A SERIES OF HONORIFIC STATUE BASES FOR THE VEDII IN THE MARKET AGORA AT EPHESOS (IvE 725, 731, 3076-3078)

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he Vedii are the best-known family in Roman Ephesos, represented in 70 inscriptions found throughout the city. Of the approximately 110 statue base inscriptions from the market or tetragonos agora published in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos (IvE)*, sixteen honour the members of the Vedii family¹. The Vedii are, in fact, the family most represented in the market agora². This paper focuses on five bases from this group, which honor members of an early branch of the family³. Three of the bases were found reused in a late wall in the north east corner of the market agora (*IvE* 3076, 3077, 3078) ⁴; two others were excavated in the upper agora (*IvE* 725, 731)⁵.

Although they were found in two widely separated places, it is clear that these five inscriptions were erected as part of a family statue group in the market agora. They are similar in form, lettering, layout and phraseology. Each emphasizes the same benefaction of *Publius Vedius Papianus Antoninus* and employs the same phrase to indicate that the statue group had been renovated: $\dot{\eta}$ $\pi \alpha \tau \rho f c$ $\dot{\alpha} \nu \epsilon \nu \epsilon \omega \sigma \alpha \tau o^6$.

The renewal of statues and their bases is rarely recorded epigraphically. Therefore, we must ask why this statue group honouring members of the Vedii family was given special treatment — a renovation — especially after the individuals represented were long dead. In this course of this paper, I will outline how family memory, civic memory and a strong allegiance to the cult of Artemis combined to prompt the renovation of this statue group.

1. John T. Wood discovered *IvE* 731 in 1865 during his excavations in the upper agora of Ephesos. It is the central inscription of the group, honouring *Publius Vedius Papianus Antoninus* (henceforth Papianus), a man of senatorial rank ($\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau i\sigma\tau \sigma_{5}$), for making the Ephesian Artemis heir to his estate, likely around the end of the 2nd c. AD⁷.

^{*} University of Saskatchewan. I should like to thank Professor F. Krinzinger, Director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute for access to the epigraphic notebooks and squeezes of the inscriptions under consideration here. Warm thanks also to Professor Hans Taeuber, University of Vienna for discussing the squeezes with me.

^{1.} The statue base inscriptions honouring the Vedii found in the market agora are: *IvE* 672A, 726, 726A, 3075-3085. *IvE* 725 and 731 although discovered elsewhere (see note 6 below), were originally erected in the market agora.

^{2.} The only other family statue group in the market agora honours the proconsul of Asia, *C. Antius Iulius Quadratus*, and his sister, *Iulia Polla (IvE* 3033 and 3034). The majority of the bases honour officials and dignitaries of Ephesos and the province of Asia, as well as Roman officials such as proconsuls, legates, quaestors and procurators, and emperors.

^{3.} See Merec, R.; Merkelbach, R.; Nolle, J.; Şahin, S., Die Inschriften von Ephesos VII. 1, Bonn 1981, 88 and 90 for stemmata of the early and later branches of the Vedii.

⁴ WILBERG, W., "Die Agora. Ausgrabungsgeschichte", Forschungen in Ephesos III, Vienna 1928, 2 and 10 on the late wall built almost entirely of reused statue bases in the northeast corner of the agora. Kell, J., "Inschriften", Forschungen in Ephesos III, Vienna 1928, 109 proposes that the agora bases originally stood against the back walls of agora colonnade or against its columns or pilasters.

^{5.} For *IvE* 725 see GEIZER, M., "Kleinasiatische Inschriften" *RhM*, 27, 1872, 464-467, esp. 466 no. vi. For *IvE* 731 see WOOD. J.T., *Discoveries at Ephesus*, London 1877, 60 and "Inscriptions from the City and Suburbs" no. 9, found ". . . in the Wool-fac-

tor's Hall". On the findspot of these bases see also Keil, o.c. 159 who writes "Beide basen wurde beim dem Bau des späten Gebäudes südöstlich der Fontäne . . . wiederverwendet, das Wood wegen der gleichfalls dort verbauten Basis der συνεργασία τῶν λαναρίων . . . mit dem unsinningen Namen 'Woolfactors Hall' belegt."

^{6.} Keil, o.c. 159 first suggested that these five inscriptions belonged together due to the phrase ή πατρίς άνενεώσατο.

^{7.} IvE 47 provides the only broad dating evidence for the career of Papianus. This inscription from the Prytaneion shows that Papianus was alive during the reign of Commodus (181-192).

