

## 8. THE INSCRIPTIONS

### PRELIMINARY NOTE

I have had the privilege to work with Lonny Bier on the epigraphy of the Bouleuterion, and I am deeply grateful for the inspiration he gave me not only as a scholar, but also as one of the most amiable persons I ever had the opportunity to meet. It must have been in the year 2000 when he asked me to participate in his project; in the following year we found and documented most of the new and some of the old material in the epigraphic depot. We gave a joint lecture at the Archaeological Institute in Vienna on January 23, 2002 and, in the ensuing years, worked intermittently on the material the publication of which he unfortunately did not live to see. My thanks go to Maria Aurenhammer and the other colleagues who took upon themselves the task of preparing the final draft of Lonny's manuscripts and drawings, and especially to Ursula Quatember who translated my restoration of the architraves into drawings.

The following pages are not intended to give a full historical and epigraphical discussion on all inscriptions found in or next to the Bouleuterion, but will focus on those texts and contents which offer information on the history of the building. Three groups of inscriptions are relevant in this respect:

- 1) The three parts of the building inscription, displayed on the architrave-friezes of Vedius' *scaenae frons* (inscr. 1–3);
- 2) The six Imperial letters and one honorary inscription (?), presumably displayed on the scene wall or the *scaenae frons* next to the middle entrance (inscr. 4–10);
- 3) The four inscriptions on statue bases, presumably displayed in the niches of the *scaenae frons* (inscr. 11–14).

### 8.1 Architectural Inscriptions

#### 8.1.1 INSCRIPTION ON THE UPPER ARCHITRAVE (INSCR. 1, LEVEL 10; PLS. 60; 85, 1–90. 2)

According to our reconstruction, the inscription covers the whole width of the frontal blocks of the upper architrave, i. e. about 24 m. The letter h. is 13 cm. There are no traces of punctuation signs on the extant fragments.

Ed.: HEBERDEY 1912, 172–173; IvE 460 (1). Both give only fr. 10-1 (Skizzenbuch 1686 D), 10-11 (1686 A), 10-12 (1686 B = 3441), and 10-14 (1686 C). Four other fragments, namely 10-3 (1686 E), 10-7 (1786 A), 10-9 (3448), 10-10 (1725 B) were already in the inscription records, one (10-13) belongs to the Basilica Stoa excavation of 1968 (inv. 068/6). The remaining five (10-2. 10-4. 10-5. 10-6. 10-8) were stored in the epigraphic depot with no indication when or where they were found; with some confidence one might infer that these, too, came from the Basilica Stoa campaigns during the sixties, as well as the hitherto unidentified fragments of no. 2 and 3.

The sign | marks the edge between wall blocks and *aedicula* blocks (according to our reconstruction).

Ἄρ[τέμιδ]ι Ἐφ[εσία] κα[ὶ Αὐτοκράτ]ορι | [Καίσι]αρι Τί[τω]ι | Α[ιλίω]ι Ἀ[δριανῶ]ι Ἀντ[ωνεῖ]ωι | Σεβαστῶι  
[Εὐσεβ]εῖ καὶ τῶι οἴκωι αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆι πρώτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃι μητροπόλει | Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεωκόρωι τῶν  
Σεβαστῶν | Ἐφεσίων πόλει τῆι γλυκυτότῃι πατρίδι]

“For Artemis Ephesia and the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus the Pious and his family, and for the foremost and greatest metropolis of Asia, twice temple warden of the imperial cult, the polis of the Ephesians, his sweetest home town ...”

The proposed text is exactly the same as that of IvE 431 (architrave) and IvE 438 (marble slab), both dedications of the so-called Vedius Gymnasium built by the same Vedius Antoninus in the years 147–149 A.D.,<sup>338</sup> and is continued on the frieze of the lower story (see below inscr. 2).

#### 8.1.2 INSCRIPTION ON THE LOWER FRIEZE (INSCR. 2, LEVEL 4; PLS. 61; 75, 1–78, 2)

Our restoration starts on the first *aedicula* and leaves the corners and the outer wall sections to the left and to the right blank. Accordingly, the text was about 17 metres wide. The strongest argument for this layout is fragment 4-9, an almost entirely preserved wall block. Its text, mentioning Vedius’ wife Flavia Papiane, cannot be moved to one of the wall sections to the left, while on the other hand the remaining end of the text [γ]υνα[ικός αὐτοῦ] is too long to put it on the right corner and to move 4-9 to the rightmost wall section. For a building inscription of this date and importance, a symmetrical layout seems inevitable. The letters, written on a slightly convex surface, are 12 cm high, except for *Tau* of μετὰ and *Phi* of Φλ(αουίας) which exceed the margins of the line. Punctuation signs between μετὰ and Φλ(αουίας) (triangle) and between Φλ(αουίας) and Παπιανῆς (*hedera*); ligatures of N and H in Παπιανῆς and of T and H in τῆς.

Ed.: HEBERDEY 1912, 172 (only fr. 4-9 and 4-10); IvE 460 (2) (same fragments and erroneous restoration including Skizzenbuch 1685 E and F). Three more fragments were already in the Skizzenbuch (4-5, 1685 F; 4-6, 1686 in the upper right corner; 4-7, 3444). Skizzenbuch 1685 E belongs to 4-9, forming the lower part of Παπιανῆς τῆς, as well as a new fragment discovered in 1966 (W/66/5, pl. 78, 2), showing parts of the letters ETA (of μετὰ), thus handily closing a gap in block 4-9 between fragments A and B; unfortunately, the extensive remains of this block (documented by J. Keil in 1908) have vanished in the meantime. The remaining five fragments (4-1, 4-2, 4-3, 4-4, and 4-8) were stored in the epigraphic depot with no indication when or where they were found (but see remark on inscr. 1).

Πόπλ[ι]ος Οὐρήδ[ιος Π]οπ[λίου υἱὸς Κυρεῖ|να] Ἄν[τωνεῖνος γραμμα|τεὺς τοῦ δήμου συνκλ]ητι|[ικός ἀρ]χιερ[εὺς Ἰ]ασίας ἀνέθη]κεν μετὰ Φλ(αουίας) Παπιανῆς τῆς | [γ]υνα[ικός αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερείας Ἰ]ασίας].

