of confirming it where necessary, as a religious and political expedient, by means of fables and oracles, each of which, though written long after the time they were supposed to refer to, though disguised by art to render them more *spirituel* and paradoxical, were founded on history, in order to make them forcible and impressive, and to cause them to be the more readily believed.²

The southernmost summit of Mount Pion seems

¹ This is confirmed by a rock near Thermopyle being also called by the word Melampygos, and reported to be inhabited by Cercopes.—(Herod. vii. 216.)

² Thus Pausanias observes, "These Grecian fables are apparently full of folly, but they originated from the ancient practice of the Greek sages concealing their wisdom in enigmas."—(Paus. viii. 8.)

to have been the Acropolis.¹ The region called Opistholepre was, as its name imports, the part situated behind Lepre-acte, or Pion.² The parts called Tracheia and Lepre-acte being thus established by the actual character of the respective mountains, it becomes easy to fix with equal certainty on the situation of that part of the city called Smyrna.

This name, as we have seen, was at one time applied to the whole city; but after the emigration of a great number of the inhabitants to build the city which they called Smyrna³ in honour of the mother country, at a spot celebrated at that time as possessing a fine harbour, and thence called Naulochus,⁴ which was twenty stadia distant from the present city of Smyrna, and which was probably limited to a small fishing town belonging to the Leleges, whom they drove out,⁵ the remainder of the inhabitants would appear to have established themselves in the part between Tracheia and Lepre-acte, which Strabo, who as we have seen confines the city to the public edifices, places *behind the city*. The inhabitants of this quarter regarded themselves as the indigenous possessors of the soil, and through their influence the new Smyrna, which was originally in Æolia, was admitted into the Ionic

¹ Polyænus, v. 19. ² Strabo, p. 633. ³ Id. p. 633.

⁴ Steph. Byz. ⁵ Strabo, pp. 632, 940.

confederation.¹ Choiseul Gouffier erroneously supposes Smyrna to have been at Aiaslik.² Arundell also adopted the same opinion,³ and this merely from the supposed line of direction of an aqueduct.

HER
TERS
CITY.

The quarter called Bennamia⁴ seems to have been inhabited by the Bennii, who took their name from Benna, a town of the Thracian Chersonese. Elæa seems to have formed part of the Teian quarter.⁵ Sisyrba was an ancient part of the town, as we may infer from both Strabo⁶ and Stephanus⁷ stating that it was founded by an Amazon of that name. It is also probable that the portion of the city called Daitis received its name as early as the Ionic settlement, Daitis being the name of Androclus' daughter.⁸ Evonymia likewise must have been of some antiquity, as Stephanus Byzantinus⁹ informs us it was peopled by Athenians. The Teian and Carinean colonies were admitted on occasion of the insurrection against the sons of Androclus;¹⁰ and those of Lebedus and Colophon were compelled to enter by Lysimachus, he having destroyed their cities for that purpose.¹¹ The Selinuntians were admitted in gratitude for their

¹ Strabo, p. 633. ² *Voy. Pit. Plan.* *Discov.* ii. 243.

⁴ Steph. Byz. ⁵ See Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, p. 33.

⁶ Strabo, p. 633. ⁷ *De Urbibus*, voce ΣΙΣΥΒΡΑ.

⁸ Suidas, voce Δαίτις, *Etymo! Magn.* Guhl imagines that both Sisyrba and Daitis became subsequently merged into Pteleia.—(*Ephesiaca*, p. 8.) ⁹ Steph. Byz. *De Urbibus*.

¹⁰ Suidas, voce βενναμία.

¹¹ Paus. vii. 3.

important services in defeat of the Roman and Rhodian fleet, under Thrassyllus, in the 93rd olympiad, 404 to 408 years B.C.¹

Among the dependencies of the city, Ortygia must be considered as holding the most prominent place. It was from the circumstance of Diana herself receiving birth in this sacred territory, that Ephesus obtained its origin, and subsequently acquired such great celebrity. From Strabo² we learn that it was near the coast. "It consisted of a magnificent wood, planted with all kinds of trees, but especially the cypress, and was traversed by the Cenchrius. . . . There are many temples in this place, some ancient, some modern. In the former, the statues are also ancient. In the modern ones, one sees, among other works of Scopas, Latona with a sceptre, and Ortygia near her, bearing the two children in her arms. They celebrate a feast every year at Ortygia, and the youth of the city, agreeably to ancient custom, pride themselves especially in providing magnificent repasts. The college of Curietes also gives repasts, and celebrates certain secret sacrifices." It was here that Orion was supposed to be slain by the chaste Diana.³ Guhl⁴ places Ortygia with great probability in a nook of the mountains behind Coressus, though I do not sufficiently

SUBURE

ORTYGI.

¹ Xenoph. *Hell.* i. 2.² Hom. *Odys.* v. 123.³ Strabo, p. 639.⁴ *Ephes.* Plan. ii.

recollect the appearance of the spot to say whether it confirms this location; but the position is, however, corroborated by the vicinity of Mount Coressus, as explained in the etymology of that word.¹ Strabo says it was overhung by Mount Solmissus.² Connected with Ortygia is "the village of Latona (ΛΗΤΩ,) as it was formerly called, but now Latorea, from Latorea, an Amazon. It is situated in the mountains in the boundary of the Ephesian territory, and produces the Pramnian wine."³ Of the existence of Cenchrius we have no further authority than a coin, but we may suppose it to have been situated on the river of the same name, which Pausanias⁴ reckoned among the natural blessings of the Ephesian territory. It is possible the name has reference to Cenchreas, the son of Pirene, who was slain by Diana in consequence of his imprudence;⁵ as at Corinth there was a Temple to Diana, in the way which led from the isthmus to Cenchriæ.⁶ Coressus must have

¹ For this reason Arundell's position of it at the head of the Magnesian valley is shown to be incorrect, as the mountains here are merged into those of Solmissus and Pactyas. Indeed his only reason for placing it there, was from the abundance of myrtle shrubs in that locality.—(*Di cov.* ii. 244.) Guhl, p. 8, supposes the name to have been afterwards changed to Cenchrius from finding that name as a city on the Ephesus coins, (Mionnet, Supp. vi. Ionie, 416,) but it is not likely the Ephesians would relinquish a name that had become so celebrated, and which it was their interest to cherish.

² Strabo, p. 640.

³ Alciphron of Mæandria, *apud* Athen. i. p. 31.

⁴ Paus. vii. 5.

⁵ Id. ii. 3.

⁶ Id. ii. 2.

stood upon, or at the foot of the mountain of the same name; it also adjoined the port,¹ and it occupied the spot where Diana was born; and her altar was remaining there in the time of Stephanus.² The inhabitants dedicated a statue in the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia, in the common name of the Ephesians.³ Stephanus Byzantinus⁴ reports that Coressus was the scene of Latona's accouchement, and that on Diana's asking, — "Whose is this place?" they answered, "Thine, O Virgin," (κόρη σὸς,) and that from this circumstance the mountain took the name of Coressos. There was another mountain of the same name, about forty stadia from Ephesus.⁵ The Ephesian Coressus appears on one of the coins of the city.⁶ There was a quarter of the town of this name, and situated near the harbour. Gallesium, a city of Ephesus, on or at the foot of Mount Gallessus, is mentioned by Parthenius.⁷

Of the mountains, Gallessus⁸ bounds the north MOUNTA side of the Ephesian plain, stretching back towards Colophon, and bounded by the river Caystrus, which is crossed by a bridge close by the mountain. In the valley leading to Smyrna, through which runs the river Phyrrites, is a fort on the

¹ Herod. v. 100; Xen. *Hell.* i. 2. ² *De Urbibus*, ΚΟΡΙΣΣΟΣ.

³ Paus. v. 24.

⁴ *De Urbibus*.

⁵ Diod. Sic. xiv. 99.

⁶ Mionnet, iii. 370.

⁷ In epicedio in Auzithemin, *apud* Steph. Byz. voce ΓΑΛΛΗΣΙΟΝ.

⁸ Strabo, p. 639.

western chain of hills and on the highest part, called Ketsi-Kalasi, or the Goats' Castle, in allusion to its inaccessible position. It served to protect the pass, which here divides into two valleys, one northward leading to Smyrna, the other eastward to Thera, and the remains are clearly visible from the valley below. An ancient viaduct has been cut out of the mountain, in the part adjoining the plain of Ephesus, which Mr. W. J. Hamilton¹ supposes to have been formed in order to avoid the inundations to which the valley might be subjected. The Armenian guides who accompanied Dr. Chandler, told him the work was done by St. Paul, with a single stroke of his scymitar. Some travellers speak of a road being hollowed out artificially through the mountains; I did not see it, and I suspect, from the ambiguity concerning it,² that it does not exist.

Pactyas is the range of mountains between Gallessus and the Magnesian defile. Lyssus is another mountain, the site of which, however, is unknown.³ Solmissus has been already referred to.

Propertius,⁴ speaking of the splendour and charms of Rome, compares them with the wonderful sights in foreign lands, among which he classes the river Caystrus; and Homer,⁵ Virgil,⁶ and Ovid,⁷ sing of

¹ *Researches*, i. 541.

² Chandler, i. 154, 175; Pococke, vol. ii. pt. ii. bk. ii. p. 46.

³ Guhl, p. 5. ⁴ Prop. *Eleg.* iii. 22. ⁵ *Il.* ii. 464.

⁶ *Georg.* i. 383; *Æneid.* vii. 699. ⁷ *Met.* v. 386.

its beauty and its lordly swans. Of the river Selinus we shall have to speak presently, when treating of the temple. Besides these the river Styx appears in an ancient novelist,¹ and the river Marnas on coins.²

“Beyond the mouth of the Caystrus is a lake SELINUSI
LAKES formed by the sea, called Selinusia, and then another lake communicating with the former. The temple of the goddess derives considerable revenues from these lakes. The kings despoiled her of them, and the Romans restored them; but the agents employed to farm them out subsequently obtained possession of them by force. Artemidorus was in consequence deputed to Rome, and as he himself tells us, pleaded so effectually, that he not only succeeded in getting the lakes returned to the temple, but procured also, (for the Ephesians,) the possession of the city of Heracleia, with its territory. The city recompensed Artemidorus, by erecting a golden statue to his honour in the temple itself. In the more distant part of this lake is a royal palace, built by Agamemnon.”³ Pococke⁴ “observed a high ground to the north of the river, towards the lakes, which seemed to have had some building upon it that might have been this temple” (palace.) Archestratus, in his

¹ Achilles Tatius.

² Mionnet, *Med.* iii. Ionie, 262, 288.

³ Strabo, p. 642.

⁴ *Descript. of the East*, Asia M. ch. iii. p. 46.

Gastronomia, thus recommends an epicure:—"Do not forget a good chrysophrus, (a fish, for the same reason, called by us a *gold-head*,) of Ephesus, a fish which they call Ionian. Procure that which is fattened in the esteemed Selinuntian (lakes). Wash it well, then roast it entire, if it be ten cubits long."¹ And in another place he recommends, "Get your char from Ephesus;"² and Menander, in his *Ephesians*, makes one say: "A fishmonger asked me four drachme for a gudgeon."³ They were probably supplied from the same lake. The neighbouring "Pygela is a small town, with a temple of Diana Munychia, founded by Agamemnon. The city is inhabited by the descendants of a part of the army which that prince commanded; for they pretend that some of the soldiers of Agamemnon, being disabled from rowing by a *sore breech*, were called Pygalians, and the city Pygela."⁴ The memory of Agamemnon was also revered at Clazomenæ.⁵

The sacred Panionium was originally at a distance of three stadia from Mycale,⁶ in the territory

¹ Athen. p. 328.

² Id. 320.

³ Athen. 309 and 385. Another delicacy of the table was the Ionian *Attagen* (believed to be a woodcock, snipe, or quail.) It was esteemed better than those of other countries.—(Mart. *Ep.* Hor. v. *Od.* ii. 54.)

⁴ Pomponius Mela, i. 17, and Pliny, v. 31, call it Phygela, and say it received that appellation from being built by *fugitives*; but Xenophon, *Hell.* i. 2, 2, Polyænus, *Stratag.* vii. 23, and Steph. Byz. all spell it *πύγελα*.

⁵ Paus. vii. 5.

⁶ Strabo, p. 637.

of Priene, and erected to the honour of Heliconian Neptune,¹ but on account of the frequent wars and disturbances at that place it was removed to a more convenient spot near Ephesus.²

¹ On the origin of the Temple of Heliconian Neptune, so called from Helice in the Peloponnesus, see Strabo, pp. 384-5, and Paus. vii. 24-5, and Herod. i. 142-148.

² Diod. Sic. xv. 5.

III.

FOUNDATION OF EPHEBUS AND EARLY HISTORY.

"The Ionians have erected their towns under the finest sky and sweetest climate in the earth that we know of : for no country approaches to Ionia in these blessings, neither North nor South, nor East nor West : some of which are oppressed by wet and cold, others by heat and drought."—(Herod. i. 142.)

AN early geographer bestows almost equally lavish praises upon the whole province of Asia. He says: "Such is great Asia, which excels all other provinces, and has innumerable cities, great ones indeed, and many also on the coast; of which it is requisite that I mention two:—Ephesus, which is said to have an excellent port, and Smyrna. . . . The region of Asia is abundant and fruitful in all good things; it has various wines, oil, barley, purple, and good wheat. It is indeed most admirable, and it is difficult to praise it sufficiently."¹ Mithridates, in his speech to his soldiers, told them, "No climate in the world is more temperate than that of Asia; no country more fertile, or better stored with wealthy and pleasant cities; and the time of its

¹ *Geog. vet. Script. Græc. Min.* Oxon, 1712, vol. iii. 11.

inhabitants is chiefly occupied in festivals and sports.”¹ And lastly Pausanias celebrates it for its temples, and the salubrious temperature of its air.²

It is curious that Homer does not once mention Ephesus,³ though he probably lived more than one hundred years after the Ionian colonization. The first report we have of the city is from Creophylus, in his *Annals of the Ephesians*, cited by Athenæus.⁴ He states as follows: “The original founders, finding difficulty in the selection of a place where to found their city, and fearing to commit an error, went to consult the oracle, which declared *that a fish should show them, and a wild boar conduct them.*”⁵ The common belief therefore is, that where is now the fountain Hypelæus,⁶ and the sacred port, some fishermen were preparing their dinner of fish, when one of them leaped from the fire with a hot coal in his mouth, and fell upon some dry stubble, which, igniting, communicated the fire to a thicket in which by chance a wild boar was concealed, which, frightened by the heat, ran along the mountain which is called Tracheia, and fell at length transfixed by a

¹ Justinus, xxxvii. 4.

² Paus. vii. 5.

³ Unless under the name of Alope. See page 22. “But this (says Strabo, p. 554) is not extraordinary: for he does not name many other cities with which he was well acquainted, but which he had no occasion to introduce.”

⁴ Athen. p. 361.

⁵ A similar story to this is told of the founders of the city of Boæ in Laconia.—(Paus. iii. 22.)

⁶ So called from being sheltered by olive-trees.

javelin, in the place where the Temple of Minerva now stands. The Ephesians then left the island, where they had remained twenty-one years, and in the twenty-second built about Tracheia and Coressus, and erected a temple to Diana in the Agora, and one to the Pythian Apollo, at the port."¹ Now this story, as Creophylus himself states, is but a legend of the country, and entitled to but little belief; and it unfortunately does not state who these "original founders" were, or we should be able to confront the passage with other authors; and the only part which it states clearly is, that Tracheia and Coressus were the places of their first settlement, thereby unhappily conflicting with the story of Hercules *Melampygos*, which led us to believe that Pion was the first built upon.

The only way in which to reconcile these statements, is to suppose that the former story

¹ Strabo, p. 634, confuses this story when he says, "The ancient city was near the Athenæum, (Temple of Minerva,) in the environs of the fountain Hypelæus," for this would suppose the city to come back to the place from whence it started. But in page 640 of Strabo we find an important difference. He there says that the city was built near the Athenæum, *and* in the environs of the fountain Hypelæus. It is evident, therefore, that the conjunction "and" should be supplied at the first passage, page 634. Pococke following the former passage, instead of the latter, and instead of Creophilus, who confines the city to Tracheia and Coressus, places Hypelæus at Opistholepre.—(Vol. ii. part ii. bk. ii. p. 47.) And Guhl, also, led aside by the same authority, places the city of Androclus at Hypelæus, instead of there and beyond Tracheia.

refers to the indigenous inhabitants, and the latter to the first colonists. The connection of the first with Hercules and the heroic times, will exclude the other from a competition as regards priority. The Cercopes then, or Leleges,¹ whether of Lydian² or Carian³ origin, were the indigenous possessors of the soil. They inhabited Mount Pion, but, being a wandering people, and celebrated for their deceitful and predatory habits,⁴ they did not build any regular city. On the arrival of the Ionian colonists, who were sufficiently numerous and powerful to drive out the then inhabitants, they immediately took possession of and fortified Mount Coressus, carrying the walls across the plain so as to include Mount Pion at one extremity, and the city port at the other. Under this view of the case, I should take it for granted that Creophylus referred to the Ionian colonists when he speaks of the "original founders;"⁵ and the story about the fishermen is not at all repugnant to this idea.⁶ This story is frequently

¹ Paus. vii. 2 ; Strabo, pp. 632, 640.

² Paus. vii. 2.

³ Strabo, pp. 632 and 640, quoting Pherecydes in the former passage.

⁴ *Adagia*, see *Ἀγορὰ Κερκώρων* in Zenob. i. 5 ; Diog. i. 5 ; and Suidas, i. 13.

⁵ Strabo, p. 640, though he does not expressly refer to the myth of the fish and the boar, speaks of settling at the Athenæum and Hypelæus, thereby plainly alluding to it, and he names Androclus as the leader of the colony.

⁶ Fish were considered sacred to Diana, and from this circumstance, coupled with the myth just related, we may conceive them to be especially so in the city of the Ephesians ; but that which

represented by the Ephesians on their coins. "Androclus, the son of Codrus, who was king of the Ionians when they sailed to Ephesus,² drove out of the country the Leleges and Lydians who dwelt in the upper city;³ but he suffered certain women of the Amazonian tribe, who had fixed their habitations about the Temple of Diana, for the sake of supplicating and deprecating the wrath of the goddess, to remain undisturbed. These, by swearing to the Ionians, and entering into a league with them, were unmolested by war."⁴ On the death of Androclus the Ephesians rose against his sons, and proclaimed a republic, which continued till the time of Pindarus. It was on the occasion of this insurrection that the inhabitants of Teos and Carina were incorporated with the Ephesians, and it was probably about the same time that the population of the city was increased by some insurgents from Samos, as recorded by Malacus, in the annals of Siphnos.⁵ He says,

was esteemed most sacred, and which was customary to be offered in the feasts of Diana, was the mullet, because that fish *hunts* and destroys the poisonous sea-hare. It was also dedicated to Hecate, on account of the triple quality of its name (*τριγλη*).—(Athen. p. 325.)

¹ Mionnet, *Med.* iii. ; Ionie, Nos. 266, 369, 375, 397, 412, 457-8 ; Mionnet, *Med. Suppl.* vi. Nos. 405, 449, 478, 504-5, 536, 557, 571-8-9, 586, 623, 652-3, 668, 686, 879, and particularly in 588, where the Fountain, the wild boar, Coressus and the Temple are all indicated.

² This was in the year 1044 B.C.

³ Mount Pion as distinguished from the plain below.

⁴ Paus. vii. 2, and Strabo, p. 633.

⁵ Athen. vi. p. 267.

indeed, that they lived at Ephesus, and that from them the Ephesians date their origin; but the Ionian foundation under Androclus is too well established to allow this. Neither is it possible that this supposed Samian foundation of Ephesus took place before that conducted by the Athenian Prince; for Samos itself was not founded till fifty-eight years after that event. The rest of the passage is to this effect:—
 “Some runaway slaves of Samos, one thousand in number, went to Ephesus, but afterwards retiring to a mountainous island, they harassed the Samians on several occasions, till at length, six years after, the Samians, having consulted an oracle, concluded a treaty of peace with them, and gave them vessels, in which they embarked for Ephesus.”

Now in this legend, and in that of the fish and wild boar, we find reference to an island, which we may infer was the same one, and that the Ionians remained in it twenty years, and the Samian slaves six. It is possible that this may have been the island of Syria, spoken of by Pliny,¹ who says that in his time it had become part of the firm land, and stood a good way within the shore. Chandler² takes the island spoken of by Pliny to mean Aiaslik. Choiseul Gouffier³ supposes it to be Pion. But the former traveller⁴ describes another spot, which evidently must at one time have been inhabited. He

¹ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ii. 91, and v. 31. ² Chandler, *Travels*, i. 164.

³ *Voy. Pit.* i. 310.

⁴ Chandler, *Travels*, i. 126.

says, "We came to the sea, and to a little peninsula sown with wheat. It has a fair beach. By the rocky edge are traces of an ancient wall, and within it are fragments of Doric columns." Laborde also¹ shows a rocky hill jutting out into the sea, and crowned by a tower, which doubtless must at a former period have been an island.² This hill then, may have been the island to which the Ionians and Samians resorted previous to their settling at Ephesus.

The city remained in this state till the time of Croesus, when the inhabitants, quitting Coressus, went to live near the Temple of Diana, where they remained till the time of Alexander.³ The city was then built on low ground, and an inundation occurring in winter, many of the inhabitants were swept away; whereupon Lysimachus removed the city to the place which it afterwards occupied, and called it Arsinoë, from the name of his

¹ *Voyage en Orient*, livraison xiii.

² Revett supposes this to be the island of Syria. He describes its position as "the mount near the banks of the Caystrus, between the ferry and the mouth of that river."—(Chandler, i. 164.)

³ The remainder of Strabo's narration (p. 640) does not agree with the account given us by Stephanus the geographer, which I have preferred to follow, especially as Duris of Elæa makes no mention of the circumstance told us by Strabo, which is to this effect:—"Lysimachus having constructed the walls of the actual city, and seeing that the Ephesians were unwilling to change their place of residence, availed himself of a heavy flood to stop the sewers, and thus inundated the old city, which forced the Ephesians to abandon it."

wife:¹ but at his death the city took back its old name. The following lines were written on the occasion of this deluge; by Duris of Elæa :—

Aerial clouds, of bitter streams the fount,
Have ye then all engulfed ! Not the vile sheds
Of wretched Libya, but rich Ephesus !
Happy possessions of long prosperous years.
Whither averted then thy guardian gods
Their eyes ? Alas ! alas ! Ionia's pride
And long celebrity ! The swelling streams
In ocean's billowy depths have buried thee.²

¹ Strabo also, p. 340.

² Steph. Byz. *De Urbibus*, voce Εφεσος.

IV.

OF THE DIFFERENT BUILDINGS OF THE CITY.

“The magnificent and spacious city.”

VITR. x. Præf.

WE are not to expect that the ruins of Ephesus should partake of a Grecian character. The city continued to too late a period to preserve any portions of its pristine architecture. When we reflect on the rapid changes which take place in our own city in a single lifetime, we shall feel no surprise that all traces of earlier buildings have disappeared under the never satisfied love of novelty. The ruins of Ephesus all bespeak a late period of Roman art, and many of them exhibit the style of the Byzantine empire. If Ephesus, like Smyrna, had continued to be inhabited to the present time, these in their turn would have given way to the Turkish dome and minaret. But though the architectural details are thus debased, we may yet discover traces of its early character. The *plan* of the city we may conceive to be pretty similar to what it was in ancient times; the area of the forum was probably the same, as are also the sites of the several gymnasia: the theatres

and stadium are all of ancient formation, and, in fact, we may regard the arrangement and feeling of the different buildings as Greek, though the architecture is Roman.

Before describing the individual buildings of the city, I would refer to the geometric arrangement of the whole plan, to the parallel position of the buildings, and the beauty with which they are connected together. This is interesting, as showing that the Ionians laid out their streets in straight lines, a custom which Hippodamus of Miletus succeeded in spreading over the rest of Greece; superseding the old style of building, which, from its irregularity and unarchitectural character, resembled that still used in Eastern climates. It was probably this architect who laid out the plan of Thurii,¹ in exact squares, with streets at right angles, four in a longitudinal, and three in a lateral direction; and*the same who in his old age built the city of Rhodes, 407 B.C., the plan of which was designed with such perfect symmetry, that, according to the expression of the astonished ancients, it seemed like one house.² The streets of Smyrna were also, as far as practicable, built at right angles.³ In cities built according to the ancient custom, it was quite a peculiarity to find any of the streets straight: and

¹ Diod. xii. 10.

² Meursius, *Rhod.* i. 10; Mueller, *Dorians*, ii. 272-3.

³ Strabo, p. 646.

hence we find in Megara,¹ and in Damascus,² there was a street in either city which, happening to be straight, was expressly called "the straight street."

The parts of the city which require to be first treated of, and which demand the greatest attention, are the ancient ports. Although the ancient historians are quite clear with regard to a double port,³ the *sacred* and the *civic*, no modern traveller has attempted to discriminate between the two. The present marsh is acknowledged by every one as occupying the site of the (City) Port. M. Laborde⁴ shows in both his views of Ephesus, (that taken from the Theatre and the panoramic one from the summit of Coressus,) rows of columns along the north side of the marsh, and a jetty running out from it, also lined with columns. M. le Brun⁵ also notices these columns. He says, "Opposite is a kind of marsh full of little brooks. It is thought to have been formerly a lake. One sees also in this place a number of fragments and remains of columns, but much smaller and more simple than the others." These circumstances, thus established, are sufficient to show that this marsh was formerly the city port, and that it was laid out in a regular plan, and embellished with porticos

¹ Paus. i. 44.

² Acts, ix. 11.

³ See Plut. in *Lysand.* 3, quoted in page 52; Diod. Sic. xiii. 71, quoted in Appendix No. I. 406 B.C.; and Philost. *Vit. Soph.* ii. 23.

⁴ *Voyage en Orient.*

Voyage au Levant, pp. 32-3.

and public buildings. Subsequently to writing the above, I have been informed by Professor Donaldson,¹ that he distinctly traced the form of the port; that it was "an oblong with the corners cut off."

This is confirmed by the present line of marsh, which, close to the Great Gymnasium, takes a diagonal line; which accounts moreover for the unequal lengths of the wings of that building. On this authority I have ventured to restore the city port in my plan. The hexagonal or octagonal form was adopted in most ports,² in order that they might scour themselves out with greater facility, avoiding those deposits which are so likely to be made in a rectangular basin. The hexastyle court at Baalbec affords another precedent for the polygonal form of portico. The jetty shown in M. Laborde's view has been my authority for the quays, which I have indicated in my plan as projecting from the north and south sides of the port.

The first account given us of the port is by Xenophon:³ "On the city being threatened by Thrasyllus, the Athenian general under Alcibiades, in the 93rd olympiad, (408 B.C.) Tissaphernes collected together a numerous army, and sent his

¹ Mr. Donaldson visited Ephesus in the year 1820, in company with a French architect. They remained there a fortnight, and measured the various buildings of the city. They also took a general plan, which unhappily has been lost.

² As in the two harbours at Ostia, and that of the Claudian emissary.

³ Xen. *Hell.* i. 2.

horsemen round the country to summon every one to Ephesus in aid of Diana. Thrasyllus arriving before Ephesus, disembarked his heavy-armed troops at Coressus, . . . and sent the rest of his force to *the marsh on the other side of the city*, and thus he approached with two different bodies. The whole force of Ephesus marched out in its defence, assisted by the confederates, the Syracusan fleet, and two ships from Selinus. All these advanced first against the heavy-armed troops from Coressus, and after defeating them, pursued them *down to the sea*, and then turned to meet the body from the *marsh*, whom they also conquered. The Ephesians erected a trophy, (of *brass*, Plutarch. *in Alc.* 29,) on the marsh, and another at Coressus, and on many of the Syracusans and Selinuntians they conferred the highest marks of gratitude, with the liberty of residing among them, and of exemption from taxes; and to the Selinuntians in particular, their own city being destroyed, a complete naturalization." Immediately after this, namely, in the last year of the same olympiad, (404 B.C.,) we find another narrative relative to the port, which is of especial consequence, as it treats of both the ports. It is from the life of Lysander, by Plutarch.¹ After the recall of Alcibiades, the Athenians began to reacquire power, which made the Lacedæmonians apprehen-

¹ Plut. *Lys.* 3, 4, 5.

sive and eager to prepare for war, and, considering it requisite to have a bold leader, and strong military arrangements, they chose Lysander to the command of the fleet. On his arrival at Ephesus, he found the city favourably disposed to him, and to the Lacedæmonian cause, but afflicted with the times, and in danger of being enervated by Persian manners, derived from the free intercourse with that people, and from their vicinity to Lydia, and the royal satraps settled there. He, therefore, fortified the place, directed all merchant vessels to resort thither, *and constructed docks and an arsenal for building triremes*. Thus he caused *their ports*, (τοὺς λιμένας,) to be frequented by merchants, their agoras by factors, and filled their shops and houses with trade and riches. So that from that time, the city, by the beneficial ordinances of Lysander, gradually arrived at that state of dignity and magnificence in which we now see it.¹

The docks are referred to on occasion of the attempted surprise of the Rhodian fleet by Polyxenidas, the commander of Antiochus' fleet, 190 B.C.²

The city now being in its decline, it would appear that from this period it gradually lost that energy and activity produced by independ-

¹ For the particulars of the victory gained by Lysander over the Athenian fleet, off the harbour of Ephesus, see also Paus. ix. 32; Diod. Sic. xiii. 71; Xen. *Hell.* i. 5.

² Liv. *Hist. Rom.* xxxvii. 10.

ence, and that, the proper dredging being neglected, the mud and slime rapidly accumulated, so that in the short space of thirty to fifty years it was difficult for large vessels to enter. "The city of Ephesus," (says Strabo,¹) "possesses also an arsenal, (*νεωρία*,) and a port, but the entrance to the port is too narrow, from the fault of the engineers, who were led into error by the King himself, who charged them with the construction. This prince was Attalus, (Attalus II. *Philadelphus*, 159 to 139, B.C.,) who, seeing that the harbour was filled with banks, caused by the slime brought down by the Caystrus, and thinking it might be rendered sufficiently deep to receive large vessels if a mole were constructed across the entrance, which, (he considered,) was too large, ordered the same to be constructed; but the contrary effect was produced, for the slime, being detained by the mole, filled with bars the whole port, whereas before this the slime was carried away by the force of the current and the action of the sea outside. Such are the present defects of the port of Ephesus." It is curious that this very expedient had formerly been proposed by an enemy, with the view of destroying the port. C. Livius, the Roman admiral, advised that "ships of burden should be sunk at the entrance of the harbour, and that the passage

¹ Strabo, p. 641.

would thus be shut up with little difficulty, *because the mouth of the harbour was like a river, long and narrow, and full of shoals.*"¹

From this time, therefore, a century and a half before the Christian era, the port would appear to have become gradually impaired, but, notwithstanding the defects produced by this unhappy mistake, the city, profiting from other advantages which its situation afforded it, continued to increase daily, so that (in the time of Strabo,² who died A.D. 25,) it had become the most considerable place of commerce in Asia on this side the Taurus.

As late as the time of Septimius Severus, (A.D. 194—211,) Damianus, a sophist of Ephesus, and a great benefactor to the city, (see ch. V.) formed a pier at the entrance to the *harbours* (λιμένων προχώσεις) for the protection of ships of merchandise drifting from their anchors, or otherwise in distress.³

From these narratives, therefore, and other information, we may collect as follows,—that there were two ports, the *sacred* and the *civic*. The civic port is now occupied by the marsh at the west end of the city. It was of a regular plan, and embellished with porticos and public buildings. It is fed merely by small springs, and has no river running into it, which will account for its not being filled up.

¹ Liv. xxxvii. 14, 15.

² Strabo, p. 641.

³ Philost. *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 23.

From this port a canal communicated with the river Caystrus, on which spot, as I shall hereafter mention, I conceive the Temple of Diana to have been situated. From this point of confluence I suppose the port Panormus to have commenced. This will agree with the distance of the temple from the city, as far as we can reconcile the different accounts respecting that distance; and it will agree with the situation of the temple on the port Panormus, as described by Strabo.¹ "Next comes Panormus, with the temple of the Ephesian Diana, and then the city." It is true Guhl² supposes the temple here spoken of to refer to a temple of Diana Ephesia at Ortygia, and he places the great Temple of Diana on the "marsh on the other side of the city;" but the passage of Strabo just quoted shows plainly that he is speaking of the great temple; for it is to be particularly remarked, that he does not mention the word Ephesus a second time, (ἐχων ἱερὸν τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος εἰθ' ἡ πόλις,) thereby intimating that the temple was that of Ephesus. That is to say, it *signifies*, although such is not the literal translation,—“Next comes Panormus, with the Temple of Diana of *Ephesus*, and then the city.” Chandler³ quotes some ancient author, but without giving the reference, who “describes the temple as standing at the head of the port, and shining like a meteor.”

The port Panormus I hold to be identical with

¹ *Geog.* p. 639.

² *Ephesiaca*, p. 9.

³ Chandler, i. 173.

the sacred port described by Creophylus, in Athenæus,¹ and the circumstance of its being so named, proves the temple to have been there situated. This port, then, was the principal one, much larger than the city port, and being protected from the sea by a narrow canal, was rendered worthy of its name, Πανόρμος, (affording safe moorage in all parts.) On this port I should imagine the arsenal and docks to have been placed, which are mentioned in three of these narratives, for it is not certain that vessels of large burden would have entered the canal communicating with the city port; on the contrary, we see from the account of the constructions ordered by Attalus Philadelphus, that in his time even the main port Panormus had become so encumbered with the mud brought down by the Caystrus, as to be insufficiently deep to receive large vessels, and after the contraction of the entrance it was less able to do so; consequently the smaller or city port must have been still more shallow, and confined to the rich and splendid galleys which served for the enjoyment and recreation of the inhabitants, and to the reception of barges and small craft, bringing up merchandise from the main port to the warehouses of the city; and thus, with its porticos and

¹ See page 40. Dr. Chandler (i. 164) supposes the word Panormus to comprise both the ports, which would be quite possible, considering its name; but as Strabo describes it as being distinct from the city, it is evident he applied the term merely to the principal port.

surrounding buildings, must have always presented a gay and animated appearance, and greatly contributed to the splendour and ornament of the city. The main port therefore, being the only one capable of receiving war-galleys and vessels of burden, is that which is always alluded to in the description of military operations, as in the narratives of Xenophon, Plutarch, and Livy, already quoted ; but where the word *port* is used in a general sense, it is put to signify both the sacred and the city port ; it not being considered requisite to mention particularly a double port, except as in the instance of Xenophon, where a minute description is especially entered into of the trade and commerce of the city.

The port was at some distance from the sea, as we learn from the circumstance of the Ephesians pursuing the Athenians from the suburb Coressus, (which was situated on the side of this port,¹) *down to the sea*, and it communicated with it by a wide and commodious canal. A portion of the embankments still remains, but it was mistaken by Chandler² for the embankment of Attalus, although that prince did not construct the canal, but merely a mole across its entrance.

It was also at some distance from the town, as we may learn from the following stratagem :—
“ Antiochus warring against the Ephesians, ordered

¹ See page 35.

² Chandler, i. 159.

the Rhodians, who formed part of his army, to attack the harbour at night-time, with great noise ; and when all the people were hastening thither in disorder, leaving the other points of defence unguarded, Antiochus attacked the city in the rear, and took it.”¹

We must not be surprised that the ‘great port is now filled up, for we have seen how rapidly it became encumbered in the time of Attalus, by the slimy deposits made by the Caystrus, which, in the words of Pliny,² “brings down with it a great quantity of mud, whereby the land is continually increasing, so that what was formerly the island Syria, stands now a good way within the land.” And Herodotus³ tells us that the whole plain of Ephesus was at one time a gulf of the sea, which is confirmed also by Nearchus,⁴ who says that it was formed by the fine silt brought down by the river ; while, with regard to the port itself, Pliny expressly states that the site of this port was once occupied by the open sea.⁵

Thus we have seen that the port was in its most flourishing condition four hundred years before the Christian era, and that its docks and arsenal were then constructed ; that two hundred years after the docks were put in perfect repair, and in full operation ; that about fifty years later the port was

¹ Frontinus, *Strat.* iii. 9, § 10.

² *Hist. Nat.* ii. 91, and v. 31.

³ Herod. ii. 10.

⁴ Strabo, p. 691.

⁵ Plin. *H. N.* ii. 91.

becoming encumbered with the silt brought down by the Caystrus; but that even in the time of Strabo, who died A.D. 25, Ephesus was the seat of commerce for Asia Proper. Indeed, the excellence of this port may be inferred, independently of the signification of its name, from the circumstance that some geographers mention the port as the principal peculiarity of Ephesus, without noticing even the temple. Thus Stephanus,¹ — “Ephesus, a most illustrious city of Ionia, with a port;” and an anonymous geographer,² — “Ephesus, which is said to have an excellent port.” Eumenes described Ephesus as “an opulent city, with a safe haven,”³ and we may also judge of its excellence by its coins. Montfaucon indeed asserts,⁴ that some medals of Ephesus prove that it boasted of its *great port*, but he does not describe them. War-galleys frequently appear on them,⁵ and merchant-vessels,⁶ most of which were those of Egypt⁷ — a river god,⁸ two river gods,⁹ the river ΚΑΥΣΤΡΟΣ,¹⁰ the river

¹ Steph. Byz. voce “Εφεσος.

² See page 40.

³ Liv. xxxvii. 15.

⁴ *L'Antiq. Exp.* Suppl. ii. pp. 35-6.

⁵ Mionnet, *Med.* iii. Ionie, 360, 378, 408, 429, 447; Suppl. vi. 554, 610-8-9, 688, 695, 709, 710-3-9, 774.

⁶ Id. Suppl. vi. Ionie, 488, 533.

⁷ Id. *Med.* iii. Ionie, 417; Suppl. vi. 691-2, 704-8, 837.

⁸ Id. iii. 262, 282, 321, 392; Suppl. vi. 413, 558, 586, 684, 857.

⁹ Id. ii. 288, 335, 428; Suppl. vi. 643, 730.

¹⁰ Id. iii. 238, 277, 329, 464, 470; Suppl. vi. 758, 893-4.

KENKPIOC,¹ these two combined,² the ocean,³ not to mention cornucopias and figures of Fortune, all denoting its extended commerce.

This port is connected with the insult offered to Stratonice, who not giving to Ctesicles the honorable reception to which he considered himself entitled, was painted by him romping with a fisherman, for whom, according to common report, she had conceived an ardent affection. After exhibiting this picture in the harbour at Ephesus, he at once set sail and escaped; the queen, however, would not allow of its removal, the likeness of the two figures being so admirably expressed.⁴

The ancients distinguished between the public square occupied by the houses of the magistrates, and appropriated for the education of youth, and those places in which provisions and merchandise were sold. The former were called *civilia*, the latter *venalia*. The setting apart large open spaces for the sale of merchandise, and the transaction of public business, originated with the Greeks, and there is an anecdote told us by Herodotus,⁵ which shows how opposed this custom was to the ideas of the Persians.⁶ The Lacedæmo-

¹ Mionnet, Suppl. vi. 396, 416.

² Id. Suppl. vi. 497; Morel, *Spec. Univ. Rei Num. Ant.* x. 4.

³ Id. Suppl. vi. 477.

⁴ Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 40. ⁵ Herod. i. 152-3.

⁶ The Egyptians, however, possessed this feature of an ancient city.—(Herod. iii. 139.)

nians sending an ambassador to Cyrus, to tell him that the Lacedæmonians would resent any injury done to any of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, Cyrus asked the Greeks around him who these Lacedæmonians were, and of what force they were possessed, to justify such lofty language. On being informed, among other particulars, that the Greeks have large open squares set apart for the convenience of trade, he told the Spartan ambassador, that men who had a large void space in their city, where they assembled for the purpose of defrauding one another, could never be objects of terror to him.

The Great Agora or Agora Civilis, as we will call it, in order to distinguish it from the Agora Venalis, or larger market-place, (Forum Opsoniorum,) like the great forums of Rome and Pompeii, is surrounded by the various public buildings of the city. What I have called the Great Gymnasium is on its west, the theatre and its gymnasium and some other building on the east, the two agoræ on its south, while the buildings on the north have entirely disappeared, and left a Christian double church in their place. But the most remarkable feature of this agora, and one in which it differs from and excels every other, is an expansive lake¹ in its centre, and which we may reasonably conceive was once adorned with colonnades, though no evidences of them

¹ It is shown in Laborde's *Panoramic View*, and is referred to by Pococke, pp. 50-2, and Egmont and Hayman's *Travels*, i. 106-7.

remain above the ground ; for the whole lake is now overspread with reeds and thickets, which render it difficult even to approach its margin.

Although the lake in the centre is a unique and beautiful appendage, there are examples which show that the Greeks, in these hot climates, loved to have water in some form in the centre of their agoræ. Thus in the centre of the great Agora Venalis, or market-place, there are vestiges of a circular building, the small size of which renders it probable that it formed a puteal ; and in the smaller agora there are remains of a square building, which might have served for a similar purpose. In the portico of the theatres at Pompeii, there are evidences of a well, or fountain ; and in the triangular forum a circular or monopteral puteal may still be observed. A similar well, surrounded by columns, existed at Elis : "Above the agora there is a spring of water, in a well ; and a roof supported by columns screens it from the sun."¹ A well existed in the agora of Pellene, fed by secret passages ;² and indeed we may conceive that a supply of water would be very desirable, if not requisite, in the market-place of a hot climate. So fond do the Greeks appear of this arrangement, that in several cities a stream ran through the centre of the agora. This, we are informed by

¹ Paus. x. 36. A similar one was also discovered near Athens. —(Inwood, *Erechth.* p. 19.)

² Paus. vii. 27.

Herodotus,¹ was the case at Celænæ, above Apameia, where the river Catarractes ran through the centre of the agora; and at Sardis, the agora of which was traversed by the Pactolus.² At Tarsus the river Cydnus flowed through the centre of the palace. Another instance, which I recollect to have noticed, is that of Teos, where the agora is crossed by a small stream. The ruins of Præneste may also be adduced as an example, two large piscinas remaining in the part which is supposed to have been the forum. In the present instance, as the city of Ephesus was dedicated to Diana,³ and lakes were especially held sacred to her, this lake may have been formed partly from motives of splendour, convenience, and comfort, and partly in allusion and reverence to Diana.

The principal forum or agora was more particularly used for general assemblies and the transaction of public business; round it were placed the curiæ, the comitium, and the basilica; and thus the word *ἀγορᾶϊος*, or forensis, came to signify judicial, a signification which has come down to us in the word *forensic*. Thus, in the agora of Megalopolis, Pausanias first describes the portico called the Phillipeon, then a temple of Mercury, after which another portico; he then describes the myropolis, or portico of

¹ Herod. vii. 26.

² Id. v. 101..

³ It was at the *Limnæ* that the Lacedæmonian women were outraged who had gone there to sacrifice to Diana, according to ancient custom.—(Strabo p. 257.)

perfumes, then an enclosure sacred to the Lycian Jupiter, then the Bouleuterion, or council-house, then another portico, called the Aristandrea, from its founder, then a temple to Jupiter Soter, then an enclosure sacred to Ceres and Proserpine, who are called the great goddesses, then the Gymnasium, which, like that of Ephesus, is on the west side, after which is the portico of Philip, already described.¹ In a similar manner was the agora of Elis surrounded by public buildings and porticos, though Pausanias states it was of ancient foundation, and unlike those of the Ionians. He describes porticos, separated from each other, but having passages through them. That towards the south was triple, and built after the Doric manner. Adjoining this portico was the portico called Corcyraica, built with spoils from Corcyra. It was also after the Doric fashion, and consisted of a double portico, with a wall along the middle, on each side of which were statues.² By the side of this portico, but separated from it by a road, was the Hellanodicon. Other buildings, which he describes either about the agora, or within its circuit, were the tomb of Achilles, a splendid temple of Apollo Acesius, a temple of the Graces, a temple of Silenus, the sepulchre of Oxylus, and the Mansion of the Sixteen Women; and in addition to these he enumerates a great number of altars and statues.³

¹ Paus. viii. 31. ² A *Lesche*. See the Author's article on the *Lesche* at Delphi, in the *Mus. Class. Antiq.* ³ Paus. vi. 24.

Even among the Romans we find the forum not dissimilarly arranged. The forum at Pompeii has the basilica, the curiæ, the chalcidicum, and other public buildings round it, with a temple at one end. It is probable that a statue of Mercury was placed in the agora, as the protector and god of commerce. Pausanias, speaking of the agora of Pharæ, in Achaia, says the enclosure of the agora is very large, after the ancient manner of the agoræ in Pharæ. In the middle of this agora there is a stone statue of Mercury with a beard: it stands on the earth without any base; it is of a square figure, and of no great magnitude.¹

A temple to Diana was erected in the great forum or agora of Ephesus by the first Ionian colonists, and it is probable that it also contained other temples. In this forum, or agora, also was the tomb of Heropythus, the restorer of liberty to Ephesus, which had been dismantled by Memnon, the general of Darius.² Dionysius the rhetorician, of Miletus, was also buried here, at the public expense of the Ephesians.³ We have another instance of this practice of the ancients in honouring their benefactors, not merely by statues, but by public burial in their forums, in the case of Themistocles, who was buried at the public expense in the agora of Magnesia:⁴ Diodorus says they erected over him a magnificent monument:⁵ and we have

¹ Paus. vii. 22.

² Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 18.

³ Philost. *Vit. Soph.* i. 22. ⁴ Thucyd. i. 138. ⁵ *Bib. Hist.*

just referred to another instance in the agora at Elis, in which was the tomb of Achilles, and that of Oxylus. It was probably in the agora that the statues of Lysander, Eteonicus, Pharax, and other Lacedæmonian commanders, were erected; and on the privileges of the city being usurped by Agesilaus, and the Ephesians leaguings themselves with the Athenians, that they erected statues to Conon and Timotheus.¹

The laws of the Ionians appear to have been exposed publicly in the Agora, in order that every one might see them: an excavation may possibly one day bring these to light. The Agora appears also from a passage in Xenophon,² ("our peaceable walks in the Agora,") to have served as a place of public promenade, like the Piazza Ducale at Venice; and it is recorded that Cleopatra being one day carried about the Agora of Ephesus in a litter, Antony, who was presiding in one of the courts, (the *curiæ*,) listening to the pleading of a celebrated orator, no sooner saw her, than, leaping from his throne, he ran to attend her: so forgetful was he of duty when enticed by pleasure. This *curia*³ may possibly have occupied the vacant piece of ground contiguous to the gymnasium of the theatre, a situa-

¹ Paus. vi. 3. ² Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4.

³ Ephesus had a senate composed of conscript fathers, with whom the Epicletes assembled, and administered all the affairs.—(Strabo, p. 640.)

tion which will accord with the above story, and also with Vitruvius' direction,¹ that the basilica should overlook the forum. The bouleuterion of Elis was attached to the gymnasium,² and that of Megalopolis to the forum.³ Of the colonnades of the agora there are but few remains; the only part where I could trace evidences of a double portico, was on the east side. On the west side, besides several fallen or displaced columns, there remain the 5th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th, and 22nd columns, commencing from the centre of the portico of the Great Gymnasium towards the north; on the north side, commencing from the west end, there are the 13th, 18th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, and the last two columns, which correspond with two others on the east side, and which four columns are the only remains of the portico on the east side; whilst on the south side there are only two columns remaining. As I did not observe any evidences, either of a wall outside the colonnades, or of a portico or double colonnade, except on the east side; and considering that such vast extent of colonnades must have looked weak and unmeaning, unless supported by other columns or a wall at the back, I have taken advantage of the remains of the circular walls occupying the position of the northern exedræ of the east side

¹ Vit. v. 1. ² Paus. vi. 23. See page 76.

³ Id. viii. 31, and page 64.

of the agora, to suppose that similar exedras were disposed round the other sides, at once to strengthen and give variety to the single colonnades. It was probably along the magnificent porticos of this agora that Justin Martyr's colloquy with Tryphon the Jew was represented to have taken place. All that we are told is that it took place in the walks of the Xystus.¹

The Hippodrome of Ephesus, referred to in the account of the preparations of Agesilaus against the Athenians,² was, probably, like the hippodrome of Elis, in the centre of the forum.

It is not requisite to describe in detail the two agoræ, or, indeed, any of the other buildings of the city, as in the enlarged plans of each of them the difference of tint clearly shows what parts are now remaining, what are certain to have existed, and what is purely conjectural. Pococke³ describes several rough pedestals and pillars of grey granite lying about the great agora, and a broken capital of either Corinthian or Composite architecture. He, however, mistakes the place for a naumachia. Dallaway⁴ says the pillars were of black granite. The details of the central building, (puteal?) and the columns of the upper portico, mark a debased period of construction. The arrangement, however, of each

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 17, *ξύστον περιήρατος*; Justin. Mart. *Dial. cum Tryphone*, Init.

² See page 80.

³ *Descript. of the E.* p. 51.

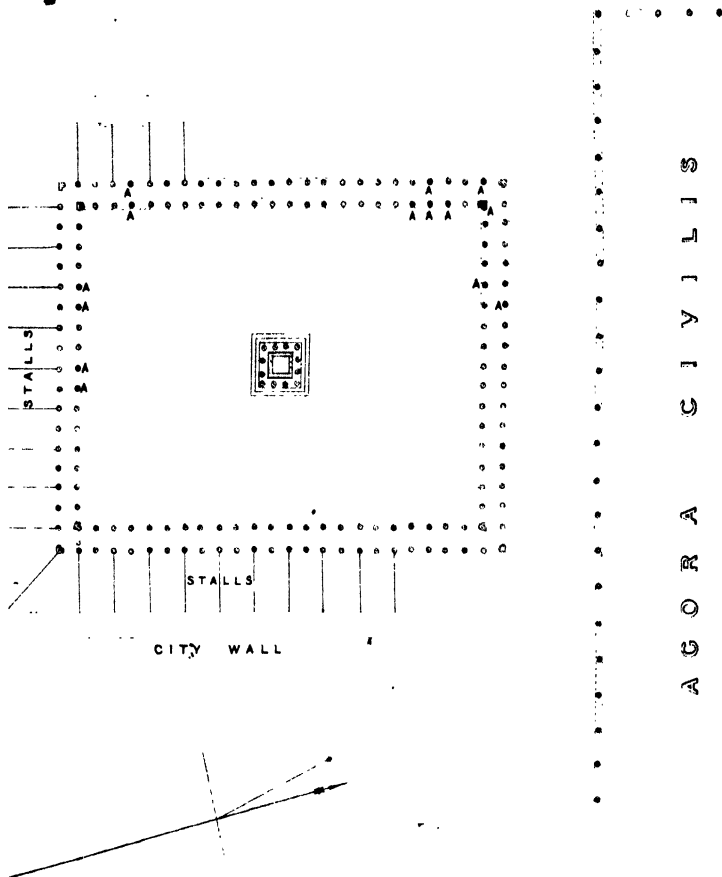
⁴ *Const.* p. 220.

agora is very peculiar, and admirably adapted for a market-place. A portico or double colonnade runs all round each, for the convenience of purchasers; next to which is a line of stalls for the display of comestibles and merchandise; and in the larger agora, outside this, are rows of different sized shops and magazines. An interesting feature of this agora is its square form, which is in exact accordance with the precepts of Vitruvius.¹ "The Greeks, (says he,) make their forum square, with a spacious and double portico, ornamenting it with columns placed at narrow intervals, and with stone or marble epistylia, and forming walks above on the timber framed work. In the cities of Italy, however, this practice is not followed, because the ancient custom prevails of exhibiting the shows of gladiators in the forum." The upper colonnade on the east side of the agora corresponds with the *walks above the porticos*, here alluded to.

In the smaller agora, there were but two of three columns visible, and I had passed over the area several times before I imagined there had been a portico; when getting a shepherd to assist me, I measured off certain distances where I hoped to meet with columns, and directed him to dig. On going down to the depth of six or eight inches, he came to a column, and the same

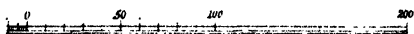
¹ Vit. v. 1.

AT
E P H E S U S.



A A Columns remaining.

Scale of Feet



in nearly every place pointed out, till at length I established the position of fourteen columns; enough to satisfy me of the nature of the building.

Our notions of the Greek gymnasium have hitherto been exclusively confined to one at Ephesus, one at Alexandria Troas, and another at Hierapolis, as compared with the description given of these buildings by Vitruvius. That of Ephesus is the only building of the city of Ephesus, with the exception of some details of the temple by the agora, which has hitherto been published. Besides having examined other gymnasia in various parts of Asia Minor, I have succeeded in taking plans of three of those in this city. I will premise my observations upon them by extracts from the descriptions by Vitruvius and Pausanias of the palæstra and gymnasium, which, though rather long, will be found to throw light on the buildings before us.

To commence with Vitruvius. The following is his description of the palæstra: — “Though not used by the people of Italy, it seems proper that I should explain the form of the palæstra, and describe the mode in which it was constructed by the Greeks. The peristylia of palæstræ are of a square or oblong form, the circuit of which is two stadia in length, and is called by the Greeks *Diaulos*. On three sides are single porticos; the fourth, which is that on the south side, is to be double, so that when showers fall in windy weather,

the drops may not drive into the inner part of it, In the three porticos are large exedræ,¹ with seats therein, whereon the philosophers, rhetoricians, and others who delight in study, may sit and dispute. In the double portico the following provision is to be made: the ephebeum is to be in the middle, which is in truth nothing more than a large exedra with seats, and longer by one third than its width; on the right is the conisterium, immediately adjoining which is the coryceum, from which you enter the cold bath, which the Greeks call *Loutron*,² and

¹ Lucian also, *de Gymn.* 16-18.

² Although Vitruvius writes only this and three other words in the Greek character, it should be observed that many of the other words are also Greek, though adopted afterwards by the Romans. Thus,—not to mention peristylia and exedræ, which are architectural terms of daily use,—

The Ephebeum, derived from *youthful*, was devoted to the exercise of youth.

