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a cura di Giuseppe Mazzilli

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THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT SARDIS: AN EXCEPTIONAL *PSEUDODIPTEROS*

Fikret K. Yegül

Keywords: Asia Minor, Sardis, Ionic *pseudodipteros*, Hermogenes, Graeco-Roman temples, imperial cult

Parole chiave: Asia Minore, Sardi, tempio ionico pseudodiptero, Ermogene, templi greco-romani, culto imperiale

Abstract

The Temple of Artemis at Sardis is an unorthodox Ionic pseudodipteros distinctive for its dramatic design, monumental size, exquisite ornament, and impressive setting under the rise of the Tmolos Mountains. It was initiated in the early third century BC during the newly established Seleucid rule in Asia Minor, though construction did not progress beyond an elongated, all-marble cella. Responding to the awarding of imperial cult privileges (neokoria) to Sardis during Hadrian's visit to the city in AD 123-124, the temple was re-designed with deep pronaos porches, lofty spacious ambulatories, and a divided cella – the last to accommodate the dual cults of Artemis and the emperors. Distantly echoing but refuting the Anatolian legacy of Hermogenes, the Sardis pseudodipteros was an experimental building, shaped by the needs of changing, overlapping local cults and religious traditions as it was by creative, even disruptive, design links to Rome and Italy.

Quello di Artemide a Sardi è un insolito tempio pseudodiptero di ordine ionico, che si distingue per il suo impianto imponente, le dimensioni monumentali, la squisita ornamentazione e la suggestiva ubicazione, ai piedi delle alture del Tmolos. La costruzione fu avviata all'inizio del III sec. a.C., sotto il neocostituito Regno Seleucide, ma non andò oltre la realizzazione della profonda cella, interamente in marmo. A seguito della concessione a Sardi del neocorato imperiale, avvenuta in occasione della visita in città di Adriano, nel 123-124 d.C., il tempio fu riprogettato con profondi pronai porticati, ampi e alti ambulacri e una cella bipartita, destinata a ospitare il culto di Artemide da una parte e quello imperiale dall'altra. Ricordando alla lontana l'eredità microasiatica di Ermogene, ma tentando in verità di respingerla, lo pseudodiptero di Sardi è un edificio sperimentale, che dà forma a istanze di cambiamento e sovrapposizione a culti e tradizioni religiose locali per mezzo di innovativi, ma dirimpenti legami progettuali con Roma e l'Italia.

The Sanctuary of Artemis was the preeminent religious heart of Sardis and the focus of the city's ancestral cults, with overlapping and evolving syncretic beliefs¹. These cults could have existed long before the temple – even the present massive altar – was built (fig. 1). Their presence shaped the sanctuary and the temple over centuries in ways large and small, first when the temple came to being solely as a cella in the early third century BC, then when it was re-created during the Roman Imperial period as an unorthodox *pseudodipteros* housing the dual cults of Artemis and the emperors (fig. 2). Although the sanctuary and the temple belonged to Artemis foremost, kindred deities, especially Artemis and Cybele/Kybebe, who shared attributes and identities, might well have overlapped across the sacred geography of the setting². As poetically recalled in Sophocles' chorus in *Philoctetes*, “Kybebe, Mother of Gods, Mother of the Mountains (Meter *Oreia*), who dwells by the gold-bearing Pactolus”, watches with Artemis the great Tmolos range surrounding the site³. A votive stele discovered in Sardis in 1968 depicts in high relief Artemis and Kybebe standing next to each other within a pedimented shrine as they are approached by a pair of worshippers (fig. 3). The scene underscores the similarity and closeness as well as, the separateness of the two deities. Although there are no inscriptions from

¹ The final publication of the Temple of Artemis, *Report 7* of the *Archaeological Exploration of Sardis*, Harvard University Press, is in press. It will be referred to as YEGÜL, forthcoming.

² SCULLY 1969, pp. 89-93; see also YEGÜL, forthcoming.

³ Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 392-402. See, also MUNN 2006, p. 126.



Fig. 1. Sardis, Temple of Artemis. General view with acropolis and Tmolos Mountains, looking East (Sardis Archaeological Expedition).



Fig. 2. Sardis, Temple of Artemis. General view towards Necropolis and Pactolus River valley, looking West (Sardis Archaeological Expedition).

the Sanctuary of Artemis that specifically name Kybebe, as true for the relief above, the goddesses and their worshippers share the iconography, the same space and are united religiously and architecturally⁴.

Artemis might have shared her sacred geography also with other deities⁵. A long inscription dated to 1-5 BC, found in the Sanctuary of Artemis in 1912, honors a prominent Sardian named Menogenes and refers to “those dwelling in the sanctuary of Zeus *Polieus* and Artemis”⁶. The clarity of this passage compelled Butler to open many trenches around the temple in search of another great temple, all in vain. Some half century later, G.M.A. Hanfmann believed that this cult of Zeus had been absorbed into the Temple of Artemis by ca. 220 BC enjoying joint worship in an architecturally divided, dual-cella temple – a theory now shown to have no basis. Extensive investigations by Butler and George M.A. Hanfmann revealed no earlier temple under or close to the present one. Although this enigmatic Zeus cult and other protean cults were associated with the changing traditions of the sanctuary, the boundaries of the sacred area, extending between the acropolis and the Pactolus River, remains uncertain. Primarily, this land must have been sacred to Artemis, the preeminent goddess of Sardis, from the earliest days as attested by an archaic altar, which was enlarged during the Hellenistic period and connected to the west front of the newly built cella⁷. An inscription dubbed as the “sacrilege inscription” suggests that for the sources of the ancient cult at Sardis we must look to Ephesus and its venerable cult of Artemis⁸.

Located on the western slopes of the acropolis, below the powerful mass of Tmolos Mountains, in a broad valley opening into the gold-bearing Pactolus River, the Temple of Artemis at Sardis was never lost (see, fig. 1). Marked by its standing columns, two of which are intact with their capitals now as they were when Howard Crosby Butler, the director of the first Sardis excavations, saw in 1909, the ruins of the colossal temple were a popular and picturesque subject for generations of travelers, artists and scholars⁹. Starting with Cyriacus of Ancona in 1444, these visitors included Robert Wood and his party in 1750, Charles R. Cockerell, the preeminent English neoclassical architect in 1812, and many other artists and travelers of the nineteenth century, including Clarkson F. Stanfield, whose dramatic watercolor of the temple’s columns, ca. 1835, is illustrated here (fig. 4) and the fine, more realistic oil painting of the same view by the talented Danish orientalist Harald Jerichau in the 1870s¹⁰ (see, fig. 15).

