

Lionel Bier (†)

THE BOULEUTERION AT EPHESOS

FORSCHUNGEN IN EPHEOS

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FORSCHUNGEN IN EPHEOSOS IX/5

Lionel Bier (†)

The Bouleuterion at Ephesos

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Lionel Bier (1942–2004)

“The setting was splendidly theatrical. The neo-Gothic council chamber of the new town hall (Rathaus), with its frescoes of medieval history, Gobelins, and ornately carved chairs, looked more as if it were designed for the Minnesingers’ contest in Tannhäuser than for debating such mundane matters as school levies and contracts for laying gas mains.”

Carl Dolmetsch, “Our Famous Guest,” Mark Twain in Vienna’(Athens, Georgia 1992) 62 f., describing Friedrich von Schmidt’s new *Rathaus*, completed in 1885.

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VORWORT DER GRABUNGSLEITUNG

Als John Turtle Wood im Jahr 1863 seinen Finanzierungsantrag an die Trustees des British Museum stellte, beabsichtigte er, mit der Freilegung des großen Theaters von Ephesos zu beginnen. Stattdessen wurden ihm allerdings Grabungen im „lyrischen Theater“, dem sog. Odeion oder Bouleuterion, genehmigt. Unmissverständliches Ziel seiner Feldaktivitäten war die Auffindung von Skulpturen und Inschriften, die insbesondere im Bereich des Bühnengebäudes vermutet werden konnten. Geldgeber und Ausgräber sollten nicht enttäuscht werden, schon bald nach Grabungsbeginn im März 1864 stellten sich bedeutende Inschriftenfunde und Statuen ein. Auch wenn das Bouleuterion somit zu den frühesten ausgegrabenen Monumenten in Ephesos gehört, erfolgte die funktionale Bestimmung als Sitz des ephesischen Gemeinderats und die Einbettung in den Gesamtkontext des Staatsmarktes als politisches Zentrum der Stadt erst wesentlich später. Dies blieb Wilhelm Alzinger in seiner 1975 erschienenen, richtungsweisenden Studie zum Regierungsviertel von Ephesos vorbehalten. Eine exakte bauhistorische Vorlage und Interpretation des Monuments stellte allerdings weiterhin ein Desiderat dar, dem sich Lionel Bier ab 1997 intensiv widmete. Sein früher Tod erlaubte es ihm nicht, die Früchte seiner Arbeit zu ernten und seine zeichnerische Dokumentation sowie sein Manuskript abzuschließen und zum Druck zu bringen. Dass seine Forschungsergebnisse trotzdem in Buchform vorliegen, ist zahlreichen Kolleginnen und Kollegen zu verdanken, die Textbausteine zusammenfügten, ergänzten, redaktionelle Bearbeitungen übernahmen und auch zusätzliche Kapitel verfassten, um eine in sich abgeschlossene und schlüssige Vorlage des Gesamtbefundes zu gewährleisten. Allen voran seien die drei Herausgeber, Maria Aurenhammer, Ursula Quatember und Hilke Thür genannt, auf deren Schultern die Hauptlast der Arbeiten lag. Maria Aurenhammer, Thorsten Opper, Ursula Quatember und Hans Taeuber ergänzten das Manuskript mit Detailanalysen zur Architekturdekoration, den Inschriften sowie den Skulpturen. Am Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut erfolgten die redaktionelle Überarbeitung sowie die Gestaltung des Tafelteils, wofür Barbara Beck-Brandt, Sarah Cormack und Andrea Sulzgruber sehr herzlich zu danken ist. Die Drucklegung wurde ermöglicht durch einen finanziellen Zuschuss des Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung und erfolgte in der Reihe „Forschungen in Ephesos“ an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Beiden Institutionen sei Dank ausgesprochen.

Für die Grabung Ephesos bedeutet es einen besonderen Glücksfall, dass die Publikationen von Prytaneion und Bouleuterion binnen kurzer Zeit erfolgen. Der Kenntnisstand zum Staatsmarkt von Ephesos wurde damit wesentlich erweitert, auch wenn noch lange nicht alle Fragen beantwortet sind und sich gerade in den nun vorliegenden Analysen zahlreiche Denkanstöße zu weiteren Forschungsaktivitäten finden. Die Publikation des Bouleuterion ist aber letztendlich auch eine, in Buchform gebrachte, bleibende Erinnerung an einen lebensfrohen, sympathischen Kollegen, dessen Enthusiasmus und Humor uns alle in Ephesos über Jahre hinweg bereicherte.

Wien, 15. Oktober 2010

Sabine Ladstätter

INTRODUCTION

The undersigned are happy to present Lionel Bier's manuscript on the Ephesian Bouleuterion in the series "Forschungen in Ephesos". Before his terminal illness in 2004, Lionel Bier had finished most of the chapters of the manuscript, only the conclusion and a chapter on the architectural decoration of the building were lacking. The editors also had a draft of Lionel Bier's paper on the Bouleuterion (presented in Vienna, 2002) at their disposal. Instead of the conclusion, a summary is presented in this volume. Ursula Quatember wrote the chapter on architectural decoration, while chapters on inscriptions and sculptures found in the Bouleuterion were added by Hans Taeuber, Maria Aurenhammer and Thorsten Oppen.

Maria Aurenhammer, Ursula Quatember and Hilke Thür edited L. Bier's original manuscript, adding footnotes and references to recent scholarly literature. A few new passages were added to the text by H. Thür and U. Quatember, for example the paragraphs on the conversion of the *scaenae frons* from phase 1 to phase 2 (chapter 3.3) and on the windows (chapter 4.9). The editors checked L. Bier's drawings and photographs and compiled the illustrations. H. Thür and U. Quatember provided additional photographs. H. Thür's assistance was especially helpful as she had often discussed the project's progress with L. Bier on the site. Sarah Cormack corrected the English text, including L. Bier's manuscript as well as the other contributions to the volume. Jim Coulton, one of the reviewers, read the manuscript of the volume carefully and provided many suggestions for improvement.