The Conisterion, from *sand*, it being the place in which the bodies of the wrestlers were sanded. The sand used for this purpose came from Egypt.—(Suet. in Nero, 45; Plin. xxxv. 17.)

The Coryceum (in Mercurialis de Arte Gymn.) is supposed to be the Apodyterium.

The Elæothesion, from *oil*, it being the place in which the unctores, or aliptæ, anointed the wrestlers, and had to examine whether they were sound and in good condition. Aliptæ occurs in Pollux, *Onomast.* vii. 166.

The Propnigæon seems to be derived from *furnace*, and would therefore be equivalent to the Hypocaust.

The Hypocauston, or furnace-room, from *burning*.

The Laconicum is generally supposed to be the vapour, or hot bath. In the bath of Hippas, however, the Frigidarium is described as having three baths of cold water, of Lacedæmonian stone, (Lucian, *Hippas, sive Balneum*), or stone of Laconia: and

which is in the angle of the portico. On the left of the ephegium is the elæothesium ; adjoining that is the tepidarium, whence a way leads to the propnigeum in the angle of the portico. Near, but more inward, on the side of the frigidarium, is placed the vaulted sudatio, whose length is double its width. On one side of this is the laconicum, constructed in the same manner ; on the other side is the caldarium. The peristylia of palæstræ are to be carefully set out as above mentioned. On the outside three porticos are constructed, one through which those who come out of the peristyles pass ; and stadial ones on the right and left, of which that towards the north is double, and of considerable width. The other is single, and so formed, that as well on the side next the wall as on that where the columns stand, there are margins for paths of not less than ten feet, the centre part being sunk a foot and a half below the paths, to which there is an ascent of two steps ; the sunken part is not to be less than twelve feet in width. Thus those who in their clothing walk round the paths, will not be incommoded by the appointed wrestlers who are practising. This species of portico is called *Xystos* by the Greeks ; but the

from the similarity of name, it is probable that, whether a hot or cold bath, it was derived from Lacedæmon ; and that it was either a particular kind of bath used in that country, or, like the bath of Hippias, it was formed of a particular kind of stone.

The Apodyterion signifies the undressing-room.

wrestlers exercise in covered stadia in winter time. The xysti ought to have groves or plantations between the porticos, with walks between the trees, and seats of cemented work. On the sides of the xysti and the double portico are open walks, which the Greeks call *παρὰδρομίδες*,¹ but with us they are called xysti, on which the *athletæ*, leaving the adjacent xystus, exercise themselves when the weather is fine during the winter. Behind the xystus is set out the stadium, of such dimension that a great number of people may commodiously behold the contending wrestlers." ²

As a sequel to this account of the arrangement of the palæstra by Vitruvius, let us now examine the description by Pausanias³ of the gymnasium at Elis, in Olympia, it being the most detailed description of such a building that has come down to us; merely premising that the words gymnasium and palæstra are synonymous:—

"In Elis there is an ancient gymnasium which deserves to be mentioned, in which the athletes, before they engage in the Olympic games, are accustomed to exercise themselves in every particular which the traditional rules of their ancestors require. Within the walls, and in the circuit of the race-course, plane-trees⁴ are planted, and the whole of this enclosure is called xystus, because when

¹ Some MSS. read *Περὶδρομίδες*.

² Vitr. *Arch.* v. 11. § ³ Paus. vi. 23.

⁴ See the foregoing description by Vitruvius.

Heracles the son of Amphitryon used to strengthen himself by daily exercise to the endurance of labour, he *cleared* this place of all the thorns that grew in it. Separated from this enclosure is another, which the natives call sacred, and another in which the racers and pentathloi¹ run that design to engage in the games. In the gymnasium there is also a place which they call *plethrion*, (a space of 100 feet.) Here the judges of the games compare and match together those wrestlers who are of equal age or science. In the gymnasium there are altars of the gods, viz., of the Idæan Hercules,² who is called Parastates, of Eros or Cupid, and of that divinity whom the Eleans and the Athenians call Anteros. There is likewise another lesser enclosure of the gymnasium, contiguous to the greater, and called the quadrangle, from its figure. Here the *athletæ* exercise themselves as in a *palæstra*. Here also those who are free from more serious struggles contend with those using a light form of cestus. There is also a third enclosure of the gymnasium, which is called *maltho*, on account of the softness of

¹ Or Quinquæstones, those who engaged in all the five exercises (Paus. vi. 24.) These five exercises were leaping, running, hurling the quoit, throwing the dart, and wrestling.—(*Anthol.* i. ; 1 Eph. 8.) The Romans added to these swimming and riding. If they were not victorious in each of these, they were considered vanquished.—(Paus. iii. 11 ; Herod. ix. 33.) Pausanias mentions a man who once leapt fifty-two feet.

² See page 88.

the ground,¹ and which is open to the youth during the whole time of the games. In one corner of it there is a hermal statue of Hercules, and in one palæstra there is a bas-relief of Eros and Anteros. Eros holds the branch of a palm-tree, which Anteros strives to take from him.² On each side of the entrance to the malthe there is a statue of a boy pugilist. In this gymnasium, moreover, the Eleans have a curia, (Βουλευτήριον,) and declamations are here made both of extemporaneous orations and compositions of every kind. This place is called *Lalichmion*, from the name of its founder. Shields are suspended all round it, merely for ornament, and not for the purposes of war. As you proceed from the gymnasium to the baths (λουτρά,) there is a road, which is called Σιωπή (that of silence,) and a temple of Diana Φιλομείραξ, or the friend of youth, a name given her from the vicinity of her temple to the gymnasium. Another passage from the gymnasium leads to the agora."

★ Now although the palæstra and gymnasium were buildings of a similar destination, the two preceding

¹ The wrestlers exercised either in a clayey muddy soil, or in a loose sandy one.

² Eros and Anteros are often represented in this action, to teach us that the most powerful way of overcoming is by love. They were always painted in the Greek academies, to inform the scholars that it is their immediate duty to be grateful to their teachers, and to reward their trouble with love and reverence.

quotations are of a very different character. Pausanias describes an existing gymnasium, Vitruvius an ideal one. Pausanias talks only of wrestling and schools, Vitruvius devotes a great portion of his account to the baths.* The ancient gymnasium was a place set apart for the training of youth to the nature and practice of war, for exercising and strengthening the muscles of the body, and for rendering it supple and graceful. These exercises were relieved at certain intervals by the office of the pedagogue, and thus the body and mind were improved conjointly.

From the great importance of such institutions in preparing youth to take an active and honourable part in their future history, they would naturally engage the attention of learned men, who would assist in these objects, or look on with admiration. The school of Athens was established in one of the gymnasia of that city,¹ which had acquired the appellation of Academia from the name of its original proprietor,² a name which has been adopted by all subsequent schools; and from the celebrity of this particular gymnasium the word gymnasium itself is not unfrequently applied to such institutions even in the present day. Besides

¹ "Cimon was the first who adorned Athens with those elegant and noble places of exercise and disputation which a little after came to be so much admired."—(Plut. in *Cim.* 13.) This was after the battle of Eurymedon, 470 B.C.

² See also Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2; Ælian. iii. 35.

the purposes of study, the gymnasia were resorted to for various public occasions, to attend the recital of new poems, to hear orations, to discuss political events, to meet acquaintance, and learn the news of the day, and by many were used merely as places "to spend their time in nothing else, than either to tell or to hear some new thing."¹

Considering the gymnasium in this view, the satire of Licinius the Trallian on the Alabandines was inappropriate, at least as regards the gymnasium: he observed that the statues in the gymnasium of that city were all in the attitude of pleading causes, whilst those in the forum were holding the discus, or in the attitude of running or playing with balls.² So necessary was the gymnasium considered, merely with regard to bodily exercise, in these early times, that no one was considered of polite bearing who had not gone through a proper training in it, and thereby acquired not only an elasticity and strength of frame,³ but grace in repose, and elegance in action.⁴ With this idea it was that in one of the states of Greece the women as well as the men exercised naked in the arena.⁵

¹ *Acts*, xvii. 21. ² *Vitr.* vii. 5.

³ *Lucian. de Gymn.* 20, 24.

⁴ *Plut. de Liberie Educ.*; *Hor. i. Od.* 10; *Lucian. de Gymn.* 12, 25; *de Saltatione*. In *Pausanias* (vi. 3) we read of an instance in which the five exercises of the gymnasium were resorted to in order to cure a weakness of the nerves.

⁵ *Xen. De Repub. Lacod.* i.; and *Plutarch. Apoth. Lacon.* in

In these primitive times the bath was probably a small tank of water,¹ to wash off the humours of the body and the ointments used in wrestling, or perhaps a large piscina to exercise themselves in swimming; and sometimes, as in the case of the gymnasium at Elis, the baths were wholly detached. In later times, however, when luxury and enervation had crept in, the tepid, vapour, and hot baths were indulged in, and soon became the principal feature of the building; and instead of the manly exercise, and cold and vigorous plunging or douche-bath of primitive simplicity, the warrior and philosopher, the senator and plebeian, thronged alike to the thermæ, weakening and enervating their frame by daily indulgence in these innovations of eastern luxury. Thus it will be seen that the gymnasium did not necessarily imply a bath, for at Elis the bath was quite distinct. At Cyparissus or Anticyra, there were two gymnasia, but only one was provided with baths;² and at Athens, as we have seen, one of the gymnasia was used as a public school. This fact, therefore, I would particularly draw attention to, in order to explain a passage in Strabo,³ where he speaks of the *present* gymnasia.

Lycurga. At Cyzicus they were instructed in the *manège*.—(Caylus, ii. 210.)

¹ Thus in the preceding account of the ancient gymnasium at Elis, the baths are merely cold ones, (Loutra.) In the primitive ages of Rome, it was customary, after the exercises of the Campus Martius, to plunge into the Tiber.—(Hor. i. *Od.* 8, v. 11.)

² Paus. x. 36.

³ Strabo, p. 633.

sium being the site of one of the ancient quarters of the town; a circumstance which has caused all modern writers to suppose that there was only one gymnasium in Ephesus, and they have accordingly endeavoured to assign other names to the various ruins scattered about the site of the ancient city. From the following passage in Xenophon,¹ however, we shall see that there were several gymnasia in the city. Previous to the battle with the Persians at Sardis, "Agesilaus assembled all his forces at Ephesus, and as he wished to exercise them, he proposed prizes to the several departments; as well to the heavy-armed cohorts, who appeared best accoutred, as to the cavalry who were most expert in their evolutions; to the shield-bearers and archers also, as many as showed themselves most proficient in the duties of their respective offices. In consequence of this, *all the gymnasia* (γυμνάσια πάντα) appeared full of troops exercising, the hippodrome became occupied with the manœuvres of the cavalry, and with the exercises of the javelin-bearers and archers. Thus the whole city presented the most animated appearance. The agora was filled with all kinds of arms, and with horses for sale; smiths, carpenters, braziers, curriers, and painters were manufacturing implements of war; and in short you would have taken the whole city to have been the very *workshop*

¹ *Hell.* iii. 4. See also Corn. Nepos, xvii. 3.

of war.¹ But what principally tended to inspire new ardour, was to see Agesilaus, followed by his soldiers, issuing from *the gymnasia* (ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων) crowned with garlands, proceeding to the temple of Diana, to offer them to the goddess."

I should therefore suppose, although there were several gymnasia in Ephesus, that their uses might have been different, that they were not all provided with baths and places of exercise, or that some possibly had fallen into desuetude, so that in Strabo's time the only one which combined all the requisites of a gymnasium, or the only one which then continued in perfect operation, was the one which he describes; or else, as Dr. Pococke supposes, that the gymnasium which he refers to was a recent building, and occupied the site of some earlier building, devoted to a different purpose.

Finding gymnasia near each of the principal public buildings, I have considered that such a position could not have been one of chance, and therefore have called them by such localities; as the Gymnasium of the Theatre, the Gymnasium of the Stadium, and the Gymnasium of the Agora:

¹ Plutarch (*in Marcel.* 21) remarks that previous to the removal by Marcellus of the statues and paintings of Syracuse to Rome, that city was destitute of all works of the fine arts, and might have been called the *Temple of frowning Mars*. It is in the same manner that Xenophon describes Ephesus as the *Workshop of War*, (Πολέμου ἐργαστήριον,) and that Epaminondas called Boeotia the *Orchestra of Mars*.

another gymnasium I distinguish by its size, as the Great Gymnasium, or the Gymnasium of the Forum, or harbour; and the fifth, from its locality, the Opistholeprian Gymnasium: and this arrangement will be in perfect accordance with what we know of the customs of the Greeks and Romans during the later Empire, when licentiousness, luxury, and effeminacy had entirely supplanted the more pristine virtues,—when the theatre, the bath, and the banquet occupied their entire time,—and when many were said to pass their life in the baths,¹ exposing themselves to the enervating influence of a hot or vapour bath several times a day, as often as they could recover from the effects of a preceding bath. The vicinity of the gymnasia to the public buildings seems therefore to have been so arranged, that immediately the public business had ceased, whether it were in the forum, the market-place, or the curia, or whether merely in the theatre or stadium, they could rush forthwith into the nearest gymnasium to relax themselves after their fatigue.

Apollonius of Tyana censured the indulgence in the hot bath. His biographer relates that the Ephesians were once going to stone the master of the baths because he had not made them hot enough; on which he observed, “You blame him

¹ Augustus is said to have composed two books in the bath: one a poem on Sicily, the other a collection of epigrams.—(Suet. in *Vita*.)

because he does not make the bath warm enough ; I blame you because you have it warm at all." And on another occasion immediately before cited, he told the inhabitants of Antioch, who complained of being forbidden the use of the hot bath by reason of some crime they had committed, "that instead of complaining of the bath being taken away, they ought to thank the emperor for giving them long life."

Let us now see how far these gymnasia are in accordance with the description given us by Vitruvius.

The gymnastic exercises of the ancient Greeks we may reasonably conclude were originally in the open air, outside their cities,¹ and as they acquired greater consequence, buildings were erected for them ; but they were still confined to the outside of the city. Here, where the ground was of no consequence, the gymnasium would be provided with all the accessories due to it,—with spacious courts and lengthened porticos, with stadia and xysti ; and to such a building as this, to a perfect gymnasium, it is probable that the description of Vitruvius would alone be strictly applicable. On their being introduced within the town, however, we might expect that several of these appendages would be curtailed ; and we must accordingly make due

¹ Thus in Sparta the Ephebeum was outside the city. — (Paus. i. 21.)

allowance for these circumstances in considering the gymnasia of Ephesus, some of which may appear well provided in some respects, and others in a different particular,—some well adapted for baths, and others for places of exercise. In Rome, on the other hand, where these buildings did not grow out of the customs of the people, but were introduced as a foreign luxury, the thermæ were copied, not from the restricted gymnasia of the city, but from the more perfect and complete gymnasium of the suburbs; and in accordance with the luxurious profligacy of the times, whole quarters of the town were destroyed to make room for them. In these, therefore, more than in the ruined gymnasia of Greek cities, we may expect to find the accessorial arrangements, given us by Vitruvius, of exterior porticos, xysti, and stadia.¹

¹ Among the games of the Ephesians, those called—

The *Panionia* were originally celebrated at Mycale, but were afterwards removed to Ephesus.—(See page 39.) They may possibly have been the same as the *Æcumenica*, the name of which so frequently appears on the Ephesian coins.

The *Artemisia* were, as their name imports, sacred to Diana.—(*Corpus Inscr.* 2954, v. 20, 21.)

The *Ephesia* were attended by all the Ionians with their wives and children, and were celebrated with gymnastic exercises, music, and dancing.—(Thucyd. iii. 104.)

The feasts of the *Bacchanalia* were derived from the Temple of Bacchus in Limnæ at Athens, and were celebrated in all the Ionian cities of Attic descent. They took place on the twelfth day of the month Anthisterion.—(Thucyd. ii. 15.)

The *Balbillia* were probably attached to the gymnasia.—(See

As the Opistholeprian Gymnasium is the only example of these buildings which has hitherto been published, I will refer to it before describing the other buildings of the same destination. Dr. Pococke,¹ merely from consideration of its locality, supposes that this building was probably of the same nature as the Athenæum, or Temple of Minerva, whose site he presumes it occupied. The construction of all these gymnasia is of a late period, the piers and smaller parts being generally of stone, but all the rest of the building of brickwork. The walls are for the most part disfigured by small square holes, (like those left by putlogs,) which are supposed to have served as keys to attach the marble ashlaring or bronze lining with which these buildings were frequently covered. And in connection with this late period of construction, it is singular to observe the words of Vitruvius, when referring to the Greek palæstræ. He says,

Ignara, de Palæst. Neap. p. 9; and 76 in *Athlet. Inscript.* iv. § 5; Gruter, ccciv. 1; and Arundelian Marbles, v. 20.) They were instituted by Vespasian, at the entreaties of Barbillus, an astrologer, and were the only games so instituted by Vespasian. — (Dion Cassius, lxxvi. 9.) Suetonius refers to the same person under the name of Babilus. — (Suet. in *Nero*, 36.) The real name was probably *Balbillus*.

The *Lucullia* were instituted to the honour of Lucullus by the gratitude of the Ephesians.

¹ *Descript. of East*, vol. ii. part ii.; Arundell also, *Discov.* ii. 256.

he thinks it "proper to explain them, although *not used by the people of Italy.*" Now, as Agrippa, the founder of the earliest baths in Rome, died 12 B.C., it is probable that though thermæ were unknown in Rome at the period of Vitruvius writing, yet that they must have been introduced before his death, even if the Father of Architecture were not himself employed in them. Little, therefore, did he believe, when he wrote these words, that, perhaps, in his own lifetime, buildings of this description would be reared in Rome that should outvie even the most noted ones of Greece, and that in the time of the later Emperors, Rome would be full of them, and that many would be so large as to resemble an entire city. Yet, notwithstanding the thermæ were larger than the palæstræ, the Greeks always excelled the Romans in gymnastic exercises.¹ Both these nations established gymnasia in all the cities that they conquered; thus in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes they established one at Jerusalem, to the great scandal of the Jews; and they were esteemed such articles of luxury, that large sums were paid for the privilege of erecting them. The Greeks in Jerusalem had to pay 150 talents (£34,500) for this permission, notwithstanding they paid Antiochus the compliment of calling the city after his name.²

¹ Hor. ii. *Ep.* i. v. 33.

² 1 Maccab. i. 14; 2 Maccab. iv. 9, 14.

In one of the hemicycles of this gymnasium there are, or were in Arundell's time, some few vestiges of the fresco decorations so common in these buildings, but which that antiquary¹ fancied he could elucidate as having reference to a Christian building. It is true he afterwards suggests that the painting might represent the myth of the origin of the city, but he evidently inclines towards the former opinion. He says he thought he could discover a man on horseback; and a javelin and a spear were very visible, as well as some fish. "There was a church of St. Luke at Ephesus; (he continues :) may this have any reference to the legend of the fishes? Or if it be of earlier date, may it not commemorate the fishes leaping from the coals, (like the fish of St. Neot from the frying-pan,) and the javelin with which the wild hog was killed?" Fellows,² describing the ruins of Ephesus, speaks of this as "one of those gigantic and nameless piles of building by some called *gymnasia*, by others temples, and again, with (he thinks) more reason, *palaces*." Chandler³ mentions two trunks of statues of great size, without heads, and almost buried, but with remarkable drapery, lying among the fragments in front of this gymnasium. In another work⁴ he speaks only of one, which he says was of marble, and vested in the Eastern or Parthian

¹ *Discov.* ii. 255-6.² *Journal*, i. 275.³ *Travels*, i. 150.⁴ *Ionian Antiq.* ii. 30.

habit.¹ From Pausanias² we learn, it was customary among the Greeks to have statues³ of Mercury, Hercules,⁴ and Theseus in their palæstra, where they were held in particular reverence, while Lucian places his gymnasium under the protection of the Lycian Apollo.⁵ In the plan of this building by Revett, published by the Dilettanti Society, that architect has supposed that the crypto-porticus ran along the front as well as the sides and back, and he has accordingly dotted it to show its general form. There are, however, abundant evidences on the spot to show that a noble portico of columns on pedestals stood in this position, connecting the two extremities of the wings together. There are so many of these pedestals remaining, with the base mouldings of the columns attached, one of which is given by him in vol. ii. pl. 43, that it seems extraordinary a portico did not occur to him. Another portico also existed on the eastern side, of which I discovered the lower part of a column *in situ* in the middle of

¹ There is a drawing of this statue in the collection of the Dilettanti Society, now in the British Museum.

² Paus. iv. 32. ³ Lucian. *De Gymn.* 33. ⁴ See page 75.

⁵ *Hermæ*, or statues of Mercury, were placed in the palæstræ, according to Proclus, (*Comment. in Alcib.*), because he is the inspective guardian of gymnastic exercises.—(See also Horace, i. *Ode* 10, and Cic. in *C. Verrem*, *De Suppliciis*, and Virgil and Servius, who describe Mercury as having graceful limbs, because he is the “god of the palæstra.” See also Paus. iii. 24, and Lucian. *scæpe*.

⁶ Lucian. *De Gymn.* 7.

D I A U L U S



shaded " " " " quite certain
unshaded " " " " probable and nearly certain

- AREA OF GYMNASIUM 350 x 288 DP WITH PORTICOES 450 x

Scale of Fees

some thick brushwood.¹ From the nature of the ground and the lines of terraces, I conclude it possible that this side portico might have continued round the area in front; an arrangement which is rendered probable by a comparison with the other gymnasia of this city, especially that near the theatre.

The Opistholeprian Gymnasium of Ephesus we may take to be a type of the usual distribution of the Greek urbanal gymnasium, since we find the main feature of it, the crypto-porticus, repeated in two other gymnasia, viz., that of Alexandria Troas, and the gymnasium of the theatre in Ephesus. It is, moreover, more perfect than other gymnasia as regards the baths, which there can be no doubt occupied the central portion of this gymnasium. The crypto-portici of these two gymnasia of Ephesus, including the open connecting portico on the south side, measure on the outer wall about 1,180 feet each in circuit, wanting only 20 feet, or $\frac{1}{80}$ th part, to be equal to the *diaulos*, or peri-

¹ A clump of thicket is frequently a sign of a column inside; the ground all about having been ploughed up at different epochs, and a small space left round the stone on account of its hindrance to ploughing. In the course of years the weeds which first gathered about the obstacle become increased, and a dense clump of brushwood is ultimately formed. They frequently become nestling places for serpents, and more than once, on endeavouring to divide the brushwood, and discover, if possible, a column in the centre, I have darted back at the sight of a large black snake, winding away equally frightened of me.

stylium of *two stadia*, of Vitruvius; which identity of measurement is quite sufficient to fully establish the name and position of this portion of Vitruvius' description.¹ But this difference is to be observed: that Vitruvius says that the *diaulus* is open, on which account the portico on the south side is to be double, in order to protect it from the weather; whereas in the example before us the *diaulus* is closed in on three sides, and open in front. This arises, however, from the circumstance of these *gymnasia* being urban ones, and, from want of space, deprived of the advantage of a surrounding area, on which account it became necessary to protect the *diaulus* from the inconvenience derived from juxtaposition to the adjacent buildings. It is satisfactory also to find that in each of these examples the front of the *crypto-porticus*, or *diaulus*, is placed next the south, agreeably to the description of Vitruvius; and that *exedrae* are contrived in the thickness of the wall, throughout their whole length, for the philosophers and others to resort to. Vitruvius next describes the front of the building, which consists of seven rooms, the *ephebeum* being in the centre, the *conisterium*, *coryceum*, and *loutron* on the right, and the *elæothesium*, *tepidarium*, and *propnigeum* or *præfurnium* on the left. This disposition

¹ The *gymnasium* at Alexandria Troas is too ruined to measure with certainty the circuit of the *crypto-porticus*; but if the sides bore a similar proportion to the end, as in those of Ephesus, the circuit would rather exceed the measure of two *stadia*.

of Vitruvius does not appear to be a judicious one, inasmuch as the furnace is placed in the angle of the building, and therefore in the very worst part to distribute heat to the other portions of the edifice. We cannot, therefore, suppose that this rule was generally followed; and, consequently, the circumstance of the examples before us having each five rooms in front instead of seven, does not militate against the idea of these buildings being gymnasia. These rooms I should suppose to be the conisterium and coryceum on the right, and the elæothesium and tepidarium on the left. The loutron, or frigidarium, would be behind these on the right, and the propnigeum, or præfurnium, on the left. It will be objected that the construction of the gymnasia, not only of Ephesus but other places, is too open to render these chambers applicable to the purposes described by Vitruvius, the superincumbent walls and vaulting being carried on arches instead of on a continuous wall. But, from a careful examination of these piers, I am of opinion that they have once been filled in with walls; and I suppose the reason of this construction to be the desire of insuring greater stability to the building; for which purpose, the ground being marshy, the foundations of the piers were secured, and then arches were thrown over the intervals to carry the superincumbent walling.¹ Vitruvius then describes

¹ This mode of construction, it will be recollected, was adopted by Sir Christopher Wren to secure the foundations of the north-

three chambers at the back of the right portion,—the sudatio, the laconicum, and the caldarium; but he does not mention the destination of the corresponding rooms on the left-hand side. We may not, therefore, expect to find any great similarity between this portion of the building and the arrangement given us by Vitruvius. The sudatio he places in the middle of the mass, and on the right hand side of the centre, a situation which accords very well with the room so marked in the plan. Adjoining this were the laconicum and the caldarium and these we may very well place in the room corresponding to the sudatio, and in one of the contiguous chambers. This appropriation of the rooms is not only in accordance with the description of Vitruvius, but also with the character of construction shown in this building. The ephebeum is, as Vitruvius says, a large hall, and furnished with exedræ all round, and in that side of the room which is best preserved there are evidences of five funnels constructed in the thickness of the wall, which appear to have had some connection with the warming of the apartment. Such tubes were also used for the supply of water, and I extracted one¹ from an ancient bath at Miletus, which measures nearly four inches in diameter,

east angle of St. Paul's Cathedral, where the soil happened to be defective.—(Wren, *Parentalia*, p. 286.)

¹ Now in the Museum of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

and which shows a sediment deposited by the flow of water. The two small rooms in the centre of the building seem so admirably adapted for the sudatio and laconicum, that nothing is wanting in this respect. The angular rooms at the back are also well protected from cold, and would therefore answer to the caldarium, or a second tepidarium, or one of those rooms devoted to exercise, which were so commonly appended to the Roman thermæ. Two funnel-pipes may be traced in one of these rooms; others may exist, but as they are worked in the thickness of the wall, which is finished flush over them, it is impossible to discover them, except where the face of the wall is ruined. The large room at the back might be the apodyterium, or undressing-room. Vitruvius then readverts to the diaulus, after which he describes the exterior porticos, which he says are the Greek xysti, in contradistinction to the Roman xysti, which are open walks skirting the Greek xystus, and called by the Greeks *paradromides*, and between these there ought to be groves, or plantations, with walks and seats between the trees; and behind the xystus is to be the stadium. Now in all the gymnasia of Ephesus we find large areas placed in front of the building, as a substitute for the open grounds and porticos of the suburban gymnasia, and these areas it is probable were ornamented with porticos as I have represented; for in all we find the ground marked out by raised terraces,

and in one instance, the gymnasium of the theatre, several of the columns of the side porticos are still remaining. These, therefore, would form the Greek xysti of Vitruvius, or peristylia, inside of which would run the paradromos, or Roman xystus, of Vitruvius. Pausanias, however, tells us that the whole enclosure was called xystus, and from the derivation he gives of it, it would evidently apply more appropriately to an open space than to a covered one, though it subsequently became applied to all places of exercise. Philostratus says it might be planted with trees.¹ Vitruvius lastly notices the stadium, evidently meaning a long area in the form of a stadium, not an actual stadium. This feature we see satisfactorily shown at the back of the Great Gymnasium, which from one portico to the other measures only one-seventh part less than a stadium. The two porticos of this gymnasium might very appropriately be called xysti in the sense of Vitruvius.

We will now proceed to the consideration of this gymnasium, which, opening on to the forum and city port, would appear to have been regarded as the principal building of the kind; and which it evidently is, considering its magnitude, it being about twice the size of the enclosure of the British Museum, and measuring 925 by 685 feet, or fifteen acres. The piers of the central

¹ *Vita Apol. Tyan.* viii. 26.

hall are 28 feet 3 inches deep, and the central gallery 510 feet long.

This building has been taken by the great mass of travellers and writers as the celebrated Temple of Diana, some of the preposterous notions respecting which temple I shall have occasion to allude to when treating on that edifice. Guhl takes it for a temple of Neptune;¹ Dallaway² for the church dedicated by Justinian to St. John; Laborde for a hall in which to receive strangers; and Arundell³ for what he calls the metropolitan church, founding his opinion upon the "resemblance of construction between it and the primitive churches at Sardis, Philadelphia, and Pergamus." It so happens, however, that the ruins referred to at Sardis and Philadelphia are not churches; and the construction is similar to that of the Opistholeprian Gymnasium, consisting of wrought masonry for the piers, and brick arches over, the whole covered with small holes, as if for fixing marble lining. In the centre are prostrate fragments of four large granite columns, nearly four feet in diameter: four more exist in the mosque at Aiaslik, and Mr. W. J. Hamilton and many other travellers have noticed four others in the side aisles of St. Sophia at Constantinople, and which were said to have been taken from Ephesus. This makes half the number I have shown in my plan; but we may suppose that

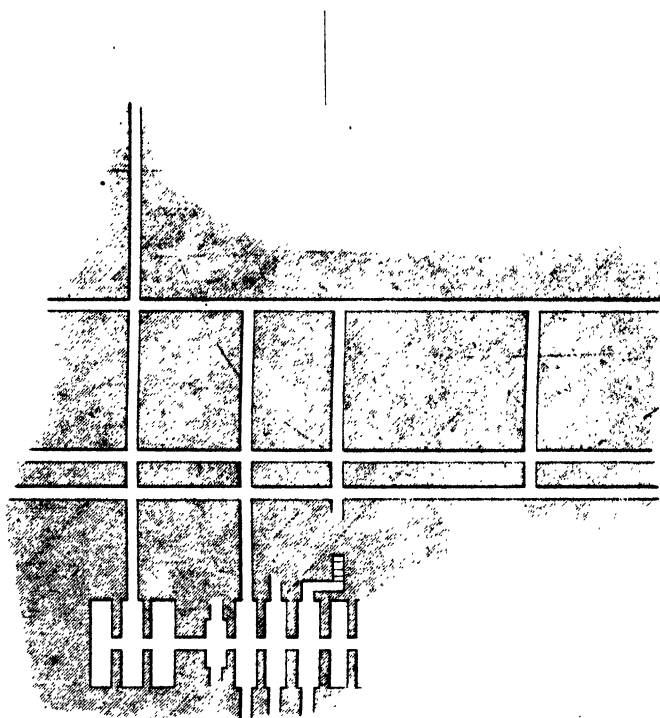
¹ *Ephes.* p. 178. ² *Const.* p. 220. ³ *Researches*, ii. 82.

other columns have been taken elsewhere,¹ and that the four which still remain would have been removed long ago had they not been broken. M. le Brun observed capitals which measured ten feet in height, and more than eight in width, besides many other capitals, friezes, and pedestals. The two wings at the back of the building are of unequal length; and as the ground is of about its original level, it will show that the form of the city port in this quarter is precisely the same that it was when this gymnasium was built. The existence of two columns on the south side of the gymnasium has been the authority for this feature of the plan. But what creates most surprise in these ruins to the generality of travellers are the subterranean constructions. As I had left my servant at Aiaslik, I did not think it prudent to expose myself alone to the doubtful integrity of the wandering Yerooks, and did not go down into them: I must therefore content myself with giving the accounts of one or two of these travellers. The most complete is from M. le Brun:² — “In the thickness of one of the piers there is a staircase descending a great depth below ground. When anyone is hardy enough to enter, he must take a flambeau and a line, one end of which he must attach to the entrance, and let it run out as he

¹ There are two columns in Pisa Cathedral which came from Ephesus.

² *Voy. au Lev.* p. 29.

AT
E P H E S U S.



Scale of Feet.

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 200

advances ; otherwise he must throw out something continually on the ground which may be easily recognized, not to run a risk of being lost in this labyrinth, and to enable him to find his way out again,* which would be impossible without this precaution. The subterranean corridors which support the building above seem to be of tufa Moreover, in traversing in this obscure grotto, or rather in these caves, one meets with several apartments ; but most of them are filled up with earth and ruins, so that it is probable that many of them are not seen ; for the grotto is so large that no one knows its extent ; and as it always happens in places of which one cannot see the whole extent, one forms ideas greatly surpassing reality ; so there are some who pretend that these subterranean galleries extend as far as Smyrna ! ” (a distance of two days’ journey.) Smith,¹ as Spon and Wheler² also, states that these vaults are called “ the labyrinth,” and that they are so low as to oblige one to crawl on the knees, and sometimes quite flat. But Tavernier says that they afterwards become lofty and fine, and are in perfect preservation.³ Pococke⁴ gives a plan of “ what he saw of them ; ” but it is probable he did not penetrate farther than Spon and Wheler, for he says he was stopped by the fallen earth and by water. He says they consist of narrow arches one

¹ Thos. Smith, *Sept. Asiæ Eccl. Not.* p. 31.

² *Voy. d’Italie*, p. 333.

³ *Six Voy.* i. 81.

⁴ *Descr. of the E.* p. 51.

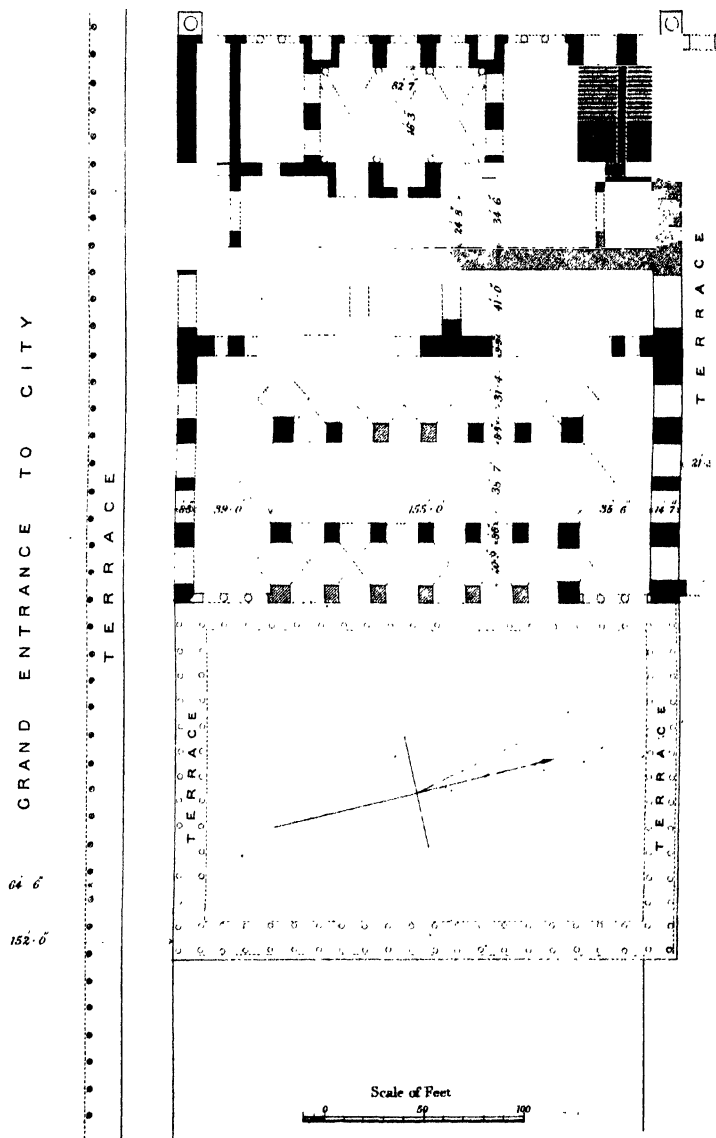
within another. They are constructed of large stone.¹ The following particulars are important, as they serve to confirm the idea that the superincumbent building was a gymnasium. The vaults, as we are informed by two travellers,² are intersected by a canal communicating on the one side with the city port; and if so, it is probable that the other extremity communicates with the lake in the centre of the forum. The water is knee-deep at the entrance, *but pure and limpid*, and rather *tepid*. Spon and Wheeler assert that two of the vaults were narrower than the rest, and appeared like aqueducts, and that water was still running in them; while Pococke³ notices a great number of earthen pipes in these passages, which he suggests may have served as water-conduits. Thus, independent of the character of the superincumbent building, these subterranean galleries and reservoirs of water would lead us to determine the building to have been a gymnasium; especially if we may rely upon the authority of Chishull, who states that he observed similar substructions under several large buildings,—some at Sardis, and *others at this very place*. So that we may safely conjecture these subterranean vaults to have answered a similar purpose to the Piscina Mirabile at Cape Misenum, and that of Sorrento. Although this building does not adhere to the usual type of gymnasia, it having no diaulus,

¹ Van Egmont and Heyman, *Travels*, i. 107.

² *Id. Travels*, pp. 106-7.

³ *Descr. of the E.* p. 52.

A T E P H E S U S.



there is one circumstance in which it appears to have a still closer correspondence with the palæstra of Vitruvius than the other gymnasia of the city, it having seven chambers in the front instead of five. We are justified, therefore, in regarding this building as the *gymnasium of the port*, the front of the building being next to the harbour. According to the distribution of Vitruvius, the ephebiæ would be in the middle, the conisterium, coryceum, and frigidarium on the right hand, the elæothesium, tepidarium, and some other chamber on the left: the sudatio and laconicum would occupy the rooms behind the ephebiæ, which would, of course, require to be enclosed by thin walls between the piers. In the Life of Apollonius of Tyana,¹ we read of xysti planted with trees near the town, which we must either suppose were places of exercise formed outside the city, in accordance with ancient custom before alluded to; or they were attached to one of the gymnasia. In this latter case, no building is so likely to have been the one referred to as the Great Gymnasium.

The Gymnasium of the Stadium is placed upon the city wall, and great part of the foundations are artificial, in order to raise it to the level of the other parts of the city above the plain below. Prokesch² took it for a palace, and Pococke³ for a forum, and supposed a canal to have been brought

GYMNAS
OF THE
STADIUM

¹ By Philostratus.

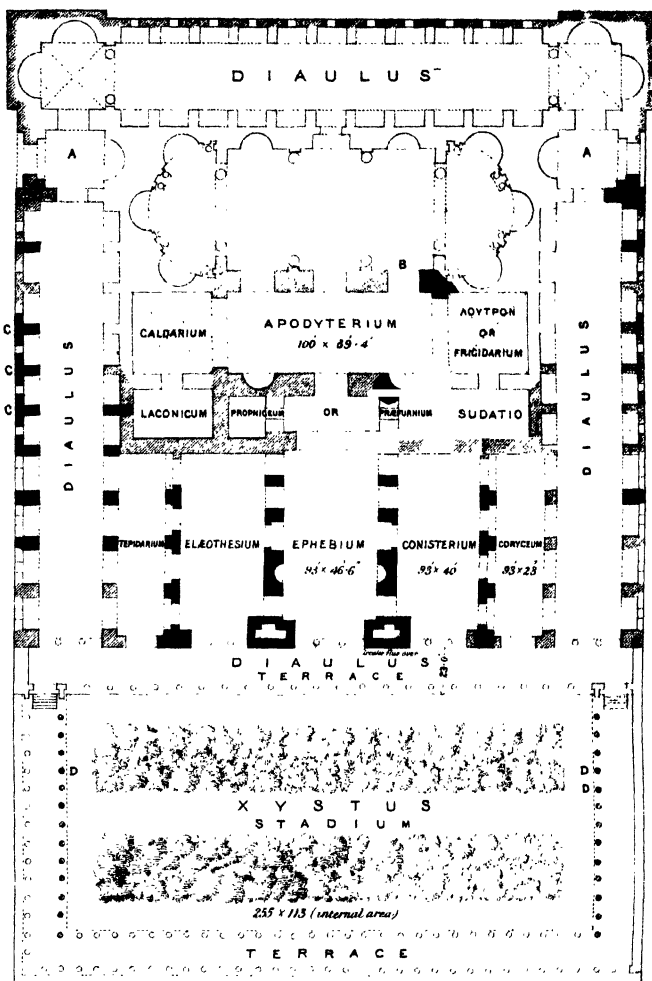
² *Denkwürdigk.* ii. 104-7.

³ *Descrip.* p. 49.

up to it from the north side. He gives a plan of it, which is, however, so extremely rude, that no one portion can be even recognized. He says a statue may have stood in the open space in the centre; but, unfortunately, no such open space occurs. It must be acknowledged that the plan of this building does not at all correspond with that of the other *gymnasia* of the city; but still, from its position, its terraces, and its porticos, it probably served for such purpose. The aqueduct across the plain seems to have supplied it with water.¹

The Gymnasium of the Theatre is much ruined in the central portion, and in the back part of the crypto-porticus; but the circumstance of several of the columns of the *xystus* in front of the Gymnasium standing in their original position is extremely interesting, as it confirms the idea that all the *gymnasia* of Ephesus were so embellished. It will be observed in the plan of this building that all the back part is merely conjectural; but though I cannot be positive that the manner in which I have restored it is correct in all its parts, I feel confident that it is founded on probability. The pier tinted dark in the centre of the building is fortunately very perfect. It is so high as to form a prominent object among the ruins, and I therefore selected it as a point from whence to take my angles. Not only is the whole pier standing, but a considerable

¹ See also Choiseul Gouffier, i. 311.



REFERENCES

The black lines show what is still remaining

" shaded " " certain

" unshaded " " conjectural

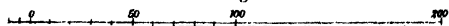
A. Side Entrances

B. Pier with part of vaulting of contiguous rooms still remaining

C. Windows

D. Columns of Porticoes still remaining

Scale of English feet



portion of the vaults which spring from it; and from this circumstance I perceived that a large vaulted hall must have stood behind it. Though no ruins of this portion were remaining, I could yet trace the total extent of the building, and thereby found that there was space enough remaining for a crypto-porticus at the back; this idea was afterwards confirmed by finding that in Pococke's¹ time a considerable portion of it was then remaining. The last pier of the east side of the crypto-porticus being larger than the rest, seemed to terminate it at that point; but knowing that it must have continued round, I placed another pier similar to this, and thereby formed a lobby opening into either crypto-porticus, and presenting an agreeable feature in the plan, and one in accordance with the gymnasium at Alexandria Troas. Pococke's representation of this building is not more preposterous than his idea of it, which is that of the "forum of the people of the asylum." For further particulars of this gymnasium, see the description of the Opistholeprian Gymnasium.

Other gymnasia appear to have stood near the Agora and the Odeon, but there is so little remaining of these buildings, as to render it impossible to restore them. Remains may also be traced of a similar building on Mount Pion, but it appears to have been merely a bath without the adjunct of a

¹ *Descr.* p. 50.

palæstra. It is most probable that one of these gymnasia formed the school of Tyrannus, in which St. Paul preached daily for the space of two years.¹

The Theatre must have been the largest one ever executed. Its diameter, as ascertained by Mr. Cockerell,² was 660 feet, which is forty feet more than the major axis, or the longitudinal diameter, of the Colosseum. According to this, and allowing fifteen inches to each person, it would accommodate 56,700 spectators,³ a number which

¹ *Acts*, xix. 9, 10.

² Leake, *Journal*, p. 328.

³ The accounts given us by ancient authors of the accommodation of various theatres are always conflicting, and always exaggerated. They appear to have given us the number capable of being crammed into them on particular occasions, rather than the number capable of being freely accommodated. Sometimes one measure is used for calculating the seats, sometimes another; and as the basis of such calculation is not mentioned, we can arrive at no determined point. It fortunately happens, however, that in the theatre and amphitheatre at Pompeii many of the seats are divided off for each person. In the amphitheatre, the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth seats west of the south end, and most of those on the west side, up to the first præcinction, are so marked, and give a measure of $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches to each person; and in the theatre several divisions are marked off on the eleventh seat from the bottom præcinction, and distinguished by capital letters: Nos. I, II, III, and XI to XV, are still remaining. These give a measure of $1' 3\frac{1}{4}"$ each. Now if we take $1' 3"$ as a mean between these, we shall find that the Colosseum, which had 82,750 feet run of seating, and which was reported to hold 87,000 spectators, might, according to this measure, have accommodated 70,200; and if we add one-twentieth part for standing-room, we shall have a total of 73,700. In the same manner the theatre of Pompey, presuming its measure of 450 feet in diameter is correct, and which was reported to have held 40,000, would accommodate 20,800. The theatre of Marcellus,

will give us some idea of the size of the theatre, when we recollect that Drury Lane theatre holds only 3,200 seats, and old Covent Garden held 2,800.¹

The proscenium of the Theatre, with its accompanying parts, is entirely gone: not a seat is remaining; and as it is therefore impossible to restore the building, I have represented an ideal representation of a Greek theatre. In Pococke's time² several seats must have been remaining, as he was able to trace four vomitoria. Chandler³ notices the portico leading from the Theatre to the Forum, and a surrounding colonnade at the top of the Theatre.⁴ Several of the seats are walled up in the castle of Aiaslik,⁵ and on them may be seen various letters, as Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, and abbreviations, as ΑΝ, ΕΡΩ, &c., which served to denote the different cunei. This Theatre is the scene of one of Apollonius's miracles. The mention of the Theatre of Ephesus will call to the mind of every one the incident which happened in it to St. Paul,⁶ an incident which, together with the touching account of the Apostle's taking leave of the elders of the city, the epistle written to its Church, and

which was 387 feet in diameter, and reported to have held 20,000, would accommodate 17,085; while the theatre at Ephesus would hold 56,700, and the Stadium 76,000.

¹ Brit. and Bray, *London*. The utmost number which new Covent Garden Theatre is said to accommodate is only 2,767 persons.—(*Builder*, May 22, 1858.)

² *Descr. of the E.* p. 51.

³ *Travels*, i. 149.

⁴ *Id.* p. 171. ⁵ Prokesch, p. 94.

⁶ *Acts*, xix.

the warning lesson it affords in the Book of Revelation, attaches a peculiar and thrilling interest to the name of Ephesus. But St. Paul's solemn account of his trials at Ephesus was too good a story for the Christians of the Middle Ages not to make the most of. They very naturally considered that St. Paul, previous to this event, must have been confined in prison, and therefore looked about to find some place, if possible, suitable for such a purpose. This they discovered in one of the towers of the city walls, which is constructed of solid masonry, and has pointed arches. They thought, if it were not St. Paul's prison, it might have been; and therefore christened it so: and one traveller was so fully impressed with the truth of this tradition, as to pass a night in it, which was near leading to an unpleasant incident.¹ Smith fancied this tower might have served as a beacon to vessels.²

The Stadium is now in an equal state of ruin with the Theatre,—not a seat remains. Like the Theatre, the greater part of it is formed out of the slope of the hill, but the doors and corridors of the artificial part at the west end are sufficiently perfect to enable us to determine the distance apart of the various vomitoria, as shown in the restored plan. A remarkable feature of this Stadium is,

¹ Prokesch, *Denkmalrdigk.* ii. 116–121.

² Smith, (Thos.) *Septem Asiæ Eccl. Not.* p. 31.

that there were many more seats on the one side than the other, and when the reason is considered, so far from its appearing a deformity, it will be found to be productive of considerable beauty and grandeur. The object then of making this inequality was to expose the portico or arcade with which the higher side was finished, to the plain below, and thus present a feature of great magnificence to the stranger, on entering the city. This disposition of the Stadium is frequently met with in the cities of Asia Minor. The stadia of Cibyra and Priene have each an unequal number of seats, and an arcade on one side only: that of Laodicæa has an equal number of seats, but the arcade is only on one side. Those, however, which stood in the plain, and are entirely artificial, have both sides equal, as at Perga, Magnesia, and Æzani; because in these instances there was no inducement to construct them otherwise. Of the foregoing examples the Stadium of Cibyra, from its perfect preservation, is the best adapted to give an idea of the great beauty of this arrangement, as it forms a prominent object from all parts of the valley. Above these extra seats of the Stadium at Ephesus are others still higher, rudely cut in the rock; but as they are six feet above the level of the colonnade, it is evident they must have been used before that ornamental feature of the stadium was executed. Of the upper portico or arcade, there are now no

columns remaining. Great as the accommodation of the Theatre was, that of the Stadium far exceeds it, this building being capable of receiving seventy-six thousand spectators. The heat or race was sometimes six, and sometimes even twelve times round the area, or a length of one and a half, or three miles, as we learn from a passage in Pausanias:—At Elis,¹ “there is likewise a statue of the Ephesian Pyrilampes, who was victor in the dolichus, or chariot-race of twelve or twenty-four stadia.”

The Odeon is quite destroyed. Agreeably to the precept of Vitruvius, it was situated on the left hand of the theatre. Opposite to it is a large area, formerly surrounded by porticos.

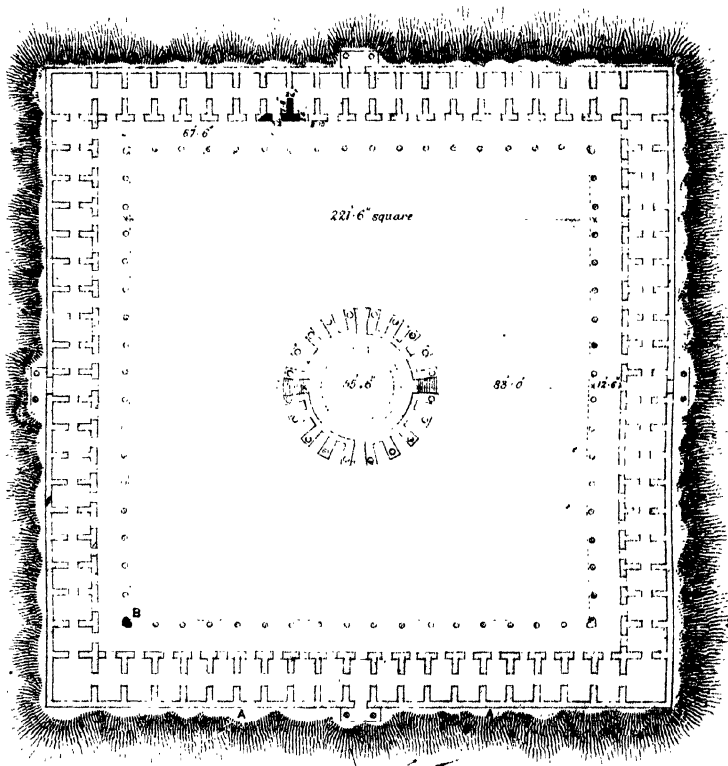
In front of the Stadium is a building, which, from its resemblance to that of Puteoli, I have called the *Serapion*. Like it, it has a monopteral building in the centre, but consisting of twenty columns instead of sixteen; it was also approached by four flights of steps. It was surrounded by a portico, which was of the Ionic order,² and of rather larger dimensions than that of Puteoli, and appears, like it, to have had a series of small cells round the portico. It must have been in very tolerable preservation in Choiseul Gouffier's time, for his plan shows the building very distinctly. Although only one column is remaining above ground, the sites of many may be perceived by the absence of grass over them.³

¹ Paus. vi. 3.

² Pococke, *Descript.* p. 47.

³ In Dallaway's time (1797) many of them were remaining.

AT E P H E S U S.



REFERENCES.

*The black shows what is still remaining
 " grey " " " certain
 A A Seats on slope of hill for accommodation
 of Spectators to view the games of the Stadium.*

*The columns both of the central building and
 porticoes are evident, though only one of the
 latter (at B) is remaining. Several however
 may be traced by the discoloration of the grass.
 The basement of circular building is cut in rock
 and is 6 feet high.*

Scale of Feet.

Pococke says that the side of the hill next the Stadium appears to have been furnished with seats for additional spectators to view the games of the circus. Between these two buildings is a road paved with large stones measuring four feet by eight.¹ The southernmost tazza of the *fountains* is the only one now existing; it is 12' 8" in diameter, and is still protected by a portion of the circular building round it. The arrangement of the portico on the north side clearly shows there must have been a second tazza, but it was probably moved while it was yet entire. I have already referred to the absurd belief that the remaining tazza was once used by St. John for baptizing his converts. It is possible that these ornamental fountains might have been built over a spring of water, which has since disappeared; but this is merely conjectural. The names of the fountains given us by ancient authors, are,—Hypelæus, Halitæa, and Calipia. With Hypelæus

¹ The colonnades of the Forum, those of the road from the Forum to the Stadium, and between the Stadium and the Gymnasium of the Stadium, (Chandler also, i. 151) are all mentioned by Pococke, (p. 51.) As the general plan is too small to show what columns are standing, and what are not, I must observe that of the portico connecting the Forum and the two fountains, there are standing, on the north side, the 14th, 15th, 16th and last two columns immediately before the fountain; and on the south side the only column remaining is that immediately before that fountain; and of the diagonal colonnade towards the Serapion, the 11th, 13th, 14th, 24th, 25th, and 27th columns are still remaining.

we are already acquainted, as being that connected with the foundation of the city, and mentioned by Athenæus and Strabo. Halitæa is reckoned by Pausanias¹ among the natural advantages of Ephesus; and Calipia, we are told by Pliny,² was within the city; but from the vague manner in which he expresses himself, it is doubtful whether he does not mean *belonging* to the city. Hamilton³ holds all these fountains to be identical, which is extremely probable; for, with the exception of Pliny's expression, "*Fons in urbe Calipia*," there is nothing in the accounts to contradict such an opinion; and as for the different names, Ephesus itself and Mount Pion had a greater variety. Besides, all these authors speak merely of one fountain, which fountain each describes as being worthy of notice. Now, if all these were separate fountains, is it likely that Pliny, in describing Calipia, would neglect to notice Halitæa, which Pausanias classed among the remarkable objects of Ionia? or that both these writers would abstain from mentioning Hypelæus, connected as it is with the sacred origin of the city? Choiseul Gouffier,⁴ however, attempts to fix situations for two of these springs. He places one (Calipia) on the summit of Mount Pion; and if such a spring exists, it has been unnoticed by all other travellers; and the

¹ *Descript. Græc.* vii. 5. ² Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 31.

