

# Ephesos as a Religious Center under the Principate

Edited by  
ALLEN BLACK,  
CHRISTINE M. THOMAS,  
and TREVOR W. THOMPSON

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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488





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Edited by

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and Trevor W. Thompson

Mohr Siebeck

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## Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAWW	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos.-Hist. Klasse</i>
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
AE	<i>Archaologische Ephemeris</i>
AF	<i>Archäologische Forschungen</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AnBib	<i>Analecta Biblica</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ASCSA	<i>American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
ATLA	<i>American Theological Library Association</i>
AvP	<i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i>
AYB	<i>Anchor Yale Bible</i>
AYBRL	<i>Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library</i>
BECNT	<i>Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament</i>
BEFAR	<i>Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
BerMat	<i>Berichte und Materialien</i>
BGU	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i>
BK	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
BNTC	<i>Black's New Testament Commentaries</i>
BSNA	<i>Biblical Scholarship in North America</i>
BTS	<i>Biblical Tools and Study</i>
BZNW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CGTSC	<i>Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges</i>
CHANE	<i>Culture and History of the Ancient Near East</i>
CIJ	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
EA	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
EC	<i>Early Christianity</i>
ECC	<i>Eerdmans Critical Commentary</i>
EEC	<i>Encyclopedia of Early Christianity</i>
EDB	<i>Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible</i>
EPRO	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FCNTECW	<i>Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings</i>
FiE	<i>Forschungen in Ephesos</i>
FWF	<i>Fonds zur Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung</i>
HThKNT	<i>Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</i>



<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HTS</i>	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>IByz</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Byzantion</i>
<i>ICC</i>	International Critical Commentary
<i>IGSK</i>	<i>Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i>
<i>IGUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>IvE</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i>
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>JRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KIPauly</i>	<i>Der kleine Pauly</i>
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
<i>MDAI (I)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Abt. Istanbul)</i>
<i>MDAI (R)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Röm. Abt.)</i>
<i>MTSR</i>	<i>Method and Theory in the Study of Religion</i>
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NewDocs</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i>
<i>NIB</i>	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i>
<i>NTD</i>	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
<i>NICNT</i>	The New International Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NTG</i>	New Testament Guides
<i>NTL</i>	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NovTSup</i>	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
<i>ÖAI</i>	Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut
<i>ÖAW</i>	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RAr</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Die Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i>
<i>RGZ</i>	Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz
<i>RHM</i>	<i>Römische Historische Mitteilungen</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
<i>SBL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature
<i>SBLStBL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
<i>SEG</i>	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
<i>SIG</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>

SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
<i>SPhiloA</i>	<i>Studia Philonica Annual</i>
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
<i>TAD</i>	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
TS	Texts and Studies
<i>ThesCRA</i>	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>



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## Preface

*Allen Black*

*The editors and contributors dedicate  
this book to Richard E. Oster,  
scholar, teacher and friend.*

I met Richard E. Oster in the late 1970s. He began teaching at Harding School of Theology (HST) in 1978 and, although I had finished most of my classwork there in 1977, he was a reader for my thesis. Rick provided advice and encouragement as I pursued my PhD, especially as I wrote my dissertation. I began teaching at HST in 1983 and from that time forward he has in many ways remained a mentor to me. More importantly, in the ensuing decades he has been a great colleague and a faithful friend.

As a New Testament professor at HST, Rick has maintained a strong tradition first established in the 1950s by Jack Lewis, who holds a Ph.D. from Harvard in New Testament and another from Hebrew Union College in the Hebrew Bible. Jack established a tradition of high standards that Rick has continued. Rick's classes have primarily focused on New Testament backgrounds, the Pauline letters, Acts of the Apostles, the Book of Revelation, the theology of the New Testament, and Greek. His course on the New Testament World has had a long-standing reputation as the most difficult course in the curriculum. He augments it by teaching one-hour specialty courses in subjects like ancient inscriptions, iconography, the Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Throughout his work as a researcher and teacher Rick has emphasized the historical setting of the Graeco-Roman world, with special attention to material culture.

