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Tafeln 1–16

ANGELA KALINOWSKI

## A Re-discovered Inscription from Ephesos: a Funerary Monument for Vedia Kalliste

Rummaging through old publications and papers in search of hidden treasures is a pastime for the antiquarian.<sup>1</sup> However, it can also yield results for the epigraphist. In this short note, I will bring attention to an Ephesian inscription that Richard Chandler first published in 1774. Since that time, it has been below the scholarly radar. It did not appear in *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, nor in *Inschriften von Ephesos*, nor as far as I have been able to determine, in any subsequent publications of Ephesian inscriptions. This paper has three aims: 1) to discuss briefly how I rediscovered this inscription; 2) to discuss the text, its linguistic formulae in the context of Ephesian funerary inscriptions, and its possible original location in Ephesos; 3) to offer a possible place for Vedia Kalliste in the *gens Vedia* of Ephesos.

I happened upon the Vedia Kalliste inscription while researching *IvE* 2323, a fragmentary Latin funerary text naming Vedius Ne[ikephoros (?): “*loco dato a Vedio Ne[ ]*”. The method of the editors of the *Inschriften von Ephesos* was to check all previous editions of a text before publishing it in their *repertorium*. Thus, the entry for *IvE* 2323 provides a short list of previous scholarly publications. It had appeared in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* as *CIL* III 439, and before that, it appeared in Richard Chandler’s *Inscriptiones Antiquae pleraeque nondum editae, in Asia Minori et Graecia, praesertim Athenis Collectae* (1774). Evidently, constraints of time, and a lack of access to old scholarly volumes prevented the editors of *Inschriften von Ephesos* from consulting Chandler. Regarding it they admit, “*non vidimus.*”<sup>2</sup> However, now with the availability on-line of so many old publications, it has become far easier to find and consult such references. In the interests of the thoroughness of my own research on inscriptions of the Vedii, I easily found a digitized version of Chandler, and rediscovered the inscription referring to Vedia Kalliste, a member of the Vedii who has been ‘lost’ for almost 250 years.

The Society of Dilettanti commissioned Richard Chandler to investigate ancient sites and record inscriptions in Asia Minor and Greece. From 9 June 1764 to early November 1766, accompanied by architect Nicholas Revett and artist William Edmund

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<sup>1</sup> I thank Hans Taeuber for his insightful reading of this paper. Any errors and omissions remain mine alone.

<sup>2</sup> R. Merkelbach, J. Nollé *et al.*, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos VI* (IK 16.6), Bonn 1980, 241.

Pars, he travelled these lands.<sup>3</sup> Chandler was a scholar with excellent credentials, having been educated at Queen's and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. By the time of his journey to Asia Minor and Greece, he had published an edition of minor Greek poets, *Elegiaca Graeca* (1759), and had re-published the inscriptions of the Arundel collection at Oxford as *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1763).<sup>4</sup> However, his method in *Inscriptiones Antiquae* was to record the texts of the Greek and Latin inscriptions that he encountered in his travels with little commentary.

The record of the Vedia Kalliste inscription resides on page xxiv of *Inscriptiones Antiquae* and is part of reference number xvi. Here, Chandler discusses an inscription from Athens, clearly from the base of an honorific statue raised for Augustus' friend, P. Vedius Pollio. Chandler prints the Athenian inscription thus: *Populus posuit ... Publium Vedium, Publii filium, Pollionem*. This record reveals another one of Chandler's habits in *Inscriptiones Antiquae*: he sometimes transliterated Greek texts into Latin. Thus, this text is a Latin transliteration of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 4125*: ὁ δῆμος / Πόπλιον Οὐήδιον / Πο[π]λίου ὑὸν Πωλλίωνα. In his very brief discussion of this text, he refers to two other inscriptions naming Vedii:

“Vedii nomen in fragmento Ephesino vidimus LOCO DATO · A · VEDIO · NE et in alio lapide TOMNHMEIONEΣΤΙΝΟΥΗΔΙΑΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗΣΖΗΣ ζῆσα viva fecit. Vedius Pollio fuit Augusti Caesaris familiaris ... .”<sup>5</sup>

The inscription referring to Vedius Ne[ ] is the one that I have referred to above, republished as *CIL* III 439 and as *IvE* 2323. However, the Vedia Kalliste inscription did not enter *CIL* because it was a Greek text, nor did it enter *CIG* or any other epigraphic corpus. In other words, since Chandler's 1774 publication, the Vedia Kalliste inscription has been effectively lost.

Let us look closely at the text of the inscription. It is a simple funerary inscription:

TOMNHMEIONEΣΤΙΝΟΥΗΔΙΑΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗΣΖΗΣ

τὸ μνημεῖόν ἐστιν Οὐηδίας Καλλίστης ζῆς

The word ζῆς gives the reader pause. Chandler, in his few words on the text, interpreted ζῆς as an abbreviation of the participle ζῆσα, which he translated into Latin as *viva fecit* — meaning that Vedia Kalliste commissioned her funerary monument while she was still alive. However, this formulation — using a participle in this place in a funerary text — is without parallel in the epigraphic corpus of Ephesos, as far as I have been able to determine. The pattern of similar Ephesian funerary texts is:

1) τὸ μνημεῖόν ἐστιν (or τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖόν ἐστιν or αὕτη ἡ σορός ἐστιν or τοῦτο τὸ ἡρώδον ἐστιν or οὗτος ὁ βωμός ἐστιν);

<sup>3</sup> R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*. A New Edition with Corrections and Remarks by Nicholas Revett, and an Introductory Account of the Author by Ralph Churton, Oxford 1825.

<sup>4</sup> W. W. Wroth revised by R. D. E. Eagles, *Chandler Richard*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 25 May 2006 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5108>.

<sup>5</sup> R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones Antiquae, pleraeque nondum editae, in Asia Minori et Graecia, praesertim Athenis, collectae*, Oxford 1774, xxiv.

2) the name of the person(s) to whom the monument belonged, normally in the genitive case. Occasionally, other family members are named after σύν;

3) the appropriate form of the verb ζάω, depending on whether the subject was singular or plural, thus, either ζῆ or ζῶσιν.

Most likely, Chandler made an error in transcription, adding a terminal *sigma* to ζῆ where one did not exist. There is another possibility, but it is unlikely: that the *sigma* was the first letter of σύν and was followed by names of other occupants of the tomb, Vedia Kalliste's children, for example. But normally, texts that follow the pattern outlined above, either list each individual occupying the tomb separately followed by ζῆ, as in *IvE 2274E*:

[τ]ὸ μνημεῖον καὶ  
 [ῆ] ἐπ' αὐτῷ σορὸς καὶ  
 [ῆ] περὶ αὐτὰ πλάδιμος  
 [κ]αμάρα ἐστὶν Εἰουλίου  
 Ῥούφου· ζῆ· καὶ Ἰουλίας Βεβέ-  
 ας Ἀμφιάδος· ζῆ· καὶ τέκνων  
 καὶ ἐγγόνων καὶ κληρονό-  
 μων αὐτῶν· ζῶσιν

Or, if they list the all the individuals together, the verb ζῶσιν follows, as in *IvE 2313E*:

τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ ὁ πρὸ  
 αὐτοῦ τόπος ἐστὶν  
 Τρυφαίνης Εὐψύχου καὶ  
 Τροφίμου ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς  
 καὶ τέκνων καὶ ἐγγόνων  
 καὶ διαδόχων αὐτῶν καὶ  
 τῶν ἀπελευθέρων αὐτῶν·  
 ζῶσιν

Thus, it is unlikely that the ζῆ in the Vedia Kalliste text is followed by συν. Instead we have a complete phrase and a complete thought:

Chandler's text should be emended to read:

τὸ μνημεῖόν ἐστιν Οὐηδίας Καλλίστης ζῆ

“This is the memorial of Vedia Kalliste, she lives”.