³ W. J. Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii. 25.

⁴ Chandler also, *Travels*, i. 143.

other (Halitæa) he places at the source of the aqueduct beyond Aiaslik. Hamilton found a beautiful spring on the low dry ground to the north of the marsh or harbour, and which was covered with broken tiles and pottery, and had been much built over. It lay at the distance of about two hundred yards from what he calls the "Temple" (the Great Gymnasium). This situation would appear to identify it with the fountain Hypelæus, but unfortunately it is too near the city, and too far from what is likely to have been the sacred port. The only way in which we can reconcile this, is to suppose the spring may have changed its course.

In addition to the Temple of Diana, and the Temple of Hecate which was attached to it, we find temples to the following deities once existed, for most of the notices of which we are indebted to coins :—Jupiter Olympius,¹ Jupiter Pluvius² on Mount Pion, Minerva,³ Apollo,⁴ Venus,⁵ Bacchus,⁶ Neptune,⁷ Ceres,⁸ Serapis and Isis,⁹ Mercury,¹⁰ Hercules,¹¹ Fortune,¹² Harpocrates,¹³ Romulus and Remus,¹⁴ Julius Cæsar and the city of Rome,

¹ Mionnet, *Med.* iii. 448 ; Suppl. vi. 549, 635, 761.

² Id. iii. 282 ; Suppl. vi. 413-4. ³ Id. Suppl. vi. 603-4.

⁴ Id. iii. 205 ; Suppl. vi. 273, 415. ⁵ See Guhl, *Ephes.* p. 178.

⁶ Guhl, *Ephes.* pp. 127-8. ⁷ Mionnet, Suppl. vi. 416..

⁸ Mionnet, Suppl. vi. 762. ⁹ Id. 417, 689. ¹⁰ Id. 492, 568.

¹¹ Id. iii. 294-411 ; Suppl. vi. 258, 475-6, 535-6, 879.

¹² Id. *passim.* ¹³ Id. iii. 423 ; Suppl. vi. 693. ¹⁴ Id. 432, 537.

Claudius, and possibly other temples of Diana, as Diana Lucifera, Diana Venatrix,¹ &c.

Besides the references just given, we find the following particulars of some of these temples:—

The Temple of Jupiter Olympius stood between the Temple of Diana and the Magnesian Gate. We may, therefore, suppose it to have been nearly west of the city port.

The Temple of Minerva was beyond Smyrna-Tracheia from the sacred port:² it must, therefore, have been at Opistho-lepre, as rightly imagined by Dr. Pococke.³

The Temple of Apollo is placed by Athenæus at the Sacred Port; it contained a colossal statue of the god, the base of which was twelve feet long by eight wide, and six feet high: the statue must, therefore, have been of great size. The temple was of greater antiquity than the last Temple of Diana; as Peonius, who finished that temple, was employed to lay another base to the statue of Apollo, the former one being decayed through age.⁴ This was probably the statue of Apollo by Myron, which was taken away by Antony, and restored by Augustus, who was warned to do so in a dream.⁵

¹ These distinctive characters of Diana are very common on medals. See part ii. ch. v. and § 1.

² Athen. p. 361; Strabo, p. 633.

³ See page 85. Pococke, *Descript.* p. 108.

⁴ Vitruv. x. 6.

⁵ Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 19.

The Temple of Venus Hetæra is mentioned by Evalcas in Athenæus.¹ It appears to have stood near the shore, from an incident narrated in Polyænus.²

TEMPLE OF
VENUS.

A Temple of Diana, in the Agora, was erected by the first colonists.³

TEMPLE OF
DIANA.

The Temple of Ceres appears to have been situated on the opposite side of the city, towards Magnesia, for the Chian allies marching *overland* from Mycale, and approaching the city, found the women celebrating the mysteries of Ceres.

TEMPLE OF
CERES.

The Temple of Julius Cæsar and the city of Rome was erected by the special permission of Augustus;⁴ and that of Claudius after his apotheosis. The ruin which, from its late Corinthian architecture, is thought to be this latter building, fronts 22' east of north. Its length is 130 feet by 80 in width. The cella is built of large rough stones, the portico of marble, and consists of four columns 4' 6" diameter, in antis. The shafts are monolithal, and 39' 2" in height: the total height of the columns is 46' 7"⁵. The peribolus was ornamented with a colonnade.

TEMPLE OF
CÆSAR
AND ROME.

TEMPLE OF
CLAUDIUS.

Amerias, as quoted by Athenæus,⁶ refers to the Temple of Neptune; and Strabo⁷ refers to a great many other buildings erected after the completion of the Temple of Diana. On Coressus, near the

TEMPLE OF
NEPTUNE.

OTHER
TEMPLES.

¹ Athen. p. 573. ² *Stratag.* v. 18. ³ See page 66.

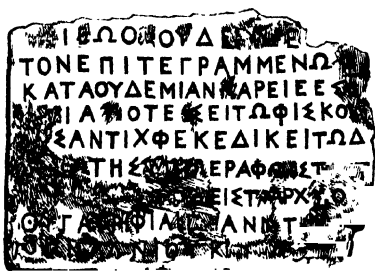
⁴ Dion Cassius, li. 20. ⁵ Chandler, *Travels*, i. 152.

⁶ Athen. p. 425. ⁷ Page 640.

square tower, Chandler¹ discovered the remains of some edifice, and among the bushes beneath he found a square altar of white marble beautifully preserved. Stephanus Byzantinus² notices an altar of Diana on Coressus, which possibly was the same.

SMYRNA-
TRACHEIA.

The buildings in the valley between Pion and Coressus, and occupying the site of Smyrna-Tracheia, are in too ruined a state either to plan or describe minutely. On leaving the Agora, the first building that presents itself appears to be the *Gymnasium of the Agora*. This is succeeded by another vaulted building, connected with which is a peristyled area; and then the Odeon, with a large area and portico in front; and adjoining this appears to be a *Gymnasium of the Odeon*, in front of which is a handsome colonnade, which divides it from a small temple and a circular building, on which is the following inscription:—



Adjoining this is a small monopteral building enclosed in a square peribolus, and on the opposite

¹ *Travels*, i. 153.

² *Vocē* ΚΟΡΙΣΣΟΣ.

side of the colonnade is another small temple; next to it is the Opistholeprian Gymnasium already described; near which are the following fragments :—



On leaving the Opistholeprian Gymnasium, one sees a line of deep substructures running in a north-easterly direction towards Aiaslik, but which it is difficult to understand. I have represented them in the plan by a colonnade.

I have already noticed the architectural character of the plan of Ephesus, by reason of which it appeared like a city of public squares and public buildings, the grandeur of which was unimpaired by any meaner edifice.

The private buildings, on the other hand, were placed, alike for health, beauty of prospect, and defence, on the elevated parts of Pion and Coressus. As no remains of these exist in a sufficiently perfect state to form a restoration of them, it may be interesting to refer to the account of the villas erected by Damianus, a sophist of Ephesus, who lived between 194 and 211 A.D. Philostratus informs us, "The opulence of this man is shown,

PRIVATE
BUILDINGS.

by his planting all lands which he possessed, with fruit-trees and shady groves; he caused artificial islands to be made in the sea; he had his suburban villas and civic mansions, furnished with every elegance and convenience, while others were formed to imitate caves."¹

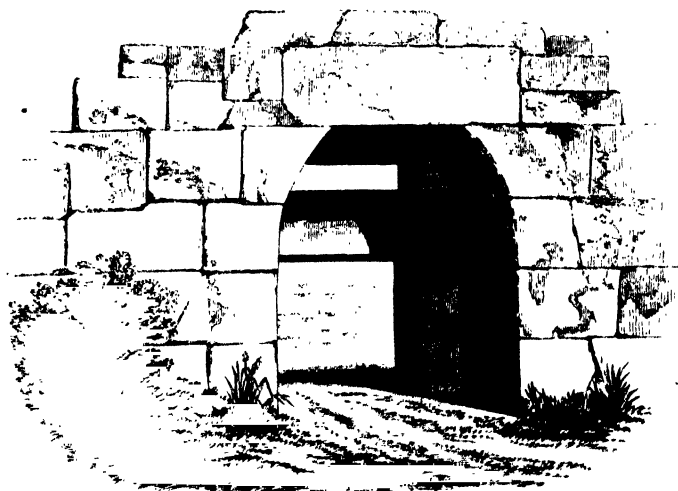
CITY WALLS.

We have two periods for the building of the city walls: the first period is in the age of Cyrus, the latter in that of Lysimachus. In the former instance, the Ionians having refused Cyrus' offer of alliance against Crœsus, Cyrus, on his defeat of the latter, refused them alliance; and they fortified themselves immediately by building walls round their several cities.² Now we have seen, in treating of the foundation of Ephesus, that Mount Pion was probably the first part inhabited; that on the arrival of the Ionian colonists, 1044 B.C., they settled on Mount Coressus, and probably also on Mount Pion; in the time of Crœsus, five centuries and a half before the Christian era, they removed to the plain about the Temple of Diana; and about 300 B.C. they were again removed by Lysimachus to the hills. The walls built by the Ephesians, therefore, on occasion of the defeat of Crœsus by Cyrus, must have been in the plain, and those of Lysimachus either on Mount Pion or Coressus. These walls were destroyed by the Ephesians on the death of

¹ Phil. Vit. *Soph.* ii. 23.

² Herod. i. 141.

Lysimachus, and the gateways opened; and, indeed, so incensed were the people against him, that his wife Arsinoë had difficulty in making her escape.¹ But the Ionians had probably fortified both these hills previously. The former walls have entirely disappeared, though they must have been perfect in the time of Lysimachus, for Demetrius took the city by erecting wooden turrets against



From W. J. Hamilton's "Asia Minor."

the walls;² but those on Pion and Coressus, whether built by the Ionian colonists or by Lysimachus, may still be seen throughout nearly their whole length. They are partly of what may

¹ Polyænus, *Stratag.* viii. 57.

² Diod. xx. 106, 107; Polyæn. iv. 7, § 4.

be termed the last stage of Cyclopiam masonry, viz., with the horizontal joints true and continuous, but the upright ones deviating from the perpendicular; and they are partly pseudisodomous, or of unequal courses. They are strengthened at short intervals with square towers, and in some parts are nearly twenty feet high. Their length in a straight line is a mile and three-quarters. The walls which are at present seen in the plain are of brick, and more modern. A curious feature will be observed in that portion of these walls which lies beyond the Agora, where, in order to give strength, the architect has built the walls in a zigzag plan, with the military object of defending the walls more easily against the battering-rams, and for the purposes of flank defence.

QUEDUCTS.

At the distance of six miles from Ephesus, in the



défilé leading to Magnesia, is a beautiful aqueduct

of white marble,¹ formed of three arches below, through one of which the road passes, and six smaller ones above. Between the two arcades is a Latin and Greek inscription:—

“To the Ephesian Diana, to the Emperor Augustus, to Tiberius Caesar the son of Augustus, and to the city of the Ephesians, Caius Sixtilius, the son of Publius with Ophelia Bassa, the daughter of Aulus, his wife, and Caius Ophelius Proculus his son, and with his other children, erected this bridge at his expense.”

On the inner faces of the two central piers are the following monumental inscriptions:—

* * ΛΙΑΝΟΝ

KAIRE ARTEMI and CI * ΛΙΑΝΩΝ

KAIRE KOMOΔENEI

Arundell² was of opinion that this aqueduct was in connection with that of Aiaslik ; but it is probable that if it were traced it would be found to lead to the tunnelled aqueduct still visible along the slopes of Coressus, and which is represented on the Plan by a dotted line.

¹ The author has mislaid a large drawing of this aqueduct, taken on the spot, and is obliged to give a representation of the aqueduct published in the picturesque work of Choiseul Gouffier.

² *Discov.* ii. 243.

Near this aqueduct are the ruins of a circular sepulchre with these fragments of inscription :—

ΑΜΦΩΓΕ and ΕΠΙ
ΤΥΜΒΟΣ

Between this and Ephesus, at the distance of about a mile from the city, is a circular pedestal with this inscription :—



TOMBS.

The tombs of the Ephesians are situated on the slopes of Coressus, under each extremity of the wall, and on the northern and eastern sides of Mount Pion and the contiguous plain. The only one which is described to us, besides that of Heropythus in the Agora, is that of Androclus, the leader of the Ionian colony and first king of Ephesus. He had gone to assist the inhabitants of Priene against the Carians; he succeeded in getting the victory, but fell in the engagement.

The Ephesians removed his body to their own country, and buried it in the road which led from the Temple of Diana to the Temple of Jupiter Olympius and the Magnesian Gate. An armed man stood on the sepulchre, and it was still perfect so late as the time of Pausanias,¹ (A.D. 174,) and it must therefore have been of solid construction to have lasted for a period of eleven hundred years.

Two other monuments are recorded to us, viz., the trophy executed by Thrasyllus, (400 B.C.) at the marsh between Ephesus and Aiaslik, and that at Coressus on the Port Panormus. There was also another trophy erected by Lysander; but this, though in the Ephesian territory, was at some distance from the city.

It is doubtful whether the hill of Aiaslik was ever occupied prior to the Christian era. Choiseul Gouffier,² indeed, under his distorted view of the whole plain, calls it Mount Pion, but most writers consider its origin to be of the Byzantine period. Its vicinity to Ephesus, its commanding situation above the plain, and its capability of defence, render it probable that the Ephesians would not leave so advantageous a spot exposed to the incursions of an enemy; we may, therefore, concur with Pococke³ in thinking that it formed a suburb of the city. Its early walls, if ever they existed, have disappeared; but the construction of the gateway and lower walls

MODERN
AIASLIK.

¹ Paus. vii. 2. ² *Voy. Pit. Plan.* ³ *Descript.* p. 47.

is so similar to that of the arch of the Stadium, as to render it probable that, like it, they are the work of a late Roman period. A beautiful view of the gateway is represented in Choiseul Gouffier.¹



It was adorned with two columns and three bas-reliefs, perhaps the spoils of some sarco-



phagus, the principal one of which seems to repre-

¹ *Voy. Pit.* pl. 121.

sent Achilles dragging the dead body of Hector round the walls of Troy.

The Greeks and Romanists, who appear to be not at all particular in appropriating to themselves whatever they think will answer their purpose, have considered this sculpture to have reference to the persecutions of the Christians, and have thence called the gate, the *Gate of Persecution*. The two principal bas-reliefs are said to be removed to Russia,¹ though it is stated that one of them is in the possession of the Duke of Bedford: the third represented a head of Hecate, with a serpent on one side and a bow on the other.²

The following story is told of these bas-reliefs, which is a very good companion to the well-known story of the Sculptures of Boodroom.

“ These bas-reliefs (of Ephesus) were taken down by the Rev. Mr. Arundell, agreeably with the Sultan’s permission; but when he had completed this part of his undertaking, the aga stepped in, and informed him that the *firman*, indeed, gave him liberty to take them down, but said nothing about removing them. I suppose the aga thought the stones would be useful to himself, and was nothing loth to have them detached from the wall, but immediately that was effected, coolly dismissed the indefatigable antiquary, and laughing in his sleeve, ordered his people to remove them to the *konac*.”

¹ Arundell, *Discov.* ii. 256. ² Spon and Wheler, i. 326.

V.

PROSPERITY AND AFFLUENCE OF THE CITY— ILLUSTRIOUS NATIVES.

AS we have already seen, this good old city of Ephesus was regarded as the metropolis of all Asia, the chief city of Asia, as a stronghold by which to govern the rest of Ionia, and a bulwark for the defence of Asia against Europe.¹ It was the residence of the Ionian princes,² and later of the prefects of Ionia, and the Roman proconsuls. It derived its importance among the other states of Ionia, from being the seat of the Panionium, and obtained celebrity among all nations for its wonderful Temple of Diana. It formed the immediate “metropolis of the Cesarians, the Metropolitæ, the Cylbians, the Mysomacedonians, the Mastaurans, the Briullites, the Hypæpenians, and the Dioshieritiæ.”³ Pliny gives a list of the adjacent islands, without saying which belonged to Ephesus.⁴

It once had possession of Magnesia,⁵ and of

¹ Polyb. xviii. 32 ; Appian. 64.

² Strabo, 633.

³ Plin. v. 31.

⁴ Id. v. 38.

⁵ Athen. xii. p. 525.

Samos, with the adjacent islands, and it acquired a considerable territory in Mæonia or Lydia.¹ Its victories are frequently designated by a palm-tree,² whilst its naval power is also shown by many of its coins. In a military point of view, it was particularly favoured. It enjoyed a safe and spacious haven, inaccessible to any enemy, in consequence of the long and narrow mouth which divided it from the sea: and thus being “an opulent city, furnished with everything it required from the interior of Asia, (which sent its merchandize to it as to a market,) its citizens were enabled to remain at their ease, whilst an enemy would be exposed to the storms and tempests of the open sea, and without any accommodation.”³

Its natural advantages were such as to entitle it to the appellation of the finest region under heaven, to become celebrated for the fertility and luxuriousness of its soil, for its river Caystrus, and its fountain Halitæa.⁴ Among the products of the soil were,—the beautiful marble of Mount Pion; ointments of all kinds, but especially megalium,⁵ and saffron, from Mount Tmolus;⁶ excellent wines,⁷

¹ Strabo, p. 620.

² Mionnet, iii. Nos. 160–192; Suppl. vi. Nos. 184; 191, 8; 231, 3, 4, 7, 9; 250; 267; 292, 7; 302; 398.

³ Liv. *Hist.* xxxvii. 14.

⁴ Paus. vii. 5.

⁵ Athen. xv. p. 689.

⁶ Virg. *Georg.* 1, i. v. 56.

⁷ Strabo, p. 637; Vibius Sequester, *De Montibus*, voce Tmolus. According to Apollonius of Tyana, Domitian passed a decree prohibiting the culture of the vine in Ionia; but the inhabitants

among which Athenæus notices the Pramnian,¹ and to which modern travellers also bear testimony;² valuable fisheries, both in the Selinusian lakes, and the river Selinus;³ red lead, which was found between Ephesus and Magnesia in such purity, as to want neither grinding nor sifting;⁴ and vermillion, which, we are informed by Vitruvius, "is said to have been first found in the Cilbian fields of the Ephesians: the laboratories for its preparation were formerly in the mines at Ephesus, but are now transferred to Rome, on account of mines of the same sort having been discovered in some parts of Spain." ⁵ It is possible that these mines were worked as early as the time of Homer, for he describes the inhabitants of this country, (the Lydians and Carians,) as being even then famous for the art of dyeing.⁶ Lastly, as the bee appears on coins to be the emblem of the city, it is possible that Ephesus was noted also for its honey. The city was also celebrated for its tents, made in the Persian manner.⁷ In Acts xx. 34, we are told that St. Paul supported himself at Ephesus by his own labour; and as his trade was

presented a memorial praying him to rescind it.—(Philost. vi. 42.) Pliny, however, says the Ephesian wine was not wholesome, being made of brackish water, and diminished too much by the boiling away of the *defrutum*. (xiv. 9.)

¹ Athen. xv. p. 689.

² Chandler, Choiseul Gouffier, and Poujulat.

³ Xen. *Anab.* v. ⁴ Vitr. vii. 7. ⁵ Id. cap. viii.

⁶ *Iliad*, iv. 141. ⁷ Plut. *in Alc.* 11; Athen. p. 534.

that of a tent-maker, it is probable he worked at these tents, for which Ephesus was so celebrated, in the same manner that he did at Corinth.¹

Besides these scattered notices of the particular products of Ephesus, we may suppose that it was equally celebrated, with the other cities of Ionia, for its "purple, oil, barley, and good wheat, for its abundance and fruitfulness in all good things, the praise of which it is impossible to sing too highly;" that it had "an abundance of gold, of silver, and of brass;" that it "enjoyed a profusion of every article of dress;" that it had "plenty of cattle, and a prodigious number of slaves;"² and "was affluent above all other people."³ If we are right in supposing that Homer referred to Ephesus under the name of Alope, there must have been silver-mines in the Ephesian territory. The neighbouring Tmolus produced gold-dust; and the Lydians are reported to be the first people who coined money.⁴ The Ephesians were also noted for their skill in jewellery.⁵

Its commercial prosperity, which was such as to

¹ *Acts*, xviii. 3.

² In Herodotus (viii. 105) we read of a pirate who was in the habit of supplying Sardis and Ephesus with eunuchs. For this purpose he castrated those of his prisoners whose persons were most handsome, and sold them at a prodigious price. Herodotus remarks that among the *barbarians* eunuchs were esteemed of greater value than other slaves, from the presumption of their superior fidelity.

³ Herod. v. 49.

⁴ *Id.* i. 94.

⁵ Lucian. *Dial. Meret.* vi.

entitle it to the appellation of the mart of commerce, and of one of the eyes of Asia, was owing to the excellence of its port.

From the time of Lysander to that of Plutarch, (404 B.C.—140 A.D.) the city, by its commerce, “continued to increase to that state of dignity and magnificence” in which it was at the latter period; which is confirmed by Strabo, who says, that from the reign of Attalus II. to his time, (about 150 B.C.—25 A.D.) “the city had continued to increase daily, so that it had become one of the most considerable places of commerce on this side the Taurus.” The extent of its trade and commerce, especially with Egypt, has been already proved by reference to its coins; and its connection with the latter country is still further shown by Holsten in his Commentaries on Stephanus,¹ and also by the circumstance of its having an island of the same name in the river Nile.² But the extent

¹ Holsten. Not. and Castig. posth. in Steph. Byz. p. 123 B.

² Steph. Byz. *sub voce*. This island appears to be connected with the establishment of an Ionian and Carian colony in Egypt, 660 B.C. By their aid Psammiticus vanquished the eleven kings, and became sole monarch of Egypt, and in acknowledgment of their services he gave the Ionians and Carians, in addition to his promises, certain lands which were termed *the camp*, immediately opposite to each other, and separated by the Nile. This district, which was near the sea, somewhat below Bubastis, (the city of Diana,) at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, was inhabited by the Ionians and Carians for a considerable time. — (Herod. ii. 152, 3, 4.) Ninety years after this event, (570 B.C.) they formed a corps of 30,000 men in defence of their king Apries. — (Herod.

of its general commerce is best shown by the coast of Pontus being called the Port of Ephesus, on account of the number of vessels always moored there, belonging to this city.¹ Ephesus was considered a common depôt for the merchandize of Italy and Greece;² and from it ran the great road of communication with the East.³ The roads were good and secure. The distance from Ephesus to Susa was four hundred and sixty-eight parasangs, or fourteen thousand and forty stadia: in this distance were one hundred and fourteen stathmi, or mansions with excellent inns: these were all splendid and beautiful.⁴

But whatever might have been the natural advantages of Ephesus, whatever might have been its wealth or power, its fertility and beauty, we have the authority of an ancient writer to show that it possessed far higher claims to distinction. Apollonius of Tyana describes it as “a city rich in the labours of its philosophers and rhetoricians,

ii. 163.) In the succeeding reign, Amasis, to avail himself of their assistance against the Egyptians, removed them to Memphis; and since the time of their first settlement in Egypt, they preserved a constant communication with Greece. From the mention of *docks* it is probable they continued to trade with their mother country.—(Herod. ii. 154.) In a subsequent period, Alexander transported a colony of Ionians to the island of Socatara, in Egypt, to cultivate the aloe, (D’Herbelot *Dict. Orient.* 311,) since so much used by the Orientals as a perfume in smoking.

¹ Dionys. apud *Geog. Vet. Script. Græc. Minores*, iii. 17.

² Strabo, p. 632. ³ Id. p. 663. ⁴ Herod. v. 52 to 54.

insomuch that it flourished, not so much by the strength of its cavalry, as by the number of its citizens devoted to science.”¹ In the “*Anthologia*,”² it is described as “famous for war and *learning*.”

Of the natives of Ephesus, Strabo writes: “Amongst the most celebrated of the ancients born at Ephesus, are Heraclitus *the obscure*,³ and Hermodorus, who appears to have been the author of part of the Roman laws.⁴ The poet Hipponax was also of Ephesus, as also the two painters Parrhasius and Apelles. Among the illustrious moderns of this city, is reckoned the orator Alexander, called *Lychnus*.”⁵ The first of these, Heraclitus, lived about 500 B.C.; he was of such a misanthropic disposition, that he retired to the mountains, where he subsisted only on grass, till being attacked with dropsy he was compelled to return to Ephesus; but his obscurity of language was such as to be unintelligible to the physicians, whereupon he attempted to cure his disease by the warmth of a dunghill.⁶ Heraclitus indulged in antitheses. His sayings, many of which are extant, though seeming contradictions, often display a deep and recondite meaning. Hipponax was a distin-

¹ Philost. *Vita Apol.* viii. 7, § 8. ² *Ant. Græ.* iv. 20, § 4.

³ See also Vitruv. ii. 2.

⁴ For which they honoured him by erecting his statue in the Comitium.—(Plin. xxxiv. 11; Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* v. 36.)

⁵ Strabo, p. 642. He was an historian, poet, and politician.

⁶ Diog. Laert. *in Vita*.

guished poet of such strong satire, that he was obliged to flee from his native town; whereupon two sculptors erected an image of him, in which they exaggerated his naturally deformed appearance; but they were so severely satirized by the poet, that they hung themselves in despair.¹

The birthplace of Homer was contended for by seven cities, but it is generally believed to have been at Smyrna; it is questionable, however, whether he were not born at Ephesus: but if Smyrna is accepted as his birthplace, we may justly lay claim to him as being an Ephesian by descent. According to the Alexandrian chronologists, he flourished one hundred years after the foundation of Ephesus. Now, we do not precisely know at what time a portion of the citizens proceeded to Smyrna to build a city there, in honour of their mother country; but we can scarcely give less than that period of one hundred years, for Ephesus to have become so well established, and increased in population, as to be able to send out a numerous colony to build another city. It has been already remarked as singular, that Homer does not allude to Ephesus, unless under the name of *Alope*; but when we consider that Ephesus not only had a quarter of the town called Smyrna, but that the whole city was originally so called, is it not at least possible that Homer might have been born there?

¹ Cic. *ad Fam.* vii. 24; Hor. *v. Od.* 6, v. 14.

Ephesus was especially celebrated for its school of painting. The arts in Ephesus, as in other parts of Greece, took their rise from the defeat of Xerxes.¹ “Fifty years after that event, the Greek cities attained their highest degree of prosperity; the arts, protected by riches, flourished; and the age produced the most celebrated artists, philosophers, rhetoricians, and commanders ever known.” Evenor, a native of Ephesus, flourished about the 90th Olympiad (420 B.C.) He was called the chief of painters: he was succeeded by his son and pupil Parrhasius, who was so proud of his art that he clothed himself in purple, and wore a crown of gold, calling himself the king of painters. The city at this time became full of artists. Zeuxis practised here, and the celebrated contest between him and Parrhasius is well known, in which Zeuxis said: “Zeuxis has deceived birds; but Parrhasius, Zeuxis.” Zeuxis is said to have died from having painted the portrait of a comical old woman, the expression of which was so ridiculous, that he laughed himself to death. Apelles flourished in the next generation. He was distinguished by as much modesty, as Parrhasius was noted for ostentation; for notwithstanding his unrivalled excellence, he would only put his name to three of his paintings. Other Ephesian artists, whose names have come down to us, are Idæus,² Ephorus³ the

¹ Diod. Sic. xii. 1.

² Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4.

³ Suidas, *sub voce* Apelles.

preceptor of Apelles, Theodorus, and Clesides.¹ Parrhasius and Apelles both wrote on painting.²

The school of Sculpture was not inferior to that of Painting. The only sculptors whom we know to have been born at Ephesus are Rhœcus, and two or three of the name of Hegesias, or Agasias. Rhœcus, who was also an architect, was the father of Theodorus the architect. The statue of the “gladiator” (hero) in the Borghese collection, by Hegesias, is the most ancient work of art that bears the artist’s name engraved upon it.³ Yet, though these are the only names of native sculptors we are acquainted with, we may feel assured that Ephesus gave birth to many more, from the number of works of statuary contained in the city, by the most esteemed sculptors, many of whom we know to have practised there; as:—Phidias, Praxiteles, Polyclitus, and Scopas; all excellent in their art; Thrason, Myron, Ctesilaus, Cydon, Heraclides, Pharax, and Phradmon; besides others of whom we know less, as Menestratus, Euphranor, Clesis, Posidonius, and Messalinus. It is probable that Mentor was a native of Ephesus, having executed so many works in that city. Pharax was one of a class common in every age, and every country, who “fail to attain distinction, not through a want of industry or talent, but through the unpropitious influence of circumstances.”⁴

¹ Tzetzes, *Chiliad*, viii. 196.

² Plin. *II. Nat.* xxxv. 36.

³ Quatremère de Quincey.

⁴ Vitruv. iii. *Proem*.

Of the architects we know of none but those who were connected with the Temple of Diana; Democritus, Ctesiphon, Metagenes, all wrote on the subject of building. Connected with the architects, was the following curious law established in this city: "In the noble and spacious city of the Greeks, Ephesus, an ancient law is said to have been made, which although severe, was not of an unjust nature. When an architect received the care of a public work, he assured what would be the future cost, and was obliged to deliver up his property to a magistrate, as a security, till the work should be completed. If the expense then corresponded to the estimate, he was rewarded with decrees and honours; and if it did not exceed one-fourth part in addition, it was defrayed by the public, and no punishment inflicted: but if it exceeded that sum, his property was made use of to complete the works."

Besides the above-mentioned, are the following natives of Ephesus, the names of most of whom have been collected by Guhl:—¹

Callinus, (700 B.C.) the inventor of elegiac poetry.

Musæus, the poet, (about 189 A.D.) wrote in honour of the kings of Pergamus.

Alexander, the poet, wrote on astronomy, geography, and the Marsian war.

Batalus, the musician, (about 380 B.C.)

¹ *Ephesiaca*, cap. v. ^{ph} pars 1.

Dion, the philosopher, (about 350 B.C.)

Andron, the philosopher, who wrote on the Tripod, and the Seven Wise Men of Greece.¹

Pisistratus, Alexander, Dias, and Delias, philosophers.

Echechles, the Cynic philosopher.

Daphnus, a Platonic philosopher and physician.²

Menander, the historian.

Zenodotus, the grammarian, (died 245 B.C.) entrusted with the care of the Alexandrian library.

Heracleon, the grammarian ; Artemidorus, the rhetorician, who obtained the restoration of the Selinusian lakes. (159—138 B.C.)³

Phavorinus, the rhetorician.

Menecrates, a writer on agriculture.

Soramus, Heraclides, Asclepiades, and Magnus, physicians.

Xenocrates, a physician in the age of Nero, who wrote on the Aliment derived from Water.⁴

Rufus, a physician in the age of Trajan, who wrote on the Use of Herbs, and six books on Simples.

Artemidorus, the geographer, (104 B.C.) wrote a Description of the Earth, in eleven books.

Another Artemidorus, wrote the " Interpretation of Dreams," still extant.

¹ Diog. Laert.

² Athen. p. 1.

³ See page 37.

⁴ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 9.

Among the Sophists were Damianus and Adrianus. The name of Damianus deserves especially to be recorded, from his benefactions to the city of Ephesus. He restored many public buildings, he built the portico connecting the city with the Temple of Diana, and he erected the magnificent *coenaculum* of the temple; but besides these acts of public liberality, he showed himself to be endued with real greatness of mind, by lending money to his friends without interest, giving to the poor without return, and lending a ready ear to everyone. This most excellent man, after filling the highest offices in the state, revered by the elders, and loved by the poorer citizens, died at the age of seventy, and was buried in his suburban villa at Ephesus.¹ He lived in the age of the Emperor Septimius Severus,² (A.D. 194—211).

I will close this list with the name of Phormio,³ a Peripatetic philosopher of Ephesus, who once gave a lecture on the duties of an officer and the military profession, without knowing anything of the subject which he was treating; whereupon the celebrated Hannibal, who happened to be present, said, "I have seen many doting old men, but never one worse than Phormio." Phormio is not the only lecturer of his class.

¹ Philost. *Vit. Soph.* ii. 23.

² Suidas, *sub voce*.

³ Cic. *de Nat. Deo*. 2.

VI.

CHARACTER OF THE EPHESIANS—PRACTICE OF MAGIC.

THOUGH, as we have seen, Ephesus, and indeed the whole of Ionia, was blest with the most delightful climate, with the most advantageous position, and the most extraordinary fertility of soil; though, as we have seen, its inhabitants were endued with taste and genius; though poetry, literature,¹ philosophy, and the arts flourished in Asia earlier and in higher perfection than in Greece; we are grieved to find that the moral character of the Ephesians did not answer to their intellectual qualities. Heraclitus the Ephesian accused them of being “full of bad customs.” It must be remembered, however, that this philosopher was a satirist, and may be supposed to give an exaggerated opinion respecting them: he continues,—“The Ephesians all deserve to be hanged, for having driven from their city Hermodorus,² the most honest man among them, saying,—‘We will

¹ Herodotus believed the Ionians to be the first Greeks who used letters, and that they received them from the Phœnicians.—(Herod. v. 58.)

² See page 128.

not have among us a good man: if any such there be, let him go and live elsewhere.' ”¹ Parrhasius the painter exclaimed of his fellow citizens, — “The Ephesians admire virtue, but practise licentiousness.”

This licentiousness of character appears to have been derived from their intercourse with the Persians. Thus Lysander, on landing at Ephesus, (404 B.C.) “found the city in danger of being enervated by Persian manners derived from the free intercourse with that people, resulting from their vicinity to Lydia,² and the royal satraps settled there.” Democritus of Ephesus, in his first book on the Temple of Diana, speaks of the effeminacy and luxury of the Ephesians, and their ambition of being arrayed in vests of varied stuffs, of different colours, and of the most costly material, several kinds of which he describes at length.³

¹ Strabo, page 642.

² Persian luxury was derived from Lydia.—(Herod. i. 71.)

³ “The garments of the Ionians are of violet, purple, or scarlet colour, interwoven with diamond-shaped figures; those which are placed over them are equally ornamented with various forms and figures (of men and animals). Their robes, called the *serapian*, are light yellow, purple, or white. Of the *calasires*, (a linen robe descending to the ankles,) they have two kinds: the Corinthian are purple, violet, or hyacinth, and occasionally of flame-colour, or sea-blue; but the Persian are of all others the most beautiful. They have also what is called the *actæan*, which of all Persian garments is the most precious. It is closely woven, that it may be strong as well as light, and is bordered with grains of gold like millet, which are threaded with a purple ribbon, and woven in the thick-

Alcibiades, who died 404 B.C., is said to have had the wonderful talent of ingratiating himself by accommodating to the manners and customs of the different countries which he travelled in. Thus at Athens he was more attentive than any of the scholars of Socrates; at Thebes, more addicted to gymnastic exercises than the Thebans themselves; in Thessaly, more proficient than the Aleuadae in the management of the horse and chariot; at Sparta, excelling even the Lacedæmonians in the exercise of patience; in Thrace, drinking more than the Thracians; and *when in Ionia, exceeding even the Ionians in luxury*.¹ “When Antony entered Asia, (41 B.C.) and had tasted the riches and delights of the country, he gave himself up to idleness, and relapsed into all his former luxury. The Anaxenores,² or harpers; the Xuthi, or flute-players; Metrodorus, a dancer; and a whole corps of Asiatic musicians, far surpassing those of Italy in impudence, ingratiated themselves in his favour, and succeeded in governing everything, so that nothing went right.

ness of the stuff. The Ephesians make use of all these, being given up to luxury.”—(Athen. p. 525.) Antiphanes, (in Dodonâ,) speaks of the Ionians generally as effeminate and voluptuous, and clothed very delicately. Theophrastes, (*in libro de Voluptate*,) says the inordinate luxury of the Ionians gave rise to the proverb of “Ionian effeminacy.”—(Id. 526.)

¹ Athen. p. 534.

² Antony presented one of these with the tributes of four cities.—(Strabo, xiv.)

Thus all Asia became, what Sophocles said in his *Edipus*,¹—

‘ Full of charms, perfumes, and incense,
But of groans also ! and lamentations also !’

The women danced before him as Bacchantes, the men and children as fauns and satyrs, and nothing was seen throughout all the city, but ivy, thyrsi, psalteries, and flutes ;” while Antony personified and called himself Bacchus.² On the arrival of Apollonius, (*ante* A.D. 37,) “ he found the people immersed in dissipation and cruel sports, in shows and pantomimes, and Pyrrhic dances ; and all places resounded with song, and were filled with noise and debauchery.”

“ They say this town is full of cozenage ;
As, nimble jugglers that deceive the eye,
Disguised cheaters, prating mountebanks,
And many such-like liberties of sin.”

Comedy of Errors.

Apollonius’ first discourse was in the portico of the Temple of Diana ; not in the Socratic manner of argument, but in that of authority : of turning them at once from their present pursuits, and persuading them to spend their time in study and philosophy.³

¹ Verse 4.

² Plut. *Ant.* 27.

³ Philost. *Vita Apol.* iv. 2.

Ephesus was, above all other places in the world, noted of old for the study of magic, and all secret and hidden arts.¹ Being on the confines of Greece and Asia, it engrafted the philosophy and mythology of the one country on the mystical ceremonies and belief in magic of the other. On the burning of the Temple of Diana by Herostratus, we read of the *Magi*, who were then at Ephesus, prophesying that “that day had brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia,” referring to Alexander, who was born on the very same day.² Diana, indeed, was the Goddess of Magic, and thence called *Magos*.³

There was a considerable Jewish population at Ephesus. Shortly after the death of Julius Cæsar, Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, sent an embassy to Dolabella, who was then prefect of Asia, praying him to free the Jews from military service, and suffer them to live according to the customs of their forefathers; on the receipt of which letter, Dolabella sent an epistle “to all the Asiatics, and particularly to the city of the Ephesians, the metropolis of all Asia,” about the Jews; desiring them to write to the several cities under their jurisdiction. Whereupon the Ephesians decreed as follows:—“When Menophilus was Prytanis, on the first day of the month Artemision, this decree

¹ Cuperus, *Apoth. Homeri*, p. 270 ; Cave, *Antiq. Eccles.*

² Plut. *in Alex.*

³ Tatianus, *Oratio ad Græcos*, xxxi. 20 ; Cuperus, *ut supra*.

was made by the people:—Nicanor, the son of Euphemus, pronounced it, upon the representation of the Pretors. Since the Jews that dwell in this city have petitioned Marcus Julius Pompeius, the son of Brutus the Proconsul, that they might be allowed to observe their sabbath, and to act in all things according to the customs of their forefathers, without impediment from anybody, the Pretor hath granted their petition. Accordingly it was decreed by the senate and people, that in this affair which concerned the Romans, no one should be hindered from keeping the sabbath-day, nor be fined for so doing; but that they might be allowed to do all things according to their own laws.”¹ The Jews we know in this time to have been sunk in great superstition, having confused and nullified the commandments of God by a host of human traditions and superstitious observances. Among these was a very general belief that Solomon had discovered the power of exorcising evil spirits, by the aid of some wonderful herb he was acquainted with. Josephus thus narrates it:²—“Now, the sagacity and wisdom which God had bestowed on Solomon was so great, that he exceeded the ancients, insomuch that he was no way inferior even to the Egyptians. . . . God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons, which is a science useful and sanative to man. He composed incan-

¹ Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 10.

² *Id.* viii. 2.

tations, by which distempers are alleviated, and he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive out demons, so that they never return: and this method of cure is of great force unto this day, for I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, releasing people that were demoniacal in the presence of Vespasian, his sons and captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of cure was this:—He put a ring, that had a root of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon, to the nostrils of the demoniac; after which he drew out the demon through his nostrils, and when the man fell down immediately, he adjured the demon to return into him no more, making still mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. And when Eleazar would persuade, and demonstrate to the spectators that he had such a power, he set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon as he went out of the man to overturn it, and thereby let the spectators know that he had left the man; and when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon was manifestly shown.” From this anecdote we may easily conceive how it happened, that when Paul wrought special miracles at Ephesus, whereby the sick were cured of their diseases, and the evil spirits were driven out of those that were possessed,¹

¹ *Acts*, xix.

the Jews believed that he effected this through the power of incantation. It was for the same reason that Simon the sorcerer caused himself to be baptized in Samaria, and offered money, expecting to be taught the art by which Peter and John performed the wonderful miracles which he beheld.¹ Believing, therefore, that Paul accomplished these miracles by the mere mention of the name of Jesus, as others had formerly done by repeating that of Solomon, they thought they might succeed in like manner; whereupon, "Certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them that had evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We abjure you by *Jesus*, whom Paul preacheth. And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests which did so. And the evil spirit answered and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the man in whom the evil spirit was, leaped on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded. And this was known to all the Jews and Greeks also, dwelling at Ephesus; and fear fell on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. And many that believed, came and confessed, and showed their deeds; many of them also, which used curious arts, brought their books together, and burned them before all men; and

¹ *Acts*, viii. 9-19.

they counted the price of them and found it fifty pieces of silver,"¹ a sum amounting to about £1,500. It must be borne in mind that in the above narrative, they which used curious arts were both Jews and Greeks.

Balbillus, a celebrated astrologer of Ephesus, was kept by Vespasian about his person, although he banished all other magicians and astrologers from Rome.² He had been previously employed by Nero,³ and procured the institution of certain games at Ephesus.⁴ He flourished contemporaneously with Apollonius of Tyana.

But we must not forget the name of Maximus as connected with the practice of magic at Ephesus. This celebrated philosopher and magician carried on his incantations in the Temple of Hecate in that city, and initiated the Emperor Julian into the Eleusinian mysteries, and the celebration of midnight orgies;⁵ making him believe, in accordance with the doctrine of metempsychosis, that he was animated by the soul of Alexander, which would lead him to eclipse the deeds which Alexander had achieved in his former body. On the death of Julian, Maximus was accused of determining, by means of magic, who was to be the successor of

¹ *Acts*, xix. 13-19.

² *Dion Cassius*.

³ *Suet. in Nero*, 36.

⁴ See page 85.

⁵ *Dallaway, Const.* pp. 221-2 ; *Gibbon*, ch. xxiii. The former, however, asserts that the event was believed to have taken place in one of the caves of Mount P'ion. See part ii. chap. vi. § 5.

Valens. Many books were burnt on this occasion, which were thought to have reference to unlawful arts, but which were afterwards believed to relate to the subject of philosophy. Maximus was sent from Constantinople, where he was then staying, to Ephesus, his native city, and there beheaded,¹ A.D. 376.

Among the superstitions most connected with Ephesus, are what were called the "Ephesian Letters," which were these: — ἄσκιον, κατὰσκιον, λῖξ, τετράς, δαμναμενέως, and ἄισια. "The Ephesian Letters were (said to be) charms, with which, if any one were furnished, he became invincible. Thus a wrestler wearing them, (or according to the *Adag.* Diog. iv. 78, uttering them) became a victor thirty times. But if they were discovered, or taken away by his adversary, he was immediately conquered."² Cræsus is said to have escaped being burned alive, by having pronounced them on the pyre;³ and magicians were believed to exorcise demoniacs and those possessed of evil spirits, by causing them to recite to themselves these famous letters.⁴ Androcydes, the Pythagorean philosopher, tells us they were held in much estimation by the vulgar: and in the Metrical Proverbs, (No. 50,) we learn that they were carried in sewn leather bags; both which

¹ Ammianus Marcel. xxix. 1.

² *Prov. Græc. e Vatic. Bibl.* Appendix i. 95; Suidas, *Adagia*, vii. 29.

³ Suidas, *Adagia*, vii. 29. ⁴ *Plut. Sympos.* vii. Prob. v.

testimonies are confirmed by a passage in Athenæus, containing a fragment of Anaxilas :¹—

“The skin anointed with golden ointment ;
Effeminately dressed in soft robes
And delicate slippers—
Chewing onions ; munching cheese ;
Eating raw eggs ; sucking shell-fish ;
Quaffing goblets of rich Chian ;²
And carrying in sewn leather bags
The Ephesian letters of good omen.”

But to investigate these letters more closely. Clemens of Alexandria³ thus interprets them :—

ἄσκιον, darkness.

κατάσκιον, light, (as producing darkness.)

λίξ, earth, (according to its original signification.)

τετράς, the year, (as being formed of the four seasons.)

ἡλιορραμενέως, the sun, (because it governs.)

ἄλυσια, truth.

¹ Athen. p. 548. “The very athletæ and other candidates at the Olympic games fly to the magic art from a desire of victory.”—(Philost. *Vita Apol.* vii. 39.) Hillarius, a horse-racer of Rome, was put to death by Appronianus for being convicted of having sent his son to a magician to be taught by him secret spells and charms, by which, without any man’s knowledge, he might be enabled to effect all he desired in the way of his profession.—(Ammianus Marcellinus.) This was probably the origin of the asseveration required to be made by combatants in the Middle Ages, previous to the trial by battle. Pliny begins his 30th book with the subject of magic, and gives a list of necromancers, among whom he classes Moses.

² This must have formed a compound not very different from the *mulloton*, which, as explained by the scholiast of Lucian, (*in Timone*), was made of garlic, leeks, cheese, oil, and vinegar.

³ *Stromat.* v. p. 568 A.

In place of Αἰξ, Hesychius writes Αἴξ, and from the resemblance of the words it is possible that one may have been written for the other; but considering their sense, (Αἴξ being put for *water*) it is probable that both these words were included in the number. Thus we shall have *light* and *darkness*; *earth* and *water*; the *sun* and the *year*; and the whole governed by *truth*. If we consider Diana as the personification of *nature*, we cannot fail to perceive that these words may have a mystical reference to the character of the goddess. Androcydes tells us, they were the symbols of divine things. Creuzer¹ is of opinion that the sun, mentioned above, is an evidence of derivation from the fire-worship of Persia; but this does not appear borne out, neither indeed is it plausible.² According to Eustathius, spells were engraved on the feet, girdle, and crown, of the statue of Diana: these might possibly have been the Ephesian Letters, or some such charm, or they might have been similar to the inscription on the foot of the statue of Neith or Minerva at Sais: "I am everything that has been, that is, and that shall be; and no mortal has ever yet been able to withdraw my veil. The fruit which I have brought forth is the sun."³

Connected with the subject of magic are the

¹ Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker*, ii. 195, &c.

² For further information on this subject see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 1163 and 1330.

³ Proclus, *Tim.* p. 30; Plut. *de Isid. et Osir.* p. 368.

miracles of Apollonius, and the miraculous appearance of Diana in her temple.

We might expect the same results to follow the introduction of Christianity at Ephesus, as in other places. St. Paul preached the gospel there in 53 and the two following years,¹ “and the word of God grew mightily and prevailed.” After a six years’ absence, St. Paul still speaks of their “faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints.” During this time they were characterized by their good works, their labour of love, their patience, their separating themselves from evil men, their examining and proving what was the right way, their endurance of evil, and their constancy and steadfastness.² Their affection and gratitude to St. Paul is beautifully shown in the conclusion of the 20th chapter of the Acts. But in the year 96, they had begun to leave their first love,³ and were accordingly threatened with the judgment of God; and that they did leave it, we are too sure, by the accomplishment of those threatenings.

¹ *Acts*, xx. 31.

² *Rev.* ii. 2, 3.

³ *Id.* ii. 4.

VII.

CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS AND MODERN HISTORY.

THE building most connected with the Christian history of Ephesus, is the Church of St. John. Many people are apt to suppose that "the Seven Churches of Asia" were actual buildings of stone and marble, or brick and mortar; and many times have I been asked since my return, even by intelligent persons, whether I had *seen* the Seven Churches. Nor is this to be wondered at, when a distinguished and learned author of the present day, speaking of Sardis, says:—"Here are also the ruins of a large church, perhaps the only one of the Seven Churches of Asia, of which there are any distinguishable remains."

The churches of Asia Minor, the ruins of which we now see, were erected long after the introduction of Christianity, and it is probable that in the primitive and simple ages of the Church, they were not, as subsequently, called after the names of saints, real or imaginary. The instance before us would show the impropriety of considering the Seven Churches to be actual buildings. The Church of St. John, which was always the prin-

cial one — the Cathedral of Ephesus — bears no relation to the Founder of Christianity at Ephesus, St. Paul, or to its first bishop, Timothy, who is considered to have been referred to under the title of the “Angel of the Church” in the Apocalypse; and, therefore, there is no reason for considering that its foundation was of so early a period. This church has now entirely disappeared, so as to render even its very site uncertain. The majority of travellers suppose it to have stood on the hill of the present village Aiaslik.

This village, or Aiasalook, as it is now pronounced, is supposed to derive its name from the worship of Diana; *Ai* in Turkish signifying the moon. Some, however, derive it from *Ai-asklik*, a little crescent;¹ and others from ἅγιος Θεολόγος,² or, as pronounced by modern Greeks, *Aios Scologos*. The particle *lik*, being, however, a mere substantive termination, as *bash-lik*, a five-piastre-piece, it may signify, simply, *the Holy* (place or city,) *Aias-lik*; and, indeed, we find the name thus pronounced, (*Ayazlic*,) in the time of Tamerlane. From the nature and position of the hill, it has been already considered probable that it was held and fortified by the Ephesians; but of this we have no certain information. The last account we have of the ancient city is in the reign of Caracalla, (who

¹ Arundell, *Discov.* ii. 252.

² Dallaway, *Const.* 221; Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*

died A. D. 217,) at which time the Ephesian games were still celebrated.¹ That the people, on embracing Christianity, continued for some time to inhabit the ancient city, is evident from the existence of two churches in the centre of Ephesus; and from the existence of these churches it is probable that St. John's Church stood also at Ephesus, on Mount Pion, and not at Aiaslik.

The accounts of the situation of the Church of St. John are exceedingly contradictory. "In the Greek Synaxaria, p. 21, the church of St. John is said to have been built on a hill in *old* Ephesus, which was called *Ηλίβατον*, (a name which would denote its being higher than the adjoining hill or hills). To the west of this hill was the tomb of Timothy. The tomb of Mary Magdalene, and that of the Seven Sleepers, or boys, as the original calls them, are to be found on an adjoining hill, which is called *Χειλέτων* or *Χειλέων*, a name clearly designating the clefts or quarries of Mount Pion."² Now this would lead us to conjecture that the church stood on the southern or higher eminence of Mount Pion, the tomb of Timothy³ near the theatre, and those of Mary Magdalene and the Seven Sleepers on the *adjoining* eminence of Mount Pion: for no one would imagine Aiaslik to be the site of ancient Ephesus.

¹ Dallaway, *Const.* p. 216.

² Arundell, *Discov.* ii. 253.

³ Chandler also supposes Pion to be here signified.—(*Travels*, i. 155.)

Procopius, however, states that it "was on an elevated hill, unproductive, and incapable of fertilization, and that it was built by the emperor Justinian, when an exile in his old age; that he pulled down the first church to the ground, and rebuilt it in such splendour and magnitude as to equal the church which he had dedicated in Constantinople to the Holy Apostles."¹ Now this statement is in utter contradiction to the "fertile Mount Pion;" and thus the situation of the church is so far uncertain, and the only way in which we may suppose the church to have stood on Mount Pion, is by supposing that Mount Pion, although fertile, was unproductive, by reason of its sharp indented ridges and rocky character. Arundell states that he found the foundations of a church on the hill behind the mosque at Aiaslik, the circular abse of which was still venerated by the Greeks.²

The tomb of St. John was in or under his church, and the Greeks have a tradition that a sacred dust arises from his tomb, on the anniversary of his festival, possessed of miraculous virtues, and which they call manna.³ In this church was held the famous council of Ephesus which condemned what was called the Nestorian heresy, of refusing to address the Blessed Virgin as the Mother of God, and simply calling her the Mother of Our Lord.

¹ Procop. *de Edif.* v.

² *Discov.* pp. 252-5.

³ *Id.* p. 254.

Besides the Church of St. John, there were three others at Ephesus,—those of St. Luke, St. Paul, and St. Mark. “The Church of St. Paul,” says Smith, “has entirely perished, while what remains of St. Mark menaces ruin.”¹ This latter church must, therefore, be that which still exists in a state of ruin on the north side of the Forum. It is a very curious and unique example of a double church. The groined vault in the centre of the nave, the side arches of which were probably decorated with columns, denotes an early period of construction. The axis of the church is directed to sixteen degrees south of west; but this is probably accidental, the church being placed parallel with all the other buildings of the city. Some idea may be formed of the immense size of the buildings of Ephesus, by looking at the general plan, and considering that the nave of this church, which there forms so unimportant an object, is equal in width to the nave of St. Paul’s. It is constructed of brickwork. In Pococke’s time there were remains of a stone church between this church and the double fountain.² In the *Oriens Christianus* is a list of the bishops of Ephesus, seventy in number, down to the year 1721, when it was compiled; the names of which are given in Arundell’s “Discoveries in Asia Minor,” p. 273.

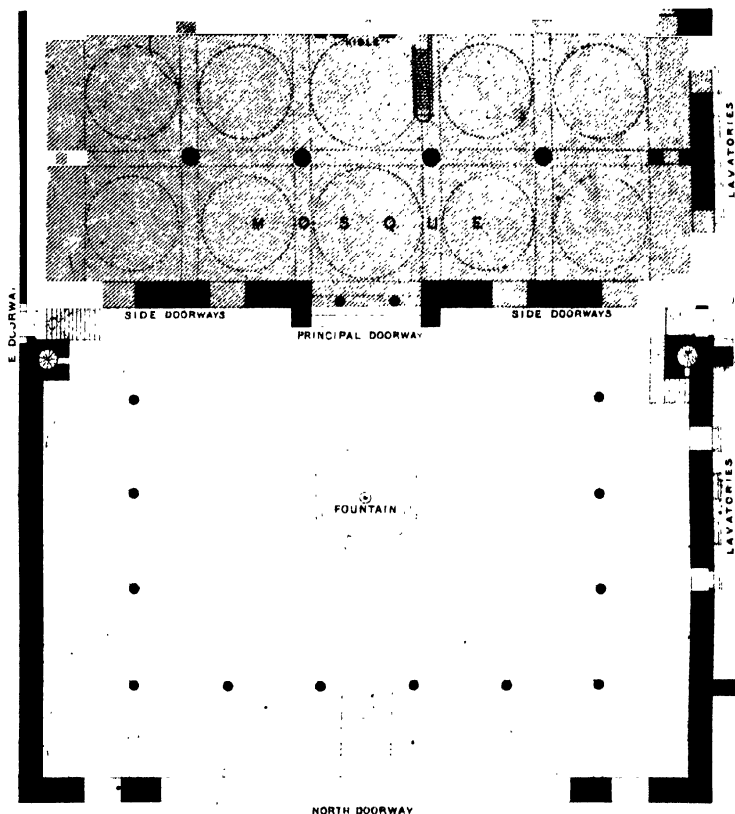
¹ Thos. Smith, *Septem Asiæ Eccl. Not.*

² Pococke, *Desc.* p. 50.

