

TAMÁS BEZECZKY

THE AMPHORAE OF ROMAN EPHESUS

FORSCHUNGEN IN EPHEOS

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Tamás Bezeczky

The amphorae of Roman Ephesus

Contributors

Peter Scherrer
Roman Sauer

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VORWORT

Die von Tamás Bevezky vorgelegte Studie über die römischen Amphoren aus Ephesos einleiten zu dürfen, ist der Unterzeichneten eine besonders große Freude. Als Grabungsleiterin, Leiterin des vom Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung unterstützten Amphorenprojekts und als Keramikspezialistin ist es mir eine Genugtuung, dass sich die Keramikforschung nun auch in den Publikationen der Grabung Ephesos prominent niederschlägt. Erstmals in der ephesischen Grabungsgeschichte wird eine keramische Fundgattung umfassend vorgestellt und dafür Material aus verschiedenen Fundplätzen herangezogen. Der typo-chronologische Aufbau der Untersuchung basiert in erster Linie auf gut datierten Fundkomplexen aus dem Hanghaus 2 sowie der Tetragnon Agora von Ephesos. Beide Grabungsplätze lieferten umfangreiches keramisches Fundmaterial, das letztendlich eine Analyse der Amphoren vom 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Spätantike erlaubte. Die kontextuelle Auswertung dieser Fundkomplexe, die in Zusammenarbeit mit Bearbeitern anderer Fundkategorien sowie den Ausgräbern erfolgte, ermöglichte in vielen Fällen erst eine genaue Datierung und bildet somit das Grundgerüst dieser Arbeit.

Wie in einer Publikation von Amphoren nicht anders zu erwarten, liegt der Schwerpunkt jedoch auf deren wirtschaftsarchäologischer Interpretation. Bei der Frage nach der Herkunft einzelner Amphorentypen wurden unterstützend zur archäologischen Auswertung auch petrographische Methoden angewendet. Besonderes Augenmerk lag dabei natürlich auf einer Definition der Lokalproduktion im Umland von Ephesos, die ihrerseits wichtige Informationen über die landwirtschaftliche Produktion der Region liefern kann. Darüber hinaus ermöglicht ein genaues Studium des Amphorenspektrums auch entscheidende Rückschlüsse auf Handelsbeziehungen. Somit stellt die Bearbeitung der Amphoren einen essenziellen Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte von Ephesos dar.

An erster Stelle ist natürlich dem Autor Tamás Bevezky zu danken, dessen Engagement und Fachwissen diese Publikation erst ermöglichten. Besonderer Dank gilt auch Roman Sauer, der für den archäometrischen Teil verantwortlich zeichnet. Dem Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung ist für die finanzielle Absicherung des Projekts zu danken, und der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften dankt das ÖAI für die langjährige hervorragende Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der Ephesos-Forschung. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass in baldiger Zukunft weitere Keramikstudien folgen werden.

Selçuk, September 2012

Sabine Ladstätter

VORWORT

Mit dem Abschluss der Feldforschungen zur Tetragonos Agora, die seit den späten 1980er Jahren unter Mitarbeit und späterer Leitung von Peter Scherrer durchgeführt worden waren, stand von vorne herein fest, dass für die Publikation – neben den kontextorientierten Materialvorlagen – auch wichtige Fundgattungen eine systematische Aufarbeitung erfahren sollten. Für die römischen Transportamphoren stand mit Tamás Bezczyky ein erfahrener Mitarbeiter zu Verfügung, der seit 1998 dem Team von Ephesos angehörte und im Rahmen eines von Sabine Ladstätter eingereichten FWF-Projektes im Jahre 2001 die Publikation dieser Fundgruppe übernahm. Für die hellenistischen Amphoren wurde Marc Lawall gewonnen.

Durch die vielversprechenden Erfahrungen aus abgeschlossenen Vorprojekten des Autors und die aussagekräftige Menge der Funde wurde von Anfang an festgelegt, dass die Bearbeitung auch eine materialorientierte Analyse nach petrographischen Methoden einschließen sollte. Wegen des stark fragmentierten Zustandes der Amphoren stand eine formtypologische Fragestellung im Hintergrund. Neben dem Material der Tetragonos Agora wurden auch weitere, gut stratifizierte Fundkomplexe – vor allem aus der Hanghausgrabung – in die Untersuchung einbezogen und einige gezielte Begehungen durchgeführt. Damit war die Erwartung verbunden, einen fundierten und differenzierten Überblick nicht nur zur kaiserzeitlichen Amphoren-Produktion von Ephesos zu gewinnen, sondern auch den wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Aspekt von Importen aus dem *orbis terrarum* beleuchten zu können.

Dieses gesteckte Ziel wurde im Rahmen von zwei weiteren FWF-Projekten erweitert, die in den Jahren 2005 und 2008 vom Autor als „Selbstanträge“ eingebracht und vom FWF auch bewilligt wurden. Die Fragestellung wurde auf andere große Fundplätze im Mittelmeerraum ausgedehnt und auch ephesischer Export berücksichtigt. Dafür wurden zum einen zahlreiche Reisen notwendig, auf diesem Weg gelang aber auch die Einbindung in ein internationales Netzwerk von Fachleuten, in dem der Autor manche Anregung fand und seinerseits interessante Beiträge leisten konnte. Das gesamte Material, die Dokumentation der petrographischen Analysen und ihre Auswertung wurden in einer methodisch weiter entwickelten Datenbank aufbereitet, wodurch der Informationsaustausch mit anderen Fundorten und Produktionszentren zusätzlich vertieft werden konnte. Mit der Kampagne 2007 wurde die Materialaufnahme vor Ort abgeschlossen. Spätere Forschungsaufenthalte in der Türkei, in Griechenland, Spanien und Südfrankreich und Italien dienten den Vergleichsstudien zur ephesischen Amphoren-Produktion und ihre Verbreitung im Mittelmeerraum. Diese Ergebnisse sind unter dem Titel „Food export from Ephesus: On the basis of amphorae“ in Publikationsvorbereitung.

Mit der nun vorliegenden Publikation verbinden sich dem Unterzeichneten zwei Wünsche:

Durch die Materialauswahl und die breit gefächerte Methodik kommt der Arbeit ein hoher paradigmatischer Wert zu. Es ist zu hoffen, dass die in der Arbeit enthaltenen Erkenntnisse die weiterführenden Forschungen zur METROPOLIS ASIAE befruchten können: In der Keramik-Forschung und ihrer Methodik, in der allgemeinen Wirtschaftsgeschichte, insbesondere aber in der Reflexion zur Verbreitung und Wertigkeit von Konsumgütern und ihren großräumigen Austausch. Mit der Bearbeitung neuer Funde wird der Wissensstand zu den relevanten Fragen hoffentlich erfolgreich erweitert werden können.

Das Potenzial der erbrachten Leistungen scheint größer, als dass es in der vorliegenden Buchform ausgeschöpft wäre. Es ist daher zu wünschen, dass die Datenbank, die von Tamás Bezczyky und Péter Hornung für dieses Projekten entwickelt wurde und bisher nur wenigen Insidern als technische Struktur und als fachliche Wissensquelle bekannt ist, möglichst weiterentwickelt und vielleicht einer größeren Nutzung zur Verfügung gestellt werden kann. Mit großem Erfolg wurde sie für die Bearbeitung der Rhodischen Amphoren am „Archaeological Institut of Aegean Studies“ und die Ephorie der Dodekanes adaptiert. Im System der wissenschaftlichen Kommunikation kann ein solches Instrument sicherlich gewisse „schulbildende Kraft“ gewinnen, allerdings nur dann, wenn es öffentlich verfügbar ist.

Friedrich Krinzing

INTRODUCTION

In 1998 F. KRINZINGER, the Ephesus excavation-director and P. SCHERRER, the Tetragonos Agora excavator, invited me to study the amphorae of Ephesus. By publishing part of the Roman amphorae found at eight sites in Ephesus, I wish to contribute to present-day knowledge of amphora studies. The collection is not complete and the stores have material from other sites. However, in conjunction with the amphorae published earlier, the collection does provide an overview of the city's food trade. This book primarily contains the amphorae of the Roman period. M. LAWALL has already published the stamps of the Hellenistic amphorae of the Basilica Stoa and will soon publish the pieces found at the Tetragonos Agora. I shall refer to the Late Hellenistic amphorae of the Agora only when they were found together with Republican and Early Roman amphorae. Discussing the amphorae at the Terrace House 2, I mention a few Hellenistic amphorae briefly, for the sake of completeness.

The bulk of the available amphorae was found at two sites which had different functions in ancient times. The Tetragonos Agora was an important commercial centre during the Hellenistic and the Early Imperial periods. The excavations focused on resolving problems of architecture and chronology. The excavations lasted for more than ten years. Some of the Late Roman layers were removed during two earlier excavations (1901–1907 and 1964–1968). This makes it hard to determine the quantity of the Late Roman amphorae. The Terrace House 2 rescue excavation in 1999 was confined to certain areas and was defined by the requirements of the columns holding the new roof and not by archeological considerations. The number of amphorae discovered at the rest of the sites is significantly smaller.

