SELEVCIA

AD CALYCADNVM

SAYI II -2012

OLBA KAZISI YAYINLARI

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Ankara 2012 / Türkiye

ISBN 978-605-5668-32-7

Seleucia ad Calycadnum *için yazışma adresi:*

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Olba Kazisi Yayinlari
Selevcia Ad Calycadnvm II

ISBN: 978-605-5668-32-7
Tan Kitabevi Yayinlari 31
Dizi: Olba Kazisi yayinlari-2

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Kapak Tasarım: Tuna AKÇAY
Dizgi: Yener YENTEK

Baskı:
Cantekin Matbaacılık
2. Baskı 1000 Adet
Mayıs 2012

İçindekiler

Olba Kazısı Yayınları
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  Kitap için:
  Demiriş 2006 Demiriş, B., *Roma Yazınında Tarih Yazıcılığı,* Ege Yay., Istanbul.
  Makale için:
  Kaçar 2009 Kaçar, T., "Arius: Bir 'Sapkın'ın Kısa Hikayesi', Lucerna Klasik Filoloji Yazıları, Istanbul.

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Mersin Olba Kazıları'nın bilimsel dergisi olarak 2011 yılında yayınlanmaya başlanan Seleucia ad Calycadnum Dergisi'nin ikinci sayısını okurlarımıza sunmaktayız. Erken Hıristiyanlık teması ile çıkan ilk sayımızdan sonra, ikinci sayıda daha geniş bir çerçeve içine yerleştirilebilecek bir içerikle dergimiz sizlerle buluşuyor. Olba arkeolojisi ve yerleşim tarihi konusundaki makalelerin yanında nümizmatik, arkeometri, Anadolu'da kent tasarımına ilişkin çalışmalar da dergimiz kapsamında yer almakta. Bu sayının çıkmasını sağlayan tüm yazarlarımıza, katkılarından dolayı yayın kurulumuz üyelerine teşekkürlerimizi sunarız. Arkeoloji, eskiçağ dilleri ve kültürleri, sanat tarihi konularında yapacağınız çalışmaların Seleucia ad Calycadnum dergisinin gelecek sayılarında yer almasından mutluluk duyacağımızı belirtiriz.

Editörler:
Prof. Dr. Emel Erten
Prof. Dr. Diane Favro
Murat Özyıldırım (ma)

Praefatio

We are proud to present the second volume of the annual journal of Mersin Olba excavations, Seleucia ad Calycadnum. After the first issue focusing on Early Christianity, a wider content of articles such as archaeometry, numismatic, urban design in Asia Minor will be presented in the second volume as well as the studies on the settlement history and archaeology of Olba. We wish to thank all our contributors, colleagues in the scientific board. It will be an honour for us to welcome our colleagues studying on archaeology, ancient languages and cultures and the history of art for the future issues of "Seleucia ad Calycadnum".

Editors:
Prof. Dr. Emel Erten
Prof. Dr. Diane Favro
Murat Özyıldırım (ma)

Ceci N'est Pas Un Mur: Representation And Reality In Ephesian Urban Boundaries

Brianna Bricker

Abstract

In this paper I trace how the physical and conceptual boundary makers of Ephesos shifted as successive communities appropriated their forms to meet changing demands. Physical walls encircled the city, but could not contain a community reaching into wider Mediterranean networks; political, economic, and religious links defied material boundaries. As markers of community gained greater complexity, ideological and representational forms took the place of, or worked alongside, the physical form of the city wall, so that meaning invested in the actual fortifications was reinforced through ritual and imagery, or else transferred to other realms more accessible and immediate to Ephesian concerns.

Keywords: city wall, boundary, civic identity.