Rick's educational background is unusual for a New Testament scholar trained in the United States. His undergraduate program at Texas Technical University was in classical Greek and Latin. For his thesis at Rice University he wrote an introduction, translation, and commentary on Julius Firmicus Maternus's *De errore profanarum religionum* (*On the Error of Profane Religions*). His dissertation at Princeton Theological Seminary then set the course for a career of study. The title was "A Historical Commentary on the Missionary Success Stories in Acts 19:11–40." In the methodological section at the beginning of his dissertation,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "A Historical Commentary on the Missionary Success Stories in Acts 19:11–40." PhD diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1974, 5.



Rick observes that Robert M. Grant in a 1968 essay for the *Journal of Biblical Literature* “aggressively attacked New Testament scholars in America for neglecting ‘the concrete actuality of the ancient historians, of papyri, inscriptions, coins, and other archeological remains’ and attempting instead ‘to advance learning in their field by reading one another’s books.’”<sup>2</sup> Grant’s argument became the mantra for Rick’s career, which has focused on helping to fill this lacuna in the field. He has sought to do this both through his own research and through training students to use ancient primary sources, especially the often-neglected non-literary material remains.

In 1974–1975, the year following the completion of his dissertation, Rick received a grant that allowed him to spend the academic year in Europe doing independent research. He chose to work at the Franz J. Dölger-Institut at Bonn University, a major German research institute for the study of Christianity and its Graeco-Roman environment, and the publisher of the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* and its supplementary annual *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*. During that year he worked on his first academic publication: “The Ephesian Artemis as an Opponent of Early Christianity,” published in the *JAC*.<sup>3</sup> His studies there focused heavily on material backgrounds relevant to the New Testament, and included weekend visits to numerous European museums with major Graeco-Roman antiquities collections.

Throughout his career, Rick has sought to understand the documents that comprise the New Testament in the light of the prevailing features of their ancient cultural matrices, with a special emphasis on material cultural remains such as inscriptions, coins, and various forms of iconography. He has published several materials related to Ephesus. While on sabbatical in 1985 he pursued independent study at the Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut in Vienna (the primary excavators at Ephesus since 1895). Part of the outcome of that research was his *A Bibliography of Ancient Ephesus: With Introduction and Index*, published in the ATLA Bibliography Series in 1987.<sup>4</sup> That book, and his article “Ephesus as a Religious Center Under the Principate Paganism Before Constantine,” published in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (1990),<sup>5</sup> are perhaps his most well-known contributions to studies of Ephesus. However, beginning with his first publication (mentioned above) he has published five journal or *Festschrift* articles<sup>6</sup> directly related to Ephesus as well as entries on “Ephesus” and re-

<sup>2</sup> Citing ROBERT M. GRANT, “American New Testament Study, 1926–1956,” *JBL* 87 (1968): 48.

<sup>3</sup> “The Ephesian Artemis as an Opponent of Early Christianity,” *JAC* 19 (1976): 24–44.

<sup>4</sup> *A Bibliography of Ancient Ephesus: With Introduction and Index*, ATLA Bibliography Series (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1987).

<sup>5</sup> “Ephesus as a Religious Center Under the Principate Paganism Before Constantine,” *ANRW* 2.18.3 (1990) 1661–728.

<sup>6</sup> “Ephesian Artemis as an Opponent”; “Christianity and Emperor Veneration in Ephesus: Iconography of a Conflict,” *RQ* 25 (1982): 143–49; “Notes on Acts 19:23–41 and an Ephesian

lated items in the following dictionaries or encyclopedias: *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*,<sup>7</sup> *Anchor Bible Dictionary*,<sup>8</sup> and *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*.<sup>9</sup> In addition Rick has published on numismatics,<sup>10</sup> inscriptions,<sup>11</sup> and various iconographical representations.<sup>12</sup>

Rick has been a member of the Society of Biblical Literature throughout his career. He co-chaired the SBL Archaeology of the New Testament group in the 1980s. His presentations at annual national meetings of the SBL further illustrate his academic interests: “Numismatic Windows into the Social World of Early Christianity: A Methodological Inquiry” (1979), “Research and Reference Tools for New Testament Archaeology” (1987), “Use, Misuse and Neglect of Archaeological Information in Recent Works on 1 Corinthians” (1989), “Religion and Philosophy in Ephesian Epigraphy” (1994), “Thoughts on Archaeological Resources for New Testament Studies in the Classroom” (1996), “Greek Inscriptions from Roman Oinoanda and the World of Early Christianity” (2001), “Ephesian Epigraphy and New Testament Studies” (2003), and “Archaeology and Ephesus” (2013). He was voted into the Society for New Testament Studies in 1989 and made presentations at annual SNTS meetings in 1986, 1994, and 1995.