The Temple of Artemis is the fourth largest Ionic temple of the classical world and probably its largest *pseudodipteros*. The cella, first built, measures 23 x 67.51 m, with a ratio of 1:2.92 (fig. 5). The overall dimensions of



Fig. 3. Votive stele with Artemis, Kybebe (Cybele) and worshippers (S68.094.32; Archaeological Exploration of Sardis).

⁴ HANFMANN, WALDBAUM 1969, pp. 264-269. See, also DE HOZ 2016, pp. 186-189; ROLLER 1999, pp. 196-197.

⁵ See, GREENEWALT 2010, pp. 233-246; HANFMANN 1983, pp. 90-96, 129-135.

⁶ BUTLER 1922, p. 114; BUCKLER, ROBINSON 1932, pp. 16-27 no. 8; BUCKLER, ROBINSON 1914, pp. 321-362.

⁷ HANFMANN, WALDBAUM 1975, pp. 53-73; CAHILL, GREENEWALT 2016, pp. 492-499.

⁸ The late-fourth century BC “Sacrilege Inscription” from Ephesus records the death penalty to forty Sardians for attacking a religious envoy in procession from the *Artemision* of Ephesus to that of Sardis (“according to ancestral custom”) suggesting the close relationship between the two cults, the Sardian cult probably representing a direct exportation from Ephesus: HANFMANN 1987, pp. 1-8; HANFMANN 1983, pp. 50-51; KNIBBE 1961-63, pp. 175-182. For the overlapping cults of Sardis and the particular affinity between Cybele/Kybebe

and Artemis, see YEGÜL, forthcoming.

⁹ The results of the excavations at the Temple and the Sanctuary of Artemis by the Butler expedition (1910-1914, 1922) were published in two volumes, BUTLER 1922 and BUTLER 1925, and a supplemental atlas of plates. The results of recent archaeological work at the temple are given in HANFMANN, WALDBAUM 1975 and CAHILL, GREENEWALT 2016.

¹⁰ For a collection of early travelers’ drawings and paintings, see BUTLER 1925, pp. 4-14; GREENEWALT *et alii* 2003. A more complete illustrated account of the subject is included in YEGÜL, forthcoming. Wood’s Italian draughtsman, Giovanni Battista Borra gave us the first visual representation of the temple depicting the northeast anta and the east *pronaos* porch columns. Particularly useful are one plan-elevation and sketches made by Charles R. Cockerell, a distinguished British architect, who visited the site in 1812: GREENEWALT *et alii* 2003, p. 20 nos. 1A, B, figs. 6-9, 13; pp. 32-33 no. 4; pp. 34-35 no. 5.



Fig. 4. Ruins of the Temple of Artemis, Sardis, watercolor, ca. 1835. Clarkson Frederick Stanfield, 1793-1867 (Victoria and Albert Museum, Searing Drawing 1000, 23.3 x 35.5 cm).

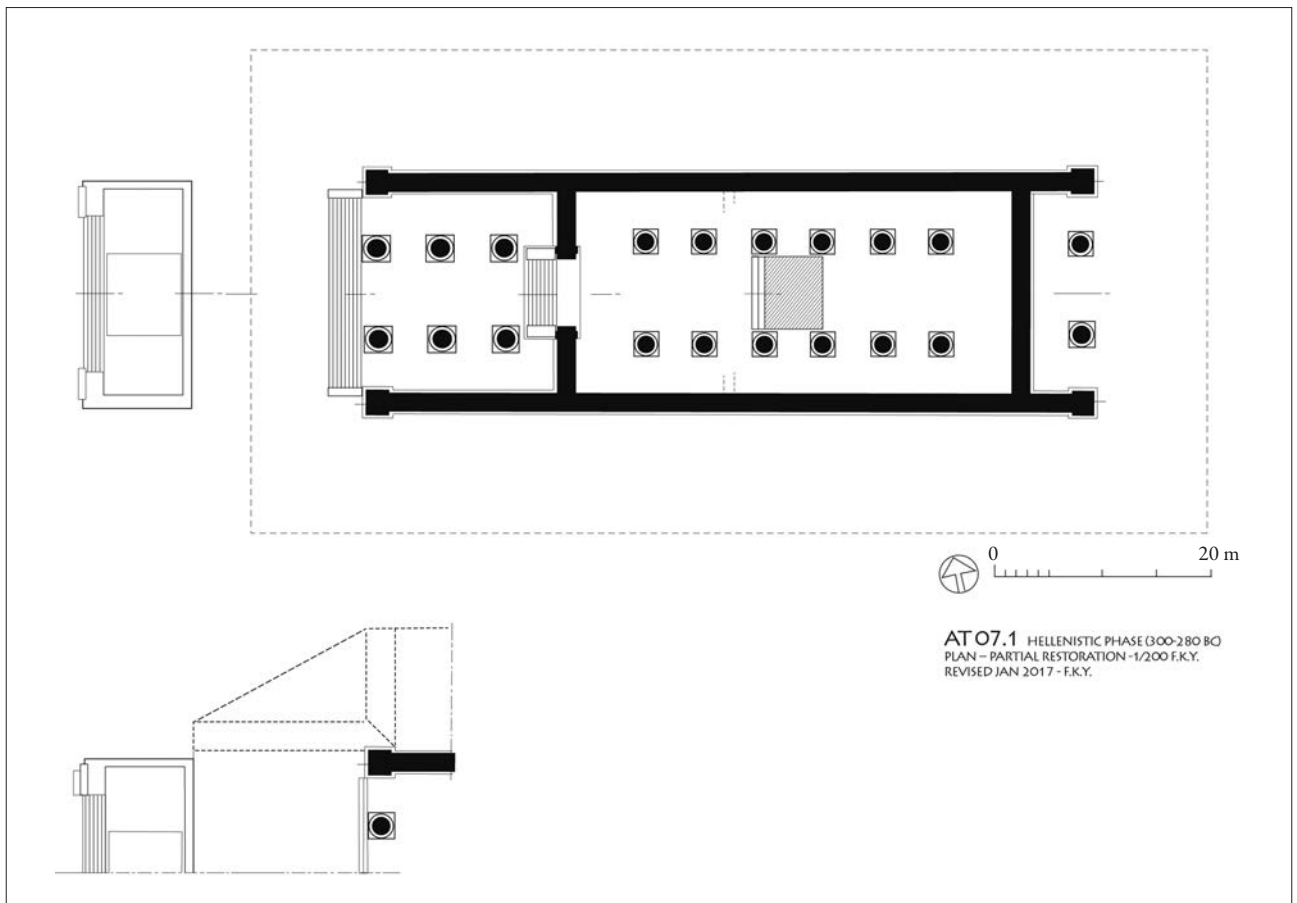


Fig. 5. Sardis, Temple of Artemis. Plan, Hellenistic period (A.).