Özet

Ceci n'est pas un mur: Ephesus'un Kentsel Sınırlarının Simgeselliği ve Gerçekliği

Bu çalışmadaki amacım Ephesus kentinin fiziksel ve kavramsal olarak kent sınırlarını belirleyenlerin birbirini izleyen dönemlerde oluşan toplumların değişen beklentileri karşısında nasıl bir dönüşüm öngördükleri üzerinde durmaktır. Sur duvarları belki kenti çevrelemektedir ancak çok daha geniş ve Akdeniz'e özgü politik, ekonomik, dinsel bağlantıların bir parçası olan bu toplumu söz konusu surların kapsaması mümkün değildir. Çok daha karmaşık yapıya sahip olmaya başlayan bir toplumda ideolojik ve simgesel kavramlar da kentin surlarının fiziksel formunun belirlemesinde yerini almakta, etkili olmaktadır. Böylece, görünür surlara yüklenen anlama ritüel ve imgeler de eklenmekte; ya da Ephesus'da olduğu gibi çok daha ulaşılabilir ve dolaysız bambaşka bir dünyaya dönüşebilmektedir

Anahtar Sözcükler: sur duvarı, sınır, kentsel kimlik.

Among ancient sites, the ruins of city walls designate the vanished urban space they once defined and defended. Such enclosures feed into the historical imagination as works that structured urban experience and contributed to civic identity. The Hellenistic fortifications of Ephesos are no exception. These demand notice not only as physical boundaries of civilized space, but also for their role in the dialogue between structure and iconography in the city's reconstruction of identity from the Archaic era to Late Antiquity. While ancient sources most often discuss city walls in relation to warfare, walls were also fundamental to urban experience on a kinetic and static level, encountered through physical mass or pictorial representations. Aristotle stressed the necessity of walls for defensive and civic needs, for a general sense of place and safety[1]. The independence or self-reliance afforded by a wall ties into the range of possible relationships it framed: within the city, and with extramural sanctuary, province, imperial capital, or wider Mediterranean networks. These additional spheres complicated ideas of Ephesian boundaries, leaving inhabitants to receive and actively perceive varied impressions of civic belonging stemming from shared urban space, pride in the monumental landscape, celebration of local cult, and prestige within wider networks[2]. As Ephesos became entangled with a larger world during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, icons of boundary and group security fluctuated to express the broadened extent of Ephesian identity[3].

We first hear of Ephesian walls in the sixth century BC [Fig. 1]. The Ionian settlers, probably located on the north slope of Panayırdağ, used a wall to separate themselves from the native inhabitants gathered around the already ancient cult of Artemis[4]. When Croesus attacked in 556 BC, the Ionians sought protection from Artemis by connecting the city wall with rope to her temple seven stades away[5]. Since neither human-made nor divine defenses could save them, the Ionians faced relocation to the area around the Temple of Artemis, whose cult and sacred boundaries became central to the combined communities. Unification around the temple may have politically bolstered the importance of a single local deity against the powerful cults of Apollo at Didyma and

1 Aristot. Pol. 7. 1331.
2 Cf. Yegül 1994, esp. 107.
3 Frederik Barth's work is helpful in showing how a physical boundary such as the walls of Ephesos plays a part in social positioning, shaping the nature of interaction. (Barth 2000). An important volume on physical wall is James D. Tacey, ed., City Walls: the urban enceinte in global perspective (2000).
4 These walls have not come to light archaeologically. Paus. 7.2.5-8; Strabo 14.1.3.
5 Hdt. 1.26.1-3.

Hera at Samos[6]. Protection, power, and prominence were linked to Artemis, so the community's proximity to and administration of the cult placed it on a level with other major political forces.

During Persian control, beginning with the capture of Ephesos by Harpagus in 546 BC, the cult of Artemis played an important role in inter-city relations. Though subordinated to nearby Sardis, Ephesos and her goddess remained central to Persian concerns, as seen in satrap Tissaphernes' sacrifice to Artemis Ephesia before undertaking major moves during war[7]. Though lacking independence, the city benefitted from a close bond to the widely revered cult of Artemis, whose distinction allowed the Ephesians to be global players while under the rule of another. With the loss of the archaic wall and the area it defined, and the loss of autonomy, one sees an example of alternate sources of civic awareness adapted according to historical processes, giving inhabitants a multi-faceted strategy of self-presentation.