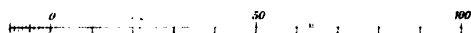
M O S Q U E

AT

A I A S L I K



Scale of Feet.





On the conquest of the country by the Turks, they settled at the hill of Aiaslik, and Dr. Chandler¹ considers it probable that it was first inhabited by them in the thirteenth century. The *city* of Aiaslik, for so it then was, possessed a great number of mosques;² remains of five or six of which may still be traced, together with several baths, which were once so numerous, as to have been said to be equal in number to the days of the year.³ The principal mosque was that dedicated by Sultan Selim,⁴ and it is still in tolerable preservation. It had two minarets, the shafts of which were covered with a beautiful diaperwork of white and red tiles. The pulpit, a restored sketch of which is shown in the view of the interior, has been exceedingly beautiful. It is covered with the richest geometric arabesques, the sinkings being probably filled in with mosaic. The whole is now lying in ruins on the pavement. The spandrels over the *kiblè* are filled in with an intersecting fretwork, but the whole has been plastered over in the style of the eighteenth century. In Chishull's time (1747) these arabesques were filled in with painting and gilding.⁵ The columns of the interior were procured from the Great Gymnasium. The ornaments of this mosque are of the most exquisite character and delicate workmanship. The writing over the east door is exceedingly beautiful,

¹ *Travels*, p. 146.² Pococke, p. 52.³ Chishull, p. 23.⁴ Hamilton, ii. 23.⁵ Chandler also, i. 143.

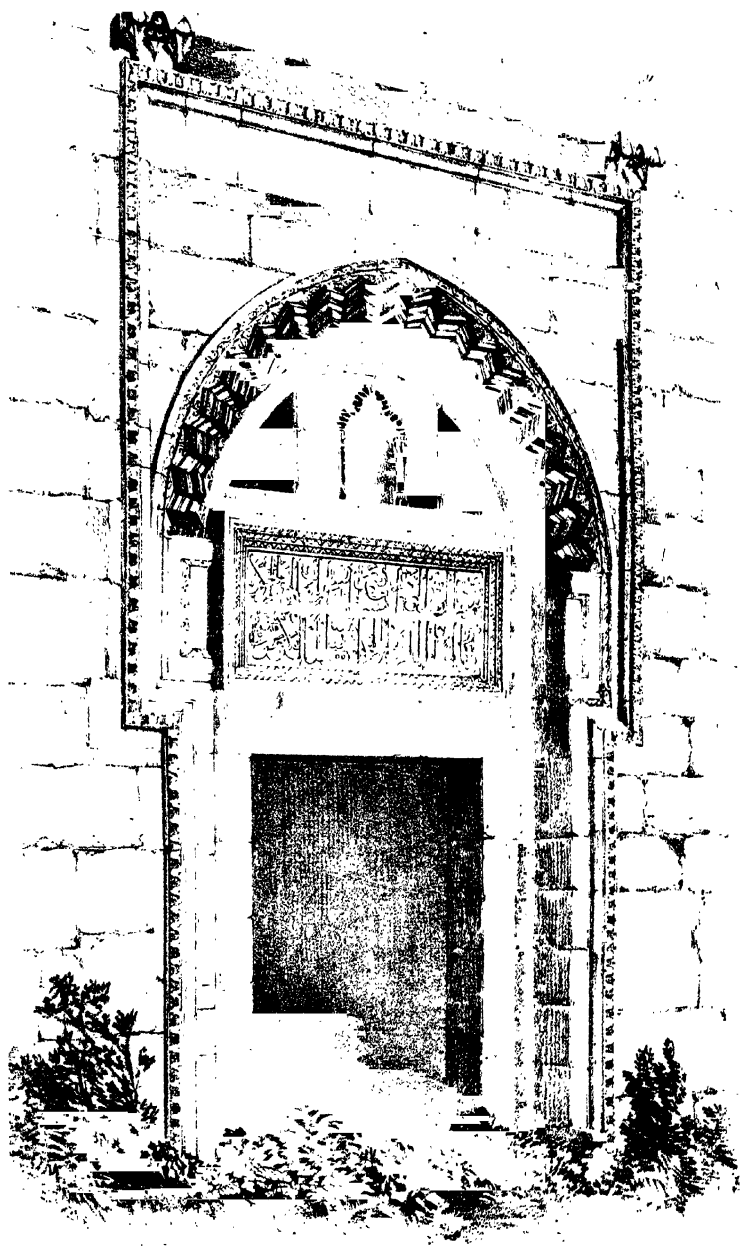


PLATE 124

THE GREAT MOSQUE, MECCA

NORTH OF MECCA

and may be taken as a fair specimen of the skill with which those sects of Mahommedans who were forbidden to represent the forms of animal life, succeeded in making their alphabet the vehicle of ornament. In this example the arrowheads are placed at the top, the horizontal lines in the middle, and the curved ones at the bottom, like the waves of the sea, the whole being intersected by an elaborate triple scroll. The translation of the inscription is, —
“The Saints are in Paradise, and the Servants of God shall enter therein.”

The spandrel and inscription over the principal entrance are destroyed, but they are restored in the sketch, in order to give a better idea of the original appearance of the building. The mosque is built on the slope of a hill, by reason of which some steps lead up to, and some down to, the level of the pavement. The outside of the mosque is furnished with a series of lavatories, which, like the fountain in the centre of the cortile, served for the ablutions of the faithful before their prayers. The mosque is indeed a very elegant and chaste building; though we cannot concur in eulogizing it to the extent of the Comte de Forbin, who prefers it even to the Alhambra.¹

Such is the building which by the great majority of travellers has been taken for the Church of St. John!²

¹ *Voyage dans le Levant*, p. 22.

² Choiseul Gouffier, Spon and Wheeler, Tavernier, Le Beau, Tournefort, Chishull; Van Egmont and Heyman, and Smith.

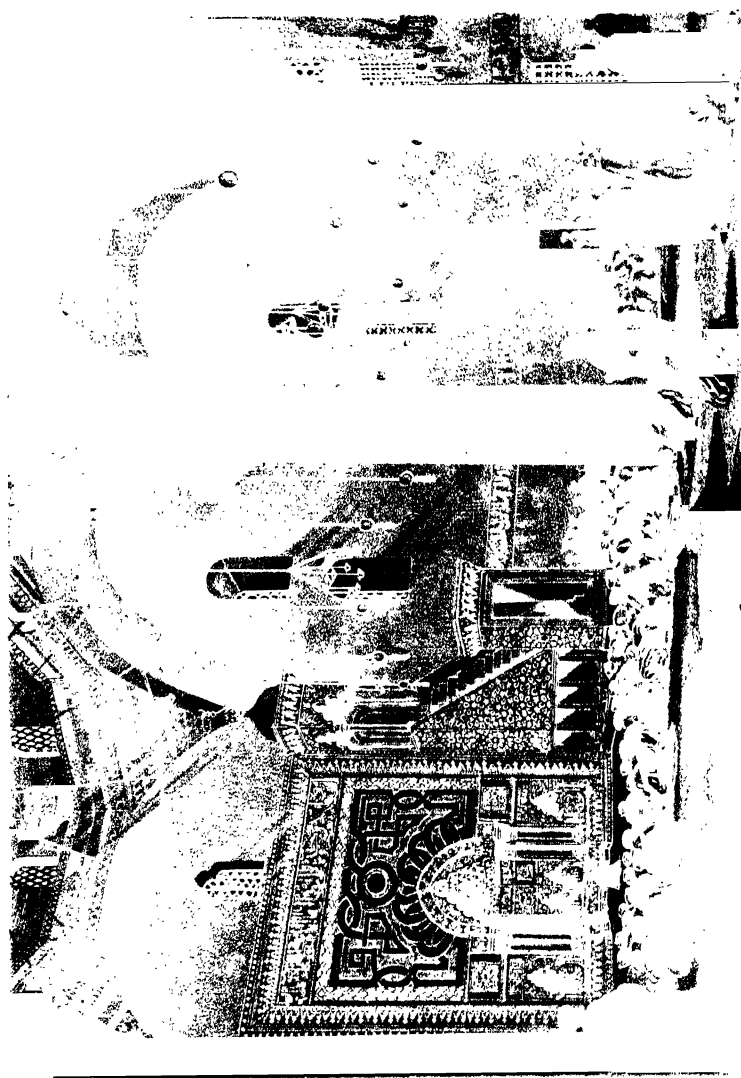
It remains to see the reasons which have led to this opinion. Some allege as a pretext that there is a representation of the host above the *kiblè*, and others affirm, which indeed is the general supposition, that the *kiblè* itself, (or niche towards Mecca), has been originally a door, and that therefore at that period the building could not have been a mosque, and must consequently have been a church.

The first of these suppositions is probably derived from what appears to be a Turkish lamp, but I did not notice it; and whoever has been at an Eastern city during the feast of the *Beiram*, cannot fail to recognize the appropriateness of this object as a symbol of rejoicing in the contemplation of heavenly happiness: or it might have been selected as an ornament in imitation of the lamps with which mosques are lighted in the East. The same object appears also over the *kiblè* of the mosque of Ballat, (the ancient Miletus,) which by the same reasoning should also be a church. As to the second reason, so far am I from considering it as a proof of the building not having been originally Mahommedan, that I regard it as a proof of the consummate science of the Mahommedan architect. The *kiblè*, in this instance, is a large niche, hollowed out of the wall,

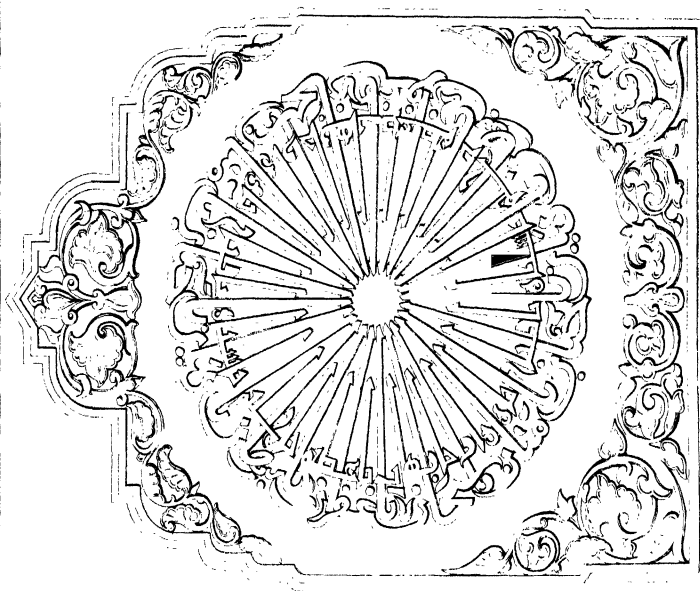
The latter writer observes, "But how splendid and magnificent the other churches of Ephesus must have been is shown by that consecrated to St. John, which still remains, converted by the Turks into a mosque."—(*Septem Asia Ecclæs. Not.*)

and therefore, unlike the absides of our churches, is unmarked on the outside. Being enriched with a profusion of the most elaborate ornament, the architect naturally considered that it would be endangered by the weight of the superincumbent wall, and therefore wisely remedied the chance of injury by forming a relieving arch above. This arch being necessarily worked in the whole thickness of the wall, and so appearing on the outside, has led persons into the error of believing this to be a proof of its having been originally a doorway. Another reason for considering it to be a church is brought forward by Mr. Arundell,¹ who states that several Corinthian capitals are within and near the mosque, having upon them a cross in high relief. But no one can deny that the building has *at one time* been a mosque, and therefore if the Turks during this period were liberal or indifferent enough to allow such emblems to remain without defacing them, we may reasonably conclude that at the time of the mosque being built, they were equally regardless of what these emblems might once have been; or if they thought of them, they looked upon them as trophies and evidences of the superiority of their own religion, in having conquered and debased the other. Instances of this practice are by no means unfrequent. The tomb of Sultan Allatyn, at Koniah, exhibits a triforium of three different

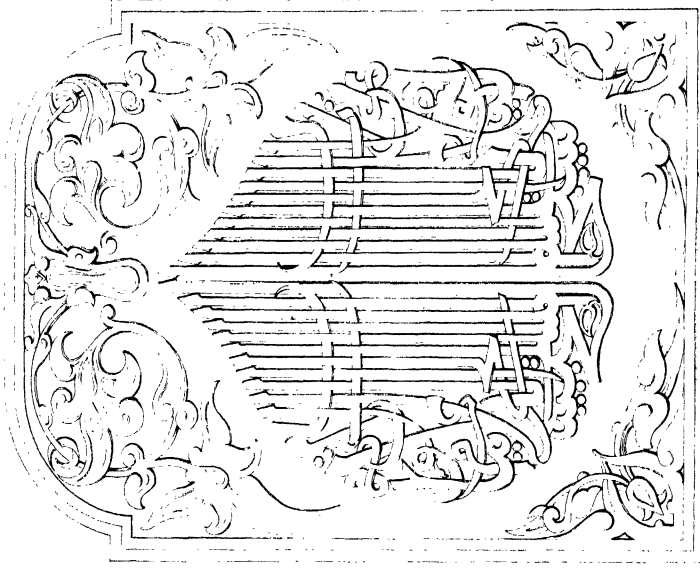
¹ *Discov.* ii. 254.



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altitudes, caused by the adaptation of different sized Byzantine columns; and the walls of Koniah are full of Byzantine emblems, not even rejecting the lion, two-headed eagle, angel, or other representations of animal life.

On the east of Mount Pion is the "Grotto of the Seven Sleepers." Tradition reports that during the persecution of the Christians in the reign of Diocletian, (A.D. 283—304) seven young men with a dog fled to the cave for refuge, and falling asleep, did not wake till two hundred years after; though they were not conscious of having slept more than one night. Their surprise may be imagined, when, on entering the city, they recognized neither people, money, nor the language; everything was changed, and all the city become Christian. Some say that this happened in the reign of the emperor Decius, and that their names were Malchus, Maximilianus, Martinianus, Iohannes, Dionysius, Serapion, and Constantinus. This tradition was received by Mahomet, and embodied in his Koran, where he devotes one chapter to the subject; entitled "The Chapter of the Cave."¹ The story appears to be copied from heathen times. In Diogenes Laertius is a similar tale of Epimenides of Crete, who, when a young man, being sent in charge of some cattle, wandered into a cavern, and there fell asleep. On awaking, at the end of forty years,

¹ *Koran*, surat xviii.

he returned home and found his younger brother grown into an old man. The end of the story is, however, rather different. Finding himself looked up to with respect and wonder, he set himself up for a prophet, and lived to the age of one hundred and eighty-nine: whereas in the former tradition, the Seven Sleepers were said to have died a natural death on the day of their awaking.

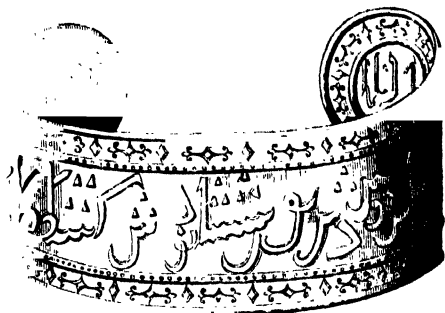
Upon a gold coin of the Turks, called *Armoodi*, the names stand thus:—Jemlika, Meshilina, Mislina, Mernoos, Debbernoos, Shazzernoos, and Kephestatjoos.¹ To these may be added the name of the dog, Ketmehr. These names are considered by the Turks as particularly fortunate; they are placed on buildings to prevent their being burnt, and on swords to prevent their breaking. The Mahomedans have a great veneration for the dog Ketmehr, and allow him a place in paradise, with some other favourite brutes: and they have a sort of proverb which they use in speaking of a covetous person, that “he would not throw a bone to the dog of the Seven Sleepers:” nay, it is said that they have the superstition to write his name, which they suppose to be Ketmehr, on their letters which go far, or which pass the sea, as a protection or kind of talisman to preserve them from miscarriage.²

The Seven Sleepers are held in great repute of

¹ Dallaway, *Const.* p. 222.

² La Roque, *Voy. de l'Arab. Heur.* p. 74.

sanctity throughout the East, and their names, engraved on gold or precious stones, are supposed to act as a powerful charm to avert evil.



Turkish Bracelet, with the Names of the Seven Sleepers.

It is related that the Khalif Moâwiysh, in an expedition he made against Natolia, passed by the cave of the Seven Sleepers, and would needs send somebody into it, notwithstanding Ebn Abbas remonstrated with him on the danger of so doing, saying, that a better man than he (Mahomet) had been forbidden to enter it; and repeated this verse : —But the men the khalif sent in, had no sooner entered the cave, than they were struck dead by a burning wind.¹

Spon and Wheler,² who visited the cave in 1675-6, got out again as quickly as they could, fearing that a similar sleep might seize on them.

¹ Al Beidawi, quoted by Sale, *Koran*.
Voyage, p. 328.

M. Ampère¹ describes it as so rugged, gloomy, and mysterious, that he fancied St. John must have inhabited it previous to writing his terrible revelations from the isle of Patmos. It is also reported to have been the cave of the magician Maximus. The early Christians made a church of it;² and Chandler³ supposed it to be the Church of St. John, erected by Justinian.

The interior of the cave is excavated in the form of tombs or sarcophagi; and according to the story narrated to me on the spot, the Sleepers and their dog were afterwards buried here; but unfortunately for the validity of the story, there are more than eight such tombs, which is the utmost number we can allow, even supposing that the dog was honoured with a human burial.

The concluding notices of Ephesus are collected by Chandler.⁴ Towards the end of the eleventh century, Tangripermes, a Turkish pirate, captured the city, but was driven out again by John Ducas, the Greek admiral.

The Mahommedans took possession of it in the reign of the emperor Alexius; they lost it in 1206, but regained it in 1283.⁵

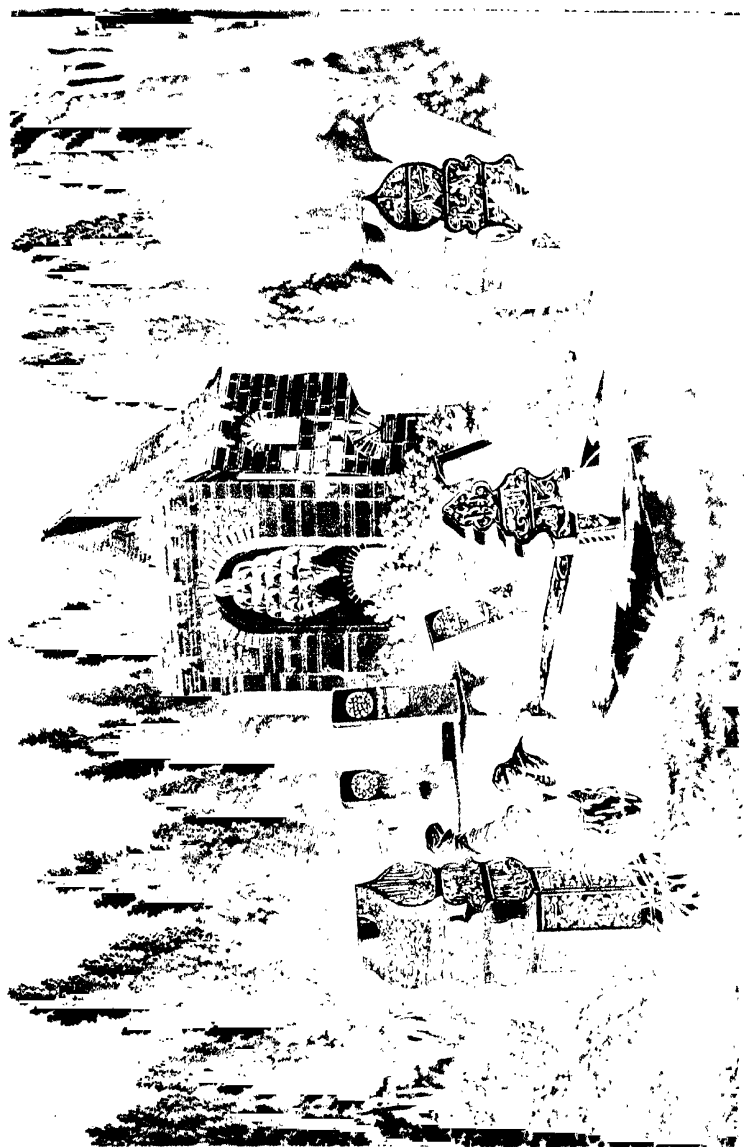
In 1306, it suffered from the exactions of the grand-duke Roger.

¹ J. J. Ampère, *Une Course dans l'Asie Mineure*.

² Spon and Wheler, pp. 327, 8. ³ *Travels*, i. 156.

⁴ Chandler, *Travels*, i. p. 145 to 160.

⁵ T. H. Usborne, p. 309.



In 1308, it surrendered to Sultan Saysan, who, to prevent further insurrections, removed most of the inhabitants to Tyriæum, where they were massacred. It was probably on this occasion that ancient Ephesus became desolated and abandoned, and Aiaslik founded by the Turkish conquerors.

In 1313, it was subdued by Mantakhia.

In 1402, Tamerlane took possession of the city.

In 1403, Cineis seized it; but Amir, the sultan of Smyrna, besieged him, and set fire to the town; the father of Cineis holding out the citadel, which, however, he was ultimately obliged to surrender. After this, Cineis again attacked the city, and drove Amir in his turn into the castle, and at his death became sultan. He was afterwards attacked by Sultan Solyman with a large army from Brusa, who defeated him and took the city.

One of the most glorious fruits of excavating at Ephesus would be the discovery of the Temple of Diana, or at least the determining of its site, even if no vestiges of its architecture are still extant. "It would be noble, (says a French traveller,) for those possessed of great fortunes to conduct exca-

vations at Ephesus.. It is an entirely unexplored mine of antiquity, and I think it would even prove a lucrative undertaking, by the immense number of statues and medals which one would be sure to find.”¹ What gems, what statues, what bas-reliefs might be discovered in a city where a Parrhasius, an Apelles, and a Zeuxis, where a Praxiteles, and a Scopas, besides a host of other artists, once flourished; and to the adornment of which we know that even a Phidias contributed.

The following notice of a superb cameo found at Ephesus in 1790, formerly in the possession of the Cav. K. Zulian, but now in St. Mark’s Library at Venice, will best exemplify the truth of this observation. It is formed of an Arabian sardonyx $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches diameter, and has been illustrated by Visconti.² It represents Jupiter Ægiochus, and is remarkable in the highest degree for majesty and sublimity of effect, though bearing no resemblance to the Jupiters of Phidias or Euphranor. Its execution exhibits a wonderful relief, and striking contrast of plain and enriched masses.

The title of Ægiochus, says Visconti, is derived from the *Αἰγίδα*, or mantle, so called from resem-

¹ Comte Jaubert, *Lettres d’Orient*, in vol. xxix. of series iv. of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

² E. Q. Visconti, *Osservazioni sopra un Ant. Cammeo rappres. Giove Egioco*.

bling an *Aiγís*, or *goat's-skin*. Jupiter is said to have been counselled by Themis to take the skin of the goat¹ Amalthea, by which he had been suckled, in his defence against the Titans; and it had such effect that they were terrified and overcome at the mere display and shaking of the skin. This action is expressed by the same word; *Αἶξ* signifying a *goat*, and *Ἄϊξ* a violent motion, or tempestuous wind (Hesychius). The *Ægida* is therefore a fit emblem of the terror caused in man by the mere approach of storms and tempests. That worn by Jupiter, as well as that which he gave to Apollo, and that made for Minerva by the Cyclops, were all elaborately formed of a network of scales of gold woven together with a border of serpents.² As the *Ægida* is a symbol of the storms and tempests and lightnings of the god, so the crown of oak denotes his power of resisting them. Visconti is further of opinion that this cameo has been copied from some celebrated statue of antiquity, and that it may have been preserved in one of the *Dactyliotheccæ* of the Temple of Diana, or formed one of the precious jewels with which the crowns of the priests were wont to be ornamented. It is difficult to say whether the vacancies at the side were originally so formed from a caprice of the artist, whether they were made regular in order to

¹ Herod. ii. 42.² Id. iv. 189.

hide accidental fractures, or whether they have been cut in more modern times.

This cameo is of such magnificence, that it is said to bear the same proportion to other cameos, that the chryselephantine sculpture of the ancients did to their other works.

A P P E N D I X

TO PART I.

No. I.

HISTORICAL EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE CITY OF EPHESUS.

THE first historical circumstance connected with the Ephesian territory, is an event recorded three centuries before the Trojan war. Sesostris, who was contemporary with Moses, set up pillars in the places which he conquered. "In Ionia (says Herodotus, ii. 106) there are two figures of this king formed out of a rock : one is in the way from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other betwixt Sardis and Smyrna." This latter one has been discovered. A view and notice of it appears in Texier's *Asie Mineure*, p. 132 ; Gherard's *Archäologische Zeitung*, No. 3, p. 34, pl. 2 ; and in the *Classical Museum*, vol. i. § xviii. Whether it represents Sesostris, has been disputed, but all are agreed that it is the monument described by Herodotus. Both these bas-reliefs represented "a man five palms in height : the right hand holds a javelin, the left a bow ; the rest of his armour is partly Egyptian, partly Ethiopian. Across his breast there is this inscription in the sacred characters of Egypt :— 'I conquered this country by the force of my arms.' This inscription he caused to be engraved only in those countries where he had met with a brave resistance : where otherwise, he added symbols denoting the pusillanimity of the people."—(Herod. ii. 102.)

On the arrival of the Ionian colonists at Ephesus, Androclus, one of the younger sons of Codrus the last king of Athens, was made king : "And thence, says Pherecydes, this city became the residence of the Ionian princes : and even now their descendants are called kings, and enjoy particular honours ; such as occupying

the principal place in the public games ; to be clothed in purple, (an especial prerogative of the royal family ;) to carry a sceptre ; and to preside at the sacrifices of Ceres and Eleusis.”—(Strabo, p. 633.)

The Ionians came from Peloponnesus, where they had been divided into twelve states or cities ; but from these, with the exception of Helice, being driven by the Achæans, they passed over into Asia, carrying with them the worship of the Heliconian Neptune, and the sacred statues of the temple : and founding twelve cities in imitation of those they had formerly inhabited in Achaia, established their *Panionion*, or place of general assembly of the Ionians, at Mycale, similar to the institution of the same kind they had previously held at Helice. These were joined by some members of the Prytaneum at Athens, who esteemed themselves the most noble of all the Ionians. Some of these, headed by Androclus, founded Ephesus ; and thus “ this city derived its origin from the purest Attic source.” On arriving, they brought with them no wives, but taking the women of the country, they put to death all the males ; in consequence of which the women of Miletus, one of the twelve cities, bound themselves and their daughters never to sit at meals with their husbands.—(Herod. i. 142–148 ; Philost. *Vita Apoll.* viii. 7, § 8.)

On the death of Androclus, the Ephesians revolted against his sons and proclaimed a republic, which appears to have lasted till the time of Alyattes, a period of four centuries and a half. On the death of Alyattes, the Ephesians drove out his sons ; but Pindarus, his grandson, regained possession of the city, and became quietly seated as *Tyrant* of Ephesus. The story is thus told by Ælian :—“ Pindarus, the son of Melanus, and grandson by the mother’s side of Alyattes the Lydian, became *Tyrant* of Ephesus. He was harsh and inflexible in justice, though mild and beneficent in other respects ; but he was particularly desirous of preserving the liberty of his country, which is shown by the following narrative :—

“ When Croesus, his maternal uncle, invaded Ionia, he sent an ambassador to Pindarus, requiring the Ephesians to submit to him, and on their refusal besieged the city. One of the towers falling, which was thence called *the traitress*, and seeing capture

inevitable, Pindarus suggested that they should unite with cords the walls and towers of their city to the Temple of Diana, (seven stadia distant from the old town,) hoping by so doing to procure succour and safety to the city ; advising them, moreover, to implore the clemency of Crœsus, and sue for peace. Crœsus smiled at their artifice, and being pleased with their ingenuity, granted them safety and liberty, but exiled Pindarus." Polyænus says he spared the city out of reverence to Diana. Pindarus renounced the throne, and leaving his son and riches under the guardianship of the Ephesians and his father Pasicles, retired to Greece. This event happened on the accession of Crœsus to the throne, and when he was in his thirty-fifth year.—(Ælian. iii. 26 ; Polyæn. *Stratag.* vi. 50 ; Herod. i. 16–22, 26.)

Shortly after this event, the Ephesians revolted against Crœsus, and requiring assistance, invited over Aristarchus, an Athenian, who reigned for five years with great care and prudence, and won the affections of the people ; but was recalled to Athens about the time that Harpagus excited Cyrus to rebel against Astyages.¹

The Ionians refuse an alliance with Cyrus against Crœsus, but are compelled to submit to Harpagus, the Persian general.—(Herod. i. 141, 152–171 ; vi. 86 ; Thucyd. i. 13.)

The Ionians are compelled by Cambyzes to assist him against the Egyptians.—(Herod. ii. 1 ; iii. 1 ; Mionnet, *Médailles*, Suppl. v. 1, Nos. 195, 232.)

Great immunities granted by Smerdis the Magus.—(Herod. iii. 67.)

A fixed tribute levied by Darius. Oroëtis, the governor of Ionia, put to death.—(Herod. iii. 89, 90, 127 ; Polyænus, *Strat.* vii. 11, § 3.)

The tyrants of the Ionian cities, in order to retain their own power, neglect the opportunity of freeing their country from Persian subjection.—(Herod. iv. and vii. 10)

¹ (Suidas, voce *Αριστάρχος*.) As this happened in 559, dating back five years would bring it to 564, during which time Pindarus was *Tyrant*. As this, therefore, must be a mistake, it seems more probable to imagine that Aristarchus was sent for (instead of sent away) at the time of Cyrus's revolt, (B.C. 559,) and that on the growing power of the latter it was considered advisable to recall him.

The Ionians revolt against the Persians, and obtain the help of the Athenians ; but, after some successes, they are utterly defeated, and reduced to slavery. The land was "netted" by the Persians, the cities and temples burnt, (the Temple of Diana alone being spared,) the loveliest women were carried to Susa, and many of the male inhabitants sold as slaves. The tyrants of the several Ionic cities are deposed by Darius, and democratic governments substituted in their place.—(Herod. v. and vi.)

The Ionians are compelled by Darius to join his expedition to Marathon.—(Herod. vi. 95, 8 ; vii. 1, 4.)

The Ionians take part with Xerxes at the battle of Salamis.—(Herod. vi. and viii.)

After Xerxes' defeat at Salamis, he proceeded to the Hellespont, sending his children to Ephesus, under the care of Artemisia, queen of Caria.—(Herod. viii. 103.)

His general Mardonius being defeated and slain at the memorable battle of Plataea, Dionysiophanes, an Ephesian, buried him.—(Herod. ix. 84.)

The defeat of Xerxes was of incalculable benefit to civilization. Within fifty years after that event, the Greeks attained their highest degree of prosperity ; the arts, protected by riches, flourished ; and the age produced the most celebrated artists, philosophers, rhetoricians, and commanders ever known.—(Diod. Sic. xii. 1.)

The Ionians defeat the Persians at Mycale, and regain their liberty. The Athenians distress the country by the imposition of taxes, levied on the pretence of carrying on the war.—(Herod. viii. and ix. ; Thucyd. i. 94-96, 138 ; Diod. *Bibl. Hist.* xi. 34, 7.)

The maritime cities set free by Cimon the Athenian.—(Diod. Sic. xi. 60, 1 ; Polyæn. *Strat.* i. 34 ; Frontinus, *Strat.* iv. 7, § 45 ; Plut. *in Cim.* 12.)

Treaty entered into between Cimon and the Persians, whereby the freedom of the Asiatic Greek cities within three days' journey of the coast is guaranteed. — (Diod. Sic. xii. 3, 4 ; Plut. *Vita Cim.* 12.)

A thirty years' peace.—(Diod. Sic. xii. 26 ; Thucyd. i. 115 ; iii. 33.)

War between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for the pro-

tection of the Ionian cities. During the long Peloponnesian war, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians vied with each other in endeavouring to procure possession of the Greek cities in Asia, while each pretended to be desirous of achieving their independence. Thus, while the Lacedæmonians entered into an alliance with Tissaphernes on the part of the king, whereby, "whatever territories or cities the king or his ancestors possessed should remain his," Alcibiades persuaded the Persians that it would be difficult afterwards for the Persians to get rid of the Lacedæmonians; that "the Athenians only wanted to have possession of the sea to themselves, and would give up the land to the king; whereas the Lacedæmonians came to liberate the Greek cities, and render them independent not merely of the Athenians, but of the king also." He therefore counselled him to pit one against the other, and when both were worn out, and the Athenians sufficiently reduced, to get rid of the Peloponnesians altogether.—(Thucyd. viii.)

Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap,¹ sacrifices to Diana of Ephesus.—(Thucyd. viii. 109.)

Thrasyllus attacks Ephesus with a large force, but the Ephesians sallying forth, put the Athenians to flight.—(Diod. xiii. 64. See page 52.)

Lysander having gained the favour of the Ephesians, and formed a fleet, Alcibiades prepares to attack him; but, owing to the disobedience of his pilot Antiochus, the fleets engage during his absence, and the Athenians are defeated.—(Diod. xiii. 70, 71; Xen. *Hell.* i. 5; Plut. *in Alcib.* 35; Paus. ix. 32.)

On the arrival of Lysander at Ephesus,² he found the citizens

¹ The Persian satraps were possessed of the power and authority of kings. Provided that they sent to the Persian monarch the tribute of their provinces with regularity, they were allowed to act with absolute authority. Thus we find Orctes sitting in state, attended with a guard of a thousand men; and Cyrus, when satrap of Lydia and Ionia, sitting on a throne of solid gold and silver. So formidable was their power, that the king was often obliged to wink at their acts of insubordination, and to employ cunning and artifice to deprive them of their satrapies.

² When Lysander arrived at Ephesus, his hosts brought him, among other presents, an ox and a cheesecake. Lysander asked what the latter was? and being told it was composed of honey, cheese, and other delicacies:—"Take

enervated by Persian customs, and heedless of their former glory ; but by wise and salutary enactments, he succeeded in restoring them to affluence and power. He repaired the triremes, and soon found himself in command of a small fleet.

The Lacedæmonians defeat the Athenians in several engagements ; and at length Lysander enters Athens, and destroys the long walls.

Tissaphernes preparing to attack the cities of Ionia, the Lacedæmonians are entreated to come to their assistance, who entering Ionia, drive back the Persians.—(Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1, 2.)

Treaty between Tissaphernes and the Lacedæmonians, by which the Persians engaged to give liberty to all the Greek cities, if the Lacedæmonians would evacuate Asia.—(Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2.)

Agésilas endeavours, but in vain, to free the Greek cities of Asia from the Persian tribute ; but jealousy being excited in Greece against the Lacedæmonians, he is forced to retire.—(Plut. *in Ages.* ; Justinus, vi. 2 ; Frontinus, *Stratag.* i. 4, § 2 ; 11, § 16 ; Polyæn. *Strat.* ii. 1, § 30 ; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4, 5.)

Agésilas succeeds in inducing the whole province of Asia to revolt. He had brought their cities into obedience, and composed public affairs, without ordering the death of a single person. On his being obliged to leave Asia, on account of the troubles in Greece, “the Persian tax-gatherers reappeared in all the cities connected with, or in alliance with, the Greeks ; whereas, while Cimon (or Agésilas) had the command, not a single collector was seen, nor even a horseman, within fifty miles of the coast.”—(Plut. *in Ages.* 15 ; *in Cim.* 19.)

The Athenians regain their power, driving out the Lacedæmonian garrisons, but without appointing Athenian garrisons in their place ; in consequence of which, most of the cities of Asia proclaim their freedom. Owing to this change of fortune, the Ephesians, although the allies of the Lacedæmonians, erected statues to Conon and Timotheus, the Athenian commanders. For this they were satirized by Pausanias, who accused them, in the words of their

it,” said he to helots, (slaves,) “it is not fard for a free man ;” and then ordered the ox to be roasted in the manner of his country.—(Ælian. *Var. Hist.* iii. 20.)

own proverb, "of whitening two walls from the same earthen pot;" they having previously erected statues to Lysander, Eteoniscus, Pharax, and other Lacedæmonians. But this accusation was unjust; the Ephesians having remained firm to the Lacedæmonians, till Agesilaus had assumed the absolute power, and their civil institutions were destroyed: but on these being restored to them by the Athenians, they embraced their cause.

The Lacedæmonians re-obtain possession of Ephesus and several other cities of Asia.—(Diod. xiii. 84; Justinus, vi. 1-3; Paus. vi. 3; Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8.)

All parties being now tired of war, a peace is proclaimed, by which it was resolved that the cities of the province of Asia should become subject to the Persians, but that the other Greek cities should be free.—(Xen. *Hell.* v. 1; Plut. *in Ages.* 23; *in Artax.* 21.)

From this time, Ephesus and the other Ionian cities were subject and tributary to the Persian kings, who, satisfied with this submission, allowed them to frame their own laws, and even to elect to themselves *Tyrants*. In the reign of Mausolus, king of Caria, who died 353 B.C., Phytus was tyrant of Ephesus: but whether this was before or after the time of Heropythus, we cannot tell. From the exactions of these latter, the Ephesians were for a time relieved by Heropythus, in gratitude to whom they afterwards decreed a public burial in the Agora. Whether the city again became subject to tyrants, or whether it was oppressed by the Persian power, we are not informed; but Philip of Macedon sent an expedition to restore liberty to the Greek cities of Asia, on which occasion the Ephesians erected a statue to his honour.

Philip endeavours to procure freedom for the cities of Asia.—(Diod. Sic. xvi. 91.)

Alexander frees the Greek cities from all tribute, giving them permission to govern themselves by their own laws, proclaiming everywhere that he had only come to make war with Persia, in order to give liberty to the Greeks of Asia.—(Diod. xvii. 24.) "Alexander arrived at Ephesus on the fourth day after taking Sardis, bringing with him his partisans who had been banished from the city, and, abolishing the oligarchy, re-established the

popular government. He assigned to Diana the tribute paid to the *Barbarians*. Freed from the fear of the late oligarchy, the people sought to slay those who had given entry to Memnon, (the general of Darius, who had been sent to reinforce Ephesus against Alexander,) pillaged the Temple of Diana, broke the statue of Philip within the sacred building, and pulled down the tomb of Heropythus in the Agora, the restorer of liberty to the Ephesians. They dragged from the temple Syrphax, with his son Pelagon, and his nephews, (the members of the late oligarchy,) and stoned them. Alexander prevented the further extension of these punishments ; he foresaw that the people would soon abuse his power, and rise against the innocent as well as the guilty, in order to satisfy their private vengeance or cupidity ; and certainly, among Alexander's titles to glory, his conduct at Ephesus was not the least worthy." —(Arrian. i. 18.)

On the departure of Alexander, Autophradates, the Persian general, regained possession of Halicarnassus, together with Lesbos and several other islands, and shortly after Alexander's victory at Issus, came to besiege Ephesus. Part of the Ephesian forces encamped outside the city, but being dispersed about and amusing themselves, Autophradates requested a conference with the Ephesian chiefs, and whilst the latter were thus called away from their troops, his officers, acting on his previous instructions, attacked the Ephesians suddenly, cutting some to pieces, and taking the rest prisoners. But the city defended itself so valorously, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Halicarnassus.—(Polyæn. *Strat.* vii. 27 ; Arrian. ii. 13.)

Hegesias, the tyrant of Ephesus, had been assassinated by Anaxagoras, Codrus, and Diodorus, sons of Echeonax, shortly before the death of Alexander. Philoxenus, the prefect of Ionia, required them to be given up to him. This the Ephesians refused ; on which he entered the city with a body of troops, apprehended the three brothers, and putting them in chains, carried them away to Sardis. After a long and severe imprisonment, they procured a file from a friend, and liberating themselves from their chains, cut their clothes in shreds, and let themselves down from the walls. Diodorus fell and lamed himself, and being taken by the Lydians, was sent to Alexander to be punished ; but he being

dead, Perdikkas ordered them to take back Diodorus to Ephesus, and try him according to the laws of the country. On arriving there, he was liberated through the instrumentality of his brothers.—(Polyæn. vi. 49 ; Arrian. vii. 23, 24.)

On the death of Alexander, the East became a field of contention for his successors. The Greek cities of Asia were nominally free, but Antigonus had put garrisons in many of them.—(Diod. Sic. xviii.)

Antigonus had obtained possession of Ephesus by means of factions within the city ; but no sooner did Lysimachus commence the siege, than the inhabitants, seized with terror, opened their gates. On entering the city, he gave the Ephesians their liberty, but demolished the democracy, and instituted an oligarchy. He then burnt all the vessels in their harbour, to prevent their being used on any future occasion by the enemy, who were masters of the sea. Demetrius arrived shortly after, and encamped under the walls, and the inhabitants were thus compelled to submit themselves anew to Antigonus, the garrison being granted a capitulation, and the original government re-established. It was probably on this occasion that Lysimachus attempted to regain possession of the city through treachery, in the following manner :—

Demetrius having sailed on an expedition to Caria, left Diodorus, the captain of his guards, in charge of Ephesus, which he engaged to betray to Lysimachus for fifty talents. Demetrius hearing of the treachery contemplated, and fearing to attack the city openly, steered directly to Ephesus with a few small vessels. On entering the port, he instructed Nicanor, his captain, to give out that he had received orders from Demetrius to disembark and disband his forces, and send for Diodorus respecting his so doing. Diodorus approached in a small boat, having no idea of the presence of Demetrius, when, having approached sufficiently near, the latter sprung up from his place of concealment, and jumping into the boat upset it. The rowers were picked up, but Diodorus was left to perish, and thus Demetrius re-obtained possession of the city.—(Polyæn. *Strat.* iv. 7, § 4.)

Ephesus remained faithful to the cause of Antigonus and Demetrius ; and even after the defeat and death of Antigonus at Issus, the city not only opened its gates to the flying Demetrius, but

received him with every demonstration of good-will. "Demetrius fled to Ephesus with 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse ; and as he reached Ephesus in a short time, and was in want of money, it was expected he would not spare the Temple ; but he not only did so, but fearing his soldiers might be tempted to violate it, he immediately left the city, and embarked for Greece."—(Plut. in *Dem.* 30.)

After this battle, Lysimachus obtained possession of Ephesus, in common with other cities of Asia, and it was on this occasion that Lysimachus built some of the walls of the city, and endeavoured to make the Ephesians change the place of their residence, (see page 46.) But in consequence of his abolishing the democracy and instituting a senate, the Ephesians held him in such detestation, that on the return of Demetrius from Macedon, they immediately flocked to him, doing so with the greater readiness, because Lysimachus was then absent in Europe.—(Id. 46.)

Demetrius re-acquired possession of Ephesus, but lost it by the following stratagem :—

Demetrius had left Anætus, his general, in charge of Ephesus, who harboured there a number of pirates. Lysimachus' general, Lycus, found means to bribe the chief pirate Andron, (or Mandron,) who was frequently in the habit of entering Ephesus with his vessels laden with spoils. Having engaged to betray Ephesus to him, he pretended to make a little excursion, and returned to the city with his vessels filled with powerful Macedonians, whose hands appeared tied as if captives. Conducting them to the *Acropolis*, as if to put them in prison, at a given signal they shook off their ropes, and snatching their swords, which they had concealed under their cloaks, slew the sentinels, and made themselves masters of the city. After paying the pirates according to his agreement, Lycus expelled them from the city, justly considering that he could not depend on the fidelity of those who had been perfidious to their former friends.—(Polyæn. v. 19 ; Frontinus, iii. 3, § 7.) Lysimachus thus re-obtaining possession of Ionia, bequeathed it to his son Agathocles, whom he afterwards murdered, which so increased the hatred the Ephesians had always borne him, that they readily espoused the cause of Seleucus, who had kindly received the widow and children of Agathocles.

On the death of Lysimachus, while the city of Ephesus was dis-

tracted with seditions, and while the factions in favour of Seleucus threw those in favour of Lysimachus from the walls, and opened the gates, Arsinoë his wife placed a slave in the royal bedchamber, whom she dressed in her own robes, and posted a strong guard at the door. Then dressing herself in ragged clothes, and disfiguring her face, she passed through a private door, and ran to the harbour, and getting on board one of the vessels, weighed anchor immediately, and made her escape. Menecrates, in the meanwhile, one of the adverse generals, forced his way into the bedchamber, and slew the servant she had left there, mistaking her for Arsinoë.—(Polyæn. viii. 57.)

On the death of Seleucus, Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had married Arsinoë, the daughter of Lysimachus, obtained possession of Ionia for his son Ptolemy Euergetes, whom he made prefect ; but an incursion of Thracians happening in his time, and Ephesus being attacked, he fled to the Temple of Diana, his wife Irene, a courtesan, following him. After her husband was slain, she also was slaughtered, holding firmly the knockers of the doors, and her blood sprinkling the altar.—(Athen. p. 593.)

On the death of Antiochus Soter, his son Antiochus Theos ascended the throne of Syria, and made peace with Ptolemy by marrying his daughter Berenice, which so offended his former wife Laodice, that she poisoned him at Ephesus ; and in order to secure the succession to her son Seleucus Callinicus, made a creature of hers called Artemon, who happened to resemble the late king in person, enter the king's bed, pretend to be dangerously indisposed, and then calling the princes before him, solemnly recommend them to elect his son Seleucus as his successor. The stratagem succeeded ; and no sooner was Seleucus on the throne, than Laodice accomplished the death of Berenice and her son. She also endeavoured to assassinate Sophron, prefect of Ephesus ; but her intrigues were disclosed to Sophron by his wife Danaë, a courtesan, daughter of Leontius the Epicurean. In consequence of this information, he pretended to object to what was asked of him, demanding two days to consider the matter, but fled from Ephesus the same night. Laodice discovering the disclosure, ordered Danaë to be thrown from a precipitous rock. As she was being led away, she complained of the gods allowing her to be slain for preserving the

life of her husband, while Laodice, who had killed hers, was raised to honour and dignity.—(Athen. p. 593.)

During the reign of Seleucus Callinicus, and that of his son Seleucus Ceraunus, the Ionian provinces being left to themselves, recovered so much of their ancient liberty and independence, that Antiochus the Great, who succeeded his brother Seleucus Ceraunus, had to exact tribute by force of arms. The other cities yielded through fear; but Ephesus, which was ever considered a stronghold from whence to attack the rest of Ionia, and a bulwark for the defence of Asia against Europe, resisted. He obtained possession of it by the following stratagem:—"Antiochus warring against the Ephesians, ordered the Rhodians, who formed part of his army, to attack the harbour at night-time with great noise; and when all the people were hasting thither in disorder, leaving the other parts of defence unguarded, Antiochus attacked the city in the rear, and took it."—(Polyb. xviii. 32; Appian. 64; Front. *Strat.* iii. 9, § 10.)

Antiochus thus having obtained possession of Ephesus, it became the principal seat of the war that he carried on against the Romans. Asia seemed now to be without a master. All the wars in which she engaged tended to the destruction of the unhappy land. According as one prince was stronger than others, he endeavoured to seize their dominions as a prey. Antiochus and Seleucus, Eumenes and Ptolemy, ravaged the land in their turn, the Gauls being kept as mercenaries by the weakest party. — (Justinus, xxvii. 3.)

Antiochus sending an embassy of peace to Rome, the Romans replied that if Antiochus desired peace with the Romans, he must give freedom to the Asiatic Greeks, and abstain from Europe. Three years afterwards the Romans sent ambassadors to him, when Antiochus told them that they had no more right to inquire what he did in Asia, than he had to inquire what they did in Europe, and asked them why they interested themselves more for the Greeks in Asia than they did for the Greeks in Italy and Sicily, whom they kept in subjection? Antiochus thereupon declared war; but instead of adopting Annibal's suggestion of landing in Italy, he led his army into Greece, where being defeated, he fled back to Ephesus. Fearing now that the Romans would invade

Asia, he proceeded to the Chersonesus, to place garrisons in the several towns, leaving Polyxenidas to fit out the rest of the fleet and put to sea, and to prepare both land and sea forces.—(Appian. edit. Steph. 65-67 ; *de rebus Syr.* 9 ; Front. *Strat.* i. 8, § 7 ; Liv. xxxiii. xxxv. xxxvi.)

Polyxenidas, being defeated at Corycus, retires to Ephesus with the remainder of his fleet, for the purpose of repairs, while Annibal is sent to Syria to bring up the Phœnician navy.—(Liv. xxxvi. 44, 45 ; xxxvii. 8 ; Appian. 72 ; *de rebus Syr.* 22.)

Polyxenidas subsequently repaired this misfortune to some extent, by destroying the whole of the Rhodian fleet through a stratagem.—(Appian. 73 ; *de rebus Syr.* 24.)

Regillus being now sent out to take charge of the fleet, after the usual sacrifices, called a council. “Here Caius Livius, whose opinion was first asked, said that no one could give advice with greater sincerity than he who recommended to another what he himself would do in the same case : that his intention had been to sail with the whole fleet to Ephesus ; to have taken with him ships of burthen heavily laden with ballast, and to have sunk them at the entrance to the harbour ;¹ that the passage might be shut up in this manner with little difficulty, because the mouth of it was like a river, long and narrow, and full of shoals. By this expedient he would have cut off the enemy’s communication with the sea, and have rendered their fleet useless.

“This plan was not approved of by any of the council. King Eumenes asked whether, after sinking the ships, and after barring the pass to the sea, their own fleet would be at liberty to go away and succour their allies, and infuse terror into their adversaries ? or whether they would not be obliged to block up the port with their whole force ? for if they should withdraw, who could doubt that the enemy would weigh up the hulks that were sunk, and open the port with less labour than it had cost to shut it ? But if, after all, they were to remain there, what advantage could accrue from the harbour being closed ? Nay, on the contrary, the enemy enjoying a safe haven and an opulent city, furnished at the same

¹ The reader will naturally associate with this event the destruction of Charleston harbour in the present American war.

time with everything from Asia, would pass the summer at their ease ; while the Romans, exposed in the open sea to winds and waves, and in want of every accommodation, must continue on guard without intermission, and might more properly be said to be themselves blockaded than the enemy.

“Eudamus, the commander of the Rhodian fleet, rather showed his disapprobation of the plan proposed, than recommended any himself.

“Epicrates, the Rhodian, advised them not to think of Ephesus for the present, but to send a part of the fleet to Lycia, and bring Patara, the metropolis of that nation, into a treaty of alliance. This would conduce to two important results : first, the Rhodians being at peace with the countries opposite to their island, would be at liberty to employ the whole of their strength in the war against Antiochus : and the fleet which the enemy were fitting out in Lycia would be blocked up, and prevented from joining Polyxenidas. This plan was the most approved of ; nevertheless, it was determined that Regillus should sail with the entire fleet to the harbour of Ephesus to strike terror to the enemy.”—(Liv. xxxvii. 14, 15.)

Antiochus, at length putting out to sea, was defeated at Myonessus, while his Phœnician fleet, which was coming to his assistance under the command of Annibal, was taken or destroyed by the Romans. Antiochus was obliged to retire to Syria, leaving all the cities of Asia north of the Taurus open to the Roman power. On the division of the country between the Romans and their allies, Ephesus, with the greater portion of Asia Minor, fell to the share of Eumenes, king of Pergamus.

Thus the Romans neglected their constant promise of giving liberty to the Greek cities of Asia.—(Liv. xxxvii. ; Appian. 75, 81 ; Polyb. xxi. 27.)

From the time of the subjection of Ephesus to the kings of Pergamus, we have few notices of Ephesian affairs ; but these few serve to show that the city still continued to be the head of Ionia.

Eumenes was succeeded by his son Attalus II. (*Philadelphus*.) In his reign Artemidorus was sent to Rome about the Selinusian lakes, (see page 37,) and the same prince ordered the construction

of the mole across the harbour, (see page 54.) He was poisoned by his nephew Attalus III. (*Philometer*), who dying without issue, left the memorable will,—“P. R. MEORUM · HÆRES · ESTO,” the first two letters of which the Romans interpreted **POPULUS ROMANUS**, and accordingly seized the kingdom.

But the Ephesians, prompted by their usual love of freedom, rebelled against their invaders, and in spite of the will, took the part of Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes by a courtesan of Ephesus, who claimed the inheritance of his brother. He was ultimately conquered by the consul Perpenna.