We also ought to consider if the Vedia Kalliste text is complete. This is difficult to determine because Chandler did not use editorial sigla, such as square brackets, nor did he comment on the form of the stone, or letter size etc. On the one hand, it is possible that we have a complete text: nothing more is required for the Vedia Kalliste text to make perfect sense as it stands. On the other hand, it is also possible that the stone was broken after ζῆ. In this case, she would be the first person listed in a longer text, similar to *IvE 2320* noted above. It would also be nice to know what form the stone took. We

can adduce some comparative evidence. Funerary texts that follow this linguistic pattern often appear on marble plaques or blocks that originally were part of larger monuments. That is, they were not freestanding epitaphs, nor were they inscribed on sarcophagi. Two examples suffice here. *IvE* 2202B, a funerary inscription for Aelius Herodes, is inscribed on a white marble *tabula ansata* (H: 0.20 m; W: 0.28 m; Th: 0.12 m; letter height 0.025 m):

τὸ μνημ[εῖόν]  
 ἔστιν Αἰ[λίου]  
 Ἡρώδου [  
 νου · ζ[ῆ · καὶ ---]  
 ης [τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ]

*IvE* 2295, part of a monument for C. Octavius Magnus, was similarly inscribed on a *tabula ansata* carved on a substantial stone block, measuring H: 0.53 m; W: 0.73 m; Th: 0.36 m. Such blocks or plaques were from *Grabhäuser*, which are not uncommon in Ephesos. It is likely then, that the Vedia Kalliste inscription similarly was carved on a block or a plaque that was part of a *Grabhaus*.

Chandler's publication of the Vedia Kalliste inscription does not mention a find spot for the stone. Indeed, he rarely recorded find spots, being more concerned with the texts of inscriptions. However, in this case it is possible to speculate with a fair degree of certainty about where in Ephesos he found it. Our first and most important clue resides in the fact that Chandler remarked on the Vedia Kalliste inscription together with that of Vedius Ne[ --- (*CIL* III 439= *IvE* 2323), and we know the find spot of the latter. It was found, along with other inscriptions naming members of *gens Vedia*, in the area of, or built into the so-called *Stadiontor*, or Stadium gate.<sup>6</sup> These inscriptions were originally part of several *Grabhäuser* for the Vedii that were located in the east necropolis of Ephesos, which ran around the east side of Panayırdağ from the Magnesia gate to the Koressos area at the east end of the stadium. I suggest that the Vedia Kalliste inscription should take its place alongside these texts. It is worth reviewing the entire group of funerary texts of the Vedii from the *Stadiontor*.

All are fragmentary, and notably, at least two are bilingual. The inscriptions, published under separate numbers in *Inschriften von Ephesos* as *IvE* 2320 (Greek), and *IvE* 2321 (Latin) are, in fact, part of a single, bilingual inscription. It was only partially recorded and published by Spon and Wheler in 1678:

<sup>6</sup> For *IvE* 2320 see J. Spon, G. Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, contenant les inscriptions de chaque ville et leur explication*, tome 3 part 1, Lyon 1678, 133: "Proches des mazuures du Temple du Diane, enclavée dans les marbres d'un portail ancien"; for *IvE* 2321, for Vedius Abascantus: 'vom Stadiontor'; *IvE* 2324: "(1), (2), und (3) 'prope parietinas aedis Dianae ad portam Ephesi veteris' (*CIL*) = 'eingemauert auf der Südseite des Südpfeilers des Stadiumbogens' (Benndorf)"; for *IvE* 2325 "Fragment (1) auf der Ostseite des südlichen Pfeilers des Stadions, Fragment (2) über der Wölbung des Stadiontores vermauert."