The Hellenistic age brought a change of overlords to Ephesos, beginning with Alexander the Great. In 334 BC he offered to rebuild the Temple of Artemis, but the Ephesians refused his aid[8]. After Persian rule, the desire to build their own temple, and to claim independence and control of the sanctuary, may reflect an Ephesian pursuit to reestablish civic identity[9]. For an unwalled city without autonomy, the demarcation of locality in the cult remained a cornerstone of community. But with the successor kings after Alexander, the relationship between Ephesos and cult once again shifted. Around 290 BC Lysimachus built a wall near the locale of the Ionian settlers, but only by flooding the settlement near the Artemis Temple did he convince the Ephesians to move [Fig. 2][10]. Whereas Croesus had planted the community around the Artemis Temple to unify and empower the cult and sacred space, Lysimachus reversed the action, creating new political and physical bounds away from the goddess with alternate paths to power. This shift to a new urban site laid out with a more Hellenized, rational sophistication, created a break from the historic past. The addition of settlers from nearby cities contributed to the diverse mix, bringing multiple communities and traditions in direct contact. Yet the settlement and foreign king were new and common to all, perhaps enabling the

6 Scherrer 2000, 16. Alternatively, the unification may have been an attempt to minimize any remaining disharmony (Knibbe 143).
7 LiDonnici 1999. Thuc. 8.109.1.
8 The temple had reportedly burned down on the night of his birth. Plut. Alex. 3.3; Val. Max. VIII.14.5. Strabo 14.1.22.
9 LiDonnici 1992, 401-2.
10 Strabo 14.1.21.

groups to mingle freely within the new space to create a new communal history and new communal boundaries.

The Hellenistic walls of Ephesos built by Lysimachus boast over nine kilometers of ashlar masonry and rubble core, 6.5 meters tall, with towers nine meters in height[11]. The vast enclosed area included urban center and additional open space. From the port, the wall followed the ridge of Bülbüldağ down to the valley south of Panayırdağ. At this point lay the Magnesian Gate, whose road extended to the Artemis Temple and further eastward. The gate's original utilitarian design was later expanded and given ornamental moldings; as the portal to urban space, fortifications and gateways served as signs of the city, signifying safety and civilization.[12]. From the gate, the wall curved up and around Panayırdağ to the point near which processions passed. The visual result of the wall was one of raw might, as reflected in iconography of Artemis with generic mural crown[13]. The traditional icon of the city deity blended with the idea of the physical city, two entities defining community; these urban icons were recognizable and intended for a broad understanding of civic community by different audiences[14]. This allowed complex narratives to appear in a simple form, but only through the background of shared group experience relating to the image – through encounters with the stone wall and expressions of religious bounds.

The general chaos of the Hellenistic period did not leave Ephesos untouched. As a desirable city and port to hold[15], Ephesos passed through multiple rulers and suffered divisions within the community. After the death of Lysimachus in 281 BC, a pro-Seleucus faction reportedly knocked down the city walls and forced opened the gates[16], thus indicating how the quest for local power could find outlets in foreign overlords rather than cult. If a sense of cohesive community seems elusive, the Asiatic Vespers in 88 BC, the organized massacre in response to growing Roman power, does indicate a fervor to distinguish and extinguish an oppressive Italian other. So ardent were the followers of Mithridates in this act that they broke the sacrosanct rules of asylum limits, snatching fugitives from the Temple of Artemis and killing them[17]. By casting aside religious mandates for political and economic interests, alternate

11 Scherrer 2000, 154; Gros 56.
12 Scherrer 2000, 66, 68. Cf. Zanker; Christie.
13 Fleischer 1973, 52. LiDonnici 1992, 395, esp. n. 25.
14 Favro, esp. 21.
15 Cf. Plb. 18.41.1.
16 Polyainos 8.57, though evidence for this destruction has not been found.
17 App. Mith. 4.23.

forms of civic awareness appear, where the urban entity trumps religious bounds and Mediterranean connections. The Ephesians shared with their archaic counterpart the utilization of cult for negotiating networks, but a new topography, with different modes of interacting with the wider world, inspired a communal marker – the solid wall – rather than fluctuating connections to an ill-defined institution.