Andrew Leung completed the architectural documentation. Georg Otepka provided a photogrammetric survey of the west and east end of the *parodoi*. Nicolas Gail photographed the portrait of the girl in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul. Photographs of the sculptures and inscriptions housed in the British Museum are published here by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. The 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Greece (headed by Maria Marthari) permitted the publication of the statue of a Muse in the Archaeological Museum in Syros. Georg Ladstätter, director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Athens, applied for the permission and organised a trip to the island where Valentin v. Eickstedt photographed the statue. Christa Schauer (Austrian Archaeological Institute, Athens) also provided assistance in the matter of the Muse.

Completed four years after the author's death, this volume is a lasting monument to the memory of a man for whom research played a leading role in his life. In the last years of his life, L. Bier spent his entire summers in Turkey, documenting the Bouleuteria of Ephesos and Aphrodisias. In winter, he devoted his spare time to writing the text. L. Bier loved "his" buildings and knew all aspects of them by heart. He was happiest when he was outside in the field, surveying, documenting and drawing, and at the end of the day he proudly presented his results. For all contributors to this volume, editing and participating in L. Bier's publication represents a last act of friendship for a colleague and friend we shall never forget.

Based on notes by the author, a list of acknowledgments can be added here. Firstly, L. Bier wanted to thank the former excavation directors, Stefan Karwiese, for inviting him to the site, and Friedrich Krinzing, for his continuing support. Secondly, he wanted to extend his thanks to the directors and the assistants of the Efes Müzesi, Selçuk, for facilitating his work, and the director and staff of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, for the opportunity to study in the depots and archives of the museum. Isabella Benda-Weber, Ronald Risy and Gudrun Wlach assisted the author in his studies in the archives of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna. Among his friends and colleagues in Vienna, L. Bier singled out Hilke Thür as the person to whom he owed the greatest debt. He also wanted to thank Peter Scherrer, for clarifying contributions on Ephesian history, Hans Taeuber, with whom he worked on the inscriptions, and Maria Aurenhammer as well as Ursula Quatember. Finally, L. Bier wanted to thank R. R. R. Smith and Christopher Ratté, current and former directors of the Aphrodisias excavation, the site of "his" other Bouleuterion.

The editors themselves would like to thank Johannes Koder, former director of the Ephesos excavations and interim director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, and Sabine Ladstätter, current director of the Ephesos excavations and the Austrian Archaeological Institute, for supporting the publication of the volume. They want

to extend their thanks to the directors and the assistants of the museums in Selçuk, Istanbul and London who made their research possible. Moreover, they want to thank Christian Kurtze for the completion of survey data, Anita Giuliani and Christine Rogl for information on small finds found in the Bouleuterion, Laura Rembart on the dating of the so-called Serapeion, and Johanna Auinger, Elisabeth Rathmayr and Alexander Sokolicek for fruitful discussions on parts of the evidence.

The manuscript was presented to the Austrian Academy of Sciences in summer 2008. Subsequent publications could only be incorporated occasionally.

Maria Aurenhammer, Ursula Quatember, Hilke Thür

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations and citations used throughout this volume follow the guidelines of the German Archaeological Institute published on the internet <http://www.dainst.org/index_141_de.html> (1.6.2008).

Journals and Series

IvE	Inschriften griechischer Städte in Kleinasien 1 (Bonn 1972) – 67 (Bonn 2006) = Ephesos: IvE Ia (Bonn 1979) – VIII 2 (Bonn 1984).
SoSchrÖAI	Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.

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Further Abbreviations

approx.	approximately
Diam./diam.	diameter
D./d.	depth
fr.	fragment
H./h.	height
L./l.	length
max.	maximum
p.	preserved
W./w.	width

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1. EXCAVATION HISTORY AND STATE OF RESEARCH

The Bouleuterion of Ephesos, located on the north edge of the so-called Staatsmarkt or Upper Agora (pl. 1), has long been a favorite gathering point for tour groups whose guides have been quick to exploit its theatrical layout and an impressive view over the site for their often histrionic introductions to the ancient city.

The building in its final form consisted of an *auditorium* with curved rows of seats set within a buttressed semicircular retaining wall that was bonded to a shallow stage building about 46 m wide (pl. 2). The *cavea*, built into the lower slopes of Panayırdağ, was divided into two tiers by a *diazoma* with a curved podium wall and into five *cunei* by radial stairways. Above a sunken orchestra rose the *pulpitum*, accessible from both sides by sloping *parodos* ramps; this was also accessible from the Agora through the Basilica Stoa, via a backstage corridor with five doorways in the scene wall. Flanking these doorways rose tall molded pedestals that once supported the columns of an aediculated *scaenae frons* (pl. 3, 1). The outer ends of the *parodoi* formed vestibules which could be entered through tall, arched doorways in the lateral walls or through more modest doorway openings from the Basilica Stoa and Agora. Vaulted staircases, accessible from these points through doorways in the *analemmata*, rose along the inside of the curved retaining wall, then bent sharply to follow radial axes in a second flight which gave onto the *diazoma*.

The first modern reference to the building is found in an account of a visit to Ephesos by the English traveler R. Pococke published in 1745. After describing the ruins of what is today known as the Baths on the Upper Agora he writes:

*“A few paces further to the west, there are remains of a semicircular building, which seems to have seats in it, made like steps, as in theatres, and is built in a rustick manner with pilasters on the outside at equal distances. This might possibly serve for an odium or theatre for music.”*¹

In an accompanying drawing it appears as a curved wall with thirteen radial piers and is indicated on his plan, the first known attempt at a map of the city (pl. 3, 2).² The building appears on several subsequent city plans with little comment and rested undisturbed until the second half of the 19th century when John Turtle Wood, British architect, engineer and amateur classicist, made it a major focus of his energetic antiquarian activities at the site.