Rick has spent his career at an institution that emphasizes teaching over research. His teaching loads have been heavy. A significant part of his contribution to scholarship concerning the New Testament and the Graeco-Roman world has been through his students. He has been devoted to students, making himself accessible in numerous ways. As part of his service he has offered tutoring in Greek and other subjects to students who are struggling in his classes. In addition, Rick works with students with special interests in the ancient world both for ministerial enrichment and for scholarly pursuits. His students who have contributed to this volume (Greg Stevenson, Jerry Sumney, and Trevor Thompson) are illustrative of those who have gone on to pursue PhDs and who continue to contribute academically to the intersection of the New Testament and the Graeco-Roman world. This volume, a collection of articles written by archaeologists and

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Inscription,” *HTR* 77 (1984): 233–37; “Holy Days in Honor of Artemis,” in *NewDocs* 4 (1979): 74–82; “The Ephesian Artemis ‘Whom All Asia and the World Worship’ (Acts 19:27): Representative Epigraphical Testimony to Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσσία outside Ephesus,” in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*, Texts and Studies 4 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 212–31.

<sup>7</sup> “Ephesians, Ephesus.”

<sup>8</sup> “Ephesus,” “Demetrius the Silversmith,” “Christianity in Asia Minor.”

<sup>9</sup> “Ephesus,” “Artemis of Ephesus.”

<sup>10</sup> “Numismatic Windows into the Social World of Early Christianity: A Methodological Inquiry,” *JBL* 101 (1982): 195–223; “Show Me a Denarius: Symbolism of Roman Coinage and Christian Beliefs,” *RQ* 28 (1985–1986): 107–15; and the article on “Numismatics” in the *EEC*.

<sup>11</sup> “Greek Inscriptions,” in the *EDB*.

<sup>12</sup> This interest is especially seen throughout his most recent book: *Seven Congregations in a Roman Crucible: A Commentary on Revelation Chapters 1–3* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013).

by New Testament scholars with a deep interest in the intersection of archaeology and New Testament study, is a fitting tribute to his academic interests.

The editors thank Kevin Burr and Ryan Replogle for their editorial assistance in bringing this volume to completion.

## Introduction

*Christine M. Thomas*

Richard E. Oster has contributed in a sustained and rigorous fashion to our understanding of how archaeology can elucidate the world of the New Testament. He was in the vanguard of a constellation of scholars who turned back to this issue in the 1980s, after more than two generations in which archaeological resources had been mostly overlooked within New Testament studies. Before this period of new work, so-called Biblical Archaeology meant above all excavations in and around Israel. For scholars of the Hebrew Bible, the geographic and chronological range of these materials was extensive and highly relevant, and the pursuit of archaeology revolutionized that field. For scholars of the New Testament, however, projects usually concentrated on Jerusalem and the Galilee, and were largely restricted to the lifetime of Jesus and his immediate disciples. This research concerned, above all, the gospels. When Oster and his colleagues began to turn to archaeology as a context for the letters of Paul in the 1980s, they were explicitly and consciously shifting the focus to the Aegean basin, to sites in Greece and Turkey.

Ephesos figures prominently among these sites. It is home to some of the most spectacular Roman imperial ruins outside Rome itself. Because of decades of diligent work by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Ephesos has been extensively excavated, restored, and published over the course of the twentieth century. One can walk once again up and down its ancient streets, and view reconstructions of temples and public buildings that vividly recall how the ancient inhabitants themselves had seen them. Under Hermann Vetters, the Terrace Houses<sup>1</sup> became an important focus of excavation and publication, furnishing precious information about the everyday life of inhabitants of this highly relevant city of the Roman world, and providing materials that helped explore the domestic spaces that were the earliest meeting places of the Christians.

