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Some Notes on Ephesus.

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Perfecit opus suum Phidias, etiamsi non vendidit.
(Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, II, 33.)

I do not, here and now, propose to repeat what may be found in the great standard series of Pauly-Wissowa *sub verbo* "Ephesus." Only the other day there appeared a new book, *Paul of Tarsus*, by Dr. T. R. Glover, of Cambridge, England, which I have not yet had time to examine. After the Light of the World His greatest apostle seems to be the greatest figure, still, among all the children of men, a figure steadily growing with time, and growing, too, with the undeniable decadence in the world's estimate of secular "greatness." Well, I have not yet had the leisure to examine this work and compare it with Conybeare and Howson or Lewin. At this moment, too, I have turned over some pages in Neander's *Pflanzung und Leitung*, fourth edition (Hamburg, Perthes, 1847). Much of it is reply or critique of Baur and his Tuebingen School. How much of that "critical" school was wild conjecture, foisting subjective conceptions into historical construction or reconstruction, interpreting speculative conjecture into the broken data of actually available tradition!

Sir William Ramsay (whom I have the honor to know by correspondence and scholar's exchange of work) in 1911 published a little book, *The First Christian Century*, notes on Dr. Moffatt's *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1911), which I here desire heartily to commend to the readers of the THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY; but I must limit myself to a single *passus* (p. 13): "But Manen, or even Baur, sitting in judgment on Paul, is a mole attempting to estimate the size of a colossus, or the strength of a lion, or the swiftness of an eagle in the air." No more of this.

One thing I have noticed in the efforts of the higher critics

(none common or low, of course): they operate over and over again with the *argumentum e silentio*, as Lightfoot demonstrated over and over again in his *Supernatural Religion* (1889). But to come nearer to my present theme: I will write down two things which seem to gain on me with age: 1) Paul never *seems* to have established a Christian congregation at Tarsus, his native city. If not, why not? (A historical question.) 2) Why did not Paul ever visit Alexandria, the greatest Jewish center outside of Jerusalem?

I would like to ask (I wish Luke could tell me), How many synagogs did the Diaspora have at Ephesus?* In the time of Seneca and St. Paul, if we may trust Seneca (who knew Ephesus merely by reputation), Alexandria and Ephesus (outside of Rome) were the most populous cities in the Roman Empire. "*Ephesum aut Alexandriam aut siquod est etiamnunc frequentius incolis.*" (*Ep.*, 102, 21.) By an edict of Dolabella (son-in-law of Cicero and partisan of the Caesarian faction), 44—43 B. C., the Jews of Ephesus, in consequence of an official request, transmitted from Hyrcanus, high priest and ethnarch at Jerusalem, were declared immune from bearing arms and marching and permitted to maintain their own diet: all based on the Jewish laws of the Sabbath; they were also to be entitled to the "*ἀφαιρέματα* on account of the sacrifices," all referred to by the Roman proconsul as being in consonance with the precedent of former proconsuls (one of whom had been Cicero's own brother, Quintus C.). (Josephus, *Antiqq.*, XIV, 10. 12.) A further statement of Josephus (*l. c.*, § 13) goes back to the year 49 B. C., the beginning of the Civil War, when the Consul L. Lentulus granted a similar immunity *pro tribunali* to the "Jewish citizens of the Romans" (*i. e.*, Jews at Ephesus who are Roman citizens), "who hold the Jewish worship and practise it at Ephesus." The edict is addressed to the magistrates of the Ephesians and "To the Council and the People thereof" and covers the Jews in Asia (*i. e.*, in all the province, Ephesus being the capital of that province, which *before* the acquisition of Egypt, in 30 B. C., was considered the richest province in the Roman Empire. (Cf. Cicero's *De Lege Manilia.*) The Jews in these and other official edicts and other documents are presented as a separate and distinct *ἔθνος* or nationality, connected with Jerusalem and the high priest there.

In Josephus's *Antiquities* (XIV, 10. 25) we have, further,

* From Acts it seems there was but one.

a *psephisma*, a resolution of the citizen body, in the prytaneship of Menophilos, enacted, or passed, on the first day of the month Artemisios, the month specially named so in honor of the tutelary goddess Artemis (Diana) of the great city, recognizing the immunities of the Jews on account of their Sabbath and forbidding the imposition of fines upon them on this account. Similar privileges were reaffirmed by the proconsul Julius Antonius in meeting a petition of Jews in Asia when he held court in Ephesus on the Ides of February (the 13th), as granted them by Augustus and Agrippa before, particularly in the transmission of "sacred funds to Jerusalem." (Josephus, *l. c.*, XVI, 6. 7.)

From this, then, let us turn to the *Inscriptiones* and other data dug up under the supervision of J. T. Wood, F. S. A., largely through financial subvention furnished by the trustees of the British Museum, during the years 1863 to 1875. The great temple of Artemis (τὸ Ἀρτεμῖσιον) was always the center and chief concern of this great city. According to Wood's computation and excavations, the space enclosed by the city wall of the Augustan (and so the Apostolic) Age, was a surface of some 1,027 acres. The little Selinus, tributary to the Kaystros, flowed hard by the Artemision. It was only *after* Alexander's death, 323 B. C., that the city was surrounded by a wall.