Wood came to Smyrna in 1863 to work on the construction of the Smyrna–Aydın railroad but soon made it his main goal to locate the Temple of Diana at Ephesos, a quest that eventually proved successful. His work in the ruins continued for eleven years and is described in his book “Discoveries at Ephesus”, first published in 1877.³ As he was sponsored after the first year by the Trustees of the British Museum he was obliged to offer “some substantial return,” and set to work digging in the “Odeum” and the great theater, buildings certain to produce monumental inscriptions and statuary.

Work in the Odeion began on March 15, 1864: “... even before the excavations were begun, the outer semicircular wall of the auditorium was to be seen above ground at each extremity. I had, therefore, no difficulty in deciding the whereabouts of the proscenium, and I began by cutting at right angles to it a wide trench, which soon exposed to view the outer wall, and the central doorway. I was not long in working my way into the Theatre, and, before the end of the month, I had cleared a considerable portion of the pulpitum or stage, by wheeling the débris out through the central doorway into the open ground in front.”⁴

By the following winter a large portion of the building had been exposed including the orchestra floor, “paved with white marble,” and at least portions of both *parodoi*. Progress was hindered by great numbers of

¹ POCOKE 1745, 48.

² POCOKE 1745, 48 pl. 47 for this sketch plan (indicated “F”). For the map of Ephesos, s. 46 pl. 45 with the building indicated at “z.” The city plan is reprinted in WOHLERS-SCHARF 1996, 45 fig. 22. ALZINGER 1962, 253 gives a list of early travelers to Ephesos.

³ WOOD 1877. A reprint in a smaller format has since been published by the Georg Olms Verlag (Hildesheim 1975). On John Turtle WOOD s. WOHLERS-SCHARF 1996, 51–62, for his work in the Bouleuterion esp. 55.

⁴ WOOD 1877, 43. Work in the Odeion is described on pages 42–63.

large blocks which had fallen onto the stage, apparently from the *scaenae frons*. The lower eleven rows of seats with their lion paw protomes are described as having been found in perfect condition, although a lithograph shows them roughly as they are today (pl. 4, 1).⁵ His reconstructed plan⁶ (pl. 4, 2) is essentially accurate with the exception of the arrangement of the buttresses and the addition of two doorways at the top of the *cavea*. His placing of a colonnade above the seating is reasonable considering what was known about Roman theaters at the time and the fragments of red granite columns which he discovered in the debris, although this feature must now be rejected.⁷

Most important was Wood's discovery on the stage and in the orchestra of many fragments belonging to thin marble slabs that bore dated letters written by the emperors Antoninus Pius and Hadrian to the people of Ephesos.⁸ Named in the Antonine inscriptions was a certain Publius Vedius Antoninus, "under [whose] auspices," wrote Wood, "were erected, either wholly or in part, the Odeum and other public buildings in that quarter of the city."⁹

Wood's excavations in the Odeion also produced a number of fragmentary statues, apparently part of the building's sculptural decoration. Most significant is the lower half of an over-life-size figure found "near the central doorway", identified as Lucius Verus by an inscription on its plinth.¹⁰ A number of other statues are briefly mentioned including a torso of Silenus and the figure of the Muse Erato,¹¹ both illustrated with lithographs.¹² The latter went down in a shipwreck on its way to England along with the upper half of the Lucius Verus statue and was recovered later much damaged by the sea. Both the Silenus and the lower half of the Lucius Verus statue reached London and are currently in the collection of the British Museum.

More informative, perhaps, than his publication is a collection of several hundred letters which Wood wrote to officials of the Museum during his years at Ephesos informing them of his progress. This archive, exploited only recently by A. Kalinowski and H. Taeuber,¹³ contains two groups of letters written concurrently. The first, housed in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, is addressed to C. T. Newton, then keeper of that department. Those of the second group, now in the Museum's Central Archives, were written to A. Panizzi, Principal Librarian until 1866, and then to his successor J. Winter Jones. The letters are especially important in that they give a more detailed account of sculptural and inscriptional finds, and confirm the recent suggestion of K. Fittschen that the building's *scaenae frons* contained an Antonine Imperial portrait gallery.¹⁴

The Odeion came under scientific scrutiny for the first time in 1908 as a direct result of the interest raised by a bull's head capital which J. T. Wood had discovered in front of the building. Excavations under the auspices of the Austrian Archaeological Institute carried out in this area by R. Heberdey and W. Wilberg during the fall campaign¹⁵ uncovered additional capitals and it could be determined that they belonged to a colonnaded hall (so-called Stierkopfhalle) which fronted the Odeion and extended for an unknown distance in both directions.¹⁶ Wilberg published a diagrammatic plan showing the entire Odeion (pl. 5, 1), newly cleaned, which corrected some of Wood's errors; the upper doorways were eliminated and the exposed buttresses shown in their correct

⁵ WOOD 1877, opposite p. 62. This is clearly a copy of a photograph. WOOD 1877, 62–63 complains about the depredations of tourists who carried away as souvenirs not only pieces of sculpture but "fragments of marble from the seats and cornices" broken off with hammers and chisels.

⁶ WOOD 1877, opposite p. 52.

⁷ For this notion cf. also BIER 1999, 11–12; MEINEL 1980, 123; RIORDEN 1996, 104: "This type of roofed gallery usually occurs only in roofless theatre structures".

⁸ See below chap. 8.

⁹ WOOD 1877, 44–46. The letters received their first publication in a section entitled "Inscriptions from Odeum" appended to the back of the book.