Πο. Οὐήδιον Παπιανὸν 'Αντωνεῖ νον τὸν κράτιστον κληρονόμω χρησάμενον τή άγιωτάτη ϑεῷ 'Εφεσία 'Αρτέμιδι ἡ πατρις άνενεώσατο

The remaining inscriptions represent Papianus' relatives, by blood or by marriage. (See Appendix 1, nos. 1-5 for full texts). Included are his grandfather, Publius Vedius Antoninus of the Quirina tribe (IvE 725); his grandmother, Ofellia Phaedrina (IvE 3078); his mother, Valeria Lepida (IvE 3076); and his step mother, Flavia Papiane (IvE 3077), who is described as wife of his father: γυναϊκα Πο. Οὐηδίου 'Αντωνείνου πατρός 'Αντωνείνου. It is certain that Papianus' father, also named Publius Vedius Antoninus, would have had a place in the group, although a base for him does not survive. Papianus' sisters, Vedia Papiane and Vedia Phaedrina, may also have been represented. (See Appendix 2 for genealogical table). Each individual is identified primarily by his or her relationship to Papianus. For example (IvE 725):

Πο. Οὐήδιον Πο. υίὸν Κυρείνα
'Αντωνεί νον
πάππον
Πο. Οὐηδίου
'Αντωνείνου
τοῦ κρατίστου
τοῦ κληρονόμω
χρησαμένου
τῆ 'Εφεσία θεῷ
ἡ πατρὶς
ἀνενεώσατο

Furthermore, each inscription repeats the epithet describing Papianus' donation to the goddess Artemis wherein, presumably childless, he appointed the goddess heir to his estate⁸. The repetition of this phrase underlines that this act was the key reason for the erection of the statue group.

Also repeated on each inscription is the phrase ή πατρίς άνενεώσατο, which indicates that there was an original statue group erected to the family, and that what we have here is a re-erected or renovated group. Presumably, the original statue group was damaged in some way: the statues may have fallen down, or been vandalized, or the inscrip-

tions may have been replaced. An imperial letter found in Ephesos and dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus records that even imperial statues fell into ruin9. In the Rhodian Oration (Or. 31), Dio of Prusa criticizes the rampant reuse of statues and inscribed bases at Rhodes, a practice that dishonours benefactors and erases from memory their good deeds. In urging the demos of Rhodes to stop this shameful practice Dio notes that the descendants of the person so dishonoured are also harmed (Or. 31.71). It was the duty of the city to preserve the statues of its former benefactors and so guarantee for itself a supply of benefactors in the future, and it was the duty of family to protect the statues of its ancestors in order to guard family memory. The early branch of the Vedii family ended with Papianus, since he was apparently childless when he made Artemis his heir. Therefore the guardianship of his memory and that of his forebears was left to the good will of the city, and to the later branch of the Vedii family which was descended from his sister, Vedia Phaedrina, and her spouse, the sophist T. Flavius Damianus. Although the original statue group was neglected for a time, eventually the city either renovated it of its own accord, hoping to flatter the Vedii family whose members had risen to the consulship by the mid-third century¹⁰; or more likely they renovated the statue group at the prompting of the family, who, I suggest, wanted to highlight their longstanding, ancestral relationship with the goddess, Artemis.

2. Inscriptions of Asia Minor of the Hellenistic and Roman periods employ forms of the verb άνανέομαι most frequently in decrees recording the renewal of philia, symmachia and other reciprocal relations between cities, and in recording the renovation of buildings or tombs. By contrast, the use of the verb to record the renewal of statues is exceedingly rare. A search through the volumes of Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien provided only one example, from Assarlik (ancient Bargylia), of ἀνανέομαι, relating to the renewal of a statue of Alexander the Great: θεόν Άλέξανδρον ή πόλις άνενεώσατο¹¹. At Ephesos the verb is used in the context of statue renovation on six inscriptions. Five of these are from the group under discussion here. The sixth commemorates the renovation of a statue of Androklos, the leg-

^{8.} Papianus was not the only person to make Artemis his heir. See also *IvE* 612, 669, 692.

^{9.} IvE 25 ll. 8-28 discusses the renovation of damaged imperial eikones in the synhedrion of the gerousia.

^{10.} See note 16 below.

^{11.} BLOMEL, W., Die Inschriften von lasos II (IK 28.2), Bonn 1985, no. 620

endary *ktistes*, or founder of Ephesos¹². It is notable that the two examples outside of the statue group under consideration here refer to renewal of statues for individuals who were commemorated and celebrated as founders: Androklos, the legendary founder of Ephesos¹³, and Alexander the Great, the historical founder of many cities.