“... Publius Vedius Antoninus, son of Publius, of the tribus Quirina, secretary of the people’s assembly, member of the senate, highpriest of Asia, dedicated (this structure) together with his wife Flavia Papiane, highpriestess of Asia.”

The inscription from the upper architrave (level 10) is continued here with the names and the titles of the dedicants. According to our restoration, the name of Vedius III (the “Bauherr”) is given in the same way as in IvE 438 from the gymnasium (see above). All of his titles are attested, but in different inscriptions: γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου in IvE 1489 (see below inscr. 6), συνκλητικὸς in IvE 732<sup>339</sup>, ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰασίας in IvE 2065. Of these texts, only the first one is dated to the years between 140 and 144.

After τῆς [γ]υνα[ικός αὐτοῦ], some additional words are needed to achieve a symmetrical layout of the text. A logical choice would be the title ἀρχιερεία Ἰασίας, which is attested for Flavia Papiane in IvE 729; it is a well documented phenomenon that wives (or, in some cases, female relatives) of highpriests also reached this function.<sup>340</sup>

<sup>338</sup> See now STESKAL – LA TORRE 2008, especially 4. 92. 243. 303–306.

<sup>339</sup> In IvE 4110 he is already called ταμίας ἀποδεδειγμένος which marks his accession to the senate.

<sup>340</sup> FRIESEN 1999, 306–307, who also points out that this was no honorary title, but that the women fulfilled sacrificial duties as well as their male counterparts (306 note 25).

## 8.1.3 INSCRIPTION ON LOWER ARCHITRAVE (INSCR. 3, LEVEL 4; PLS. 61; 79, 1–83, 2)

This inscription was written below the frieze inscription (inscr. 2) on the upper fascia of the architrave. The decoration of fragment 4-9 shows that frieze and architrave were parts of the same blocks. Since the architrave below the frieze inscription in 4-9 is blank and here, too, a symmetrical layout is to be expected, inscr. 3 must have been confined to the two center *aediculae* and the wall section between them. This results in a maximum width of roughly 9 m or about 150 standard letters. Fourteen fragments can be assigned to this inscription (4-11 to 4-24); unfortunately, its state of preservation and the lack of direct parallels render it impossible to offer a comprehensive restoration of the text; letter height in a range of 6,3–6,7 cm, with the exception of Ψ in 4-19 which exceeds the upper and lower margin of the line and has an overall h. of 10,6 cm.

Ed.: IvE 477 (fragments 4-11. 4-14. 4-16. 4-20. left part of 4-23. 4-24). Another fragment was found in the Skizzenbuch, namely 4-12 (3449), two more in the Basilica Stoa excavation records of 1966 (4-19, 66/2. 4-22, 66/3). The rest of six (4-13. 4-15. 4-17. 4-18. 4-21 right part of 4-23) was stored in the epigraphic depot with no indication when or where they were found (but see remark to no. 1).

4-11: ANE  
 4-12: ΘΥΓΑΤ  
 4-13: ΔΙΑ  
 4-14: ΙΔΟ  
 4-15: ΛΑ  
 4-16: ΣΤΡΑ  
 4-17: ΤΟ  
 4-18: ΑΝ  
 4-19: ΨΙΟ  
 4-20: ΙΒΕ  
 4-21: ΤΡΑΤ  
 4-22: ΙΛΙΑΝ  
 4-23: ΤΟΥΔΕ  
 4-24: ΡΕΣΙ

For detailed description of fragments see Appendix 1.

Some suggestions can be made for the contents of the inscription. First, a daughter (θυγατ[ρός, 4-12) of Vedius might have been *prytanis* at the time of the dedication, for example [πρυτ]ανε[υούσης τῆς] θυγατ[ρός αὐτῶν Οὐη]δία[ς] κτλ. This would emphasize the superior position of the family in this time; a female *prytanis* is not uncommon in Ephesos, either.<sup>341</sup> This is, however, by no means the only way to make sense of these fragments; moreover, our hypothetical restoration would leave a gap of about six letters between αὐτῶν and Οὐη]δία[ς] (the last letters, standing on a right corner fragment of an *aedicula*, are in a fixed position and cannot be moved). Perhaps she was also a priestess of Artemis, as fragment 4-14 (ιερείας τῆς Ἄρτε]μιδο[ς ?) might suggest; but the reading of the first letter Μ is far from clear, and according to J. Keil (Skizzenbuch 1687 F) it might rather be an Α or a Λ (for example, Ἡρακ]λίδο[υ]).

Second, the name elements ΣΤΡΑ (4-16), ΙΒΕ (4-20), ΤΡΑΤ (4-21), and ΙΛΙΑΝ (4-22) could point to a connection with the well-known family<sup>342</sup> of Ti. Claudius Demonstratos Kailianos who was a prominent figure in Ephesos at the time of Hadrian. His son C. Claudius Titianos and his grandsons Ti. Claudius Demonstratos Titianos and C. Claudius Titianos Demonstratos (who became member of the Roman senate; PIR<sup>2</sup> 1044) were equally important. Vedius' daughter (presumably Vedia Papiane, because the other known daughter, Vedia Phaedrina, was married to the sophist Fl. Damianus) could have been the wife of a member of this family, and he

<sup>341</sup> For example IvE 1072 (Aelia Severa Bassa); 2913 (Fl. Voconia An[–]).

<sup>342</sup> For references s. SCHULTE 1994, no. 59.

in turn could have referred to a prominent cousin (ἀν[ε]ψιο[ῦ, fr. 4-18 and 4-19; ΨΙΟ can hardly be restored otherwise).

Finally, ΠΕΣΙ (4-24) might either refer to an embassy (π]ρεσβ[ευ-, cf., for instance, IvE 728 l. 18-20: πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τε τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας) or to an office with the π]ρεσβ[ύτεροι, for example γυμνασίαρχος τῶν π]ρεσβ[υτέρων].

