

## THE VEDII ANTONINI: ASPECTS OF PATRONAGE AND BENEFACTION IN SECOND-CENTURY EPHEOS

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DURING HIS EXCAVATIONS OF THE ODEUM OR BOULEUTERION at Ephesos between 1864 and 1866, John Turtle Wood discovered a group of monumental inscriptions. The thin slabs of marble had fallen from their original places, affixed to the proscaenium, onto the stage proper.<sup>1</sup> Wood was able to identify five inscriptions, which he later published in an appendix to his *Discoveries at Ephesus*.<sup>2</sup> Additional fragments of these and other inscriptions from the bouleuterion were found by Wood later in his excavations and were published by C. Curtius and E. L. Hicks.<sup>3</sup> Three of the inscriptions from the bouleuterion, *IE* 1491, 1492, and 1493, form a distinct group (Plates 1, 2, 3), inscribed in the same hand on two panels which join in the middle of *IE* 1492.<sup>4</sup> They concern a dispute that arose between Publius Vedius Antoninus and the citizens of Ephesos concerning a promised building project, and its resolution by the emperor Antoninus Pius in favour of Vedius Antoninus. Because these inscriptions deal with buildings, this man has been widely identified as M. Claudius Publius Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus (Vedius III), who, with his wife Flavia Papiane, is known from the epigraphic record to have built the bouleuterion and a bath-gymnasium complex at Ephesos.

Since Wood's discovery of the bouleuterion inscriptions, numerous further finds have made the Vedii one of the most epigraphically commemorated families in Ephesos. About fifty-five more inscriptions representing six generations of this family have come to light. Of these, some twenty have been assigned to M. Claudius Publius Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus (Vedius III), though not without controversy.<sup>5</sup> He is the best known of the family, due as much to his

My thanks to T. D. Barnes, S. Harris, C. P. Jones, S. Mitchell, and the anonymous referees for their helpful comments on this paper. Thanks are also due to F. Krinzinger, Director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, for access to the epigraphic archives, and to R. Risy for assistance with photographs and epigraphic notebooks. M. Aurenhammer, L. Bier, P. Scherrer, and H. Taeuber have my gratitude for discussions and hospitality in Vienna.

<sup>1</sup> Wood 1877: 42–67.

<sup>2</sup> Wood 1877: 44 and Appendix 5, "Inscriptions from the Odeum," no. 1–5; Wood no. 1 = *IE* 1487; Wood no. 2 = *IE* 1489; Wood no. 3 = *IE* 1491; Wood no. 4 = *IE* 1492; Wood no. 5 = *IE* 1493 (noted as too fragmentary for publication).

<sup>3</sup> Curtius 1869: esp. 181 = *IE* 1488; Hicks 1890: nos. 487–494.

<sup>4</sup> As seen by the author in April 1999. My thanks to Dr Susan Walker and the staff of the British Museum, especially Mr Ken Evans and Mr Neil Adams, who kindly provided assistance.

<sup>5</sup> Marcus Claudius Publius Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus or Vedius III in the stemmata in *IE* VII 1 (88–89). For example, Fontani (1996: 232–233) proposes that the P. Vedius Antoninus

building activity (*IE* 431, 438, 460, 1491–93, 676a), as to the fact that he was probably the first Ephesian drafted into the Roman senate, having been quaestor designate of Cyprus (*IE* 4110).

The inscriptions of the bouleuterion group detailing the conflict between the Ephesians and Publius Vedium Antoninus have attracted some scholarly attention, most of it rather brief. The texts have been republished in various collections, sometimes with short commentaries and minor re-editing.<sup>6</sup> A recent discussion focusing on *IE* 1491–93 suggests reasons why the dispute concerning building arose between Publius Vedium Antoninus and his fellow citizens.<sup>7</sup> To date, however, most scholarly analyses have focused on reassigning individual inscriptions among members of this family, three of whom are sometimes called only Publius Vedium Antoninus.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, these studies have not considered all of the inscriptions concerning P. Vedium Antoninus (*Vedium III*), but have focused on limited selections. Nor have they considered the monumental contexts of either the buildings or the inscriptions.

This paper then has several aims:

1. through discussion of the bouleuterion inscriptions *IE* 1491–93, to explore why the conflict concerning building erupted between P. Vedium Antoninus and the city, and more importantly, why the emperor Antoninus Pius chose to support him and not the Ephesians;
2. to discuss the assignment of a series of statue base inscriptions among the homonymous Vedii Antonini, which will demonstrate that P. Vedium Antoninus III was continuing a tradition of civic patronage and euergetism that had started with his adoptive grandfather, Vedium I, and his father, Vedium II. The generosity of P. Vedium Antoninus III has appeared singular in part because the evidence for it is best preserved in two monumental public buildings;
3. to investigate the bath-gymnasium and bouleuterion built by P. Vedium Antoninus III and his wife Flavia Papiane as monuments that constructed, reinforced, and publicized their relationships with the people of Ephesos and with the imperial house.

#### I. THE BOULEUTERION INSCRIPTIONS *IE* 1491, 1492, AND 1493

*IE* 1491 is dated to 144/5 by the eighth *tribunicia potestas* of Antoninus Pius,<sup>9</sup> and is chronologically and in terms of subject matter the first inscription in this series (Pl. 1). It is remarkable for the critical tone that Antoninus Pius

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mentioned in *IE* 1489–93 is not Marcus Claudius Publius Vedium Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus, but rather his father, Marcus Claudius Publius Vedium Antoninus Sabinus.

<sup>6</sup> Waddington 1867: 7; Hicks 1890: nos. 491–493; Abbott and Johnson 1926: 423, no. 101; Hüttl 1933: 351; Oliver 1989: nos. 138–140.

<sup>7</sup> Campanile 1994b.

<sup>8</sup> On the assignment of the inscriptions among the three, see *IE* VII 1 (88–89); Wörrle 1973; Bowie 1978; Fontani 1996.

<sup>9</sup> Kienast 1996: 134.

takes towards the Ephesians, chastising them for not properly appreciating the benefactions which Publius Veditus Antoninus III was offering the city.

- [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ  
 2 [υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱόνος,  
 [θεοῦ Νέρουα ἔκγονος Τίτος] Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός  
 4 [Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρ-  
 [χι]κ[ῆς ἐξουσίας] τὸ η', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὕπατος τὸ δ', πα-  
 6 τήρ πατρίδος Ἐφεσίων τοῖς ἄρχουσιν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ  
 [τῶι δήμῳ] χαίρειν. τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἣν φιλοτιμεῖται  
 8 [πρὸς ὑμᾶς Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος] ἔμαθον οὐχ οὕτως ἐκ  
 τῶν ὑμετέρων γραμμάτων ὥς ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων. βουλόμε-  
 10 νος γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν βοηθείας [εἰς τὸν κόσμον τῶν  
 ἔργων ὧν ὑμεῖν ἐπηγγέλαιο] ἐδήλωσεν ὅσα καὶ ἡλικία οἱ-  
 12 κοδομήματα προστίθισιν τῇ πόλει. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οὐκ ὀρ-  
 θῶς ἀποδέχεσθε αὐτόν. καὶ γὰρ καὶ συνεχώρησα αὐτῷ [...]ς  
 14 ἃ ἡτήσατο καὶ ἀπεδεξάμην ὅτι [οὐ] τὸν πολλῶν τῶν πο-  
 λειτευομένων τρόπον, οἱ τοῦ [παρ]αχρήμα ? εὐδοκίμειν χά-  
 16 [ριν] εἰς θέας καὶ διανομάς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀγῶνων θέματα ? δαπανῶ[σιν ?]  
 [τῇ]ν φιλοτιμίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' οὐ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίζει ? σμενο-  
 18 [τέραν ποιή]σειν τὴν πόλιν προήρηται. τὰ γράμματα ἔπεμψεν  
 [Κλ. Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος εὐτυχεῖτε].<sup>10</sup>

Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, son of the deified Hadrianus, grandson of the deified Traianus Parthicus, great-grandson of the deified Nerva, *pontifex maximus*, holding tribunician power for the eighth time, twice hailed *imperator*, four times consul, father of his country, to the chief magistrates, council, and people of Ephesos greeting. The generosity which Veditus Antoninus lavishes on you I have learned not so much from your letters as from his. Wishing to obtain assistance from me for the embellishment of the public works that he had offered you, he informed me of the size and greatness of the buildings he is contributing to the city. But you do not appreciate him properly. Now I have granted him all that he asked, appreciating that he prefers to make the city more majestic not in the customary manner of public figures, who for the sake of immediate popularity expend their generosity on spectacles and distributions and the prizes of games, but in a manner that looks to the future. The letters were transmitted by his Excellency, the proconsul Claudius Julianus. Farewell.

It was customary for cities to send emperors or governors notification of a benefactor's generosity and to receive an imperial reply.<sup>11</sup> Such letters function as imperial stamps of approval of a benefaction, imperial recognition of a benefactor, and acknowledgement of a community's correct behaviour regarding the benefactor and the imperial authority. IE 1491, however, is an inversion of this type. A letter of Hadrian prefacing the text outlining the foundation of the Demostheneia at Oenoanda is an instructive contrast:

<sup>10</sup> IE 1491.

<sup>11</sup> Millar 1977: 419–420.

- 3 ἀποδέχομα[ι Ἰο]ύλιον Δεμοσθένην τῆς φιλ[οτειμίας τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς] καὶ τὸν  
 ἀγῶνα τὸν μουσικόν,  
 4 δὲν ὑπέσχετο ὑμείν, βεβαίω.

I praise Julius Demosthenes for the patriotic zeal (*philotimia*) he has shown to you, and I confirm the musical competition which he has promised you.<sup>12</sup>

With the words ἀποδέχομα[ι Ἰο]ύλιον Δεμοσθένην τῆς φιλ[οτειμίας τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς] καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν μουσικόν, δὲν ὑπέσχετο ὑμείν he commends the benefactor for his generosity. In *IE* 1491, the letter of Antoninus to the Ephesians, the construction is negative: ἀλλ' ὑμ[εῖς οὐκ] ὀρθῶς ἀποδέχεσθε αὐτόν (lines 12–13). The Ephesians fail to do what they should, namely they do not receive favourably Vedius Antoninus and his projects. In the next line of the inscription the emperor's description of his own treatment of Vedius contrasts sharply with that of the Ephesians. This is neatly emphasized by the use of the emphatic καὶ in κἀγώ at the beginning of the sentence, as well as the use of the verb ἀπεδεξάμην, but in a different construction followed by ὅτι meaning "I agree" or "understand that." The emperor's correct behaviour towards the benefactor is contrasted with the Ephesians' ill-treatment of him. Benefactions to a community were subject to negotiation between the parties involved: the boule, the demos, and the benefactor, with the imperial authorities providing final approval.<sup>13</sup> As *IE* 1491 demonstrates, the negotiation process between various groups in Ephesos and Vedius Antoninus had broken down and was solved only through imperial intervention on the side of the benefactor. It is a rare epigraphic example of the competitive and potentially disruptive side of benefaction.

Since the publication of this group of inscriptions, scholars have proposed various reasons why the Ephesians rejected the generosity of Vedius Antoninus. E. L. Hicks simply noted that Vedius Antoninus' munificence "apparently was not welcomed by the Ephesians with the gratitude it deserved; he was obstructed in his work ... in those days, as now, any alterations in public buildings were liable to be received with much criticism and some strong opposition."<sup>14</sup> Hicks compared the case of Vedius Antoninus at Ephesos to that of Dio Chrysostom at Prusa, who was opposed in his plan for civic improvements, being accused of destroying venerable civic monuments (*Or.* 40.8). J. H. Oliver suggested that Vedius Antoninus encountered financial difficulties which made him unable to fulfil a *pollicitatio* or ἐπαγγελία, wherein he had promised to construct certain buildings for the city.<sup>15</sup> That he did promise something is

<sup>12</sup> Wörle 1988: 4; Mitchell 1990.

<sup>13</sup> Rogers 1991b: 93.

<sup>14</sup> Hicks 1890: 155–156.

<sup>15</sup> Oliver 1989: 302–303. Cf. Bowie 1978: 871: "The Vedii Antonini had bitten off more than they could chew, for the letters of Pius document not only ingratitude on the part of the citizens of Ephesus but a need, which was met, for financial assistance from imperial funds."

confirmed in lines 10–11 of *IE* 1491: τῶν ἔργων ὧν ὑμεῖν ἐπηγγελάτο. Vedius Antoninus turned to the council, perhaps for a release from his promise, or a reduction in the amount he would have to spend, or even to request the financial aid of the city or the councillors. The council in turn proposed that Vedius spend his money on other projects of their choosing, which he refused to do.

Lack of funds on the part of Vedius Antoninus seems a highly unlikely explanation. He did write to Antoninus Pius requesting assistance, but the text of the inscription indicates that it involved the *decoration* of the structure: βουλόμενος γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν βοηθείας [εἰς τὸν κόσμον τῶν ἔργων. This aid might have consisted of provision of coloured marbles from imperial quarries,<sup>16</sup> provision of statues, imperial and other,<sup>17</sup> or even of workmen to execute fine work in sculpture.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the Vedii Antonini were among the wealthier families of Ephesos. Both P. Vedius Antoninus I and II had held a range of civic offices, the asiarchy, and other festival presidencies requiring massive expenditure on games (*IE* 728). By 144/5, the date of *IE* 1491, Vedius Antoninus III had married Flavia Papiane,<sup>19</sup> the daughter of a family distinguished by the high priesthood of Asia. Her name appears alongside his on the building inscriptions of the Vedius gymnasium and the bouleuterion, indicating her financial contribution.<sup>20</sup> By this time it is also likely that he had acquired senatorial rank.<sup>21</sup>

D. Campanile has proposed that certain Ephesian πολιτευόμενοι opposed Vedius Antoninus because of envy. His proposed buildings surpassed the accepted bounds of euergetism and verged on demagoguery. She compared the case of P. Vedius Antoninus to that of Tiberius Claudius Aristion a generation earlier, who also aroused *invidia* or *phthonos* in some of his fellow citizens because of his generosity. Pliny the Younger attests that Aristion was accused of a crime, likely *maiestas*, and brought before Trajan's court at Centum Cellae, in about 105/6:

*dixit causam Claudius Aristion princeps Ephesiorum, homo munificus et innoxie popularis; inde invidia et a dissimillimis delator immissus, itaque absolutus vindicatusque est. (Ep. 6.31)*

Claudius Aristion pleaded his case; he was the leading citizen of the Ephesians, generous and one who sought popularity in a harmless way; for this reason he had aroused the envy

<sup>16</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 49: *plurimis etiam civitatibus et privatis veteres immunitates et ius metallorum ac vectigalium adempta* . . . . See Dodge 1991; Ward-Perkins 1992.

<sup>17</sup> Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 1–2. As governor of Cappadocia in 131/2, Arrian requested a statue of the emperor and of Hermes from Hadrian for the decoration of a temple and altars that the emperor had ordered to be constructed in Trebizond.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Strocka 1988.

<sup>19</sup> Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: no. 373.

<sup>20</sup> Van Bremen 1996: 289; Rogers 1992.