Within the individual amphora types, I considered the fabric variations as well. This explains why some of the types are represented by more than one amphora in the catalogue. Usually only one amphora refers to the commercial link with a centre of production. Since there are excellent and detailed descriptions of the individual amphora types, the brief summaries this book provides should in most cases be seen as reminders of and references to the sources I have used. The amphorae in Ephesus are very fragmentary. Only the characteristic parts: rim, base and handle (RBH) were considered. The reconstruction of the bodies from the parts was not possible. More than fifty percent of the pieces are handle fragments which, unfortunately, do not always allow the identification of the type. The description of the types begins with Late Hellenistic forms produced in the eastern Mediterranean area, and continues with the Early Imperial forms. The western Mediterranean types are also discussed in a more or less chronological order. This is followed by the Middle and Late Roman amphorae. There are altogether 621 amphorae in this collection. The amphorae of the various sites are listed in the tables containing the drawings. This makes possible the investigation of the composition of the amphorae found at sites that fulfilled different functions. When I describe an amphora type, I shall refer to other amphorae belonging to the same type at all the sites. This excludes the continuous numbering within the catalogue. The index lists the amphorae according to layers and types. The amphorae from Italy are somewhat over-represented among the pieces found at the Agora. This is because the first part of my research project concentrated on the Italian amphorae and this fact is also reflected in the petrological analyses.

The numbers in the catalogue refer to the sites:

Tetragonos Agora	nos. 1–420
Terrace House 2	nos. 501–650
Magnesian Gate Survey	nos. 701–721
State Agora, Basilica Stoa	nos. 801–805
State Agora, Well	nos. 810–811
State Agora, Prytaneion	no. 820
Serapeion	no. 830
Arap-Dere Survey	nos. 851–871

The drawings have been reproduced using a scale of 1:4, with the exception of amphora No. 810, where a scale of 1:10 was used. The scale of the photos is not defined. The scale of the rubbings is 1:1. The basic information concerning the fresh breaks of all the pieces in the catalogue are in photos of 1:20 scale (5.4 x 4.3 mm area).

The petrological (thin section and heavy mineral) analyses of the amphorae was done by R. SAUER. The petrological description of the amphorae in the catalogue can be found with the individual types. The tables and diagrams can be found in the chapter on petrology.

P. SCHERRER provided the chronology of the layers of the Tetragonos Agora; S. LADSTÄTTER and A. WALDNER established the chronology of the layers at Terrace House 2; V. MITSOPOULOS LEON and C. LANG-AUINGER have provided the excavation information on the Basilica Stoa; R. MERİÇ on the Well. H. TAEUBER helped me read the Greek stamps.

The information about the amphorae is contained in a FileMaker database created by P. HORNUNG. We record the digital photos and the technical details; the box number; size and location of the section; the chronology of the excavation; as well as the 'Fundjournal' (containing the description of the ceramic and other objects) in a database. The database contains photomicrographs at 1:10 and 1:20 magnification of the fresh breaks of the fragments when deemed important. We record the petrological (thin section and heavy mineral) information and the photomicrographs of the thin sections. The database is connected to 3D software (Graphisoft ARCHICAD) that makes it possible to access the stratigraphic position of the objects using the data produced during excavation.

The book relies on the accepted chronological periods¹:

Late Hellenistic (= LH – mainly late second and first centuries B.C.)

Early Roman (= ER – c. late first century B.C. to the end of the first century A.D.)

Mid Roman (= MR – from the early second century to the end of the third century A.D.)

Late Roman (= LR – from the fourth to the seventh centuries A.D.)

The Roman amphora types of the eastern Mediterranean region are here described using the descriptive method devised by an international team, now available on the Internet. This method defines amphorae from a typological and chronological perspective, recording the economic significance when known².

To improve the ease of reading there are multiple internal references to certain topics within this book, though a number of brief repetitions were inevitable. During the process of this research, recent publications have on occasion motivated me to review my views on amphorae published previously.

My research was supported by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) and the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The 2005 grant of the Austrian Science Fund allowed me to undertake indispensable examination of the comparative and reference materials as well as additional petrological analysis.

THE BOOK IS DEDICATED TO MY FAMILY

Vienna
December 2010

Tamás Bezaczký

¹ Riley 1979, 98.

² Riley 1979, 98. Grace – Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970; Beltran 1970; Peacock 1971; Peacock 1977; Panella – Fano 1977; Grace 1979; Keay 1984; Peacock – Williams 1986; Tchernia 1986; Empereur – Hesnard 1987; Panella 2001; Williams – Keay 2005: Roman Amphorae: http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/

The Amphoras Project, University of Toronto, www.projects.chass.utoronto.ca/cgi-bin/amphoras/well; J. R. RODRÍGUEZ (dir.), Centro para el estudio de la interdependencia provincial en la antigüedad clásica (CEIPAC) www.ceipac.gh.ub.es/; J.-Y. EMPEREUR (dir.), A. KAAAN ŞENOL, Le Centre Alexandrin d'Étude des Amphores, CNRS www.amphoralex.org.

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Fig. 1 Western part of Asia Minor.

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Ephesus is located at the mouth of the River Cayster, which flows between the Tmolos and Messogis Mountains (Fig. 2). Strabo mentions that Androklos the Athenian settled most of the people who had come with him on the local hills of Athenaeum, Hypelaeus and Mt. Coressus¹. Later, however, people moved closer to the Temple of Artemis. This situation lasted until Alexander the Great's campaigns. King Lysimachos fenced in an area with a wall in a valley between the Pion (Panayırdağ) and Preon (Bülbüldağ) hills, some distance away from the temple, and forced people to move there². He named the city Arsinoë after his wife. However, the old name of the city survived. Recent geophysical surveys have confirmed the city was built along a Hippodamus grid plane³.

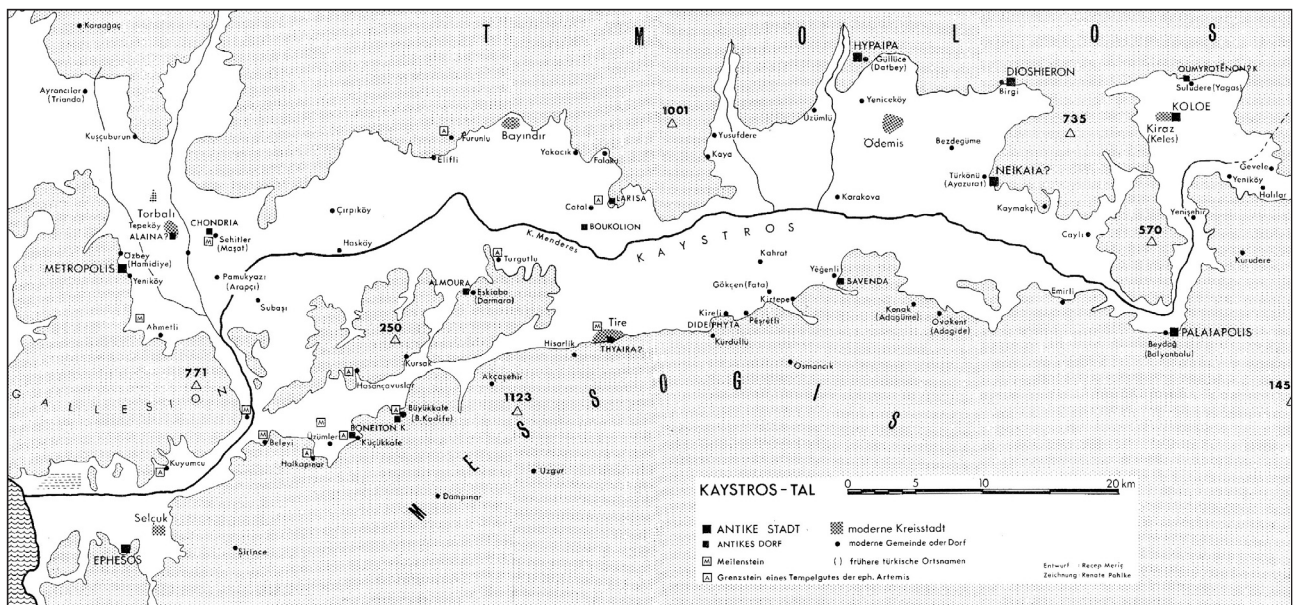


Fig. 2 Map of Ephesus and the Cayster Valley (after Meriç 1981)

The most important building of the city was the Temple of Artemis, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. The temple was built on earlier sanctuaries. The archaic temple was built with support of Croesus, king of Lydia. The first architects were Chersiphron and Metagenes. After Herostratus set fire to the temple, in 356 B.C., a new, even more splendid temple was built by the citizens of Ephesus, who refused to accept the financial support offered by Alexander the Great⁴. Tradition has it that the famed sculptors and architects Praxiteles and Scopas also worked on the temple⁵. The cult of Artemis survived into Roman times. The temple was a place of refuge as well. The borders of the area belonging to the temple often changed and were finally

¹ Strabo XIV 1, 3, 21.