They next took the part of Mithridates. The speech of Mithridates exciting his troops to war against the Romans is preserved to us in Justinus, in which, after eulogizing the bravery of his Gaulic and Scythian mercenaries, he says :—“No climate in the world is more temperate than that of Asia, no country more fertile, or better stored with wealthy and pleasant cities ; the best part of their time would be spent, not in the fatigues of war, but in festivals and sports, so that it was hard to say whether the service would prove more easy or advantageous ; they should specially reflect on the enormous wealth of Attalus' kingdom, on the ancient riches of Lydia and Ionia, which they did not go to fight for, but to possess ; that Asia was so desirous of his coming, that she seemed to invite him by unanimous consent ; so universal a hatred had the Romans drawn upon themselves by the rapacious avarice of their proconsuls, the exactions of their publicans, and the iniquity of their judges.”—(Justinus, xxxvii. 4.) This prince having subdued Phrygia, Mysia, and Asia, and appointed governors in the several cities and provinces, came at length to Ionia, where the Ephesians received him with the greatest joy, not from fear of his power, but from consummate hatred of the Romans, all the images of whom in their city they likewise pulled down.—(Appian. 121., edit. Steph. *de Bel. Mith.* 21.) In the general massacre, ordered by Mithridates, of all the Romans in Asia, wherein 80,000, according to Appian, (or 150,000, as declared by Plutarch,) were destroyed in one night, the Ephesians were not unwilling to perform their part, not even sparing those who fled to the temples. But impatient of control, and offended at Mithridates having left a garrison in the town, they threw his general Zenobius into

prison, and beheaded him. Having thus declared their independence, Tralles, Hypæpa, Smyrna, Sardis, and Colophon followed their example. Some of these were retaken, and severely punished by Mithridates; but afterwards, thinking they might take part with the Romans, he loaded them with benefits.—(Appian. 122, 131, *de Bello Mith.* 23, 48; Orosius, vi. 2.) On the temporary peace between Mithridates and the Romans, Sylla came to Ephesus, and though he refrained from punishing any of the inhabitants with death, he fined heavily all those who had taken part with Mithridates.—(Appian. 137, *de Bello Mith.* 61.)

The lamentable state of Asia at this period is but too faithfully pictured to us by Plutarch, in his lives of Sylla and Lucullus.

Lucullus was appointed quæstor in 78 B.C., and he probably on that occasion relieved the cities of Asia of many of these burdens; for afterwards, on his being elected consul, governor of Cilicia, and general of the Mithridatic war, “all Asia received him again with the greatest joy, having (since his departure) fallen again into their former misery, by reason of the intolerable evils with which they were oppressed through the Roman tax-farmers and usurers. Lucullus having established peace by many wise and good laws, did not refrain from festivities or pleasures, but during his stay in Ephesus he amused the Grecian cities with feasts and triumphal shows, and instituted prizes for gymnastic exercises and gladiatorial games. They, in return, instituted others in his honour, which they called *Lucullia*; but the heartfelt love with which they regarded him was more agreeable to him than the honour itself.”—(Plut. in *Lucul.* 23.)

Thirty years afterwards the Ephesians embraced the cause of Brutus and Cassius, whom they considered liberators, and raised subsidies in their behalf.

On their defeat, Antony arrived at Ephesus, and fined the inhabitants, as well strangers as natives, a great sum of money, sacrificing, however, to Diana with great pomp.—(Appian. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 26; v. 4, 5, 6.) Ephesus suffered nearly as much from the voluptuous Antony as from the savage Sylla. Sylla boasted that “he had repaid with usury the kindness of his friends and the injuries of his enemies:” but Antony favoured only the debauched, and was reckless of the misery of all beside. After giving the

most extravagant largesses to his soldiers, he gave up his soul to luxury, and fell into all the dissipation of his former life. Antony personified and called himself Bacchus, the women danced before him as Bacchantes, and the men and children as Fauns and Satyrs. He caused himself to be saluted as the "kind and benignant Bacchus:" and such, indeed, he was to some, but to others savage and severe; for he deprived many noble persons of their wealth, which he squandered away on sycophants and scoundrels; who frequently asked for the inheritance of persons yet alive, and seized possession of them before they were dead.

On the arrival of Cleopatra in Cilicia, it was said that "Venus had come to feast with Bacchus for the benefit of Asia:" and on her arrival at Ephesus, Antony allowed the citizens to call her queen.

Antony having thus given himself up to luxury and debauch, Labienus with an army of Parthians seized possession of Asia, from Syria and the Euphrates to Lydia and Ionia; but he was afterwards defeated by Ventidius, to whom Antony had committed the command of his troops.—(Plut. in *Ant.*)

On the declaration of war between Octavius and Antony, the latter "went to Ephesus, attended by Cleopatra. There he assembled his fleet, which consisted of eight hundred ships, whereof Cleopatra furnished two hundred, besides 20,000 talents, (£4,600,000,) and provisions for the whole army." From Ephesus they sailed to Samos, accompanied by the whole tribe of players and musicians, so that it was observed, "How will their triumph be celebrated, when their preparations for war are thus splendid."

On the death of Antony, Asia and Africa were united to the Roman empire, which began to date from that event.

From this time the cities of Asia became a quiet dependence of the Roman empire. Though they had lost their liberty, and had to contribute heavily towards the coffers of the state, they enjoyed an uninterrupted peace, which enabled them to increase in splendour and opulence. Each succeeding emperor either visited the provinces, or contributed to their public buildings. The names of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus, and Septimius Severus, frequently appear in inscriptions as benefactors to the various cities. Of these Tiberius, in the early

part of his reign, showed himself to be one of the most liberal, rebuilding or restoring no fewer than fourteen cities of Asia Minor, (among which was Ephesus,) that were destroyed by an earthquake which happened in his reign ; and replying to one who wished him to increase the taxes of the provinces, by saying, " It is the duty of a good shepherd to *shear* not *slay* his sheep." The emperor Adrian not only visited the principal cities, but on his return to Rome built at Tivoli imitations of the most remarkable buildings he had seen in the course of his travels.

We now come down to the Christian time, with the events of which doubtless every reader of the Bible is in great part acquainted. Those who desire more detailed information respecting this period are referred to Conybeare and Howson's " Life and Travels of St. Paul," and to the article " Ephesus " in Smith's " Biblical Dictionary," by one of these writers.

APPENDIX No. II.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE . . . . .	183

PERIOD THE FIRST.

B.C.	EARLY HISTORY.
<i>cir.</i> 1480.	THE aborigines of Ephesus conquered by <i>Sesostris</i> .
<i>cir.</i> 1250.	Ephesus founded by <i>Hercules</i> . His descendants, under the title of <i>Heracidae</i> , established themselves in Lydia, where they reigned till Candaules, the last of the <i>Heracidae</i> , was assassinated by Gyges, the founder of the <i>Mermnadae</i> , anno 718.
1044.	Planting of the Ionian colony under <i>Androclus</i> , Tyrant. <i>Sons of Androclus</i> , Tyrants. <i>Republic</i> .
660.	Sends out a colony to Egypt.

PERIOD THE SECOND.

TRIBUTARY TO THE KINGS OF LYDIA AND PERSIA.

	Ephesus governed by—	Satraps of Lydia and Ionia.	Tributary to—
<i>post</i> 619.	<i>Republic</i> . . . . .	. . . . .	Afterwards conquered by
<i>cir.</i> 570.	<i>Pindarus</i> Tyrant.	. . . . .	<i>Alyattes</i> .
562.	„ banished . . . . .	. . . . .	<i>Croesus</i> enforces tribute.
<i>cir.</i> { 559.	<i>Aristarchus</i> Tyrant.		
554.	„ abdicates.		
548.			<i>Cyrus</i> .
	The Ionians masters of the sea.	<i>Orætes</i> .	
529.		„	<i>Cambyses</i> .
	<i>Comas</i> Tyrant	„	
	<i>Athenagoras</i> Tyrant	„	
522.	„ „ probably	„	<i>Smerdis</i> , the Magus, exempts from tribute.
521.	„ „ „	„	<i>Darius</i> exacts tribute, and divides his kingdom into satrapies.
514.	— Tyrant	<i>Artaphernes</i> . <i>Otanes</i> , governor of sea coast.	

PERIOD THE THIRD. STRUGGLING FOR LIBERTY FROM THE PERSIAN YOKE.

B. C.	Ephesus governed by—	Allies or Enemies of Ephesus.	Satraps of Lydia and Ionia.	Allies or Enemies of Persia.	Tributary to—
ante 504.	<i>Republic and Revolt.</i>				
494.	— Tyrant	..	<i>Artaphernes</i> ..	..	<i>Darius.</i>
492.	<i>Republic</i> , established by	..	<i>Mardonius</i> ..	..	..
485.	..	..	..	..	<i>Xerxes.</i>
479.	.. and <i>Revolt</i>	with Athenians.			
450.	..	..	<i>Pisutanes.</i>		
440.	..	..	..
427.	..	..	..
413.	.. nominally subject	..	..	with Lacedæmonians	<i>Darius II.</i>
412.	..	From this time the Persians take the part of the Athenians and Peloponnesians alternately, in order to ruin both.	<i>Tisaphernes</i> ..	..
411.	<i>Oligarchy</i> ..	with Athenians ..	<i>Tisaphernes</i> ..	with Athenians ..	..
408.	<i>Republic</i> , tributary ?	against ..	but with ..	against ..	..
407.	<i>Decarchy</i> ..	with Lacedæmonians ..	<i>Cyrus</i> ..	with Lacedæmonians ..	..
404.	..	..	..	..	<i>Artaxerxes II.</i>
401.	.. and <i>Revolt</i>	..	<i>Tisaphernes.</i>	..	
399.	<i>Interregnum</i> ..	..	..	..
397.	..	..	..	..
396.	<i>Agessilaus</i> virtual Tyrant	..	<i>Tithraustes</i> , satrap of the sea.	Athenians.	
394.	Probably a <i>Tyrant</i>	..	<i>Teribazus</i> ..	Lacedæmonians.	
..	..	..	<i>Struthes</i> ..	Athenians.	
..	..	..	<i>Teribazus</i> ..	Lacedæmonians	
387.	— <i>Tyrant</i> *	<i>Artaxerxes III.</i>
ante 353.	<i>Phytus</i> ..	..	..	..
..	<i>Republic</i> , probably	..	..	..
336.	<i>Oligarchy</i> of <i>Syrphax</i> and his abolished family	Philip of Macedon	..	..
334.	<i>Republic</i> ..	Alexander ..	<i>Spithridates</i> , slain	..	<i>Darius III.</i> defeated.
..	..	..	<i>Asander</i> (Greek).	..	
..	..	..	<i>Autophradates</i> (Persian).	..	
..	..	..	<i>Menander</i> (Greek) ..	..	.. slain.
323.	..	..	<i>Philoxenus</i> , questor.	..	Extinction of the Persian empire.
322.	.. slain ..	Death of ..	<i>Clitus</i> , satrap of Lydia.	..	

PERIOD THE FOURTH.

IN POSSESSION OF THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

	Ephesus governed by—	Tributary to—
B.C.		
319.		<i>Antigonus.</i>
302.	<i>Oligarchy</i>	<i>Lysimachus.</i>
„	<i>Republic</i>	<i>Antigonus</i> , and his son <i>Demetrius.</i>
301.	<i>Oligarchy</i>	<i>Lysimachus.</i>
287.	<i>Anatus</i> , governor of	<i>Demetrius.</i>
„	<i>Lycus</i> , „ „	<i>Lysimachus.</i>
284.		<i>Seleucus</i> (Nicator) =
		└──────────┘
280.		<i>Antiochus</i> (Soter) =
	<i>Ptolemy</i> (Evergetes), governor of <i>Pto-</i> <i>lemy</i> (Philadelphus); an incursion of the Thracians.	└──────────┘
261.	<i>Sophron</i> , governor	<i>Antiochus</i> (Theos) =
		└──────────┘
246.		<i>Seleucus</i> (Callinicus) =
		└──────────┘
226.	Independent	<i>Seleucus</i> (Ceraunus).
		└──────────┘
223.	Subject to	<i>Antiochus</i> (the Great).
197.	Independent	„
195.	Subject to	„
192.	<i>Polyxenidas</i> , naval commander	„
190.	<i>Andronicus</i> , military „	„

PERIOD THE FIFTH.

SUBJECT TO THE KINGS OF PERGAMUS AND THE ROMANS.

190.	<i>Eumenes</i> , king of Pergamus =
	└──────────┘
159.	<i>Attalus II.</i> .. (Eumenes) =
	└──────────┘
138.	<i>Attalus III.</i>
133.	„ bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people.
	└──────────┘
126.	<i>Revolt</i> in favour of <i>Aristonicus.</i>
	Conquered by the Romans under Perpenna.
88.	<i>Revolt</i> in favour of <i>Mithridates.</i>
	<i>Independent.</i>
84.	Conquered by the Romans under Sylla.
44.	<i>Revolt</i> in favour of <i>Brutus</i> and <i>Cassius.</i>
41.	Finally subdued by Romans under <i>Antony.</i>

Thus for six hundred years Ephesus was governed by a republic ; one hundred years by kings ; twenty by an oligarchy ; one hundred and thirty it was controlled by a foreign garrison, and from 190 B.C. it was subject to the kings of Pergamus and the Romans.

PART II.

THE TEMPLE OF DIANA.

“The Temple of Diana at Ephesus is the only house of the gods.”

“Whoever examines it would believe that the gods had left their immortal regions to come down and live on earth.”

PHILO, de Septem Orbis Spectaculis.



I.

NOTICE OF THE WORKS OF ANCIENT WRITERS. — PREPOSTEROUS
ACCOUNTS OF MODERN TRAVELLERS. — MAGNIFICENCE AND CELE-
BRITY OF THE TEMPLE.

THE ancient writers on the Temple of Diana,
whose names are come down to us, are
Ctesiphon, Metagenes, Democritus, and Philo.

Others wrote on the City of the Ephesians,¹ but

¹ See page 14.

these only, whose names are mentioned, confined their attention to the Temple.

Ctesiphon and Metagenes, we are informed by Vitruvius, wrote a treatise on the symmetry of the Ionic order of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus.¹

Democritus is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius,² and by Athenæus;³ and from the latter it would appear that his work was divided into several books, and that it entered into a variety of subjects connected with the Ephesians.

Of the works of Philo, a fragment has come down to us.⁴ It begins properly enough in describing the foundations of the Temple; but the style is so fanciful and extravagant, that we may less regret the loss of the remaining portion of his treatise.

From the loss of these works of ancient writers, and the absence of any remains of the structure itself, modern travellers have imagined to themselves the most ridiculous conceits respecting this far-famed edifice. One regards the rude figure of a temple on the head of a small symbolical representation of the attributes of Diana, (see next page,) as a *fac-simile* of this celebrated temple.⁵ Another considers the Roman temple, supposed to be the Temple of Claudius,⁶ as the seventh temple, or that burnt by

¹ Vit. vii. Præf. Pliny calls him Chersiphron.

² Diog. Laert. ix. 7. ³ Athen. p. 525. ⁴ See page 223.

⁵ Cte. Caylus, in *Mém. sur la D. d'E. et sur son T.*, inserted in vol. xxx. p. 439, of *Mém. de Litt.* He assumes as certain that it represents the Temple of Ephesus, but is only doubtful which of the eight, it having been burnt seven times. ⁶ See page 111.

Herostratus.¹ Two² imagine that the thirty-six columns *cœlatae* were similar to the Hadrian, Trajan, and Antonine columns in Rome. Two other travellers³ look upon the arch of the Stadium as the door of the Temple: another⁴ supposes that the fountain (called after St. John) served for the



ablutions of those who entered the Temple, or as a vessel wherein to place offerings: another⁵ that the Stadium, the Theatre, and all the other buildings of the city, were so many dependencies of the Temple; but the great majority of travellers unite in considering the building which I have called the Great

¹ Usborne, p. 310.

² Cesarianus, *Vitr. iv. nota*; M. de la Chause, in the *Rom. Mus. Mich. Ang. Caussei*, Roma, 1746.

³ Tavernier, i. 81; Le Brun, p. 31.

⁴ Tavernier, p. 81.

⁵ Cte. Caylus, *ut supra*, p. 435.

Gymnasium, as the remains of the eighth or last Temple of Diana.

Thus Byron writes of these ruins :—

“ I have beheld the Ephesian miracle ;
Its columns strew the wilderness, and dwell
The hyæna and the jackall in their shade.”

Comte Caylus endeavours to reconcile the dissimilarity of this building, to the descriptions given us in Pliny, by supposing that the eighth temple, or that described by Pliny, was not the last one, but that the eighth temple was burnt, and another in a ruder style built on its site, which in its turn was ruined by the Goths ; and that it is this last building which we now see, the irregularity of which would be thus accounted for.¹ Another traveller² considers that the two wings may have served as habitations for the priests, or may have been in other ways connected with the worship of Diana. Even the careful Revett,³ the co-author of the “ Antiquities of Athens,” regarded these buildings as identical, and says that the peribolus or enclosure still remains. The subterranean chambers,⁴ instead of being considered an objection, are looked upon as further evidences of this building being the remains of the Temple. Poleni⁵ thought they were

¹ Cte. Caylus, *ut supra*, p. 433.

² Prokesch, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii. 116.

³ MS. notes to Chandler, i. 169.

⁴ See page 96.

⁵ Dissert. del Marchese Gio. Poleni sopra il T. di D. E., inserted in the *Saggi di Dissert. Acad. dell' Acad. Etrus. di Cortona*, vol. i.

constructed to keep the Temple dry. The Comte de Forbin¹ and M. le Brun,² suggest that a careful examination of these vaults might give the exact dimensions of the Temple, the place of the columns, and the walls of the cella; while some appear to consider that they were used for the mysteries of the heathen mythology, and were called "The Labyrinth of Diana's Temple."³ Dallaway⁴ observes,—“Every circumstance of description (of the Temple of Diana) which we know, accords with this spot, excepting* the distance from the city walls;” and from this objection he concludes it to be the church of St. John: and afterwards speaking of the Opistholeprian Gymnasium, says,—“It may be doubted whether this be not the Temple of Diana. The grandeur of its plan, and its dimensions, which are still marked by a long nave finished by an arch of great expanse at either termination, seem to favour the pretensions of this edifice above that of the other (Great Gymnasium). In various parts of description they correspond, excepting that this was beyond the limits of the city walls, and it is probable that at one time it has been washed by the sea. Moreover the Turks, from whose barbarous corruptions, or analogous terms, the real and more ancient name is in some instances to be collected, call this particular ruin *Kislar Serai*, ‘Palace of the Virgins.’ ”

¹ Forbin, p. 22.

² Le Brun, p. 29.

³ See page 97; Chishull, p. 26.

⁴ *Const.* p. 220.

Prokesch,¹ however, insists upon the Great Gymnasium being the Temple of Diana; he says,—“He knows not why Chandler and others² refuse to recognize (the Great Gymnasium) as the remains of the Temple, and that from the accounts handed down to us by the ancients, we should be forced to acknowledge this to be the site, even if there were no ruins extant.”

The Temple of Diana, raised by the arts of Greece and wealth of Asia, was ever regarded as the most extraordinary work of Grecian art. Philo³ places it as the sixth among the seven wonders of the world: Hyginus⁴ and Vibius Sequester⁵ as the first, and others as the second.⁶ Callimachus⁷ and Dionysius⁸ call it an immense miracle. Its distant effect is described by an ancient author as shining like a meteor.⁹ Solinus characterizes it as the glory of the most noble city of Ephesus;¹⁰ Mela as the most famous temple;¹¹ Livy as being universally

¹ *Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 109. ² Col. Leake, with his usual discernment, perceived that the spot usually selected for the position of the Temple was not the true one; and prudently abstaining from hazarding a hasty conjecture, contented himself with observing, that “very little doubt remains as to its exact situation.”—(*Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, p. 258.)

³ Philo Byz. *de Septem Orbis Mir.* ⁴ Hyginus, *Fab.* ccxxiii.

⁵ Vib. Seq. *Append. Incip. VII. Mira.*

⁶ Menestrier, *Symb. Dianæ Eph.* p. 46.

⁷ Callimachus, *Hymn.* v.

⁸ Dion. Perieg. v. 829.

⁹ Chandler, i. 173. He gives no reference.

¹⁰ Solinus, edit. of 1498, caput ii.; edit. of 1646, caput xliii.

¹¹ Mela, i. 17.

celebrated.¹ Pliny, after descanting on the praises of the tomb of Porsenna, and the hanging gardens of Thebes, continues:—"But though these are wonderful, the Temple of the Ephesian Diana is a work of truly admirable magnificence."² Herodotus compares it with the Pyramids and Labyrinth of Egypt:³ Martial also, in speaking of it, refers to the Pyramids, to the wonders of Babylon, to the pensile Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and to the Colosseum at Rome.⁴ Pausanias, after observing that the ancients privately honoured the Ephesian Diana above all other deities, observes, that this might have arisen from "the splendour of the goddess, the flourishing state of the city of the Ephesians, and the magnitude of the Temple, which surpasses every other structure raised by human hands."⁵ Callimachus informs us that it was superior to the celebrated temple of the Pythian Apollo at Delphi, and that "the Sun never saw a larger or richer:"⁶ Philo says of it, that "it is the only house of the gods; and that whoever examines it, would believe that the gods had left their immortal regions to come down to live on earth."⁷ Antipater thus describes it:—"I have seen the wall of the ancient Babylon, upon which chariots ran, and (the statue of) Jupiter (Olympius, in the cele-

¹ Liv. i. 45.² Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 21.³ Herod. ii. 148.⁴ Mart. *de Spectac.* i.⁵ Paus. iv. 31; vii. 5.⁶ Callimachus, *Hymn.* v.⁷ Philo Byz. *de Septem Orbis Mir.*

brated temple) by the Alpheus, and the Hanging Gardens (of Babylon) and the Colossus of the Sun, and the great labours of the lofty Pyramids, and the ancient monument of Mausolus. But when I beheld the Temple of Diana running up to the clouds, all these were obscured; and if the sun has seen, it has never beheld anything of such a kind, except Olympus."¹ Solinus says it was spared by Xerxes, only on account of its magnificence.² It appears from an ancient epigram that it was called the *Parthenon*, for the same reason as the Temple of Minerva at Athens.³ Though Ephesus never ranked as one of the principal oracles, there are circumstances which might induce us to suppose it was sometimes esteemed as such, viz., the presents which Cræsus sent to the Temple of Diana, in common with the principal oracles then in existence;⁴ the fact that it is expressly called an oracle in the story of the original foundation of the city, and the order given by the oracle on the occasion of the intended foundation of Massilia by the Phocians, to consult Diana of Ephesus.⁵

¹ *Greek Anthology*, Eton Collect. lvi. ; Burges, p. 107.

² Solinus, *ut suprâ*. ³ Petr. Fabr. *Liber Semest. Tert.* p. 54.

⁴ Herod. i. 92.

⁵ See Part II. Ch. V.

II.

SITUATION OF THE TEMPLE.

IT is wonderful that buildings, which from their magnitude and grandeur were once considered as miracles, should not only have passed away, but have left even their very site unknown. Although we are in possession of a number of particulars respecting the position of this temple, no one has been able, to the present hour, to fix upon its site with certainty, or even with probability. At the same time it must be allowed, that although some of these particulars are contradictory, travellers have not taken sufficient pains, either to collect these particulars, or to endeavour to reconcile them.

1. In the first place, we know it was outside the city.

This appears from the story of Pindarus, given us by Herodotus;¹ from Strabo;² and from the life of Heraclitus the Ephesian,³ in which he is one day represented as playing with some children in the road leading to the Temple of Diana.

¹ Herod. i. 26. See Appendix, Hist. Events, 562 B.C.

² Strabo, p. 641.

³ Diog. Laert. ix. 1.

2. It was originally on the sea shore.

Herodotus¹ and Strabo² both affirm that the plain of Ephesus was once a gulf of the sea. Pliny still more directly tells us³ that “Fine land is sometimes caused by the retiring of the sea, as at Ephesus, where sometime the sea beat upon the Temple of Diana :”⁴ and Callimachus, in his Hymn to Diana, says, — “To thee also, the Amazons, of warlike propensity, erected on the shore of Ephesus, a statue and afterwards a temple.”⁵

3. It was on a marsh.⁶

This every one will recollect, who has ever heard of the Temple of Diana. Pliny, who gives us this particular, says it was so placed to insure it from earthquakes. It is probable that by Pliny’s expression, “in solo id palustri fecere,” we are to understand not the centre of an actual marsh, or stagnant pool, but simply damp and fenny ground, subject to inundations, and covered with reeds and rushes. Such is likely to have been the case with a spot of ground standing at the head of a lake, and skirted by two rivers. And thus it is not requisite to search for the site of the temple in an actual marsh,

¹ Herod. ii. 10. ² Strabo, p. 691. ³ Plin. *H. N.* ii. 91.

⁴ This statement of Pliny, Larcher imagines to be a misunderstanding of the passage of Herodotus.—(Larcher, *Herod.* tom. vii. Table Geog. voce Ephesus.) But I see no reason for supposing so.

⁵ Callimachus, *Hymn.* v. v. 237.

⁶ Plin. xxxvi. 21. See page 221.

but merely in ground subject at one time to inundations. Diana was not only the goddess of woods and forests, but also of lakes, rivers, fountains, and even marshes. Thus, at Alorium, near Helos, there was a temple dedicated to Diana *Eleia*, or Diana *in the marshes*,¹ and another at Messeni.² At Trœzen was the Temple of Diana *Soronis*, built in a marsh.³ Near the mouth of the Alpheus, and eighty stadia from Olympus, was a wood consecrated to Diana *of Alpheus*, the whole locality of which was full of temples of Diana, Venus, and the Nymphs, situated for the most part in the groves, which were always green by reason of the abundance of water.⁴

4. It was at the head of the Sacred Port.

This is evident from the circumstance of the port being called “ Sacred ” in Creophylus’ account of the first colonization of the city.⁵ Strabo also says:—“ Next comes Panormus, with the Temple of Diana Ephesia, and then the city of Ephesus : ”⁶ and lastly, Chandler refers to an ancient author, who described it as “ standing at the head of the port, and shining like a meteor. ”⁷

The port Panormus, being separated from the sea by a long canal, would be regarded as a lake, which, next to a wood, was of all other objects held most sacred to Diana. Numerous are the instances in proof of this. In the city of Sicyon,⁸ and in the

¹ Strabo, p. 350. ² Hesychius, *in ἐλεία*. ³ Paus. ii. 30.

⁴ Strabo, p. 343 ; Paus. vi. 22. ⁵ Athen. p. 361.

⁶ Strabo, p. 639. ⁷ Chandler, i. 173. ⁸ Paus. ii. 7.

city of Lesche, at Laconia,¹ there were temples of Diana *Λιμναία*. At Sparta there was a temple of Diana in the place which was called *Λιμνάται*,² and there were temples of Diana *Λιμνάτιδος* in the borders of Bææ and Epidaurus,³ in the region of Messenia adjoining Laconia,⁴ and at Calamæ,⁵ at a place seven stadia from Tegea,⁶ and at Patræ in Achaia.⁷ There was also a temple of Diana *Λίμνη* in Corsica.⁸ It was at the *Limnæ* that the Lacedæmonian women were outraged, who had gone there to sacrifice to Diana according to ancient custom.⁹ And at Leucophrys there was a temple of Diana, which was held in high veneration, and which had “a lake more than one stadium in length, of a sandy bottom, kept full by perpetual springs, its waters fine for drinking, and warm.”¹⁰ The Temple of Diana at Aricia “had in front of it a lake like a sea, surrounded by mountains.”¹¹ And from juxtaposition to harbours, Diana was called *Philormistira*, *Munychia*, *Limenescopus*, and *Limenessin Episcopus*.¹²

5. It was situated between two rivers.

“The Temple of Diana is environed by two rivers, called Selinus, coming from different parts.”¹³ This

¹ Strabo, page 361, says the Temple was thence called *Limnaion*.

² Paus. iii. 16.

³ Id. iii. 23.

⁴ Id. iv. 4.

⁵ Id. iv. 31.

⁶ Id. viii. 53.

⁷ Id. vii. 20.

⁸ Guhl, *Eph.* 85, quoting Cluver, *Corsic. Ant.* pp. 505 and 508.

⁹ Strabo, pp. 257 and 361.

¹⁰ Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2.

¹¹ Strabo, p. 239.

¹² Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, p. 85.

¹³ Plin. *H. N.* v. 31.

is also referred to by Xenophon, in his description of the Temple of the Ephesian Diana, which he built at Scillus, "in the place directed by an oracle, through which the river Selinus happens to run, a river of the same name running hard by the Temple of the Ephesian Diana, and in both these are shell-fish as well as other fish."¹ Diogenes Laertius to the same effect (ii. 52). Strabo also notices this river: "The city of Ægeum is traversed by the river Selinus, the same name as that which flows near the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and that of Elis, which traverses the place bought by Xenophon for the Temple of Diana, in obedience to an oracle."² Ephesus we know to have had two rivers, the Caystrus and the Cenchrius, which it was justly proud of representing on its coins, sometimes by their names, sometimes merely by two jars; in which latter case, indeed, they may have referred to those rivers which environed the temple. The Cenchrius has been supposed to have been in a different part of the valley,³ but by Timotheus's hymn we learn that one of the rivers which flowed near the Temple was called by this name; and as we know that both these rivers were called Selinus, it is evident that one of them must have borne two names. Some may regard the Selinus rivers as water-brooks, in winter time charged with the waters of the adjacent

¹ Xen. *Anab.* v.

² Strabo, p. 387

³ Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, p. 14.

hills, and in summer as dry channels, unfed by any spring. Such inconstant streams could never have been supplied with fish, as we are told the Selinus was, and therefore we must look to the actual streams for these noted rivers. Now we find that the Caystrus is stocked with an abundance of fish,¹ and possibly the two canals referred to. Nothing was more common with the ancients than to give a variety of names to the same object, and thus it is possible that the Cenchrius might have been called Selinus by poets, from its banks being covered with *parsley*,² and thus that the two streamlets running into the Caystrus, one from the City Port, the other from the "Marsh on the other side of the city," are the rivers Selinus here alluded to.

From the instances already quoted, we have seen the appropriateness of regarding rivers as sacred to Diana. This fact is further shown by Horace, (*Ode* I. 25, v. 5,) and Catullus (xxxiv. v. 12). At the Cladeus and Alpheus also, and at Ortygia in Syracuse, we are informed, Diana was called *Potamia*, or the River Goddess.³ Diogenes, in Athenæus, makes the Lydian and Bactrian virgins celebrate her feasts at the river-side under Mount Tmolus.⁴

¹ W. J. Hamilton, *Researches*, i. 540.

² From the similarity of the word, one might also derive it from *Selene*, the *Moon*; but as all the authorities spell it *Selinus*, we must take the other signification of it to be the correct one.

³ And so called by Pindar, *Pyth. Od.*

⁴ Athen. p. 636.

6 Distance of the Temple.

Another means of determining the situation of the Temple is by distance. Vitruvius informs us that it was 8,000 feet (a mile and a half) from the quarries.¹ Xenophon the Ephesian, that it was seven stadia (4,200 Greek feet) from the city:² Herodotus gives the same distance from the "old town:"³ and Strabo says that it was between the distance of one and two javelin-throws from the city;⁴ which, as he says a javelin-throw exceeded one stadium, would give a distance of about one and a half to three stadia, or from 900 to 1,800 Greek feet.

There appears at first some difficulty in reconciling these statements. Herodotus hereby makes the Temple 4,200 feet distant from the old town (in the year 562 B.C.). Xenophon the Ephesian gives it the same distance from the city in his time, the beginning of the fourth century after the Christian era: while Strabo sets it down at only 900 to 1,800 feet, and Vitruvius augments it to 8,000 feet from Mount Pion, where we know the city to have once stood.

Let us now endeavour to find out whether any position will accord with all these particulars.

In the first place it may be observed that the accompanying map of the plain of Ephesus is reduced

¹ Vit. x. 6, quoted in page 226.

² Xen. Eph. *de Amor. Anth. et Abroc.* i. 2.

³ Herod. i. 26.

⁴ Strabo, p. 641.

from the chart of the Gulf of Scala Nuova and Ephesus, published by the Hydrographic Office, which I should presume to be correct, not only as concerns the coast, but also as regards the river Caystrus: and, secondly, I would suppose that the ancient course of the river was not very far different from the present one.

Looking, then, at this map, I would place the Temple at the confluence of the Caystrus with the stream flowing from the City Port, and should suppose that the Sacred Port, or Panormus, occupied the space within the bend of the river in this locality.

This situation will accord with what we know of Port Panorinus, which was at some distance from the sea, and at some distance from the city, (see page 58,) and it accords with the position of the Temple at the head of the port. It agrees with the situation between two rivers coming from different parts: and if we regard the two streamlets from the City Port and the "Marsh on the other side of the city," as the rivers Selinus, the position of the Temple nearer one stream than the other, will clear up that which otherwise would appear a difficulty, viz., that though Pliny in the preceding quotations speaks of *two* rivers Selinus, Xenophon and Strabo only mention one, and say that that one was well stocked with fish. Thus the expression of Strabo,—"*the river Selinus which flows near the Temple of Diana at Ephesus;*" and

that of Xenophon,—“a river of the same name running also *hard by* the Temple of the Ephesian Diana,” so far from being in conflict with the account of Pliny, would be in perfect accordance with it, from the circumstance of the Temple being so much nearer one river Selinus than the other.

This situation, moreover, will be found to correspond precisely with Vitruvius' distance of 8,000 feet from the quarries, which are on the north side of Mount Pion;¹ and if we suppose the City Port to have been included within the walls of the city of Androclus, as already surmised,² we shall find that there is just seven stadia distance, or 4,200 Greek feet, between this part of the city wall and the Temple;³ thus agreeing with the account of Herodotus; and as the present ruins of the city occupy the space between Mount Pion and the City Port, we may fairly suppose that the further extremity of the City Port formed the boundary of

¹ Prokesch, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii. 103.

² See page 43. Even were we to suppose that the more ancient city occupied no portion of the plain, this position of the Temple would still be conformable to the strict reading of Creophilus, it being also seven stadia distant from the western extremity of Mount Coressus.

³ When Cræsus besieged the city, his nephew Pindarus, who was Tyrant of Ephesus, seeing capture inevitable, united the city with cords to the Temple of Diana, a distance of seven stadia, so as to place the city under the protection of the goddess.—(Herod. i. 26; Ælian. iii. 26.) It is to be observed that this distance refers to the Temple itself; but the distances given us by other authors refer to the peribolus.

the city also in the time of Xenophon the Ephesian ; and consequently that the seven stadia mentioned by that author would be equally correct. The part of the town just described, containing the public buildings, we may regard as the nucleus of the town, or what we in modern parlance call the *city*, or the *old town* ; and it is perfectly reasonable to suppose that suburbs extended round the city on all sides, and that some of these, or perhaps merely some scattered houses, or villas, were included in the distance of one and a half to three stadia from the Temple, mentioned by Strabo. Or it might have been reckoned from the walls of the city proper to the wall of the outer temenos of the Temple. Thus, so far, everything seems in favour, nay, in confirmation of this locality : there is one particular, however, which, as generally understood, would seem at utter variance with it, and indeed, in any way that we regard it, we must acknowledge that the passage is one of difficulty. Pausanias tells us that “ the sepulchre of Androclus was to be seen in the street or road which led from the Temple of Diana to the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, and the gates called Magnesian : ”¹ and some authors have accordingly supposed that the Temple of Diana was outside the Magnesian gate to the south or east of the city. A reference to the plan of the city will show, that the Magnesian

¹ Paus. vii. 2.

gate would naturally be at Opistholepre, but no circumstance with which we are acquainted would warrant our placing the Temple in this direction. Recent writers have endeavoured to accommodate this, by supposing the Magnesian gate to be near the Stadium; but though it is possible that such of the inhabitants living at this part of the town might prefer leaving the city by the gate near the Stadium, and skirting round the outside of Pion till they got into the Magnesian road, rather than traverse the whole length of the city, in front of the Theatre, and through the valley of Smyrna-Tracheia, out by Opistholepre; yet we cannot suppose that this could ever have been called the Magnesian gate; and, indeed, if it were, it would be just as difficult, or rather as impossible, to find a situation for the Temple in this locality, answering the various particulars we are possessed of.

But placing the Magnesian gate in its natural position, as already indicated, at Opistholepre, we shall find that Smyrna-Tracheia, or the valley between Pion and Coressus, presents a straight line between it and the Temple of Diana. The difficulty then becomes:—As there was another gate between the Temple and the Magnesian gate, why did not the historian refer to the nearer, rather than to the more distant one? But the gate in question might not have borne any particular name, or it might not have been so celebrated as the Magnesian gate at the other extremity of the city; and as that hap-

pened to be in a line, and led to so famous a city as Magnesia, the historian might refer to it, rather than to the former: or, it might have taken its name from the city of Magnesia ad Sipylum. But on examining the passage in Philostratus, where he describes the stoa built by Damianus, (see Part II. ch. VI.) we find he makes use of the following remarkable words:—"It commenced from that way which *led down* to the Magnesian (gates) (*κατατείνας εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν διὰ τῶν Μαγνητικῶν κάθοδον*). This passage, while it confirms the one already quoted from Pausanias, renders the connection between the Temple of Diana and the Magnesiān gate still more evident. But whereas the former passage made it doubtful whether the Temple of Diana should not be placed to the south-east of the city, so as to be near the Magnesian gate; this, on the contrary, does not affect the situation of the *Temple*, but merely the position of the gate: for the expression of *leading down* to the Magnesian gates, would show either that the common road to Magnesia was not the direct one, which is that which *lies up* what I have called the Magnesian defile, but that it lay down to the sea-side, and then ran along the coast towards Pygela and Marathesium: or, that the Magnesian gates were so called from leading to the city of Magnesia ad Sipylum. If this can be proved, we have no further difficulty respecting the situation of the Temple, as the Magnesian gate would be on the west side of

the city, opposite the Temple ; and then every circumstance would confirm the position I have assigned to it.¹

¹ It is due to the critical research and discernment of Dr. Guhl to state the objections which are to be made to the position which he has assigned to the Temple of Diana. The situation he has selected is immediately north of the city, and contiguous to the stream running from the marsh on the other side of the city. This stream he also calls the Selinus, but he does not show the other river Selinus. But granting to him the other river Selinus, and thereby rendering his position of the Temple, equally with my own, between the two rivers Selinus, and nearer to one stream than the other, and allowing that his position of the Temple is still more reconcilable than mine to the situation of the supposed Magnesian gate, in every other particular it will, I think, be found to tally less with the particulars given to us. It measures only 2,800 feet distant from Mount Pion, instead of 8,000, as told us by Vitruvius ; he makes no distinction between the City Port and the Sacred Port ; he brings* Port Panormus, or what he calls the Ephesian Port, up to the city walls, when we know that it was at some distance from the city ; he brings the port up to the Temple, instead of taking the Temple down to the port ; and his position of the Temple at an equal distance from the sea as Ephesus itself, and on the north side of the city, and consequently at greater distance from any one coming from Marathesium and Pygela, is apparently at variance with Strabo's expression, "Next comes Panormus, with the Temple of Diana Ephesia, and then the city of Ephesus." But though the plan seems thus inexact, in his text he acknowledges *two* rivers Selinus, (*Ephesiaca*, p. 12,) and *two* ports, the Sacred and the Civic.—(Id. p. 9.)

III.

THE EARLIER TEMPLES OF DIANA, AND THEIR CONFLAGRATIONS.

THE Temple of the Ephesian Diana is of equal antiquity with the city : the origin of each is veiled in the midst of ages. Thus Pausanias informs us :—"The Temple of Diana is much more ancient than the colonization of the Ionians ; and it appears to me that Pindar was not acquainted with all the particulars respecting this temple ; for he says that this temple was built by the Amazons, when they warred on the Athenians and Theseus. It is true that these women from the river Thermodon, sacrificed even then to the Ephesian goddess, being well acquainted with the Temple from ancient times ; and when they fled from Hercules, and still prior to him from Bacchus, they came hither as suppliants. But the Temple was by no means built by the Amazons, for Cresus, a native of the place, and Ephesus, who is thought to have been the son of the river Cayster, raised this temple, and the city received its name from Ephesus."¹

¹ Paus. vii. 2.

The latter sentence is merely to be regarded as a customary mode of expression among the ancients to denote great antiquity. Its great age is further shown by the circumstance of the Temple being formerly washed by the sea,¹ and from its statue having been a *diopetes*, or one of those which were supposed to have fallen from Jupiter, or heaven. Some even pretended that the Temple, like the statue,² fell down from heaven.³ But great as was the antiquity of the Temple, the worship of the goddess was even more remote: sacrifices having been paid to her, long before the erection of a temple, under the figure of the trunk of an elm-tree;⁴ over⁵ which the Amazons subsequently built a temple;⁶ and Hyginus tells us that Otrita, the wife of Mars, was queen of the Amazons at that time.⁷

¹ See page 198. ² And the church of S^a. M^a. di Loretto.

³ Scaliger, quoting an ancient Greek epigram, lib. ii. pars ii. p. 55, No. DCCCLXX.

⁴ Dion. Perieg. v. 829.

⁵ Such I conceive to be the meaning of Dionysius' expression,—*πρέμνῳ ἐνι πτελέῃς*; for, according to the usual reading, the Amazons built a temple, an immense miracle to man, *on* the trunk of an elm-tree, which is evidently absurd. Some have endeavoured to explain this by substituting *altar* for temple, and others by supposing that *πτελέῃς* refers to *Ptelea*, one of the quarters of the city; (see page 24) but then there would have been no occasion for the word *πρέμνῳ*. But reading,—*over* the trunk of an elm-tree, the meaning is quite clear, and corresponds with the expression used by Callimachus:—"They afterwards constructed *around* this statue a vast temple." (v. 248, 9.)

⁶ Dion. Perieg. v. 829; Mela, *de Situ Orbis*, i. 16; Solinus, *Polyhist.* xliii.; Paus. iv. 31. ⁷ Hyginus, *Fab.* ccxxiii. ccxxv.

If we regard this Otrita to be identical, as has been supposed, with the Orithya mentioned by Justinus, one of her sisters, Menalippe, married Hercules; and another, Hippolyte, married Theseus;¹ consequently the date of the first temple would be earlier than 1235 B.C. And this would be confirmed by Pindar, as quoted by Pausanias, who says:—"This temple was built by the Amazons, when they warred on the Athenians and Theseus."² But as Marpesia, the mother of Orithya, gave out that she and her sister Lampeto were the *daughters* of Mars, it is not probable that her daughter Orithya would declare herself to be the *wife* of Mars; but rather, that the mother of Marpesia and Lampeto was the Otrita, spoken of by Hyginus as the wife of Mars and Queen of the Amazons. This supposition would date the building of the first Temple of Diana two generations earlier, or about the year 1300 B.C.

On the Amazons being attacked by Hercules, who was sent by Eurystheus to obtain the belt of Antiope,³ they fled for refuge to this temple;⁴ and Hercules not only respected the asylum, but

¹ Justinus, ii. 4.

² Paus. vii. 2.

³ Hercules is generally said to have been sent to take the belt of *Hippolyte*; Justinus, (ii. 4.) states the tradition differently: he says, Hercules was commanded to take the belt of the *queen* of the Amazons; and the queen at this period was Antiope. The account in Pausanias, however, (i. 41) differs from this historian.

⁴ Eustathius, *Com. Dion. Geog.* p. 147. (Oxon, 1710.)

established the Temple with rites and ceremonies.¹ According to Eusebius, the Amazons² subsequently burnt the Temple, and immediately afterwards Silvius *Posthumus* was the third king of the Latins.³ This must, therefore, have happened about 1150 B.C.

On the arrival of the Ionian colony, we find that the Temple had been rebuilt, and that the Amazonian women had fixed their habitations round about it; but the Leleges and Lydians dwelt in the hills. We also find that the Ionian colonists consulted the oracle of this temple, in obedience to which they selected the site of their city, and built in gratitude another temple to the honour of Diana, in the Agora, within their city.⁴ The reason of building this second temple, might have been either from wishing to have a temple within the city; or from desiring to celebrate her rites in the Greek manner; or else in order to worship her under another form, as Diana *Venatrix*, or Diana *Lucifera*. As we have no further particulars respecting this temple in the Agora, we cannot suppose it was of any consequence, or that it at all interfered with the original temple at the port.

The Temple of Diana, according to Pliny, had

¹ See page 21.

² This was another tribe of Amazons, and came from Cimmeria. —(Syncellus, *Chron. Gr. et Lat.* 1652.)

³ Eus Pamph. *Chronic. Canorum*, ii. 95.

⁴ See page 42.

been burnt seven times:¹ the temple which he described being the eighth. The *first* temple, as just stated, was built about 1300 B.C., or at latest 1235, and was burnt about 1150 B.C. The burning of the second temple is only mentioned incidentally in that of the *third*. Clemens *Protrepticus* says:—“This fire burnt the temple at Argos, with Chrysis the priest; and at the same time was burnt the Temple of Diana, which is in Ephesus, *the second time after that of the Amazons*.” The fourth temple was burnt² by Lygdamis in the reign of Ardys II., king of Lydia, (680—631 B.C.). Callimachus, however, in his Hymn to Diana, proudly asserts that he was repulsed by the power of the goddess.³

“The insane Lygdamis devised to spoil thee,
Invading with a wild Cimmerian horde,
The Hippomolgi, countless as the sands,
Who near the straits of heifer Io dwell.
Unhappy monarch ! how wert thou deceived !
Nor thou, nor any of thy followers,
Whose chariots once the Caystrian valley thronged,
Shall e’er return. With piercing glittering darts
Diana ever guards her Ephesus.”

The *fifth* temple was standing in the reign of Servius Tullius, A.U.C. 197 (B.C. 557). “The Temple of Diana at Ephesus was then universally celebrated, and it was commonly believed that it

¹ Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 79.

² Hesych. *voce* Lygdamis.

³ Callim. v. 251 to 258. The Cimmerian Scythians made three incursions into Asia.—(Justinus, ii. 3, 5.)

had been built by a general contribution from the several states of Asia :"¹ and it was this circumstance which induced Servius to persuade the Latins to join with him in building a Temple of Diana in Rome, in imitation of that of Ephesus, in order to establish unity and concord between Rome and the neighbouring provinces. This fifth temple was probable destroyed shortly after this event, as the foundations of the sixth temple were laid about 500 B.C.

The *sixth* temple was built on a different site to the former temples. Its foundation was laid by Theodorus about 500 B.C., and the erection commenced about 460 B.C. by Ctesiphon and Metagenes. As these foundations were the same as those of the last or celebrated temple, they will be described when treating of that temple ; as also the mechanical contrivance resorted to by Ctesiphon and Metagenes for removing the enormous blocks of marble from the quarries. The first-named architect is praised by Pliny for the admirable construction evinced in this work ;² and he also describes to us the expedient by which he raised the vast architraves, and he further states to us that the great lintel was of such extraordinary dimensions, that it required the express intervention of the goddess to assist in placing it. " The greatest

¹ Liv. i. 45 ; Aur. Vict. *de Viris Illust.* vii. 9.

² Plin. vii. 38.

difficulty was, how to raise the architraves of such a mass. This he effected by forming an inclined plane of baskets of sand reaching to the capitals of the columns: then emptying gradually the lower ones, the work settled by degrees on its bed. But the most difficult work of all was the placing the lintel of the great doorway. For this was the largest mass, and could not be adjusted, notwithstanding the anxiety of the architect, who at length is said to have contemplated self-destruction; when, wearied by his perplexity, he beheld the goddess, to whom the temple was constructed, who appeared to him in his sleep in the middle of the night, encouraging him to live, and assuring him that the stone had settled; and so it appeared the next day, when it was discovered that the stone had adjusted itself by its own weight.”¹

As these same architects, Ctesiphon and Metagenes, set up the columns and laid the entablatures over them, we may fairly assume that it was finished shortly afterwards by Pæonius: at all events, that it was quite completed at the time of its destruction, which happened immediately after the death of Socrates, in the year 400 B.C. “Socrates (says Eusebius) drank poison, and immediately after the Temple of Diana at Ephesus was again burnt.”²

It was on the dedication probably of this temple,

¹ Plin. xxxvi. 21.

² Euseb. Pamph. *Chron. Can.* i. 134.

that Timotheus the musician composed his hymn in honour of Diana. He was born at Miletus in 446, and died in 349 B.C.¹ Macrobius quotes a fragment of his hymn, which appears to be the exordium :²—

But they hearing that the famous son of Thersander,
Timotheus, skilled in the harp and in song,
Was greatly esteemed by the Greeks, promised him
One thousand³ golden *sigla*,⁴ to celebrate with a hymn
On that solemn occasion, Opis, the shooter of swift arrows :
But she has a celebrated temple on the Cenchrius.

From an anecdote told us by Plutarch, we learn that the style was rather extravagant. Timotheus was reciting his poem in the theatre, and among other epithets he addressed Diana as “ Insane, furious, frantic ; ” on which one Cynesias sung out, “ May your daughter be such ! ”⁵

On the destruction of the sixth temple, the *seventh* was rebuilt with such magnificence, as to inspire Herostratus with the idea of perpetuating his name by burning it ; which celebrated conflagration happened in 356 B.C.

¹ Suidas, *in voce* ; Lucian. *Harmonides* ; *Chronicle of Paros*, 182 ; Plut. *an seni sit gerenda Respub.* ; Steph. Byz.

² Macrobi. *Sat.* v. 22.

³ Meineke translates this—golden *sigla* to celebrate the thousandth anniversary of the building of the Temple, and Opis, &c., believing that *χιλιάς* stands for *χιλιετηρίς*.—(*Analecta Alexandrina*, p. 228.)

⁴ The *siglos*, according to Hesychius, was a Persian coin worth two Attic drachmæ.

⁵ Plut. *De aud. Poet.* p. 22, a.

From the renown in which the Temple of Diana was ever held, we must consider that each of these buildings was remarkable for magnificence and splendour, corresponding with the different ages in which they were constructed. Thus even the *first* temple, we are told, was regarded as “an immense miracle to man.”¹ So celebrated had the temples of Diana become, that Servius Tullius resolved to build one at Rome, in imitation of that of Ephesus.² This was in 557 B.C., when the *fifth* temple was standing. And such, as we have just seen, was the splendour of the *seventh* temple, that Herostratus set fire to it, merely to immortalize his name.³ As this happened in 356 B.C., and the sixth temple was burnt only forty-four years previously, it is probable that the restoration of the Temple was only just completed when Herostratus set fire to it: and indeed this would be the most likely time for such an idea to enter into the head of any one; when all the world was speaking of its glory, of the immense cost of the building, and of its superiority over that which had preceded it. This event happened the very same day that Alexander the Great was born in Pelle:⁴ referring to which circumstance Hegesias of Magnesia observed, “No wonder that the Temple was burnt, since Diana was absent, being engaged in acting midwife at the

¹ Dion. Perieg. Orb. Desc. v. 829.

² Liv. i. 45.

³ Strabo, p. 640; Solinus, li. ; Lucian. *de Morte Peregr.* 22.

⁴ Solinus, li.

birth of Alexander.”¹ The burning of the Temple naturally excited great dismay in the minds of the Ephesians; and the magi living at Ephesus regarded the fire as the forerunner of a much greater misfortune; they ran about the city, beating their faces, and crying out,—“This day has brought forth a great calamity for Asia:” an observation which they subsequently turned to account by pretending that it referred to Alexander. In consequence of this sacrilege, “it was decreed by the public council of Asia, that the name of him who had burnt the Temple of Diana at Ephesus should be *illaudatus*, the worst and basest of men, the perfection of all wickedness; one who is neither worthy of mention nor remembrance, nor indeed even to be named.”² The temple was pillaged by Memnon, the general of Darius, shortly after its reconstruction was commenced, about 334 B.C.³

It will naturally strike every one as being very remarkable, that buildings constructed of stone and marble, should have been so frequently destroyed by fire; but we must remember, that the rafters and internal ceilings were always of wood, and that from the high conducting power of the bronze tiling with which they were frequently covered, they must have been very liable to become ignited by lightning.

¹ Plut. *in Alex.*; Cicero, (*Nat. Deor.* ii. 27,) attributes this saying to Timæus.

² Aul. Gel. ii. 6, *voce Illaudatus*. *Laudatus* signified, in old language, to mention, or call by name. See also Val. Max. viii. 15.

³ Arrian. i. 18.

IV.

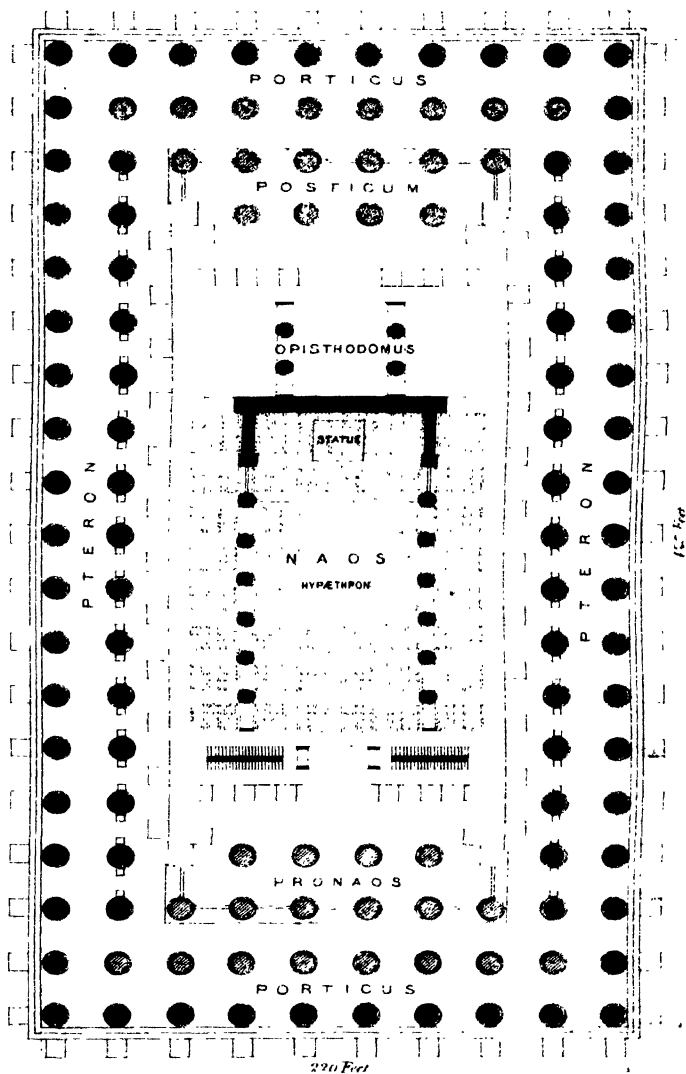
THE CELEBRATED TEMPLE.