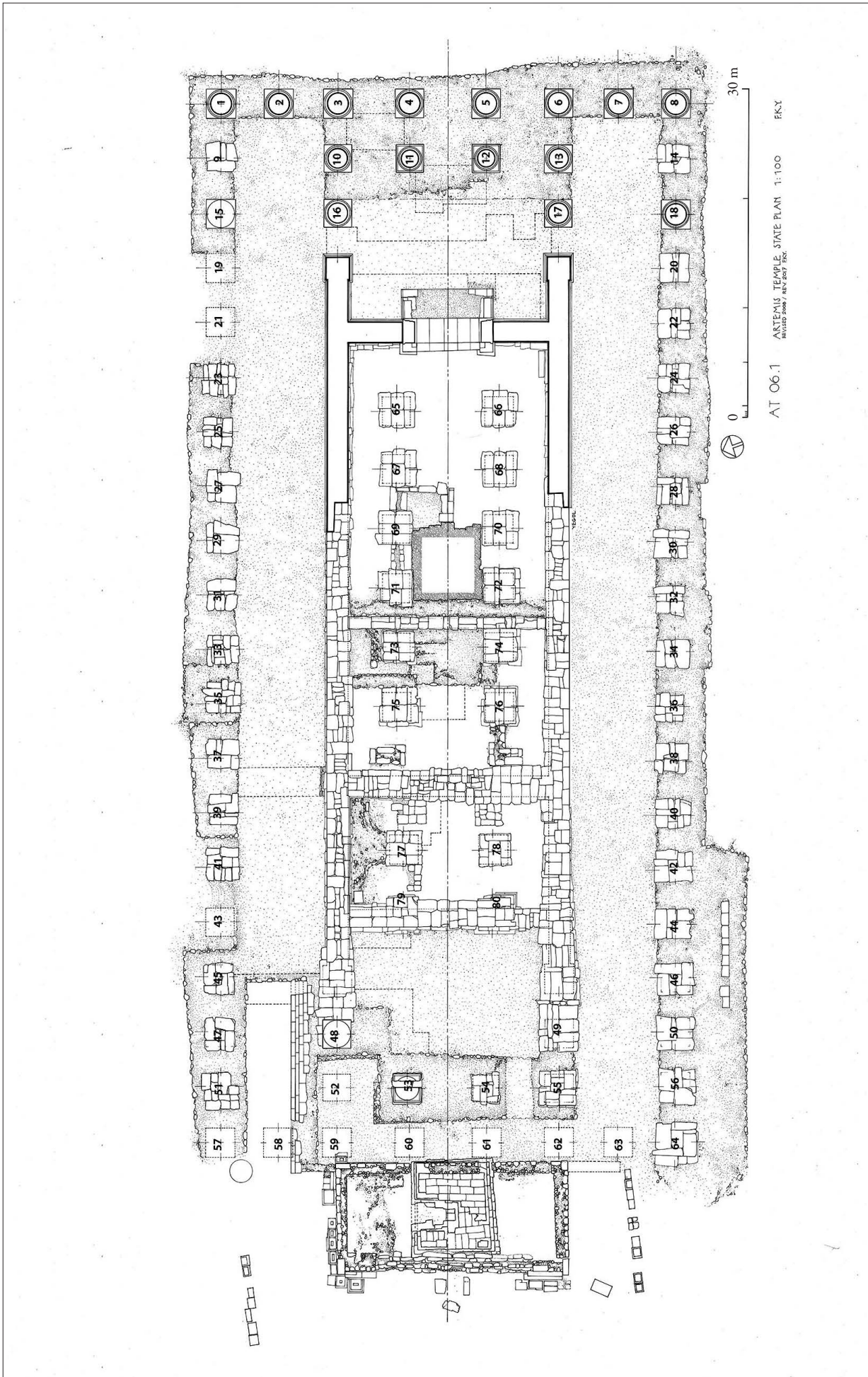


Fig. 6. Sardis, Temple of Artemis, state plan (A.).