τὸ μνημεῖον Π. Οὐηδίου  
 Ἄβασκάντου νεωτέρου · Π  
 Οὐηδίου Ἀβάσκαντος  
 νεώτερος · ζῆτι · Οὐηδία Σε-  
 κοῦνδα · ζῆτι · Οὐηδία Νει-  
 κόπολις etc

Their commentary is very clear that the Latin text was part of the same inscription: “C’*é*toit un Monument de Publius Veditius Abascantus le jeune; dont on void encore là des fragmens avec ces caractères Latins *P. Veditius Abascantus Iunior.*”<sup>7</sup> Spon and Wheler go on to remark that the inscription was more extensive than what they record, but because it was located very high up and because the script was small, they were unable to copy more of the text. Since Abascantos’ name appeared in first place in the Greek text and also appears in the Latin text, it is likely that the names of Vedia Secunda and Vedia Neikopolis also followed his name in the Latin version.

Spon and Wheler recorded more fragments of Latin texts on the same gate:  
 “P. VED NICEPH VEDIAE P. f. PAULLINAE ... S S P. f. PAEDEROS *etc.*”<sup>8</sup>

These fragments naming P. Veditius Niceph(orus) and Vedia Paullina belong with other fragments which mention Nicephorus’ wife, Marcia Eutychia to make up another bilingual inscription.<sup>9</sup> The fragments are reconstructed as *IvE* 2324:

[D.] M. P. Vediti Nicephori iunioris [et] Marciae Eutychiae uxoris eiu[s]  
 [et] Vediae P. f. Paullina[e] τού[του τοῦ μνημείου κήδ]εται [  
 [h.] m. h. [n.] [s.]

Unfortunately, the measurements of the blocks were not recorded and so we are in the dark as to the overall shape and form of the inscription and the stone on which it was carved. It is likely that Veditius Ne[ -- of *IvE* 2323 and this Veditius Nikephorus are one and the same person; and it is possible that the fragments come from the same *Grabhaus*.

To the fragment that Spon and Wheler recorded naming S S P. f. PAEDEROS *etc.*, Le Bas joined another fragment naming a Veditius Rufus.<sup>10</sup> The editors of *IvE* reconstruct the inscription thus (*IvE* 2325):

---- P. Ved]ius P. f. Paedero[s -----] v(ivit) *hedera* P. Veditius P. f. A[---  
 -----]s v(ivit) *hedera* P. Veditius [---- P. Vediti]s P. f. *hedera* Rufus [---

<sup>7</sup> Spon, Wheler, *Voyage d’Italie* (see n. 6) 133. Published in *IvE* 2321 as P. Ved[ius] I [Abas]cantus iunior.

<sup>8</sup> Spon, Wheler *Voyage d’Italie* (see n. 6) 134.

<sup>9</sup> P. Le Bas, W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines recueillie en Grèce et en Asie Mineure II*, Paris 1870 = reprinted New York 2005, 72 no. 182 and no. 183, for fragments of this inscription.

<sup>10</sup> Le Bas, Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines* (see n. 9) 71, no. 180 = *IvE* 2325 fragment 1 = *CIL* III 441, 1419; 72 no. 184 = *IvE* 2325 fragment 2 = *CIL* III 442



Although the two blocks do not fit together, their measurements demonstrate that they were part of the same monumental inscription. Both blocks are 0.30 m in height, 0.20 m thick and are each just over 1 m in length. The inscriptions on each block consist of two lines of text whose letters are 0.08 m in height. Both fragments employ *hederae* to separate words, and apices occur over some of the vowels.<sup>11</sup> In its current state, the text preserves only Latin. However, the reconstruction of the word *vivit* parallels the structure of many of the Greek funerary texts of Ephesos that have ζῆ and may hint that this inscription was also bilingual.