Another statue base inscription from the market agora of Ephesos records the Androkleidai, the "followers of Androklos", honouring Papianus as ktistes14. The inscription does not specify the reason for the honour, but it is likely that he was their patron. Whether he merited the epithet ktistes for a specific benefaction remains unclear. What is remarkable, however, is that although many Ephesian notables were called founders of their fatherland, κτίστης τῆς πατρίδος, Papianus is unique in being celebrated as a founder on the same inscription as the legendary founder of the city, Androklos. By this epigraphic collocation, Papianus becomes a sort of contemporary Androklos. His legacy to Artemis — recorded on no fewer than five inscriptions — confirmed his status as ktistes. In response to this benefaction, the city erected the original statue group to Papianus and his forbears, probably in the late 2nd or very early 3rd c. The Artemis cult and temple apparently continued to be a powerful force shaping the identity of Ephesos, even around the middle of the 3rd century, since it was the commemoration of Papianus' legacy to the goddess that prompted the renovation of the statue group around this time. Furthermore, Papianus' legacy was also the most significant feature linking the earlier Vedii to the later branch of the family descended from his sister, Vedia Phaedrina, and the sophist, T. Flavius Damianus¹⁵.

3. In his 1911 report on the inscriptions excavated from the market agora, Josef Keil briefly suggested that the renovation of the original Vedii statue group was connected with the erection of a statue group to later members of the Vedii family by their freedman agent, Trophimos, around the mid-3rd century¹⁶. Included in this later group were statues of an adult son of Vedia Phaedrina and T. Flavius Damianus named T. Flavius Vedius Antoninus, who was proconsul of Africa (IvE 3082); his wife Flavia Pasinice (IvE 3083); and two of their children, T. Flavius Vedius Apellas, (IvE 3084) and T. Flavius Vedius Antoninus (IvE 3085) (See Appendix 1. nos. 6-9). This branch of the Vedii family initially had a strong connection to the Artemis cult at Ephesos. Philostratus records that T. Flavius Damianus, husband of Papianus' sister, Vedia Phaedrina, built two structures associated with the Artemis temple: a portico linking the city to the temple precinct¹⁷, which was notably inscribed with Vedia Phaedrina's name; in his own name, Damianus dedicated a banqueting hall within the temple precinct18. Vedia Phaedrina herself had a role in the Artemis cult as a prytanis in the time of Commodus. In their youth, two of her sons, T. Flavius Vedius Antoninus — the later proconsul of Africa represented in the 3rd c. Flavii Vedii group in the agora noted above - and T. Flavius Damianus, acted as kuretes during her prytany¹⁹. As the family climbed the ranks of the imperial administration, spending more of their time in Rome, their participation in the cult appears to have waned. For example, according to the epigraphic record, T. Flavius Vedius Antoninus (son of Vedia Phaedrina and Damianus) holds no other cultic office, after being kuretes under his mother. Nonetheless, the family's earlier strong connection with the goddess remained — or was revived — as a key part of its identity and of sufficient importance to prompt the renovation of the statues of their forbears.

^{12.} ΙνΕ 501 "Ανδροκλον / τῆς πόλεως / κτίστην / οἱ περὶ Αὐρ. Νεικόστρατου τὸν / καὶ Εὐπάλιν Εὐπαλίου φιλο- / σέβαστον παραφύλακες / ἀνενεώσαντο. See also Τιιῖικ, Η., "Der ephesische Ktistes Androklos und (s)ein Heroon am Embolos", JÖAI 64, 1995, 63-103, esp. 71-74.

^{13.} Str. XIV.1, 3 and 1. 20-21; Paus. VII.2,8-9; VII. 4,2.

^{14.} ΙΕ 3079 [τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μη-/τροπόλεως τῆς 'Ασίας καὶ δὶς/ νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν Έφε-/σ]ίων πόλεως ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ/μος ἐτείμησαν/ Πο. Οὐήδιον / Παπιανὸν 'Αν-/τωνῖνον τὸν/ κράτιστον συν-/ κλητικὸν, τὸν ἐκ/ προγόνων εὐεργέ-/ την καὶ κτίστην/ τῆς πατρίδος ἡ-/ μῶν οἱ ἐν τῷ τόπῷ / πραγματευόμε-/νοι 'Ανδροκλεῖ-/ δαι ἀνέστησαν. See also Κειι, σ.c., nr. 80.