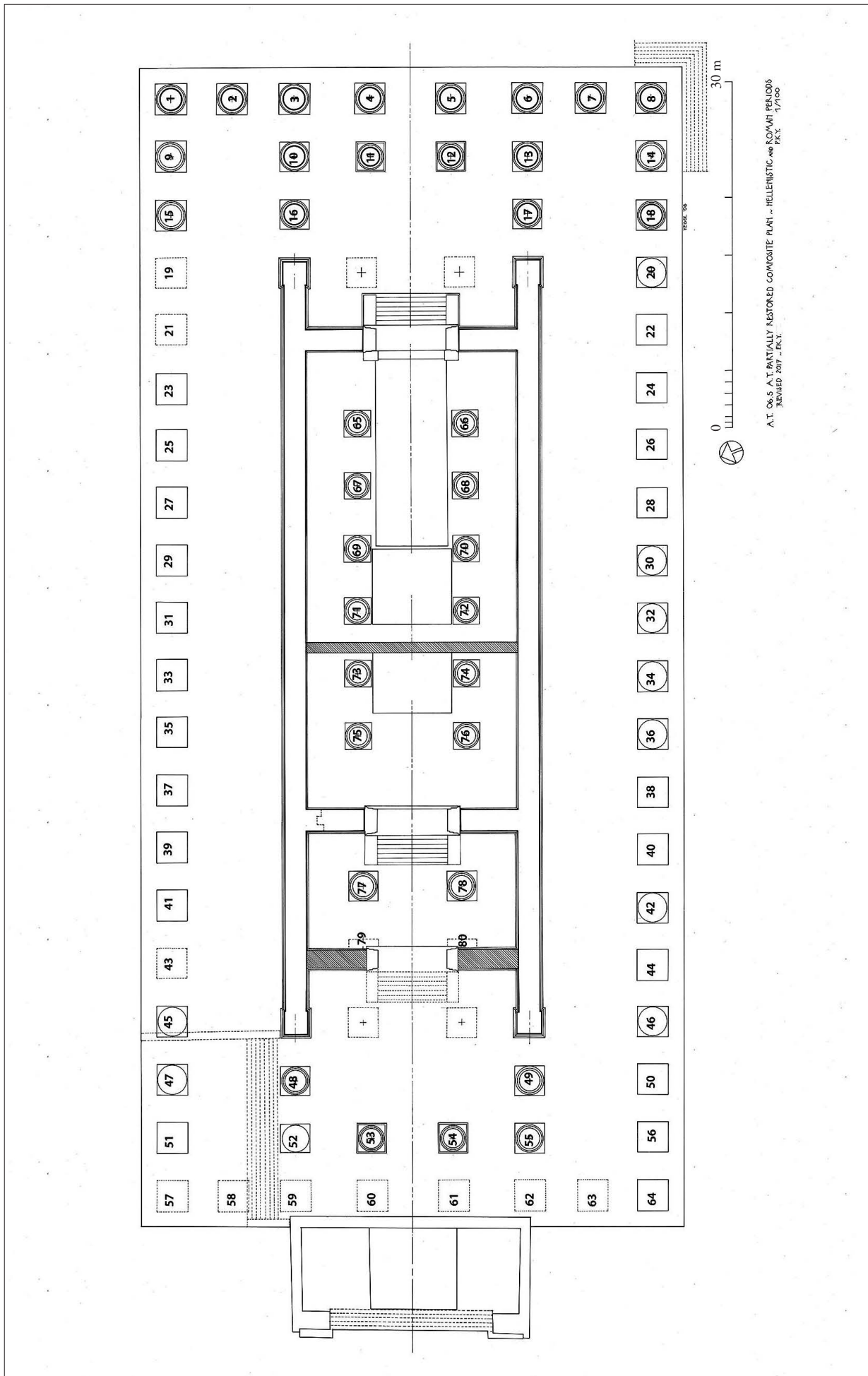


Fig. 7. Sardis, Temple of Artemis. Hypothetical composite plan of Hellenistic and Roman periods (A.).



Fig. 8. Sardis, Temple of Artemis. East *pronaos* porch, looking Northwest (A.'s image).

the restored *peripteros*, partially built during the Roman period are 44.60 x 97.62 m, ca. 151 x 330 Roman feet (figs. 6-7). Thanks to the two fully preserved columns (numbers 6 and 7), we can establish the column height of the Roman era peristyle at 17.86 m, including their Ionic capitals. Column diameters vary according to their position; average bottom diameters of the peripheral columns are ca. 1.96-2 m. Like the other two *Artemisia* of Asia Minor, at Ephesus and Magnesia-on-the-Meander, the principal façade of the Sardis temple is to the West, as indicated by a massive altar (see below)¹¹. The colossal temple, though never finished, had eight columns at the ends and twenty along the sides. The east and west ends had prostyle porches with four columns in front and two on the returns (fig 8). The sides are two intercolumnar distances wide but the ends are three; consequently, the side pteromas do not wrap around the ends uniformly as is normal for pseudodipteral temples (see below). Furthermore, the spacing between the columns of the east peristyle (the west peristyle was never put in place) displays what is known as “complex contractions”, increasing progressively from the ends (5.32 m) to the middle (7.05 m; see, figs. 2 and 7). This is a rare Archaic system best observed at the Archaic *Artemision* of Ephesus, though at Sardis it represents an anachronistic application (see below)¹². The interior of the cella has double row of columns, now preserved in their foundations, that reduced the central clear span to 6.70 m. The base for the cult image, preserved in sandstone foundation blocks, roughly 6 x 6 m, is an original feature that might predate the temple. The cella floor, paved in marble blocks, was ca. 1.60-1.70 m higher than the surrounding ambulatories; there must have been a flight of steps in front of the original west door (not preserved) as it can be observed for the better-preserved east door of the Roman period.

We do not have hard evidence either in the form of a building inscription, or a foundation deposit to provide a close construction date for the temple cella although the evidence we do have points to the first decades of the third century BC. Nor do we know for certain what the original design intended by the Hellenistic builders was since only the cella, but none of the *peripteros*, was completed in this phase. Considering the architectural models and choices available at the time, the colossal size and exceptionally elongated proportions of the cella, the intended design must have been a *dipteros* like the Archaic and Classical Ionic temples of Hera at Samos, Artemis at Ephesus and Apollo at Didyma, the latter two especially comparable to the Sardis temple in aspects of design, construction and ornament. It

¹¹ HANFMANN, WALDBAUM 1975, pp. 88-103; CAHILL, GREENEWALT 2016, pp. 488-492.

¹² OHNESORG 2007, pp. 98-103; OHNESORG 2012, pp. 23-24.

is to be understood, however, that the Hellenistic temple at Sardis, finished only as a cella, represented a deliberate and anachronistic “archaism” harking back to the age of the great *dipteroi* of Ionia.

The common scholarly opinion holds that the Temple of Artemis at Sardis was a Seleucid building begun soon after the Battle of Koroupedion in 281 BC which gave Seleukos I, *Nikator*, the control of much of Asia Minor. After centuries of Persian domination, only a powerful and (reasonably) stable dynasty determined to display respect to local religious traditions and “ancestral customs” (or, to appear to do so for obvious political reasons) could have undertaken such a massive civic project. Quite apart from this generalizing consideration, the position and prestige of Sardis under the new, post-Alexandrian administration should be underlined¹³. After the conquest, Sardis remained a royal center for the Seleucid reign and the official residence (or one of the official residences) for its monarchs where the royal archives were kept¹⁴. Upon the untimely death of Seleukos I in 281 BC, the actual construction of the temple must have started under the reign of his son Antiochus I¹⁵. Sardis was the first place Antiochus I and his queen Stratonike stopped and burnished their royal presence. Stratonike, an exceptional and capable woman who married her stepson, had a penchant to revive and re-create cult centers and establish cult festivals; she lived most of her life in Sardis and peacefully died there in 254 BC at the age of sixty-two¹⁶. Although we have no direct evidence that Stratonike was specifically involved in, or responsible for, honoring Artemis with a temple in her venerable temple-less sanctuary at Sardis, it is a tempting and reasonable hypothesis to suggest that she did so – after all, the generous queen had established a temple to Atargatis in distant Bambyce (Hierapolis) in Syria and made many offerings to Leto, Apollo and Artemis at Delos¹⁷. Support for associating Stratonike with the Sardis temple is provided by a dedication on a marble ball found in the temple at Sardis that bears the inscription: “[Gift] of Stratonike, daughter of Demetrius, the son of Antigonos”¹⁸. While such a gift could have been made to the sanctuary before the temple was built, Stratonike’s historical personality and special connection to Sardis is an effective argument supporting the proposition that the temple was initiated, and the ball dedication made (albeit the present ball is probably a later copy of the original), during Queen Stratonike’s reign and residence as *basilissa* in Sardis.

Hanfmann and the late eminent architectural historian G. Gruben, proposed a late Hellenistic pseudodipteral phase to the Sardis temple with an eye to associate the prestigious name of Hermogenes with Sardis (Hanfmann ca. 220-200 BC; Gruben ca. 190-160 BC) – however, there is no architectural or archaeological evidence to support such a claim¹⁹. Perhaps the most instructive evidence for the history and dating of the temple’s Hellenistic phase is an inscription in Greek carved on the interior of the northwest *pronaos* wall recording in detail the mortgage obligations of one Mnesimachus, who had received a loan from the temple funds. Although some controversy exists about the date of this important inscription, scholars generally agree that it is a copy of an earlier document and suggest a date ca. 250-200 BC²⁰. Thus the Mnesimachus inscription indicates that the temple, even as only a cella, was in use by the second half of the 3rd cent. BC.