During the Roman period the urban space of Ephesos underwent great changes, affecting the way inhabitants viewed and navigated the monumental areas that reflected and reinforced local values. After the rise of Romans in the East and turmoil of the Late Republic, the peace and prosperity of the Roman Empire under Augustus surged through Ephesos. By the end of the first century AD, Ephesos had gained the distinguished title of Neokorate, imperial temple warden, and saw the further development of public spaces [Fig. 3][18]. The monumental landscape tied into imperial themes while urban dynamism, like the material typologies, often stemmed from abroad. The inflow of external ideas coincided with the partial dismantlement of the city wall. Ephesos faced no immediate threats, and thus required no stationed soldiers. Yet panegyrics continued to proclaim the importance of city walls as icon during a period of partially-walled cities, as in Aristides' words to Marcus Aurelius in the last quarter of the second century AD: "you did not neglect walls, but you put them around your empire rather than your city."[19]. The priorities of boundary control had shifted, and Ephesos, safe from the hostile borders of empire, ceased in the upkeep of her walls[20], though their physical bulk and symbolic baggage remained inescapable. As the protective function of the city wall faded during the Pax Romana, the nature of the city also changed, becoming entangled with the empire through commerce, imperial administration, and cult. Ideological and representational forms worked alongside the physical form of the city wall, so that meaning invested in the actual Ephesian fortifications was reinforced through ritual and representations, or else transferred to other realms more accessible and immediate to the concerns of inhabitants[21].

The cult of Artemis Ephesia, another signifier of community, enjoyed widespread importance and was thus a Roman concern. Augustus stepped into cult affairs: he returned property to the cult, thus enhancing its economic sta-

18 Scherrer 2004, 9-12.
19 Richter 133: Aristides, To Rome, 60.
20 Scherrer 2000, 68.
21 Cf. Julian Thomas, with cultural knowledge and performance intimately tied to the material world (J.Thomas 1996, 20).

tus, but narrowed the right of asylum and thus its political clout[22]. The concern to check the power of a local yet sacred power evoked a response from locals to assert autonomy wherever possible. As the superfluous fortifications marked a lack of independence, self-reliance was asserted in the importance of extramural cult even within the urban space. Along the Curetes Street, a place of political administration, images of the goddess appeared at least twice, some with more civic-minded imagery[23]. Statuary of Artemis with mural crown flourished during the first century and a half of Roman rule, with a notable example in the "Great Artemis" from the Prytaneion [Fig. 4]. Her crown contains an arrangement of temple facades; an ashlar wall with rounded entry at the back combines temple and city wall. But the paucity of cult images after the early second century, and eventual disappearance, may reflect the diminishing political power of the cult[24]. Likewise, at the beginning of the second century AD, a Roman elite altered the annual procession from Ephesos to the Temple of Artemis by reversing its direction, in the process reframing the role of priests and emperors within the cult of Artemis[25]. This ritual moved from the Magnesian Gate to the Domitian Plaza, down to the plaza in front of the Library of Celsus, then to the open space in front of the theater, and finally through the Koressian Gate and outside the city walls. This path had regular points of open public space marking critical points in the procession, provided an arena for the competition between local leading families and foreign benefactors[26], and gave numerous opportunities for experiential and visual impact serving to bind participant and polis. At the background stood the Hellenistic walls, markers of another time and a different set of boundaries. Imagery of Empire along the processional route, framed within Ephesian monumental history, brought the community beyond the walled enclosure.

Though Roman influence into local cult ritual brought it partial homogenization with cults across the empire, the importance between location and goddess found architectural ties. During the late second century AD, Ephesos gained physical connection to the sanctuary with an arcaded processional way. The monumental ritual setting provided the opportune time to form key social connections and marriage alliances, perhaps such as with the family of the

22 Scherrer 2000, 22.
23 LiDonnici 396; Fleischer 1973, 14.
24 LiDonnici 1992, 395, n. 25.
25 Procession is attested as early as the fourth century BC, but underwent monumentalization during the Roman period, and shifted to fit the build-up of urban space over time. Cf. C. Thomas, esp. 125, 133f.
26 Gros 107. C. Thomas 132.