¹⁰ WOOD 1877, 47. See below chap. 9 sculp. 1.1.

¹¹ See below chap. 9 sculp. 2.1 and 2.2.

¹² WOOD 1877, 49–51.

¹³ KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 351–357.

¹⁴ FITTSCHEN 1999, 130. See below chap. 9, for FITTSCHEN's reconstruction and the contribution of KALINOWSKI and TAEUBER. That the *scaenae frons* included members of the imperial family was noted by J. KEIL, cf. KEIL 1955a, 566–567 (Vedius 3), and BALTY 1991, 514.

¹⁵ The excavations in and in front of the Bouleuterion began on September 7 and concluded on November 11. WILBERG's field notebooks, now housed in the archive of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Vienna, contain much information about the structure and design of the building.

¹⁶ WILBERG 1909, 207–214.

positions. Doorways indicated in Wood's plan as piercing both *analemmata* at their outer ends were indicated by Wilberg as having given access to the vaulted staircases that led to the *diazoma* between the *ima* and *summa caveae*.¹⁷

Wilberg observed correctly that the broad intercolumniations of the colonnade had to be reinforced at some time after its original construction by the insertion of additional columns, and that these were omitted only in the area directly in front of the central of five doorways that allowed passage into the Odeion. He also noted, however, the lack of organic connection between the two structures.¹⁸ Contrasting the crude workmanship of the doorjambs with the fine profile of the wall molding which they cut, and citing the coarse steps inserted in the doorways to equalize the levels of these adjacent spaces, he concluded correctly that the Odeion was built sometime after the "Stierkopfhalle" had been completed.

A report of the season's work by R. Heberdey, published in 1912, included important epigraphic evidence for the Odeion's building history.¹⁹ A fragmentary entablature block combining architrave and frieze, found on the stage, bore part of a dedicatory inscription naming Papiane, wife of P. Vedius Antoninus, the Ephesian benefactor already known from the Imperial letters discovered by Wood. A second inscription, cut in a frieze block that had been carved separately from its architrave, contained a formulaic reference to Artemis and the city of Ephesos. Relating the blocks themselves to the six pedestals that flanked the stage doorways, Heberdey, most certainly at the advice of W. Wilberg, correctly envisioned a two-story aedicular facade "of the usual Roman type".²⁰

Our understanding of the actual form of this *scaenae frons* was confused, however, by W. Wilberg's original ground plan in which the long stretches of the scene wall had been inadvertently represented as broad, column-bearing pedestals. Heberdey's report included the first published photograph to show the excavated building's interior (pls. 5, 2; 6, 1).²¹

Of great interest is a series of about a dozen unpublished drawings by W. Wilberg that are preserved in the archive of the Austrian Archaeological Institute (the ÖAI) (pls. 6, 2–11, 1).²² They are carefully annotated dimensioned sketches, some drawn to a scale of 1 : 100, that seem to have been prepared with a more comprehensive survey in mind which was, however, never carried out. The Institute's archive also contains a set of fine, high-resolution photographs taken after the *cavea* was completely cleared of debris (pls. 11, 2–12, 2). Both photographs and drawings are invaluable as they show the state of preservation prior to restoration work undertaken by the Selçuk Museum between 1960 and 1990 and record features which have not survived.

Equally important are the meticulous notebooks kept by J. Keil, excavation epigrapher during the 1908 season. These "Skizzenbücher", also housed in the ÖAI, contain the inscriptions found in the Odeion as well as those in Wood's dump that was cleared to reveal the "Stierkopfhalle." J. Keil was a good draftsman and it is to his credit that he not only recorded the texts but took great care to record the stones on which they were inscribed. His patience and skill as a "Bauforscher" have made it possible to reconstruct hypothetically the *scaenae frons* to which most of them belonged. His annotated drawings are especially precious because most of the stones he recorded have since disappeared.²³

Exploration conducted at Ephesos between the wars concentrated on large monuments like the so-called Serapeion and the great *thermae*. The Odeion was presented more or less as a completed project in the first guide book to the ruins by J. Keil,²⁴ published originally in 1915 and in a revised edition in 1930.²⁵ When excavations recommenced after World War II, the new director, F. Miltner, abandoned the traditional approach (already being criticized as old-fashioned) that emphasized the intensive study of individual monuments to

¹⁷ WILBERG 1909, fig. 109.

¹⁸ WILBERG 1909, 213.

¹⁹ HEBERDEY 1912, 170–174.

²⁰ HEBERDEY 1912, 171.

²¹ HEBERDEY 1912, fig. 134. Also, fig. 132 for a distant view from the south.

²² ÖAI Inv. 1395/2–4. 6–9. 11. 12 and 1396.

²³ See Skizzenbücher for 1908, no. 1685–1687.

²⁴ KEIL 1915, 74–76 and fig. 36. 37.

²⁵ KEIL 1930a, 91–93. fig. 53. 54. The text was not changed in the subsequent editions, s. KEIL 1955b, 100–101 fig. 64. 65; KEIL 1957, 114–116; KEIL 1964, 130–132 fig. 73. 74.

concentrate on what he called “kultur- und stadtgeschichtlich wichtige Fragen.”²⁶ He wanted to understand Ephesos as an organic entity both in terms of time and space.

To achieve this, he connected the lower city with the area of the Odeion further to the east by rapidly clearing the main thoroughfare which was named “Kuretenstraße” after the lists of Curetes discovered inscribed on columns that had been reused in Late Antiquity for arcades at its western end.²⁷ In the process, he uncovered, immediately to the west of the Odeion, a complex of structures which he soon recognized as comprising the sacro-political center of the city (pl. 1).