² Strabo XIV 1, 21; Pausanias 1, 9, 7 mentioned, Lysimachos founded the city next to the sea; Knibbe 2000, 18–20; Scherrer 2001, 68 note 52 with bibliography.

³ Scherrer 2001; Groh *et al.* 2006.

⁴ Strabo XIV 1, 22 ... Now Alexander, Artemidorus adds, promised the Ephesians to pay all expenses, both past and future, on condition that he should have the credit therefore on the inscription, but they were unwilling, just as they would have been far more unwilling to acquire glory by sacrilege and a spoliation of the temple. And Artemidorus praises the Ephesian who said to the king that it was inappropriate for a god to dedicate offerings to gods...

⁵ Strabo XIV 1, 23.

defined by Augustus. The reconstructed temple was first destroyed in a raid by the Goths in 262 A.D.⁶. Tradition has it that the temple “was finally destroyed” by John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople in 401⁷. The city flourished in Late Roman and Byzantine times and became an important centre of Christianity. The first Council of Ephesus was held in 431, the second in 449. More than one earthquake shook the city. The one in A.D. 23 destroyed the Tetragonos Agora but the city soon recovered. The earthquake in A.D. 262 left no trace in the layers of the Agora, but the destruction was enormous at Terrace House 2⁸. Not all the apartments were rebuilt. The modern excavations have found some of them destroyed⁹. There were two more series of earthquakes: the first in 358, 365 and 368, the second between 614, 616.

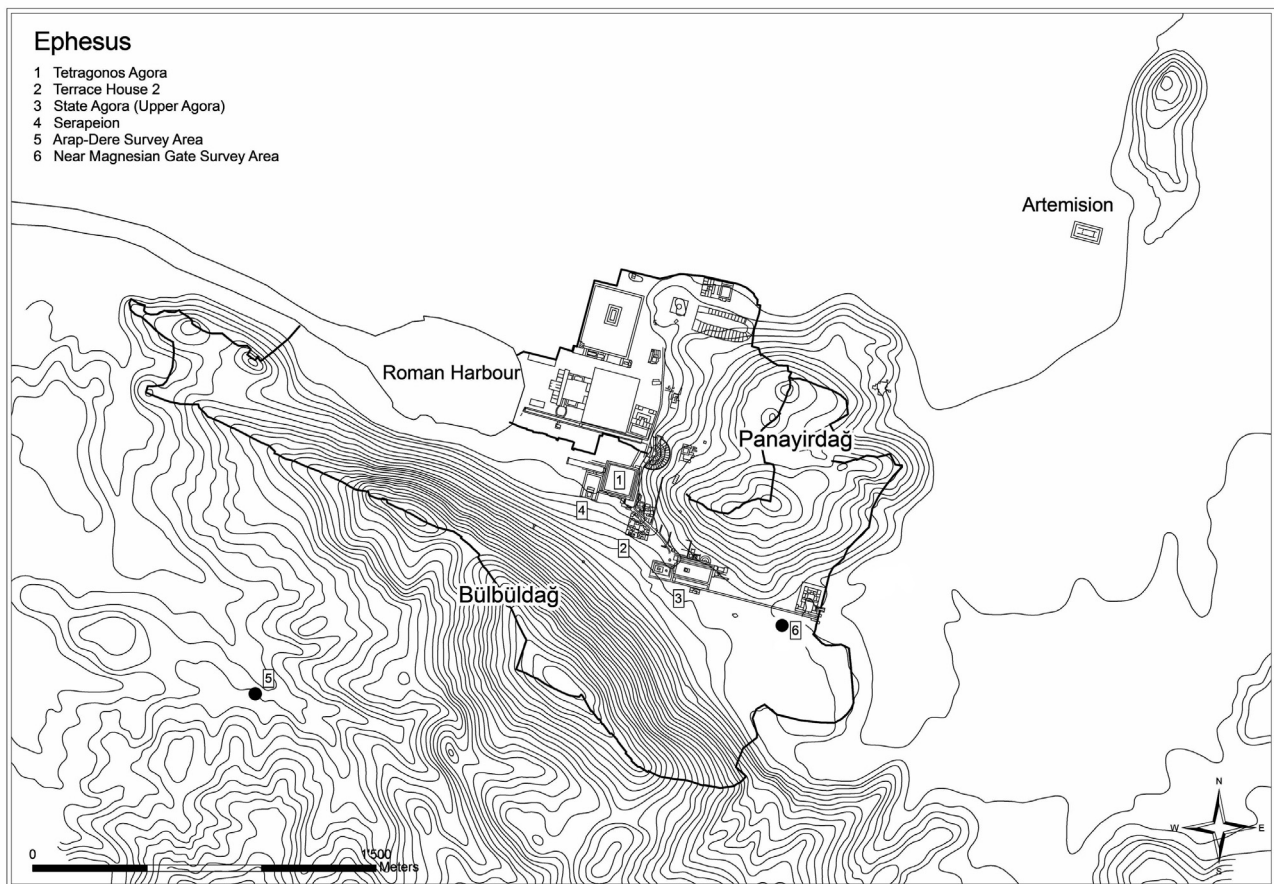


Fig. 3 Map of Ephesus and Artemis Temple (after Kurtze 2007)

Roman power in the eastern Mediterranean increased after the victory of Pydna in 168 B.C. and Delos was declared a free port in 167 B.C. in order to undermine the role of Rhodes. King Attalus III of Pergamon died in 133 B.C. and bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. The large-scale immigration of Italian merchants in the eastern Mediterranean had started even before the Delos market was opened, and Ephesus was one of the obvious targets. The political changes initiated by the Romans had an influence on the economy in the eastern Mediterranean from the middle of the second century B.C. There is no direct evidence for the arrival of Romans in Ephesus prior to their mention in inscriptions at the end of the second century B.C.¹⁰. The earliest merchants came from Latium, Campania and southern Italy. In the summer of 88 B.C., Mithridates ordered that all the Roman citizens in Asia Minor should be killed (Ephesian Vespers)¹¹.

⁶ Historia Augusta, Gallienus, 6, 2; Jordanes, Getica, 20; Foss 1979, 3.

⁷ Pülz 2008, 68.

⁸ Foss 1979, note 3, detailed bibliography; Ladstätter 2002, 26–29. 36, Taf. 77–78; Ladstätter – Pülz 2007, 394–396.

⁹ Ladstätter 2002, 26–29; Ladstätter – Pülz 2007, 396.

¹⁰ Kirbihler 2007a, 22.

¹¹ Appian Mitr. 12, 23; Eutropius 5, 5; Green 1990, 436, 561 “night of the long knives”.

Though the resulting massacre was serious, it seems that the Roman sources may have exaggerated the number of victims. It seems that the Romans (Ῥωμαῖοι) were not expelled or even intimidated and that the number of Romans in Asia actually increased, as they were interested in the potential profit to be gained by the economy and commerce of the region¹².