The three texts introduced above, in my view, originated from three different monuments for members of the *gens Vedia*, who were the ascendants of the well-known Vedii Antonini, prominent in Ephesos from the late 1<sup>st</sup> c CE. Kirbihler reasonably argues that the Vedii Antonini were descended from the freedmen of Augustus' friend P. Vedius Pollio. He had acted in an administrative capacity on behalf of Augustus, and had fostered his own business interests in the province, including in Ephesos. The persons named in these funerary inscriptions are to be identified as the freedman of Pollio and their descendants.<sup>12</sup>

Given the current state of the evidence, it is difficult to know how the Vedii mentioned on the different inscriptions discussed above were related to each other, and how Vedia Kalliste was related to any of them. However, we can observe some apparent distinctions in the status of the Vedii who were buried in *Grabhäusern* of which these inscriptions were a part. *IvE* 2320 preserves the names of three individuals: P. Vedius Abascantos the younger — named twice in the Greek text of the inscription,<sup>13</sup> first as possessor of the μνημεῖον in the genitive case; and second, in the nominative, followed by the verb ζῆ. Vedia Secunda and Vedia Neikopolis are named in the same text, also in the nominative case, as co-residents of the tomb, with each of their names followed by ζῆ. The *tria nomina* of P. Vedius Abascantos indicates that he is a Roman citizen, but his lack of filiation may underline his status as a freedman. His freed status is also evident in his personal name, Abascantos, which is Greek.<sup>14</sup> The two women, Vedia Secunda and Vedia Neikopolis, should also be freedwomen; they share a Roman *nomen*, but without filiation. Vedia Secunda's name however, is thoroughly Latin, and it has been suggested that she is the same person who appears in a subscription list dated to the reign of Tiberius.<sup>15</sup> Neikopolis, is a common Greek name.<sup>16</sup> The relationship

<sup>11</sup> *IvE* 2324 reprints the *Skizzenbuch* entry (*Skizzenbuch* 1895 IV nr. 103, Benndorf) and shows apices over the V and O in IVNIORI[S]. I thank Hans Taeuber for confirming apices also on 2325 (*Skizzenbuch* 1895 IV nr. 102, Benndorf and 1396, Keil).

<sup>12</sup> F. Kirbihler, *Des grecs et des italiens à Éphèse. Histoire d'une intégration croisée (133 a.C.–48 p.C.)* (*Scripta Antiqua* 88), Bordeaux 2016, 255–263, with a conjectural stemma for some of these individuals.

<sup>13</sup> I have suggested above that *IvE* 2321 is the Latin version of the Greek text of *IvE* 2320.

<sup>14</sup> The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* on-line records 148 occurrences of the name Abascantos. The name is especially frequent in Attica (61), the Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily (39), and Coastal Asia Minor (27).

<sup>15</sup> Kirbihler, *Des grecs et des italiens* (see n. 12) 262. The subscription list naming Vedia Secunda *SEG* 39, 1176A.

<sup>16</sup> The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* on-line has 129 entries for the name Nikopolis.

between Abascantos, Secunda and Neikopolis is not clear, other than the fact the Vedian *nomen* makes them part of the same *familia*. By contrast, *IvE* 2324 shows a nuclear family: P. Vedius Nikephoros the younger, his wife Marcia Eutychia, and their daughter Vedia Paullina. Regarding this inscription Rosalinde Kearsley remarked that the lack of filiation for the parents likely indicates their freed status. This is also evident in their names, which combine Roman *nomina* with the Greek personal names Nikephoros and Eutychia. However, their daughter, Vedia Paullina, is named with filiation indicating her status as a full Roman citizen.<sup>17</sup> The monumental *IvE* 2325 also preserves the names of at least four male Vedii, all of them full Roman citizens as is indicated by their filiations. P. Vedius Paederos, P. Vedius A[--], P. Vedius [--], and P. Vedius Rufus. These four men may be brothers, or perhaps the inscription names a father with his sons.