F. Miltner was essentially correct in his interpretation; a square chamber with four pedestals at the corners bearing columns heart-shaped in cross-section, and what appeared to be the foundations for a hearth in the center, could reasonably be identified as the sanctuary of Hestia Boulaia by a dedicatory inscription found reused in a late wall, while “Kuretenlisten” inscribed in the marble foundation and walls in an anteroom to the south identified the complex as the city’s Prytaneion.²⁸ He forced the evidence, however, by attempting to identify late features built of brick between the columns in the central chamber, or “Hestiasaal”, as benches used by the members of the City Council at their meetings, thus attributing to the complex the additional function of a Bouleuterion.²⁹

This theory, accepted initially by W. Alzinger,³⁰ was soon to be generally rejected, but was important because it raised, for the first time, the question of where the members of the Ephesian City Council met to conduct official business, and focused new interest on the “Odeion” immediately to the east while pointing up the necessity of fieldwork for a proper reevaluation. F. Eichler, who succeeded to the post of excavation director after F. Miltner’s death, seems to have been expressing a ground swell of largely unpublished opinion when he wrote in 1965:

*“Durch den jüngsten Befund hinter dem Ostteil der Basilika wird die bisherige Deutung des ‘Odeums’ als Bühnengebäude vor allem wegen zu geringer Tiefe der vermeintlichen Bühne äußerst fraglich, vielmehr drängt sich die Bestimmung als Versammlungsbau auf, wie solche in anderen Städten dem Rathausbereich angehören. Das ‘Odeum’ wäre demnach das Bouleuterion der Zeit ab der Mitte des 2. Jh.s n. Chr. gewesen.”*³¹

The Odeion/Bouleuterion question was put on a sounder footing with E. Fossel’s study of the building’s remains published in 1967 in the Festschrift in honor of F. Eichler.³² Fossel argued on the basis of her close scrutiny of masonry and structural details, and on its topographic situation in what was already being called the “Regierungsviertel,” that the so-called Odeion was in fact the city’s Bouleuterion. Her illustrative material was less than adequate and she often stopped short of driving a point home, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions, but her observations were essentially sound and could serve as a starting point for further study.

Most important for her argument was the lack of a proper scene building; she noted that the closed space between the Bouleuterion and the Stoa immediately to its south had resulted from a secondary insertion of short connecting walls and served not as a true backstage corridor with facilities for performers, but as a catchment for rainwater which poured down from both roofs into a (then newly discovered) water channel in its floor. Furthermore, Fossel saw the *pulpitum* as being too narrow for the dramatic performances that would have taken place in an Odeion. She noted without further comment that the column-bearing pedestals of the *scaenae frons* were not bonded with the stage wall, an observation that implied a simple façade without a scenic apparatus resembling Bouleuteria on the Hellenistic model of Miletus and Priene.³³ However, with this study, the

²⁶ MILTNER 1955, 40.

²⁷ MILTNER 1955, 23–40. For subsequent reports, the last published after MILTNER’s death, see MILTNER 1956–58, 1–63; MILTNER 1959a, 243–314.

²⁸ MILTNER 1956–58, 28–37; for the lists of Curetes s. KNIBBE 1981. New investigations on the Prytaneion were begun in 2007 under the direction of M. STESKAL, Austrian Archaeological Institute.

²⁹ MILTNER 1959a, 296–312.

³⁰ ALZINGER 1962, 222–226. In contrast, BAMMER 1961–63, 151, plan no. 53 and p. 156, identified the so-called Sockelbau, the sub-structure for the Chalkidicum terminating the Basilica Stoa on the West, with the city’s Bouleuterion.

³¹ EICHLER 1966, 9; ALZINGER, 1972–75, 254, suggested to F. Miltner already in 1956 that the so-called Odeion was actually the city’s Bouleuterion but received no positive response.

³² FOSSEL 1967.

³³ FOSSEL 1967, 79; s. also MEINEL 1980, 117–118.

identity of the building as an essentially political rather than theatrical monument seemed for the first time to be firmly established.

E. Fossel's observation that the marble facing of the *analemma* walls bore vertical seams, and that the masonry behind it differed on both sides of these seams, suggested a secondary enlargement. She did not pursue the point or attempt to offer a date of construction for the original building, and we were left instead with F. Eichler's remark: "So bliebe noch die Frage nach dem bisher vergeblich gesuchten älteren Bouleuterion zu lösen."³⁴

The possibility of an earlier Bouleuterion underlying the standing one had already begun to present itself in 1960 as early remains started to appear in deep trenches in the Prytaneion.³⁵ In spring of 1961, W. Alzinger attempted to test this hypothesis by excavating in the orchestra.³⁶ After lifting the marble paving, the semicircular space was divided into three north-south segments which were dug in turn (pls. 13, 1–14, 1). Work progressed in 50 cm layers to a total depth of 1.50 m producing significant numbers of Megarian bowl sherds in addition to Hellenistic utilitarian wares.³⁷ Two parallel water channels were revealed running down the center and some scanty remains of walls appeared near the curved podium on the west side (pl. 14, 2). In the east corner of the orchestra immediately beneath the base molding of the *cavea* podium was a massive (foundation?) wall preserved to three courses. It consisted of large blocks laid without mortar as headers and stretchers and seemed to represent the northwest corner of some structure which disappeared under the *cavea* and the *pulpitum*.³⁸ None of this, however, could be construed as belonging to theatrical architecture.