It is curious that for centuries the Temple of Artemis remained as a simple, stark, and shining marble box complete with marble roof tiles, but no peripheral columns. Inside the marble box, within the raised, single-space cella, the cult statue of the goddess must have stood on a centrally placed platform facing West²¹ (see, fig. 5). Outside, the cella was probably raised on a low embankment, without a proper crepidoma, facing the monumental altar in front of the west porch and connected to it by steps. Softening the stark geometry of the lone cella, amid the signs and sounds

¹³ Polyaeus, *Strategemata*, 4, 9, 4. YEGÜL 2019, pp. 132-138; KOSMIN 2019, pp. 75-90; MA 2013, p. 36; SHERWIN-WHITE, KUERT 1993, pp. 180-184.

¹⁴ AUSTIN 2001, pp. 305-307 f.n. 185.

¹⁵ Direct evidence for the involvement of Seleukos I in the construction in the Temple of Artemis at Sardis is lacking, but he and his followers are credited for building the Temple of Zeus at Olba, in Cilicia, and donating lavish sums to the near-contemporary Temple of Apollo at Didyma. One would expect that incentives for generosity towards Sardis, the famed capital of the Lydian Kingdom, Croesus’ golden city, where he had defeated a powerful foe, would have been no less.

¹⁶ For Stratonike, whose life story has inspired generations of artists, writers and musicians, and who might have been the primary patron at Sardis, see YEGÜL, forthcoming; also, see next footnote.

¹⁷ MACURDY 1932, pp. 78-82; TARN 1969, pp. 349-352; OGDEN 1999, pp. 119-125; CARNEY 2000, pp. 171-172, 218-222. See also, Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, 17-19. As a patron on religion, Stratonike enjoyed being the subject of cult worship as much as establishing cults herself (e.g., as “Aphrodite Stratonice” in Smyrna): *OGIS*, XI.4.415.

¹⁸ BUCKLER, ROBINSON 1932, pp. 91-92 no. 86; BUTLER 1922, p. 43. Early controversies about the identification of Stratonike seem

to be exaggerated and outdated: *contra*, FRANKE 1961, pp. 200-201; *pro*, ORTH 1977, p. 125 f.n. 6.

¹⁹ We are grateful to Gottfried Gruben who revised for the better the basic design sequence between the Hellenistic and Roman periods and dating of the temple based on observable, measurable construction techniques. Even though we have largely refined this system (there were some major oversights), the fundamentals of its technical and structural observations remain in place: GRUBEN 1961, pp. 155-196; YEGÜL 2010, pp. 373-375; YEGÜL 2012, pp. 101-104; HOWE 1999, pp. 199-210, esp. 208-210, and fig. 11.7.

²⁰ BUCKLER, ROBINSON 1932, pp. 1-7 no. 1. See also, ATKINSON 1972; BILLOWS 1995, pp. 111-145; DÉBORD 1982, pp. 244-251.

²¹ Starting with Butler, several scholars have judged that the platform, whose sandstone foundation remains (though disturbed), must pre-date the temple. Some 126 silver and bronze coins have been found among the foundation. While all were found loosely in the vertical spaces between the blocks, there was one gold Croesoid coin between the horizontal courses, hence it could supply a proper sixth-century BC date for the foundation of the platform (*basis*): BUTLER 1922, pp. 74-76; BUTLER 1925, p. 108; BELL 1916, pp. v-vi, no. 223; CAHILL, GREENEWALT 2016, p. 495.



Fig. 9. Sardis, Temple of Artemis, hypothetical perspective of east *pronaos* porch (drawing by the A.).

of constant and continuous building, there must have been trees and planting, but also votive monuments, *stelai*, and inscriptions – dedications by generations of Sardians for whom the unfinished marble box within its impressive landscape represented the shape of the sacred.

The commencement of a major re-construction effort to finish the temple started probably during the time of Hadrian, the particular impetus provided by the emperor's visit to Sardis in AD 123-124, during his grand tour of Asia Minor. It seems that the royal visit resulted in the granting of the city with its second neokorate honors – the privilege of establishing and maintaining an official imperial cult temple – also awarded to other cities visited by Hadrian²². The city of Sardis celebrated the visit with a statue of the emperor dedicated by the city, its council and *strategos*, as indicated by a tall, inscribed base of the monument found in 2000²³. The existence of a grand but unfinished temple on the site made completing and adjusting it for the needs of the imperial cult political and economic sense, rather than starting a new temple elsewhere in the city. In the newly designed *pseudodipteros* with back-to-back cellas, the west-facing cella was retained by Artemis while the new east-facing one given to the imperial cult. Incorporating the cult of the emperors in Artemis' house, creating a structure shared by the Great Goddess and the Roman State, must have been conceived as a mutually beneficial act regardless of what Artemis might have thought of this arrangement.

To define the two cult spaces, the cella was divided into two by a thin wall; the original west wall and probably its door were brought forward (westward) to create a new west porch exactly the same as the east porch (see, figs. 2, 6, 7).

²² About Hadrian's visit to Lydia and almost certainly Sardis, see BIRLEY 1997, pp. 159, 168-170; BOWERSOCK 1969, pp. 121-123; WEISS 1995; YEGÜL 2018, pp. 27-47; YEGÜL, forthcoming. On the nature of the neokorate honors and Sardis, BURRELL 2004, pp. 3-6, 12, 100-110. Important support for the Hadrianic date for the second neokorate of Sardis comes from PETZL 2019, p. 82 no. 397; BUCKLER,

ROBINSON 1932, pp. 63-64 no. 47; RITTI 2017, pp. 372-377.

²³ PETZL 2019, p. 65, 373. For an important contextual study underlining the importance and correlation of such inscribed monuments where the naming of city officials (as it does at Sardis) almost certainly denoted the emperor's presence in the city, see HØJTE 2000, pp. 229-230.



Fig. 10. Sardis, Temple of Artemis. Columns 11 and 12, on pedestals, looking South (photo by the A.).