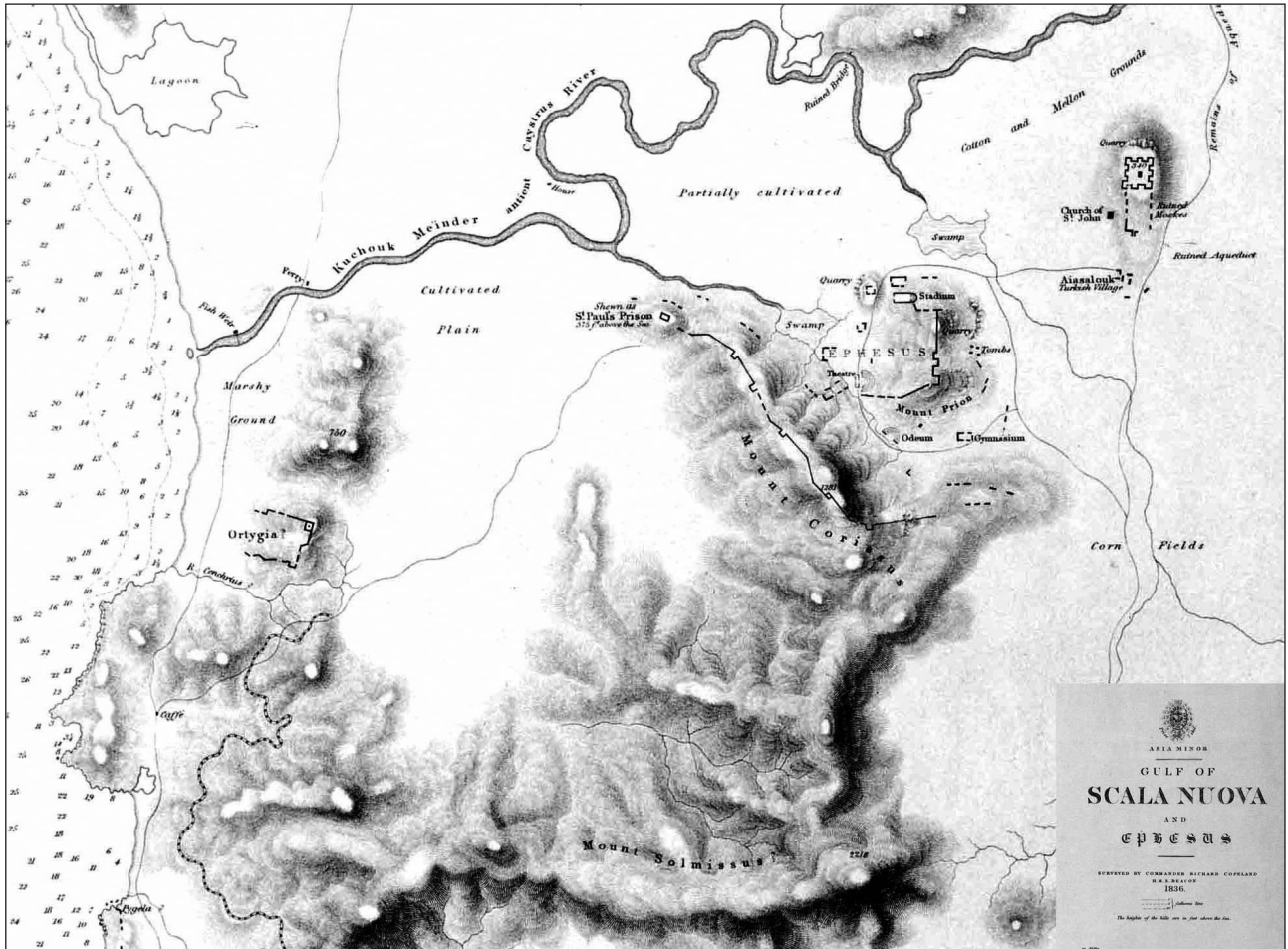


Fig. 4 Old map of Ephesus

Strabo the Greek geographer visited Ephesus in 29 B.C. and mentions that the city had shipyards and a port called Panormus. King Attalos II Philadelphos (who ruled in Pergamon around 159–138 B.C.) narrowed the entrance of the port. This was expected to regulate the way the River Cayster deposited the material it carried. However, the actual effect turned out to be the opposite. Whereas the tide used to remove the deposit from the river, the whole port now became a swamp, a process that started in the Archaic period. The recent archaeological excavations and the geological investigation provide a fairly accurate view of the changes in the bay area¹³. Although the port had its own problems, the city – due to its favourable location – managed to develop gradually. In 30/29 B.C. Augustus started to reorganize the eastern provinces and Ephesus (Fig. 3) became the capital of Asia and the largest commercial centre on this side of the Taurus mountains¹⁴.

The late literary sources mention that Ephesus could be approached easily on land and sea, and add that local and imported products were readily available for the population¹⁵. The *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*

¹² Wilson 1966, 4.

¹³ Zabehlicky 1995, detailed bibliography; Kraft *et al.* 2000; Recently I. KAYAN and his colleagues published new results, see Kraft *et al.* 2005.

¹⁴ Strabo XIV 1, 24.

¹⁵ Foss 1979, 7; *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* (The Acts of the Ecumenical Councils) I, I, iii, 31 and *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, cap. 47.

describes the region as rich in various wines, olive oil, grain, good purple dye, and spelt¹⁶. A large quantity and variety of locally produced amphorae have been excavated from the port area¹⁷. These local micaceous Late Roman amphorae can be found all over the Roman world and beyond. The city was partially destroyed by the earthquake of 614 and was subsequently sacked by both Persian and Arab forces several times. It was finally occupied by the Seljuk Turks around 1300¹⁸.

Medieval and later travellers often mentioned Ephesus and the topography and history of the city has been described to some extent by a number of authors¹⁹. One of the earliest modern maps (Fig. 4) was produced in 1836 by Commander R. COPELAND of the British Navy²⁰. The Temple of Artemis is absent from his map as the English and later the Austrian excavations began only after the map was produced²¹. The Austrian excavations are still in progress.

¹⁶ *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, cap. 47.

¹⁷ Zabehlicky 1999, 482 f.

¹⁸ Foss 1979, 121.

¹⁹ Keil 1922–1924; Alzinger 1970; Bammer 1988; Karwiese 1995; Knibbe 1998; Scherrer 2001.

²⁰ I am grateful to the Royal Geographical Society for this map.

²¹ Falkener 1862; Wood 1877; Hogarth 1908; The first Austrian excavation was proposed by O. Benndorf 1893; First excavation report Benndorf 1898.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE SITES

The amphorae considered in this book were unearthed at the Tetragonos Agora, the Terrace House 2, the Serapeion, the State Agora (Basilica Stoa, Prytaneion and Well) and by two field surveys (Magnesian Gate and Arap-Dere). These sites are described individually.

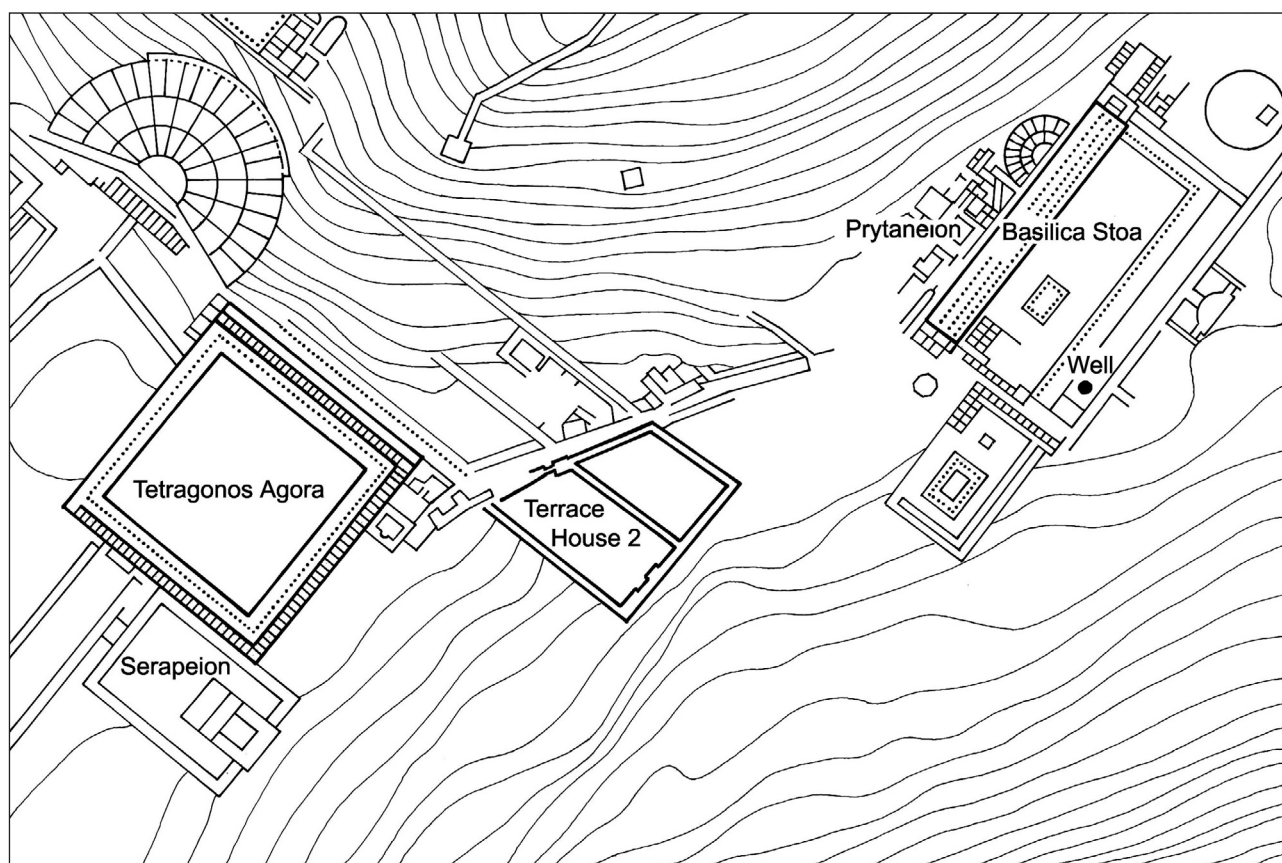


Fig 5. Map of the sites in the centre of Ephesus (after Kurtze 2007)

2.1 The Stratigraphy of the Tetragonos Agora (P. SCHERRER)

2.1.1 Introduction: methodology and research history

For nearly a millennium the commercial market in the area between the sea shore and the two mountains which carried the fortification wall of Ephesus, Preon (modern Bülbüldağ) in the south and Pion (modern Panayırdağ) in the northeast, was one of the most important locations of the city, but even earlier, from Late or Sub-Geometric times onwards, a village of the Ephesian *chora* was located here.

The Tetragonos Agora²², as the place was called in Roman Imperial times, was first excavated by W. WILBERG in 1901–1907, but besides the three gates in the north, west and south, the Late Antique floor level was reached only in parts of the eastern, southern and western Stoa and the central interior area²³. In 1964–1968 the Efes

²² IK 17/2, 4123 (Nero); IK 17/1, 3005 (Domitian).