## 8.2 Imperial Letters and Honors

### 8.2.1 LETTER OF HADRIAN TO EPHEOS REGARDING THE CAPTAIN PHILOKYRIOS (WINTER 128/129, INSCR. 4; PL. 62)

Four fragments (partly consisting of adjoining pieces) of marble, belonging to the wall blocks of the scene wall. Fr. A and C (using Keil's labeling) are written on adjoining blocks and were linked by a clamp. Fr. A and three parts of fr. B are in the epigraphic depot in Ephesos (inv. 27a, 27b, 27d and 739), fr. D in the British Museum, the rest is lost. Measurements of fr. A: h. 73 cm, w. 41,5 cm, d. 18,5 cm, letter h. 2,4–4 cm.

Skizzenbuch 1650 (Keil), with a part also in Skizzenbuch 3435 (Knibbe).

Ed.: IvE 1488 (with reference to earlier publications).

Lit.: MARTIN 1982 no. 37; KALINOWSKI 2002, 117–121. 138–144.

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ] θε[οῦ Τρ]αιανο[ῦ Π]αρθικοῦ  
 [υἱός,] θε[οῦ Νέρ]ου[α νίω]νός, Τραιανός Ἀδριανός  
 [Σεβ]αστ[ός, ἀρχιερεὺς] μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξου-  
 [σίας] τὸ ιγ', ὑπατος] τὸ γ', πατήρ πατρίδος Ἐφεσίων  
 [τοῖς] ἄρχο[υσι καὶ τῆ] βουλῇ χαίριν· ~  
 [Φιλ]οκύριος [καὶ πολεί]της ὑμῶν εἶναι φησιν καὶ πολ-  
 [λὰ] ἔ]τη πλ[εῦσαι τὴν θάλα]σσαν, καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τούτου δυνα-  
 [τὸς] ἦν χρή[σιμος γενέσ]θ[αι] τῆ πατρίδι, καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους  
 [τ]οὺς ἡγεμ[όνας ἀεὶ διακομ]ίζειν· ἐμοὶ δὲ δις ἤδη  
 συνέπλε[υσεν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Ῥόδον ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Ἐφέσου κ[ομιζομένω, νῦν] δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐλευσεῖνος  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶ[ς ἀφικνουμένω· εὖ]χεται δὲ βουλευτῆς  
 [γ]ενέσθαι· κἀγὼ τὴν μὲν δοκιμα[σίαν] ἐφ' ὑμῖν  
 ποιούμα[ι· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐμποδῶν εἴη α]ὔτῳ, ἀλλ[ᾶ]  
 [δ]όξει τ[ῆς] τεμῆς ἄξιος, τὸ ἀργύριον ὅσον δ]ιδό[ασιν]  
 [ο]ῖ βουλευ[όντες τῆς ἀρχαιρεσίας] ἔνεκα ἐγὼ δώσω·  
 [εὐ]τυχεῖτε.]

“Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divus Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divus Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the thirteenth time, thrice consul, pater patriae, to the archons and council of the Ephesians, greetings.

Philokyrios claims to be a citizen of yours and to have sailed across the sea many times and to have made himself as useful to his fatherland as he possibly could from this occupation and to have transported the provincial authorities on each occasion. He has twice already sailed with me as I was moving from Ephesus to Rhodes, and now as I go from Eleusis to Ephesus. His prayer is to become councillor, and I for my part leave the examination in your hands. If he is in no way disqualified but [seems] worthy of honor, [I shall pay] whatever sum the councillors pay for the sake of election. Farewell.” (Based on J. H. Oliver's translation of inscr. 5.)

E. L. Hicks<sup>343</sup> assumed this (i.e. fr. D, which was the only one he knew) to be a copy of inscr. 5. Actually, the two texts are identical except for the name of the beneficiary (Philokyrios and L. Erastos, respectively). It remains unclear if both letters were written on the wall in the first place and only one of them (?) was afterwards

<sup>343</sup> Hicks 1890, no. 487.

replaced by a marble slab during Vedius' revetment. The original letter was probably engraved soon after the reception, i. e. in 129 when Hadrian visited the city.

Philokyrios and Erastos, judging by their names, were freedmen and joined the Imperial fleet (*stolos*) with their respective ships on its way across the Aegean Sea.<sup>344</sup>

### 8.2.2 LETTER OF HADRIAN TO EPHESES REGARDING THE CAPTAIN L. ERASTUS (INSCR. 5; PL. 63, 1)

Several (partly adjoining) fragments of marble revetment (in *tabula ansata*) of the scene wall of the Bouleuterion. h. 100 cm, w. 180 cm, d. 2,5 cm. Now (reconstructed) in the British Museum.

Ed.: Syll.<sup>3</sup> no. 838; IvE 1487 (with reference to earlier publications); OLIVER 1989, no. 82 A.

Lit.: MARTÍN 1982 no. 37; PLEKET 1990, 187–197; MEIJER – VAN NIJF 1992, no. 101; DREW-BEAR – RICHARD 1994, 742–751.

Αὐ[το]κράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ Τ[ραϊανοῦ]  
 Παρθ[ι]κοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Νέρ[ο]υα υἱ[ι]ων[ός],  
 Τραια[ν]ός Ἀδριαν[ός] Σεβασ[τός], ἀρ[χι]ερεὺ[ς]  
 μέγισ[τος], δημαρχ[ικῆ]ς ἐξουσί[ας τοῦ] γ', ὑπάτος τὸ γ',  
 πατή[ρ] πατ[ρίδος] Ἐφ[ε]σίων τοῖς ἀ[ρ]χουσ[ι] καὶ τῆι β[ουλῆ]ι χαίρειν.  
 Λ(ούκιος) Ἐ[ρ]αστος καὶ πολε[ί]της ὑ[μ]ῶν εἶναι φ[η]σιν, καὶ πολλ[ὰ] ἔτη  
 πλὴ καὶ τ[ῆ]ν θάλασσ[αν], καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τούτ[ου] δυ[να]τὸς [ἦ]ν  
 χρησίμ[ος] γενέσ[θαι] τῆ πατρ[ίδι], καὶ τοῦ ἔθ[ν]ου[ς] το[ύ] ἡγε-  
 μόν[ος] ἀεὶ δι[α]κομ[ί]ζειν· ἐ[μ]οὶ δὲ δ[ί]ς ἤδη συ[νέ]πλευ[σεν],  
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Ῥόδον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐ[φ]έσου κομ[ι]ζ[ο]μέ[νω],  
 νῦν δὲ ἀπ' Ἐλευσεῖνος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφικ[ν]ομέν[ω]· εὐ[χ]ετα[ί]  
 δὲ βουλευτῆς γενέσθαι· κἀγὼ τὴν μὲν [δοκι]μασία[ν] ἐ[φ'] ὑμῖν  
 ποιῶμαι· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐνποδῶν [εἴ]η αὐτῶ, ἀλλὰ δόξαι τῆς τει[μ]ῆς ἄξι[ος],  
 τὸ ἀργύριον ὅσον διδῶσιν οἱ βουλευόντες [δώσω] τῆς ἀρχαι[ρε]σίας [ἔ]νεκα.  
 εὐτυχεῖτε.

“Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of divus Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divus Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the thirteenth time, thrice consul, pater patriae, to the archons and council of the Ephesians, greetings.

Lucius Erastus claims to be a citizen of yours and to have sailed across the sea many times and to have made himself as useful to his fatherland as he possibly could from this occupation and to have transported the provincial authorities on each occasion. He has twice already sailed with me as I was moving from Ephesus to Rhodes, and now as I go from Eleusis to Ephesus. His prayer is to become councillor, and I for my part leave the examination in your hands. If he is in no way disqualified but [seems] worthy of honor, [I shall pay] whatever sum the councillors pay for the sake of election. Farewell.” (Translation J. H. Oliver, slightly changed.)

Judging from the identical wording, the original of this text must have been written at the same time as inscr. 4, i.e. in winter 128/129. The present version, however, is of considerably later date, since it was engraved on the marble revetment which was ordered by Vedius Antoninus. See commentary to 8.2.1 (inscr. 4).

### 8.2.3 LETTER OF ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE EPHESIANS CONCERNING THE CONFLICT OVER HONORARY CITY TITLES (140–144 A.D., INSCR. 6; PL. 63, 2)

Several fragments of marble revetment (in *tabula ansata*) of the scene wall of the Bouleuterion. h. 102 cm, w. 194 cm, d. 2,5 cm, letter h. 6 (line 1) – 4,5 cm (from line 3 on). Now (reconstructed) in the British Museum, except for fragments (Skizzenbuch 1652 and 2668) now in the epigraphic depot in Ephesus (inv. 42).

<sup>344</sup> DREW-BEAR – RICHARD 1994, 746–747.

Ed.: IvE 1489 (with reference to earlier publications); OLIVER 1989, no. 135 A.

Lit.: COLLAS-HEDELAND 1995, 410-429; FONTANI 1997, 232-233; ENGELMANN 1999b, 163; STESKAL 2001, 188; KALINOWSKI 2002, 138-144

Αὐτοκράτωρ Κα[ῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἄδ]ριανοῦ  
 υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιαν[οῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱών]ός,  
 θεοῦ Νέρουα ἔκγον[ος Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἄδρι]ανός  
 Ἄντωνεῖνος Σεβασ[τός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέ]γιστος,  
 δημοαρχικῆς ἐξουσία[ς τὸ . . . , αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β΄,] ὑπάτος  
 τὸ γ΄, πατὴρ πατρίδος Ἐφε[σίων τ]οῖς [ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆι] βουλῆι  
 ~ καὶ τ[ῶι δ]ῆμωι χαίρ[ειν]  
 Περγαμηνο[ὺς ἀ]πε[δε]ξάμην ἐν τοῖς πρ[ὸς ὑμᾶς γ]ράμμασιν  
 χρησαμένο[υς το]ῖς ὀνόμ[α]σιν οἷς ἐγὼ χρῆσθαι τὴν πόλιν  
 τὴν ὑμετέραν [ἀπ]εφ[η]νάμην· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Σμυρναίους κατὰ  
 τύχην παραλ[ε]λοιπέναι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς συνθυσίας  
 ψηφίσματι, τοῦ λοιποῦ δὲ ἐκόντας εὐγνωμονήσειν, ἐὰν  
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς γράμμασιν ὄν προσήκει  
 τρόπον καὶ κέκριται τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν φαίνη[σθ]ε μεμνη-  
 [μ]ένοι. τὸ ψήφισμα ἔπεμψεν Σουλπίκιος Ἰουλιανός ὁ ἐπ[ίτ]ροπος μου.  
 εὐτυχεῖτε.  
 [τὸ] δὲ ψήφισμα ἐποίησεν γραμματεῦν Πό[π]λιος Οὐήδιος Ἄντω[νε]ῖνος

“Imperator [Caesar T. Aelius Hadrian] Antoninus [Augustus], son of [divus] Hadrian, [grandson] of divus [Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson] of divus Nerva, [pontifex] maximus, tribunician [power for the - - - time, emperor for the second time], thrice consul, pater patriae, to the [archons], council, demos [of the Ephesians], greetings.

I approved the way the Pergamenes in their epistle to you employed the titles which I permitted your city to use, I think that the Smyrneans have omitted them accidentally in the decree concerning the joint sacrifice and that in the future they will comply willingly, if, that is, you too appear in your letters to them to be mentioning their city in the manner that is becoming and has been decided. Sulpicius Iulianus, my procurator, sent me the decree. Farewell. Publius Vedius Antoninus as secretary drafted the decree.” (Translation J. H. Oliver, slightly changed.)

Further copies of same text: IvE 1489A, found built into a wall of the Harbour Gymnasium, and IvE 1490 whose precise find-spot is unknown.

In this famous letter of Antoninus Pius the emperor attempted to mediate claims of the Ephesians, Pergamon and Smyrna at the same time. There must have been great general interest because three copies existed in Ephesos. The letter was also of special importance for Vedius, since, in his quality as secretary of the assembly (in a rather early stage of his career<sup>345</sup>), he was responsible for its publication.

#### 8.2.4 LETTER OF ANTONINUS PIUS TO THE DEMOS OF EPHEOS CONCERNING BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF VEDIUS ANTONINUS (145 A.D., INSCR. 7; PL. 64, 1)

This is the first of three letters (with nos. 8 and 9), all with reference to Vedius, which are written on two adjoining marble slabs (many fragments preserved) of the later revetment. h. 92 cm, w. (of the left slab) 157 cm, d. 2,5 cm, letter h. 4 (line 1) – 2,5 cm (from line 4 on). Now (reconstructed) in the British Museum.