Since the floor of the original west *pronaos* porch was ca. 1.70 m lower than that of the cella, the new extension had to be filled up to the level of the cella, which probably necessitated the dismantling and rebuilding the roof and devising a new support system. The blank east wall of the old opisthodomos was cut open and rebuilt with a monumental door displaying handsomely ornamented profiles judged to be Hadrianic in style²⁴. The six-column prostyle porches of the east and west ends, which merged with the nine-meter wide ninety-meter long side ambulatories, were also created at this time. These porches were tall, magnificent hall-like volumes, probably open to the sky, enhancing the spatial qualities of the architecture, and the visual drama of light and shadow (figs. 9 and 8). Of particular interest is a pair of columns raised on tall, rusticated (unfinished?) pedestals flanking the temple's main axis (fig. 10). The pedestals and the fluted shafts they carry were re-constituted from earlier fluted drums of the temple, probably from the cella interior. Composed of an eclectic bricolage of parts, they are unusual, perhaps unique, elements that seem to stretch (or creatively disrupt) the Roman sense of classicism. Carved on the apophyge of the southern column is a single line of inscription in Lydian, which records a dedication to Artemis by one "Manes, (son of) Bakivas" cautiously dated to ca. 300-280 BC. The fact that a Sardian was making a dedication to Artemis in Lydian in *post*-Alexandrian Sardis, at the time of the creation of the original building, is thought provoking²⁵.

The most challenging undertaking of the new Roman phase, structurally and financially, must have been the creation of the mantle of peripheral columns (some 64 designed in all)²⁶. How much of the peristasis was really finished

²⁴ YEGÜL 2010, p. 376; VANDEPUT 1997, pp. 74-76, 85-86, 199-202; PÜLZ 1989, pp. 74-77; RUMSCHEID 1994, *passim*.

²⁵ YEGÜL 2019, pp. 137-138; GUSMANI 1964, p. 259 no. 21; BUTLER 1922, pp. 106-107.

²⁶ Based on figures from the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, the estimated cost of one unfluted column at Sardis for materials and labor would be ca. 35-40,000 drachme (ca. \$ 2 million today), a financial outlay

equal to the temple's estimated construction for one whole year. It is interesting to note that the Sardis temple probably owned the local Magara Deresi quarries (ca. 2.5 km to the Southwest), the main source of its marble; but we have found no record of a dedication of any columns that were privately funded: VOIGTLÄNDER 1975, pp. 74-82, 92-102; BINGÖL 2004, pp. 150-162. For the Sardis Magara Deresi quarries: CAHILL, LAZZARINI 2014, pp. 27-44.



Fig. 11. Sardis, Temple of Sardis. Column 4 (“talking column”) with inscription, looking East (A.’s photo).

in the end? Although most of the column foundations of the long north and south sides were in place, it seems very few of the actual columns were erected (see, fig. 6). The columns of the west peristyle, the façade for Artemis, except for the six-column *pronaos* porch, were not even attempted. The east side for the Imperial masters, including the frontal row of eight columns (displaying archaizing “complex contractions”, see above), was complete, although we do not know if they ever carried a pediment (see, fig. 2). Giving precedence to the imperial cult, while neglecting of Sardian’s Artemis, appears strange and suggests the play of interesting politics between the venerable Lydian capital and its new rulers in distant Rome. The image of the unfinished temple with its uneven roof line would have looked (at least, to modern eyes) strange; however, one should remember that for the ancient beholder witnessing the slow progress of a majestic building was a form of confirming faith, and the half-finished, always-in-progress temple, massive and disjointed, might have merged the old shape of the sacred with the new shape of power.

Nothing expresses this sense of confidence and grandeur than an inscription in Greek verse carved at the bottom fillet of column, North of the temple axis. The inscription accosts the passerby in the first-person singular: “My torus and my foundation block are carved from a single stone, finished not by the people [*demos*] but given by the house [*oikos* of the temple]” (i.e. funding supplied by the temple’s own funds), and proudly declares: “Of all the columns, I am the first to rise”²⁷. The celebratory nature of this inscription, presenting this column as a victor in a building competition is confirmed by the fact that the torus of the Asiatic-Ionic base is decorated with horizontal laurel leaves (*corona laureata*; fig. 11). Facing West, the leaves are tied by a ribbon with fluttering ends; on the opposite side, eight cuttings radiating from the center mark the position of a metal or gilt ornament, probably a medallion. The earliest and closest parallel we have for a column base fashioned as a victory wreath is from the Column of Trajan in Rome. Based on letter style and content, epigraphists suggest a Trajanic-Hadrianic date for the inscription. The literary and

²⁷ BUCKLER, ROBINSON 1932, pp. 143-144 no. 181; YEGÜL 2014.
See also TUELLER 2008; BAL 1997.

archaizing style of the text fits well in the context of the Second Sophistic period, which flourished in Asia Minor during the middle of the second century AD²⁸.

Another crucial witness informing the Roman history of the temple, especially its re-design in response to the incorporation of the imperial cult are five colossal heads attributed to the Antonine family (and many fragments of others) discovered inside or close to the temple. These heads are identified as Antoninus Pius, Faustina the Elder, Lucilla and Commodus²⁹. Restored at about three-and-a-half to four times life-size (ca. 6-8 m tall), the heads would have belonged to acroliths, designed cult as objects (*agalmata*) exhibited inside the east cella standing singly between columns, or as a two-figure group on the central platform against the back wall (Antoninus Pius and Faustina, or Hadrian and Sabina)³⁰. The heads of Hadrian and Sabina are missing but that does not mean that they did not exist. In fact, based on stylistic similarities, a large, female head fragment (once thought to be Artemis by Hanfmann) is identified by this author as an idealized Sabina³¹.

With its two-column deep side ambulatories and three-column deep ends opening into monumental, spacious, light-filled internalized *pronaos* porches, the Roman version of the Sardis *pseudodipteros* does not look like a traditional pseudodipteral temple of the kind introduced by Hermogenes at Magnesia around 220-200 BC and canonized by Vitruvius in his famous treatise (3, 2, 6; 3, 3)³². The application of the *pseudodipteros* plan at Sardis can be seen as a natural architectural development of the colossal, elongated Hellenistic cella, but not in the expected manner that followed Hermogenes' prestigious temple at Magnesia, or its Hellenistic era followers at Alabanda, Lagina, or the *Smintheion* at Chyrse. Nor does it follow the well-known Roman era reincarnations of Hermogenes at the Temple of Augustus and Roma in Ankyra or the Temple of Zeus in Aezane, which is surprising (figs. 12, a-d). The unknown architect at Sardis must surely have known these legacy models but did not follow them. Perhaps he had different models in mind.