²³ Wilberg 1923.

Müzei Selçuk cleared away most of the Byzantine debris and re-erected a series of columns, especially in the north Stoa and the south-eastern corner. Furthermore, building activities during the so-called anastylosis of the South Gate of the Agora and architectural restorations in the area of the south-eastern corner of the Agora²⁴ were only partly accompanied by archaeological investigations in 1979–1984 by S. KARWIESE and W. JOBST²⁵. From all of this archaeological work only the small finds of S. KARWIESE's excavations have been published *in extenso*²⁶. In 1977 G. LANGMANN began investigations of the so-called Archaic processional route along Mount Panayırdağ in the eastern part of the Agora courtyard and concentrated on excavations in and along the Agora west Stoa from 1982 onwards, which were co-directed by P. SCHERRER in 1987–1992 and then continued by him to 2001²⁷.

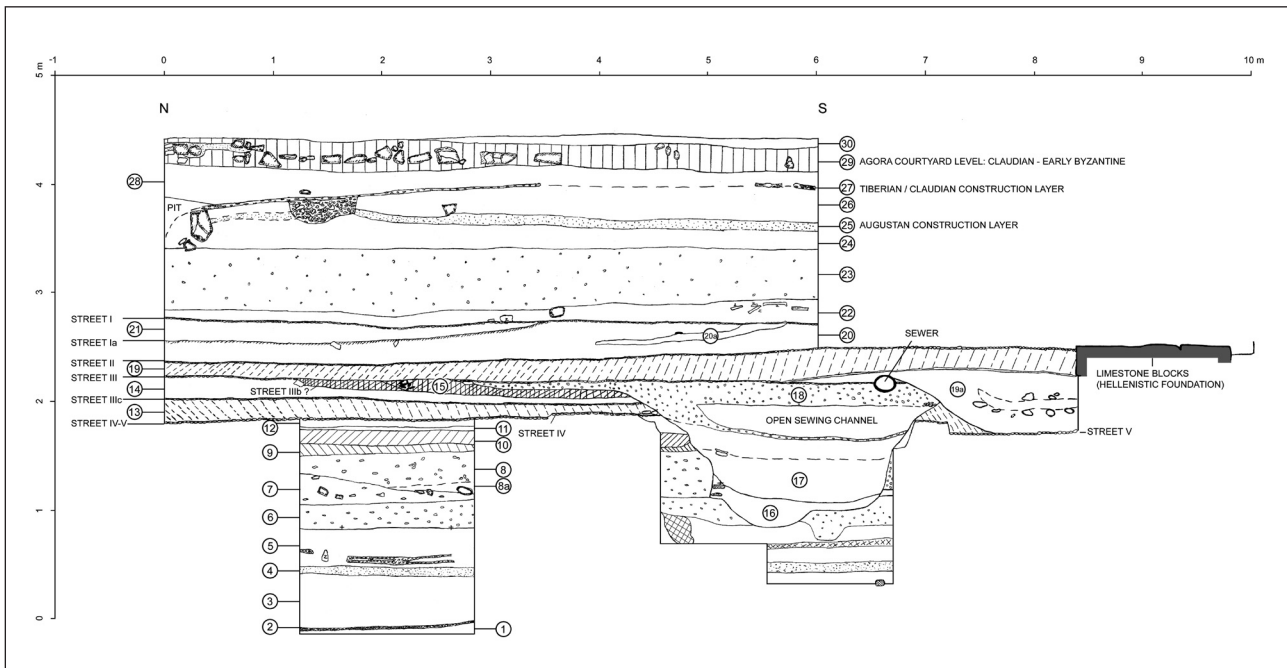


Fig. 6 Profile 1: Agora courtyard; trench 93/2; north–south profile slightly east of Hellenistic halls H–WSN and H–WSS (for exact position see Fig. 12)

The amphorae from the Agora collected in this volume nearly all come from the excavations conducted since 1987 and are well imbedded in stratigraphy and connected to the totality of finds in their context. Finds from previous excavation years are only summarily given, because the strata were not carefully observed in G. LANGMANN's excavations of 1977–1986. His excavations were mostly carried out by removing soil in layers of half a meter thick. Thus the contexts can be interpreted only in part by the aid of our later work. For these reasons, the analysis of stratigraphical data in the following pages concentrates on the excavations from 1987 onwards.

In the recent working areas, the earlier excavations had dug away nearly all of the strata above the Late Antique or Imperial floor levels, including the destruction layers, so that levels normally started at thin early Byzantine or even older layers, and were often already mixed with recent material²⁸ (Figs. 6, 7 and 9). Additionally, the walking levels in the halls and the courtyard had only marginally changed between the first and sixth centuries A.D. To keep the levels at nearly the same height, repair works in Theodosian and later times

²⁴ Hueber 1984; For the South Gate: Lang 1984.

²⁵ Karwiese 1997; Jobst 1983.

²⁶ Gassner 1997.

²⁷ For a history of research, naming of the place and its building history with an intensive discussion of the older excavation reports see now: Scherrer 2006, 1–57.

²⁸ Only in the West-Stoa-Chamber J an intact sequence of floors and destruction layers of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. could be observed. A comprehensive study is in preparation, for now see: Scherrer, in: Karwiese 1998, 8, 9–12.

were carried out, obviously after the entire area had been thoroughly cleaned and the rubble and debris of the Imperial era had been cleared away²⁹.

On the other hand, layers of Augustan Agora construction work regularly reached heights up to 2 m (Figs. 6 and 7), as did the destruction and building layers after the earthquake which took place sometime before the building was completed – most likely in A.D. 23 (Profile 3).

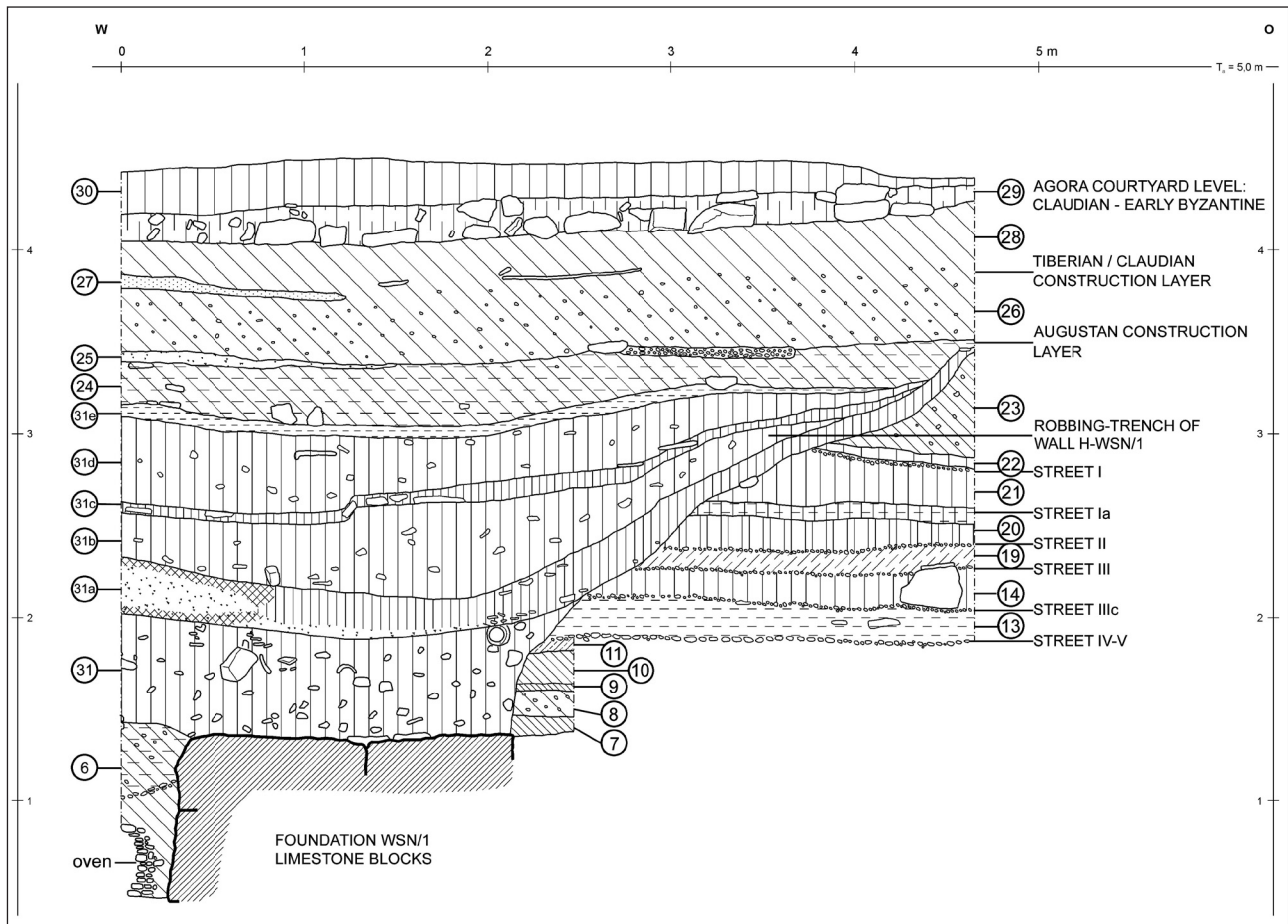


Fig. 7 Profile 2: Agora courtyard; trench 93/2; west-east profile through eastern wall of Hellenistic hall H-WSN (for exact position see Fig. 12).