<sup>21</sup> See below, 117–121.

of people of a vastly different character who had suborned an informer against him. He accordingly was cleared of the charge and acquitted.

Pliny clearly links Aristion's popularity to his generosity, which the epigraphic record of Ephesos indicates was largely focused on building activity.<sup>22</sup> In Campanile's view then, *IE* 1491 reflects the attempt by a faction of Ephesian councillors to prevent an ambitious building program that would gain for Vedius Antoninus popularity in the city.<sup>23</sup> This argument is persuasive; the phenomenon of aristocratic competition is a universally acknowledged feature of Roman and Greco-Roman society. But we can go further: not only were Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane building monuments that were useful adornments to Ephesos, and could gain for them popularity in the city, but the Vedius baths and the bouleuterion were manifestations of the ties of Vedius Antoninus to Antoninus Pius and the imperial house, as we shall see below.

Both sides in the dispute wrote to the emperor, sending separate letters of complaint via the proconsul Claudius Julianus.<sup>24</sup> In *IE* 1491, Antoninus Pius replied to Vedius Antoninus' complaints against the Ephesians. Vedius Antoninus had reported to the emperor his proposal to undertake a building project for the city, elaborating on its size and splendour: ἐδῆλ[ωσεν ὅσα κ]αὶ ἡλίκ[α οἰκοδομήματα προστίθῃσιν τῇ πόλ]ει (lines 11–12). He mentioned the opposition that this had engendered despite the generosity of his gift. He may also have underlined the Ephesians' ill-treatment of him, not only refusing his gift, but also neglecting to send the emperor notice of it. Finally, he requested that the emperor take his side in the dispute and that he contribute to the decoration of the structure.

Imperial intervention was necessary to prevent factional strife from disrupting the peace of the city. Antoninus Pius chose to support Vedius Antoninus against the desires of the Ephesians because his project went beyond the provision of fleeting pleasures to the city populace. The refusal of the Ephesians to accept his proposal might have seemed highly irrational to Roman provincial administrators and to the emperor, who were concerned with both the finances of cities and their physical upkeep. Another compelling reason why the emperor supported Vedius

<sup>22</sup> Buildings of Tiberius Claudius Aristion: nymphaeum of Trajan, another fountain on the road leading from the Magnesia gate, and a twenty-mile water pipe leading into the city; he also supervised the completion of the Library of Celsus: *IE* 424, 424a, 4105, 422a, 427, 3217, 5101. He was a donor to the imperial temple where he served as high priest: Friesen 1993: 45–48. See now the exemplary report of Thür *et al.* (1997), integrating epigraphic, archaeological, and literary evidence.

<sup>23</sup> Campanile (1994b: esp. 220) also argues that Vedius was surpassing the bounds of euergetism by holding the asiarchy or high priesthood of Asia when he had already achieved senatorial rank, positions that were incompatible. This, however, is based on two spurious assumptions: first, that certain inscriptions, such as *IE* 2065, which name a Vedius Antoninus as asiarch refer to Vedius III, rather than to his father or grandfather; second, that the asiarchy and the high priesthood of Asia are one and the same: so Campanile 1994a: 113–115. Kearsley (1986, 1990) and Friesen (1999a and 1999b) have argued convincingly that this is not the case.

<sup>24</sup> Oliver 1989: 303; on [. . . . . Iu]lianus, see Thomasson 1984: no. 127.

Antoninus in his request was the fact that they were personally acquainted, a point that I shall consider below.

The second letter of the group, *IE* 1492, is dated by the tribunician power of Pius to 149/50. It is carved on the two adjoining panels which carried the group, and is placed between *IE* 1491 and *IE* 1493 (Pl. 2):

- [Αὐ]τοκράτω[ρ Καί]σαρ θεοῦ]  
 2 Ἀδριανοῦ υ[ἱ]ός, θεοῦ Τραια[νοῦ]  
 Π[αρ]θικοῦ [υ]ἱωνός, θεοῦ Ν[έρ-]  
 4 οῦα ἔκγονος Τ[ί]τος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός  
 Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβασ[τός], ἀρχιερεὺς  
 6 μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ  
 1 γ', αὐτοκράτωρ [τ]ὸ [β', ὕπατο]ς τὸ δ',  
 8 πατὴρ πατρί[δος Ἐφεσίων τοῖς]  
 ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή[μῳ]  
 10 χαί[ρειν]  
 εἰδότε μοι δηλοῦτε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν]  
 12 ἣν Οὐ[δ]ή[δος] Ἀντ[ων]εῖνος φιλοτιμεῖ-  
 ται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δ[ε] γε κα[ὶ] τὰς παρ' ἐμοῦ  
 14 χάριτας εἰς τὸν [κόσ]μον α[ν]τι[τ]ῆς τῆς πό-  
 λεως [κα]τέθετο  
 16 [τ]ὸ ψήφισμα ἔπεμψεν Φλ[  
 [.]. τι[ . . . . ἐπίτρο]πος  
 18 [ εὐτυ]χεῖτε

Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus, son of the deified Hadrian, grandson of the deified Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the thirteenth time, imperator for the second time, four times consul, father of his country, to the magistrates, council and people of the Ephesians, greetings. You make known to me who already knows of it the generosity which Vedius Antoninus has offered you, he who has contributed also the gifts which he received from me toward the decoration of the city. Fl. [..]ti[....] procurator sent the decree.

This letter appears to indicate that the Ephesians had omitted from their letter to Pius a clear statement of what Vedius Antoninus had offered them, thus neglecting a matter of protocol. This may explain the phrase in *IE* 1491:

τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἣν φιλοτιμεῖται πρὸς ὑμᾶς Οὐ[δ]ή[δος] Ἀντωνεῖνος ἔμαθον οὐχ οὕτως ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων γραμμάτων ὥς ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου.

The generosity which Vedius Antoninus lavishes on you, I have learned not so much from your letters as from his.

It may also be the sense of Pius' comment ἄλλ' ὑμ[εῖς] οὐ[κ] ὀρθῶς ἀποδέχεσθε αὐτόν. Their ill-treatment of him was evident in their refusal of his generosity and in their failure to transmit news of it to the emperor. *IE* 1492 indicates that acknowledgment by the Ephesian boule and demos of Vedius Antoninus' benefaction came to the attention of the emperor five years after the conflict over

the building first erupted.<sup>25</sup> As will be demonstrated below, it came only after one of the structures, and probably both, were already standing.

The final letter in this group of inscriptions, *IE* 1493, is dated to 149/50, the proconsulate of Popilius Priscus.<sup>26</sup> It is inscribed on the far right of the marble panels containing *IE* 1491 and 1492. It is the most fragmentary, with much of the upper right-hand side broken away, and significant gaps on the left and in the middle (Pl. 3). Wood himself did not print the letter in his *Discoveries at Ephesus*.<sup>27</sup> Hicks published it with restorations in his *Catalogue of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* 3. Since then, there have been minor re-editions of the text. The text printed here primarily follows Hicks, but also adds some of the emendations of the *IE* edition.<sup>28</sup>

Αὐτοκρά[τωρ Καί]σαρ θεοῦ Ἀδ[ρ]ιανοῦ υἱός  
 2    θεοῦ Τραια[νοῦ] Παρθικοῦ υἱῶν[ός],  
       θεοῦ [Ν]έρο[υ]α ἔ[κ]γ[ο]νος [Τί]τος Αἴλιος  
 4    Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνε[ί]νος Σε]βαστ[ὸς ἀρχιε]ρὺς  
       μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐ[ξουσί]ας τὸ [ι . ] αὐτοκ[ράτωρ] τ[ὸ β'] .  
 6    ὑπατος τ[ὸ δ'] πατ[ὴρ] πα[τρίδ]ος τοῖς ἐ[πὶ τῆς] Ἀ[σί]ας Ἑλ-  
       λησιν χαίρ[ει]ν. κα[λὸν] μὲν [-----  
 8    Ἐφεσίων καὶ σεμν[ὸν] -----τοι-]  
       αὐτῇ πόλει [ι . φ]ίλον γ[ὰρ ἴσ]ως π[-----  
 10    ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ὑπε[ρέχου]σιν οἷ[ω]τω -----  
       [καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν [ταῖς] προεχ[ούσαις]  
 12    π[ροσ]ῆ[κο]ν ἦ[ν καὶ] εἰκὸς ἡσθῆναι τῇ τε δ[ι]νομαθείᾳ ? ἐν τοῖς  
       πρ[οτέροις] Ἐφεσίοις μεγαλοψυχί[α καὶ τῇ Ποπλίου Οὐ]ν-]  
 14    [δίου Ἀ]ντωνεῖν[ου ε]ὐεργεσί[α-----καὶ ἐγ[ὼ  
       [συν]έπραξα αὐτ[ῷ] καὶ σ[υνέ]λα[βον ὧς] α[ὔ]ξοντι τὸ κά[λλος]  
 16    *vacat* τῆς [πόλεως] καὶ κό[σμο]ν τῆς Ἀσί[ας] *vacat*  
       τὸ ψήφισμα ἔ[μψε]ν Ποπίλλ[ιος Π]ρεῖσκος ὁ [κρά]τις-  
 18    *vacat* το[ς ἀνθύπα]τος *vacat* [       Ε]ὐτυχεῖτε *vacat*

On the basis of comparable formulae, Hicks restored "Hellenes of Asia," that is the provincial assembly, as the addressee of the letter in lines 6–7. His assessment of the contents of the letter is worth quoting: "I imagine that the friends of Vedius Antoninus in the chief cities of the province of Asia, had endeavored to strengthen his hand in carrying out his plans in Ephesus by addressing a vote of thanks to

<sup>25</sup> Concerning this letter Hicks (1890: 156) wrote: "Five years later we find the Ephesians writing to the emperor to acknowledge the bounty of Vedius, a tardy gratitude which the Emperor very coldly acknowledges."

<sup>26</sup> Thomasson 1984: no. 130. For a discussion of evidence for this date, see Hüttl 1933: 49–50.

<sup>27</sup> Wood 1877: Appendix 5, no. 5 is recorded as too fragmentary for publication.

<sup>28</sup> Line 5: *IE* τ[ὸ] β; line 9: Hicks (1890) restores ὥσπερ as the last word in the line; line 10: *IE* ὑπε[ρέχου]σιν οἱ; line 12: Hicks (1890) does not restore π[ροσ]ῆ[κο]ν ἦ[ν καὶ] at the beginning of the line; line 12: *IE* does not restore δ[ι]νομαθείᾳ ? ἐν τοῖς; line 13: *IE* does not restore πρ[οτέροις] at the beginning of the line; line 14: Hicks restores εὐεργεσί[α ἐν τῷ παρόντι χρόνῳ ? καὶ].



the emperor (τὸ ψήφισμα, line 17) for his bounty in assisting Vedius.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, Vedius Antoninus III did have connections to the provincial elite. His father may have held the high priesthood by this time (*IE* 732); Flavia Papiane, who was by the mid 140s wife of Vedius Antoninus, was the daughter of high priests and herself became a high priestess of Asia (*IE* 729). Finally, the friendship or at least acquaintance of Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane with [Marcus] Ulpius Damas Catullinus, high priest of the temples of Asia, is attested in the inscription on a statue base that they erected in his honour (*IE* 2067). Support for Vedius Antoninus from this quarter is likely.

Their fragmentary state makes lines 7–12 difficult to interpret. We may conjecture, given the context of the previous letters, that the emperor is making a generalized reference to the habit of superior men (ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ὑπε[ρέχου]σιν) benefiting distinguished cities (πόλεσιν [ταῖς] προσεχ[ούσαις]). From line 12 the meaning becomes somewhat clearer, although the restoration of ὁ[νομασθείση] is by no means certain. The general sense is:

It was fitting and reasonable for you to have shown pleasure in the greatness of spirit shown in former times to the Ephesians and in the generosity of Vedius Antoninus, since I too joined with him on the grounds that he intended to increase the beauty of the city and the adornment of the province.

In this way the generous nature of Vedius Antoninus manifested in his benefaction is favourably compared to the greatness of spirit of earlier benefactors. Not only did Vedius' building programme increase the beauty of the city, it was also an adornment to the entire province. This letter forms a neat closure to the group.

## II. THE FRIENDSHIP OF VEDIUS ANTONINUS AND ANTONINUS PIUS

Antoninus Pius and P. Vedius Antoninus were acquainted before the latter's dispute with the Ephesians erupted, and it was in part this acquaintance that caused Pius to take his side. The evidence for the career of P. Vedius Antoninus III is entirely epigraphic and is mostly not dateable. We know that he had entered the imperial service as recorded by *IE* 4110:

[Μάρ]κον Κλαύδιον  
[Πο. Οὐ]ήδιον Ἀντωνεῖνον  
Φαῖδρον Σαβεινιανὸν  
συνκλητικόν, ἄρξαντα  
τὴν τῶν εἴκοσιν ἀρχήν,  
χειλίαρχον λεγιῶνος  
τετάρτης Σκυθικῆς,  
ταμίαν ἀποδεδειγμένον  
ἐπαρχείας Κύπρου, ὕδν

<sup>29</sup>Hicks 1890: 159.

Μάρκου Κλαυδίου Πο.  
 Ουηδίου Ἀντωνίνου  
 [Σ]αβεΐνου ἀσιάρχου  
 [τ]ῆς Ἀσίας, Τιβέριος  
 Κλαύδιος Φροντεῖνος  
 [ψ]ηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ δήμου

Marcus Claudius Publius Vedium Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus, senator, vigintivir, tribune of the *legio IV Scythica*, quaestor designate of Cyprus, son of Marcus Claudius Publius Vedium Sabinus, asiarch of Asia; Tiberius Claudius Frontinus honoured him in accordance with a decree of the boule and the demos.

Although the inscription provides no external dating evidence, it is reasonable to suggest that *IE* 4110 dates from the very beginning of Vedium Antoninus' public life. Like most *novi homines*, he followed the well-known pattern of office toward a senatorial career: admission to the *latus clavus*,<sup>30</sup> a vigintivirate around twenty years of age, followed by a military tribunate, and then a quaestorship around age twenty-five.<sup>31</sup> This inscription erected by Ti. Claudius Frontinus in fulfilment of a decree of the boule and the demos of Ephesos records the city's praise of a young man who was among their first citizens to enter the Roman senate.<sup>32</sup> It must, therefore, date shortly after his designation as quaestor, when the news was still fresh and important. This inscription likely dates to between 128 and 136, or shortly thereafter, because M. Claudius Publius Vedium Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus (Vedium III), and his father, Marcus Claudius Publius Vedium Antoninus Sabinus (Vedium II),<sup>33</sup> both carry their adoptive names, marked by the inclusion of the Publius Vedium Antoninus portion. The *terminus post quem* for their adoption by Publius Vedium Antoninus (Vedium I) into the family of the Vedii Antonini is 128.<sup>34</sup> However, in *IE* 4108, this son and father appear with their pre-adoption names, M. Claudius Phaedrus and Marcus Claudius Sabinus, respectively. This is the base of a statue which the pair set up for the empress Sabina, θεὰν Σαβεΐναν σεβαστήν.<sup>35</sup> Since Sabina, wife of Hadrian, was called Augusta between 128–136/7, the inscription must be placed in this period.<sup>36</sup> While E. L. Bowie suggested that it is to be dated to shortly after her death because of the use of the term *thea*, other Ephesian inscriptions clearly dated within her lifetime call her *thea*, for example *IE* 278, which was erected in the

<sup>30</sup> On the career patterns of *novi homines* and their entry into the senate, see Halfmann 1979: 82–83.