Ed.: IvE 1491 (with reference to earlier publications); OLIVER 1989, no. 138.

<sup>345</sup> SCHULTE 1994, no. 93.

Lit.: DANKER 1982, no. 8; DIETZ 1993, 302 note 64; FONTANI 1997, 232–233; ENGELMANN 1999a, 157–160; STESKAL 2001, 177–188; KALINOWSKI 2002, 110–117. 121–127. 138–144; KOKKINIA 2003, 203–207; PUECH 2003, no. 1681; STESKAL – LA TORRE 2008, 303–308.

[Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβα]στό[ς, ἀρχιερεὺς μ[έγιστος, δη]μαρ-  
 [χι]κ[ῆς ἐξουσίας] τὸ η´, ἀ[ὐτοκράτωρ τ]ὸ β´, ὑπατος τ[ὸ δ´, πα-]  
 τῆρ π[ατρίδος Ἐφεσ]ίων τοῖς [ἄρ]χουσι καὶ τ[ῆ] βουλῇ καὶ  
 [τῶι δήμωι χ]αίρει[ν· τ]ῆν φιλοτιμίαν ἣν φιλοτιμε[ῖται]  
 [πρὸς ὑμ]ᾶς Ο[ὕ]διο[ς Ἀντωνεῖνος] ἔμαθον οὐχ οὕτω[ς] ἐκ  
 τῶν ὑμετέρω[ν γραμ]μάτων ὡς ἐκ τῶν [ἐκ]είνου· βουλόμε-  
 νος γὰρ παρ’ ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν βοηθείας [εἰς τὸ]ν κόσμον τῶν  
 ἔργων ὧν ὑμεῖν ἐπηγγελῆτο ἐδήλ[ωσεν ὅσα κ]αὶ ἡλίκα οἰ-  
 κοδομήματα προστίθησιν τῇ πόλ[ει· ἀλλ’ ὑμ]εῖς οὐ[κ] ὀρ-  
 θῶς ἀποδέχεσθε αὐτόν· κἀγὼ καὶ συ[νεχώρησα α]ὐτῶ [ . . . ]ς  
 ἃ ἠτήσατ[ο] καὶ ἀπεδεξάμην ὅτι [οὐ] τὸν π[ολλῶν τῶ]ν πο-  
 λειτευομένων τρόπον, οἱ τοῦ [παρ]αχρημ[ῆ]α ? εὐδοκιμ[εῖν χά-  
 [ρ]ιν εἰς θέα[ς κ]αὶ διανομάς καὶ τὰ τῶ[ν ἀγώνων] θέματα ? δαπαν[ῶ]σιν ?  
 [τῆ]ν φιλοτιμίαν, ἀλλὰ δι’ οὗ πρὸς τὸ [μέλλον] ἐλπίζει ? σ]εμνο-  
 [τέραν ποιή]σειν τὴν πόλιν προήρη[ται· τὰ γράμματα] ἔπε]μψεν  
 [Κλ(αὐδιδος) Ἰου]λιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύ[πατος· εὐ]τυχεῖτ]ε.

“Imperator Caesar [Titus] Aelius Hadrian [Antoninus] Augustus, son of Divus Hadrianus, grandson of divus Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson [of divus Nerva], pontifex maximus, tribunician [power] for the eighth time, [imperator] for the second time, consul [for the fourth time], pater patriae, to the archons, council, demos of the [Ephesians], greetings.

As for the noble ambition which Vedius Antoninus displays in a benefaction for you, I learned of it not so much from your letter as from his. For he wished to obtain aid from me toward the order and beauty of the works he announced to you, and he explained how many buildings and what kind he was offering to you but that you did not accept in the right spirit what he is trying to do. I myself lent him a hand in what he asked, and I approved that not in the manner of many of those in public life who for the sake of immediate popularity spend a gift of noble ambition for the spectacles, distributions, and money for the [games], but looking toward the [future] he has formed a plan with which [he hopes] to make the city even more impressive. [- - -] Iulianus, the clarissimus proconsul, sent [the letter]. Farewell.” (Translation J. H. Oliver, slightly changed.)

Vedius Antoninus was encouraged by the emperor to spend large sums of money on the erection of buildings at Ephesos, receiving help from his Imperial patron whose *cognomen* he shared. It is possible that the Boulouterion in which this series of letters was inscribed was one of the buildings Vedius had in mind. But he met resistance within the Ephesian society which obviously resented his push for self-representation and laid the matter before the emperor.

The ample discussion on this topic cannot be repeated here; for recent contributions, see STESKAL 2001, 177–188; KALINOWSKI 2002, 109–149; STESKAL – LA TORRE 2008, 303–308.

#### 8.2.5 LETTER OF ANTONINUS PIUS IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A DECREE OF THE EPHESIANS RESPECTING VEDIUS ANTONINUS (150 A.D., INSCR. 8; PL. 64, 2)

Several fragments of two adjoining marble slabs of the later revetment; for technical data see inscr. 7. Now (reconstructed) in the British Museum.

Ed.: IvE 1492 (with reference to earlier publications); OLIVER 1989, no. 139.

Lit.: See above references to inscr. 7, chap. 8.2.4

[A]υτοκράτω[ρ Καί]σαρ θεοῦ  
 Ἄδριανοῦ υ[ι]ός, θεοῦ Τραια[νοῦ]  
 Π[αρ]θικοῦ [υ]ίωνός, θεοῦ Ν[έρ-]  
 οῦα ἔκγονος Τ[ίτος Αἴλιος Ἄ]δριανός  
 Ἄντωνεῖνος Σεβασ[τός,] ἀρχιερεὺς  
 μέγιστ[ος,] δημαρχικῆ[ς ἐξ]ουσίας τὸ  
 ιγ', αὐτοκράτωρ [τ]ὸ [β',] ὑπάτο[ς] τὸ δ',  
 πατήρ πατρί[δος Ἐφεσίων τοῖς]  
 ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ β[ουλῇ καὶ] τῷ δή[μω]·  
 χαί[ρειν·]  
 εἰδότε μοι δηλο[ῦτε τὴν φι]λοτι[μίαν]  
 ἣν Οὐή[δ]ιος Ἄντ[ων]εῖνος φιλοτιμεί-  
 ται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅ[ς] γε κα[ὶ τὰ]ς παρ' ἐμοῦ  
 χάριτας εἰς τὸν [κόσ]μον α[ὐτῆς] τῆς πό-  
 λεως [κα]τέθετο  
 [τ]ὸ ψήφισ[μα ἔπ]εμψεν Φλ[—]  
 [·]· τι[·]· ἐπίτρο[πος]  
 [—·] εὐτυ[χεῖ]τε.]