By means of these Roman works, the walls of the Hellenistic Agora halls were robbed out deep into the foundations (Fig. 7) and even the floor layers were dug away in most cases. Therefore, intact usable strata of the Hellenistic and Roman Republican Agora are rare and are limited to fillings of sewer canals, construction layers and material brought there for terracing and heightening the level of halls and streets in front of and in between them (Fig. 6). Due to this circumstance, a much higher percentage of finds, including the amphorae, belong to the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period than one might expect with regard to the long lifetime of the Agora.

2.1.2 The topography and building history from Late Geometric to Hellenistic times

Besides some scattered artefacts lost by Chalcolithic or Bronze Age fishermen, the earliest remains of man in the later Agora area belong to an Archaic settlement, most probably called Smyrna, which flourished directly

²⁹ Strata and artefacts of mid first century to third century A.D. were found only in some pits in the West Stoa and the filling of West-Stoa-chamber M. This room was originally used as one possible entrance to the basement of the West Stoa till at least the late first century A.D. It could be entered from a street leading along the outer west side of the Agora on a level nearly 3 m below the Agora. The basement was filled up to Agora level, after the outer east wall of the neighbouring sacred so-called Serapeion (Temple Precinct) was built directly near the Agora west wall (see Fig. 5).

near the beach from the later eighth to the mid sixth century B.C. In an area of roughly 17×17 m directly east of the West Stoa of the Roman Agora, an excavated group of at least 6 houses of the first building phase had its floor levels between 0.90 m in the west to 0.05 m in the east (see Fig. 6, layer 2: small pebbles of floor construction of dwelling XB) below modern sea level. After a catastrophic fire in about 670 B.C., these single room dwellings of rectangular or oval shape were replaced by two houses, one originally single, the other one double-roomed, which then expanded to multi-roomed courtyard dwellings till the mid sixth century B.C.³⁰ by constant heightening of the floor levels (Fig. 6, layer no. 4 as the youngest floor level in room HA/11a). Finally by a slow but steady rising of the sea level, the area became too wet for living purposes, but in Classical times (from the middle or last third of the fifth century B.C. onwards) craftsmen established basins and wells on an evidently higher level, 0.60 to 0.90 m above modern sea level (Fig. 6: sandy horizons in the lower part of layer no. 5).

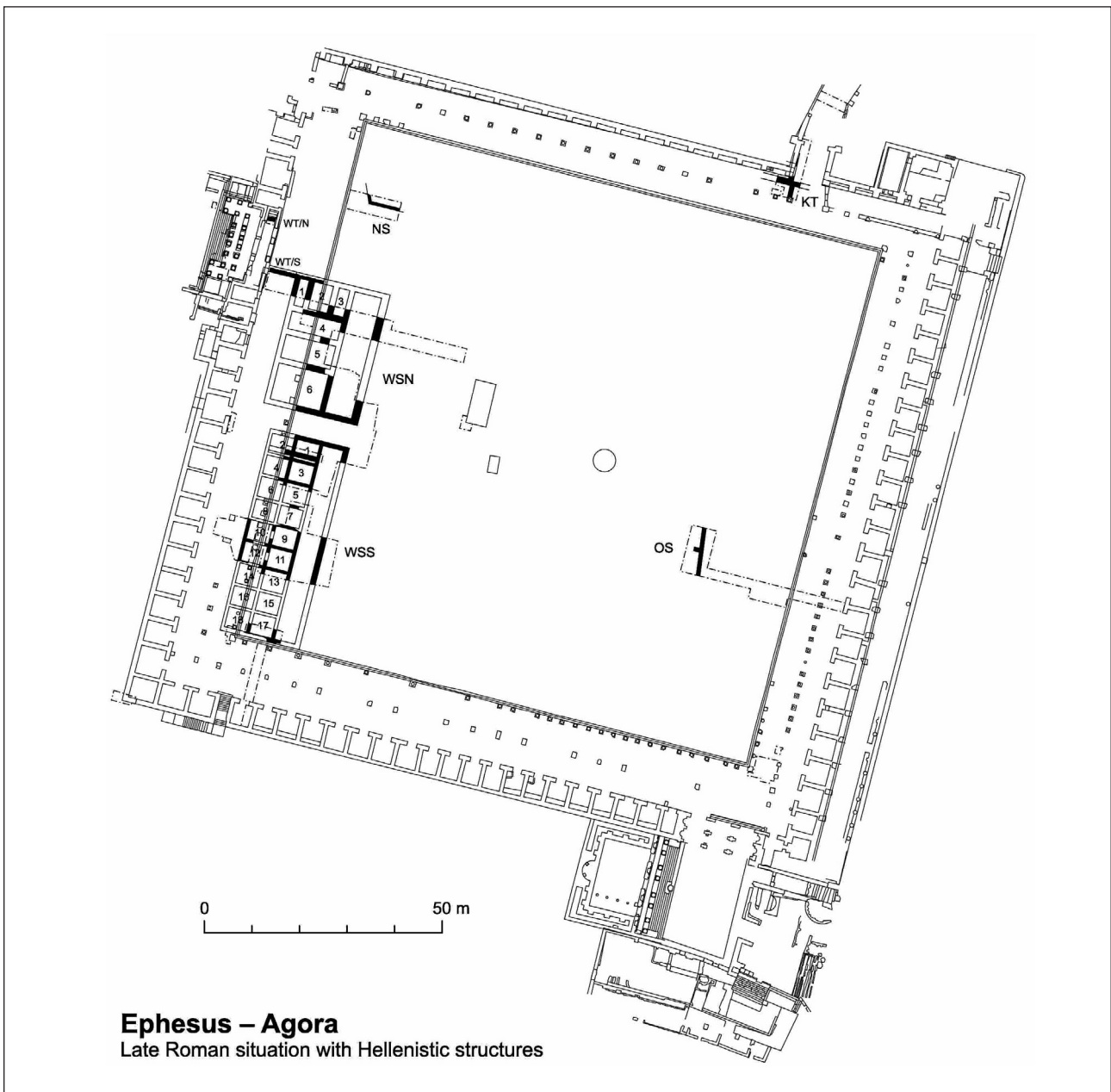


Fig. 8 Map of the Hellenistic Agora.

³⁰ For an overview see Scherrer – Trinkl 2006, 59–64 maps 6 and 19.

When King Lysimachus founded Hellenistic Arsinoeia (between 294 and 281 B.C.), as he called Ephesus, a terraced, but still slightly inclined (to the west) area of at least 95×125 m seems to have been singled out for the commercial market, but finds of this time are almost completely missing up to now. Above the rubble clay layers covering the ground walls of the devastated village of Smyrna (Fig. 6, layer no. 5, upper part) a thick strong layer (Fig. 6, no. 6) of light to greyish or dark brown clay formed the walking level of the new Agora (height at roughly 0.90 to 1.10 m above today's sea level) and at the same time isolated the market place against the ground water. This layer already covered a groundwater well, which contained some Chian and other wine amphorae and a set of dishes, including Attic black glazed ware. On the uppermost level was unearthed a terracotta figurine of Cybele. The well must have been in use only for a brief period and was ritually filled up in the years shortly after 300 B.C., probably when the last Smyrnaeans left their homes or, at the latest, when the Agora level was to be finished³¹.