The most distinctive and noteworthy characteristic of the Temple of Artemis are the six-column *pronaos* porches set within peristyles at the east and west ends. Such "deep *pronaos* porch" arrangements are rare to non-existent in Greek and Anatolian usage³³. Notable examples are all from the Roman era with links to Italy. For the genesis and development of the spacious, internalized *pronaos* porches we must turn to Rome and Italy³⁴. Starting from the Archaic and Classical periods, we note the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta (mid-fifth century BC); the late Republican Temple of Portunus by the Tiber in Rome; the late second century BC temple in the Samnite Sanctuary in Pietrabbondante; and the *locus classicus* of the type, the Imperial era Temple of Mars *Ulpior* in the Forum of Augustus in Rome (fig. 13, a-b). All of these temples, only a small representative from a very large group, display deep porches which could have been filled with rows of columns, but they were not; instead, their designers chose to emphasize a sense of open space in the broad and tall expanse of the porch. Whether the deep *pronaos* arrangement – sometimes dubbed as a native "Italian habit" – was generated by functional and religious considerations, or as an aesthetic choice, may be beside the point. In contrast, the two relevant Imperial *pseudodipteroi* of Asia Minor (Temple of Augustus and Roma in Ankyra and the Temple of Zeus in Aezane) resisted the formation of the deep *pronaos* option and present us with fairly orthodox plans (fig. 12, d). Sardis, on the other hand, embraced the "Italian habit" with gusto and grandeur. With its emphasis of space and visual drama created by the play of light and shadow, and the grandeur of its hall-like, lofty, airy ambulatories, the Sardis *pseudodipteros* must have created the "dazzling effect" of what Vitruvius called as, in his admiring description of the visual qualities of Hermogenes' architecture, *propter asperitatem intercolumniorum*, or shortly, the sense of *asperitas* (3, 3, 9)³⁵.

²⁸ YEGÜL 2014, pp. 218-219; BOWIE 1974, pp. 166-206; BOWERSOCK 1969.

²⁹ BUTLER 1922, pp. 7, 63-67, 147; HANFMANN, RAMAGE 1978, pp. 96, 104-105, 166-167, nos. 79, 102-103, 251-252, figs. 196-197, 223-224, 434-435; YEGÜL 2010, pp. 381-382 and fig. 12. The badly mutilated male head identified as Marcus Aurelius was thought to be an early Hellenistic image of Zeus *Polieus* whose features merged with Achaëus, who usurped the throne at Sardis briefly (220-214 BC). Hanfmann's thesis that the temple was divided between Zeus and Artemis already during this period was large based on the (mis)identification and misinterpretation of architecture: HANFMANN, WALDBAUM 1975, p. 75.

³⁰ BURRELL 2004, pp. 317-321, 100-110; RÜPKE 2007, pp. 183-184.

³¹ Sardis Inv. S61.27.2: HANFMANN, RAMAGE 1978, p. 98 no. 88 and fig. 201. Another male head fragment with curly hair could be Hadrian (Sardis Inv. S61.27.9).

³² Opinion on Hermogenes' active period varies from an early ca. 220 BC to a late ca. 160-150 BC. Peter Herrmann opted for the earlier date at ca. 220-200 BC based on an inscription of Antiochus III (223-187 BC) found at Teos in 1965: HERRMANN 1965, pp. 29-32. Recently this date is confirmed by Musa Kadioglu based on ceramic evidence from the north *pteroia* foundations of the Temple of Dionysus in Teos (latest ca. 230-200 BC), to whom I owe gratitude for sharing this important information: Kadioglu to Yegül, 7 November 2019.

³³ SERDAROĞLU 2004, pp. 155-156.

³⁴ YEGÜL 2012, pp. 107-108; BOETHIUS, WARD-PERKINS 1970, pp. 29-42, 51-56, 108-114, 132-133; COARELLI 1974, pp. 279, 281-282; COARELLI 1987, pp. 85-103; GROS 1996, pp. 123-133 and figs. 134, 140; STAMPER 2005, pp. 130-139.

³⁵ HASELBERGER, HOLZMAN 2015, pp. 371-391, esp. p. 379.