<sup>31</sup> Talbert 1984: 11–15.

<sup>32</sup> Halfmann 1979: 58, 79, 82, no. 84.

<sup>33</sup> Halfmann 1979: no. 84a.

<sup>34</sup> Keil 1955: 563.

<sup>35</sup> *IE* 4108: θεὰν / Σαβεΐναν / Σεβαστήν / Μάρκος Κλαύδιος / Σαβεΐνος μετὰ / Κλαυδίου Φαίδρου / τοῦ οὐ τοῦ ἀποτέ / ρων εὐεργέτιν.

<sup>36</sup> Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: no. 802.

proconsulate of C. Iulius Alexander Berenicianus, 132/3.<sup>37</sup> Thus *IE* 4110, the inscription erected by Ephesos to honour their new young senator M. Claudius Publius Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus, must be erected after *IE* 4108 on which he still carries his pre-adoption name, M. Claudius Phaedrus, that is, between 128 and 136 or shortly thereafter.

The statue base honouring Sabina (*IE* 4108) may also illuminate the circumstances surrounding the young man's advancement to senatorial rank. It was customary in this period for men of non-senatorial, provincial families to acquire the *latus clavus* by imperial grant, and then to be promoted to vigintivirate, military tribunate, and quaestorship also by imperial grant. It was probably the favour of the emperor Hadrian that permitted M. Claudius Publius Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus to become a senator, and this favour was likely acquired through personal and familial acquaintance. We know that the itinerant Hadrian was in Ephesos in 128/9.<sup>38</sup> His letters in support of the ships' captains, Lucius Erastos (*IE* 1487) and Philokyrios (*IE* 1488)—notably found in the bouleuterion—provide evidence for his visit to the city at this time. Furthermore, it is likely that Sabina accompanied Hadrian on this journey.<sup>39</sup> On the evidence of the inscription *IE* 4108 where she is honoured as τὴν ἀμφοτέρων εὐεργέτιν, "the benefactress of both," by M. Claudius Phaedrus (soon to be Vedius III) and his father M. Claudius Sabinus (soon to be Vedius II), she may have had some influence in this promotion. P. Vedius Antoninus I may also have been influential in advancing the careers of his soon-to-be-adopted son and grandson. He had held a variety of offices in Ephesos; for instance, he is recorded as twice grammateus and asiarch on the building inscription of the small temple dedicated to Artemis, Hadrian, and the demos on the Embolos (fig. 1, no. 41), erroneously known as the Temple of Hadrian, dated to 117/8 (*IE* 429). More importantly, by the time of Hadrian's visit he had probably been sent as ambassador to the senate and emperor (*IE* 728). He may have used this acquaintance with the emperor to advance the careers of the men whom he was about to adopt.

With the information derived from *IE* 4108 and 4110, it is possible to suggest tentative dates for the young Vedius Antoninus' public career. As early as 129/30 he was a vigintivir. His military tribunate in *legio IV Scythica* may have taken him to Syria and the Jewish uprising under the command of C. Iulius Severus between 130 and 132. Notably, Severus had been proconsular legate of Asia just before this command, and may have made the acquaintance of the Vedii Antonini at this time. Alternatively, Vedius Antoninus may have been a military tribune between 132 and 135 under the command of C. Iulius Scapula.<sup>40</sup> The quaestorship

<sup>37</sup> Thomasson 1984: no. 122; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 141.

<sup>38</sup> Syme 1973 [1991].

<sup>39</sup> Sabina seems to have been with Hadrian on his journey further east as her portrait is represented on coin-like tokens from Palmyra (Salzmann 1989; see also Halfmann 1986: 91). On Sabina accompanying Hadrian in general, see Syme 1981: 110.

<sup>40</sup> On C. Iulius Severus, see Alföldy 1977: 137; C. Iulius Scapula, see Alföldy 1977: 140.



Fig. 1.  
Ephesos (Scherrer  
2001: 65, figs. 3-9.  
ÖAI)

designate of Cyprus and senatorial rank followed immediately. It is possible then, that by 135/6, the date of the proconsulate of Antoninus Pius in Asia,<sup>41</sup> P. Vedius Antoninus III had become the first Ephesian senator.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, his family was exceedingly well placed in Ephesian and provincial society. His grandfather had been an ambassador to Rome (above, 119); the same distinction is recorded for his father (*IE* 728). Thus, in 135/6, P. Vedius Antoninus III had a firm basis upon which to build a relationship with Antoninus Pius, the proconsul of Asia. Therefore, ten years later in 145, when Vedius Antoninus wrote to Antoninus Pius, now emperor, concerning his dispute with the Ephesians, it was not a gesture "out of the blue"; he was exploiting his family's long-standing imperial connection, and his request was one that the emperor could hardly refuse. Ties of friendship and patronage, as well as the commendability of the benefit that Vedius Antoninus was promising to the Ephesians, bound Antoninus Pius to take his side.

### III. THE VEDIUS GYMNASIUM: LOCAL AND IMPERIAL REFLECTIONS

The epigraphic record preserves evidence of two structures constructed by Vedius Antoninus and his wife Flavia Papiane: the bath-gymnasium in the north sector of the city near the stadium, known as the baths or gymnasium of Vedius (fig. 1, no. 106), and the bouleuterion (fig. 1, no. 23), located in the upper agora. The couple may have constructed other buildings, but we have no precise indication of what these may have been.<sup>43</sup> Although the dedication of the bath-gymnasium preceded that of the bouleuterion, they were built within a very few years of each other, with some of the construction work probably concurrent. The epigraphic record provides terminal dates for the construction of the bath-gymnasium. *IE* 1491, the letter which introduces the conflict between Vedius Antoninus and the Ephesians, is dated to the eighth tribunician power of Antoninus Pius, that is 144/5, while the earliest evidence we have for its resolution is *IE* 1492, addressed to the magistrates, boule, and demos of Ephesos and dated to 149/50. The construction of the bath-gymnasium complex falls within this five-year window. A wall plaque found in the Vedius gymnasium (*IE* 438) narrows the date further, indicating that Vedius Antoninus and his wife Flavia Papiane dedicated the structure during the proconsulate of Antonius Albus in 146/8.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Eck 1983: 178.

<sup>42</sup> Halfmann 1979: 58; no. 84.

<sup>43</sup> *IE* 676a: Τ. Φλ. Παπιανόν / ἥρωα / Τ. Φλ. Δαμριανοῦ / υἱόν / Πο. Οὐδίου Ἀν-/ τωνεῖνου / ἐκγονον / τοῦ κατασκευάσαν- / τος τὸ ἔργον. This statue base, found in the square in front of the theatre, was erected to honour a descendant of a P. Vedius Antoninus, and may refer to P. Vedius Antoninus (Vedius III), or to his son, P. Vedius Papianus Antoninus (Vedius IV).

<sup>44</sup> On Antonius Albus, see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 810; Eck (1972) argues convincingly for 146/8. On *IE* 438, a very fragmentary inscribed wall plaque discovered in the largest room of the gymnasium, see Keil 1929b: 22–29 and fig. 12. A fragmentary architrave inscription (*IE* 431) was also found in the

By contrast, because of their fragmentary state, the building inscriptions from the bouleuterion provide little evidence for the date of its construction and dedication. Fragments from an architrave have been restored to contain the dedicatory formula typical of buildings at Ephesos: to Artemis, the emperor, and the city of Ephesos.<sup>45</sup> Fragments of a wall frieze found in the building, which partially preserve the name of Flavia Papiane, permit restoration of the name of Vedius Antoninus:

[Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐφεσίοι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι – – – καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ – – – Ἐφεσίων πόλει Πο. Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος ἀνέθη]κεν με[τ]ὰ Φλ. Παπιανῆς τῆς γυναικός – – –<sup>46</sup>

To Artemis of Ephesos and to the emperor . . . , and to the first and greatest . . . city of the Ephesians, Publius Vedius Antoninus built it with his wife Flavia Papiane . . . .

However, as will be argued below, the epigraphic and sculptural program within the bouleuterion permits us to date its completion (or at least the erection of its inscriptions and statue program) between 149 and 150. Therefore, the two structures were built in the second half of the 140s. In my view, they were part of the building program that was the subject of the dispute in *IE* 1491–93. The language of Pius' letter *IE* 1491 confirms that the subject of the dispute between Vedius and the Ephesians concerned more than one building (lines 11–12): ἐδήλ[ωσεν ὅσα κ]αὶ ἡλίκα οἱ–/ κοδομήματα προστίθουσιν τῇ πόλ[ει]. This building program affected the appearance of the city, its economy, and the livelihood of various groups in the city. It also reflected and reified the status of the Vedii Antonini in the civic hierarchy, and the links of P. Vedius Antoninus III with the imperial house.

Archaeological evidence indicates that in 145 there were five other monumental public baths or bath-gymnasia structures in Ephesos.<sup>47</sup> The upper bath-gymnasium to the east of the upper agora,<sup>48</sup> and the predecessor of the early second-century theatre baths<sup>49</sup> probably already existed by the time of Nero.

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palaestra of the gymnasium: the dedication to Artemis, Antoninus Pius, and the city of Ephesos is fragmentary but reasonably restorable; a fragment with the word μετ[ὰ] may be followed by the name of a woman, the wife of the builder in the typical pattern μετὰ τῆς γυναικός. It also fully preserves the words πρυτανεύοντος Πο. Ο[υ] . See also Keil 1929a: 26–30 and nn. 9, 10, 11.

<sup>45</sup> *IE* 460.1, architrave fragments restored to read Ἀρ[τέμιδι Ἐφεσίοι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι – – – καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ] μεγίστῃ – – – Ἐφεσί]ων [π]όλει – – – .

<sup>46</sup> *IE* 460.2

<sup>47</sup> For an overview of the four bath-gymnasia bath complexes at Ephesos (the Vedius baths, the harbour, east, and theatre baths), see Maccanico 1963. The Varius baths are excluded from Maccanico's study because, lacking a palaestra, they do not fit the category of bath-gymnasium.

<sup>48</sup> Scherrer 1995: 9 and now Scherrer 2001: 71.

<sup>49</sup> Scherrer (1995: 9 and n. 42) notes that an earlier bath structure probably stood on the site of the second-century theatre baths because the orientation of the latter structure does not follow the imperial insula pattern.

The baths of Varius on the Embolos were built under Trajan.<sup>50</sup> The east baths were probably constructed in the early second century, with a palaestra added in the late second or early third century.<sup>51</sup> Finally, construction of the harbour bath-gymnasium complex was started under Domitian and not completed until the middle of the reign of Hadrian.<sup>52</sup> An undated inscription, *IE* 938, may provide evidence for the existence of another possible bath-gymnasium complex in the Artemisium. It is simply called the “new gymnasium”: *καινὸν γυμνάσιον*. When Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane undertook their project, no new baths had been constructed in Ephesos for at least fifteen years. A new bath building would be a memorable addition to the city, especially in the northeast sector, where no other public baths existed.

The Vedius baths were substantial in size, measuring approximately 135 x 75 m. including the palaestra. They were smaller than the east baths, but larger than the baths of Varius, which lacked a palaestra and were squeezed into a trapezoidal lot in the centre of the city, just behind the small temple dedicated to Artemis, Hadrian, and the demos.<sup>53</sup> The Vedius baths were about equal in size to the theatre baths, but were dwarfed—like all other bath structures in Ephesos—by the harbour baths, of which the palaestra and gymnasium alone (called the *Xystoi* or Verulanus hall) measured around 200 x 240 m. The harbour bath complex was constructed over a long period of time and was the result of the contributions of several benefactors: Ti. Claudius Aristion, in whose prytany the construction commenced (92/3),<sup>54</sup> M. Claudius Verulanus, who with his wife Saptia Philippe provided the pavonazetto marble revetment for part of the structure (129/30),<sup>55</sup> and a certain Dionysios, who provided some coloured marble columns around the same time.<sup>56</sup> Like the Vedius baths, the baths of Varius were built by one family, P. Quintilius Varius Valens and his wife and daughter.<sup>57</sup> There is little epigraphic information to identify the builders of the upper bath-gymnasium, the theatre baths, and the east baths. However, on the basis of the very fragmentary inscription *IE* 439, Josef Keil suggested that the daughter of Vedius Antoninus III, Vedia Phaedrina, and her husband, T. Flavius Damianus, might have undertaken the construction of a palaestra for the east baths in the late second or early third century.<sup>58</sup>

Although the epigraphic record for Ephesos is incomplete and fragmentary, with many inscriptions that cannot be dated precisely, Vedius Antoninus and

<sup>50</sup> Baths of Varius: *IE* 455 (?), 500, 590.6.

<sup>51</sup> Keil 1932: 25–51; 1933: 6–12.

<sup>52</sup> Scherrer 1995: 12–13.

<sup>53</sup> On the irregularity of the plan of the Varius baths (called the Scholastikia baths by Yegül after their late antique renovator), see Yegül 1992: 288–291.

<sup>54</sup> *IE* 427, 461, 508.

<sup>55</sup> *IE* 430.

<sup>56</sup> *IE* 661.

<sup>57</sup> *IE* 500.

<sup>58</sup> Keil 1932: 31, fig. 15.

Flavia Papiane appear to have had little competition from other Ephesian notables in the scale of their building benefactions. Their only known competitor is the Dionysios mentioned above. Dionysios held various civic offices, distributed oil to the bathers in all gymnasia on a number of occasions, and provided two ranges of seating in the stadium, as well as the marble columns in the harbour baths.<sup>59</sup> Vedius' and Flavia's constructions are most similar in quantity and scale to those of benefactors a generation earlier, like P. Quintilius Varius Valens and family, who built the baths of Varius and the adjacent temple dedicated to Artemis, Hadrian, and the demos.<sup>60</sup> Their constructions may also be compared to those of Titus Flavius Montanus, who in the Trajanic period was involved in constructions in the theatre and who contributed money to repair the harbour.<sup>61</sup> Tiberius Claudius Aristion, a generation earlier than Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane, surpassed them in the number of his benefactions, building two fountains and a water conduit into the city and contributing to the marble hall of the harbour gymnasium.<sup>62</sup>

The topographical context of the bath-gymnasium of Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane is also significant (fig. 1, no. 106). It was located in the area called Koressos,<sup>63</sup> at the northern edge of the city, where the Byzantine city wall (no. 77) would later skirt its north flank. Although removed from the central area of the city, which had been built up from the time of Domitian, the Vedius Baths were in a high-traffic area.<sup>64</sup> There is a notable symmetry between the placement of the Vedius baths and east baths (fig. 1, no. 12), which flank respectively the northeast and southeast ends of the city. The Vedius baths were on the main thoroughfare of Roman Ephesos, which formed the backbone of the city: from the upper or State agora (no. 18), it is called the Embolos or Kuretes street (no. 36); as it turns due north beside the market agora (no. 61) and carries on just beyond the theatre baths, it has been dubbed the "Marble road" (no 78); continuing north towards the stadium and Vedius baths, it is called the Plateia in Koressos,<sup>65</sup> or it is referred to by the names of the donors of its colonnades.<sup>66</sup> The road exits the city beyond the Vedius baths. Many of Ephesos' honorific monuments and major public buildings were on this street.