Accessing these publications, however, was challenging for novice students of archaeology. The assiduous discipline of prompt publication by members of the

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<sup>1</sup> Published in a series extending back to the 1970s by the Austrian Archaeological Institute. The two latest volumes are HILKE THÜR and ELISABETH RATHMAYR, ed., *Das Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos: Die Wohninheit 6: Baubefund, Ausstattung, Funde*, FiE 8.9 (Vienna: ÖAW, 2014); and ELISABETH RATHMAYR, *Das Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos: Die Wohninheit 7: Baubefund, Ausstattung, Funde*, FiE 8.10 (Vienna: ÖAW, 2016).

Ephesos excavation team meant, for the researcher, a protracted period of paging through long series of extensive annual excavation reports, sometimes topping fifty pages of technical German for each individual year. The reports were not user-friendly: they usually lacked headings to set off the passages treating the individual structures. One would spend hours fruitlessly skimming every annual report for the two relevant paragraphs out of hundreds. A plethora of articles also presented detailed studies of particular items, but these were scattered among a variety of journals and series, like the billowing dust of the excavations. Or else the articles were interred in that sacred graveyard of scholarly publication, the *Festschrift*. Even the flagship journal, the redoubtable *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts (JÖAI)* was something of a bibliographic challenge. Each individual volume had two sets of identical page numbers, one for the main volume, and the other for the *Beiheft* (supplementary volume).

This is, in part, a long account of how I myself met Oster, who became the guardian angel of my graduate studies, even before I met him personally. I had worked at the Austrian excavations in Ephesos for a number of years in the 1990s, during my graduate student days, the beneficiary of the tireless efforts of my advisor, Helmut Koester, to develop professional contacts with field archaeologists for the benefit of his New Testament students; and I returned in every subsequent year through 2010 to pursue excavations and museum publications at Ephesos and in Turkey generally. Oster's *Bibliography on Ancient Ephesus*<sup>2</sup> was one of the first scholarly books I bought and placed on the tiny shelf in my graduate dorm, opting to own it rather than depend on the dilapidated copy at the Andover-Harvard Theological Library. It was the one absolutely indispensable book in those days for anyone working with the material culture of Ephesos as a context for early Christianity. In this age of online databases, of digital library catalogues with live links to PDFs of the actual articles, and – gasp! – of searchable PDFs, it is important to remember what it meant to do research in the decades before these advances, and to recall that the research of a generation of scholars was built upon the foundation of Oster's wonderful *vademecum*.

But this signature service to scholarship was only part of the fundamental work that Oster did in what was a new and emerging area of research. The article in the *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW)* after which this volume is named<sup>3</sup> was the first work of its kind on Ephesos, or any city central to Paul's mission. It provided a scholarly and up-to-date overview of the entire religious landscape of a single city, with attention to various forms of religious activity, and to all the relevant archaeological evidence. It reflected intensive engagement with the sources, and also a sustained dialogue with the excavators

<sup>2</sup> *A Bibliography on Ancient Ephesus: With Introduction and Index*, ATLA Bibliography Series 19 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987).

<sup>3</sup> "Ephesos as a Religious Center Under the Principate I: Paganism Before Constantine," *ANRW* 2.18.3 (1990): 1661–728.

themselves. As we learn from Allen Black's preface, the *Bibliography on Ancient Ephesus* was merely a side product and a preliminary study for this magisterial treatment of religion at Ephesus in the Roman imperial period.

Oster was also far ahead of his colleagues in the sophistication of his approach to material culture. He penned a number of articles that are concise gems of theoretical reflection. In his article, "Use, Misuse and Neglect of Archaeological Evidence in Some Modern Works on 1 Corinthians," he pushes his peers to consider questions of method more seriously:<sup>4</sup>

Since archaeological data are not self-interpreting, issues of methodology are essential to the responsible and productive use of these materials in the study and interpretation of the New Testament.

His work throughout also shows a sensitivity not only to material culture as evidence for the social, spatial, and religious context of the New Testament, but also an awareness of the value of the non-discursive forms of communication that material culture presupposes.<sup>5</sup>

In a culture and civilization not undergirded by the dissemination of the printed page, visual language was part of the lingua franca in a way foreign to our present experience ... To dismiss or neglect these visual testimonies from antiquity, to expel them to the field of artistic trivia, is to confine the historian of the Empire and the early church to a Braille-like encounter with ancient civilization.