“Imperator Caesar T[itus Aelius] Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, son of Divus Hadrianus, grandson of divus Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the thirteenth time, imperator for the [second] time, [consul] for the fourth time, pater patriae, to the archons, council, demos [of the Ephesians], greetings.

I already knew, before your explanation, about the noble ambition which Vedius Antoninus displays in a gift to you people, a man who earned credit also for the presents from me toward the adornment forever of your city. Fl[avius Ti]ti[anus?], my procurator, sent the decree. Farewell.” (Translation J. H. Oliver, slightly changed.)

A letter from Antoninus Pius in an acknowledgement of a decree of the Ephesians respecting Vedius Antoninus, and addressed to the magistrates, *boule* and *demos*. The date is fixed at 150 A.D. by mentioning the 13<sup>th</sup> year of *tribunicia potestas* of Antoninus Pius.

#### 8.2.6 LETTER OF ANTONINUS PIUS (PROBABLY BETWEEN 150 AND 161 A.D., INSCR. 9; PL. 65, 1)

Several fragments of a marble slab of the later revetment; for technical data see inscr. 7. Now (reconstructed) in the British Museum.

Ed.: IvE 1493 (with reference to earlier publications); OLIVER 1989, no. 140.

Lit.: See above references to inscr. 7, chap. 8.2.4

[A]υτοκρά[τωρ Καί]σαρ θεοῦ Ἄδ[ρ]ιανοῦ υἱός,  
 [θ]εοῦ Τραια[νοῦ] Παρθικοῦ υἱόν[ός,]  
 θεοῦ [Ν]έρο[υ]α ἔκγονος [Τίτος Αἴλιος]  
 Ἄδριανός Ἄντωνεῖνος Σε]βασ[τός,] ἀρχιερ]εὺς  
 μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξ]ουσίας τὸ [ι—], αὐτοκ[ράτωρ] τ[ὸ] β',  
 [ὑπάτος τ]ὸ δ', πατήρ πατρίδ[ος τοῖς ἐ]πὶ τῆς Ἀ[σίας Ἐλ-]  
 [λησιν χαίρ]ε[ιν]. κα[λὸν] μὲν [—]  
 Ἐφεσίων καὶ σεμν[ὸν —] [— τοι-]  
 αὐτῆ πόλε[ι·] φίλον γ[ὰρ ἴσ]ως π[—]  
 ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ὑπε[ρέχου]σιν ο[—]  
 [κ]αὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν [ταῖς] προεχ[ούσαις —]  
 π[ροσ]ῆ[κο]ν ἠ[ν καὶ] εἰκὸς ἡσθῆναι τῇ τε ο[—]



πρ[ . . . . . ]ς Ἐφεσίοις μεγαλοψυχία [καὶ τῇ Ποπλίου Οὐη-]  
 [δίου Ἄ]ντωνεῖν[ου ε]ὐεργεσί[α — κ]αὶ ἐ[γώ]  
 [συν]έπραξα αὐτ[ῶ] καὶ σ[υν]έλα[βον ὡ]ς α[ὔ]ξοντι ? τὸ κά[λλος]  
 vacat τῆς [πόλεως] καὶ κό[σμο]ν τῆ[ς Ἀσίας ?]  
 [τὸ] ψήφισμα ἔπ[εμψε]ν Ποπίλλ[ιος Π]ρεῖσκος ὁ [κρά]τισ-  
 vacat το[ς ἀνθύπα]τος· vacat [ε]ὐτυχεῖτε.

“Imperator Caesar [Titus Aelius] Hadrian Antoninus Augustus, [son] of Divus Hadrianus, grandson of divus Trajan Parthicus, great-grandson of divus Nerva, pontifex maximus, tribunician power for the [thirteenth time], imperator for the [second time], [consul] for the fourth time, pater patriae, [to the Hellenes] in [Asia], greetings.

[- - -] natural [for you] to delight in both the greatness of soul [renowned among the] Ephesians [of yore and the - - -] benefaction [by Vedius] Antoninus. I too [joined with] him [and] took a hand [- - -] beauty of the [city] and glory of [Asia]. Popillius Priscus, the most distinguished proconsul, [sent the] decree. Farewell.” (Translation J. H. Oliver, slightly changed.)

A letter from Antoninus Pius dated in his fourth consulate, but the year of the *tribunicia potestas* is lost so the exact date is doubtful. His fourth consulship was 145, but since the letter to the *koinon* was written to the right of inscr. 8, it must be dated 150–161.

Additional small fragments of Imperial letters found in or next to the Bouleuterion are IvE 1494; Skizzenbuch 1688, 1690, 1691.

### 8.2.7 HONORARY INSCRIPTION FOR HADRIAN (135–138 A.D., INSCR. 10; PL. 65, 2)

A fragment first discovered in the Seljukian bath next to the modern museum, now in the so-called Efes deposu, probably belongs to the Bouleuterion. Its shape, dimensions, and lettering closely resemble those of inscr. 4, one of the Imperial letters from this building. For instance, its thickness of 18,5 cm is exactly the same as that of inscr. 4 which was written directly on the wall blocks – in contrary to the other Imperial letters (inscr. 5–9), written on marble slabs which were attached to the wall. There is, however, a difference in content to those texts: while the Imperial letters, of course, give the name of their author in the nominative, in the new fragment the name must have been put in the accusative, as the ending -ov in line 5 (certainly belonging to ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον) clearly shows. This makes the text, in all likelihood, an honorary inscription for Hadrian, set up (as inscr. 4) before the renovation of the Bouleuterion by Vedius Antoninus.