Sondages in the "Stierkopfhalle" dug in 1966 revealed an older, single-aisled Hellenistic Stoa with a stylobate ca. 1.30 m deeper than that of what was by this time known to have been an Augustan Basilica.³⁹ In 1968, Alzinger sunk two trenches against the Basilica's rear wall (S 4/68 and S 8/68)⁴⁰ and discovered in each a seam where this late Hellenistic predecessor abutted the front corners of an early building.⁴¹ The west corner was aligned with a wall of large blocks which underlay the east stylobate of the "Rhodian Peristyle" immediately adjacent to the Bouleuterion.⁴² The second seam, 28.80 m to the east, suggested another north-south wall parallel to the first which Alzinger hoped would prove to be the east wall of a Hellenistic Council House. As this wall had not been picked up in the previous excavations, the orchestra was reopened in 1970, and a broad trench was dug concurrently in the *pulpitum* (pls. 15, 1–2). The latter produced foundations which Alzinger believed to be Hellenistic, but nothing lined up with the seams in the front wall.⁴³ As no further archaeological evidence seemed likely to appear, W. Alzinger eventually took advantage of the less formal forum a "Festschrift" can provide to present his arguments for the existence of a Hellenistic Bouleuterion beneath the Roman one (pl. 15, 3).⁴⁴

While the search for the original Bouleuterion proceeded, excavation was carried out in the narrow corridor behind the scene wall where the deep water channel had been discovered in 1966.⁴⁵ Work progressed in segments from east to west and produced numerous finds including relief sculpture and statuary, but none of this could be definitely connected with the Bouleuterion. However, fragmentary inscriptions from the canal and

³⁴ EICHLER 1966, 9.

³⁵ See the excavation reports: EICHLER 1961, 68 f.; EICHLER 1962, 38–39. See also below chap. 3.1.

³⁶ For a brief notice on this work, EICHLER 1962, 41. A detailed account of the work appears in W. ALZINGER's fieldbooks for 1961 housed in the archive of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna. See entries for April 24–30 and August 13–15.

³⁷ EICHLER 1962, 41. The finds currently could not be retrieved in the depot at the excavation house (A. GIULIANI and Ch. ROGL, via personal communication).

³⁸ An entry in ALZINGER's notebook for April 30, 1961 gives the average block dimensions as 1.00 m 0.50 m 0.80 m. He assumes this wall to be Hellenistic. The upper surface is visible today and is shown in the state plan (plan 1).

³⁹ EICHLER 1967, 20; EICHLER 1968, 82.

⁴⁰ On these trenches s. MITSOPOULOS-LEON – LANG-AUINGER 2007, 4–8.

⁴¹ ALZINGER 1988, 23 fig. 4, 5.

⁴² SCHERRER 2000, 84.

⁴³ The sondage in the stage was designated S 6/1970. These excavations are described in ALZINGER's Fieldbook for Spring, 1970, May 1–31. See also chap. 3.1.

⁴⁴ ALZINGER 1988, 21–29; ALZINGER 1988, 25 mentions a sondage in the orchestra in 1986, see fig. 18 in this volume. There is no record on the finds.

⁴⁵ Brief mentions in EICHLER 1967, 16, 20. The work is described in ALZINGER's notebooks for spring, 1966 I (along with an inventory of finds and "Fundskizzen"), and spring, 1968 I, p. 21. The contents of this channel will be published separately.

from the Basilica, also at this time being thoroughly cleared of the dumps from earlier excavations, can now be connected with the epigraphic materials recorded by J. Keil and shown to have belonged to the Bouleuterion's *scaenae frons*.⁴⁶

By this time, the building appeared to be sufficiently well-known to invite special studies focusing on the various aspects of structure, design and function. R. Meinel, in his important study, "Das Odeion", published in 1982, offered the most thorough technical building description to date and was able to suggest tentative solutions to problems of roofing, drainage, and fenestration.⁴⁷ Basing his arguments largely, if not entirely, on published materials and on E. Fossel's observations, he presented the building as a Council House which was remodelled as an Odeion, or small, roofed theater, by P. Vedius Antoninus in the mid-2nd century A.D., probably to accommodate musical performances connected with the *Hadrianeia*, a festival celebrated at Ephesos for the seventh time in 151/152.⁴⁸

It is remarkable that all speculation on the building's form – its changes over time and hypothetical reconstruction – has, to the present day, been based on little more than the diagrammatic ground plan published by Wilberg in 1909 as a summary of his intensive study of the monument. No sections or elevations have ever appeared. Nor have analytic drawings been presented to demonstrate the succession of building phases. In an article in the "Festschrift" for D. Knibbe, intended as a pilot project for the present monograph, I offered a new plan based on my initial observations and W. Wilberg's unpublished drawings.⁴⁹ Some of my conclusions about the Bouleuterion's form and chronological development have had to be revised as a result of further examination of the remains. What follows here is, in large part, a thorough study of the building's fabric as a basis for understanding the place of the Bouleuterion in the historical topography of Ephesos.

The chronology of the two main phases of the Roman Bouleuterion presented in this study is based on typological comparisons, on construction and masonry technique and on epigraphic evidence.⁵⁰ The early excavations of the mid-19th century focused on architecture, sculpture and inscriptions. They were not carried out according to stratigraphic methods, therefore small finds and coins cannot be drawn upon as dating evidence. In the course of his search for a Hellenistic Bouleuterion underlying the Roman one, Alzinger sunk several trenches in the 1960s and 1970s. The architectural remains which were discovered below the Roman Bouleuterion are too fragmentary to reconstruct a Hellenistic predecessor, though.⁵¹ The small finds and coins unearthed in these sondages are not stratified, too, and are therefore of no value to chronology.⁵² This volume is focused on the Roman Bouleuterion.

Currently, new large scale excavations are not planned in the area of the Bouleuterion. This study presents the evidence at hand, accumulated over more than 150 years.

(L. Bier)

⁴⁶ Archive of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Inventar der Fundstücke A, M, W 1963–65 Ephesos I, p. 283–284. These are now housed in the inscription depot beneath the Domitian terrace. See below chap. 8 and Appendix 1.

⁴⁷ MEINEL 1980, 117–133, 315–319.

⁴⁸ MEINEL 1980, 125–133; LÄMMER 1967, 39–55.