1. *Difficulties of the subject.*

If we have met with difficulties respecting the other buildings of the city, we now approach others of equal or greater magnitude. Choiseul Gouffier thus ingenuously expresses himself with regard to the Temple of Diana:—

“Many authors have spoken of this monument, and have only served to add to its reputation, without making us better acquainted with it. A single description, if it were in accordance with probability, although not perfectly true in all particulars, would have left us in a satisfied, though erroneous belief, and we should have adopted with security an opinion which nothing would have contradicted: but what can we conclude from quotations scattered in different works, the most authentic of which are precisely those which contradict themselves the most openly, and which by the aid of commentaries, rendered more unintelligible to the commentators themselves, have served only to make them imagine plans almost always opposed to the constant usages of the ancients? If I have

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not the happiness to resolve these difficulties, at least I will take care not to wander in gratuitous suppositions. Notwithstanding the many examples which might encourage me to do so, I will refrain from explaining that which I do not understand."¹

It will be best to refer at once to Pliny's account of the Temple, as it contains nearly all we know of the subject. After speaking of the tomb of Porsenna, the hanging gardens of Thebes, &c., he continues:—"But the Temple of the Ephesian Diana is a work of truly admirable magnificence, which was raised at the joint expense of all Asia, and occupied two hundred and twenty years in building. It was placed on a marsh, that it should not be endangered by earthquakes, or cleavings of the ground. Again, that the foundations of such a pile might not be laid on a sliding and unstable foundation, they laid a bed of charcoal, over which they placed fleeces of wool. The total length of the Temple is 425 feet, the width 220. (It has) one hundred and twenty-seven columns, each the gift of a king, and 60 feet in height; of these thirty-six are ornamented, one by Scopas. Chersiphron the architect (Ctesiphon) directed the works."²

¹ Choiseul Gouffier, *Voy. Pit.* i. 311.

² Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 21. From the importance of this passage, it is requisite to give the text in the original:—

"Magnificentiæ vera admiratio exstat templum Ephesiæ Dianæ, ducentis viginti annis factum a tota Asia. In solo id palustri fecere, ne terræ motus sentiret, aut hiatus timeret. Bursus, ne in

Now, from the above account, we do not know whether Pliny is describing the *seventh*, or the *eighth* temple: the two hundred and twenty years appear in some MSS. as one hundred and twenty; the foundations would seem to refer to the first temple: an odd number of columns appears unintelligible, and some have accordingly supposed that cxxvii is an error of the copyist for cxxviii: others object to the possibility of finding so many kings: while others place a comma after the *centum viginti*, thus making one hundred and twenty columns, seven of which were the gift of kings; and others place the comma after *centum*, making one hundred columns, twenty-seven of which were the gift of kings: the xxxvi columns *cælatae*, no one can explain: while the words *una a Scopas* have been supposed to be *uno a Scopas*, or *uno e scapo*, thus rendering it doubtful whether Scopas executed one column, the whole of the thirty-six, or none at all: it has also been objected that he could not have been born at this period; neither are we more certain as regards the name of the architect, it being very differently spelt in other passages.

Thus, as Salmasius observes, “ we are not certain

lubrico atque instabili fundamenta tantæ molis locarentur, calcatis ea substravere carbonibus, dein velleribus lanæ. Universo templo longitudo est ccccxv pedum, latitudo ducentorum viginti, columnæ centum viginti septem a singulis regibus factæ, lx pedum altitudine: ex iis xxxvi cælatae, una a Scopas. Operi præfuit Chersiphron Architectus.”

of any one thing, notwithstanding all that Pliny and Vitruvius have written on the subject: we know neither the nature of the building, nor when it was erected, nor by whom." In the face of such difficulties, and where, as Choiseul Gouffier observes, so many able men have failed, I will not pretend to clear up all doubts respecting the building, but I will endeavour to set forth the various opinions upon the subject, and show what I conceive to be the most probable nature of the edifice. As some of the particulars evidently refer to the *sixth* temple, and others to the *eighth* or last one, we cannot assume that Pliny is speaking of any one temple, but must analyze each particular separately.

2. *The Temple of Diana always occupied the same locality, though not always the same site.*

It stood on the marshy ground at the head of the Sacred Port;¹ a situation which was selected for it "that it might not be endangered by earthquakes, or cleavings of the ground."²

The following description of the foundations, by Philo, is unfortunately the only part remaining to us of his notice of the Temple:—"The Giants, or Aloides, attempting to scale heaven, formed as it were a mountain, and erected not a temple, but an Olympus: so that as the boldness of the undertaking exceeded the labour, so art excelled even the bold-

¹ See page 199.

² Plin. *ut supra*.

ness. For the soil being dug up to a great depth, and an immense excavation effected, the architect laid the foundations with stone from the quarries above; (on Mount Pion:) so that in these subterranean works he exhausted the quarries of entire mountains. The ground being thus rendered firm by a solid foundation, and strengthened like an Atlas to support the weight of the superincumbent building, he commenced the work by forming a basement of ten steps.”¹

To the above information respecting the foundations, Pliny adds:—“To the intent that the foundations of such a pile might not be laid on a sliding and unstable foundation, they laid a bed of charcoal, over which they placed fleeces of wool.” Diogenes Laertius continues:—“Theodorus of Samos, the son of Rhœcus, was he who advised the foundations of the Temple of Ephesus to be laid in charcoal: for, said he, since the place is wet, charcoal² will, contrary to the nature of wood, derive

¹ Philo, *de Septem Orbis Miraculis*, Mir. vi. He lived about three centuries before the Christian era, and probably wrote his description immediately after the repairs of the eighth temple were completed, or perhaps while it was in progress, as an inducement to the work; the fragment above quoted referring, however, to the *sixth* temple.

² Augustine (*de Civitate Dei*, xxi. 4) here remarks:—“Is it not wonderful that charcoal, which has such little strength as to be broken by the slightest blow, to be crushed by the gentlest pressure, should have force sufficient to resist the effects of damp, and even to be unaffected by age?”

an indestructible solidity.”¹ The employment of wool has been objected to by some, from its improbability; and the circumstance of Old London Bridge having been said to be built on wool-sacks, affords an analogous case: for it was not till after the bridge was removed, and no wool-sacks discovered, that the belief was verified that it referred to a tax on wool, and not to actual wool-sacks. But when we consider the minute description Pliny has given of other particulars, we must acquit him of speaking figuratively in the present instance. As the temple was situated in a marshy district, the fleeces might be supposed to perform a service that the Greeks at this early period were probably unable to effect by other means, viz., to prevent the damp from rising; for while the Romans possessed much more efficacious means in the excellency of their cements, the Greeks constructed their buildings without either cement or mortar.²

3. *The Quarries.*

The quarries from whence the marble for building the temple was derived, are on the north side of Mount Pion, and a column of granite is still lying at their entrance.³

Vitruvius thus describes the occasion of finding them:—“A shepherd of the name of Pixodorus

¹ Diog. Laert. ii. 8.

² The consideration of this subject will naturally call to mind the story of Gideon and the fleece of wool.—(*Judges*, vi. 37—40.)

³ Prokesch, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii. 103.

dwelt in these parts at the time the Ephesians had decreed a temple to Diana, to be built of marble from Paros, Proconessus, or Thasos. Pixodorus, on a certain occasion tending his flocks at this place, saw two rams fighting. In one of their attacks they happened to miss each other, and one of them falling, glanced with his horn against the rock and broke off a splinter, which appeared to Pixodorus so delicately white, that he left his flock, and instantly ran with it into Ephesus, where marble was then in much demand. The Ephesians forthwith decreed him honours, and changed his name to *Evangelus*, ‘the good messenger.’ Even to this day, the chief magistrate of the city proceeds every month to the spot, and sacrifices to him; the omission of which ceremony would, on the magistrate’s part, be attended with penal consequences.”¹

In the preceding chapter, Vitruvius records the mechanical contrivance for removing the enormous blocks of marble:—“It will be useful to explain the ingenious contrivance of Ctesiphon. When he removed from the quarry the shafts of the columns, which he had prepared for the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, not thinking it prudent to trust them on carriages, lest their weight should sink the wheels in the soft roads over which they would have to pass, he devised the following scheme. He made

¹ Vit. x. 7.

a frame of four pieces of timber, two of which were equal in length to the shafts of the columns, and were held together by two transverse pieces. In each end of the shaft he inserted iron pivots, whose ends were dovetailed therein, and run with lead. The pivots worked in gudgeons fastened to the timber-frame, whereto were attached oaken shafts. The pivots having a full revolution in the gudgeons, when the oxen were attached and drew the frame, the shafts rolled round, and might have been conveyed to any distance. The shafts having been thus transported, the entablatures were to be removed; when Metagenes, the son of Ctesiphon, applied the principle upon which the shafts had been conveyed to the removal of these also. He constructed wheels about twelve feet in diameter, and fixed the ends of the blocks of stone whereof the entablature was composed, into them: pivots and gudgeons were then prepared to receive them in the manner just described, so that when the oxen drew the machine, the pivots turning in the gudgeons caused the wheels to revolve, and thus the blocks, being enclosed like axles in the wheels, were brought to the work without delay, like the shafts of the columns. An example of this species of machine may be seen in the rolling stone used for smoothing the walks in the Palæstræ. But the method would not have been practicable for any considerable distance. From the quarries to the Temple is a length of not more than

8,000 feet, and the interval is a plain without any difficulty.”¹

4. *The Temple occupied two hundred and twenty years in building.*²

Salmasius thinks that “This period should read *one* hundred and twenty: for thus it stands in an ancient copy: and in a Codex MS. of the Public Library of St. Mark at Venice, it is also *cxx*, but the great majority of copies have *ccxx*.”³ Vitruvius tells us, “The Temple was built by Ctesiphon of Gnossus, and his son Metagenes, and afterwards completed by Demetrius, a priest of Diana, and Pæonius, an Ephesian the Temple of Apollo at Miletus, also of the Ionic order, was built by the above-named Pæonius, and Daphnis the Milesian.”⁴ If, as at first sight appears most natural, we deduct the two hundred and twenty years from the date of the destruction of the Temple at Alexander’s birth, we shall arrive at a year (136 B.C.) far too late to be in character with the remains of the Temple at Miletus, or with the descriptions, either of it, or of the Temple of Diana.

We are, therefore, obliged to suppose, that as the *seventh* temple, as we shall presently see, was only ruined, not demolished, Pliny regarded it as

¹ Vitr. x. 6. ² See page 221. ³ Salmasius, *Plin. Exercit.* i. 572.

⁴ Vitr. vii. Præf. Ctesiphon the sculptor was contemporary with Phidias.—(See Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 19, 4.) He was possibly a brother of Metagenes.

the same building as the *eighth*, and so dates back the two hundred and twenty years to the time of Ctesiphon and Metagenes designing the proportions of the sixth temple, and of Theodorus of Samos laying its foundations.

Theodorus of Samos, as we have seen,¹ was the son of Rhœcus: and Rhœcus, we learn from Herodotus,² was the architect who commenced the Temple at Samos. He also enumerates in the same passage other monuments of art produced by the Samians, as a tunnel and an aqueduct cut through the mountain, seven stadia in length; and a mole projecting into the sea, two stadia or more in length, and about one hundred and twenty feet high. By Aristotle we are told, that "Polycrates caused the great works in Samos to be executed," (*καὶ τῶν περὶ Σάμον ἔργα Πολυκράτεια*;) ³ and it has therefore been supposed that these great works are the great works spoken of by Herodotus, and consequently that Rhœcus, the father of Theodorus, was contemporary with Polycrates. Polycrates died 522 B.C., after a reign of eight years.⁴ Now, if we suppose he began these works in the beginning of his reign, which is probable; and allow thirty years for a generation, we shall find that Theodorus flourished about 500 B.C., at which period we may suppose the foundations of the Temple of Diana

¹ See page 224.

² Herod. iii. 60.

³ Arist. *Polit.* v. 11. or viii. 9.

⁴ Barth. *Anach.* lxxiv.

to have been laid.¹ The Temple itself was designed by Ctesiphon and his son Metagenes: the latter of whom we find employed by Pericles in the Temple of Ceres at Eleusis.² As Pericles died in 429 B.C., we may suppose the Temple of Ceres to have been built about 440 B.C., and that twenty years before he had assisted his father Ctesiphon in the Temple of Diana, which will bring the date of the building to about 460 B.C.; a date which accords very well with the time in which we have conceived Theodorus to have laid the foundations, 500 B.C.

It was, as we have already seen, the sixth temple which was completed by Pæonius, the architect to the Temple of Apollo at Miletus, which was probably completed about the same time in which the statue was executed, which was in the 95th Olympiad, (400—396 B.C.) by Canachus of Sicyon.³ The sixth temple was burnt in 400 B.C.

Supposing then the sixth temple to have been commenced about the year 500 B.C., the completion of the eighth would have taken place about 280 B.C., or seventy-six years after the conflagration of the seventh by Herostratus.

¹ Herodotus, however, in speaking of Polycrates, merely tells us that he compelled his prisoners to excavate the fosse round the city walls; and Millon accordingly understands the above passage of Aristotle to refer to fortifications. — (Herod. iii. 39; Millon, *Politique d'Arist.* ii. 221.)

² Plut. *in Peric.* 13.

³ Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 19.

According to this view, which seems the most probable, we are able to determine the following particulars:—

First, that though the Temple was burnt seven times, it had not been entirely rebuilt so many times, but merely *repaired*; for in this period of two hundred and twenty years, we find the Temple underwent two conflagrations, one in the year 400, the other in the year 356 B.C.

Secondly, that the expression of the Temple being two hundred and twenty years in building, is not to be interpreted too literally; that is to say, we are not to suppose that the works were constantly progressing, and never brought to a conclusion; for, from the circumstance of Timotheus composing a hymn on occasion of the dedication of the sixth temple,¹ we have a proof that the Temple was then completed, although the two hundred and twenty years did not elapse till long after that period. The expression, therefore, of two hundred and twenty years in building, is to be understood as implying that the *eighth* temple, or that described by Pliny, was not completed till two hundred and twenty years after the laying of its foundations, which foundations formed part of both the seventh and the sixth temples.

Thirdly, by fixing the date of the laying of the foundations about 500 B.C., we perceive that the

¹ See page 217.

Temple did not always occupy the same locality; that though it had always been on the Sacred Port, and probably at the head of the Port, the earlier temples did not occupy precisely the same spot as the last temple.

And *lastly*, by this period of two hundred and twenty years embracing the sixth, seventh, and eighth temples, we find that the descriptions of the Temple of Diana given us by Pliny and Vitruvius, refer sometimes to one, sometimes to another of these edifices; they all being considered as the same building.

The architect who completed the eighth temple was Dinocrates,¹ the architect so frequently employed by Alexander. It was he who laid out the city of Alexandria,² who offered to convert Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander,³ and who intended to suspend the statue of Arsinoe in a temple of loadstone.⁴

5. *The Rebuilding of the Eighth or Celebrated Temple.*

Having thus pointed out what appears to be the period of its erection, we pass on to the subject

¹ So spelt by Vitruvius, ii. Præf.; Valer. Max.; Plin. *H. N.* vii. 38; xxxiv. 42; and Solinus, lii. In another passage in Pliny, (v. 11, 3,) the name is written Dinochares. Plutarch calls him Stasicrates, (*Alex.* 72; *de Virt. vel Fort. Alex.* 2); and in different MSS. of Strabo (p. 641) it appears Chirocrates, Chiromocrates, and Dinocrates.

² Solinus, li.; Strabo, p. 641. ³ Strabo, p. 641.

⁴ Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 42.

of its rebuilding. After the conflagration by Herostratus, it was determined to restore it in a more magnificent style than before: but whether from the difficulty of raising contributions, from the troubles of the times, or from the studying of the design, the works appear to have advanced but slowly; for though the Temple was burnt the day Alexander was born, it was still in progress on his arrival in Asia.

The following is the account given us by Strabo:—¹

“But after it had been burnt by a certain Herostratus, the Ephesians erected another temple more magnificent; to construct which, the women consecrated their ornaments, and the men their own goods, besides what was obtained from the sale of the columns of the old temple. The proof of this may be seen in the decrees of the city on the occasion. . . . Artemidorus tells us that Alexander offered to defray both their past and present expenses, on condition of their allowing him to be declared founder of the Temple; and that they did not accede to his offer On this occasion Artemidorus praises the answer made to Alexander by a citizen of Ephesus, on his asking to be the restorer of the Temple, — ‘It is not right,’ said he, ‘that a god should build temples to the gods.’”

¹ Strabo, p. 640.

We are told that the Temple of Diana was built at the common expense of all Asia,¹ but it is not at all clear which temple is here referred to. The *fifth* temple, which was standing in the year 557 B.C., we know to have been so built;² and it is probable that all the succeeding temples were so likewise: for Ephesus had then become the chief city of Asia, and obtained the title of *Neokoros*, together with the honour of having the *Panionium* established in its territory; and would therefore naturally expect, if it had not the power of demanding, assistance from all those cities of which it was the head: and the pretext upon which the Ephesians refused Alexander's offer, would confirm this supposition. For as they were then receiving contributions from cities and individuals, from strangers and natives, and preferred having the Temple built by these means, from the greater reverence that would be paid to the shrine, and the greater hold it would have upon the minds of the people, than were the expense defrayed by a single individual, they could not tell him, that holding the sacred and honourable title of *Neokoros*, they were bound to defray the expense among themselves; or that having determined to do so, they had refused all other offers of assistance; each of

• ¹ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 21. "Asia is bounded on the east by Lycia and Phrygia, on the west by the Ægean sea, on the south by the Egyptian sea, and on the north by Paphlagonia."—(Solinus, lii.)

² Liv. i. 45. See page 215.

which would have been a sufficient motive of refusal; but they were obliged to have recourse to the wily pretext,—“That it did not become a god to build temples to the gods.” I conceive it probable, therefore, that the above expression relates to the *eighth*, equally with the preceding temples. But though they accepted the general contributions of all Asia, we must suppose that the Ephesians themselves would be the most zealous for the glory of the building. Besides the offerings of the men and women, and the money derived from the sale of the columns, a great portion of the expense would be defrayed from the treasures of the Temple; and Timæus accordingly accused the Ephesians of appropriating to this purpose the sums deposited in the Temple by the Persians, as in a place of safety; which accusation Strabo denied, and probably very truly, since Artemidorus also denies the fact; though Strabo’s manner evinces rather a desire to deny the fact, than the means of doing so with justice; instead of proof, he has recourse to argument:—“It is from ignorance of the decrees (of the city before adverted to,) says Artemidorus, that Timæus of Tauromenium, a man much given to calumny, from whence he was called *Epitimeus*, asserted, ‘that the Ephesians rebuilt their temple with the treasures that the Persians had deposited there;’ but at this period there were no such deposits, and if there had been, they would have been consumed in the fire. After this accident, the

Temple remaining without a roof, who would have ventured to place deposits in an exposed place? And after the refusal of Alexander's offer, it is not to be supposed that they would have consented to build the Temple with the sacrilegious pillage of deposits."¹ But we have no proof, and indeed no reason to suppose that there were no deposits in the Temple at this period, for the Temple had hitherto been universally respected; Croesus had contributed to its treasures, and Xerxes spared it alone,² with the temple at Delos, out of all the temples of Greece; and the next sentence evidently shows that Strabo is speaking without a knowledge of the facts, when he says:—"That if there had been (deposits) they would have been consumed in the fire;" for it is evident, that as the deposits would all be in the precious metals, they would be merely melted, and not destroyed: besides, as there were always priests living within the peribolus, if not within the naos of the Temple,³ they must have been able to rescue some of the objects deposited in the Temple; and we know that they so rescued the statue of Diana, for we are told by St. Luke

¹ Strabo, p. 640.

² Id. p. 634. Perhaps because the Sun and Moon were Persian divinities. "The Persian Diana was much worshipped by those beyond the Euphrates."—(Plut. Lucul. 24.) Solinus says he spared it only on account of its magnificence. — (Edit. of 1498, caput li.; edit. of 1646, caput xliii.)

³ See Paus. ii. 17, where it is stated that the Temple of Juno at Eubœa was burnt through the priest falling asleep.

that the statue in St. Paul's time was the original statue which was said to have fallen down from heaven. But though the treasures deposited in the Temple for security were of great value, the most considerable were those offered to the deity by the piety or superstition of the donors, and the free-will or votive offerings of the people, amassed in the course of centuries ; and these the Ephesians would naturally take in defraying the expenses of the building : and how indeed could they better employ the gifts offered to the goddess than in building a magnificent temple in her honour ?

6. *The dimensions of the Temple.*

The dimensions of the Temple were, as recorded by Pliny,¹ 425 feet by 220 ; and according to Philo it had ten steps.² Professor Wilkins observes, that the ten steps are not included in Pliny's measurements. He supposes seven of these steps to be of the peribolus,³ and three of the Temple, for the Greeks rarely exceeded three steps, and almost invariably adopted an odd number.

It was customary with ancient writers to measure their temples on the upper step ; and it will be sufficient to refer to one instance in proof of this : the Hecatompedon at Athens, to which title the temple was indebted for the extent of its upper

¹ See page 222.

² See page 224.

³ It is possible, however, that there might have been seven sets-off in the substructure or foundations of the Temple.

step.¹ "It seems probable that seven of the steps formed the ascent to the peribolus with which the Temple was surrounded: this, like those of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and Minerva Polias at Priene, was without doubt considerably raised above the level of the natural soil: Chandler (*Ion. Antiq.* i.) informs us that the peribolus of the latter temple was raised above twenty feet."² Revett, the architect, was of the same opinion as regards the steps of the peribolus.³ Fischer affirms that some medals show the ten steps.⁴

Chandler's description here is ambiguous and inaccurate. The peribolus of the Temple of Minerva at Priene is not raised on all sides, but only on one side, for the city being built on the slope of a hill, the temple stands on an artificial terrace. The peribolus of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius in like manner is of irregular height by reason of the inequality of the ground. It is

¹ Stuart, *Athens*, iii. 15. Mr. Penrose has determined the measure of the Parthenon, and finds the breadth to be 101·330 feet English. Consequently the

	Greek foot =	1·0133	feet Eng.
	Roman „ =	·972768	„
600 Greek feet } 625 Roman „ }	= 1 stadium =	607·98	„
8 stadia =	1 Roman mile =	4855·84	„

² Wilkins, *Mag. Græc.* p. xxi.

³ MS. note to Chandler, i. 169.

⁴ J. B. Fischer, *Entwurf einer Hist. Arch.* tab. vii.

uncertain, therefore, whether the seven steps formed "footings" to the foundation of the Temple below ground, or whether on account of the marshy situation the peribolus was raised by seven steps.

7. *The Columns of the eighth Temple were not monolithal.*

On the conflagration of the Temple by Herostratus, the roof and other timber was destroyed, and the sculpture and ornamental parts damaged, but the *walls were uninjured*; and from Strabo's expression:—"The temple remaining without a roof, who would have ventured to place deposits in an exposed place?" it is evident that these walls were again made use of in the eighth temple. From the burning of the roof, and the falling of the masses, the columns were so damaged by the pitching of the rafters, and the action of the fire, as to be no longer serviceable, and they were therefore sold to assist in defraying the expense of rebuilding. From this circumstance we are able to affirm that the columns of the *seventh* temple were monolithal; for if they had been built in frusta, it would not have been requisite to sell them more than the other portions of the Temple; but repairing those parts only which were damaged, the rest might have been suffered to remain. But being monolithal blocks, where clipped or broken their beauty would be destroyed, and therefore the only expedient that remained would be to sell them. The columns of the *sixth* temple, which

were provided by Ctesiphon, were monolithal, and we have seen the description given us by Vitruvius¹ of the machinery employed by Ctesiphon in moving these immense blocks of stone from the quarries. It is probable that these same columns, or some of them, existed in the seventh temple, and were the same that were sold after the conflagration of that building. As Ctesiphon's temple was the first example of the Ionic order, we may assume that the proportions and details of the columns were somewhat rude; and that on the second conflagration of the building, which happened one hundred years after, the arts had progressed to that extent, that the Ephesians would gladly seize the opportunity of altering the antiquated style of the former building to one more in accordance with the Ionic style as subsequently developed and perfected: and thus we may suppose that the Temple might not have been so damaged that it was incapable of being repaired, but that it was damaged to that extent, as to afford a sufficient pretext for improving its architectual appearance. And thus, from the architectural character of the building being changed, we see the propriety of Strabo's using the word *rebuilding* instead of *repairing*, notwithstanding that the foundations, and the walls of the cella, were portions of the old temple. This consideration of the columns of the more ancient

¹ See page 226.

temples being monolithal, is confirmed by the circumstance of the most ancient Doric temples, as those of Corinth and Ægina.¹

8. *The peristyle consisted of one hundred and twenty columns.*

One of the greatest difficulties connected with the restoration of the Temple is in the number of

¹ "The Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius at Ægina is said by Pausanias to have been built considerably before the Trojan war, a story which, although wholly incredible, serves to prove that it had outlived all tradition of its real origin."—(Wilkins, *Cir. Arch. of Vit.* p. xlvi.) Another proof of its antiquity is afforded by the fact that there are no curved lines in this temple. The Temple of Ægina is remarkable for having all its columns bored into at equal heights, with the hope of extracting the metal cramps which were supposed to exist in them. It would appear that the Turks, having witnessed the wonderful accuracy of Grecian masonry at Athens, supposed that the columns of this temple were formed of separate blocks, but that the joints were invisible, and therefore persevered in boring every column, notwithstanding their want of success; a striking proof of the wonderful accuracy of Grecian workmanship. As the arts progressed, monolithal shafts were discontinued, and they eventually prided themselves in showing that the extraordinary precision of their construction was superior both in solidity and beauty to the advantages derived from nature: in beauty,—because the veins of the marble in a monolithal block become confused with the flutings, unless, as rarely happens, the columns are quarried vertically, and because the divisions of the several frusta assist the eye in determining the flutings, and enable it to measure the height of the columns by the number and perspective diminution of its frusta: and in construction,—because the frusta are laid according to their natural bed, and are not liable to vertical fissure as monolithal shafts are. In later times, monolithal columns were again introduced among the corruptions of Roman taste.

columns, and their distribution. We have already seen the vagueness of Pliny's description,¹ and the various manners in which the words "centum viginti septem" may be interpreted.

It has been endeavoured to explain the odd number of columns given us by Pliny, by supposing that those of the hypæthron are included in the number. The numerous instances in which we meet with an uneven number of columns in the interior of temples, would seem to denote something more than mere chance. The Parthenon, (as established by Mr. Knowles,) the temples of Apollo at Bassæ, of Apollo at Miletus, of Ceres at Eleusis, and of Jupiter Olympius at Agrigentum, all have an uneven number of columns at the extremity of the hypæthron. As in all these instances there is no central door of communication with the opisthodomus, it is possible that the Greeks placed an odd number of columns at the end, in order to give greater importance to the naos or hypæthral part of the temple, by giving the impression that that was the chief, the only part of the temple. Another reason may have been, that the statue being placed in front of a column, and being of about the same height, would render that column invisible, and thus appear to be placed opposite a space of more than twice the width of any of the others: whereas, if placed opposite an intercolumniation,

¹ See page 222.

the two adjacent columns would appear to cut the statue and interfere with its lines.¹ This arrangement of an odd number of columns, has been taken advantage of by Canina to explain the difficulty of one hundred and twenty-seven columns as described by Pliny: but when we recollect that the columns of the hypæthron were in two orders, we again get rid of the odd number, and are thereby left in the same difficulty, unless we suppose that the columns of the hypæthron were only single, as in the solitary instance of the temple at Bassæ. Considering, therefore, the improbability of having an odd number of columns, I am inclined to adopt the idea of placing a comma after the word viginti, thus making *one hundred and twenty columns, seven of which were the gift of kings*. Thus at the same time we get rid of the odd column, and we reduce the number of kings to seven, instead of one hundred and twenty-seven, as the passage now stands: and there is no difficulty in supposing that seven of the neighbouring kings or tyrants contributed each a column towards the edifice. This appears to have been a common custom in Asia Minor; for we find several of the later temples, as those of Mylassa, Euromus, and Aphrodisias, having tablets blocked out on the

¹ For other instances of the application of an uneven number of columns, see my Essay on the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, in the *Mus. of Class. Antiq.*

shafts, for the insertion of an inscription stating by whom the column was presented.¹ An illustration of this occurs in *Rev.* iii. 12, where the Spirit says, "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is New Jerusalem and I will write upon him my new name." The same illustration is found elsewhere in holy writ.² By accepting the reading of *one hundred and twenty columns*, we obtain, as Professor Wilkins remarks, the same number of columns as in the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, which was commenced in 540 B.C., about forty years previously to laying the foundations of the Temple of Diana.³

9. *The Temple was of the Ionic order; it was decastyle and eustyle; it had nineteen columns at the sides, and the columns were eight and a quarter diameters in height.*

Vitruvius informs us that the Ionic order was invented for the Temple of Diana at Ephesus,

¹ It is possible that several of the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius were contributed by the different cities of Athenian colonies.—(See Paus. i. 18, and page 277.)

² *Gal.* ii. 9; 1 *Tim.* iii. 15. See Howson and Conybeare, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, i. 235.

³ This reading of "*columnæ centum viginti, septem a singulis regibus factæ*," is further corroborated, if indeed it is not proved, by the circumstance of the calculations which follow agreeing with this number, and not agreeing with any other.

without specifying which one:—"With a similar feeling they afterwards built the Temple of Diana; but in that, seeking a new proportion, they used the female figure as the standard," &c.¹ And in another place he recommends the Ionic style as being most appropriate for the temples of this goddess.² Whether this story of Vitruvius's is entitled to any belief it is difficult to determine, and even were it so, it is impossible to fix with any certainty to which temple the Ionic order was first applied. Certain it is that the sixth, seventh, and eighth, were built in this style; for Ctesiphon and Metagenes, the architects of the *sixth* temple, wrote a treatise on the Ionic order of that structure.³

¹ Vitr. iv. 1.

² Id. i. 2.

³ See page 190. Prof. Wilkins, in the preface to his "Vitruvius," has collected together the various particulars relative to the earliest examples of the Ionic order. "The first description of it is to be found in the account which Pausanias gives of the Sicyonian Treasury at Olympia, which was built by Myron, the Tyrant of Sicyon, in the 33rd Olympiad, or about 650 B.C. He made it in two chambers, one Doric and the other Ionic.—(Paus. vi. 19.) The earliest specimen of which any remains are found is the celebrated Temple of Juno at Samos," (which, as we have seen, was probably built about 530 B.C. See page 229.) This is prior to the *sixth* temple, and we may therefore suppose that the *fifth* temple was also Ionic. The monument at Agrigentum, called the Tomb of Theron, is also distinguished by a double order: but the details of the architecture will not permit us to ascribe it to so early a period as the 77th Olympiad. The Ionic order of the Temple of Diana, especially the thirty-six columns *cælatæ*, were probably the most beautiful ever executed: and something of this would seem inferred by the statue of Diana published in the *Mem. Enciclop.*

The Temple has been thought by some, from a passage in Vitruvius, to have been octastyle; but I understand the true meaning of Vitruvius to have been very different from that implied. I apprehend that when he says “dipteral temples are to be octastyle,” he means *not less than* octastyle. “Dipteral temples are octastyle, (at least,) both in the pronaos and posticum, with a double row of columns round the cella, as in the Doric Temple of Quirinus, and the Ionic temple built by Ctesiphon to Diana Ephesia.”¹

Vitruvius does not here state that the Temple of Diana was octastyle, but that it was *dipteral*, and that it was *at least* octastyle. We cannot expect coins to throw any light upon this subject. The object of the artist appears to have been to represent a temple, without being particular as to the proportions of the temple, or even as to the number of columns. Thus we find this temple represented on different coins as distyle,² tetrastyle,³

Rom. vol. v. p. 1, which shows an Ionic column on the breast; and by an Etruscan patera, (Visconti, *Mus. Pio Clem.* i. 206,) which has an Ionic column between two Amazons. The earliest coins with an Ionic capital are those of Olympia and Catania: they are of about the age of Pericles; consequently, very much later than its known existence in monuments.

¹ Vitr. iii. 1.

² Mionnet, *Med.* iii. Ionie, No. 299. Id. Suppl. tom. vi. Ionie, Nos. 414, 430, 533, 787.

³ Id. *Med.* Nos. 257, 276; 354, 368, 380, 383. Id. Suppl. 274; 325, 361, 383, 4; 407, 427, 8, 459; 537, 599; 602, 667, 675; 723, 739.

hexastyle,¹ and octastyle,² although, as we shall presently see, it must have been decastyle.³

¹ Mionnet, *Med.* 310. Id. Suppl. 495.

² Id. *Med.* 269, 270, 1, 2, 281, 5, 6, 7 ; 311, 322, 3, 348 ; 413, 445. Id. Suppl. 387, 8, 9, 393 ; 401, 429 ; 643.

³ It is due to the numerous writers who have imagined the Temple to be octastyle, (Perrault, Poleni, Windham, Falconer, Hirt, Quatremère, and Guhl,) to show the reason why it could not be so. In the following calculation we have supposed the columns to have been $8\frac{1}{4}$ diameters in height, and the intercolumniation to have been eustylos, or $2\frac{1}{4}$ diameters, and this supposition we have found confirmed by the width of the Temple agreeing precisely with this calculation ; by the total number of 120 columns working in completely ; and by the thirty-six columns *calatæ* occupying an important and probable position. But had it not been for these latter particulars, the probability would have been that the Temple was neither octastyle nor decastyle, but *dodecastyle*. After describing the origin and proportions of the Doric order, Vitruvius continues (iv. 1) :—" But afterwards seeking to build a temple of a new proportion to Diana, they modelled its form by resemblance to female gracefulness, and made *at first* the diameter equal to one-eighth part of the height, in order that it should have a more excellent form But *afterwards* improving in elegance and delicacy, and preferring a more graceful proportion they assigned one-ninth part : " (Jocundus substituted *octo semis* for *novem*, and has been followed by subsequent editors, including Gwilt. Schneider, Poleni, and Marini have restored the text.) Pliny also to the same effect : (xxxvi. 56) " Columns which are nine diameters in height are called Ionic In the Temple of the Ephesian Diana, the columns were *at first*, including the base and capital, eight diameters in height." Thus from both these authors it is evident, that on the invention of the Ionic order for the Temple of Diana, the columns were only eight diameters in height ; but at a subsequent period the proportions of the Ionic column were increased to nine diameters ; and it is doubtful whether Vitruvius does not intend us to imagine that the last Temple of Diana was

The height of the columns being 60 feet, we shall find, if we allow it 8·250 diameters, that the diameter of the column will be 7·27 feet, or 7' 3"·27, and if we take the intercolumniation to be eustylos, as in

in this proportion. Certain it is that the majority of Ionic examples exceed this quantity. If, therefore, we take the ninth part of the height of sixty feet given us by Pliny, the diameter of the columns will be six feet eight inches, and the intercolumniation 1·901 diameter, which will still be rather more than the mean of existing examples.

	Height of Col.	Intercolumniation.
Athens, Temple on the Ilyssus .	8·238	2·120
„ Erechtheum, eastern front .	9·334	1·994
„ „ western front .	9·004	2·162
„ „ northern front .	9·000	3·679*
„ Temple of Victory Apteros .	7·684	1·992
Priene, Temple of Minerva Polias .		1·739
„ Propylæa	9·282	
Branchidæ, Temple of Apolio (Texier) .	9·416	1·360
Samos, „ Juno		1·623

Mean 8·851 Mean 1·856

By a comparison with other temples, therefore, we should be led to infer that the Temple of Diana was dodecastyle ; but on this supposition, the sides requiring twenty-two columns, the total number of 126 columns, supposing cxxvii to be an error of the copyist for cxxvi, would only allow us six columns in the pronaos, and none in the posticum, which would be quite inconsistent with the character of so magnificent a temple ; neither should we be able to work in the thirty-six columns cælatæ, except in the interior.

* This is not included in the mean.

the Temple of Teos, as described by Vitruvius, we shall find this intercolumniation to be 16·363575 feet, which, multiplied by 9, the number of intercolumns, gives 147·2721; to which, if we add 72·727 for the ten columns of the decastyle front, we obtain 219·999; the dimension of the front given by Pliny being 220 feet. These dimensions correspond with such extraordinary precision, that we must consider these two points as fixed, viz., that the height of the columns was $8\frac{1}{4}$ diameters, and the intercolumniation eustylos. The length of the Temple being less than the double of its breadth, we may expect to find the side intercolumniations reduced, in order to get in a sufficient number of columns, in the same manner that in the temples of Selinus, which have an unusual number of columns in the flanks, the intercolumniations are reduced, to prevent the temples being too long.

Supposing, then, the Temple to have had nineteen columns at the sides, which would be equal to 138·182 feet; this number, deducted from 425 feet, will give 286·818 feet remainder, which, divided into eighteen parts, will give for each side intercolumniation 15·934 feet, which will be in a very good proportion with the front intercolumniation of 16·363. If we suppose twenty columns at the sides, the intercolumniation would be 14·713, which is too small;¹

¹ Col. Leake gives twenty-one columns to the sides, which would create a manifest disproportion.

and if we suppose eighteen, it would be 17·299, which is too great: so that we may consider it also as determined, that the Temple had nineteen columns at the sides. Giving a quadruple row of columns to the pronaos and posticum, as in the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, we shall just make up the number of one hundred and twenty columns.

10. *Thirty-six of the columns were ornamented with colour, gilding, and metal; one of which was by the celebrated Scopas.*

In addition to the uncertainty which exists as to the number of columns, still more difficulty has been attached to the words which follow; the most literal, as well as the most probable signification of which is, that thirty-six of the columns were ornamented with metal colour and gilding, one of which was by the hand of Scopas. Pliny's words are "ex iis xxxvi. cælatæ, una a Scopas," or as some editions read, "xxxvi. cælatæ, quarum una a Scopas." Now, unless the signification of this be obscure, I conceive we are bound to accept the original as it stands, without endeavouring to twist the words into a different meaning. The proposed alteration of *una a Scopas*, into *uno e scapo*, is extremely improbable; it having been already shown¹ that this manner of construction was no longer followed at the period of rebuilding the *eighth* temple, after the conflagration of Herostratus: and

Carlo Fea shows that the expression *columnæ uno e scapo*, could never have been used by any Latin writer.¹ The expression *uno a Scopa*, although less repugnant to the original, is still improbable. The design and execution of one column ornamented differently to the rest, would naturally require the skill and taste of a great sculptor; but the design and model having been once given, the execution of the thirty-five other columns might be entrusted to any experienced workman. Canina adduces an important fact in favour of the probability of Scopas being employed, although, instead of making use of it, he unites with Winkelmann in reading *uno e scapo*. It is this:—"The Romans, in the latter period of their history, were in the habit of employing famous sculptors for the capitals of their honorary columns."² He does not give any examples.³ Another reading, however, has been suggested, which, while it takes away from Scopas the credit of having designed one of these columns or capitals, gives to that artist the designing of the sculpture of the temple in general:—"ex iis (columnis) xxxvi. cælatae. Una Scopa operi præfuit Chersiphro," &c. Pliny informs us that there were two sculptors of this name;⁴ one who flourished in

¹ Winkelmann, *Hist. de l'Art*, ii. 234, note.

² Canina, *Arch. Gr.* par. i. cap. iv. p. 176, note.

³ The value of the works of this otherwise diligent writer is greatly lessened by a too frequent omission of the authors' names from whose works his own have been compiled.

⁴ Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 19.

the 87th Olympiad; the other, who is the celebrated one, flourished after Praxiteles, who lived in the 104th Olympiad. He not only ornamented the Temple of Ephesus, but he executed the sculptures on the east or principal face of the mausoleum or sepulchre of Mausolus, who died in the 102nd Olympiad,¹ and he rebuilt the Temple of Minerva at Tegea, which was burnt in the first year of the 97th Olympiad.² He also executed a great number of statues and groups, one of which was so extraordinary, that it was said he would have acquired everlasting fame if that had been his only work.³ These dates are abundantly evident to show, that the columns ornamented by Scopas were those of the *eighth* or last temple.

The *cælatura* here spoken of is defined by Quintilian, as “work executed in gold, silver, brass, or iron.”⁴ M. Quatremère de Quincy, in his splendid and elaborate work on “Le Jupiter Olympien,” has devoted several chapters to the consideration of this subject. After a careful investigation of the various passages in which the Latin word *cælatura*, and its synonymous⁵ Greek expression *toreutica*, are used by the ancients, he tells us that *toreutica*

¹ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 4.

² Paus. viii. 45. See page 275.

³ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 4. It was a group of Neptune, Thetis, Achilles, and the Nereids.

⁴ Quint. *Inst. Orat.* ii. 21.

⁵ Q. de Q. *Le Jup. Olymp.* pp. 76–78, 94, 118.

is derived from *τορὸς*, an instrument for *perforating*,¹ and *cœlatura* from *κοιλὸς*, Latin *cœlum*, a sinking.² This art he defines to be “the making statues (or ornaments) of any kind of metal, of gold, silver, or bronze, or any other mixture of substances, by pieces let in compartments, whether melted separately, whether beaten, or worked by the chisel, soldered, joined together, and forming one solid body.”³ It embraced the art of working metal with the hammer, of inlaying, of working in detached pieces, of varying and colouring metals, whether by preparations, by tools, or the secret of composition of metals; of applying enamels, and setting gems and precious stones. Bas-reliefs, ornaments, statues, and colossi, all entered into its art.⁴ It was most extensively employed in the best ages of Grecian art; it was applicable to the highest works of art, as well as to the most ordinary: it is more ancient than sculpture, or statuary in metal, and it continued to the latest times.”⁵ To this definition of it may be added, that it was more especially connected with the *inlaying metals* on metal of a different quality, or on any other material, as wood, or ivory, and that it might be either in relief or flat. The words *toreutica* and *cœlatura*, he continues, were often misapplied, even by the

¹ Q. de Q. *Le Jup. Olymp.* p. 75.

² Id. p. 76.

³ Id. p. 93.

⁴ Id. p. 109.

⁵ Id. p. 94.

ancients,¹ the latter word being sometimes given to the chasing of cups, and sometimes to bas-reliefs in stone, as in the Mausoleum, part of the sculptures of which were by the very same Scopas.

Metal appears to have been extensively used in the most ancient periods of architecture. Workers in brass were included in Numa's college, (*Collegium Fabrorum*.)² In the palaces of Homer, says Pliny, (xxxvi. 6,) there is no other material mentioned but brass, gold, electrum, silver, and ivory; as in the palace of Menelaus,³ and the palace of Alcinous:⁴ and in the same manner we find Virgil referring to an inlaid work, or what we call *intarsiatura*, of ivory and ebony,⁵ in the Temple of Juno, supposed to be built by Æneas:—

“A temple here, Sidonian Dido raised
To heaven's dread Empress, that with riches blaz'd;
Unnumbered gifts adorned the costly shrine,
By her own presence hallow'd and divine.
*The steps were brass; the beams with brass were bound;
The lofty doors with brazen hinge resound.*”⁶

Pausanias says, “the third temple at Delphi was reported to be made of brass, which is not surprising, since we know Acrisius to have constructed a chamber of brass⁷ (at Argos) for his daughter;

¹ Q. de Q. *Le Jup. Olymp.* pp. 77, 8; 93.

² Plut. *Numa*; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 1.

³ Homer. *Odyss.* iv. 73.

⁴ Id. vii. 88.

⁵ Virg. *Æn.* x. 135.

⁶ Id. i. 450-3.

⁷ See also Paus. ii. 23.

and among the Lacedæmonians there is still remaining a Temple of Minerva, which, from its being built of (or lined with) brass, is called *Chalciæcus*. Among the Romans, too, there is a forum, (that of Trajan,) which is admirable for its magnitude and ornaments, and which has a brazen roof."¹ In this Temple of Minerva Chalciæcus were "many of the labours of Hercules represented in brass."² The subterranean chamber at Mycænæ is stated by Mr. Donaldson to have been lined with plates of metal, and the learned professor refers to a passage in Diodorus, where Eurystheus is said to have secretly constructed a brazen vessel under ground to secure a safe retreat, when terrified by the return of Hercules.³ Another instance of a brazen sepulchre is given us by Pausanias.⁴ The Temple of Cyzicus had the joints of its masonry ornamented with gold fillets; the effect of which, says Pliny, was to create harmony between the architecture of the temple and the sculpture which decorated it.⁵ Of the Temple of Solomon, we read that "he *garnished the house with precious stones* for beauty; and the gold was gold of Parvaim. He overlaid also the house, the beams, the pillars, and the walls thereof, with gold; and graved cherubims on the walls. . . . and he overlaid the work with fine gold, amounting to

¹ PAUS. x. 5.² Id. iii. 17.³ *Ant. of Ath.* vol. iv. bk. iii. 27.⁴ PAUS. ix. 2.⁵ PLIN. *H. N.* xxxvi. 15.

600 talents. And the weight of the nails was 50 shekels of gold. And he overlaid the upper chambers with gold.”¹ The account in the Book of Kings is similar, but it gives us the additional information, that the gold was “*fitted upon*”² the carved work.”³ So, in like manner, Josephus informs us that the palace of Solomon had its ceilings and walls enriched with precious stones set in gold, as in the Temple.⁴ In the tabernacle built five hundred years before this, we find the art of working in metal then practised in the same manner.⁵ The ceiling or roof of the Temple of Apollo at Cotho, the port of the Carthaginians, was also of gold.⁶

The preceding notices, with the exception of the Forum of Trajan, all denote extreme antiquity; and the lavish and indiscriminate application of gold shows but little connection with taste: the facts, however, are valuable, as proving the state of the arts in these times. As architecture improved, the previous art of working metal would be made serviceable to it; and instead of covering everything with barbarous profusion, it would be applied only to those parts which required greater orna-

¹ 2 *Chron.* iii. 4 to 9.

² These words materially assist M. Quatremère's opinion on the toreutic art of working metal with *detached* pieces.

³ 2 *Kings*, v. 15 to 35, especially verses 19, 29, and 35.

⁴ Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 5, 2. ⁵ *Exod.* xxxvi. and xxxvii.

⁶ Appian. *de Bel'is Puniis*.

ment or decoration. Thus we find the capitals and bases of columns were often of bronze, while the shaft was of stone or marble: the sculptures in pediments, the ornaments of the Acroteria, and the images below, were frequently of metal, for beauty, durability, and sometimes facility of execution. Thus the doors of the Temple of Juno at Hierapolis in Syria, were of gold; the inside was of great richness, and the ceiling was also of gold.¹ In the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Antioch, built by Antiochus Epiphanes, not only was the ceiling of gold, but its walls also were covered with plates of the same metal.² The Pantheon at Rome was decorated by Agrippa with ornaments of gold and silver; the central vault of its portico, the two flat ceilings of its sides, and the sculptures of the pediment were of bronze; the interior was lined with plates of silver, and the capitals were of Corinthian brass.³ And the portico of Octavius, near the Circus Maximus, we are told by Pliny, was called *Corinthian*, because of the brass capitals of its columns.⁴

This last application of metal for the purposes of architecture would no doubt be highly conducive to grandeur and magnificence of design; but there is yet another application of it, more intimately acquainted with refined taste, not dictated by a vain

¹ Lucian. *de Deâ Syria*.

² Liv. xli. 20.

³ Taylor and Cresy, *Rome*, i. 41, 2, 3; Plin. xxxiv. 7.

⁴ Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 7.

prodigality, but springing from the nice perceptions of a cultivated mind, and the practised eye of a skilful artist;—the employment of metal in those instances, where its effect was *wanted*, and could not be procured by any other means. Of instances of this mode of decoration, we have unfortunately but few specimens, but the *feeling* with which it is connected may be evidenced both in existing remains and the descriptions of ancient authors. I refer to the application of *colour* to architecture, which was sometimes employed to supersede metal, and which sometimes it was the object of metal to imitate. One of the first instances of the application of this feeling is in the description given us by Herodotus of the walls of Ecbatana:—"They were built in circles, one within another, rising each above each, by the height of their respective battlements. This mode of building was favoured by the situation of the place, which was of a gently rising ground. The outer wall is white, the next to it is black, the next purple, the fourth blue, the fifth orange, the sixth is plated with silver, the seventh with gold. Thus the battlements of each were distinguished by a different colour. Within the last stood the king's palace, and the royal treasury."¹ The object of this, though fanciful, had this important effect,—it enabled the eye, at a glance, to make out and comprehend the otherwise intricate arrange-

¹ Herod. i. 98.

ment. I do not venture to recommend the patchwork of so glaring a decoration, but I admire the principle, the feeling, with which it was actuated. This may perhaps be rendered more apparent, by a reference to the buildings of Pompeii; to the scattered evidences of taste in its domestic architecture, exhibited in the ruins of a small Roman Greek town. Every one will be aware that a Roman house, in addition to the chambers at the sides, consisted of an atrium, which, when occasionally adorned with columns, was tetrastyle; a tablinum, sometimes, but rarely ornamented with two columns; a peristyle, which, as its name denotes, was surrounded by columns; an œcus succeeded this in the more regularly formed houses, and, like the Tablinum, was sometimes ornamented with two columns; and behind this was the hortus, also decorated with the colonnade. All these were arranged on a line of axis running all through the house, as in the *Casa delli Capitelle Colorati*. Now, in consequence of this arrangement, any one looking through the prothyrum would be dazzled and confused by the indiscriminate grouping of columns behind columns, the sun shining equally on all, while the nearer colonnades prevented his making out the more distant ones; and thus each would have the effect of confusing the other, and he would have no idea either of the regularity, beauty, or extent of the house. To obviate this defect, the Greek artists, for Greek

they were and must have been, conceived the idea, in more than one instance, of painting the columns of the distant œcus of a red colour, the effect of which immediately cleared out not only that portion of the house, but relieved it from the peristyle in front, and the hortus behind; and thus rendered the whole arrangement of the house visible. In these instances the colour is used sparingly and with discretion, and being confined to *two* columns, renders the white marble stucco of the others more brilliant and engaging. In other instances the capitals of the peristyle are decorated with colour, in order to relieve them from the other colonnades: a striking example of which occurs in the house of the *Capitelli Coloriti*. But if we picture to ourselves the house completed as it was originally; and, standing in the shade of the prothyrum, we look across the light and cheerful atrium, the eye passing then through the grateful shade of the tablinum, and emerging again into the spacious peristyle, the deep shade of the œcus separating this from the mellowed light of the distant hortus, we shall find the most graceful combinations of form and outline produced by the natural effect of light and shadow, and a confused and graceless scene converted into a combined feeling of splendour and simplicity.

In the same manner we may regard the polychromic architecture of the Parthenon and other Greek temples. It was not so much to ornament

the surface, as to give clearness and character to the design; to help by colour those parts which would not be sufficiently seen; to explain the contours of mouldings, which would otherwise be unintelligible when seen from below; to give prominence to the leading lines; to create harmony (as Pliny narrates of the Temple at Cyzicus) between the building and its contents, and to correct, when judiciously applied, those effects of optical perspective which would otherwise be considered prejudicial. Thus we find the frieze that ran round the walls of the cella relieved by colour,¹ in order that its height above the eye, the confined situation from which it was viewed, and the shade produced by the columns of the peristyle, should not render imperceptible the more delicate forms of the bas-relief.² Of architectural polychromic decoration, the particulars are too well known to require enumerating: the painted lacunaria, however, both of the Parthenon and the Temple of Theseus, deserve notice. The terracotta fragments of cornices, &c., supposed to have formed part of the ancient Hecatompedon, prove

¹ Q. de Quincy, *Le Jup. Olymp.* p. 32. He, however, draws a different inference from the fact, and considers that they would have been equally coloured if placed on a level with the eye.

² In vol. i. part ii. of the *Trans. of the R. Inst. of Brit. Arch.* is a report of the committee appointed to examine the traces of colour on the Elgin marbles, accompanied with a plate.

The frieze of the Temple of Theseus was also coloured. — (Akerblad, *Diss. sopra due Lamminetti di Bronzo.*)

that colour was used in architecture at a very early epoch ; while the terra-cotta cornices of the houses at Pompèii show that its use was continued to a late period.

The capitals of the Parthenon are said by one writer to have been ornamented with a small palmette ; and possibly the inner and outer rows of the pronaos and posticum varied from each other. The coloured capitals from which one of the houses at Pompèii takes its name, I regard as extremely interesting, it being one of the last examples in which this ancient principle was carried out, and to the existence of which it in a manner testifies.

On a similar principle, and producing a similar effect, the capitals of the double temple called the Basilica, at Pæstum, are distinguished from each other, and diversified, by delicate ornaments carved in the hypotrachelion, or neck of the capital, and which are shown in Wilkins's "*Magna Græcia*," (vi. plate 15.) But the most interesting example connected with this subject is the northern portico of the Temple of Minerva Polias at Athens. The group of buildings, of which this forms a part, is divided into three parts. Of the Temple of Pandrosus, being in a different style of architecture, it is not requisite to speak. The eastern front of the Temple of Minerva Polias is a hexastyle monopteral portico, or having a projection of only one intercolumniation ; while the northern portico is tetrastyle pseudo-dipteral, or

having two intercolumniations' projection, but no inner columns. The former facing the east, and having so slight projection, would necessarily be well lit, and require no adventitious effect to render its detail or its ornaments more intelligible. The tetrastyle portico, on the contrary, facing the north, and having a portico of nearly three times its projection, would be in comparative shade, and much of its beautiful work would be invisible. To counteract this effect, Philocles the architect had recourse to colour and gilding in the lacunaria of the ceiling; and from a hole in the centre of each, it is further considered that some metallic ornament was fixed in them.¹ But the most interesting particular connected with this temple remains to be cited: for here we have a perfect, although a unique vestige of the toreutic art, or *cœlatura*, as applied to architecture: interesting, not merely from its being a specimen of this mode of decoration, but also as showing the reason and motive for its application. "On the deep grooves dividing the spirals that front within the portico, there remain bronze nails, inserted with lead, forking out as shown, and others on the flat ornament, by which some *additional decoration of metal was fixed*; and the small circles in the plat ornamented (*plaited torus*) are cut very deep, and *filled with different coloured stones or glass*;" the first

¹ Kinnard, *Stuart's Athens*, ii. 73.

row consists of circles filled in with black and light blue alternately; the second yellow and dark blue alternately; and the third black and light blue as the first. And in the sides of the capitals "the bronze nails are also introduced in the centre flutes, and each alternate one; by which some metal ornament was suspended, corresponding to those of the front."¹

The Temple of Minerva Polias at Priene affords another instance of toreutic ornament, though more simple than the foregoing example; it having the eyes of the volutes perforated for the reception of some coloured material, whether metal or a gem. It would be extremely interesting to discover whether only the inner columns of the pronaos and posticum were so ornamented, or the outer ones also. If in the former case, this would afford another instance of the design and motive for such decoration; although it is quite possible that all the columns might be equally decorated. Another precisely similar example occurs in an Ionic cap now in our museum, but found near Athens, and published by Inwood.²

Having thus pointed out the origin of this mode of decoration, its object and intention, the evidence of its practice, and lastly, directed attention to some

¹ Inwood, *Erechtheium*, p. 5, pl. iv. and v. In the plate accompanying the report published in the *Trans. of the R. Inst. of Brit. Arch.* these colours are given differently.