The temple was seven stadia from the city proper. The columns of the last temple were of syenite, from Upper Egypt. The stadium, scene of athletic games, was probably of the Augustan Age. The Great Theater (referred to by Luke, Acts 19, 29. 31), according to Wood's measurements, could seat 24,500 persons. In one large sarcophagus there were found by Mr. Wood four skeletons, together with four dishes and four small vases. Wood was puzzled as to what these designs might be, for they seem to have been of the Christian, post-Constantinian Era. He saw the Christian monogram $A \text{✠} \Omega$ carved upon the white marble lid. I will append here what any one may see in the museums of Italy, *viz.*, that the ancient pagan sarcophagi are generally ornamented with rams' or steers' skulls at the corners, with festoons of fruits and flowers. What do these symbolize in memorials of the dead? Is it not perhaps this: "Enjoy life while you may"?

But we must limit ourselves to the most significant matters.

The peristyle of the temple had about one hundred pillars of the Ionic order, and the roof was covered with huge marble tiles. "St. Paul," says Wood (p. 272), "during his three years' sojourn

at Ephesus, doubtless often gazed upon it with admiration, at the same time that he deplored its consecration to the worship of a heathen goddess." It was one of the Seven Wonders of the World. The island Ortygia, near by, was claimed as the place where Leto finally terminated her pangs by the birth of Apollo and Artemis. (Strabo, 639.) How the legends of Delos fitted these myths I know not. It does seem that Ephesus, never directly on the strand of the Aegean, was gradually built up around the sanctuary of Artemis. The one of St. Paul's time was the *third* in order. Each new structure was always built on the same spot, and within the same *temenos*, or small enclosure. The temple set on fire by Herostratos in the night of the birth of Alexander the Great had been the second one. This third one — let us call it that of St. Paul's time — was built with extraordinary efforts, the citizens contributing heavily from their private estates and the jewelry of the women, says Strabo (640), the *psephismata*, or people's resolutions, attesting this even in Strabo's time. Several decades were spent in its construction. Dinocrates, who planned the construction of Alexandria on the coast of Egypt (332 B. C. and following years), was the chief architect. (Strabo, 641.)

The gradual accumulation of anathemata, or sacred gifts, by private persons, by potentates, and by entire communities must have been enormous. The great altar was by Praxiteles. The priests, says Strabo, were eunuchs, called Megalobyzoι. I need not say that the greater temples of the Greeks (quite like the Italian churches of the *Medio Evo* and the Renaissance, in time became, in a way, museums of art. Associated with these eunuch priests were Ephesian virgins. A word as to the right of asylum, or sanctuary, enjoyed by the temple: Strabo intimates that some of the usages were less guarded in his day (the Augustan Age) than formerly, but that the right of asylum was rigorously preserved. Alexander had granted a stadium (one-eighth of a mile) around the temple; Mithridates a little more. Antony doubled this, so as to take even the contiguous edge of the city, which excess Augustus canceled, as it protected malefactors. The clear inference for us is that the temple was well set off from the city. In the time of Augustus it received its separate circumvallation (or *peribolos*).

Now, the temple of Augustus, the *Σεβαστεῖον*, or *Augusteum*, was near to the Artemesium. One sees how judiciously the site and scene of emperor-worship was virtually associated with the Great God cult.

I now transcribe and translate from Wood's Inscription No. 1 of these two temples. It is bilingual. "The Emperor" (reproduced in Greek as *Αὐτοκράτωρ*) "Caesar Augustus, son of the *Divus* [Caesar], consul for the XIIth time, *Tribunus Plebis* for the eighteenth year, *Pontifex Maximus*, provided for the building of the wall around the sanctuary [of Artemis] from the *religious revenue* of the goddess." Whether this revenue was from endowment and investment or from regular gifts of worshipers, we do not know. Augustus also provided for "sacred pillars of the roads and watercourses for Artemis." The watercourse has a width of fifteen cubits.

The "Ephesia" were an all-Ionic periodical celebration (in the time of Demetrius and Seleucus), and public announcements of special importance were then made. (No. 7: Inscriptions from the Temple of Diana.) It seems that the men or magistrates entrusted with public works and their repair were called (very frequently in the Inscr.) *νεωποιοί*, or *νεωποιαί*, from *νεωποιής*. These, too, were entrusted with the Inscription recording the specific honors voted to a non-Ephesian, together with enrolment as a citizen in a specific tribe and one thousand (*χιλιασῦς*), which Inscriptions it seems were immersed or otherwise preserved in the great temple. These curators of public works we might, in English, designate as temple-wardens. In the theater there were celebrated Dionysia. We may conceive them as dramatic exhibitions, called by the same name as at Athens. Sometimes Ephesus, too, honored a man by placing a wreath on his head in the temenos of Artemis and Augustus.

The great shrine or shrines were sometimes simply designated as "of Asia." (No. 2 of Inscr. from the site of the temple.)

(To be concluded.)