<sup>59</sup> *IE* 661.

<sup>60</sup> Baths of Varius: *IE* 500, 590; latrine of Varius baths: *IE* 455 (?); temple dedicated to Artemis, Hadrian, and the demos: *IE* 429; honoured for many great works: *IE* 712b.

<sup>61</sup> Theatre and harbour: *IE* 498, 2037, 2061–63; 470 (?) fragmentary, but has been assigned to T. Flavius Montanus.

<sup>62</sup> Fountain of Trajan: *IE* 424; street fountain: *IE* 424a; water conduit: *IE* 4105; marble hall of harbour gymnasium: *IE* 427; honoured for many great works: *IE* 425.

<sup>63</sup> Engelmann 1997.

<sup>64</sup> Similarly, the baths of Caracalla were not located in Rome's monumental centre, but rather were near the city wall and the Circus Maximus, on the Via Appia: see DeLaine 1997: 13–15 with fig. 1.

<sup>65</sup> *IE* 3013, an inscription from the south agora gate, records the paving of the Plateia in Koressos; see also Scherrer 2001: 63 and fig. 3–9.

<sup>66</sup> See below, 126–127.



The Pollio monument (at no. 31), the Memmius monument (no. 32), the tomb of Arsinoe IV and the heroon of Androklos (at no. 51), and the library and tomb of Celsus (no. 55) underline the longstanding importance of the street as a place of public burial for, and commemoration of, historical and legendary persons.<sup>67</sup> Fountains (at nos. 31, 36), and structures for leisure and entertainment served the public utility and pleasure: the baths of Varius (at no. 41, rear), the theatre (no. 72), the theatre baths (no. 79), and the stadium (no. 104). Not only a main thoroughfare, the street was also part of the Sacred Way, the processional route to the Artemisium.<sup>68</sup> The Vedius bath-gymnasium, then, took its place on a very well-travelled route that was studded with commemorative buildings and pleasure resorts, and that was also the scene of an active civic religious life. People entering or exiting the city, audiences at events in the stadium, and pilgrims returning from the temple of Artemis might stop to use the amenities provided by the Vedius bath-gymnasium.

There is also evidence that the Vedius baths had a more localized and specific group of users, for the area between the theatre baths and the stadium (no. 78) seems to have had a commercial function.<sup>69</sup> Immediately to the northwest of the stadium is a building that on most plans of Ephesos is identified as a *macellum* or market place (fig. 1, no. 100). This identification, however, is not secure.<sup>70</sup> A point that may strengthen its identification as a *macellum* is that this neighbourhood is evidently where various *sunergasiae* or workers' associations had their shops and, possibly, their residences. In the latrine of the bath-gymnasium of Vedius, a series of inscribed columns was found standing opposite the seats.<sup>71</sup> The columns are inscribed with the names in the genitive case of various workers' associations. These included the money changers (τραπεζεῖται), the hemp workers of the stoa of Servilius (κανναβαριοί Σερβελίου στοᾶς), the linen weavers (λινπλόκοι), the wool vendors (ἐριοπῳᾶι), the street vendors (ἄστιοπῳᾶι), the towel weavers (λεντιυφανταί), and the basket weavers or vendors (κανι[[.]]ται).<sup>72</sup> One of the columns from the latrine is inscribed with the name of a neighbourhood, πλατεία βρανχιανῆ.<sup>73</sup> Josef Keil, the first excavator of the baths, in commenting on the lack of uniformity in the letter-forms of the inscriptions—with some belonging to the second and some to the third century—suggested that while it could not be ruled out that the columns were originally part of the Vedius baths, one also

<sup>67</sup> Thür 1995.

<sup>68</sup> For the route of the procession, see Knibbe and Langmann 1993: 28–32.

<sup>69</sup> Similarly, the baths of Caracalla may have had users from both the wealthy residences nearby and from the barracks of urban cohorts, in addition to passers-by: see DeLaine 1997: 14.

<sup>70</sup> Wood (1877: 99) provides a description of the building and identifies it as the Serapeion; see also Scherrer 1995: 15.

<sup>71</sup> Keil 1929a: 29–33 and fig. 14; for the restoration and re-erection of the columns in the latrine, see Miltner 1960: 69–70 and figs. 44–45.

<sup>72</sup> *IE* 454.

<sup>73</sup> Keil 1929a: 31; *IE* 454; *SEG* 35, 1111; Merkelbach and Nollé 1981 on *IE* 454c. On *plataiai* as places of business, see Robert 1980: 151–159, no. 239.

could not dismiss the possibility that they had come from another colonnade.<sup>74</sup> Keil discovered evidence for such a colonnade during the same excavation season in a column found in a field east of the Vedium bath's palaestra terracing. This column carried two inscriptions on opposite sides:

ἄγαθῇ τύχῃ  
 Μάρκος Φούλ-  
 βιος Πουπλι-  
 κιανὸς Νεικῆ-  
 φορος φιλοσέ-  
 βαστος ἀσιάρχης  
 καὶ πρύτανις ἐχαρί-  
 σατο κανναβαρίοις  
 τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σερβει-  
 (λ)είου στοᾷ διάστυ-  
 λα δύο

Good Fortune! Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus, *philosebastos*, asiarch, and *prytanis* gave two booths to the hemp workers in the stoa of Servilius.

The second inscription on this column followed the same linguistic pattern naming the ἀσκόμισθοι, those who hired out wineskins, as recipients of Nicephorus' generosity in providing booths.<sup>75</sup> That the κανναβάριοι of the stoa of Servilius are named in the latrine columns of the Vedium baths and on this column found in the vicinity of the baths surely indicates the proximity of the two structures. Keil noted that this column probably belonged to a series discovered earlier by Heberdey in the areas of the theatre and the harbour swamp. These named the same Nicephorus and the groups to whom he gave booths: the association of the sacred tasters (? συνεργασία ἱεροῦ γεύματος), the association of the private bath managers (συνεργασία βαλανέων πρεβάτων), that of the nut vendors (πυρήναδες), and of the cobblers (ταυρεῖναδοι).<sup>76</sup> Excavations undertaken by the Selçuk Museum in 1981 on the street between the theatre baths and the stadium brought to light two more columns that were clearly part of this same series, naming M. Publicianus Nicephorus and the groups for whom he erected booths: the association of the sacred wine tasters (? συνεργασία οἰνηροῦ ἱεροῦ γεύματος) and the meat-in-aspic vendors (εἰσικισπῳλαιοι).<sup>77</sup> Although they were found in three different locations in the city, Dieter Knibbe suggested that the likely place for such a colonnade housing the shops of the workers' associations was on the road between the theatre baths and the stadium where the columns of

<sup>74</sup> Keil 1929a: 30–31.

<sup>75</sup> Keil 1929a: 32; *IE* 445 and 444.

<sup>76</sup> *FiE* II no. 76–82 = *IE* 2076–82. *FiE* II no. 80 and 81 = *IE* 2080 and 2081: both name the ταυρεῖναδοι, cobblers; *FiE* II no. 77 and 82 = *IE* 2077 and 2082 do not preserve the names of the associations.

<sup>77</sup> Knibbe 1985: no. 1; *SEG* 35, 1109; Knibbe 1985: no. 2; *SEG* 35, 1110.

the 1981 excavation were found. As a major traffic artery in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and part of the Sacred Way leading to the Artemisium, it was an ideal place for trade and workshops, and was likely provided with a colonnade. This colonnade may well be the stoa of Servilius named on the column found by Keil and on the latrine column. Knibbe has suggested that P. Servilius Isauricus, consul in 48 B.C. and proconsul of Asia in 46–44 B.C., built the original colonnade here. In the early third century, M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus, asiarch and an *advocatus fisci* under Severus Alexander (*IE* 632), renovated for the workers' associations the colonnade that retained its name as the stoa of Servilius. The food and drink selling associations, as well as the managers of private baths and the towel vendors, seem very much at home in this well-frequented area associated with baths and entertainment.

Knibbe also suggested a link between this colonnade and the bath-gymnasium built by Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane. In his view, the columns in the latrine which name workers' associations in the genitive case were not *spolia*, but part of the original bath building. Names written in the genitive case on architectural features such as columns or seats generally are interpreted as place markers.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, according to Knibbe, these columns may indicate that the associations named on them considered this bath-gymnasium their "Stammgymnasium" or "Stammtherme."<sup>79</sup> Evidence from other baths in the Roman world may confirm that they could serve as social clubs for particular associations.<sup>80</sup>

Did Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane choose to build a bath complex in this neighbourhood in order to gain the support of workers' associations? There is plenty of evidence from the eastern Roman Empire to indicate that benefactors did, in fact, focus their building activities on workers' associations.<sup>81</sup> However, it may be that Vedius and Flavia had little choice as to the location of their bath building. Such a structure required both a large area and access to a water supply. The building boom that began in the reign of Domitian and continued through the early second century had taken up most of the free space in the more central area of the city.<sup>82</sup> But this location was not a bad one: it was a high traffic area, on the Sacred Way, and had associations with pleasure and with commerce.

<sup>78</sup> Van Nijf (1997: 209–239) discusses place inscriptions, especially in theatres, but also notes other loci for *topos* inscriptions, such as burial plots, tomb complexes, porticoes, market squares, and the latrines of the bath-gymnasium of Vedius.

<sup>79</sup> Knibbe 1985: 76.

<sup>80</sup> Yegül (1992: 32) on the Cluny baths in Paris, where the consoles supporting the vaulting of the *frigidarium* were decorated with reliefs of boats, indicating, it seems, that associations of shippers used these baths. The inscribed columns of the latrine of the baths of Vedius may provide the best evidence yet for baths catering, at least partly, to special groups.

<sup>81</sup> Van Nijf 1997: 82–85.

<sup>82</sup> Scherrer 2001: 69–79.

IV. LOCAL HONOURS: THE VEDII ANTONINI AS PATRONS  
OF ASSOCIATIONS AND OF THE KORESSOS AREA

A number of honorific statues and bases (*IE* 727, 728, 2065, 3075) erected by associations to members of the Vedii Antonini family seems to demonstrate:

- (1) that the father and grandfather of P. Veditus Antoninus III were active as patrons and benefactors of the city of Ephesos, as well as of particular associations. Veditus Antoninus III, therefore, was continuing a tradition of patronage and benefaction that began with his grandfather and father;
- (2) that at least one workers' association linked to the neighbourhood of the Veditus baths may have honoured P. Veditus Antoninus III as its patron;
- (3) that P. Veditus Papianus Antoninus, the son of Veditus III, became patron not only of the whole city, but particularly of the Koressos area, in the vicinity of the Veditus baths, indicating that patronage could be directed at specific areas of a city.

All the inscriptions in this group honour P. Veditus Antoninus (*IE* 727, 728, 2065, 3075). The editors of *IE* have assigned all of them to P. Veditus Antoninus III, the builder of the Veditus baths and the bouleuterion, no doubt because he is the subject of the most well-known inscriptions: *IE* 1491–93, which detail his dispute with the Ephesians, and *IE* 438 and 460, the building inscriptions of the Veditus baths and bouleuterion, respectively.<sup>83</sup> Is the identification of all these inscriptions with P. Veditus Antoninus III secure, however? Or do some of them better fit the earlier members of the family, Veditus I and Veditus II?<sup>84</sup> I will argue that the latter may be the case, and that the patronage of associations by the earlier Vedii Antonini was an important prelude to Veditus III's construction of the bath-gymnasium complex.<sup>85</sup>

On two of these statue-bases, P. Veditus Antoninus is referred to as εὐεργέτης, or benefactor (*IE* 2065, 3075). Three honour P. Veditus Antoninus as κτίστης, or founder, a term often used to refer to individuals who had physically beautified or added to the city (*IE* 725, 2065, 3075). *IE* 728, the longest of these inscriptions, praises P. Veditus Antoninus for having adorned the city "with many major works" (πολλοῖς καὶ / μεγάλοις ἔργοις κεκοσ-/μήκοτα τὴν πόλιν, lines 27–29). However, the terms εὐεργέτης and κτίστης, and even the longer expression in *IE* 728, are part of stock honorific vocabulary, and are not very specific about the particular benefits received from the benefactor. We are obliged, therefore, to

<sup>83</sup> See *IE* VII, 1 (90) for the list of inscriptions assigned by the editors to Veditus III.

<sup>84</sup> Wörle (1973), Bowie (1978), and Fontani (1996) address the attribution of some inscriptions among the homonymous Vedii Antonini; however, this group of inscriptions has been neglected.

<sup>85</sup> Fontani (1996) argues that Veditus I and II were important benefactors in their own right and even suggests that Veditus II may be the subject of *IE* 1491–93.

use other evidence to speculate on what the nature of these benefits might have been.<sup>86</sup>

a) *IE 728*. The statue-base commissioned by the boule and demos of Ephesos to honour P. Vedius Antoninus, son of P. Vedius Antoninus, is the most important of the group because the identification of the two P. Vedii Antonini named clarifies the assignment of several other inscriptions. Its inscription runs as follows:

	τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως
	τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν
	Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος]
4	ἔτείμησεν
	Πο. Οὐῆδιον Ἀντωνεῖνον, υἱὸν Πο.
	Οὐῆδιου Ἀντωνεῖνου, πρυτάνεως
	καὶ γυμνασιάρχου καὶ δις γραμματέως
8	τοῦ δήμου [καὶ ἀ]σιάρχου καὶ πανη-
	γυριάρχου τῶν μεγάλ[ω]ν Ἐφεσίων
	καὶ Πασιθέων, πρεσβεύσαντος
	πρὸς τε τὴν σύγκλητον
12	καὶ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας,
	καὶ αὐτὸν πρύτανιν καὶ
	γραμματέα καὶ ἀσιάρχην
	καὶ πανηγυρίάρχον τῶν
16	μεγάλων Ἐφεσίων καὶ
	ἀλυτάρχην τῶν Ὀλυμπίων,
	πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τε τὴν
	σύγκλητον καὶ τοὺς αὐτο-
20	κράτορας περὶ τῶν μεγίστων
	καὶ ἀεὶ νικήσαντα, γυμνα-
	σιαρχήσαντα δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς
	ἐπιδημίαις τοῦ μεγίστου
24	αὐτοκράτορος Λουκίου
	Αὐρηλίου Οὐῆρου ἀνεν-
	δεῶς πᾶσιν αἷς ἐπεδήμη-
	σεν ἡμέραις, πολλοῖς καὶ
28	μεγάλοις ἔργοις κεκοσ-
	μηκότα τὴν πόλιν καὶ
	ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ προθύμως
	καὶ ἐκουσίως πεφιλοτειμη-
32	μένον.
	τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνέστησαν
	οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ γεῦμα πραγμα-
	τευόμενοι

<sup>86</sup> See van Nijf 1997: 82: "The honorific language of inscriptions served to present certain relationships in socially acceptable terms. Inscriptions were not designed to be specific: euphemism and double speak were, in fact, part and parcel of the honorific vocabulary."