The present volume attempts to honor Oster's contribution in two ways. First, it reflects the intense and dialogical engagement with the material culture of Ephesus that characterizes his work by presenting, side by side, studies by both field archaeologists at Ephesus and by New Testament scholars working with the Pauline correspondence. In a sort of interdisciplinary turnabout, we present some articles by archaeologists at Ephesus treating the topic of religion, and some articles by scholars of religion treating the topic of Ephesus. This reversal of roles is only possible because of decades-long engagement of New Testament scholars with the archaeological evidence, in which Oster himself was a forerunner, and which he also facilitated.

The second important emphasis are the clear advances in method that these articles represent. Instead of using archaeology simply as illustrative materials, the contributions in this volume reflect a deeper engagement with the archaeological materials in terms of their visual and spatial import, their "textual" aspect as communicative objects, and their position in a landscape of religious attitudes and activities. In this way, they also follow in the path that Oster cleared for us.

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<sup>4</sup> "Use, Misuse and Neglect of Archaeological Evidence in Some Modern Works on 1 Corinthians," *ZNW* 83 (1992): 52–73, esp. 53.

<sup>5</sup> "Numismatic Windows into the Social World of Early Christianity: A Methodological Inquiry," *JBL* 101.2 (1982): 195–223, esp. 200.

The first brace of articles explicitly treats the ruins of Ephesos and their use as sources for the religious life of the ancient city. Elisabeth Rathmayr presents evidence from the ongoing investigations of the Terrace Houses located southeast of the famous Library of Celsus. Terrace House 2 is famous for the beautifully preserved busts of Tiberius and his mother Livia on display in the Efes Müzesi in Selçuk. The latest research confirms that the busts were components of an important construction in the first century CE, including an altar and an offering table, that purposefully created a space within the house for the worship of the emperors. She proposes a motive and a date, and provides a family tree of the owners of the dwelling who set up this area of worship.

Hilke Thür explores the Dionysiac scenes in Unit 6 of Terrace House 2, and concludes that, since the apartment lacks any of the rooms typically devoted to private habitation, it existed primarily for public meetings. Because of the pervasive Dionysiac imagery, complemented with Aphrodite and her entourage, she proposes that the space might have been used as a Dionysiac clubhouse for meetings, and provides valuable comparanda of similar structures in the Roman Empire. Because of the restricted access to some of the rooms, there is a good possibility that the worship of Dionysus here included the performance of mystery initiations.

Ulrike Muss documents a little-explored aspect of one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the appearance of the Temple of Artemis during the Roman imperial period. She investigates in detail the buildings particular to that period, which include a late first-century CE odeon, part of the second-century Damianus Stoa, and two late first-century CE structures built on top of an earlier structure. She uses the most recent archaeological and epigraphic discoveries to propose that these last three structures belong to a precinct within the Temple of Artemis devoted to the imperial cult, that is, the sanctuary of Augustus and Roma known from literary and epigraphic sources.

Guy MacLean Rogers collects and analyzes all the epigraphically attested *prytaneis* of Ephesos, a central office in the civic government similar to a mayor or city councillor, held by prominent citizens of Ephesos who also served in other civic offices. He notes important trends in participation, particularly the increase in women holding the office in the high imperial period, and the steady proliferation of Roman citizens in the office.

Steven J. Friesen analyzes the famous customs-house inscription from Ephesos. The inscription contains a list of donors for the construction of a building to facilitate the taxation of the Ephesian fishing industry. Friesen observes that the list has been used inaccurately as an example of an association similar to the Pauline communities, and as a map of a socio-economic profile similar to that found in the Pauline communities. Neither is compellingly supported by evidence. Instead, Friesen uses discourse analysis to highlight misrecognitions in the portrayal of economic exchanges, and to emphasize the role of divine be-

ings in these exchanges: they appear where surpluses are generated, and at points where severe gaps exist between ideology and practice.

Daniel Schowalter assesses the impact of the construction of the various monuments crowding the space known as the Domitiansplatz: the Memmius Monument, the Chalcidicum, the Pollio Monument, the Domitian Fountain, and the façade on the north terrace of the Flavian temple, along with the three roads entering and exiting the plaza. Each of the three routes into the *Domitiansplatz*, which correspond to three different religious processions attested epigraphically, offers a unique view of this monumental space where the Roman identity of the city intersects with the older traditions of Ephesian history and benefaction.