⁴⁹ BIER 1999, 7–18.

⁵⁰ See chap. 7.

⁵¹ See chap. 3.1.

⁵² For the finds from the trench sunk in the orchestra and the *pulpitum* in 1970, see chap. 3.1.

2. BUILDING DESCRIPTION

2.1 Auditorium (Plan 1)

2.1.1 THE RETAINING WALL

The Bouleuterion as it stands today is defined by a monumental retaining wall describing in plan a stilted semicircle about 47 m in diameter that is reinforced along the curved portion by radial buttresses and by massive piers at the south corners. The exterior surface of the entire eastern half is hidden by unexcavated debris but on the west side the wall is exposed to its full preserved height of about 10 m (pl. 16, 1). A large buttress (buttress 1), 1.40 m wide at its base and 0.80–0.90 m deep, marks the beginning of the curved portion which is built of large blocks laid up without mortar⁵³ in courses varying in height from 0.55 m to 0.80 m. Joints can be vertical or oblique slanting in either direction. Course heights are mainly constant changing only once within a block between buttresses 2 and 3 that is cut down on its south side. In the straight stretch of wall between buttress 1 and the southwest corner pier, this kind of irregular coursing becomes more frequent and the stones smaller in order to work the coursing around the voussoirs of a doorway arch. The backs of the wall blocks were unshaped as they were to be covered by the packing for the *cavea*. In some places this packing has fallen away to reveal the rough quarry work. The letter K, 0.12–0.14 m high, is cut into the inner faces of a number of stones on the east side along with a single Λ and A. This retaining wall averages 1.10 m in thickness.

Both the massive lateral buttress 1 and the somewhat smaller radial buttresses 2–13, 1.10 m wide and 0.30 m deep at the base, are bonded with the wall they supported. They consist largely of single blocks equal in height to the coursing behind them. Buttress blocks penetrate the wall at every second or third course, while those in between abut it. Clamps were neither used to secure buttress blocks to the wall nor to fasten the wall blocks to one another. Stability depended largely on the forces of gravity and friction, a feature of design which ultimately allowed it to collapse. A rebuilding is clear, in any case, from a reused block whose cuttings show that it had originally belonged to the upper *diazoma*. Vertical joints in the undisturbed portions of wall at the top of the *cavea* tend to be radial extending back at least 0.65 m (outside)⁵⁴ from the face. The wall surface is rough from erosion and the two central buttresses seem to have been shifted from their original positions in the rebuilding.

In marked contrast is a finer masonry represented by several contiguous courses located near the base of the wall between buttresses 2 and 3 (pl. 16, 2). These display a uniform rustication with rounded horizontal bolsters angled in at the sides, and margins neatly drafted with a toothed chisel. One block, cut with an interior corner, is shared by the wall and buttress 3. Neither the treatment of the individual blocks nor this type of bonding is seen elsewhere in the exposed portion of the building, and would seem to raise the possibility that the curved wall of the Bouleuterion was constructed directly on the standing remains of an earlier theater or theater-like building with the same exterior dimensions. It is more likely, however, that a sophisticated and expensive mode of construction was abandoned early on in the project in favor of a faster and cheaper one. The lower courses of this wall would have been hidden by the east portico of the Rhodian Peristyle.

2.1.2 THE REAR WALL AND PILASTERS

In the course of construction, the great stones of the curved retaining wall were brought to a uniform height and worked smooth, and a footing, 0.23 m high and 0.80 m thick, was built on top along the outer edge to support the auditorium's rear wall (pls. 17; 18, 1). It consisted of two rows of blocks, of which the outer one, of gray marble, is visible only in a few places and its method of construction is unclear. The inner ring, made of

⁵³ The mortar in the area between the vaulted doorway in the southwest corner and buttress 1 (see plan 1) seems to be modern or from an ancient repair.

⁵⁴ 0.13 m (inside).

white marble, projects 0.25 m from the wall. It was constructed in curved segments finely finished on the top and front and joined by clamps. Builders were guided in laying it out by a circular arc scratched intermittently in the bedding surface (pl. 18, 2). Dowel holes provided with pour channels secured a thick revetment of dado slabs of which none survive (pls. 17; 19, 1). A series of gray marble blocks belonging to the wall proper is preserved in a single course in the northeastern quadrant. These are 0.55 m thick and of a tall format. Their upper surfaces do not display cuttings for dowels or clamps. Course heights changed frequently within individual blocks and this lent some measure of stability, especially in places where wall blocks were keyed into the backs of buttresses (pl. 18, 1). A setting line (between buttresses 11 and 13) and several pry holes show preparation for a second course. A single “K” identical in form to those in the back of the retaining wall is cut into the upper surface of a block between buttresses 11 and 12.

The marble footing projected at unequal intervals of 4.05 m to 5.40 m forming a series of profiled bases for pilasters that fronted the curved rear wall (pl. 17). Each base was carved in the front of a single block that extended through to the outer surface of the curved wall and was cut in on both sides for bonding with adjacent blocks of the footing. This detail can still be seen only in one place (pls. 20, 1–2) as these molded blocks were removed in their entirety as part of a systematic spoliation of the whole series of pilasters they supported. The location of the individual bases is, however, amply clear from setting lines, pry holes and from pairs of dowel holes and their pour channels in the surviving northern and eastern portion where the bed surface is preserved (pl. 19, 2). The bases were 0.62 m wide and 0.30 m deep, projecting to a distance just short of a second inscribed circle (0.30 m inside the first) which may have marked the point at which the stones of the retaining wall were to be cut back. Their profile is known from a single example (pilaster 10) which preserves faint but legible traces of a *torus* molding above a fillet and *scotia* (pls. 20, 1–2). A second *torus* and a plinth can be restored at the bottom. A pair of partially preserved dowel holes at the top originally secured the pilaster shaft. Two overlapping sets of cuttings at the west end of the series (pl. 17) suggest an error and a slight change in positioning during the course of construction. This surface falls away immediately to the west, but we can assume that the placing of the pilasters followed a pattern symmetrical with those in the eastern half of the building. A block with the characteristic cuttings is reused between pilasters 4 and 5 at a lower level indicating that the retaining wall collapsed at one point and had to be rebuilt.