^{15.} The last male member of the early branch of the Vedii was *P. Vedius Papianus Antoninus*; he died having produced no heirs. Papianus' sister, *Vedia Phaedrina*, married the sophist *T. Flavius Damianus*, and from them sprung the later branch of the family. Their three male children became senators, each advancing to the consulship. One of these sons, *T. Flavius*

Vedius Antoninus married Flavia Pasinice; of their three male children two certainly held senatorial offices, while one is only known to have had senatorial rank.

^{16.} Keil, o.c. 159.

^{17.} On the Damianos stoa see Wood, o.c. 116-118, 119-126, 128-129; Knibbe, D.; Langmann, G., Via Sacra Ephesiaca I. Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Berichte und Materialen, Heft 3, Vienna 1993; Knibbe, D.; Thür, H., Via Sacra Ephesiaca II. Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Berichte und Materialen, Heft 6, Vienna 1995.

^{18.} PHILOSTR. VS 2.23.

^{19.} IvE 47 ll. 8-12, dated to the time of Commodus. On the role of the prytaneis and the kuretes in the cult of Artemis see Knibbe, D., Forschungen in Ephesos IX/1/1. Der Staatsmarkt. Die Inschriften des Prytaneions, Vienna 1981, 70-92; for this inscription, see no. B 54.

A base discovered in 1895 in the Artemisium honouring *T. Flavius Vedius Apellas* (son of *T. Flavius Vedius Antoninus*), who also appears in the statue group erected by Trophimos (*IvE* 3084), provides a tantalizing link between the earlier and later branches of the family.

<Τ. Φλάυιον Οὐήδιον 'Απελλᾶν τὸν κράτιστον, κυαίστορα κανδιδᾶτον, υίὸν Φλαβίας Πασινείκης και Φλαβίου Οὐηδίου Άντωνείνου ύπατικοῦ ἀνθυπάτου Άφρικῆς, Φλαβίων Λεπίδης καὶ / Φαιδρείνης καὶ Φαίδρου καὶ / Δαμιανοῦ,/ ὑπατικῶν, ἀνεψιὸν Φλαβίας 'Αννίας / 'Απελλιανῆς τῆς κρατίστης, / ἔκγονον Φλαβίων / Άπελλᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ · καὶ/ Φαιδρείνης Ούηδίας άδελφῆς / Οὐηδ. 'Αντωνείνου / τοῦ τῆς κρατίστης μνήμης,/ τοῦ χρησαμένου κληρονόμω / τῆ Ἐφεσία θεῷ Αρτέμιδι/ ἔκγονον, ἀδελφὸν / Δαμιανοῦ καὶ 'Αντωνείνου / συνκλητικών, / ἔκγονον καὶ άπόγονον καὶ / άνεψιὸν πολλῶν ὑπατικῶν, / τόν έπεικῆ καὶ εὐσταθῆ, / λόγων καὶ ἤθους **ἕνεκεν / καὶ τής ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρετῆς· / Γ. Ἰούλιος** Πολυχρόνιος / βουλευτής κο(ινός?) καὶ τῆς / λαμπρᾶς Κυζικῶν.²⁰

This inscription is slightly earlier than the statue group erected by Trophimos (IvE 3082-3085) and therefore also earlier than the renovated statue group (IvE 725, 731, 3076-3078), since here Antoninus, the brother of Apellas, is simply identified as $\sigma uvk\lambda \eta \tau i\kappa \delta_5$ (Il. 13-15), rather than as consul and proconsul of Africa as he is in IvE 3084. The inscription provides a lengthy genealogy of the honorand Apellas, linking his branch of the family to the earlier Vedii through Vedia Phaedrina. Apellas is described as a descendant of Vedia Phaedrina... $O\dot{v}\eta\delta i\alpha_5 \Phi\alpha_i\delta\rho\epsilon iv\eta_5$ / $\dot{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\eta_5 O\dot{v}\eta\delta$. ' $\dot{A}v\tau\omega\nu\epsilon ivou$ / $\tau o\tilde{v}$ $\tau\eta_5 \kappa\rho\alpha$ -

τίστης μνήμης, / τοῦ χρησαμένου κληρονόμω τῆ Ἐφεσία θεῷ ᾿Αρτέμιδι ἔκγονον (ll. 8-12). It is striking that Papianus merits the most elaborate description of any individual named in the text. which emphasizes not his senatorial rank, but his bequest to the goddess. It underlines just how important Papianus' bequest to Artemis was to the Vedii family, even as long as 50 years after the event. Due to the genealogical detail and the Ephesian context, it seems likely that Apellas supplied the text to his friend G. Iulius Polychronius of Cyzicus, who erected this statue and base. Therefore, the inscription represents Apellas as he wanted to be seen: scion of a family of consuls, certainly, but also of a family with strong links to the Ephesian goddess, Artemis. In other words, Apellas considered that the most important feature of the Ephesian identity of his ancestors, which shaped his own self - presentation, was their link to the Artemis. Therefore, he featured that link prominently in his inscription. Furthermore, the find spot of this inscription, namely the Artemis temple, may point to some further association of Apellas and the Artemis temple.