² Id. p. 19, pl. xxiii.

existing specimens of it; it remains to see what application it has with the Temple of Diana.

In the Temple of Diana there were "thirty-six columns ornamented with *cælatura*, one of which was by Scopas." According to the instances above referred to, these columns would belong to the peristyle of the temple, not to the hypæthron. In supposing the peristyle to consist of one hundred and twenty columns, and to have a decastyle front, with nineteen columns at the sides, we obtain a quadrangular row of columns for the pronaos and posticum, and if we reckon the *inner* columns of these two parts of the temple, we shall find there are just thirty-six. These *thirty-six columns* I suppose to be those which were *cælatæ* after the model given by Scopas.

It might have been considered more satisfactory if these columns *cælatæ* had occupied the entire inner row, all round the temple, as indeed they would do if the temple were octastyle: but there are some reasons to show that the former disposition of them is preferable. To any one walking along the side porticos, the effect of one line of columns being plain, and the other enriched, would tend to detract from the harmony and grandeur of the building; the eye would immediately become sensible of two distinct lines of columns, instead of being enraptured with the apparent maze. On the outside, it is true the temple would appear to greater advantage by having the inner row enriched,

but then temples were seldom approached in the direction of their sides, but of their ends. The following remark is made on this subject by the editor of the new edition of Stuart's "*Athens*:"¹—

"At the Temple at Phigalia, and at the ruins of a temple recently explored at Selinus, the metopæ of the pronaos and posticum were discovered to have been decorated with sculpture, when the exterior metopæ were left plain; and at the Theseum the frieze of the posticum is adorned with reliefs, while the metopæ of the same front are unsculptured, a proof of the importance attached to those inner parts of the temples." There is a sculptured frieze at east and western ends only of the temples at Sunium. Although Mr. Kinnard only cites one temple at Selinus, several may be adduced in support of this principle. The Temple of Minerva has sculptured metopæ only at the east; the large temple, south of ditto, at east and west; and the oldest temple on the west hill, at eastern end only.² The same may also be concluded from the description of the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia, given us by Pausanias.³ Another confirmation of this occurs in the suspended ornaments so frequently found at Pompeii. These circular discs were suspended between the columns, where one side being comparatively in the shade, while the other was exposed

¹ Kinnard, *Stuart's Athens*, iii. 78.

² See Bronsted, ii. 147-153.

³ Paus. v. 10.

to light and sunshine, the artists invariably sculptured the two sides in different degrees of relief, so that what one wanted in light it might make up for by boldness of relief. Another corroboration of this principle, if more is required, is afforded by Herr Kugler, who makes the following remark, which is of the more value, as he had no particular theory to support with respect to it:—"But it is still a question whether this effect was produced on the *sides* of the peripteral temples. It seems, on the contrary, rather more probable that it was confined to the narrower and principal extremities, in order to make these the most conspicuous; where, too, the depth of the *pronaos* and *posticum* would of itself give to the background a more important feature."¹ I feel great satisfaction, therefore, in finding my position of the thirty-six columns *cœlatæ* thus corroborated by these unprejudiced authorities: and grand must have been the effect in seeing such groves of columns lit up and beautified by colour,² gilding, and metal.

Of this description, therefore, were the columns

¹ *Trans. R. I. B. A.* vol. i. part i. p. 97.

² It has been objected, (Kugler, *Polych.*, in the *Trans. R. I. B. A.* vol. i. 79 to 82,) that the expression, *white stone*, used by Strabo, and Pausanias, would tend to show that architecture was not coloured in the purest ages of Greek art; but, independent of experience proving the contrary, the earlier buildings being more coloured than later ones, reason would show the necessity of providing *white stone* for buildings so decorated; in order that the colour should contrast sharply with the unpainted surfaces.

cælatæ of the Temple of Diana: columns enriched with metal and coloured stones, and probably also with painting: and that they were much more enriched than those of the Erechtheum, is evident by Pliny's thinking it right to mention this decoration expressly, which would have been unnecessary, where so many other particulars are omitted, as the sculptures of the temple, the arrangement and distribution of its hypæthron, the extent of the peribolus, and the situation of its propylæa. (See page 245, note 3.)

11. *The hypæthron.*

That the Temple was hypæthral there can be no doubt. Vitruvius's definition of *hypæthros* is said to be uncharacterized by his usual precision. He says,—“The hypæthros has (generally) ten columns in the pronaos and posticum: in all other respects it is like the dipteros. Within, it has two rows of columns, one above the other, at some distance from the wall, as the portico of a peristyle; but in the middle it is open to the sky, without a roof. The entrance is at each end, by doors in the pronaos and in the posticum. There is no example of this class of temple at Rome, but at Athens there is an octastyle example, and the Temple of Jupiter Olympius.”¹ These last words have constituted a great difficulty to investigators of this subject: it

¹ Hypæthros vero decastylos est in pronaos, et postico: reliqua omnia eadem habet quæ dipteros, sed interiore parte columnas in altitudine duplices remotas a parietibus ad circuitiōnem, ut porticus

seems strange that, after defining the hypæthral temple to be decastyle, he should refer his readers to an octastyle example. But, however vague the description may be, it is the only detailed description of such temples, and we must therefore endeavour to discover Vitruvius' meaning. He begins by describing the most simple form of temples, and he ends with temples of the most complex character. He begins with temples *in antis*, then he describes the prostyle, the amphiprostyle, the peripteral, the pseudo-dipteral, the dipteral, gradually increasing in magnificence, till he comes to the grandest of all, the hypæthral temple. We must bear in mind that Vitruvius' work, "*De Architectura*," was illustrated originally with diagrams. These diagrams he would naturally refer to in the text; and thus having drawn out his ideal representations of the several classes of temples, his descriptions having reference to these diagrams, would appear more arbitrary than we think consistent. No doubt his diagram of the peripteral temple had six columns in front, and eleven at the sides; and so, therefore, he described it, although temples with a greater number of columns, but with this arrangement, would still be peripteral: his diagram of the pseudo-dipteral had eight columns in front, and fifteen at the sides,

peristyliorum : medium autem sub divo est sine tecto, aditusque valvarum ex utraque parte in pronao, et postico. Hujus autem exemplar Romæ non est, sed Athenis octastylos, et in Templo Jovis Olympii.—(Vitr. iii. 1.)

although pseudo-dipteral temples might exist with a different number of columns : his dipteral had also eight columns in front, and this instance is the more remarkable, as he refers to the Temple of Diana as an example, which we have already seen must have been decastyle ; and, indeed, it would be absurd to suppose that if octastyle temples could be dipteral, decastyle temples were not : and in the next paragraph Vitruvius admits this ; for, after describing the hypæthral temple as decastyle, he says it was also dipteral. Thus with the hypæthral, his diagram had ten columns in front ; but finding no example at Rome, he refers his readers to examples with which he thinks they would be most familiar, two celebrated buildings at Athens, the Temple of Jupiter Olympius and the Parthenon ; which latter temple, however, although hypæthral, and provided with its double order of columns in the interior, was, he confesses, only octastyle. I think this simple view of the subject will rid the question of much difficulty.

In an essay on the hypæthron lately published,¹ I observed that the temples of the inferior deities were covered, but those of the superior gods were

¹ "On the Hypæthron of Greek Temples, together with some observations in reply to the Reviewers of 'Dædalus,'" 8vo. Longmans, 1861.

It is proper to state that though in that essay I contended, from the necessities of the case, that the Parthenon had a semicircular ceiling, I do not pretend that all Greek temples had curved ceilings.

generally hypæthral, to denote that though the statue was placed within the temple, the deity could not be contained within walls, but had its habitation in the heavens. I then showed the existence of the hypæthron by extracts from a number of ancient writers, and argued from the matter-of-fact descriptions by Vitruvius, and by quotations and anecdotes from other authors, and from actual examples in the temples of Bassæ and Ægina, fragments of which were discovered by Professor Cockerell, that this opening must have been a central and horizontal opening in the ridge of the roof. This opening being in the centre of the roof, would constitute the cella of temples having this arrangement hypæthral, *under heaven*; the cella itself being called the hypæthron, while the hole in the roof, from ὁπή, an opening, being, as we find in the case of the temple at Eleusis, called *opaion*. This word ὁπαῖον has two significations given to it by Stephanus and other lexicographers,—“Foramen per quod fumus ex furno aut camino exit,” and some temples, we know, had altars inside for burning victims, and therefore would require such an opening for the emission of the smoke,—and “foramen ollæ.” This latter signification is peculiarly appropriate to the hypæthral opening of temples, which being in the centre of the roof, would resemble the position of the mouth of a vase, which is evidently at its summit. But, independently of these descriptions and of actual remains, I endea-

voured to show, from the nature of the thing, that the hypæthral opening had a sacred signification; denoting that the deity, though present to the worshippers at the time of sacrifice, was an inhabitant of the heavens, and was able to communicate with its temple through this opening, and that for this purpose the opening must necessarily have been in the centre of the roof. It was through this opening that Apollo was said to leap down into his temple at Delos; through this opening that a female, personating the moon, descended to the sleeping Endymion, as described by Lucian in his life of the false prophet Alexander; and through this opening that they threw down stones upon Antiochus Epiphanes and his soldiers in the temple of Manca in Syria. The hypæthron of the Greek temple, and the atrium, (*αἶθριον*,) of the Roman house, being each provided with an *opaion* in the centre of the roof, took their names respectively from this same fact. Finally, in answer to the objections brought forward against such an opening by reason of the admission of rain, &c., I adduced passages discovered by Professor Boetticher, by which that learned writer on architecture proves that the opening was occasionally closed with doors, and that even in fine weather it was protected by awnings.¹

In reference to the awning of this particular temple,

¹ An answer to this essay has been since put forward by Mr. Fergusson in a lecture before the Royal Institute of British Architects, on the 18th of November, 1861, and published by them

it so happens that we have a most minute description of one which, if myths were true, we might suppose once belonged to this temple. It is, in fact, the *peplos* procured from Ephesus by Hercules, whose connection with which city we have already seen,¹ after his victory over the Amazons. Xuthus being about to depart from Parnassus, to offer a sacrifice to Bacchus, enjoined his son Ion² to entertain what friends remained behind at Delphi with a feast.

“Instant at his behest, the pious youth
 Uprears the enclosure of the ample tent,
 Framed to exclude the sun’s meridian blaze,
 Or the mild splendour of his parting ray.
 No wall he raised : the neighb’ring woods afford
 Supporters apt, without the mason’s aid.
 Ranged in right lines, the numerous stakes extend

in their “Transactions ;” and reported in the *Builder*, and *Building News*. To this the reader is referred. It is due to that distinguished writer to admit that the angle tiles of the opaion discovered by Professor Cockerell at Bassæ and Phigalia, contain *in themselves* no proof that the opening in the roof was in the centre, and not in the slopes of the roof : although at the time of writing my essay I thought so.

¹ See pp. 21, 28, and 210.

² “When the Athenians, by the advice of the Delphic oracle, in a general assembly of the different states of Greece, sent out thirteen colonies, and appointed a leader to each, reserving the chief command for Ion, the son of Xuthus and Creusa : . . . that leader conducted them over into Asia, and occupied the borders of Caria, and then built the great cities of Ephesus, &c. &c. . . . The Ionian states received the appellation of Ionic from Ion their leader, after the Carians and Leleges had been driven out.” — (Vitr. iv. 1.)

In length a hundred feet, in breadth a hundred ;
 Enclosing, as the skilful say, a square
 Of full ten thousand feet ; in which to feast
 All Delphi, he prepares the genial board.
 Then from the treasury of the god he takes
 The consecrated tapestry, splendid woof !
 To clothe with grateful shade the wondrous scene.
 First o'er the roof he spreads the skirted peplus,
 (The skirts on every side hang waving down,)
Spoil of the Amazons, the votive gift
That Hercules, heroic son of Jove,
Returned from conquest, offer'd to Apollo.
 On this rich produce of the loom are wrought
 The Heavens, within whose spacious azure round
 The num'rous hosts of stars collective shine ;
 His coursers there, down to his western goal
 The Sun has driven ; his last expiring beams
 Draw forth the radiant light of Hesperus ;
 In sable stole Night urges on amain,
 With slacken'd reins, her steeds and dusky car :
 The constellations on their swarthy queen
 Attend : there, through the mid-heavens, win their way
 The Pleiades : his sword Orion grasps :
 Above them shines the Bear, circling around
 Heaven's golden axis ; *while the full-orb'd Moon*
That halves the varying months, darts from on high
Her grateful splendour : there the Hyades,
 To mariners unerring well-known sign,
 Appear ; and glowing in the east Aurora,
 The harbinger of day, that from the sky
 Chases Night's glittering train."¹

Here, independently of Hercules and the Amazons,
 the subject of the decoration refers to Diana, if we
 may suppose that Artemis and Selene were identical,²

¹ Euripides, *Ion*, act iv. sc. 1, v. 1143.

² See on this subject, Gerhard, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 349.

as the Moon, the Queen of Heaven. That luminary is represented in the full, on high, in her meridian splendour: the last expiring beams of the sun are seen faintly in the west, while Aurora appears at the opposite extremity of the heavens, thus denoting the extended reign of the deity of the Ephesians. The subject of the decoration is also of importance, as showing that this peplus¹ was an *awning*, and not a curtain: and another particular in connection with this that requires to be noticed are the skirts which on every side hung waving down.

The general characteristic of the hypæthral arrangement was a *double order of columns*, as described by Vitruvius.² Such we still find in the Temple of Ceres at Pæstum; and such would appear, from Wheler's description, to have existed in the Parthenon.³ Pausanias, describing the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Elis,⁴ says:—"Within the cella there are columns supporting lofty porticos;" *i. e.* there are columns or porticos supporting other porticos. The Temple of Minerva at Tegea, built by the same Scopas that designed the thirty-six columns *æolūtæ* of the Temple of Diana, had a double order of

¹ The word *πέπλος* signifies indifferently an awning, a garment, and a wrapper or covering. In the above passage from Euripides, we find it used for an awning; in Pollux, vii. 13, "its use is described as twofold,—to wear as a garment, and to cover something. That it signified a garment, we may conclude from the *pepli* of Minerva." And lastly Homer, (*Il. E.* 194.) tells us that Pandarus left his chariots at home covered up with *pepli*.

² See page 268. ³ Spon and Wheler, p. 364. ⁴ Paus. v. 10.

columns in the hypæthral part: the lower were Doric, the upper Corinthian, and the outer columns Ionic.¹ Of the Temple of Ceres at Eleusis, it is recorded that “Metagenes added the *diazoma* and the upper columns;”² thereby showing that it was of two orders. We may likewise class the Temple of Apollo at Miletus in the number of temples which are known to have had a double colonnade within, Choiseul Gouffier informing us that he had discovered in the centre of the ruins a Corinthian column of much smaller diameter than the outer Ionic.³ And such we know was the Temple of Jupiter at Ægina. The only exception to this rule is the Temple of Apollo Epicureus at Bassæ, the cella of which was ornamented with a single row of columns. That a gallery generally existed on a level with the upper colonnade is very probable; an arrangement highly valuable for the display of the numerous works of art with which we know the temples to have been decorated. Such a gallery we know to have existed in the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Elis, Pausanias telling us that “those who desired to see the statue of Jupiter, could do so by ascending to the upper colonnade.”⁴ For other instances of galleries, see page 307. Such a gallery we also know to have existed at Ægina: though in the Temple of Neptune at Pæstum, and some temples

¹ Paus. viii. 45.

² Plut. *in Peric.*

³ Ch. Gouf. *Voy. Pit.* i. 292, pl. 114.

⁴ Paus. v. 10.

at Selinus, the upper colonnade does not appear to have been made use of for this purpose. Vitruvius describes these double colonnades as a distinguishing mark of the hypæthral temple; and we may therefore infer that all temples having this double colonnade in the interior were hypæthral. The remains of double staircases at the entrance to most of the great temples, afford another proof of the existence of such galleries.

12. *The Temple was surrounded on the outside by statues.*

These statues were placed in front of the different columns; for thus we see the Temple represented on a coin of Ephesus published by Venuti.¹ The figures appear to be canephoræ. Another instance of this mode of decoration occurs in an ancient illumination representing the interview between the Trojan ambassadors and King Latinus.² In the background is an octastyle temple with bronze statues in front of the columns; and we find them similarly described in the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens: they were of brass, and represented cities of Athenian colonies.³ In

¹ *Mus. Alb.* 1, xiii. 3.

² Bartoli, *Virg. Cod. Bibl. Vat. Picture*; Agincourt, *Hist. of Art, Painting*, pl. 25.

³ Paus. i. 18. It is possible that in some of the foregoing instances the statues were confined to the front of the temple; this is unimportant: we may reasonably suppose that they would begin by placing them in the principal front only, and as means increased, they would place them eventually at the back front,

the Parthenon also it has recently been discovered that statues stood in front of each column, as evidenced by the traces on the marble steps.¹ It appears also from Pausanias, (ii. 17,) that the Temple of Juno in Eubœa had statues in front of the columns of the principal entrance; for, after telling us that statues stood “before the entrance,” (πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου,) he says,—“But in the pronaos, (Ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ,) there were other statues;” thus rendering it clear that those he first spoke of were before the pronaos, and consequently before the front columns. On a coin of Hadrian a decastyle temple is represented, supposed to be the Temple of Venus and Rome, with four statues in front of the columns, (the two outside columns and two of the intermediate.) There is also a monumental column on each side, surmounted by a statue.² On a coin of Vespasian’s, a hexastyle temple is represented with a statue on each return front,³ and the same is shown on one of Domitian’s;⁴ a similar arrangement of a tetrastyle temple appears on a coin of the same emperor;⁵ and on a coin of Geta’s

and sides. And, lest it should be objected that the number of statues I have shown in my plan is improbable, it should be remembered that no fewer than five hundred brazen statues were taken from the temple at Delphi on one occasion.—(See page 306.)

¹ Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, chap. ii. sect. i. page 5.

² Buonarotti, *Osserv. Ist. sopra Alc. Medag. Ant.* pl. 1, No. 5.

³ *Theas. Morel.* tom. ii. pl. 56, No. 23.

⁴ *Id.* pl. 89, No. 14. ⁵ *Id.* pl. 89, No. 13.

the Temple of Jupiter Tonans is represented as hexastyle, with a statue in front of each column.¹ Another example of this practice is shown in the coins of Antoninus Pius, several of which represent an octastyle temple with a standing figure in front of the end columns, and sitting ones in front of the two intermediate columns. Two deities are represented as sitting on one pedestal in the interior, and the coins have the following legend,—*TEMPLUM · DIV · AUG · REST · COS · IIII*.

This custom I should imagine to be derived from the avenues of sphinxes with which the Egyptians were wont to give majesty and solemnity to their sacred edifices. To what extent this feature was used in European edifices we are unaware; but remains existed of a similar avenue which gave approach to the Temple of Apollo at Miletus, till the statues were removed to this country. Like the sphinxes of the Egyptian avenues, the statues of these temples were intended to impress reverence on the minds of the spectators, and to give honour to the deity, by making it appear that the Temple was never deserted, but constantly surrounded by other deities, and the statues of the best and greatest of departed mortals. Thus the beholder would either be impressed with reverence to a deity, or if the statue were of a mortal, he would consider how inferior he was to the virtues of the deceased,

¹ Vaillant, *Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 257.

and be excited to emulate them. To the placing of statues in front of columns succeeded attaching them to the columns on little brackets jutting out from the shaft, as in the triumphal entrance to the city of Pompeiopolis in Cilicia, in the Stadium at Cibyra, and in various buildings at Baalbec, Palmyra, and Spalatro.

13. *The door, roof, and stairs of the Temple.*

Before closing the remarks on the plan and arrangement of the Temple, it is necessary to refer to three particulars given us by Pliny:—its door, its roof, and its stairs. Theophrastus tells us that the doors were made of cypress wood, the planks for which had been treasured up for four generations.¹ Pliny also, on the authority of Mucianus the Consul, who visited Ephesus, says:—"The doors (are said) to be of cypress, and notwithstanding the lapse of near four hundred years, they continue as good as new; but it is to be remembered that they were kept four years in glue. Cypress was chosen in preference to other woods, because, in addition to other advantages, it alone has the property of constantly preserving its beauty and polish."² In proof of this he refers to the statue of Vejovis in the Capitol, which was of this wood, and executed in the year of Rome 661,³ or 93 B.C.; also to the juniper roof of the Temple of Diana at Saguntum

¹ Theophr. *de Historia Plantarum*, v. 5.

² Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 79. ³ Theophrastus has 551.

in Spain, said to have been founded two hundred years before the destruction of Troy, and which still continued sound and good in Pliny's time; and to the roof of the Temple of Diana in Aulis, which was of the same antiquity, and still perfect: and then observes, the more odoriferous a wood is, the more durable it is likely to be.

It does not appear whether these cypress doors were lined with bronze ornamented in bas-relief, or whether they were inlaid with other woods, or decorated with metal *cælatura*. Pliny says the doors of the earliest temples were of brass.¹ This is probable, for we have already had occasion to notice the extensive use of metal in the early ages of the world. As the arts progressed, a more elegant style of enrichment was made use of: and thus the doors were frequently executed in the most delicate inlaid work, or were beautifully painted. The doors of the Temple of Minerva at Syracuse, were ornamented with ivory panels of rich sculpture set in gold. "It is incredible, (says Cicero,) how many Greek authors have described these doors: no temple ever had any more magnificent in gold and ivory."² Virgil's temple to Augustus on the river Mincius, was to have reliefs of ivory and gold in the panels of the doors. Shortly after Pliny's description of the doors of the Temple of Diana was written, it would appear that they were

¹ Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 7.

² Cic. *in Verrem, de Signis*, § 56.

destroyed; for Petrus Gyllius, speaking of the loss sustained by a fire at Constantinople, mentions, as being also destroyed, "the doors of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, the gift of Trajan, executed from the spoils of Scythians, and exhibiting the battles of the giants, Jupiter with his thunderbolts, Neptune with his trident, Apollo with his arrows; and in the lower part the giants fighting with dragons, throwing rocks with their hands, and looking up with maddened eyes."¹ As Minerva and Mercury were the protecting deities of doors, and therefore called *Pronaoi*,² it is probable that either the door itself would be ornamented with their representations, or that their statues would be placed in the pronaos of the temple, and protected from public intrusion by the *transennæ*³ or *plutea*,

¹ Petr. Gyll. iii. 4. Simonides, in one of his epigrams, speaks of a temple the door of which had the outside panel of right valve painted by Simon of Cleonæ, and the inside panel of left valve by Dionysius of Colophon. — (*Analect.* i. 142; Simonid. *Carm.* lxxxiv.) The door of the Temple of Apollo at Cyzicus was painted on the outside with the subject of Æolus and Boetus, the two sons of Neptune, delivering their mother Melanippe. — (*Anthol. Pal. Paralipom. ex Cod. Vat.* No. 23, xiii. 636; Cic. *in Verr.* iv. 56.)

² Paus. ix. 10.

³ *Transennæ* were employed in all Byzantine churches to divide the choir or presbytery from the nave; and they are also seen in the Saracenic buildings of Asia Minor, used in the same manner as here indicated; namely, as low perforated screens, placed between the columns, so as to enclose the porticos in front of mosques. Very magnificent examples may be seen at Ballat, (Miletus,) Mellass, (Mylassa,) Boorsa, (Brusa,) and Iznic, (Nicæa.)

with which it was customary to enclose these parts of temples. "The three intercolumniations between the antæ and the columns are to be enclosed by marble plutea, (or divisions of open work ?) so constructed as to have doors for access to the pronaos."¹ It is to be remarked here that Vitruvius is describing a peripteral temple, not a dipteral; and which, therefore, would require the enclosure to be more restricted; but the Temple of Diana being dipteral, I have extended the enclosure of the pronaos and posticum, so as to take in the space of one intercolumniation in front of the antæ. Evidences of these plutea are to be seen in the Temples of Theseus and Rhamnus, and in the Parthenon at Athens.

The roof was entirely of cedar, the rafters which supported the tiling, as also the horizontal beams which formed the ceiling. Pliny speaks of both, Vitruvius of the latter only. "Of all woods, ebony, cypress, and cedar, are thought to be the most durable; a good proof of which is to be seen in the timber of which the Temple of Diana at Ephesus is built: it being now four hundred years since it was erected, at the joint expense of all Asia; and what is a well-known fact, the roof is wholly composed of planks of cedar."² Vitruvius merely says the coffered ceiling, (*lacunaria*,) was of cedar.³ The ceiling of the interior of temples we may suppose was generally of

¹ Vitr. iv. 4.² Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 79.³ Vitr. ii. 9.

wood, and decorated with painting. The shrines round about the Pantheon of Adrian at Athens, had gilt soffits (ὀρόφωτε ἐπιχρύσω).¹ “The ceiling (ὄροφος) of the temple at Stymphalia is ornamented with birds, but whether of wood or plaster it is difficult to conceive.”² And in speaking of the roof of the Temple of Juno at Elis, and distinguishing between that part which supported the tiling, and the horizontal part, Pausanias says the latter was decorated.³

The ceiling of the Temple of Juno at Samos, was painted with the intrigues of Jupiter and Juno.⁴ One of the most remarkable ceilings of wood was that of the Bouleuterion of Cyzicus, which was so contrived that it was put together without metal, and might be taken to pieces at pleasure.⁵ Metal ceilings, however, were not uncommon; the Cella Solearis of the baths of Caracalla had a dome, the ribs of which were of bronze.⁶ The Pantheon at Rome had its dome lined with gilt bronze, which was stolen by Constance II., while the massive bronze lining of the front portico was stripped off by Urban VIII., who placed his name on the portico as the “Restorer of the Pantheon!” The Forum of Trajan had a bronze ceiling.⁷ Appian

¹ Paus. i. 18.

² Id. viii. 22.

³ Paus. v. 20. Tertullian speaks of the decorated ceilings of temples.—(*Apolog.* xxiv.)

⁴ Origines *contra Celsum*, iv. 196.

⁵ Plin. xxxvi. 15.

⁶ Aelius Spartianus, *in vita*.

⁷ Paus. v. 12.

tells us that the Temple of Apollo at Cotho, the port of the Carthaginians, had a ceiling of gold.¹ So also, a Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Antioch, the walls and ceiling of which were lined with plates of gold.² Beams of gold were taken away from the Temple of Jerusalem by Crassus.³

The staircase was of the wood of the vine. "Vines were reckoned among the ancients in the class of trees" and even now the stairs leading to the roof of the Temple of the Ephesian Diana are formed of the vine-tree, said to be from Cyprus; because there principally vines grow to a great size. Nor is any wood more durable by nature."⁴

¹ *De Bellis Punicis*, parag. 79, Anstel.

² Liv. xli. 20.

³ Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 7.

⁴ Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 1. At Mysa, in Turkey in Europe, I saw a vine of an immense size, which I took a drawing of, and lent to a friend, who has since lost it : I should say, from recollection, that the trunk was twenty-four inches in diameter. The doors of Ravenna Cathedral are of vine planks, the largest of which measure one foot nine inches in width, and four inches in thickness.

⁵ Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 2.

V.

THE CONTENTS OF THE TEMPLE.

The Statue of Diana—The Veil of the Temple—The Carpentum of the Deity—The Fountain Hypelæus, within the Temple—Works of Art, within the Temple — The Treasury of the Temple.

1. THE Statue of Diana.

In the primitive ages the gods were worshipped without images;¹ and when corporeal representations were first given them, they were of shapeless forms, without any resemblance to the human figure.² Thus in coins of Cyprus, Venus is represented in the form of a parabolic cone,³ and this rude image was preserved even to the time of the emperors Vespasian and Domitian.⁴ The Dorian Apollo and the Juno of Argos were in the form of a column; and the Samian Juno,⁵ and the Minerva of Lindus were

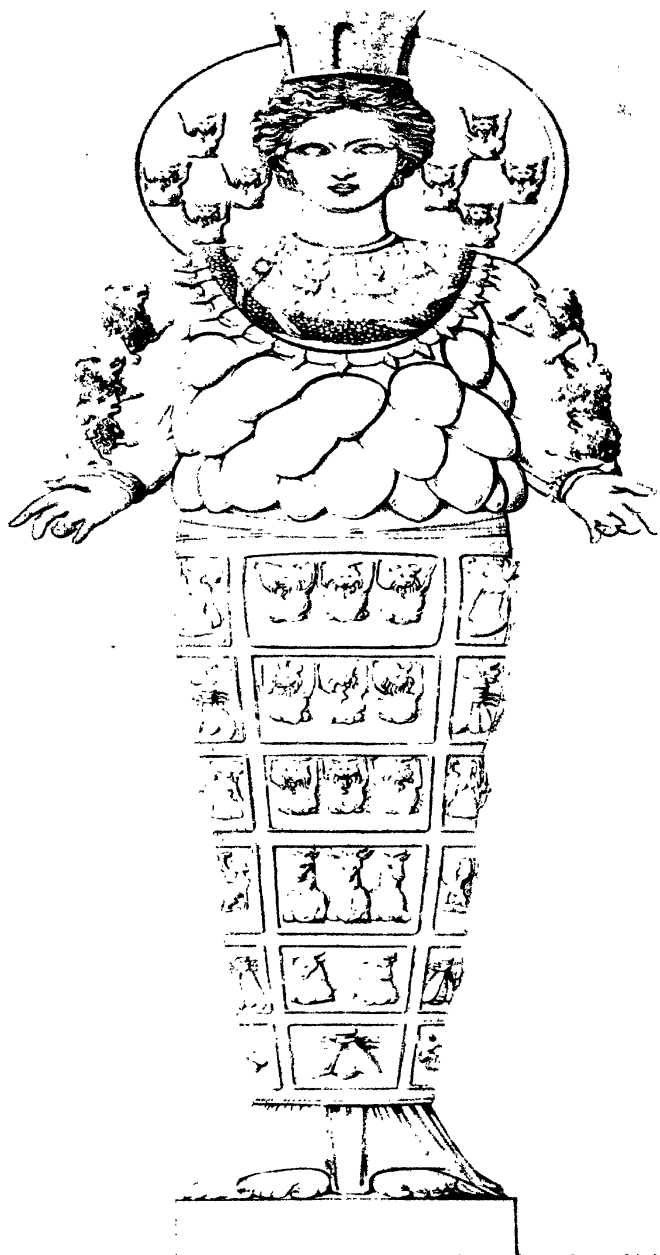
¹ Herodotus; Lucian. *de Dea Syria*.

² Paus. vii. 22; Clemens. Alexr. *Protrept.* p. 30 A; Themistin. *Orat.* xv. Such were the statues of the Attic Minerva and the Farian Ceres.—(Tertul. *cont. Nation.* i. 12.)

³ Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 2, 3.

⁴ *Thes. Morel.* tom. i. pl. 55, Nos. 5; 56, 9; 76; 29; 31; tom. ii. 50, 8; 67, 3; 83, 8.

⁵ Barth. *Anarch.* lxxiv.



IN THE MUSEUM AT NAPLES.

mere planks.¹ The Cadmean Bacchus was a rough piece of wood, supposed to have fallen from heaven, and which was afterwards covered with brass:² the Jupiter Casius of Pieria³ and the Hercules of Hyettus in Bœotia⁴ were unhewn shapeless stones: the Jupiter of Chæronea was in the form of a sceptre;⁵ and the Cimmerian Mars in that of a cimeter.⁶

Many of these were supposed to have fallen from heaven, and therefore worthy of particular reverence; and such was the original statue of Diana.⁷ Suidas says the priests killed the sculptors of the statue of Diana, in order that they should not own having made it.⁸ Respecting this statue we have a tradition recorded by Dionysius and Callimachus,⁹ but commentators are far from being agreed as to its meaning: some understanding that the statue was placed under a tree, others on the stump of a tree, and others in the hollow of a tree: Callimachus says it was a beech-tree, and Dionysius an elm. At Mantinea there was a statue of Diana enclosed

¹ Guhl, p. 185.

² Paus. ix. 12.

³ Vaillant, *Num. Græc.* p. 30.

⁴ Paus. ix. 24.

⁵ Id. ix. 40.

⁶ Herod. iv. 62.

⁷ *Acts*, xix. 35; Bodeus, p. 526; Scaliger, lib. ii. par. ii. p. 55, No. DCCCLXX.

⁸ Suidas in *Διωκετες*. The statue of Diana in the Tauric Chersonese was also believed to have fallen from heaven.—(Eurip. *Iphig. in Tauris*, v. 100.)

⁹ Dion. Perieg. v. 828, 9; Call. *Hym. Dian.* 239. See page 211.

in the hollow of a large cedar-tree, and the goddess was thence called *Cedreatis*;¹ and in the Bible we learn that it was very common to set up images under trees.²

We are equally uncertain of what wood the statue was formed. In general that wood was selected for the statues of the gods, to which each respective deity was supposed to be attached; and when we consider the age of the statue, and reflect that it was probably covered with gold, at least in parts,³ and with painting, it is not at all extraordinary that even eye-witnesses should differ in their reports respecting it.

In addition to the opinions of some, who supposed it to be formed of beech or elm, Vitruvius considered it was of cedar;⁴ Xenophon says it was of gold;⁵ while Pliny observes:—"As to the statue of the goddess, there is some doubt as to the wood; all writers say that it is of ebony, with the exception of Mucianus, who was thrice consul, and one of the last who saw it. He says that it is made of the wood of the vine, and that it has never been changed all the seven times that the Temple has been rebuilt. He says too that it was Endæus who made choice of this wood."⁶ Athenagoras

¹ Paus. viii. 13.

² Herod. ii. 55, 6; *Deut.* xii. 2; *Josh.* xxiv. 26.

³ The statue of the Temple of Diana at Stymphalus was of wood, and for the most part gilt.—(Paus. viii. 22.)

⁴ *Vitr.* ii. 9. ⁵ *Xen. Anab.* v. ⁶ *Plin. H. N.* xvi. 79.

also asserts that it was made by Endæus, the pupil of Dædalus.¹ Pliny goes on to say that "by means of numerous holes it was kept moistened by spikenard, in order that the moist nature of that drug might preserve the wood, and keep the seams close together, a precaution which would seem unnecessary, considering its very moderate size."²

That there were more statues than one is very evident. That which was supposed to have fallen down from Jupiter dated from the establishment of the Amazons, and was an inform block of beech or elm. This was ever esteemed as the most sacred, but did not necessarily occupy the principal place of the temple; on the contrary, it was small, and was probably kept with great care in the opisthodomus, or in some well-defended shrine in the naos, like the sacred relics in Roman Catholic churches.

The form of the statue with which we are best acquainted, denotes great antiquity, from its closed feet, its hands supported by fulcra, (*verua*,) its swaddled body, and the symbolic sculpture with which it is charged. Whether that executed by Mentor was of this character is uncertain; but whether it were copied from this ancient type, or

¹ Athenag. *pro Christ.* 14.

² From this passage Quatremère de Quincy supposes that the statue was chryselephantine.

not, its execution was considered as a masterpiece.¹

The great number of breasts of animals with which the statue of Diana was covered, and from which she was called *multimammia*, (*πολύμαστος*,) confirms the opinion of some learned men, that the Egyptian Isis and the Greek Diana were the same divinity with Rhœa, whose name they suppose to be derived from the Hebrew word רָחַץ, *Rehah*, to feed; and like Rhœa she was crowned with turrets, to denote her dominion over terrestrial objects. It is supposed that the crab, which is so frequently seen on the figures of this goddess, refers to that sign of the zodiac in which the Nile overflows its banks.² According to Herodotus, it appears that she was the same as Bubastis.³

The circle round her head denotes the nimbus of her glory; the griffins inside of which express its brilliancy. In her breast are the twelve signs of the zodiac; of which those seen in front are the Ram, Bull, Twins, Crab, and Lion: they are divided by the hours. Her necklace is composed of acorns,⁴ the primeval food of man. (See page 293.) Lions are on her arms, to denote her power, and her hands are stretched out to show that she is ready to receive all who come to her. Her body is covered with various beasts and monsters, as

¹ Plin. *H. N.* vii. 39.

² Spelman, note to *Xen. Anab.* v.

³ Herod. ii. 41, 59, 137.

⁴ Or *φαλλοι*.

sirens, sphinxes, and griffins, to show that she is the source of nature, the mother of all things. (See page 294.) Her head, hands, and feet, are of bronze, while the rest of the statue is of alabaster, to express the ever-varying light and shade of the moon's figure. The figure of Ephesus on the pedestal (of the statue of Tiberius) found at Puteoli, and now in the museum at Naples, has three ears of corn, a pomegranate, and a poppy in her hand, as symbols of fertility; thus we see three ears of corn shown on an Ephesian coin,¹ and another coin represents a figure (Ephesus?) holding ears of corn and poppies.² The flame on her head may be an indication of divine favour;³ or the origin of the city by the accidental fire of the fishermen.⁴ The veil of the statue indicates night.

The statue in the Forum of Elis had horns on its head:⁵ in the Orphic Hymn, Diana is called *bull-horned*; and Plutarch remarks that the Temple of Diana on Mount Aventine had ox-horns attached,⁶ but that all other temples of Diana had stag-horns. The Egyptian Isis, who corresponded to Diana, was "represented under the form of a woman, and, as the Greeks paint Io, with horns on her head."⁷ The moon was represented as

¹ Mionnet, *Med. Suppl.* vi. Ionie, No. 880. ² *Id. Med.* iii. 208.

³ For a similar instance, see Virg. *Æn.* ii. 682.

⁴ Gronov. *Mar. Bas. Col. Tib.* xxiii.

⁵ Paus. vi. 24.

⁶ Livy also, i. 45.

⁷ Herod. ii. 41.

drawn by bulls, because as these till the ground, so the moon governs all those parts which surround the earth.¹ Hence Diana was called *Tauropolis*, and hence those of the Phocæans, who founded the city Tauroeis or Tauroentium in Gaul, and established the worship of Diana Ephesia, called the city by this name from the sacred sign of their vessel.²

Diana was believed to assist at generation, from the circumstance of the time of bearing being regulated by the lunar month:³ and Proclus says of her, or the moon,—she “is the cause of nature to mortals, as she is the self-conspicuous image of fontal nature.”⁴ The following address to this divinity, in Apuleius, will show us in what respect the moon was held by heathen nations.

“Lucius awaking from his sleep, and seeing the moon shining in full splendour, recollected that the power of Diana was most extensive, that all earthly things were directed by her governance; that not only animals, but even inanimate beings, feel the effects of her light and divinity; and that all things, whether in heaven, or earth, or the waters, augment and diminish as the moon increases or diminishes, and he therefore prayed to her to change his metamorphosis back again to

¹ Taylor's *Paus.* vol. iii. p. 196. ² Ptolemy, citing Apollodorus.

³ Cic. *Nat. Deor.* ii. 27.

⁴ Proc. in *Tim.* p. 260.

the human form. He then rose suddenly, and went to purify himself by washing in the sea, plunging his head seven times in the water, in accordance with the doctrine of Pythagoras, who teaches that number to be the most suitable for religious actions: then full of joy and hope, he made the following prayer to the goddess, his eyes suffused with tears:—‘ Queen of heaven! whosoever thou art! whether thou be the beneficent Ceres, mother of corn, who, in the effects of joy which thou feltest for the recovery of thy daughter, relieved men from the ancient diet of acorns, which they had in common with wild beasts, giving them a more gentle nourishment: thou who hast chosen thine abode in the fields of Eleusis; whether thou be the heavenly Venus, who in the beginning of the world having created love, united the two sexes, and perpetuated the human species; and who art adored in the sea-girt Temple of Paphos! whether thou art the sister of Apollo, who by the assistance which thou givest to pregnant women, hast caused so many people to enter the world; and who art adored in the magnificent Temple of Ephesus! Thou! whosoever thou art! who art the second light in the universe, and by thy moist rays nourishest plants, and diffusest thy light sufficiently, according as thou approachest or recedest from the sun. Great goddess! under whatever name, under whatever form, and by

whatever ceremonies thou art revered, succour me in my extreme distress.'”

To this the goddess answered :—

“ Lucius, thy prayers have reached me; moved by thy supplications, I come to thee, I am Nature, the mother of all things.”¹

We are not to suppose that this was the only statue of the divinity within the Temple: that it was customary to have more than one statue of the divinity in a temple, is evidenced by the Temple of Diana at Aulis, “ which contains two stone statues; one of these holds a torch, and the other is in the attitude of one shooting an arrow :”² but this is particularly shown in the account we have of the Temple of Diana at Massilia, (Marseilles). “ This city was founded by the Phocæans, and had in its citadel the temple called the *Ephe-sium* so named because it was consecrated to Diana of Ephesus. They narrate that when the Phocæans were about to quit their

¹ Apuleius, *Met.* xi. This is the very same title by which we find Diana Ephesia distinguished on several ancient statues. In Montfaucon are two engravings of statues, bearing the following inscription :—“ Nature, full of variety, the mother of all things.”—(Mont. *Ant. Exp.* i. p. 158.) “ The name of Diana is supposed to come from DIVIANA, the feminine according to the old Etruscan idiom of DIVUS, and therefore signifying the *goddess*, or general female personification of the divine nature, which the moon was considered to be in the ancient planetary worship, which preceded the symbolic.”—(Knight, *Enquiry Symb.* § 142.)

² Paus. ix. 19.

country, they were enjoined by an oracle to take from Diana of Ephesus, a guide for the voyage they were about to undertake. Repairing, therefore, to Ephesus, to inquire of the goddess how they could conform to the dictates of the oracle, Diana they say appeared in a dream to Aristarche, one of the principal women of Ephesus, and ordered her to depart with the Phocæans, taking with her one of the consecrated statues in her temple."¹ In Apuleius, we read of the small silver statues of the goddess being brought out and placed on the steps of the temple, for the people to kiss at the conclusion of the festival.

The fact of there being several statues of Diana in her temple, is also expressly stated by Cæsar in his Commentaries.² The statue taken to Massilia was probably one of the usual form ; but that the temple also contained statues of Diana in many other characters, would appear from the coins of the city, which represent Diana Venatrix,³ or Diana Lucifera, quite as frequently as Diana Ephesia. Of the former description, she is sometimes represented as taking a dart from her quiver ; as drawing a bow ; with a javelin ; with a patera and spear ; running, and darting a javelin ; with a javelin on her shoulder, and carrying the skin

¹ Strabo, p. 179.

² See page 342.

³ " Venatrix Ephesium virgo."—(Prudentius, *Orat. cont. Symac.* i. 361.)

of a wild boar; with a shield; kneeling on, and killing a stag, sometimes with her hands only, at other times with a dart, or a sword; killing a wild boar with a spear, and armed with a shield; riding on a stag; in a chariot; and lastly, in repose. The Diana Ephesia has been supposed by some to have no affinity with the daughter of Latona; but the numerous coins of Diana Venatrix just referred to, and the story of the original foundation of Ephesus, when a temple to Apollo was built conjointly with that of Diana,¹ and Lucius' address to Diana in Apuleius, prove her to be identical.

The principal deity, however, of the Temple, was the Diana properly called Ephesia, and the form of her image was never changed, although the temple had been rebuilt several times.² Diana was called *Artemis* from her power of curing diseases;³ and *Opis* from the beauty of her countenance. By the latter title she is addressed in the hymn to her honour, composed by Timotheus on the consecration of her temple, as especially remarked by Macrobius.⁴

¹ See page 42.

² Pliny, as quoted in page 288.

³ Strabo, p. 635.

⁴ Macrobius, Sat. v. 22, quoted in page 217. See also Herod. iv. 35. Among other epithets, she had those of *Amarusia*, resplendent; *Amphipyros*, girt with fire; *Aphæa*, deliverer; *Ariste*, the best; *Aristobula*, of excellent counsel; *Callista*, the most beautiful; *Ethiope*, of burning eyes; *Euclea*, the famous; *Hecærga* and *Hecatoble*, far-darting; *Hemeresia*, the propitious; *Leucophrya*,

2. The Veil of the Temple.

The statue was concealed from the multitude by a veil, (*parapetasma*,)¹ which Pausanias informs us was "raised towards the ceiling; unlike that of Jupiter Olympius, which was let down by ropes on the pavement,"² or that of the Temple of Isis described by Apuleius, where, at the break of day, when worshippers began to appear, the priests "drew aside the gorgeous veils which covered the adorable image of the goddess:"³ and certainly either of these latter modes seems preferable to an upward motion; for it would be much more dignified and natural that the head should first be visible, and so the figure gradually increase, or that the whole statue should suddenly, and at once appear, than that the lower portion of the figure should be first seen. The mention of a veil will naturally direct our attention to the veil of the Jewish temple, the mention of which will show the high antiquity of this usage. The veil of the Tabernacle was of fine twined linen, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, adorned with cherubim, and

white-browed; *Orthia*, the just; *Orthobule*, the prudent; *Philomirax*, pleased with youth; *Phæbe*, brightness; *Phosphore*, splendour-bearing; *Protothronia*, highest-throned; *Selasphore*, producing light; *Soter*, the protectress.—(Valpy, *Cláss. Man.* p. 159.)

¹ This veil is supposed to be represented on a coin of Ephesus, the subject of which is a tetrastyle temple, and a slight indication of a curtain on one side.—(Buonarotti, *Med. Ant.* pl. 1, No. 6.)

² Paus. v. 12.

³ "Ac velis candentibus reductis in diversum."—(Apul. *Met.* xi.)

hung upon four wooden pillars overlaid with gold.¹ This was in 1491 B.C. The description of the veil of the Temple of Solomon, executed in 1015 B.C., is precisely similar,² and as we are informed by Josephus, was of Babylonian manufacture.³ This feature of the Jewish temple is constantly referred to by the word *parapetasma* : and its use and purport is still kept up, though modified, in the *iconastasis* of the Greek Church.⁴ “The veil of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius was of wool, adorned with Assyrian weaving and the purple of the Phœnicians; it was dedicated by King Antiochus ;”⁵ and we may suppose that the *parapetasma* of the Temple of Diana, like its *peplos*, (see page 273,) was ornamented with figures and arabesques woven into it, and thus was rendered a beautiful accessory of the temple : and certainly nothing could so much contribute to the imposing nature of the scene, as the concealing the image from the eyes of the worshippers, till they had all taken their places, and observed a solemn silence ; and then, at a given signal, at the blast of trumpets,⁶ for the

¹ *Exod.* xxvi. 31, 2 ; xxxvi. 35, 6.

² *2 Chron.* iii. 14.

³ *Jos. Bell.* v. 5, 4.

⁴ Some of these are particularly gorgeous, especially in the rich Russian churches, as at Moscow, and Kief, and Novogorod, where they glitter with gold, silver, and precious stones.

⁵ Paus. v. 12.

⁶ The *sacred trumpeters* are particularly mentioned among the officers of the temple, in an ancient inscription published by Chandler. See page 332.

curtain to be removed amidst the shouts of an adoring multitude.

Whether we believe the heathen oracles to have originated from imposture, and to have been confirmed by the credulence and superstition of subsequent ages ; or whether with some we suppose them to have been occasionally influenced by the spirit of God, for the fulfilment of his wise purposes in the government of the world : or with others, that they were caused by supernatural magic and sorcery ; certain it is that they were upheld by deceit and chicanery, and the employment of what is called *natural magic*. Thus, in the supernatural appearance of the gods¹ in the Temple of Hercules at Tyre, of Esculapius at Tarsus,² of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis,³ of the “ Mothers ” at Euguium, or Eugyum, in Sicily,⁴ of Diana of Letrini, near Elis,⁵ like that of Apollo as described by Callimachus in the following manner, the effect must have been produced by the aid of natural magic.

“ See how the laurel’s hallowed branches wave !
Hark ! sounds tumultuous shake the trembling cave !
Far ye profane ! far off ! *with beauteous feet*
Bright Phœbus comes, and thunders at the gate :”

¹ Apollo, Diana, and Minerva were believed to have appeared bodily in the defence of Delos, and the supernatural discomfiture of the Gauls.—(Justinus, xxiv. 6.)

² Philost. *Apol. Tyran.* i. 7.

³ Lucian. *de Dea Syria.*

⁴ Plut. *in Marcel.* 20. The *mothers* are supposed to be Cybele, Juno, and Ceres.

⁵ Paus. vi. 22.

See ! The glad sign the Delian palm hath given !
 Sudden it bends ! and hovering in the heaven,
 Soft sings the swan with melody divine.
 Burst ope, ye bars ! ye gates, your heads decline !
 Decline your heads ! Ye sacred doors, expand !
*He comes ! The god of light ! The god's at hand !*¹
 Begin the song, and tread the sacred ground
 In mystic dance, symphonious to the sound.
 Begin, young men ! Apollo's eyes endure
 None but the good, the perfect, and the pure.
Who view the god are great : but abject they
From whom he turns his favouring eyes away.
All-piercing God ! in every place confessed,
We will prepare, behold thee, and be blessed.
He comes, young men ! nor silent should ye stand
 With harp or feet, when Phœbus is at hand."

That these appearances were not the mere displaying of the image on raising or lowering the rich embroidered *parapetasma*, an action no doubt attended with considerable solemnity, but *visible moving representations of the deity*, is clearly shown from Proclus, in Plato's Republic, (p. 380):—"In all mystic sacrifices and mysteries, the gods exhibit many forms of themselves, and appear in a variety of shapes. Sometimes, indeed, an unfigured light of themselves is held forth to the view : sometimes this light is figured according to a human form, and sometimes it changes into a different shape." This was possibly effected by means of concave mirrors²

¹ See *Psalm* xxiv. 7-10.

² Pausanias (viii. 37) describes a mirror in a temple at Acacesium of so remarkable a nature, that though it reflected all other objects, the figure of the spectator was invisible.

reflecting the image or statue of the temple, or any other they wished to represent, on the fumes and vapours of the incense burnt on such occasions; and by approaching the mirror nearer and nearer to the statue, the larger, and therefore nearer, would the representation appear to come to them. This illusion on the optic faculties might be increased by the alternate glare and gloom of light and obscurity, by affecting the nerves with narcotic drugs, and indeed by every means which their knowledge of the phenomena of nature would enable them to practise. We might almost believe that the ancients were acquainted with many properties of science which are now lost to us. That they excelled in mechanism appears from their contrivances for the theatre, from their moving automata and weeping statues, and many other particulars which have come down to us. Dædalus, indeed, was fabulously believed to have formed images of men with such internal mechanism, that it was requisite to tie their legs together to prevent their running away ! The perpetual lamps of the ancients¹ appear so well authenticated, that did we not know that many false miracles are equally well attested, we might suppose that they were constructed through some laws of chemistry no longer known to us. The lamp of the Temple of Minerva Polias, constructed by Callimachus, had

¹ See an interesting account of them in vol. iii. p. 215, of Taylor's Notes to Pausanias.

marvellous virtues attributed to it. That Diana of Ephesus was supposed to appear miraculously in her temple, as in the instances already quoted, is evident from the story of Diana appearing to Metagenes the architect in his sleep, (see page 216;) and from an ancient inscription published by Chandler, where this fact is particularly mentioned. Speaking of the temples and altars dedicated to her, it says they were so, "on account of her plain manifestations of herself."¹ The Eleusinian mysteries afford another evidence of the employment of natural magic in the ancient temples.²

3. The Carpentum of the Deity.

On certain high festivals, the statue of Diana was gorgeously apparelled,³ the vest embroidered with emblems and symbolical devices; and to prevent its tottering, a bar of metal, (*veru*,) it is likely of gold, was placed under each hand:⁴ in this state it was paraded through the city in a sacred car, (*Ἀπήνη ἱερά*, or *carpentum*.) This was drawn most commonly

¹ See page 333. ² See pages 322-324.

³ In Baruch, vi. 11, 12, 58, 72; and Herod. ii. 132, the idols of the gods are described as covered with purple raiment. The statue of Jupiter Olympius at Syracuse was covered with a gold-embroidered vest. Cicero, (*de Nat. Deor.* iii.) and Valer. Max. (*de Negl. Relig. Ext. Exempl.* i.), say that Dionysius the tyrant took it, pretending that it was "too heavy for summer, and too cold for winter." A statue of Minerva at Dresden, in the Æginetan style, has its mantle divided into eleven compartments, representing the battle of the gods and giants.—(*Augusteum Dresd.*)

Chandler, *Travels*, i. 165.

by mules,¹ frequently by stags or fawns,² and occasionally by bulls³ and by dogs.⁴ In the Orphic hymn, preserved by Macrobius,⁵ a spotted mule's skin is represented as appropriate to Apollo. This, Taylor on the Bacchic mysteries, interprets as representing the starry heavens, and the image of the moon, which luminary, according to Proclus,⁶ resembled the mixed nature of a mule, "becoming dark through her participation of the earth, and deriving her proper light from the sun." So that the spotted hide of the mule signified the moon attended by a multitude of stars; and hence, in the Orphic hymn to the moon, that deity is celebrated as "shining, surrounded by beautiful stars," and called *Astrarche*, or Queen of the Stars. And in Apuleius, Diana is thus represented:—"Thou rollest the heavens round the steady poles, thou illuminest the sun,⁷ thou governest the world, thou treadest on the dark realms of Tartarus. The stars move responsive to thy command, the gods rejoice in thy divinity, the

¹ Mionnet, *Med.* iii. 328, 382, 390; 400, 2, 4; 422, 433, 440, 450; Suppl. vi. Nos. 525, 7; 547, 566, 648; 655, 7; 633, 6; 682; 726, 7; 733; 745, 6; 759, 776-781; 808, 9; 816, 839, 840.