The boule and demos of the first and greatest metropolis of Asia, and of the twice neocate city of the Ephesians honoured Publius Vedius Antoninus, son of Publius Vedius Antoninus, who was *prytanis* and gymnasiarch and twice grammateus of the demos, and asiarch and panegyriarch of the great Ephesia and Pasithea, and ambassador to both the senate and the emperors; he himself was *prytanis* and grammateus, and asiarch and panegyriarch of the great Ephesia and altyarch of the Olympics, and as ambassador to both the senate and the emperors concerning very great matters he was always victorious, and he faultlessly performed the duties of gymnasiarch during the visit of the greatest emperor Lucius Aurelius Verus for all the days that he visited; and he adorned the city with many great works and at every opportunity enthusiastically and willingly he exercised his generosity. The workers in taste set up this statue.

On the basis of the very full range of offices that is recorded for each, the pair can be identified as Vedius I and Vedius II. The key identifying point is that P. Vedius Antoninus I was the only one of the three homonymous Vedii Antonini to hold the office of grammateus twice, an iteration that is extremely rare. We know this from *IE* 429, the inscription from the small temple on the Embolos dedicated to Artemis, Hadrian, and the demos, which belongs to the period of the city's first neocory, and is dated precisely to 117/8 by the proconsulate of Servaeus Innocens.<sup>87</sup> *IE* 728 also names P. Vedius Antoninus as twice grammateus and asiarch. Thus, the Vedius *père* in this inscription is Vedius I, while Vedius II, his adopted son, is the direct honorand. If P. Vedius Antoninus III had been the honorand—which is suggested in *IE*—then this inscription neglects to mention his greatest office, quaestor designate, which gave him entrance to the senatorial order. This seems highly unlikely.<sup>88</sup>

*IE* 728, then, was put up to honour P. Vedius Antoninus II, son of P. Vedius Antoninus I, for holding a gymnasiarchy at the very end of a splendid public career,<sup>89</sup> during the visits of L. Verus to the city in 162/3.<sup>90</sup> He had held many civic and festival offices, but also “decorated the city with many and great works” (πολλοῖς καὶ / μεγάλοις ἔργοις κεκοσ-/μηκότα τὴν πόλιν, lines 27–29). However, epigraphic evidence for his involvement in building is slim. Only *IE* 2039, a building inscription that commemorates renovations in the theatre funded by the city itself, names him as grammateus. If he was involved in other building projects, which he may well have been, we have no evidence for it.

But who were οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ γεῦμα πραγματευόμενοι, the “workers in taste,” and why did they pay for the statue and the base erected to honour P. Vedius Antoninus II? They are no doubt related to the συνεργασία ἱεροῦ γεύματος and the συνεργασία οἰνηροῦ ἱεροῦ γεύματος known from the columns of the

<sup>87</sup> On the dating of this inscription and its assignment to Vedius I, see Wörrle 1973.

<sup>88</sup> Wörrle 1973: 474.

<sup>89</sup> There were age limits for holding magistracies. However, as Campanile (1994b: 110) suggests, a person who offered spontaneously to undertake a burdensome magistracy would not likely be rejected, despite having passed the age limit.

<sup>90</sup> Barnes 1967: 70–72.

stoa of Servilius. H. Engelmann identified the συνεργασία οἰνηροῦ ἱεροῦ γεύματος as the sellers of wine produced from the vineyards of Artemis in the Kayster valley who had their shops on the Sacred Way, between the theatre baths and the stadium.<sup>91</sup> Thus, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ γεῦμα πραγματευόμενοι may have been a generic term for various associations of food workers, including the sacred wine sellers, who had their shops in the stoa of Servilius. This was an area in which food sellers must have thrived because of proximity to entertainment centres, such as the stadium and the Vedius baths.<sup>92</sup> During his gymnasiarchy in 162/3, Vedius II provided oil for those going to the baths. We may imagine that a festive spirit, in keeping with that of the emperor L. Verus,<sup>93</sup> took hold of Ephesos during his visits—and that all places of entertainment were full. It is possible that the food workers who put up this inscription to Vedius II were acknowledging the extra custom that he had indirectly provided them during these days. There is a related and more longstanding association between Vedius II (and Vedius I) and the food workers: he had been asiarch and, in this capacity, was responsible for sponsoring festivals with athletic and gladiatorial competitions in the theatre and stadium.<sup>94</sup> In providing games, he may be seen as indirectly supporting the food workers in the festival locations because of the increase in the number of potential customers. Furthermore, both Vedius II and Vedius I had been panegyriarchs of the Ephesia, a position that entailed supervision of the food supply and markets during the festival.<sup>95</sup> It is also possible that Vedius II provided a more direct sort of patronage to the workers' associations involved in food preparation and selling, though we can only speculate on its nature.<sup>96</sup>

Four other inscriptions from Ephesos are relevant because they appear to link members of the Vedii Antonini family, in their capacity as asiarchs, to associations of gladiators and their fans who refer to themselves as φιλοβήδιοι φίλοπλοι, "the friends of the Vedii who love arms."<sup>97</sup> The connection between gladiatorial games and the imperial cult is well known. Steven Friesen has recently argued for a strong connection between the asiarchy and the provision of gladiatorial games at provincial festivals, some of them associated with the imperial cult.<sup>98</sup> A very fragmentary inscription found near the Magnesia gate preserves partially

<sup>91</sup> Engelmann 1986.

<sup>92</sup> The association of the stoa with the Sacred Way to the Artemisium is also important, as a place for people to provision themselves for the walk to the temple and to acquire food or wine for sacrifice.

<sup>93</sup> SHA *Verus* 4.4–6.6 on the debaucheries of Verus; Barnes 1967: 69–70.

<sup>94</sup> Friesen 1999a: esp. 281, 285, 287–288, following Magie 1950: 1.449–451, 2.1298–1301; Robert 1940a: 267–275. On the stadium as a site of gladiatorial entertainments, see Robert 1940a: 34–36; Roueché 1993: 1, 61–80 and plate XII, no. 45.

<sup>95</sup> Wörle 1988: 209–215.

<sup>96</sup> See van Nijf 1997: 73–128 on the variety of benefactions provided by patrons.

<sup>97</sup> *IE* 2905, 2226, 3055, 3070; Robert 1940a: 24–27 and nos. 200–202.

<sup>98</sup> Friesen 1999a: 281, 285–288.

the name φιλοβήδιοι (*IE* 2905). Another inscription provides intriguing links between the φιλοβήδιοι and the sacralization of food.<sup>99</sup> This inscription from the sarcophagus of Aurelius Nikon and Aurelia Epikrateia (a baker and his wife) orders those who disturb the tomb to pay a penalty to the φιλοπλία φιλοβηδίων and to the φιλοπλία ἱεροῦ μακέλου (*IE* 2226). The reference to sacred food and the Vedii echoes the inscriptions of the association of the ἱερὸν γεῦμα, referred to above. Two other inscriptions—one dated with some certainty to the third century—record that the φιλοβήδιοι φίλοπλοι erected statues to their own patrons who had held the office of asiarch (*IE* 3055, 3070). Their careers make it evident that the honorands were not members of the family of the Vedii Antonini, and the fragmentary nature of the inscriptions prohibits us from identifying them precisely. The φιλοβήδιοι inscriptions demonstrate that there was a tradition of patronage of gladiatorial associations among the Vedii Antonini that was likely connected with the asiarchies of Vedius I and Vedius II.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, one of these inscriptions indicates the localized nature of patronage relationships: it was erected by οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ φιλοβήδιοι φίλοπλοι “the friends of Vedii and the lovers of arms in this area.”<sup>101</sup> It is a pity that we do not know where the inscription stood in antiquity. Could it have been in the area of the baths of Vedius and the stadium where games provided by asiarchs took place, and where the Vedii Antonini had a strong neighbourhood connection, as we shall see?

b) *IE* 3075. In this inscription, the ναυουργοὶ τέκτονες or temple builders erect a statue to P. Vedius Antoninus, who is κτίστης τῆς πόλεως, as their own benefactor, ἴδιος εὐεργέτης.<sup>102</sup> There are no clues, such as the naming of offices held by the benefactor, that can allow us to rule out immediately any of the homonymous Vedii Antonini. However, an argument can be made to support Vedius I as the honorand. *IE* 1384, a fragmentary record of building in the Hephaestion and the Artemisium, records three times the name of a P. Vedius Antoninus. The inscription is dated to 116/7 by the proconsulate of Ti. Iulius Ferox.<sup>103</sup> We know that Vedius I was active in this period from *IE* 429, the inscription of the temple on the Embolos dedicated to Artemis, Hadrian, and the demos, which is dated to 117/8 by the proconsulate of Q. Servaeus Innocens.<sup>104</sup> Both *IE* 1384 and *IE* 429 demonstrate that Vedius I was connected with temple building. It seems fitting, therefore, that the association of ναυουργοὶ τέκτονες would name him as their benefactor.

<sup>99</sup> On banquets and feasts associated with imperial cult practice, see Price 1984: 229–230.

<sup>100</sup> Friesen 1999a: 281: seven of the asiarchs that he studies are recorded as patrons of gladiators.

<sup>101</sup> *IE* 3070; Keil 1923: 152, no. 70; Robert 1940a: no. 200; Gallina 1974: 225.

<sup>102</sup> *IE* 3075: — — — — — / ἐτείμησεν / Πο. Οὐήδιον / Ἀντωνεῖνον / τὸν κτίστην / τῆς πόλεως / τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην / ναυουργοὶ τέκτονες (“The temple builders honoured P. Vedius Antoninus, founder of the city, as their own benefactor”).

<sup>103</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 306; Eck 1983: 182–183.

<sup>104</sup> On this inscription, see Wörle 1973.



c) *IE* 2065. In an undated inscription, the teachers of the Mouseion, οἱ περὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον παιδευταί,<sup>105</sup> honoured P. Vedius Antoninus asiarch as their benefactor (εὐεργέτης) and as κτίστης τῆς πατρίδος, founder of the city. The mention of the office of asiarch most likely eliminates from consideration as honorand Vedius III, the builder of the Vedius baths and bouleterion: no inscription that can be indisputably assigned to him names him asiarch.<sup>106</sup> Vedius I, however, is noted as asiarch (and twice grammateus) on *IE* 429, the inscription on the temple dedicated to Artemis, Hadrian, and the demos, and on *IE* 728. *IE* 2039, which commemorates the city's repair of the theatre from its own funds in its second neocory, has been assigned to Vedius II, who is named as asiarch and grammateus.<sup>107</sup> An edict of Antoninus Pius preserved as a quotation in the *Digest* may clarify the link between the P. Vedius Antoninus honoured in *IE* 2065 and the Mouseion teachers.<sup>108</sup> Early in his reign, Antoninus Pius limited the number of teachers and doctors in the cities of Asia who were immune from civic liturgies, moderating the edict of Hadrian that had given immunity to all practitioners of these professions. Under Pius' ruling, in a large city like Ephesos, immunities were limited to ten doctors, five *grammatici*, and five *rhetoires/sophistai*. Appeals for ἀτελεῖα, however, were not unheard of.<sup>109</sup> It may be that P. Vedius Antoninus performed such a service for the group of teachers belonging to the Mouseion at Ephesos. Successful or not, such an action deserved recognition. Since the edict dates from the period of Antoninus Pius, it seems more likely that *IE* 2065 honours Vedius II than Vedius I who, given his activity as grammateus and asiarch in 117/8, would have been by this time quite old, certainly retired from civic life, or possibly dead.<sup>110</sup>

d) *IE* 727. This base was put up by the συνεργασία τῶν λαναρίων, the association of the wool weavers, to honour P. Vedius Antoninus, κτίστης τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως, founder of the city of the Ephesians. No offices are listed which might aid in determining the identity of this Vedius Antoninus. However, consideration of other epigraphic evidence may allow us to assign this inscription to P. Vedius Antoninus III. Most importantly, one of the columns from the latrines of the Vedius baths names an association related to this one, the ἐρισπῶλαι or wool vendors. Although wool making and wool selling are very different processes, it is possible that P. Vedius Antoninus III was patron of groups involved in the wool trade, from weaving to sales. Furthermore, the wool weavers seem to fit

<sup>105</sup> οἱ περὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον παιδευταί are also mentioned in *IE* 3068, where they honour a female lampadarch, Pontia Apelliane.

<sup>106</sup> See, however, Campanile 1994a: 115.

<sup>107</sup> *IE* 728, discussed above, 129–130, confirms that Vedius II was asiarch and grammateus once.

<sup>108</sup> *Dig.* 27.1.6.1–8, Modestinus *Libro secundo excusationum*.

<sup>109</sup> Bowersock 1969: 30–42; Millar 1983: 77–78, 82.

<sup>110</sup> It is notable that the connection of the Vedii Antonini with the rhetorical disciplines continues. Vedia Phaedrino, the daughter of P. Vedius Antoninus III, married the sophist T. Flavius Damianus: Philostr. *VS* 2.23; *IE* 2100, 3081.

well with other manufacturers of woven products represented in the latrine and stoa of Servilius column inscriptions (κανναβάριοι, λίνπλοκοι, λεντιυφανταί, κανι[.])ται). Although the evidence is admittedly incomplete, Vedius I and Vedius II do not appear to have links to the manufacturing sector. On these grounds I would argue that *IE* 727 be assigned to Vedius III.

Honorific statue bases erected to P. Vedius Papianus Antoninus (Vedius IV), the son of Vedius Antoninus III, indicate that like his father he continued the family tradition of patronage. *IE* 730 and 3079 call him τὸν ἐκ προγόνων καὶ γένους εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν, “benefactor and founder of our city, whose family and ancestors were likewise benefactors and founders.”<sup>111</sup> In *IE* 730 he is named as agonothete of the Hadrianeia, ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ βίου καὶ γένους / τῶν μεγάλων Ἀδριανήων. In his involvement in these festivals he was carrying on the tradition of his grandfather Vedius II and his great-grandfather Vedius I, who were both asiarchs and panegyriarchs (*IE* 728). Furthermore, the groups that paid for the erection of these inscriptions associated themselves with a very specific part of Ephesos, the Koressos neighbourhood: *IE* 730 was put up by the Κορρησσεῖται οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης ἕως τοῦ σταδίου, “the people of Koressos from the gate to the stadium.” Scholars have understood τῆς πύλης to be a reference to the Koressos gate, which is also mentioned in the foundation inscription of Vibius Salutaris.<sup>112</sup> Unfortunately the location of the gate is not known for certain. Scherrer has recently suggested that it may be the north gate of the market agora.<sup>113</sup> If this proves to be the case, then the area “from the gate to the stadium” parallels the area of the stoa of Servilius where, as I have argued above, there is evidence of Vedius Antoninus III’s patronage of workers’ associations. Scholarship, however, has established that the Koressos neighbourhood was located on the north slope of Panayır-Dağ, the area of the Vedius gymnasium.<sup>114</sup> The association of the Vedii Antonini and the Koressos is further reinforced by *IE* 3079. It was erected to Papianus by οἱ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ πραγματευόμενοι Ἀνδροκλειδαί. Keil, who first published the inscription,<sup>115</sup> argued that the Androkleidai were a group of merchants who named themselves after the legendary king and founder of Ephesos. Because this inscription was found in the market agora—it should be noted, with a number of other bases honouring members of the Vedii Antonini family—it has been suggested that the *topos* of these Androkleidai was the agora.<sup>116</sup> However, the Androkleidai have a strong connection to the Koressos area through their namesake Androklos. He slew a boar on the site where he was to found the archaic city, on the

<sup>111</sup> *IE* 730. The phraseology of *IE* 3079 varies slightly, omitting καὶ γένους.