Vedii and of Damianus, who built this vaulted stoa along the sacred way[27]. The new covered walkway, running between the Artemis Temple and the Koressian and Magnesian Gates, provided over two kilometers of protection and comfort while denoting Ephesian splendor[28]. Unlike the walls experienced externally, the stoa was monumental to the user, creating a more tangible personal experience in the connection between city and temple. Whereas in earlier times Hellenistic fortifications in the countryside referenced urban presence and the well-being of a community, in Roman times a different kind of architecture linked country and city, such as aqueducts and roads markers, as well as provincial boundary markers indicating not only urban wealth but also often imperial ties and paternalism.

Throughout the period of Roman rule, one finds a change in the city's embrace of an urban image to denote communal bounds. When the city extended beyond its physical walls, and reached out into the Mediterranean network, when formerly outside forces occupied interior space, when political, economic, and religious links defied physical boundaries, then the markers of community gained greater complexity. Walls, and surrogate representations thereof, served as an unwavering presence with which to define one's community amid an enormous stretch of empire.

Faith in the complementary protectors of deity and fortifications underwent reconsideration after the events around AD 262, when the city suffered earthquake, fire, and attack by the Goths. But destruction to the city and its walls marked only part of the wider damage to the countryside, temple of Artemis, agriculture and industry that had a lasting economic effect[29]. Such disasters made it clear that even strong city walls would have offered little protection, and that urban space, despite its tidy demarcation, was tied to the fortunes of a wider regional area[30]. The urban condition remained poor enough to elicit displeasure from Rome for improper use of imperial financial aid, since reduced private benefactions for disaster relief left the bulk of the aid to come from outside[31]. With a painful recognition of the importance of empire for the life of an urban center and the need for outside assistance and security to rebuild the backdrop of civic life, Ephesian identity weakened until the community found

27 Damianus and the Vedii, allied in marriage, are said to have monopolized political and social influence, as well as public benefactions (Halfmann 106). As in Xenophon's Ephesiaca 1.2.6ff. Cf. also C. Thomas 145.
28 Halfmann 107; Philostratus Soph. 605.
29 Landstatter and Pülz 396.
30 Cf. Trombley 220 for the network of urban-rural relations.
31 Scherrer 2004, 16; Landstatter and Pülz 394.

a new way to assert its distinction.

By the beginning of the fifth century, the urban landscape of Ephesos was ripe for renewal. While fourth-century public monuments, aided by imperial channels, most often honored the emperor and imperial family, statues from the time of urban revival increasingly honored state officers and local notables. Their position along streets highlights the importance of processional routes in the dissemination of elite ideals[32]. One could compare these displays and pathways to fortifications in providing social cohesion and giving shape to the city, but through civic benefaction rather than security. Eventually the Ephesians found the means to refortify their town by exploiting wider political events of the early seventh century as Ephesos became capital of the small administrative division Thrakesion around AD 610[33]. The Late Roman wall encompassed a much smaller urban area than earlier circuits [Fig. 5][34], and unlike the Hellenistic ashlar construction, displayed less regular stone facings characteristic of the period. In addition to accommodating practical considerations, perhaps this also consciously incorporated meaningful spolia[35]. The path of the new wall shifted monumental prominence from the State Agora to the theater and Arcadiane[36]. The inclusion of the theater as part of the wall course reflected the pragmatic interest to build on existing structures, but also suggested the importance of the theater for civic matters since the former legislative and ideological centers failed to find incorporation within the new walls.

Even as the city embraced (and was embraced by) new fortifications, other icons of security remained viable. While imagery of civic deities, especially Tyche, often survived into Christian times because of her protective aspects, the Christian cross also became a potent image and often appeared on city gates[37]. As with the walls of Thessaloniki, this decoration served as a signifier of the faith of the community, one protected by Christ, with apotropaic value[38]. Yet despite Christianization, civic concerns emerged in traditional forms: a

32 Ibid. 403, 428.

33 Scherrer 2001, 80. Also based on destruction layers and settlement patters in abandoned buildings.

34 Foss 106: While such a fortification type may have acted as central refuge area for people living beyond the walls, there may have been instead a sharp reduction in population living in security.