² Id. *Med.* iii. 275, 304, 327, 330, 343, 362; 366, 7; 390, 424; Suppl. vi. 442; 523, 6; 555, 574, 721; 817, 9.

³ See page 291. Prudent. *Orat. cont. Symac.* i. 361; Buonarrotti, *Osserv. sopra Med. Ant.* xii. 2.

⁴ Buonarrotti, *Med. Ant.* xii. 2. ⁵ Macrobi. *Sat.* xviii.

⁶ Procl. *Hesiod.* p. 174.

⁷ (As goddess of nature.) Some of the ancients supposed that the sun was derived from the moon.—(Lucret. v. 655; Diod. xvii.)

hours and seasons return by thy appointment, and the elements reverence thy decree.”¹

There were similar ceremonies in honour of Diana, at Patræ in Achaia: the goddess was magnificently clothed, and the procession was closed by a virgin borne in a chariot by two stags.² It was on account of the celebrity of these processions, that among other vagaries of Alexander at Ecbatana, he used to dress himself as Diana, and ride in his chariot in imitation of that goddess.³

The celebrity of the statue was such, and its worship so extended, that Pausanias informs us,—“All cities call Diana, Ephesia; and men privately honour this goddess beyond all other divinities.”⁴ And thus we are told in the Acts of the Apostles:—“The great goddess Diana—whom all Asia and the world worshippeth.”⁵

Among the various temples erected in her honour were,—that on Mount Aventine in Rome, erected by Servius Tullius,⁶ that by Xenophon at Scillus, which has been more than once referred to, and several on the coast of France, in the cities founded by the Phocæans.⁷

¹ Apul. *Met.* xi.

² Paus. vii. 18.

³ Ath. p. 537 e., quoting Ephippus, *Olynthius*, in libro de Hephæstionis et Alexandri obitu.

⁴ See page 195.

⁵ *Acts*, xix. 27.

⁶ See page 215.

⁷ Strabo, pp. 159, 160, 179, 180. Connected with one of these temples in Gallia there is a tragical story given us by Polyænus, (viii. 39.) The worship of the Ephesian Diana was also celebrated

4. The Fountain Hypelæus.

We learn from Achilles Tatius, that there was a fountain in the Temple;¹ probably the same which was ornamented by Thrason,² and the same which was called Hypelæus,³ for this latter stood at the Sacred Port. It would be too hazardous to found an assumption on a solitary instance, and to suppose that fountains were general in Temples of Diana; but we find that there were fountains also in the Temple of Diana at Marios,⁴ in the Temple of Esculapius and in the Erechtheum at Athens,⁵ and in the Temple of Isis described by Apuleius, where the priest is represented as filling a vase with holy water, from a fountain which was in the most secret part of the temple.⁶

5. Works of Art within the Temple.

After speaking of the grandeur and form of the Temple of Diana, Pliny observes:—"To speak of the other ornaments of this Temple, would require many volumes."⁷ And Vitruvius says:—"In four

in the following cities, for the knowledge of which we are chiefly indebted to coins:—Acrasus in Lydia, Alea in Arcadia, Apameia, Amphipolis, Ancyra, Camenos, Claros, Clazomenæ, Corinth, Cyzicus, Emporium, Gortyna in Crete, Hierapolis, Hypæpa, Massyla in Mauritania, Mitylene, Neapolis in Palestine, Perga, Phanes in Syria, Philadelphia in Lydia, Prusa, Raphanææ, Samos, and Thyatira. Those of Alea and Corinth are referred to by Pausanias, (viii. 23, and ii. 2.)

¹ Ach. Tat. viii.

² Strabo, p. 641.

³ See page 41.

⁴ Paus. iii. 22.

⁵ Paus. i. 21.

⁶ Apul. *Met.* xi.

⁷ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 21.

places only, are there sacred buildings enriched with sculpture and ornament of such a description as to entitle them to be called most famous: and these from their excellence, and admirable ornaments, make them appear as if they were resided in by the gods themselves. The first is the Temple of Diana at Ephesus The second is the Temple of Apollo at Miletus The third is the Temple of Ceres and Proserpine at Eleusis, by Ictinus; and the fourth is the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, by Cossutius.”¹

These four it is probable were the most sumptuous in their ornaments of painting and sculpture, but every ancient temple was more or less adorned in like manner. It is extraordinary, however, that Vitruvius does not include in this list the temples of Apollo at Delphi² and at Delos, of Juno at Samos, and of Jupiter at Olympia, all of which were greatly celebrated for the works of art which they contained. Though the first of these temples had been often plundered—by Crius, by Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, by the Phlegyans, by the Phocenses, and by the Gauls; yet on its being sacked by Nero, he took from it no fewer than five hundred brazen images.³ Of the Temple of Juno, Strabo informs us, that “the Heræum, or Temple of *Ἥρα*, contains a great nave, which serves now as a gallery of

¹ Vitr. vii. Præf.

² Herod. i. 25. Describing gifts by Alyattes.

³ Paus. x. 7.

paintings. Besides the great number which it contains, there are many others in separate repositories. There are also *ædícula* (*ναῖσχοι*), which are full of such works of ancient art: and the whole enclosure of the temple is equally full of statues of the best workmanship."¹ The same geographer describes the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia, as decorated with the gifts and offerings from all parts of Greece;² and the Temple of Jupiter Soter at Athens, as having in the galleries, or small porticos (*στοῖβια*) of the temple, wonderful paintings by illustrious artists, and statues in the hypæthral part.³ The Heræum at Olympia was also a museum of art and antiquity, and the Temple of Minerva at Syracuse, was a complete gallery of paintings, before it was robbed by Verres.⁴ Pausanias mentions several temples so enriched; among which are the temples of Esculapius at Athens,⁵ of Minerva at Plataea,⁶ of Minerva and of Esculapius at Messene;⁷ the Hierothysion of the same city,⁸ the temple of Juno at Eubœa,⁹ and the Metroon at Elis.¹⁰

The following are the scattered notices that have come down to us of the contents of the Temple at Ephesus. These notices are but few in number, but so numerous were the works of art, that Pliny

¹ Strabo, p. 637.² Id. p. 353.³ Id. p. 396.⁴ Cic. *de Signis*.⁵ Paus. i. 21.⁶ Id. ix. 4.⁷ Id. iv. 31.⁸ Id. iv. 32.⁹ Id. ii. 17.¹⁰ Id. v. 20.

tells us that the statues alone of the Temple would afford materials for many volumes.¹

“The Temple is full of sculpture, almost all by Praxiteles. I have been shown some works also by Thrason, the same who executed the Hecatesium, the fountain Penelope, and the old Euryclea.”² Cræsus gave to the Temple at Ephesus some golden heifers and a number of columns.³

The principal statues in temples were enclosed by *plutea* to prevent the too near access of the worshippers. The enclosure (ἐξύματα) of the statue of Jupiter Olympius was decorated with paintings.⁴ We have no account of the enclosure to the statue of Diana; but that it was richly ornamented appears from the description of another enclosure in this temple:—“In the Temple of the Ephesian Diana, as you approach to that cell (ὄκημα) which contains certain pictures, you will perceive above the altar of Diana, who is called *Protothronia*, (high-throned,) a stone enclosure (θειγγός). Upon this enclosure there are other statues, and an image of a female near its extremity. This statue was made by Rhœcus, and the Ephesians call it Night.”⁵

Statues of the Amazons would naturally engage the attention of the Ephesians. They appear by the following passage from Pliny, a passage which

¹ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 38.

² Strabo, p. 641.

³ Herod. i. 92.

⁴ Paus. v. 11.

⁵ Paus. x. 38.

is looked upon with some suspicion, to have been given as subjects to sculptors in different ages; and on one occasion five artists competed together. "Those artists which were esteemed most excellent, were engaged in different ages, to execute statues of the Amazons. On one occasion, when some of these had to be dedicated in the Temple of the Ephesian Diana, it was desired to find out which was the most approved; and with this intent the artists themselves were made judges, when it appeared that he was the best whom every one esteemed next to himself. This was Polyclethus,¹ the next to him was Phidias,² the third Ctesiphon, the fourth Cydon, and the fifth Phradmon."³ "Parrhasius," says Pliny, "was born at Ephesus, and contributed much" (to the Temple).⁴ "Timarete, the daughter of Nicon, painted a Diana (in the Temple) at Ephesus, one of the very oldest panel paintings known."⁵ "Calliphon of Samos, (who flourished in the reign of Philip,) placed two fine pictures in the Temple of Diana."⁶ One of these is described by Pausanias, as Discord raising the battle at the ships of the Greeks,⁷ and it is probable

¹ The Amazon by Polyclethus is supposed to have been holding a bow, from the many copies of it which are now found.

² This statue stood leaning on a lance. — (Lucian. *Imag.* xi. 4.)

³ Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 19, 4. A sixth, by Strongylion, was celebrated for the beauty of the legs. — (Id. xxxiv. 19, § 21.)

⁴ Plin. xxxv. 36, 7.

⁵ Id. xxxv. 40, 22.

⁶ Arrian. *de Alex. Exped.*

⁷ Paus. v. 19.

that the other is referred to by the same writer, where he describes a painting in which are represented "certain women binding on the armour of Patroclus."¹ Euphranor painted some famous pictures, among which were Ulysses in his feigned madness, yoking together an ox and a horse; men in an attitude of meditation, wearing the pallium; and a warrior sheathing his sword.² Timanthes painted at Ephesus a picture of Palamedes betrayed by Ulysses, of such power that Alexander was seen to shudder on beholding it.³ "Apelles painted the portrait of Alexander the Great holding a thunderbolt, (which was placed) in the temple of the Ephesian Diana, (and for which he received twenty talents, £3,875). The fingers seemed to stand out, and the thunderbolt to be outside the painting. It is to be remembered that all these works were executed in four colours (only). He received in payment for the picture, gold by weight, not by number."⁴ It was said of this picture of Alexander, that "there were two Alexanders: the one begotten of Philip, and he was *invincible*; the other painted by Apelles, and he was *inimitable*."⁵ Of this portrait of Alexander Ælian tells the following story:—"Alexander being at Ephesus, had his portrait taken by Apelles, and coming to look at it did not praise it as much

¹ Paus. x. 26.

² Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 40.

³ Arrian. *de Alex. Exped.*

⁴ Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 36, 29.

⁵ Plut. *Or. ii. de Fort. Alex.*

as the picture deserved. But on his horse being brought in, it began to neigh at the horse represented in the painting, as if it also was a real one. It is clear, O king, said Apelles, that your horse is a better judge of painting than you are."¹ Cicero speaks of this painting being the most valuable object in the Temple of Diana. It was stolen by the infamous Verres.² Apelles painted several portraits both of Alexander and of Philip. He also painted "Diana in the midst of a choir of virgins sacrificing (to her.) He also painted Megabyzus, the priest of Diana Ephesia, in his robes of ceremony. Also Clitus on horseback, equipped for war, and asking for his helmet, which an attendant is presenting him."³

Nicias, the pupil of Antidotus, executed the painting of the sepulchre of Megabyzus, the priest of Diana Ephesia.⁴ "Mentor is celebrated as the best worker in silver. He executed four pair of vases made entirely by himself; but it is said they do not now exist, being destroyed in the conflagrations of the Temples of Diana Ephesia, and of Jupiter (Capitolinus)."⁵ This artist executed the statues of Jupiter "Capitolinus, and of Diana Ephesia, the instruments for working which were consecrated" in their temples.⁶ A statue of Philip

¹ Ælian, *Hist. Var.* ii. 3. ² Cic. *Orat. in C. Verrem, de Signis.*

³ Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 36, 30, 33.

⁴ Id. *H. N.* xxxv. 40, 7.

⁵ Id. xxxiii. 55, 1.

⁶ Id. *H. N.* vii. 39.

stood in the Temple, but was destroyed by the populace in the time of Alexander. Theodorus, the son of Rhœcus, is said to have carved half a statue of Apollo at Ephesus, the other half of which was executed at Samos by his brother.¹ A gold statue of Artemidorus stood in the Temple, placed there for the services he had performed.² Heraclitus the Ephesian wrote a book divided in three parts, wherein he treated of the universe, the republic, and theology. It was placed in the Temple of Diana, as some believe, being written purposely in so obscure a manner, that only the learned could interpret it.³

Alexander the Cytharian, grown old at Ephesus, dedicated his psaltery (a species of lyre) in the Temple, as narrated by Juba.⁴ An iron Cupid was dedicated in this temple, and appeared suspended, without any other support than magnetism.⁵ Stag horns are already described as becoming ornaments to a Temple of Diana.⁶

6. The Treasury of the Temple.

The *treasuries* of temples were sometimes in the Opisthodomus, as in the Parthenon, and sometimes in detached buildings standing within or about the peribolus, as at Olympia. Most temples had treasuries attached, to receive the numerous offerings

¹ Diog. Laert.

³ Diog. Laert. ix. 1.

⁶ Cassiod. *Var.* i. 45.

² See page 37.

⁴ Athen. p. 183 c.

⁶ See page 291.

made by the piety or superstition of the worshippers. . Thus the Temple at Jerusalem was “honoured and magnified by kings with their best gifts :”¹ and when Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem, he took the vessels of the temple “into the treasure house of his god.”²

Pausanias gives a long description of the treasures of Olympia, which were kept in several distinct buildings about the temple : each building being set apart for the donations from particular tribes or cities, viz. :—the Sicyonians, Carthaginians, the Sybarites, Libyans, Selinuntians, Metapontines, Megarenses, Gelones, and two for the Epidamnians.³

But how rich soever some of these were, the Temple of Diana excelled them all, since Vitruvius classes it as the most eminent in this respect, and Callimachus expressly says it surpassed even the Temple at Delphi.⁴ The Temple of Diana, says Aristides, is “a common treasury for all Asia :”⁵ and St. Chrysostom relates that all nations deposited their riches in the Temple as in a place of safety.⁶ Thus we find Xenophon, after the successful retreat of the “ten thousand,” depositing his money in this temple :—“As to that part of the money which was appropriated to Diana of Ephesus, he (Xenophon)

¹ 2 *Macc.* iii. 2.

² *Dan.* i. 3.

³ *Paus.* vi. 19.

⁴ *Call. Diana*, v. 248.

⁵ *Arist. Orat. de Concord.* ii. 307.

Orat. Rhodiaca.

left it with Megabyzus, the priest of that goddess, when, in company with Agesilaus, he departed out of Asia with the intention of going to Bœotia, conceiving it might be exposed to some danger if remaining with him at Chæronea; enjoining Megabyzus that if he (Xenophon) escaped, he was to restore the money to him.”¹ Not only the Greeks, but even the Persians, deposited their money in this temple as in a place of security, the knowledge of which caused Timæus to charge the Ephesians maliciously of appropriating them to their own use.² The treasures of the Temple, as we have already seen, consisted of various kinds; as offerings, deposits, honorary statues, votive offerings, spoils, and actual treasure. Another means of increasing the riches of the Temple was by legacies, which this temple was one of the few that enjoyed the privilege of receiving. In Ulpian (Tit. 23) we read:—“We cannot institute the gods our heirs, except those to whom it is allowed by a senatus consultus, and the decrees of the princes, as Jupiter Tarpeius, Apollo Didymæus, Mars of Gallia, Minerva Iliensis, Hercules of Gadita, Diana Ephesia, the mother of the gods called Sipylensis who is worshipped at Smyrna, and the heavenly Salinensis of Carthage.”³ Either from the richness of these treasures, or from the

¹ Xen. *Anab.* v. Diog. Laert. ii. 51, 2.

² See page 235.

³ Ulpian. *Tit.* xxii. 6.

beauty and decoration of the Temple, we find in Aristophanes, the semichorus invoking the "blessed goddess whose presence fills the golden shrines of Ephesus."¹

¹ Aristoph. *Nubes*, v. 598.

VI.

THE ACCESSORIES AND APPENDAGES TO THE TEMPLE.

The Portico of Damianus — The Banqueting-Hall — The Sacred Grove—The Cave of the Syrx, and the Temple of Hecate.

1. THE Portico of Damianus.

Part of the road which connected the Temple with the city was ornamented with a *stone portico*. It was erected by Damianus, about 200 A.D. Philostratus thus speaks of it :—“ (Damianus) also joined the Temple of Diana to the city, commencing from that way which leads down to Magnesia: the portico, which is about one stadium in length, is built of stone: (ἔστη δὲ αὕτη στοὰ ἐπὶ στάδιον, λίθον πᾶσα). This structure was intended that worshippers might not be prevented going to the Temple, even when it rained. On the completion of the sumptuous work, he called it after the name of his wife.”¹

2. The Banqueting-Hall.

Another appendage to the Temple was a *Cœnaculum*, or banqueting-hall, built by the same Damianus, and which Philostratus goes on to

describe :—“ He also dedicated the banqueting-hall,¹ (*Ἑστιάτηριον*) belonging to the Temple, making it both in magnitude and in every other respect, superior by far to those of other temples he decorated it with beautiful Phrygian stone, which before this event had not been quarried.”² There was a similar building at Elis within the Prytaneum.³ Attached to this *Hestiaterion* were the *Hestiatōres*, or directors of the banquet (see page 332); and from their being called *Ἑστέην* for one year only, it is probable that the title of “king of the banquet” has reference to this custom.

3. The Sacred Grove.

From Achilles Tatius, we learn that there was a sacred grove connected with the Temple and at some distance from it. “Do you see that wood which is beyond the Temple?”⁴

Notwithstanding this is the description of a novelist, it is probable that the circumstance is strictly true. Trees and groves were common to many of the heathen temples, but more particularly so to those of Diana, who, as the goddess of hunting, was supposed to require a wood well stocked with game contiguous to her temples.⁵

¹ See 1 *Cor.* viii. 10.

² *Phil. de Vitis Soph.* ii. 23.

³ *Paus.* v. 15.

⁴ *Achill. Tat.* viii.

⁵ *Hor. Od.* i. 21, 5; iii. 22, 1; *Catull.* xxxiv. 9; *Virg. Æn.* xi. 557, and in iii. 680, 1, where he especially distinguishes between the woods of oak sacred to Jupiter, and the *groves of cypress* sacred to Diana.

Thus, of the Temple of Diana Ephesia built by Xenophon at Scillus, and which was a resemblance in miniature to that of Ephesus, we read :—" We have now finished the Temple of Diana, a magnificent structure, the place set with trees."¹ " The plantation I have made with mine own hands ; the place is stocked with beasts convenient for hunting, which the goddess delights in."² It had " wild beasts of all kinds proper for the chase : . . . for the sons of Xenophon and of the rest of the inhabitants always make a general hunting against the feast, when all who desired it hunted along with them ; and wild boars, with roe and red deer, were taken both upon the consecrated lands, and upon the mountain called Pholœ. There are groves belonging to the temple, and hills covered with trees very proper to feed swine, goats, sheep, and horses ; so that those belonging to the persons who come to the feast find plenty of pasture."³ " In Lacedæmon there is a temple of Diana with a statue of great antiquity. It is supplied with wild boars, and bears, and other animals dedicated to her. The fawns, wolves, and hares are all tame, and do not fly from man."⁴ At Pellene, in Achaia, " is a grove surrounded with a wall, and which is called the grove of Diana the Saviour ; but no person except the priest is permitted to enter it."⁵ At Oranthea " there

¹ Xen. *Epis.* vii.² Id. *Epis.* vi.³ Id. *Anab.* v.⁴ Phil. *Imag.* xxviii.⁵ Paus. vii. 27.

is a grove of cypress and pine-trees; in this grove there is a temple and statue of Diana."¹ "Mount Lycone, near Argos, mostly abounds with cypress-trees; and on the summit of the mountain is the Temple of Orthosian Diana, and some way down is another temple of Diana."² The Temple of Diana at Epidaurus was situated in a grove.³ That at Megalopolis had a grove near it.⁴ There was a *grove of Diana* and a temple at Troezen in Argolis,⁵ and at Patræ.⁶ At the mouth of the Alpheus was a grove consecrated to Diana of Alpheus.⁷ The Temple of Diana at Aricia, in Italy, had a grove attached. "At Daphne, near Antioch, on the Orontes, is a thick and extensive wood, eighty stadia in circumference, traversed by two streams . . . and in the middle is a sacred enclosure, which serves as an asylum, and contains temples of Apollo and Diana."⁸

At Oranthea, just alluded to, the grove consisted of pines and cypress. A cypress is shown on one of the coins of Ephesus,⁹ and a pine is mentioned by Horace as sacred to Diana.¹⁰

This grove seems alluded to on several of the coins of Ephesus, which show a tree on one side.¹¹

¹ Paus. x. 38.

² Id. ii. 24.

³ Id. ii. 27.

⁴ Id. viii. 32.

⁵ Id. ii. 30.

⁶ Id. vii. 20.

⁷ Strabo, p. 343.

⁸ Id. p. 750.

⁹ Mionnet, *Med. Suppl.* No. 413.

¹⁰ Hor. *Od.* iii. 22, 5.

¹¹ Mionnet, *Med.* iii. Nos. 406; 410, 8; 430. Id. *Suppl.* vi. 530, 6; 540, 620, 658, 677, 717, 749; 765, 6; 814, 5; 822, 843, 879. None of these are palm-trees.

4. In this grove was a cave, respecting which we find the following fable in Achilles Tatius :—

“Do you see that wood which is beyond the Temple ? In it is a cave, in which it is not lawful for any but virgins to enter. A little within the entrance of the cave is a pipe, (*syrinx*) The *syrinx* differs from the tibia of Minerva, in that the fluctuations of sound are produced only by the mouth, not by the fingers.¹ *Syrinx* was a nymph of extraordinary beauty, who, followed by Pan, fled to this spot ; and on Pan’s overtaking her, and seizing her by the hair, he found her suddenly changed to reeds, which took root in the earth. Pan thinking her concealed beneath the reeds, cut them away, but not finding her, perceived she had been metamorphosed, and imagining he had killed her, he took the reeds and applied them to his lips to kiss them ; but the breath causing sounds, Pan hung one up in the cave and closed it, and it was believed that Pan resorted to the cave, and sounded the *syrinx*² In after-times the inhabitants, believing to do honour to Diana, consecrated this instrument to her, instituting that no woman who

The *syrinx*, or *fistula*, is well described by Tibullus :—

*Fistula cui semper decrescit arundinis ordo,
Nam calamus cerâ jungitur usque minor.*

(Lib. ii. 5, 31.)

² This fable is similar to that of Pan and the nymph *Syrinx* in Arcadia.

was not a virgin should enter into the cave. Whereupon it happened that when any woman was accused of incontinence, the people led her to the cave clothed in a certain vest. Immediately she entered, the doors closed by invisible hands, and if the maid were pure, a soft and divine strain was heard from the syrinx, and the doors opening again of themselves, the virgin appeared crowned with garlands of pine-leaves; but if she were guilty, a sound of weeping was audible, and the people immediately left her to her fate, and three days after a priestess entered, and found the cave empty, and the syrinx fallen.”¹

5. The Hecatesium.

Probably connected with this cave behind the Temple was the Temple of Hecate, the statue of which, we are told by Pliny, stood behind the Temple, (et Hecate Ephesi in templo Dianæ, *post ædem*,²) and contained a statue of Hecate, which was of such splendour, that the priests had to warn those who entered to shield their eyes from being injured by it.³ It was by Menestratus.

The Abbé de la Bleterie has collected the following particulars of the initiation of the Emperor Julian into the mysteries of theurgy, which may be interest-

¹ Achil. Tat. *Clit. et Leuc.* viii. It is much to be feared that the more beautiful women were never allowed to leave.

² It is possible that the words *post ædem* relate to the *opisthodomus* of the Temple of Diana.

³ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 4, 20.

ing to the reader, as the event took place in this temple :¹—

Julian remained a Christian till his arrival in Asia, when, having consulted a soothsayer of Nicodemia, his predictions shook his belief: but he was not finally seduced till after his conference with the Platonic philosophers. This sect united to ordinary philosophy the cabala of the Orientals, which they never revealed, except to those whose fidelity they could rely upon. They pretended, through the subordination of intermediate beings, to bring man to the presence and power of the Supreme Deity. This science they called Theurgy. Edesius of Pergamus was then the head of this sect. Julian went in search of him, and found him to be an old man bordering on the grave, but still of a vigorous understanding. Edesius counselled him, if he wished to throw off the appellation of *man*, to listen to the teaching of his disciples, and become initiated in the mysteries. “Unhappily,” said he, “Maximus is now at Ephesus, and Priscus is in Greece, but Eusebius and Chrysanthus are here: apply to them.” Eusebius told him that Maximus was one of the earliest and most proficient disciples of Edesius, but was occasionally carried away by vain conceits. “Not long since, he conducted us to the Temple of Hecate:

¹ Abbé de la Bleterie, *Vie de l'Empereur Julien*. Among the references which he quotes are,—Eunap. v. *Iambl.* p. 32, *Max.* 77, *Chrysanth.* 247; Theodor. iii. 3; Val. Max. 69–74, 76; Liban. *Paneg.* 175; Gregor. N. *Or.* iii. 71.

when we had entered, and saluted the goddess, ‘Be seated, my dear friends,’ said he, ‘you will see whether I am like other men.’ He then purified a grain of incense, and muttered to himself some hymn. The statue of the goddess immediately began to smile. We were frightened; but he said, ‘This is nothing, the torches which she holds will presently light;’ and before he had finished speaking they did so. We were astonished for a moment at these wonders: but there was nothing in reality to cause wonder, nor to astonish you. It is only requisite to purify the reason.”

“I leave you with your reasonings,” replied Julian quickly. “Adieu! you have shown me the man I want.” Then tenderly embracing Chrysanthus, he took the route for Ephesus.

This was a plot previously concerted between these two philosophers to excite curiosity in Julian, and make him fall into their hands more easily.

Maximus of Ephesus was a man already aged, and wore a long beard. He was of good parentage, and in affluent circumstances; he had a ready wit, piercing eyes, a strong and insinuating voice, and a rapid eloquence. The tone of his voice and the motion of his eyes was so exquisite, that he fascinated all who approached him, and made them listen to him as to an oracle. Julian immediately gave himself up to his precepts, and like a lion broke the chain which bound him to Christianity.

Maximus, who was in want of a second to assist

him in his enchantments, sent for Chrysanthus, and then the two philosophers initiated the emperor in their secret mysteries. Maximus, who was the initiator, led him to a temple, and caused him to descend into a *subterranean grotto*. When the evocations were finished, they heard suddenly a most fearful noise : they saw spectres of fire. Julian being yet a novice, was seized with fear, and mechanically made the sign of the cross. Everything disappeared : and the same thing taking place a second time, Julian said to Maximus, "There is some efficacy in that sign of the Christians." Maximus fearing that his pupil might vacillate, replied, "What ! do you think you have frightened the gods ? No, prince ! but the gods will not hold converse with a profane person such as you appear." This reasoning satisfied Julian. Maximus then predicted to him the empire, and that he should be the means of destroying the Christian religion, and of re-establishing paganism.

On Julian's succeeding to the empire, he wrote to Maximus and Chrysanthus to come to him. They were then at Sardis ; and on receipt of the letter, they consulted their secret arts to know whether it would be auspicious for them to do so. The appearances, however, were so threatening, that Chrysanthus said it were better not only to remain where they were, but to bury themselves in the bowels of the earth. "What !" said Maximus, "have you so soon forgotten my precepts ? I discard you.

True philosophy should not stop at the first

symptoms, but should provoke the gods if they refuse, till at length they give what is wanted." Maximus having, at length, obtained what he considered an auspicious omen, went to Constantinople, his route thither being a continual triumph. Julian received him with the highest honours, and allowed him to govern both himself and his empire. On the death of Julian, Maximus was thrown into prison, being incapable of paying sums which he was said to have robbed. On his liberation, he was afterwards accused of predicting who was to be the successor to the empire, and beheaded.

Now we are expressly told that the first of these transactions took place in the Temple of Hecate, and there is very little doubt that the other did so likewise; and this supposition is confirmed by the connection which was supposed to exist between Diana, or the goddess of nature, and Hecate,¹ Ceres, and Proserpine; and therefore the appropriateness of celebrating Eleusinian mysteries in the Temple of Hecate, standing as it did within the precincts of the Temple of Diana, appears evident.

The subterranean grotto here mentioned corresponds with the cave of the Syrix; and this and the Temple of Hecate are both described as being behind the Temple, so that there is little doubt but that they are all connected with the same locality.²

¹ Cuperus, *Mon. Ant.* p. 197.

² Though we cannot suppose that the grotto of Pan, or the Syrix, and that of Hecate, were identical, yet it is extremely

It is possible that this Temple of Hecate may be represented on some of the coins of Ephesus, where we find two other temples placed by the side of the Temple of Diana;¹ one of these being the Temple of Hecate, the other the Temple of Apollo, which stood on the Sacred Port, and therefore in the same vicinity.

probable that they were both in the same vicinity; the ground which would afford one cave would be most likely to supply another.

¹ Mionnet, *Med.* iii. 273, 291, 337, 347, 379. Id. Suppl. vi. 599; Suppl. ii. pl. iv. No. 7; Montfaucon, *l'Ant. Ex.* In some instances, (Mionnet, vi. 563, 622,) we find four temples represented, but none of these appear to be the Temple of Diana.

VII.

THE ASYLUM OF THE TEMPLE.—PRIESTS, AND CEREMONIES OF THE TEMPLE.

THE history of the *Asylum* of the Temple is thus stated by the Ephesians in the reign of Tiberius :—

“ This sacred recess first gave shelter to Latona, who was delivered under an olive-tree of Apollo and Diana It was there that Apollo, after having slain the Cyclops, found a retreat from the vengeance of Jupiter. It was there that Bacchus, after his victories, gave a free pardon to such of the Amazons as fled to the altar for protection ; and it was there that Hercules, having conquered Lydia, established the Temple with its rites and ceremonies, which neither the Persian kings nor the Macedonian conqueror had presumed to violate. The Romans at all times have had the strictest regard to the sanctity of the place.”¹ “ The limits of the asylum,” says Strabo, “ have been frequently changed. Alexander established it at a distance of one stadium : Mithridates fixed it at a bow-shot from the angle of the

¹ Tacit. *An.* iii. 61.

roof, (of the peribolus ?) which was rather more than a stadium length. Antony doubled this distance, which extension took in part of the city. But this being found to be dangerous, as it placed the city in the power of malefactors, it was abolished by Augustus.”¹ Strabo adds:—“The Temple enjoys the right of asylum now as formerly.” In the reign of Tiberius the asylum was confirmed, and inscriptions on tablets of brass fixed in the Temple, as a lasting monument of this decree.² “About this time, (A.D. 22,) the right of having sanctuaries, and of multiplying the number indefinitely, was assumed by all the cities of Greece. The temples in that country were crowded with the most abandoned slaves, debtors were screened from their creditors, and criminals fled from justice. The magistrates were no longer able to control a seditious populace, who carried their crimes, under a mask of piety, to the altars of the gods. An order was therefore made that the several cities should send their deputies to Rome with a state of their respective claims.”³ Ephesus, and those other cities that could prove their ancient right to this privilege, were allowed to retain it. It is probably to this edict that Suetonius

¹ Strabo, p. 641. It was the extension which was thus abrogated; the right of asylums was not generally abolished till the reign of Tiberius; and even then this temple, as we shall see, was exempted. An instance of obtaining asylum in the reign of Augustus is given in Cicero.—(Verres, ii.; *Or.* vi. 33.)

² Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 63.

³ Id. *Ann.* iii. 60.

refers, when he says that Tiberius “abolished the right of asylum in every place;”¹ and if so, the Temple of Diana still retained its privilege. Plutarch, who lived about the latter half of the first century, says:—“Diana, who is worshipped at Ephesus, gives freedom and safety to all debtors who fly to her temple.”² In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the Temple of Diana is stated by the orator Aristides to be “a refuge of necessity.”³ And we find that the right of asylum continued so late as the reigns of Decius⁴ and Philip the younger,⁵ in the middle of the third century.

All strangers were received here kindly;⁶ but free women were not allowed to enter the Temple. “By ancient law it was forbidden to free women to enter the Temple, although it was permitted to men and virgins; and if any married woman entered, she was visited with capital punishment, unless she happened to be a slave who was prosecuted by her master, from whom it was lawful to fly for refuge to the goddess. The prefect then judged between her and her master; and if the master had done her no injury, he was permitted to take her again, swearing, however, to forgive her running away; but if the slave had a just complaint, she remained in the Temple for the service of the goddess.”⁷

¹ Suet. *in Tib.* 37.

² Plut. *de Vitando Are.*

³ Arist. *Orat. de Concord.* ii. 307.

⁴ Mionnet, *Med.* iii. 442.

⁵ Id. iii. 482; Suppl. vi. 728, 9.

⁶ *Etym. Mgn.* v. Ephesoa.

⁷ Achil. Tat. *de Amor. Clit. et Leuc.* vii.

Of the priests, we learn from Strabo that they were eunuchs, and called Megalobyzi. They were selected from different countries, choosing always those that appeared most proper for such functions. They were treated with great honour, and had virgins given them to assist as priestesses.¹

From S. Isidore, we may suppose that they were selected for their great beauty.² As Diana was represented as *polymastos*, having many breasts, it was considered strange by some that her priests should be eunuchs: and Heraclitus inveighs bitterly against the practice.³ Quintillian alludes to this custom when he says:—"Painters or sculptors would not take a Megabyzus for a model, but some young warrior or gymnast."⁴

The title of Megabyzus, as it is generally written, appears to have been originally a proper name, and to have become a title of honour in consequence of Darius observing of one of his generals who was so called:—"I would rather have as many Megabyzi as there are seeds in a pomegranate, than see Greece under my power."⁵ The name might also derive importance from its first particle. Herodotus makes mention of two, if not three, of this name. A Megabyzus was one of the confederates against Smerdis *Magus*.⁶ His son Zopyrus⁷ had a son of the same

¹ Strabo, p. 641.

² Isodorus Pelusiota, *Epist.* ii. 62.

³ Aug. *Polit. Opera Miscel.* cap. 51, p. 266. ⁴ Quint. v. 12.

⁵ Herod. iv. 143.

⁶ Id. iii. 70, 81.

⁷ Id. iii. 153.

name, Megabyzus, who was employed as a general in the time of Xerxes.¹ But the general of this name who is best known was contemporary, if not identical, with Megabyzus the confederate against Smerdis Magus.² Again, it is possible that a priest of this name happened once to be appointed, and the Ephesians, in order to please the Persian monarchs, caused the name to be hereditary, in the same manner that titles of kings were often so. Xenophon,³ and Pliny,⁴ and Diogenes Laertius, refer to the priests under this name.

The common priesthood was divided into three classes. "As in Rome with the vestal virgins, their periods of service were distinguished; so that the first were engaged in learning the duties of their sacred office, the second in performing them, and the third in teaching those that were to succeed them; so that the priestesses in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus were at first future priestesses, then priestesses, and lastly past priestesses."⁵ In Rome each of these periods embraced ten years.⁶ It seems probable that there was a high priestess as there was a high priest, and that the priestesses were generally selected from the most beautiful virgins. It is

¹ Herod. iii. 160; vii. 82; Thucyd. i. 109.

² Herod. iv. 143, 4; v. 1, 2, 12, 14-17. The manner in which his name is introduced in iv. 143, would lead us to suppose he was not identical.

³ See page 314. ⁴ See page 311.

⁵ Plut. *an Seni sit ger. Respub.* ⁶ Id. *Numa*, 10.

recorded of Antiochus the Great that, perceiving the priestess of Diana to be exceedingly beautiful, he left the city, that he might not be tempted to commit a sin.¹

The priests were not only greatly esteemed, but had the title of *kings*, (Essenes,) which title they bore for one year: other Greeks called them Hestiatores, (directors of the banquet.)² The importance in which they were held is shown by their names and those of the scribe frequently appearing on coins of the city.³

In an inscription published by Chandler, we read of the sacred herald, the incense-burner, the flute-player, and the sacred trumpeter.⁴

Among the games noticed as connected with Ephesus,⁵ two of them appear to be more especially sacred,—the *Panionia*, originally celebrated at Mycale, but afterwards removed to Ephesus, and which were possibly the same as the *Æcumenica*, the name of which so frequently appears on the Ephesian coins; and the *Artemisia*, celebrated in the month Artemision.

The sixteenth day of the month Boedromion, (sixth day of March,) was dedicated by the Athenians in honour of Diana, on account of the moon appearing in full orb to the Greeks at the battle of Salamis;⁶

¹ Plut. *Apophtheg.*

² Paus. viii. 13.

³ Several examples may be seen in Vaillant, *Numis. Imperat. August.* pp. 310, 313.

⁴ Chandler, *Ins. Ant.* p. 11.

⁵ See page 84, note.

⁶ Plut. *de Gloria Athen.*

and we find Lycurgus particularly enjoining his countrymen not to hazard an engagement till the full of the moon, "knowing that everything was governed by her, but that her power was not so great at her wane or waxing."¹

Chandler has published an inscription,² by which it appears that one entire month was set apart to her service, and celebrated with peculiar rites:—"To the Ephesian Diana:—Inasmuch as it is notorious that not only among the Ephesians, but also everywhere among the Greek nations, temples are dedicated to her, on account of her plain manifestations of herself; and that moreover in token of the great veneration paid her, a month is called after her name, by us 'Αρτεμισίωνα, by the Macedonians and other Greek nations, 'Αρτεμισιον, in which, general assemblies and *hieromenia* are celebrated: now, inasmuch as these sacred honours are not observed in the holy city, the nurse of its own, the Ephesian goddess; the people of Ephesus deem it proper that the whole month called by her name, be sacred, and set apart for the goddess; and have determined by this decree that the observation of it by them be improved. Therefore, it is enacted, that in the whole month Artemision the days be holy, and nothing be attended to in them but the yearly feastings, the Artemisial panegyrics, and the hieromenia; the entire month

¹ Lucian. *de Astrol.*

² Chandler, *Insc. Ant.* p. 13, No. xxxvi. ; *Travels*, i. 167.

being sacred to the goddess: for, from this improvement in her worship, our city shall receive additional lustre, and be permanent in her prosperity for ever." The person who obtained this decree appointed games for the month, augmented the prizes of the contenders, and erected statues of those who conquered. The hymns to Diana were called *Upingi*.¹ From the prizes mentioned in the preceding inscription, it is probable that these hymns were always composed for the occasion. They were celebrated every year,² and, like the Secular Hymn at Rome, they were sung by choirs of youths³ and virgins. We can scarcely imagine a scene of greater interest than was presented on these occasions. The finest, largest, and richest temple ever reared; the multitude of persons, the noble songs, the magnificence of the ceremonies; but above all the choirs of the most beautiful youths, and the most lovely maidens, clothed in white, singing responsively the praises of their protecting deity. This antiphonal, or alternate form of song, is so captivating, and Horace's Secular Ode so beautiful, that I should be tempted to insert it, were it in any less known author, especially as the

¹ Athen. p. 619 b.

² Xen. Eph. de Amor. Anth. et Abroc. i. 2.

³ In the secular hymn to Diana, by Catullus, the choir was composed of youths as well as virgins; and it was a choir of youths who sung the praises of Isis.—(Xen. Eph. de Amor. Anth. et Abroc. i. 2.)

Diana of Rome, to whom this hymn was sung conjointly with Apollo, was the same as Diana Ephesia. On these annual occasions of the feasts, youths in the flower of their age, and virgins of noble bearing, were wont to proceed to the Temple of Diana Ephesia, and severally espouse each other. Xenophon the Ephesian gives us the following account of one of these annual ceremonies:—

“ The yearly festival in honour of Diana was held at Ephesus ; her temple being scarce seven furlongs distant from the city. The virgins of that place, in their richest attire, assisted at the celebration, as also the young men of the age of Abrocamas, who was in his sixteenth year A mighty concourse of people, as well strangers as citizens, were present ; and then the virgins were wont to look out for spouses, and the young men for wives. The procession moved regularly along : the holy utensils, torches, baskets, and perfumes, led the van ; and were followed by the horses, hounds, and hunting accoutrements, as well for attack as for defence. Each of the virgin train behaved as in the presence of her lover. They were led by Anthia (the bride and heroine) . . . Her attire was a purple dress hanging down from her waist to her knees, the skin of a fawn girded it round, on which hung her quiver and arrows. She bore her hunting arrows and javelins, and her hounds followed her. The Ephesians beholding her in the grove, have often adored her as their goddess, . . . affirming

her to be Diana herself When the procession was over, all the multitude entered the temple to offer sacrifice.”¹

Music and dances in honour of Diana appear to have been coeval with the first establishment of her rites. Athenæus has transmitted to us a fragment from Diogenes *Tragicus* in *Semele*,² in which he says:—“We are told that the daughters of the rich Phrygians, ornamented with the fillets of the Asiatic Cybele, sing hymns to the honour of the goddess skilled in healing, accompanying them to the sound of timbrels, and the reverberations of brazen cymbals. We are told also that the virgins of Lydia and Bactria dwelling on the banks of the Halys, reverence Diana the goddess of Tmolus under the thick shade of laurel shrubs, resounding the pectida and triangles set in harmony with the notes of the magadis, (a species of cithara,) while the tibia plays in concert with the choir of dancers, according to the custom of the Persians.” Callimachus also, in like manner. After describing the simplicity of her first worship, the image of the goddess being the stock of a tree, he proceeds:—“Then, while Hippo(lyte) offered thee sacrifice, her Amazons danced around thee, with their bucklers and their arms, and then formed a chorus assisting at thine altar. Their feet trod the ground lightly

¹ Xen. *Eph. de Amor. Anth. et Abroc.* i. 2.

² Athen. p. 636 a.

in their dance. The bone flute, so fatal to fawns, had not yet been invented by Minerva, but the music of reed pipes marked the cadence, and echo wafted the sound to Sardis and Berecynthus."¹ It was this scene that gave the idea for those beautiful passages in Homer and Virgil, where they describe Diana leading the dance surrounded by her maidens.

"Thus seems the Palm, with stately honours grown'd,
By Phœbus' altars ; thus o'erlooks the ground,
The pride of Delos." ²

Which passage of Homer, Virgil is supposed to have imitated :—

"As on Eurota's banks, or Cynthus' heads,
A thousand beauteous nymphs Diana leads,
While round their quivered queen the quires advance,
She tow'rs majestic as she leads the dance ;
She moves in pomp superior to the rest,
And secret transports touch Latona's breast." ³

Horace also, in one of his odes, expresses the undulating motions of the dance in the feasts of Diana ;⁴ and in another he inveighs against the lascivious character of the Ionic dance in general.⁵

The Ionian music partook of the same character.

¹ Callim. *Hymn. Dian.*

² Hom. *Odyss.* vi. 151-163 (Pope.)

³ Virg. *Æn.* i. 502-506 (Pitt.)

⁴ Hor. ii. *Od.* 12-18. ⁵ Id. iii. 6-21.

Lucian represents Harmonides praising the softness and beauty of the Ionic music, as compared with the solemn gravity of the Doric.¹ Timotheus the Musician, who composed the hymn of consecration for the sixth temple,² and who was born at Miletus, and whose music was therefore of the Ionic mode, excelled in lyric and dithyrambic poetry, and no less in his performance on the cithara. Happening to go to Sparta on one occasion, he performed publicly on the cithara; but the Spartans, unused to such music, condemned him by the following edict:—"Whereas Timotheus the Milesian, coming to our city has dishonoured our ancient music, and despising the lyre of seven strings, has, by the introduction of a greater variety of notes, (four additional ones—Paus. iii. 12,) corrupted the ears of our youth, and by the number of his strings, given to our music an effeminate dress; the kings and the ephori have resolved to pass censure on him, and to oblige him to cut off his superfluous strings, and to banish him from our city, that men may be warned:" &c.;³ and as a monument of this decree they suspended his lyre in one of the buildings of the city.

¹ Lucian. *Harm.*

² See page 217.

³ Casaubon, *Animad. in Athen.* p. 386, quoting Boethius; Burney on Music, i. 407.

⁴ PAUS. iii. 12. According to Artemon, *de Dionysiaco Systemate*, lib. i., quoted by Athenæus, (p. 636 a.) when the public officer was going to cut off the obnoxious strings, Timotheus pointed out

We have the following records of sacrifices offered to Diana on memorable occasions.

Tissaphernes, the Persian general, to ingratiate himself with the Ephesians, instituted a sacrifice to Diana with great pomp.¹ Agesilaus, in order to inspire ardour among his troops, repaired to the Temple of Diana, followed by his whole army, offering garlands to the goddess.² Alexander the Great “stopped at Ephesus, sacrificed to Diana, and accompanied the pomp with all his troops, under arms, in order of battle.”³ And lastly, when Antony arrived in Ephesus, he instituted a great sacrifice to the goddess, but mulcted the inhabitants of a large sum of money.⁴

The service of the Temple was maintained with large grants, and extensive lands. The Selinusian fisheries, as we have seen, brought in a considerable revenue, and as Xenophon established his temple at Scillus, in imitation of that of Ephesus, it is probable that the Ephesian Temple had a revenue of a tythe of the produce.⁵

among them a small statue of Apollo which held a lyre of the same number of chords ; and the accusation was accordingly withdrawn. This, however, is not credible, and is opposed by the two preceding passages. He inscribed on his monument :—“How happy wert thou, Timotheus ! when the herald proclaimed with a loud voice,—‘Timotheus the Milesian has conquered the son of Carbon the *Ἰωνοκάμπταν*,’” (he who charms the spirit of the Ionians.) —(Plut. *de Sui Laude*.)

¹ Thucyd. viii. 109.

² See page 81.

³ Arrian. i. 18.

⁴ Appian. *Bell. Civ.* v. 4.

⁵ “On the division of the money arising from the sale of the

captives, one-tenth part was consecrated to Apollo and the Ephesian Diana. With the money appropriated to the latter, Xenophon purchased some lands in honour of the goddess, in the place directed by the oracle. (See page 201.) Xenophon also built a temple and an altar with this consecrated money, and from that time offered to the goddess an annual sacrifice of one-tenth of the product of every season. All the inhabitants, both men and women, partook of the feast; and all who are present at it have barley-meal, bread, wine, and sweetmeats in honour of the goddess, and also their share of the victims that are killed from the consecrated lands, and of the game that is taken; for the sons of Xenophon, and those of the rest of the inhabitants, always make a general hunting against the feast, when all who desired it hunted along with them Near to the temple stands a pillar with this inscription:—‘These lands are consecrated to Diana. Let the possessor offer up one-tenth part of the annual produce in sacrifice, and out of the surplus keep the temple in repair. If he fail, the goddess will punish his neglect.’—(Xen. *Anab.* v.) In the feasts of Diana at Syracuse the people drank freely, and gave loose to mirth.—(Plutarch, *Marcel.* 18.)

VIII.

FINAL DESTRUCTION, AND CONCLUSION.

“WHAT is become of the Temple of Diana? Can a wonder of the earth be vanished like a phantom, without leaving a trace behind!” Such was the question Dr. Chandler asked on viewing the site of Ephesus. And, indeed, it is extraordinary, not only that there are no remains left us to point out the site where the Temple once stood; but that we should have such few and uncertain records of its destruction, and not a single account from any historian, geographer, or traveller, of its lying in a state of ruin. That the Temple itself should have disappeared is not extraordinary, when we consider how other monuments of antiquity have vanished from the earth. Whoever has had the opportunity of seeing ancient remains, cannot but have remarked how some portions of a wall are as perfect as if just constructed, while other portions of the same wall have disappeared, and the grass grown over the site as fresh and beautiful as if the ground had never been used for other purposes than for sheep to pasture on. Whenever this

is the case, whenever the monument, in falling, leaves no mound, we may be sure that the destruction is the work of man. Few monuments near the coast, in accessible places, or near great towns, are to be found in a state of tolerable preservation: whereas those in more retired spots are comparatively perfect. No wonder, then, that all the superstructure of the Temple of Diana has disappeared: still it is extraordinary that the foundations, which doubtless still exist, have not been discovered.

The first danger the Temple was in after its rebuilding in the time of Alexander, was on the occasion of the defeat of Antigonus and Demetrius; (301 B.C. ;) but the latter, instead of plundering it, prevented his soldiers from so doing.¹ Cæsar twice preserved the Temple from being plundered: the first time by Scipio, and afterwards by Ampius.

“ Besides other exactions, Scipio gave orders to remove the money long treasured up in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, together with the images of the goddess (*ceterasque ejus Deæ statuas*). But when he had entered the Temple, together with many of the senatorial order, whom he had summoned to attend him, a despatch was delivered to him from Pompey, stating that Cæsar had crossed the sea with his legions, and directing him to join him with his army, and to disregard everything else. On receiving this message he dismissed those

¹ Plut. *in Demet.* 30.

whom he had summoned, set out for Macedonia, and arrived there within a few days: and thus the Ephesian treasury was saved.”¹

On the latter occasion, “when Cæsar had arrived in Asia, T. Ampius was endeavouring to extract the money from the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and with this object had summoned all the senators from the provinces, to be witnesses of the act; but being interrupted by the approach of Cæsar, he took to flight. Thus the Ephesian treasury was saved a second time by Cæsar.”²

In the reign of Tiberius, Ephesus suffered greatly, along with several other cities,³ but it does not appear that the Temple was injured; but whatever damages were done, they were repaired by the munificence of that emperor.⁴ The city suffered again from the same disaster in the reigns of M. Aurelius Antoninus, and of Lucius Verus, and was again restored.⁵

In the pillage of temples by order of Nero, those of Greece and Asia suffered most severely; “the rapacity of the emperor not being content with seizing the votive offerings which adorned the temples, but even the very statues of the gods were deemed lawful prey.”⁶ This was in A.D. 64.

¹ *Cæs. de Bell. Civ.* iii. 33.

² *Id. de Bell. Civ.* iii. 105.

³ See pages 181, 2.

⁴ Solinus, edit. of 1498, li. ; Tacit. ii. 47 ; Strabo and Pliny.

⁵ *Aur. Vict. Hist. Rom. de Cæsaribus*, xvi. 11.

⁶ Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 45.

From this year to the third century, we have no notices of the Temple, excepting an incidental one mentioned by Petrus Gyllius, who reports that Trajan sent the gates of the Temple to Constantinople. (See page 282.) But in the reign of the two Gallieni, (A.D. 253—260,) it was sacked¹ and burnt by the Scythians. Trebellius Pollio writes:—"But the Scythians, who are a tribe of the Goths, devastated Asia, and after sacking the Temple of Diana, set fire to it, the fame of whose riches is sufficiently known."² And Jornandes says:—"This emperor (Gallienus) giving himself up to every indulgence, the leaders of the Goths, Respa, Veduco, Thuro, and Varo, took advantage of it and crossed over into Asia with a fleet; and among other cities which they laid waste was Ephesus, the most celebrated of them all, the Temple of Diana of which city, built by the Amazons, they set fire to."³ Gallienus reigned as sole emperor from 260 to 268 A.D. It is probable that both these narratives refer to the same event; and from the latter being more minute, giving the names of the Gothic leaders, and the reason of the incursion, we may suppose that the event took

¹ Zosimus also mentions the same circumstance, but places it in the last year of the emperor Gallus, 253 A.D. The Scythians passed over into Asia, laying waste the whole country as far as Cappadocia, Pessinunte, and Ephesus, (i. 28.)

² Treb. Poll. *Hist. Aug. Script.* p. 719, Gallieni duo; Eutrop. ix. 8.

³ Jornandes, *Chron. de rebus Gothicis*, xx.

place when Gallienus was sole emperor ; Tournefort says in the third year of his reign, or A.D. 263. The following edict, supposed to have been framed by Constantine, and published in 342, 346, or 352, completed the subversion of the heathen temples :—

“ It has pleased us that in all places and cities whatsoever, the temples shall be henceforth shut, and access forbidden them ; and that the power of remitting debts to debtors shall be denied them. We will likewise that all sacrifices be discontinued. And if any one is bold enough to transgress in these particulars, he shall be given up to the avenging sword. Moreover the governors of the provinces shall issue decrees, claiming the treasuries of the temples for the imperial exchequer, and if they neglect to do so they shall be punished in like manner.”¹

We will conclude with the denunciation from the Sibylline Oracles,² which was written after the time of Hadrian, and before that of Clemens Alexandrinus, and therefore between 138 and 206 A.D.

“ Where is thy sacred fane, proud Ephesus !
 Raised to the honour of Latona's child ?
 Like as the ship by stormy billows riv'n,
 Sinks in the vortex of the whirling wave ;
 So the bright emblem of Ionia's state,
 Shall sink, confounded, in the mighty deep !

¹ Poleni, Temple of D. in the *Saggi Acad. di Cortona*, tom. i., referring to Just. *Instit.* i. 11, and Theod. *Cod.* xvi. 10.

² *Sibyl. Orac.* lib. v. v. 293–305.

Then shall thy citizens, unhappy men,
Perish while still Diana's help they claim.
With piteous cry their eyes to heaven they raise ;
That heaven, whose thunders pour upon their heads !
For winter's coal, a scorching blast reserved ;
For peace and quietness, perpetual strife.
By judgments stricken, their guilty corpses lie
Exposed and bleaching on the burning sand."

Whether this prophecy was ever accomplished, or whether it was written by some Christian, after the accomplishment of the fact, the Temple cannot have existed after the year 399, when the emperors Arcadius and Honorius issued a decree for the destruction of all temples, excepting such as could be used as churches ; for we do not read of this Temple having been so converted : but whenever destroyed, we may exclaim with Chandler :—

"We now seek the Temple in vain : the city is prostrate, and the goddess gone."

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