The second part of the volume engages directly with the text of the New Testament. Paul Trebilco explores the recent proposal of John Muddiman that Ephesians was a document written to Pauline and Johannine Christians in Ephesos. Trebilco establishes the likelihood that the Gospel of John and the epistles of John were penned in Ephesos and argues for the influence of Johannine language and imagery upon the letter to the Ephesians, if not from the text itself, then from the oral traditions that preceded the composition of the gospel. He identifies the presence of four prominent Johannine themes in Ephesians: realized eschatology, unity, the church, and the language of darkness and light, and concludes that the author of Ephesians was employing Johannine language and concerns to address more effectively the community of Christians at Ephesos, who depended upon both Pauline and Johannine traditions.

Greg Stevenson investigates the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos as a site of asylum for suppliants. His analysis emphasizes the uptick in asylum claims during times of political conflict and war, the investment of the Roman government in regulating asylum, and the extension of asylum from temples to the cities that surrounded them. The practice and ideology of Greek asylum afford a rich conceptual background for reading the passages in the book of Revelation in which God protects the righteous as suppliants, usually in the context of a war between the powers of good and the powers of evil. The safe places for innocent suppliants in Revelation are first the altar before the throne of God, then the temple in the heavens, and then the entire city of the New Jerusalem.

Jerry Sumney explores the language of sonship and inheritance in Ephesians in light of the varying practices of adoption and inheritance among Jews, Greeks, and Romans in the early imperial period, attested in epigraphic and archaeological materials. In particular, he demonstrates how the pervasive filial language in Ephesians serves as a basis for unity among Jews and Gentiles, for the establishment of community boundaries, and for the provision of a legal basis for salvation.

We the authors and editors present this volume to Richard E. Oster in gratitude for his generosity and with congratulations for a scholarly life well spent.





## I. Ephesos the City



# New Evidence for Imperial Cult in Dwelling Unit 7 in Terrace House 2 in Ephesos

*Elisabeth Rathmayr*

The results presented in this article are based on the contextual analysis of Dwelling Unit 7 undertaken by the author in the context of a three-year project, which was financed by the Austrian Research Fund (FWF).<sup>1</sup> Before discussing the archaeological evidence of imperial cult in Dwelling Unit 7, I will briefly describe Terrace House 2 and specifically Dwelling Unit 7 during its construction periods.

## A. Terrace House 2

Terrace House 2 is situated in the city center of the Hellenistic-Roman town of Ephesos (fig. 1). It is an *insula* with seven peristyle houses (Dwelling Units) with varying dimensions. The so-called Kouretes Street, one of the main thoroughfares of the town and an important processional way, borders Terrace House 2 to the north; in the south the so-called Hanghausstrasse (“Terrace House Street”) is located, and on the east and west sides the dwelling units are flanked by steep alleys, the so called Stiegengassen (“uphill alleys,” STG). Although in the early 60s of the last century, a test pit was undertaken in the area of Dwelling Unit 4, the actual excavation of Terrace House 2 started in 1967 and lasted until around 1985. Dwelling Unit 7, the focus of this contribution, was excavated by Hermann Vettters between 1975 and 1982.<sup>2</sup>

The Dwelling Units 1 to 7 of Terrace House 2 were newly built after the abandonment of the Hellenistic structures on this area in the second quarter of the

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<sup>1</sup> FWF-Project P 22102-G19 entitled “Dwelling Unit 7 of Terrace House 2 in Ephesos: Analysis of the Building and the Finds in Their Context.” The project, which started in 2010, has been published in the series *Forschungen in Ephesos* (FiE): ELISABETH RATHMAYR, *Das Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos: Die Wohneinheit 7: Baubefund, Ausstattung, Funde*, FiE 8.10 (Vienna: ÖAW, 2016). The project was carried out at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Culture at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna.

<sup>2</sup> HERMANN VETTERS, “Ephesos: Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht 1980,” *AAWW* 118 (1981): 148–51; HERMANN VETTERS, “Ephesos: Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht 1981,” *AAWW* 119 (1982): 72–76; HERMANN VETTERS, “Ephesos: Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht 1982,” *AAWW* 120 (1983): 111–22.