Fragment of a wall block made of local marble, broken to the right and to the bottom. h. 28,5 cm, w. 25 cm, d. 18,5 cm, letter h. 2,5–3 cm, with size decreasing from top to the bottom.

Ed.: IvE 271D, relying on Skizzenbuch 1895 III 85 (Benndorf) and 2455 (Miltner). Letters lost in the meantime are underscored.

Αὐτοκ[ράτορα Καίσαρα, θεοῦ]  
 Τραιαν[οῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱόν, θεοῦ]  
 Νέρουα υ[ιωνόν, Τραιανόν Ἀδριανόν]  
 [Σ]εβαστό[ν, ἀρχιερέα μέγισ]-  
 [τ]ον, δημ[αρχικῆς ἐξουσία[ς τὸ ],  
 [α]ὐτοκράτ[ορα τὸ β', ὑπατον τὸ γ'],  
 [πα]τέρα π[ατρίδος, - - - ]

“For the Imperator [Caesar, son of divus] Trajan [Parthicus, [grandson of divus] Nerva, [Trajan Hadrian] Augustus, [pontifex maximus], tribunician [power for the - - - ] time, [twice] imperator, [thrice consul], pater patriae, [- - -].”

This honorary inscription was dedicated by a civic body or a private citizen; the fact that it was written directly on the wall makes it highly improbable that it belonged to a statue of the emperor. The most interesting part of this text, however, is the imperial acclamation in line 6. Hadrian got the second acclamation (in fact, the first real one after his access to the throne) after September 15, 134, probably in 135.<sup>346</sup> This means that the inscription was written during the last years of Hadrian’s reign.<sup>347</sup>

### 8.3 Inscriptions on Statue Bases

#### 8.3.1 STATUE OF LUCIUS VERUS, ERECTED BY VEDIUS (INSCR. 11; PL. 66)

Lower half of a naked male statue with inscribed plinth; for detailed description see below chap. 9, sculp. 1.1. Now in the British Museum.

Ed.: IvE 1505 (with earlier references).

Lit.: FITTSCHEN 1999, 130 fig. b–e; KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 153–157; STESKAL 2001, 188; KALINOWSKI 2002, 138–144.

Λούκιον Αἴλιον Αὐρήλ[ι]ον Κόμμοδον τὸν υἱὸν τ[οῦ]  
Αὐτοκράτορος Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος.

“Vedius Antoninus (honors) Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, the son of the emperor.”

The inscription bears the name of Lucius Verus which he used before his accession to the throne in 161. The unnamed emperor in line 2 is his adoptive father Antoninus Pius. J. T. Wood (letter to the principle librarian of the British Museum, A. Panizzi, of April 28, 1864)<sup>348</sup> might have mistakenly identified that statue as Antoninus Pius; if not, the statue was lost during transport. A statue of the reigning emperor must have been part of this group, anyway.<sup>349</sup>

#### 8.3.2 BASIS OF A STATUE OF MARCUS AURELIUS (INSCR. 12; PL. 67, 1)

Profiled, broad basis, found in 1864 in the Bouleuterion (no exact find-spot indicated). Only known from a sketch in a letter from J. T. Wood to Newton, dated November 28, 1864, see also sculp. 1.2.

Ed.: KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 353–354 fig. 2.

Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Καίσαρα  
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος  
Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος.

“Vedius Antoninus (honors) Marcus Aurelius Caesar, the son of the emperor.”

The statue honors the first adoptive son of Antoninus Pius. While the form of the text is similar, the shape of the basis is quite different from the plinth of Lucius Verus.

<sup>346</sup> KIENAST 1990, 130.

<sup>347</sup> AS, for example, “Inchriften von Milet” no. 20: C. FRIEDRICH, in: KNACKFUSS 1908, 119–120 fig. 107; REHM – HERRMANN 1997, 159 pl. 4, 1.

<sup>348</sup> KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 351–352.

<sup>349</sup> For a similar dynastic monument in Ephesos, cf. IvE 2049.

## 8.3.3 INSCRIBED BASE OF STATUE IDENTIFYING A DAUGHTER OF MARCUS AURELIUS (INSCR. 13; PL. 68)

Fragment of a chamfered basis, broken on the left side. h. 22 cm, w. 28.7 cm, d. 20 cm, letter h. 2,9 cm. For a detailed description see below chap. 9, sculp. 1.3.

Skizzenbuch 1684 (Keil)

Ed.: IvE 285A (with earlier references).

Lit.: FITTSCHEN 1999, 130; KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 351–357; STESKAL 2001, 188; KALINOWSKI 2002, 138–144.

Φαυσ[τεῖναν - - -]  
 θυγατριδ[ῆν τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος]  
 Οὐήδιο[ς Ἀντωνεῖνος].

“Vedius Antoninus (honors) Faustina, the granddaughter of the emperor.”

The identification of this daughter of Marcus Aurelius is not entirely clear, but it seems probable that it is Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina, the third daughter of Marcus Aurelius, born in 151 (rather than in 153).<sup>350</sup> If the portrait of a girl (sculp. 1.4) indeed belongs to this base, its appearance would fit her age during the last years of Antoninus Pius.<sup>351</sup> For in-depth discussion of this issue, see ch. 9.1.

Again, the base is somewhat different from the other members of the group; the start of the inscription (which follows the pattern of nos. 11 and 12) is written on a chamfer which is rather unusual for this kind of monuments.

## 8.3.4 BASIS OF A STATUE OF DEMOS (INSCR. 14; PL. 67, 2)

Statue basis of white marble. For a detailed description see below chap. 9, sculp. 1.6.

Skizzenbuch 1695

Ed.: IvE 1903 (3)

[Ὁ δ]ῆμος.

To the left, probably no more text is lost; a second statue of the Boule has to be postulated.