35 Cf. De Staebler's work on spolia in the late antique walls of Aphrodisias.

36 Compare to the late Athenian wall, built after the Herulian sack, which responded to the move of the civic center and then carefully embraced it for protection (Gregory 50).

37 Matheson 25. Foss 42: A fourteenth-century manuscript of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos, for example, depicts one of the group entering the city and admiring the gate inscribed with a cross.

38 Crow 2001, 96.

carved plaque combined a large cross, a summons to Archangel Michael, and the acclamation 'may the Tyche of the city conquer.'[39]. Elsewhere, the image of Artemis was removed from a gateway in exchange for the Christian cross[40]. By infusing the symbolism of city boundaries with Christian visual rhetoric, local actors were able to give a sense of security to the city that worked in tandem with the built walls. The Christian role of Ephesos within the region brought a sense of urban self-confidence, the replacement of the Artemis cult, and a reconfiguration of prominent iconography. By the ninth century even the revived area of Ephesos was deemed inhospitable, so inhabitants shifted to the safer and healthier ground of Ayasoluk. The move to this hilltop fortress, though closer to the Artemis Temple, created a disconnect from the common pathways of urban movement and monuments, and separated the inhabitants from a communal story embraced through interaction and performance[41]. The resettled community had a new patron of Saint John for protection and backing, plus a new set of walls, created to a large extent from the dismantled Artemis Temple. Whether or not later inhabitants were aware of this fact, and felt pride for the destruction of a pagan cult, or else gained a sense of security through connection to place, is another matter.

To sum up, the city walls of Ephesos, like other works of infrastructure, contributed to urban experience through moving and viewing to draw out ideas of bounded community. Pragmatically, fortifications gave the city physical boundaries and protection and also controlled movement, keeping certain forces out and some actions within. Imaginatively, the symbolism of the wall embodied civic identity and pride, often finding connections with rhetorical surrogates of bounded-ness or locality in key deities. These relationships were altered with shifts in power relations, affecting space within the walls and connections with the cult of Artemis Ephesia. By examining changing relationships between the form of the city, the population of the city, and the conception of the city, the example of Ephesos adds to the discussion of individuality for a polis within a complex Mediterranean network. And by examining how inhabitants of a composite city struggled over time to find shelter behind a broader identity, one stemming from complimentary practices and forms, one becomes more aware of the basic need for a sense of security – a need that was intensified by certain events, defined according to perceptions, and remedied in a range of responses.

39 Foss 1979, 37.
40 Scherrer 2004, 2.
41 Foss 1979, 111.

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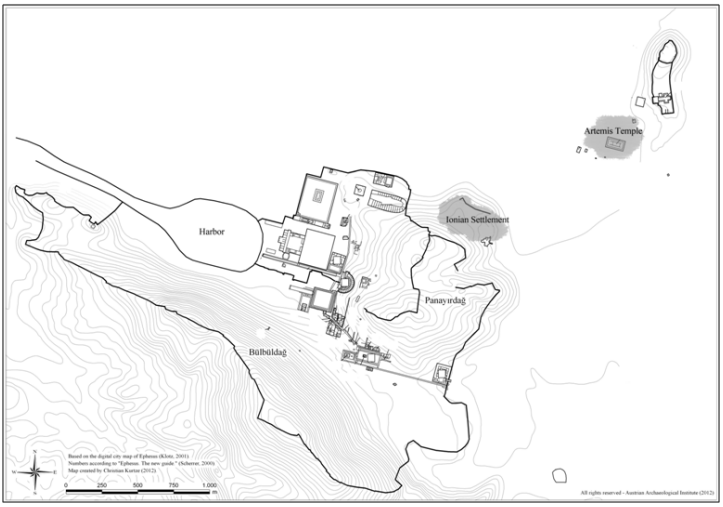

Fig. 1: Archaic Ephesos, in shaded parts [after Austrian Archaeological Institute, Vienna (Christian Kurtze)].