<sup>112</sup> The gate is mentioned in Vibius Salutaris’ inscription several times: *IE* 27. I 212; II 425, 566.

<sup>113</sup> Scherrer 2001: 63, 67.

<sup>114</sup> On Koressos, see Engelmann 1991; 1997: esp. 133–134; Scherrer 2001: 60–61, 63, 73, with references.

<sup>115</sup> Keil 1923: 161, no. 79.

<sup>116</sup> For example, Rogers 1991a: 107–108.

slopes of Trecheia and Koressos (Ath. 8.361). Scholars have identified Trecheia with Panayır-Dağ, the mountain on whose northern slope were the Koressos neighbourhood and the Vedius baths.<sup>117</sup> The connection of Androklos with the Koressos was also commemorated in the baths themselves, where his over-lifesize statue was found.<sup>118</sup> Does this perhaps indicate that it was not only Papianus who was patron of the Androkleidai, but also his father, Vedius III, who built and decorated the Vedius baths?

The evidence of these inscriptions honouring Papianus demonstrates that the patronage of the Vedii was focused, at least in part, on certain groups in a specific area of the city. The asiarchies of Vedius I and II enabled them to establish ties with associations who had their businesses near the stadium, one of the venues for gladiatorial and other games. Vedius Antoninus III and Flavia Papiane constructed the major public bath-gymnasium in the area, which brought steady profit to the businesses in the stoa of Servilius, and the pleasures of bathing to passers-by and to the people of the Koressos. P. Vedius Papianus Antoninus inherited ties of patronage to this area as τὸν ἐκ προγόνων καὶ γένους εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν, and continued to enhance them, holding the position of agonothete, and eventually leaving his fortune to the goddess Artemis (IE 731).

#### V. THE VEDIUS GYMNASIUM AND THE IMPERIAL CULT

I have argued above that Vedius Antoninus and Antoninus Pius were already well acquainted when the dispute arose in Ephesos concerning the buildings that Vedius was offering the city—the bath-gymnasium and the bouleuterion. The emperor chose to support Vedius against the Ephesians in these projects and contributed to them, as IE 1491 demonstrates. This bath-gymnasium may also have been an expression of the loyalty of Vedius Antoninus III and Flavia Papiane to the imperial house, since it may have had a room for imperial cult practice.

It was during his excavations of the Vedius baths that J. Keil first identified the *Kaisersaal*, a room that he believed was a locus of imperial cult practice. Since then, other possible *Kaisersäle* have been identified in the bath-gymnasia of Asia Minor, including in the east and harbour baths at Ephesos.<sup>119</sup> In the Vedius baths, the room in question was centrally placed on the east-west axis of the building and was entered from the palaestra through a columnar screen (fig. 2). Its back wall, two storeys high, was articulated by columns and pilasters which once framed a series of statues standing on a low socle. In the centre of the wall

<sup>117</sup> Rogers 1991a: 108 with nn. 219–222; Engelmann 1997.

<sup>118</sup> The statue of Androklos with the head of Antinoos was found in the *Kaisersaal* of the Vedius baths: Aurenhammer 1990: 126–129, Taf. 73 c–d, 74 a–c; Manderscheid 1981: 26, Taf. 28.

<sup>119</sup> For the general features of the *Kaisersaal* and an interpretation of its architectural iconography, see Yegül 1982: 7. But Price (1984: 144) cautions against identifying these rooms as being used for imperial cult practice on the basis of architecture alone: rooms can only be identified as being used for cult practice on the basis of indisputable evidence, like inscribed altars, as at Pergamon and Salamis.

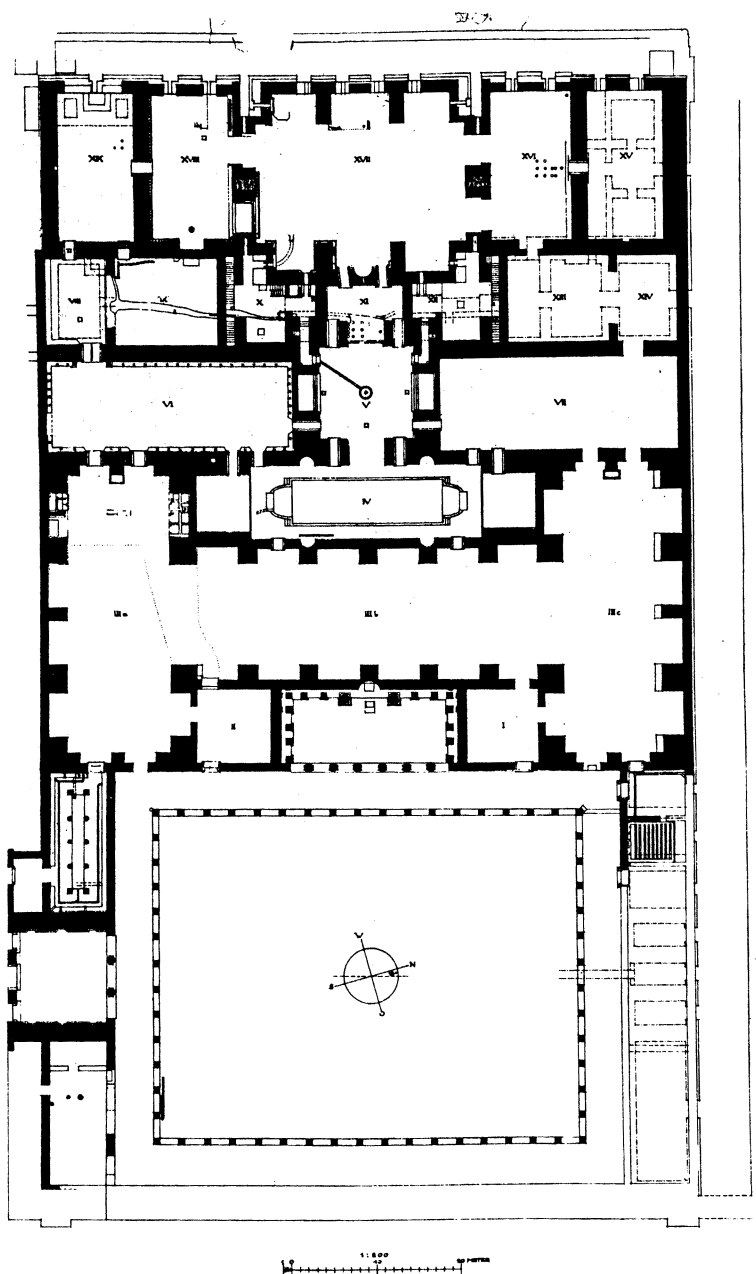


Fig. 2. The Vedius bath-gymnasium, Ephesos. (ÖAI)

was a broad but shallow niche that contained an uninscribed statue base *in situ*. In front of the niche was an altar. The conjunction of niche and altar, as well as the central location and rich decoration of the room, led Keil to suppose that the god worshipped here was none other than the emperor Antoninus Pius, whose name appeared on the dedicatory inscription of the building (*IE* 439). Although statues were found in the so-called *Kaisersaal* of the Vedium baths—a male portrait (which has been identified as Vedium Antoninus) and a number of mythological subjects—no imperial statue was among them.<sup>120</sup> However, an architecturally similar room, opening off the palaestra in the east baths of Ephesos, displayed a portrait statue that may reinforce the idea that such rooms were intended for imperial cult. This over-lifesize statue of a bearded man wears the distinctive head-dress of an imperial priest, which is decorated with small busts of gods.<sup>121</sup> F. Yegül has also argued that the architectural iconography and decoration of the *Kaisersaal* resembles the *scaenae frontes* of Roman theatres.<sup>122</sup> Since the theatre was the premier place of Dionysus, and Roman emperors were called the New Dionysus,<sup>123</sup> the *Kaisersaal* had imperial resonances. In this context, it is notable that a Dionysiac relief panel was found in the Vedium baths.<sup>124</sup> If the room opening off the palaestra was devoted to imperial cult, then, by incorporating it in their building, Vedium and Flavia were demonstrating their loyalty to the imperial house, and were providing users of the baths with a venue to do likewise. But perhaps the most important imperial resonance of bath gymnasial complexes is also the subtlest: with their rich decoration and their availability to people of all classes, bath-gymnasial expressed the universal benefits of the imperial peace.

Although epigraphic evidence associates members of Vedium Antoninus' family with the imperial cult, at the same time it demonstrates that he himself was not a high priest of Asia. In *IE* 729 his wife, Flavia Papiane, is recorded as high priestess of Asia, and the daughter of high priests: Φλαουίαν / Παπιανήν / ἀρχιέρειαν τῆς Ἀσί- / ας καὶ ἀρχιερέων θυ- / γατέρα, γυναῖκα δέ / Πο. Οὐηδίου Ἀντω- / νείνου / Πο. Οὐήδιος Γαλάτης / Ἀχιλλεύς / τὴν εὐεργέτιν ("P. Vedium Galates Achilleus [honoured] as his very own benefactress

<sup>120</sup> Keil 1929a: 34–36 and figs. 16–17; on the statuary in the *Kaisersaal*, largely mythological, see Keil 1929a: 37–45 and figs. 19–27, 30; on relief panels with mythological scenes, see figs. 28–31. See also Manderscheid 1981: 36–37, 43–46 with fig. 15, and 88–99 with plates 26–28; Aurenhammer 1990: nos. 23, 37, 66, 86, 87, 135, 138.

<sup>121</sup> Keil 1932: 40–43, no. 6 and figs. 23, 25; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966: 128, no. 151 and plates 83.4, 87.1–2. Dillon (1996) has recently argued that this portrait and the male portrait found in the Vedium baths may be Vedium Antoninus III. Smith (1998: 81–82) is more cautious about the identification.

<sup>122</sup> Yegül 1982: 23–26.

<sup>123</sup> Especially Hadrian: see Nock 1972: 145–152.

<sup>124</sup> Keil 1929a: 42 and fig. 29. Manderscheid (1981: 36–38) argues for the identity of this room as a hall for imperial cult practice on the basis of the sculptural program, though he does not mention the Dionysiac imagery.

Flavia Papiane high priestess of Asia, daughter of high priests and wife of P. Vedius Antoninus [Vedius III]). In *IE* 732 his father, Vedius II, is recorded as high priest of Asia: [Πο.] Οὐήδιον Ἀντωνεῖνον συνκλητικόν, / ὕδν Μ. Κλ. Πο. Οὐήδιου Ἀντωνεῖνου Φαί-/δρου Σαβεινιανοῦ συνκλητικοῦ / ἔκγονον Μ. Κλ. Πο. Οὐήδιου Ἀντωνεῖνου / Σαβείνου ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν / πολλοῖς καὶ ἀνανκαίοις χρήσιμον ("Vedius Antoninus, senator, useful in all necessities [Vedius IV], son of M. Cl. P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus, senator [Vedius III], son of M. Cl. P. Vedius Antoninus Sabinus, high priest of Asia [Vedius II]"). Both inscriptions name Vedius Antoninus III in contexts where it would be appropriate to mention a high priesthood for him. Indeed it seems particularly unlikely that the inscription to Flavia as high priestess would mention her forbears as high priests, but not her husband, had he been one. *IE* 732 nicely reinforces this: both Vedius III and his son Vedius Papianus—who is mentioned in the first line—are called συνκλητικοί, while P. Vedius II is called high priest. Neither Vedius III nor Vedius IV (Papianus) needed to hold high priesthood after gaining senatorial rank: their connection to the imperial power was embodied in their status as senators.

#### VI. THE BOULEUTERION: IMPERIAL REFLECTIONS

Excavations undertaken in the bouleuterion by J. T. Wood in 1864–66, and in the early years of the twentieth century by the Austrian mission, revealed an elegant building (fig. 3).<sup>125</sup> The stairs, the seats of the auditorium, and the *scenae frons* were clad in fine white marble, the latter accented by columns of Egyptian syenite or red granite.<sup>126</sup> Two monumental building inscriptions named Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane as builders of the structure, but the fragmentary nature of the texts cannot provide precise dating.<sup>127</sup> In my view, this structure, like the bath-gymnasium, was part of the building program proposed by Vedius Antoninus and commemorated in the imperial letters inscribed in the building. The bouleuterion was probably completed and dedicated after the gymnasium, thus after 146–148. A date closer to 150 is suitable. This is the date of the latest letter inscribed in the bouleuterion wherein Antoninus Pius acknowledges the Ephesians' tardy recognition of Vedius' benefactions (*IE* 1493). The sculptural program of the building also reinforces this date. The placement of the bouleuterion in the architectural landscape of Ephesos and its epigraphic and sculptural programs emphasize both Vedius Antoninus' (and his family's) prominent place in the city, and especially his imperial connections.

<sup>125</sup> Heberdey 1912: 164–174 and figs. 132–134.

<sup>126</sup> Wood (1877: 42–67) indicates that when the odeum was first cleared the *scenae frons* was preserved to a height of seven feet and six inches. He remarks that his workmen had difficulty tolerating the light and heat reflected by its white marble facing. L. Bier is completing an architectural study of the building: see Bier 1999.

<sup>127</sup> *IE* 460; Heberdey 1912: 172–173.