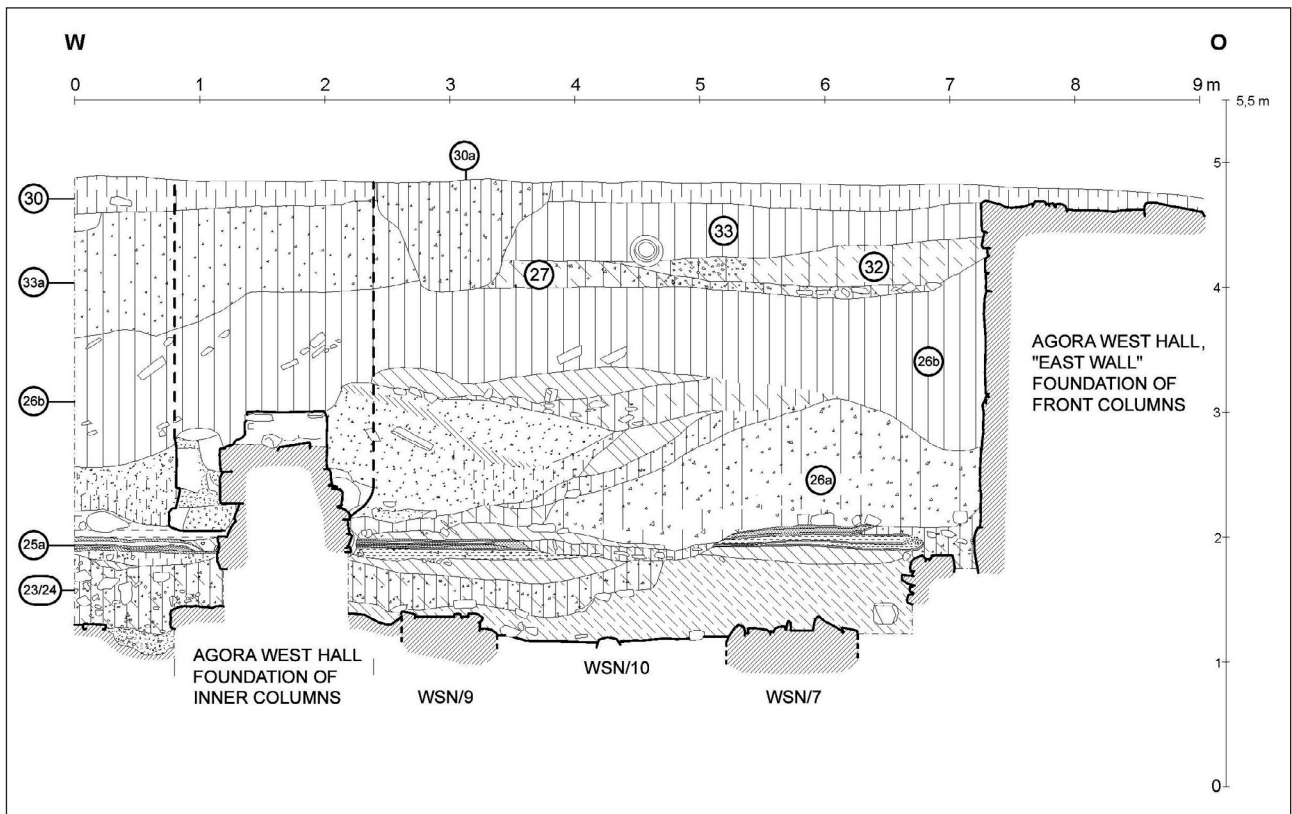


Fig. 9 Profile 3: Agora; trench 95/1; Roman West Stoa; west–east profile through eastern part of basement (for exact position see Fig. 12).

The architectural formation of the Hellenistic Agora (Fig. 8) with a market building in the south-western corner (building H–WSS) did not take place before the years around 270/260 B.C. This building, of about 43.4 m length, consisted of two rows of nine almost square rooms. Colonnades on the west (street) and east (Agora courtyard) sides may belong to the original plan or be additional features. In the later third century B.C., after a further heightening and thus levelling of the Agora walking horizon (Figs. 6 and 7) at a distance of 5 m to the north, a second stoa-like, but non-canonical market building (H–WSN) with one large and five smaller rooms and a wide colonnaded hall was erected (Figs. 7 and 9). These two buildings have largely been excavated, but Roman activities have not left us much more than the foundations. In between and along the east side, that is, in the Agora courtyard, the pebbled Street layer V and the slightly higher similar level Street IV formed the walking horizons outside the halls 1.80/1.90 m above modern sea level. Street IV was probably added as a correction soon after. In these streets an open drainage channel of about 2 m width was cut. Probably because

³¹ Forstenpointner *et al.* 1993; Soykal 1993; for the Attic drinking set see: Trinkl 2006, 188 Fig. 176; 191 Fig. 178.

the system did not work well and the water was pouring into the street and damaging it (Fig. 6: Layer no. 15, seems to be a repair after such an inundation), the sewer was filled with soil, rubble and litter with masses of pottery only a short time later (Fig. 6, nos. 16–18), most likely towards the end of the third century B.C.³². After this, a new Street layer III at a height of roughly 2.20 m above modern sea level was constructed.

The next building phase is again marked by a new Street layer II about 2.40 m above modern sea level. It may be dated to the last third of the second century B.C. and thus belongs to the period when Rome had already taken over the Pergamene kingdom as the province of Asia. This street layer forms a break in tradition and from here onwards, the import of western amphorae can be observed. Technically, Street II is contemporary with a raising of the level of the Hellenistic halls and perhaps a re-shaping of the halls' design. At least in front of the north-eastern corner of hall H–WSS a limestone foundation (Fig. 6, right side with construction pit no. 19a) was placed with its surface matching the slightly younger level of Street II.

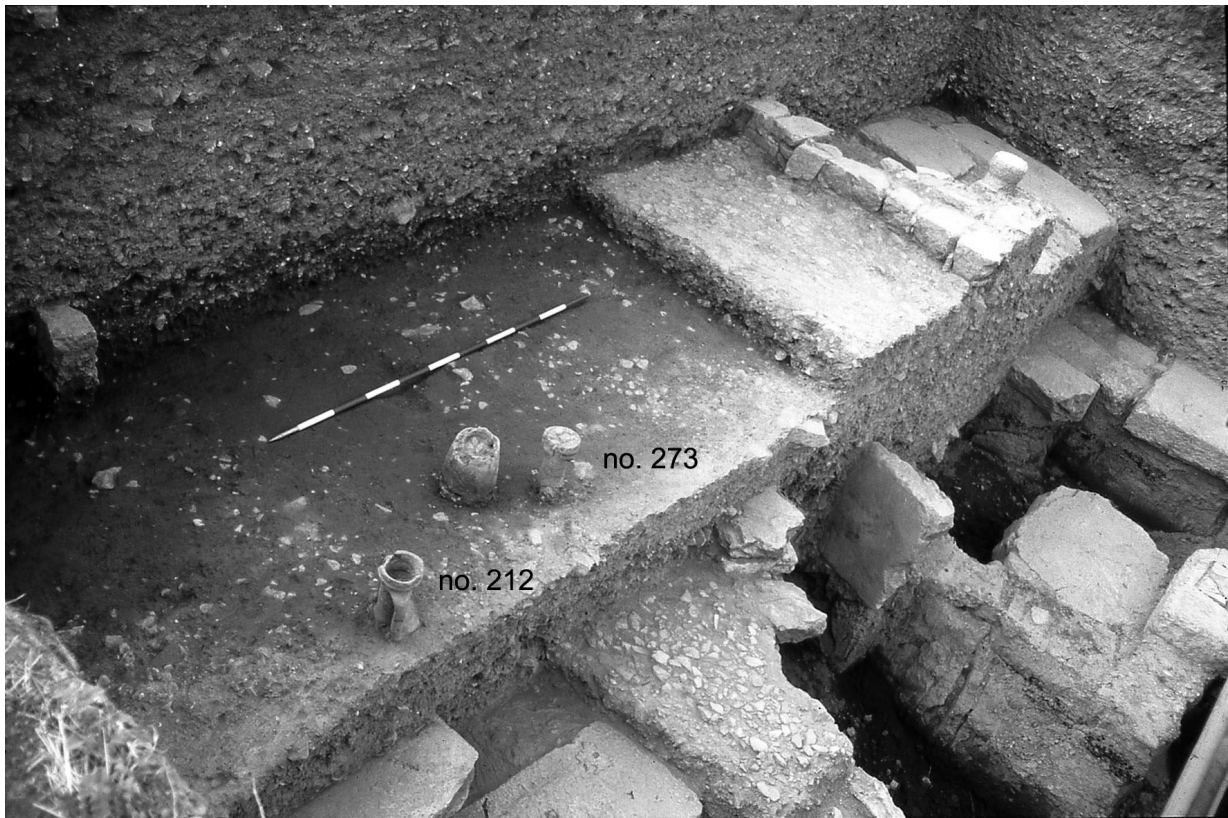


Fig. 10 Amphorae between surfaces of street III and street II

The latest Hellenistic-Republican building phase in the western part of the Ephesian Agora is marked by Street I (2.70 m above modern sea level) along the east front of the halls (Figs. 6 and 7). It belongs most likely to the decade before the middle of the first century B.C. Before Street I was constructed, it seems that the walking levels of both halls were raised again and linked together to one long building, but the extensive robbing of material and other alterations in Augustan times precludes any certainty in the analysis and interpretation of the preserved evidence. The Street layer Ia may have served as a temporary walking level during construction. It does not consist of small, firmly pressed pebbles, as do all the other street surfaces, but of rubble, clay and soil. An interesting feature of the streets in our excavation area is that before the next layer was constructed, broken (half) amphorae or other large vessels and pieces of waterpipes were placed on the old pebbled surface (Fig. 10). We surmise that these measures were taken either to improve drainage, or to quickly raise the new walking surfaces.

³² Rogl 2003b, 177 f.

2.1.3 The Augustan Agora and its re-erection in the Julio-Claudian period

The date and reasons for the construction of the new Agora remain unclear. We suggest that the presence of Roman merchants in Ephesus was responsible or at least a catalyst. The name of the new market place, Tetragonos Agora, very likely derives from Delos and as there it seems to have been used most prominently by slave traders and money-changers³³. Probably already in the mid third of the first century B.C., after the Mithridatic wars, a rebuilding of the Agora had been planned, but the works may not have gone well before the end of the civil wars and the Battle of Actium. A fragment of an honorary inscription for the consul of 36 B.C., *M. Cocceius Nerva*, whose statue was erected by the Roman merchants' club (found re-used in a late wall, somewhere in the eastern part of the Agora) may be a testimony for the start of construction³⁴.