Where does Vedia Kalliste fit into this mix of people? She is named without filiation, strongly suggesting that she was a freedwoman. Her personal name, Kalliste, is Greek and reinforces that notion, making her a freedwoman of the *gens* Vedia. Furthermore, she is not named as anyone's wife (γυνή), or partner (σύμβιος). It is possible that she commissioned the tomb for herself and was buried alone — that she was the 'chief' resident of the tomb is surely indicated in the fact that she is possessor of the μνημεῖον. On the other hand, it is also possible that we have only the very first part of the inscription and that other persons were listed after Vedia Kalliste, following a structure similar to *IvE* 2320 which names Vedius Abascantos, Vedia Secunda and Vedia Neikopolis.<sup>18</sup>

Several features of these inscriptions suggest a date late in the 1<sup>st</sup> c BCE to early 1<sup>st</sup> c CE. First, the apices over the vowels in *IvE* 2324 and 2325 suggest an early date; apices do not appear on Ephesian inscriptions after the late first century CE. Second, is the bilingualism of two (*IvE* 2320/21, *IvE* 2324) of the three inscriptions. The late first century BCE-early first century CE was an era in which the Roman foothold in Asia was becoming stronger. Thus, the demonstration of a Roman and/or Italian cultural affiliation was politically and socially useful, and was manifested in the use of the Latin language on public inscriptions. On the other hand, the names of several of these individuals are Greek, Abascantos, Nikopolis, Neikephoros, and Kalliste. The *familia* of Vedius Pollio appears to have originated in Greek-speaking Campania. These Vedii, who emigrated from Italy, were now inhabitants of Greek-speaking Ephesos. Thus, an ethnic Greek-ness combined with a new home in a Greek speaking part of the Empire was also part of their identity. The use of both languages, Greek and Latin, in these funerary texts presented for eternity and to all passersby, a family's cultural identity, which was evidently a complex mix of Hellenic and Roman. By contrast, the Vedii of the late first century CE, P. Vedius Antoninus and his descendants, have fully Roman names.

<sup>17</sup> R. Kearsley, *Greeks and Romans in Imperial Asia. Mixed Language Inscriptions and Linguistic Evidence for Cultural Interaction until the End of AD III* (IK 59), Bonn 2001, 15.

<sup>18</sup> Another example is *IvE* 2280: [μνημεῖο]ν Λαλίου Ῥουφείνου · ζῆ · καὶ / [Λα]λίου Ῥουφείνου, Σεβήρου, Σεκούνδου / [τ]ῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ · ζῶσιν · καὶ Σεκούνδα / μήτηρ αὐτῶν · ζῆ · Κο. Λαλίου (*hedera*).

However, it is remarkable that these family funerary monuments did not endure for as long as the several deceased might have hoped. In the period of Nero, the freedman C. Stertinius Orpex, along with his daughter, undertook a major renovation of the stadium.<sup>19</sup> In the process, these funerary monuments were dismantled and their cut stone blocks were re-used in the construction of the Stadiontor. Thus the Vedian tombs were in a state of ruination only a generation or two after they were built. Vedia Kalliste's tomb was among these.

The voyagers of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and even of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century had access to an epigraphic landscape that was both richer and poorer than the contemporary one. Although we may criticize Richard Chandler's method (which neglected to record the shapes of stones and their precise find spots), we should be grateful for his and his companions' intrepid natures, travelling in the western reaches of the Ottoman Empire in the 1770s. We should also be grateful to them for recording inscriptions that have since disappeared. Modern technology has also made the job of the epigraphist easier. The digitizing of old publications, like Chandler's *Inscriptiones Antiquae* and of archival materials, has opened the possibility of rediscovering lost inscriptions, like this one for Vedia Kalliste. Although she was not one of the famous Vedii, she has once again appeared in scholarly work and has regained her place among the gens Vedia, who emigrated from Italy to Ephesos in the late first century BCE.

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<sup>19</sup> *IvE* 411 for the building inscription; another inscription refers to their work in the stadium, *IvE* 2113; *IvE* 4123 describes foundations that he and his daughter left to the city.