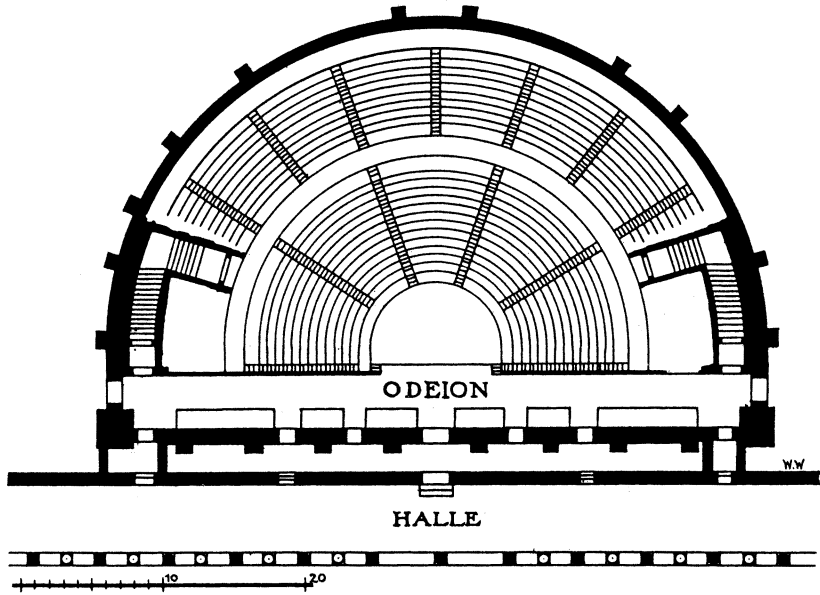


Fig. 3. The bouleuterion, Ephesos. (ÖAI)

The placement of this structure in the civic agora confirms its identification as a bouleuterion.<sup>128</sup> Located on the north side of the upper or state agora, the bouleuterion was in the heart of an area with civic resonances (fig. 4, no. 3). It was very near the prytaneion (fig. 4, no. 5), the home of Hestia Boulaia, where the sacred fire of the city burned.<sup>129</sup> That Vedius Antoninus was permitted to build the bouleuterion and inscribe the names of himself and his wife on it testifies to the extent of his influence in the city. It is nicely ironic that the Ephesian πολιτευόμενοι who had opposed his building program would now be required to meet in a building whose construction they had tried (unsuccessfully) to prevent.

The upper agora was also the symbolic centre of Roman power in Ephesos. Between the prytaneion and the bouleuterion was a *temenos* built shortly after 29 B.C. (Dio 51.20.6), either for Divus Iulius and Dea Roma,<sup>130</sup> or, as Peter

<sup>128</sup> Fossel 1967: 72–81; Meinel 1980: 116–133; Balty 1991: 511–514.

<sup>129</sup> On the cult of Hestia, see Merkelbach 1980. On the inscriptions from the prytaneion at Ephesos, see *IE* 1001–80b and *FiE* IX.1.1, 13–69, 75–76.

<sup>130</sup> For bibliography supporting this identification, see Price 1984: 139 and 254 cat. no. 27; Rogers 1991a: 87–88.

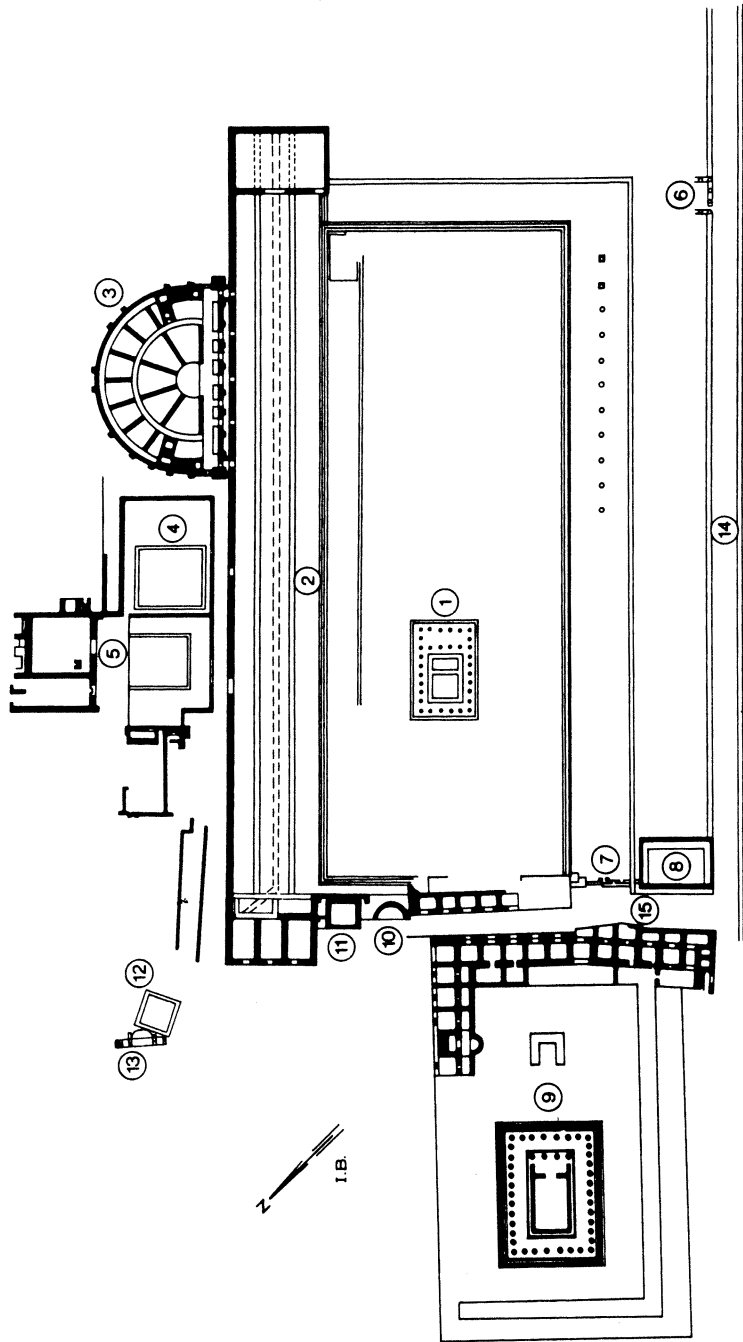


Fig. 4. The upper or state agora, Ephesos. (Scherer 2001: 70, figs. 3–10. ÖAI)



Scherrer has recently proposed, for Augustus and Artemis.<sup>131</sup> The monumental frontage of these structures on the north side of the agora was the *stoa basilike* (fig. 4, no. 2), dedicated to Artemis, Augustus, Tiberius, and the demos of Ephesos, and built by C. Sextilius Pollio and his family by A.D. 11 (*IE* 404). The architrave inscription of the structure is truly monumental and is one of the few bilingual inscriptions in Ephesos, emphasizing the primacy of Rome.<sup>132</sup> At the east end of the *stoa basilike* over-lifesize statues of Augustus and Livia were found buried under the floor; these no doubt formed part of the original sculptural program of the building.<sup>133</sup> The temple of the Flavian Sebastoi, which marked Ephesos' first neocory granted in 88/9, dominated the west end of the upper agora (fig. 4, no. 6).<sup>134</sup> In the centre of the agora was another temple built in the second half of the first century B.C. (fig. 4, no. 1). It may have been dedicated to Isis, to M. Antonius and Cleopatra, to Augustus, or to Divus Iulius and Dea Roma.<sup>135</sup> In any case, not only were the temples to ruling and dead imperial figures concentrated here, but there was also at least one monument dedicated by a Roman governor: the Hydrekdochion of C. Laecanius Bassus, built in A.D. 80/1 (fig. 4, no. 8).<sup>136</sup> In its topographical context, the bouleuterion has strong associations with Roman emperors and imperial government in general.

The epigraphic program of the bouleuterion also highlighted Vedius Antoninus' ties to the imperial house. All of the inscriptions in the building, with the exception of three, name P. Vedius Antoninus III, and one of these exceptions names his father P. Vedius Antoninus II. Monumental fragmentary architrave and wallfrieze inscriptions commemorated Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane as builders of the bouleuterion (*IE* 460). The imperial letters that have been the subject of this paper were inscribed as a group on the proscaenium (*IE* 1491–93). This display of imperial letters in the bouleuterion at Ephesos is unusual because their content is critical of the city of Ephesos but positive with respect to Vedius Antoninus. It is reasonable to suggest that, like the architrave and wallfrieze inscriptions, it was on Vedius Antoninus' initiative that these three letters were displayed in the building that he and his wife constructed.

The same is likely true of *IE* 1489, another letter of Antoninus Pius inscribed on a panel on the proscaenium and located next to *IE* 1491–93. Written between 140 and 144 to the magistrates, boule, and demos of Ephesos, it addresses an Ephesian complaint about Smyrna's omission of Ephesos' civic titles in a decree

<sup>131</sup> Scherrer 2001: 71 and n. 59.

<sup>132</sup> Knibbe and Büyükkolancı 1989.

<sup>133</sup> Alzinger 1972–75: 257–264 and figs. 16, 18, 19.

<sup>134</sup> For a summary of the excavations of this structure and a discussion of its identification, see Friesen 1993: 59–75.

<sup>135</sup> For dedication to Isis, M. Antony and Cleopatra, and Augustus, see Rogers 1991a: 88 with nn. 60–62; for dedication to Divus Iulius and Dea Roma, see Scherrer 2001: 69.

<sup>136</sup> *IE* 695; Fossel and Langmann 1983: 53–55.

concerning joint sacrifices. The grammateus responsible for the drafting of the ψήφισμα, or decree of complaint to the emperor, was P. Vedius Antoninus. Although the inscription has been assigned to P. Vedius Antoninus III by Börker and Merkelbach, the editors of *IE*,<sup>137</sup> it is more likely that it refers to his father, P. Vedius Antoninus II, whom we know to have been grammateus from two other inscriptions (*IE* 2039 and 728).<sup>138</sup> No inscriptions that can be certainly assigned to Vedius Antoninus III name him as grammateus. Furthermore, on my reconstruction of his career, by the date of this letter P. Vedius Antoninus III was already a senator; holding the office of grammateus would, therefore, have been superfluous. What we see here, then, is Vedius Antoninus III commemorating his father's successful actions as grammateus. Vedius II had drafted—and possibly even initiated—the decree of complaint against Smyrna to Antoninus Pius. He could also be credited with the positive response elicited from the emperor.<sup>139</sup> It is notable that this inscription survives in two other copies.<sup>140</sup>

Two other letters were also inscribed in the bouleuterion. *IE* 1487 was inscribed on the proscaenium, while fragments of *IE* 1488 were found inside and in front of the bouleuterion; however, its dimensions seem to indicate that it was probably not inscribed on the proscaenium.<sup>141</sup> Both are letters of Hadrian (dated to 129) addressed to the magistrates and boule of Ephesos supporting the application for membership in the boule of the ship-captains Lucius Erastos and Philokyrios. It appears that these letters were inscribed in the bouleuterion because they concerned admission to membership in the boule, which met in this building.<sup>142</sup> Furthermore, they are examples of intervention by an emperor on behalf of petitioners, and thus have some parallel to the case of P. Vedius Antoninus III. We have no other information that may connect Lucius Erastos and Philokyrios to the Vedii Antonini.<sup>143</sup> Nonetheless, as a group, the inscriptions in the bouleuterion seem to be part of a conscious epigraphic program, with the

<sup>137</sup> *IE* V (32–33).

<sup>138</sup> Bowie 1978: 870–871 with n. 15; Fontani 1996: 232–233.

<sup>139</sup> Fontani (1996: 232) hypothesizes that *IE* 1489 refers to a successful ambassadorship of P. Vedius Antoninus II commemorated in *IE* 728 lines 18–21 by the phrase πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τε τὴν / σύγκλητον καὶ τοὺς αὐτο- / κράτορας περὶ τῶν μεγίστων / καὶ ἀεὶ νικῆσαντα. Likewise Halfmann 1979: 169, no. 84a.

<sup>140</sup> *IE* 1489a, found in the area of the harbour bath-gymnasium; Hicks (1890: 155) records *IE* 1490 = *BM* 3.490 as an inscribed stele “discovered by Mr. Wood at Ephesus.”

<sup>141</sup> Curtius (1869: 181) calls it a fragment of a base and provides measurements: 30 inches high, 15 inches wide, and 7 inches thick; Hicks (1890: 153, no 488) calls the fragment a stele; Börker and Merkelbach (*IE* V [31]) describe it as thick wall paneling.

<sup>142</sup> So Drew-Bear and Richard 1994.

<sup>143</sup> These inscriptions are dated to A.D. 129, the date of a visit of the emperor Hadrian to Ephesos. I have suggested above (118–119) that it may have been at this time that the young P. Vedius Antoninus came to the attention of the emperor Hadrian and began his ascent to senatorial rank.

Vedii Antonini, and especially P. Vadius Antoninus III, at its centre. In addition, three statue base inscriptions demonstrate that P. Vadius Antoninus III put up an imperial statue group in the bouleuterion.<sup>144</sup>

Only one fragmentary portrait statue survives from the bouleuterion.<sup>145</sup> J. T. Wood found an over-lifesize nude male figure in the Ares Borghese pose<sup>146</sup> on the stage in front of the central doorway.<sup>147</sup> The inscribed base to which its feet are attached identifies the figure as Lucius Verus (Pl. 4) and records that P. Vadius Antoninus put it up. The text reads:

Λούκιον Αἴλιον Αὐρήλ[ι]ον Κόμμοδον τὸν υἱὸν τ[οῦ]  
Αὐτοκράτορος Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος<sup>148</sup>

Vadius Antoninus honoured Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, son of the emperor.

Two other bases discovered in the bouleuterion belong to the same group. Wood excavated a base that supported a statue of Marcus Aurelius. The stone itself appears to have been lost in the late nineteenth century and only Wood's sketch of it survives.<sup>149</sup>

Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Καῖσαρα  
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος  
Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος

Vadius Antoninus honoured Marcus Aurelius Caesar, son of the emperor.

Austrian excavations in the bouleuterion in 1908 turned up an inscribed base that supported a statue of Faustina, granddaughter of Antoninus Pius.

Φαυσ[τεῖναν]  
θυγατριδ[ῆν τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος]  
Οὐήδιο[ς Ἀντωνεῖνος]<sup>150</sup>

Vadius Antoninus honoured Faustina granddaughter of the emperor.

Lucius Erastos and Philokyrios also came to the attention of Hadrian at this time and owed their promotion to the patronage of the emperor.

<sup>144</sup> For fuller discussion of the new imperial statue group, see Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001.

<sup>145</sup> The statue is currently in storage in the British Museum: Smith 1900: no. 1256.

<sup>146</sup> Kleiner 1981.

<sup>147</sup> Wood 1877: 47.

<sup>148</sup> *IE* 1505. See Curtius 1869: 189, no. 6 on the identification of the statue as Lucius Verus after his adoption by Antoninus Pius and before Pius' death. In his letters to C. J. Newton, Wood records the statue as Commodus. By the time of the publication of *Discoveries at Ephesos*, he had changed his view, no doubt influenced by his own further studies and by the work of Curtius; see also Hammond 1957: esp. 31; Alföldy 1977: 164 on L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus as consul in 154 with T. Sextus Lateranus.

<sup>149</sup> As preserved in letters of Wood housed in the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum, J. T. Wood to C. T. Newton, 28 November 1864; see Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001.

<sup>150</sup> *IE* 285a with a doubtful reading for the *ιδ* in the second line before the break in the stone.