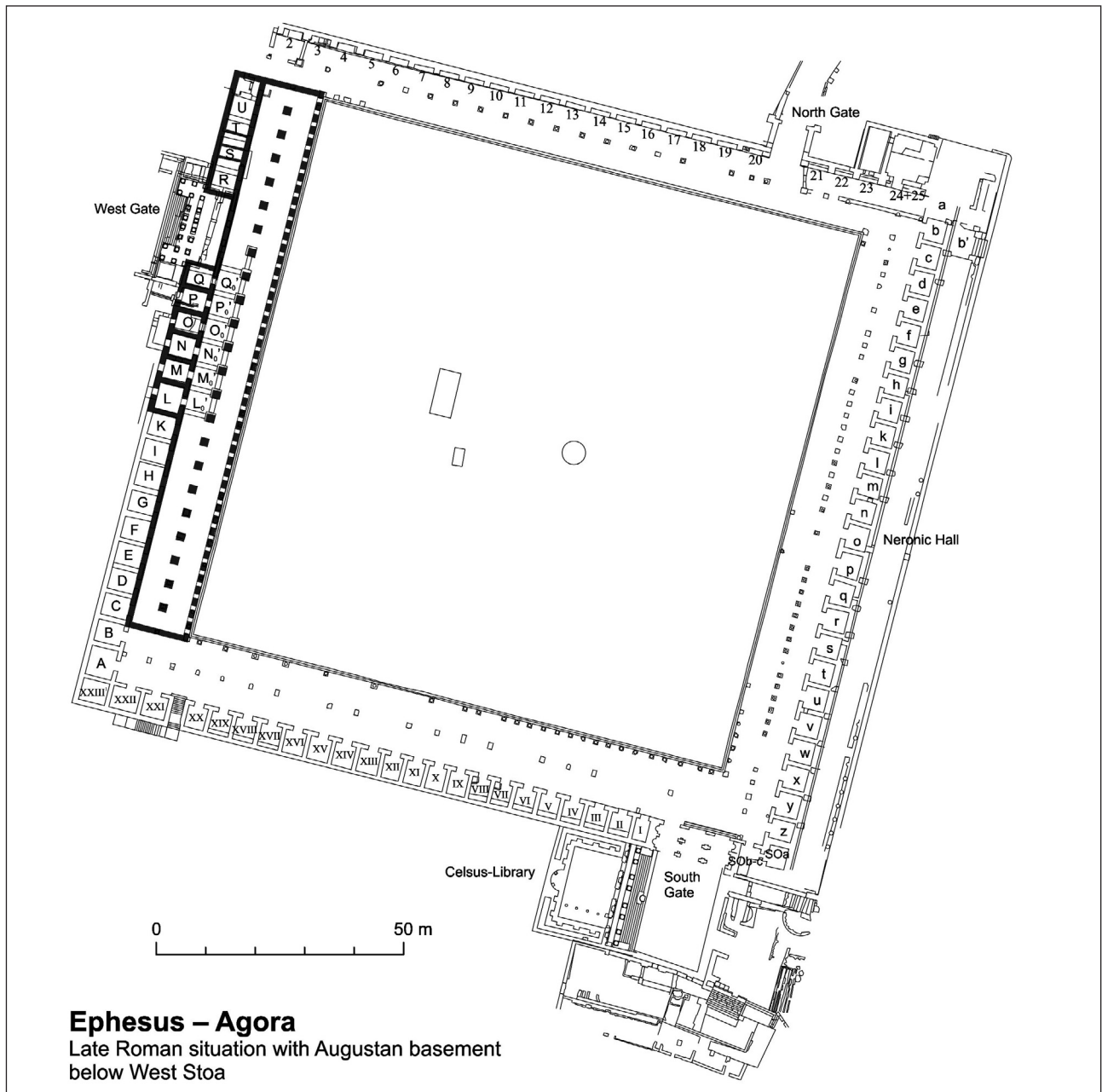


Fig. 11 Map of the Roman Agora.

³³ Scherrer 2007, 63–65; see also Trümper 2009, 24. Honorary inscriptions found in the Agora speak of those “who are dealers in the slave market” (*statarium*): IvE III 646 (around A.D. 100) and VII/1 3025 (A.D. 43). A hall of “money-changers” received its marble revetment in the time of Trajan.: IvE VII/1, 3065.

Intensive studies of the architectural remains in the whole Agora area, the extensive excavations in the West Stoa and trial excavations in other places, especially the North and West Gates and the inner south-east corner (Fig. 12), provide some secure information regarding the Augustan ground plan and architectural design. The Agora (Fig. 11) formed a square with sides of about 154 m, with double-aisled (nearly 12 m wide) and two-storey halls on all sides and a total mass of nearly 200 chambers at the rear of the colonnades. The front columns of the ground floor were of the Doric order and on the first floor, double-half-calf-pilasters had capitals of the composite or Pergamene types. There were three gates in the south-east, west and northeast with staircases in their immediate vicinity and an additional one near the south-western corner. Thus the Roman Imperial Agora was about twice as large as its Hellenistic predecessor. The east and south halls were partly built into the slope and the level of the new Agora was now determined by the natural height of the area near the South Gate. So in the western and northern areas the entire courtyard had to be brought to a height of about 4.15 m (gateway in the North Gate) above modern sea level or even more, while the walking levels in the ground-floor halls and gates were still about at least half a meter higher. From the western side, for people approaching from the harbour area, the Agora had the typical three-storey form of Hellenistic market places in western Asia. The basement of the West Stoa (floor level at about 2 m above modern sea level; see Fig. 9, no. 25a) could be entered by doors from a street passing along the Agora west front – as the Agora complex as a whole was surrounded by streets on all four sides with additional colonnaded halls.

We have a large amount of pottery and other finds from the Augustan stratigraphy in the western half of the Agora courtyard. Here the level was raised by nearly 1 m: first by a layer of yellowish soil mixed with lots of rubble and litter, then by a much thicker layer of nearly pure cultural waste and garbage. The latter was mixed with much organic material and ashes and again with yellowish soil mixed with rubble (Figs. 6 and 7: nos. 22–24; Fig. 9: nos. 23/24). From this new level down one can observe the immense robbing trenches, when the Hellenistic halls were devastated down as far as the lowest rows of the foundation blocks. These trenches and destruction layers then were re-filled by the same material as described before, with thin layers of pressed stony soil or sand in between (Fig. 7, nos. 24 and 25a–25e). At a height of about 3.65/3.70 a light reddish layer of mortar marks the level from which the construction of the new Agora buildings were begun (Fig. 6, no. 25). All finds from these layers were surely deposited here in the last three decades of the first century B.C.³⁵, probably soon after the Battle of Actium.

How rapidly the construction work proceeded is an open question. It is probable that some parts of the Agora were always useable and construction work was done on different parts sequentially. Fact is that the South Gate – built by the Imperial freedmen Mazaïos and Mithradates – must have been finished or almost completed in 3 B.C.³⁶. When a devastating earthquake shook the city in A.D. 23³⁷ the Doric columns and other architectural elements of the halls had, at least partly, still not received their final form and surfaces.

It seems that, with the exception of a good part of the South Gate and some door thresholds of the ground-floor rooms, nearly nothing of the Agora above the foundations had survived the convulsions of the earthquake. The entire Agora, including the West and North Gates, had to be rebuilt from the floor level upwards. The 112 m long basement in the West hall was reduced to half a dozen separate small rooms to the south of the West Gate (Fig. 11, rooms Lo`–Qo`) the rest filled with unfinished broken architectural elements, soil, clay, garbage and tons of pottery (Fig. 9, no. 26a). From two sections excavated in the middle part and the south end we can estimate the total amount of Eastern-Sigillata-B at more than unbelievable one hundred thousand vessels³⁸. It is unclear if this stock of ware was stored in the Agora or brought here after the earthquake from destroyed warehouses in the harbour area to fill the basement. An additional complex of contemporary fine table ware mixed with chips of marble was found in the gaps between the column foundations of the West Gate³⁹.

In the courtyard it is not at all easy to discern the border between the Augustan and the post-earthquake layers. While a thin layer of mortar and stone chips (Figs. 6 and 7, no. 27) is surely the level for the construction

³⁴ IvE III 658.

³⁵ For small selected groups of pottery from these layers see Rogl 2003a; Rogl 2004, 208 note 5 (pottery deposits in the third quarter of the first century B.C.). For the stratigraphy: Scherrer 2006, 23.

³⁶ IvE VII/1, 3006.

³⁷ For the now known exact date of the earthquake see the discussion of Scherrer 2006, 19 note 67.

³⁸ Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1995; Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 2004, 73–80.

³⁹ Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker *et al.* 1996; Rogl 2004.