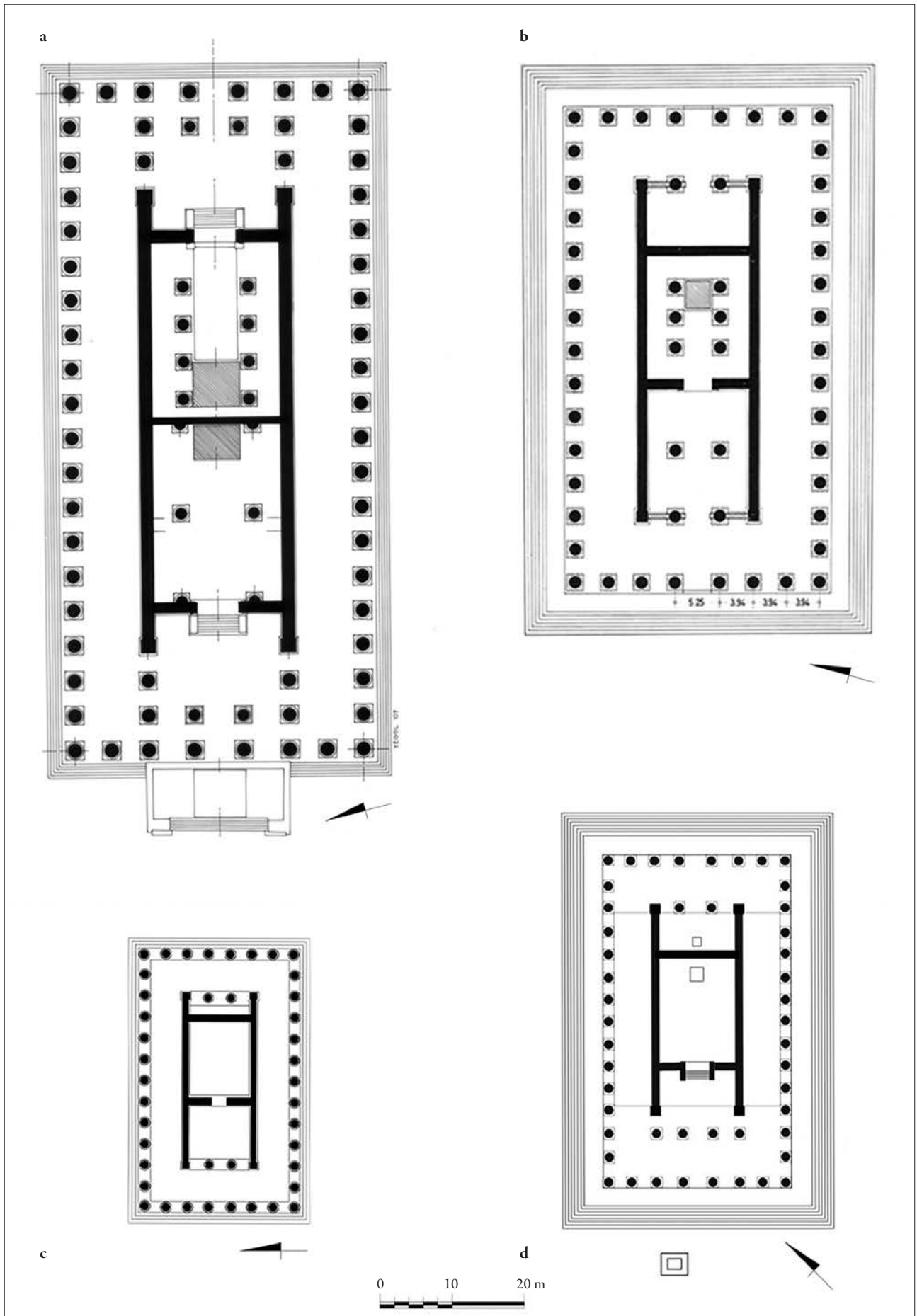


Fig. 12. Comparative plans: a. Sardis, Temple of Artemis; b. Magnesia, Temple of Artemis; c. Alabanda, Temple of Apollo; d. Ankyra, Temple of Augustus and Roma (drawing by the A.).

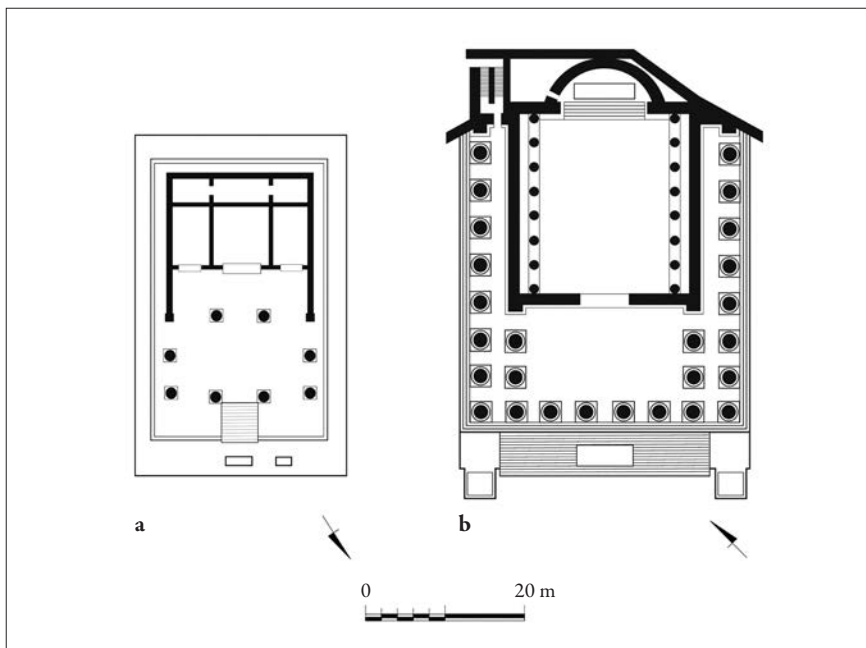


Fig. 13. Comparative plans: a. Pietrabondante, Late Republican Temple of the Samnite Sanctuary; b. Rome, Temple of Mars *Ultor* in the Forum of Augustus (drawing by the A.).

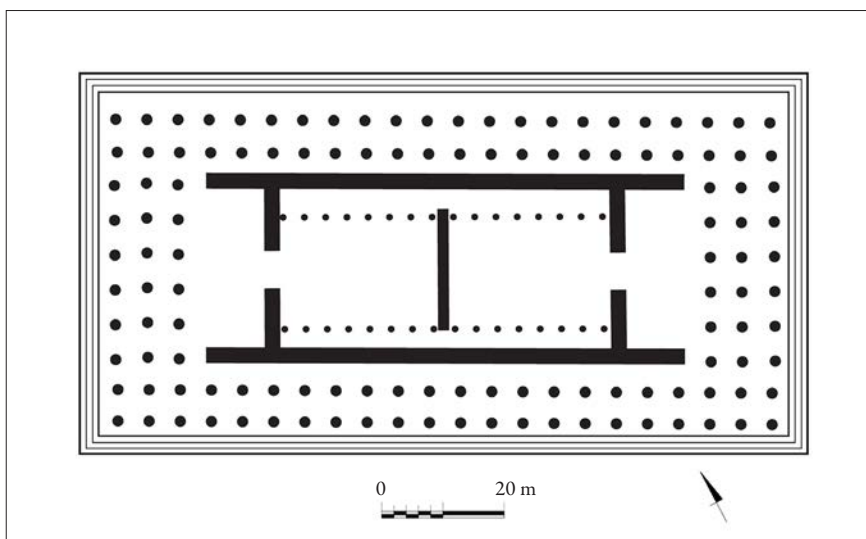


Fig. 14. Rome, Temple of Venus and Roma, plan (drawing by the A.).

How relevant were these Italian examples or the “Italian connection”³⁶? How relevant would it be to form connections between the beloved *pseudodipteroi* of Anatolia and the predominant temple design of Italy (with its traditional “deep porch”), considering that the *pseudodipteros* plan never gained a foothold there despite Vitruvius’ obvious admiration of the type in reference to Hermogenes?³⁷ I am not suggesting that an architect from Rome or Italy was responsible for the Roman era design of the Sardis temple. But, I am suggesting that a master architect from Asia Minor, steeped in the broadly cosmopolitan culture and arts of the land under the High Empire, would have known Italian architecture, known the masterpieces such as the Forum of Augustus, Column of Trajan, or the newly-built Pantheon with its magnificent deep porch about the same size as the Sardis porch and of similar design. He would have known Hadrian’s Temple of Venus and Roma, its majestic, back-to-back double-cella possibly serving as a direct inspiration for Sardis (fig. 14). What we see at Sardis, then (and what is generally true for the Imperial Roman architecture in Asia Minor) is not a play of polarity between the East and the West, or an architectural gaze from the East to the West, but a series of “gazes” back and forth between two great contemporary artistic and architectural modes, and probably between two mutually admiring architects, whose sense of synthesis, syntax and experiment far surpassed their sense of orthodoxy³⁸.

³⁶ YEGÜL, forthcoming.

³⁷ Vitruvius, *De Architectura libri decem*, 3, 3 (esp. 3, 3, 8); see, also STAMPER 2005, pp. 51-53.

³⁸ YEGÜL 1991, pp. 345-355. On the “Italification” of the Sardis Artemis Temple and its identification as “a transitional building between Greece and Rome”, see, YEGÜL 2012, p. 109.



Fig. 15. Sardis, Artemis Temple. Oil painting by Harald Jerichau, 1873.

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