### 8.4 The Epigraphical Evidence for Dating the Building

Judging from the inscriptions, the earlier Bouleuterion must have existed in 128/129 at the latest, since the letter inscr. 4 was written on the wall blocks. This also holds true for the honorary inscr. 10, to be dated between 135 and 138, at a time when the old wall was still visible. The earliest text written on the new marble revetment is the letter inscr. 6, dated between 140 and 144; but it is by no way certain that it was put on display immediately after Vedius (at that time *grammateus*) received it. The letters inscr. 7–9, dated 145 to the years after 150 A.D. and (judging from the layout) engraved at the same time, point to the 150s for the completion of the renovation. While the architrave and frieze inscriptions (inscr. 1–3) offer no additional clue, the Annia Galeria Faustina basis (inscr. 13), taken together with the girl’s head, suggests that at least the sculptural decoration belongs to the last years of Antoninus Pius (i. e., 158–161) – if indeed the statues were all put in place at the same time, which is far from certain. The rather makeshift appearance of the bases and sculptures (the statue of Lucius Verus was re-worked on the back to make it fit into a niche) hardly can be reconciled with deliberate planning, but gives the impression that the statues of the Imperial dynasty were prepared on short notice. Anyway, the wording of the bases (inscr. 11–13) proves that they were made when Antoninus Pius was still alive.

<sup>350</sup> FITTSCHEN 1999, 4.

<sup>351</sup> The first-born daughter, Domitia Faustina, probably died as early as 151 (FITTSCHEN 1999, 2–3).

### 8.5 Antoninus Pius, the Vedii and Ephesos

Even before he ruled the Roman Empire, Antoninus Pius was no stranger to the city of Artemis. Fifteen years after his consulate, he became *proconsul Asias* in 135 A.D. His residence was Ephesos, and it was probably in this time when close ties to the *polis* and in particular to Vedius (III) were forged. Ephesos celebrated his accession to the throne by declaring Antoninus' birthday a five-day public holiday (IvE 21); in addition, each of the eight *phylai* erected a statue for him (IvE 2050). Two of the *phylai* were named after him and his adoptive father Hadrian, respectively. The emperor showed his gratitude by granting Ephesos the title "metropolis of Asia".<sup>352</sup> There are also good reasons to perceive the so-called "Parthermonument" from Ephesos (now, for the most part, in Vienna) as a symbol of Antoninus' rule and to re-date it to the early 140s.<sup>353</sup>

Vedius (III) originated from an already prominent Ephesian family of equestrian rank which can be traced over several generations.<sup>354</sup> Apart from holding the highest civic and provincial honours, he advanced to senatorial status by grace of Antoninus Pius. By virtue of this position and of his incredible wealth he became the leading political figure in his hometown, much to the dislike of his fellow aristocrats. A trace of their resentment can be found in Antoninus' letter (inscr. 7) where the emperor chastises the Ephesians for "not<sup>355</sup> accept(ing) in the right spirit what he (=Vedius) is trying to do" for them. To add insult to injury, Vedius carefully displayed this reprimand right in front of the assembled civic elite, on the *scaenae frons* of the Bouleuterion.

Refurbishing this building was just one thing Vedius did for Ephesos. Besides presiding over agonistic festivals and gladiator fights,<sup>356</sup> carrying out the duties of a provincial archpriest, and setting up several statues, he built a luxurious gymnasium in the north of the city, overlooking the Kaystros plain.<sup>357</sup> When he died, he bequeathed his enormous wealth (the source of which is unclear) to his son M. Claudius P. Vedius Papianus Antoninus who in turn left large parts of it to the city. But the rest was still sufficient to allow his brother-in-law T. Flavius Damianus, the sophist,<sup>358</sup> to supply large quantities of grain for the Roman army during their stay in Ephesos in the course of the Parthian war in 166/167 A.D. (a duty which otherwise would have put great stress on the city itself)<sup>359</sup> and to build a covered way from the Roman town to the sanctuary of Artemis.<sup>360</sup>

### 8.6 The Role of the Bouleuterion in Public Life

Though in Imperial times the popular assembly was still held in the vast structures of the theater, and though the secretary of the *ekklesia* was the most prestigious position one could aspire to in Ephesos,<sup>361</sup> the issues of everyday politics were mainly discussed and decided by the city council, the *boule*. Its 450 members,<sup>362</sup> for the most part representing influential families, convened in the Bouleuterion building, the sessions being presided by a *boularchos*. Public finances and construction issues were on the agenda as well as election and scrutiny of officials, at times even court procedures took place in this room. Consequentially, documents of importance for the council came to be displayed on the front wall: letters designating new members of the *boule* (inscr. 4 and 5), a letter concerning the status of the pre-eminent cities of Asia (inscr. 6), and two letters supporting the ambitions of P. Vedius Antoninus who put a new face on this very structure. Moreover, the Bouleuteria generally served as multi-functional indoor spaces in the high Imperial period, as lecture hall and stage for musical or other performances.<sup>363</sup>

(H. Taeuber)

<sup>352</sup> See, most recently, CHAUSSON 2006, 57.

<sup>353</sup> TAEUBER 2006, 25–29; perhaps it formed part of Hadrian's temple for the imperial cult, finished in the first years of Pius' reign. Cf. also the contributions of CHAUSSON, FITTSCHEN and LANDSKRON in the same volume.

<sup>354</sup> See the (not throughout reliable) stemma published in IvE after no. 3070 and STESKAL – LA TORRE 2008, 303–308.

<sup>355</sup> I do not agree with KOKKINIA's restoration (οὐ[v] instead of οὐ[κ] in line 9, cf. KOKKINIA 2003, 204, in her restoration line 12) because it does not comply with the overall tendency of the letter.

<sup>356</sup> This can be inferred from the existence of an association called "φιλοβήδιοι φιλόπλοι" (for example, IvE 3055 and 3070).

<sup>357</sup> STESKAL – LA TORRE 2008; for Vedius' achievements see especially 303–308.

<sup>358</sup> Philostr. *soph.* 2, 23 gives a short biography.

<sup>359</sup> IvE 672 and 3080; KALINOWSKI 2006, 53–59.

<sup>360</sup> THÜR 1999, 163–172, with references to the fundamental work by DIETER KNIBBE on the subject.

<sup>361</sup> SCHULTE 1994.

<sup>362</sup> The figure is preserved in the text of the Salutaris foundation, IvE 27, ll. 220–226.

<sup>363</sup> Cf. BIER 2008, 161–163.