This is most probably Domitia Faustina,<sup>151</sup> the first child of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Minor. As I have argued elsewhere,<sup>152</sup> it is likely that two other members of the imperial family were also represented in this group: Faustina Minor,<sup>153</sup> wife of Marcus and mother of the child Domitia Faustina, and Antoninus Pius, adoptive father of Marcus and Lucius and grandfather of Domitia Faustina. The find spot of the Lucius Verus base suggests that these statues would have been arranged on the stage, between the doors of the *scaenae frons*, and framed in *aediculae* created by columns of red granite. The erection of this statue group by P. Vedius Antoninus III is, in my view, indisputable. Epigraphic evidence demonstrates that he built the structure with Flavia Papiane (*IE* 406). Furthermore, the imperial letters *IE* 1491–93 from Antoninus Pius to the Ephesians almost certainly concern his building program of which the bouleuterion was a part. The composition of this statue group also permits us to suggest a date for the dedication of the bouleuterion. Since only Domitia Faustina, the youngest child of Marcus and Faustina Minor, appears to have been represented, the Ephesos bouleuterion likely dates between 149 and early 150.<sup>154</sup> This fits well with *IE* 1492, also dated to 149/50. What better way to demonstrate his gratitude for Pius' support than to erect a statue group to the imperial dynasty?

In sum, there is coherence in the epigraphic and sculptural program in the bouleuterion, with P. Vedius Antoninus III at its centre. This public structure built by Vedius and Flavia visually and permanently represented and reinforced the family's ties to the imperial house, and the immediate source of their influence, Antoninus Pius. It also celebrated the imperial dynasty and its future prospects through the children of Marcus and Faustina Minor.

#### CONCLUSIONS

For the Vedii Antonini, as for other elite *gentes* in the cities of the Roman Empire, patronage and benefaction were duties that could advance family status from one of local to imperial importance. Although P. Vedius Antoninus III was the most remarkable member of his family—thanks in part to the chance preservation of a number of interesting inscriptions, such as *IE* 1491–93—his predecessors, Vedius I and Vedius II, established the family reputation as local notables, patrons, and benefactors. Inscriptions attest their tenure of magistracies, including festival presidencies, such as asiarchies, and their patronage of local associations. Their respective roles as ambassadors for Ephesos brought them

<sup>151</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 177; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: no. 323. *IE* 285a identifies her as Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina; Campanile (1994b: 220) erroneously notes that *IE* 285a represents Faustina Minor. For arguments supporting Domitia Faustina rather than Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina as the eldest child of Marcus and Faustina Minor, see Bol 1984: 22–45; Fittschen 1982: 23 and n. 8; Ameling 1992.

<sup>152</sup> Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001.

<sup>153</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 716; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: no. 63.

<sup>154</sup> Kalinowski and Taeuber 2001. See also Fittschen 1999: 40, n. 240 and Taf. 60, suggesting a date around 150 or later. I thank Maria Aurenhammer for this reference.

into contact with emperors and, as I have argued, facilitated the advancement of P. Vedius Antoninus III to senatorial rank. According to the epigraphic and archaeological record, Vedius III seems to have focused his benefactions on the city, becoming a big fish in the local pond. The bath-gymnasium that he constructed with his wife Flavia Papiane was located near the stadium in the Koressos area, exploiting the longstanding connections with the people of this neighbourhood that began with the games sponsored by his father and grandfather as part of their asiarchies, and which are clearly indicated in the inscription erected to his son Papianus (*IE* 730) by Κορρησσεῖται οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης ἕως τοῦ σταδίου. The bouleuterion which Vedius III and Flavia built was a structure with both local and imperial significance: it housed the meetings of the local boule, but through its topographical location and its epigraphic and sculptural program it showcased the ties of Vedius Antoninus III to the family of Antoninus Pius.

For the next three generations the descendants of Vedius Antoninus III achieved senatorial rank: his son Papianus is called συγκλητικός.<sup>155</sup> He did not forget to act as benefactor to his city: dying childless, he left a substantial legacy to Ephesos for which he is honoured in a number of inscriptions.<sup>156</sup> Vedia Phaedrina,<sup>157</sup> the daughter of Vedius Antoninus III and Flavia Papiane, held a prytany and married the sophist Titus Flavius Damianus.<sup>158</sup> Philostratus records that Damianus lavishly spent his wealth on the city of Ephesos, maintaining the poor and beautifying the city with buildings, including a stone portico from the city to the Artemisium.<sup>159</sup> Three male children of Vedia Phaedrina and Flavius Damianus focused their careers on imperial office, each acquiring the consulship. It is notable that the only local office that each of these held was membership in the college of kuretes.<sup>160</sup> One of these sons, T. Flavius Vedius Antoninus, married Flavia Pasinice: their male progeny entered the senatorial order.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Papianus as συγκλητικός: *IE* 502, 730, 732, 3079.

<sup>156</sup> *IE* 725, 731, 3076, 3077, 3078.

<sup>157</sup> Vedia Phaedrina, *prytanis*: *IE* 47, 733, 678, 733, 2100, 308; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: no. 784.

<sup>158</sup> T. Flavius Damianus: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 253; *IE* 672a, 672b, 678a, 735, 811, 2100, 3029, 3051?, 3080, 3081.

<sup>159</sup> Philostrat. *VS* 2.23. On the excavations of the colonnade from the city to the Artemisium, see Knibbe and Langmann 1993; Knibbe and Thür 1995.

<sup>160</sup> T. Flavius Vedius Antoninus, proconsul of Africa: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 392; *IE* 47, 678, 3081–3085; T. Flavius Damianus: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 252; *IE* 47, 678, 3051?, 3081; T. Flavius Phaedrus: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 329; *IE* 677, 678, 3081. They had a fourth male child, T. Flavius Papianus, but he appears to have died in childhood: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 328.

<sup>161</sup> T. Flavius Vedius Antoninus: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 393; *IE* 678, 3085; T. Flavius Vedius Apellas: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 394; *IE* 678, 3084; T. Flavius Damianus: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 251; *IE* 678.

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THE VEDII ANTONINI

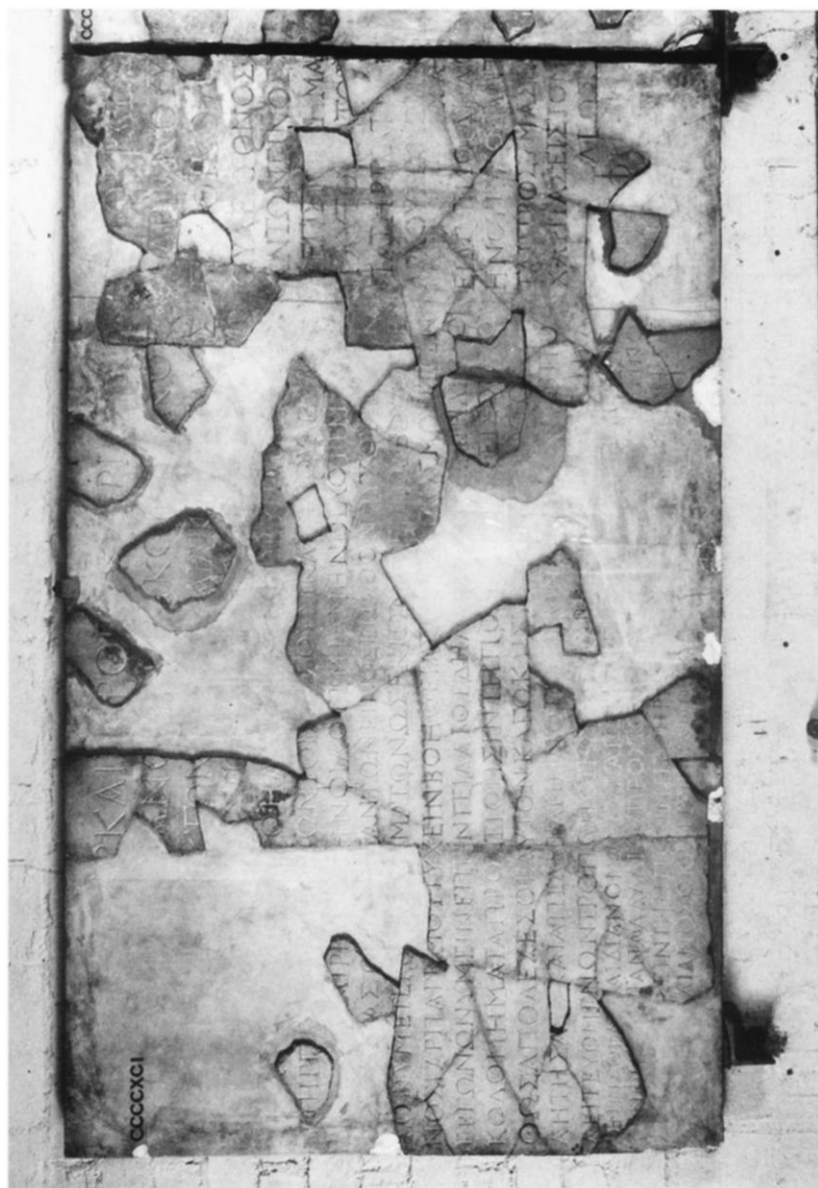


Plate 1. ZE 1491 (British Museum)

PHOENIX

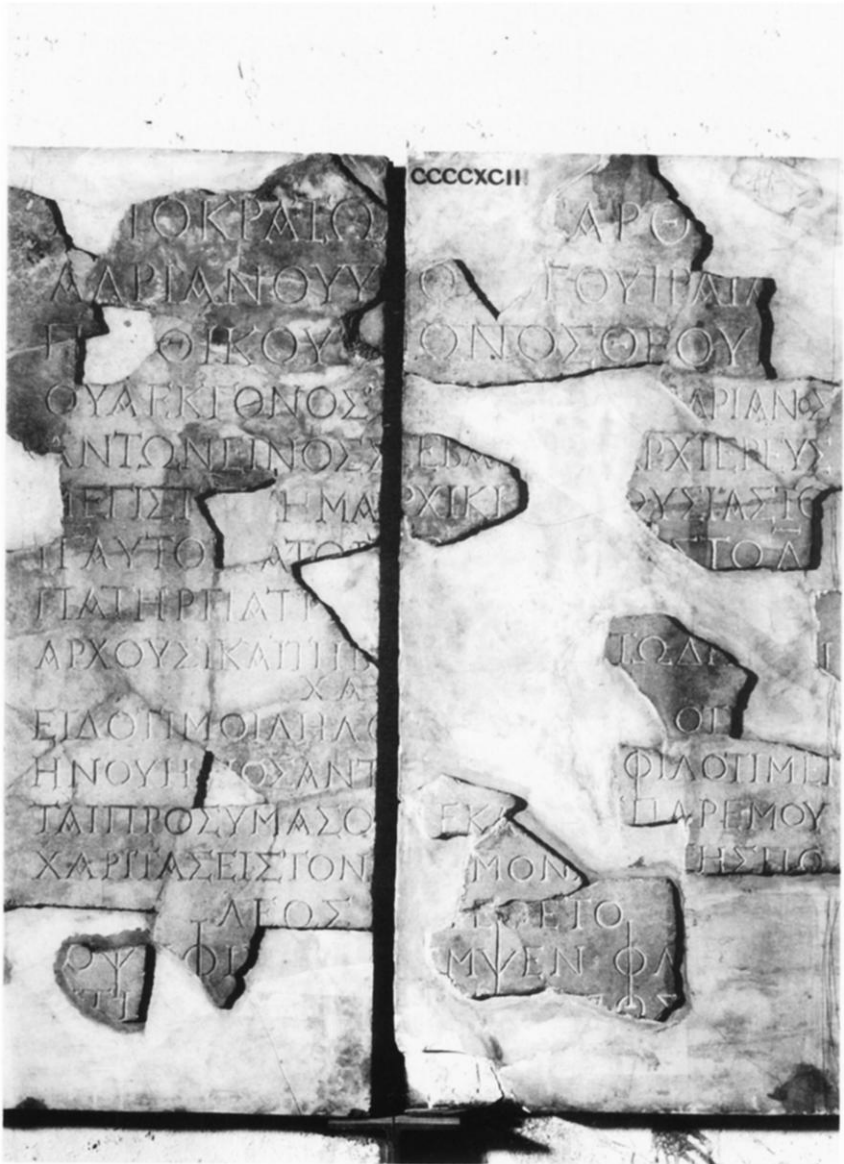


Plate 2. IE 1492 (British Museum)

# THE VEDII ANTONINI

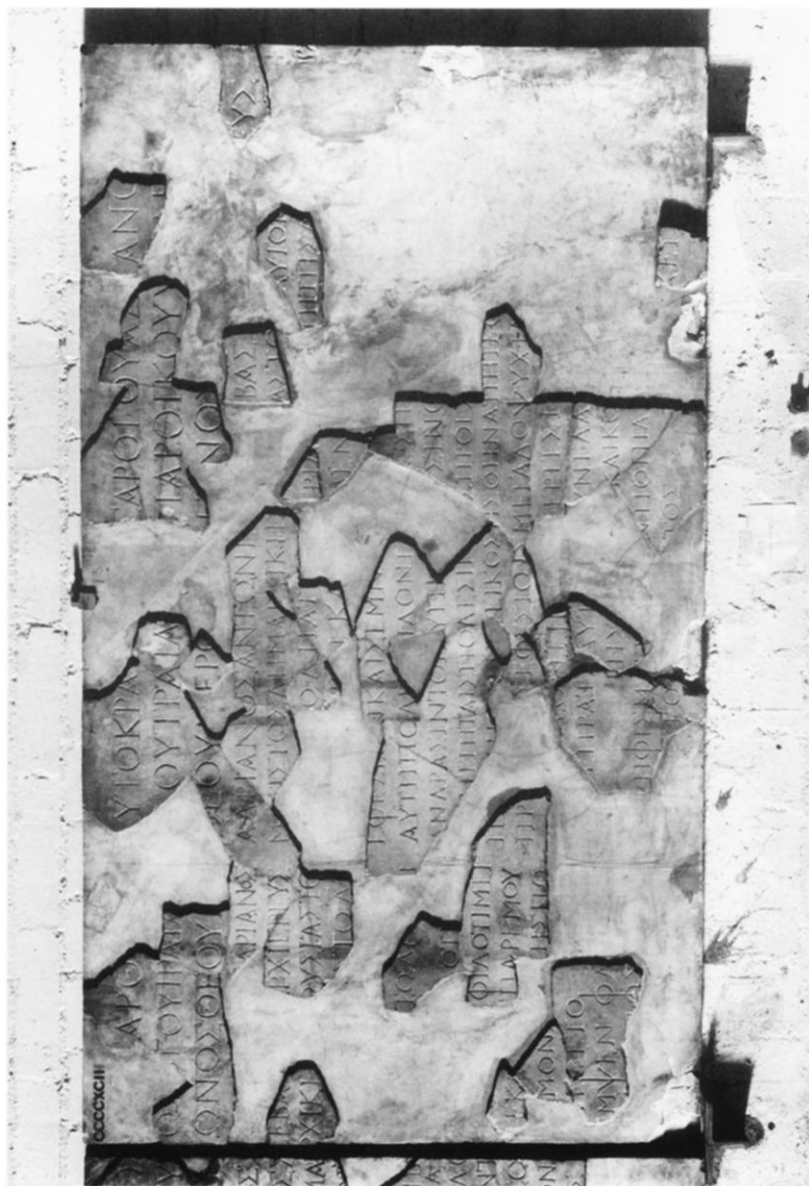


Plate 3. IE 1493 (British Museum)

PHOENIX



Plate 4. Lucius Aelius Commodus Verus (British Museum)