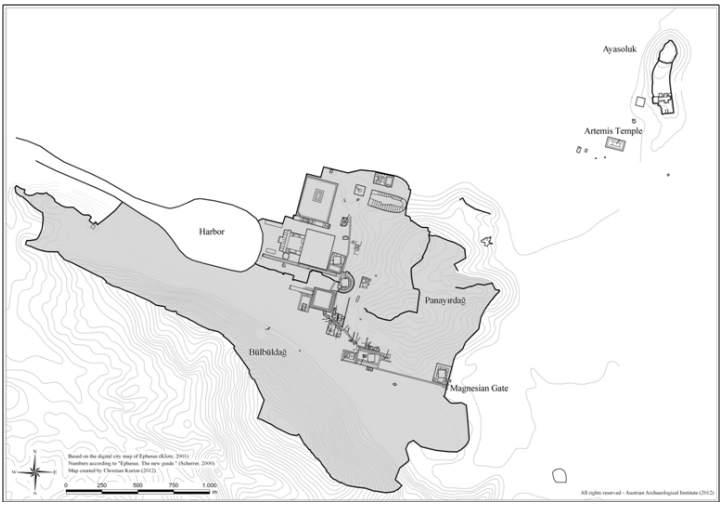

Fig. 2: Hellenistic Ephesos and walls [after Austrian Archaeological Institute, Vienna (Christian Kurtze)].

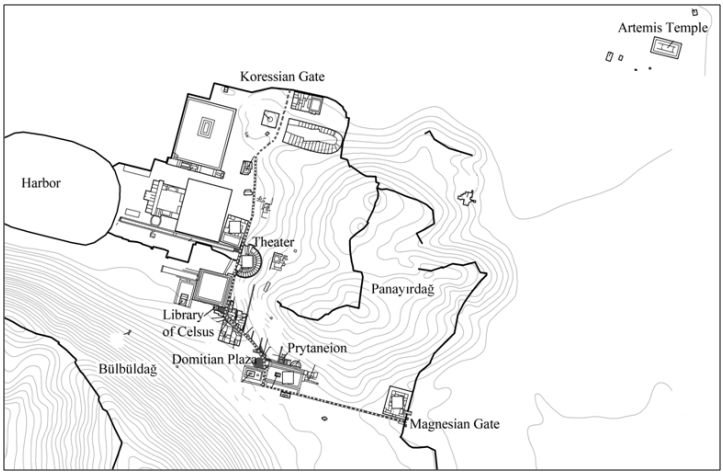

Fig. 3: Detail of Roman Ephesos, with dotted processional route [after Austrian Archaeological Institute, Vienna (Christian Kurtze)].

Fig. 4: "Great Artemis," detail from back of crown.

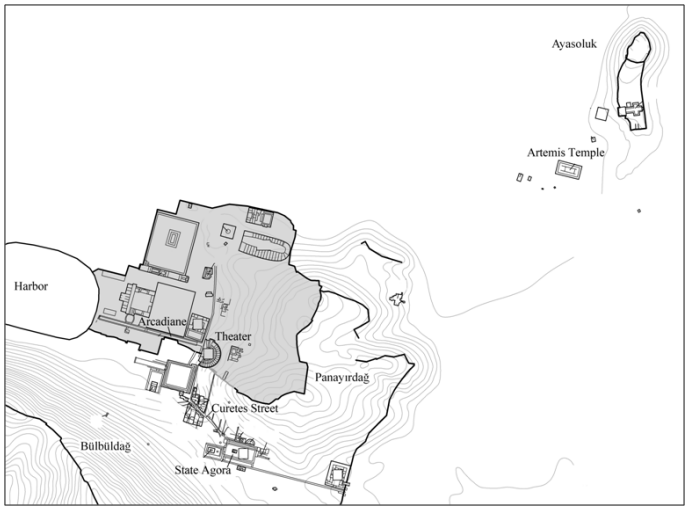

Fig. 5: Late Roman Ephesos in shaded part [after Austrian Archaeological Institute, Vienna (Christian Kurtze)].

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