When Trophimos erected the statue group to the later Vedii in the market agora around the mid 3rd c., the city may have been shamed into restoring the statues of their ancestors. However, it is more likely that the later branch of the family urged this renovation, which focused on the legacy of *P. Vedius Papianus Antoninus* to Artemis. The two statue groups, which likely stood together, served to link the later Vedii to the memory of their distinguished forbears and to demonstrate their piety to Artemis and their allegiance to the religious traditions of Ephesos.

^{20.} *IvE* 678. The stone is missing the name of Apellas the honorand, which was evidently on a separate block, but it was convincingly restored in from other inscriptions which provide portions of the genealogy of the family.

Appendix 1: Honorific statue bases of the Vedii from the market agora at Ephesos.

1. ΙνΕ 731 Πο. Οὐήδιον Παπιανόν	2. IvE 725 Πο. Οὐήδιον Πο. υίον	3. IvE 3078 Όφελλίαν	4. IvE 3076 Oùahegiav	5. ΙνΕ 3077 Φλ. Παπιανήν
Αντωνείνον τόν κράτιστον κληρονόμφ χρησά-	Κυφείνα Άντωνεῖνον πάππον Πο. Οὐηδίου	Φαιδρείναν γυναϊκα Πο. Οὐηδίου Κυρείνα	Λεπίδαν μητέρα Πο. Οὐηδίου Παπ[ι-] ανοῦ Άντωνείνου	γυναϊκα Πα. Οὐηδίου Άντωνείνου
μενον τῆ ἀγιωτάτη Θεῷ Ἐφεσία Ἀρτέμιδι ἡ πατρις ἀνενεώσατο	Άντωνείνου τοῦ χρατιστου τοῦ χληρονόμφ χρησαμένου	Αντωνείνου παπποῦ Αντωνείνου τοῦ χρατίστου τοῦ χληφονόμω	τοῦ χρατίστου τοῦ χληρονόμω χρησαμένου τῆ Ἐφεσία Θεῷ ἡ πατρις	πατρός Αντωνείνου τοῦ κρατίστου κληρονόμω χρησα- μένου τῆ Έφεσία θεῷ
	τῆ Βφεσία Θεῷ ἡ πατοις άνενεώσατο	χρησαμένου τῆ Έφεσία θεῷ ἡ πατρις ἀνενεώσατο	åveveώσατο	ή πατρις ἀνενεώσατο

6. IvE 3082	7. IvE 3083	8. IvE 3084	9. <i>IvE</i> 3085	1
[Τ. Φλ.Ούηδ. Άντωνεῖνον]	Πασινείκην	Τ. Φλ. Οὐήδιον	Τ. Φλ. Οὐήδιον	l
[τὸν λαμπρότατον]	τὴν κρατίστην	Απέλλαν	Αντωνεῖνον	l
ύπατικόν	ύπατιχήν	τὸν κράτιστον	τον χράτιστον	l
τὸν ἀγνότατον	τήν σεμνοτάτην	ύον Τ. Φλ. Ούηδ.	ύου Τ. Φλ. Οὐηδ.	- 1
καὶ δικαιότατον	γυναϊκα Φλ. Ούηδ.	Αντωνείνου	Άντωνείνου	l
άνθύπατον	Αντωνείνου	τοῦ λαμπροτάτου	τοῦ λαμπροτάτου	1
Άφρικής	ύπάτου άνθυπάτου	ὑπατίκου	υπατίχου	I
, ,		άνθυπάτου Άφρικη[ς]	άνθυπάτου Αφρικής	l
Τρόφιμος πραγματευτής	Τρόφιμος πραγματευτής	ιόχουρον, χυαίστορα	ιόχουρον, χυαίστορα	
τον ίδιον δεσπότην		χανδιδάτον	χανδιδάτον	l
·		Τρόφιμος ο θρέψας	πραίτορα κανδιδάτον	l
			Τρόφιμος ο θρέψας	1

Appendix 2: Select Vedii.