The series of pilasters seems to have terminated in front of the large lateral buttresses, judging from the remains on the east side (plan 1; pl. 17). Here the curved setting line for the footing is recessed 0.18 m and there is a dowel hole 0.35 m in front of it. 1 m to the north is a second dowel hole. Dowels for pilaster bases were spaced only 0.33 m apart and their pour channels extended diagonally out to the side, whereas the channels for these dowels run perpendicular to the wall face.⁵⁵ They probably secured some other feature such as a short projecting tongue wall serving as a terminal element for the pilasters. They may also have been connected in some way with the roof. In front of the pilasters 7–12 (plan 1), there are some stylobate blocks at the back of the *cavea*, which are not exactly aligned with the pilasters. They are re-used and may have been set up during restoration works.⁵⁶

At some late stage in the building's history, the wall blocks between the two central buttresses were removed and a shallow apse 2.30 m wide and 1.00 m deep was built in their place (pls. 17; 21, 1). It contains a packing of small stones in mortar and seems to have supported the curved rows of a *synthronon*. Buttress 7, or perhaps only its unbonded upper portions, may have been shifted slightly to the east in the process.

2.1.3 THE CAVEA (PLAN 2)

It has been generally assumed that while the lateral *cunei* of the *auditorium* rested on vaults, the central portion was built directly upon the natural slope of Panayırdağ. The view from Bülbüldağ to the south (pl. 1) suggests, however, that the earth behind the retaining wall may be largely scree that has accumulated since the abandonment of the building, and that the original ground level behind the building was much lower. Floor levels of excavated houses to the north and northeast of the Rhodian Peristyle, near the back of the Bouleuterion, show that the ground level higher up the slope differed from that of the Basilica Stoa by approx. 10 m and that the

⁵⁵ In the northernmost hole, the pour channel is missing.

⁵⁶ See also chap. 3.2.

back of the circular retaining wall was exposed and visible from a point 1 m below the top of the *cavea*. Vaultings of an adjacent building reach up to the level of the upper rows of seats.

A stepped packing of mortared rubble was put down between the *analemmata* and this foundation determined the geometry of the *cavea* – its plan and slope, the number of rows of seats and their dimensions, as well as the location of *diazoma* and stairways. Its construction can be studied best in the lower *cavea* which also preserves much of its marble seating (plan 2). The upper portions consist largely of ancient packing restored in concrete during modern restoration (pls. 21, 2; 22, 1).

The front surfaces of the stepped mortared rubble were revetted with risers consisting of curved marble slabs 0.22 m high, 0.11–0.16 m thick, and of varying lengths, fastened together with small metal clamps. The seat slabs (pl. 22, 2), 0.15 m thick (some thinner), rested on top and had an overhanging lip, 0.07–0.08 m wide, carved in their front side. The width of the seat blocks varied greatly. The joints between them tended to be radial but could vary by a few degrees in either direction. The risers rested in shallow beds chiseled in the backs of the seat slabs where they were held in place by dowels, but they were not fastened to the slabs above them.

Six radial stairways, including two which skirted the *analemmata* (pls. 22, 1; 23, 1), divided the lower *cavea* into five *cunei*. Preparation for their construction began with the formation of the concrete core when gaps were left for them in the seating. Down the center of each ran a series of low concrete platforms, two per row, on which were laid the slightly overlapping marble treads. Upright slabs, flush with the tops of the seats, and carved at their front ends with lion's paws, were inserted into the remaining spaces on both sides as terminals for the rows within the *cunei*. A single completely preserved lion's leg – or the lower limb of some member of the *Felidae* family – can be seen in the first row at the north end of *cuneus* E (pl. 23, 2). The phalanges of the paw itself are rendered in a knotty, oblong way, while the upper part projects from the slab in a curved, almost cushion-like form. Unfortunately, these forms are not distinctive enough to draw further conclusions on the dating of the seats.⁵⁷

The preserved seating (plan 2), representing almost one half of the original capacity of the lower *cavea*, displays no *topos* inscriptions either in the upper surfaces or on the lip moldings. The letters MO or OΣ are cut into the fifth step between *cuneus* A and B (plan 2). Two similar inscriptions suggest that the block is not reused here, and that the letters were intended to be read as MO. An A, cut in the ninth step of the stairway between *cuneus* B and C, was meant to be read from above, while a N carved on step 9 between *cuneus* D and E can be read in either direction. These letters were probably intended to indicate seating arrangement, and suggest that the seats of the lower *cavea* were largely accessed by the *vomitoria* rather than from below. The remaining stairways may also have had similar indicators which disappeared with the upper steps.

A seating slab in row 7, *cuneus* D, is inscribed with a circle 0.60 m in diameter in which are cut three small dowel holes (with pour channels). It does not seem likely that this marked the position of a base or altar which would have projected 0.17 m beyond the seat but the slab may represent a secondary usage (pl. 23, 3). The marble cladding in the corresponding row of *cuneus* B which might have indicated a symmetrical arrangement, is gone.

The lower portions of the original *ima cavea* have been lost to later renovation, and the upper margin to erosion and spoliation. Two rows of seats were removed and a third converted into a lower *diazoma* at a later time to produce a sunken orchestra. This conversion will be described in some detail below⁵⁸. In a number of Bouleuteria and large theaters in Roman Asia Minor,⁵⁹ the top row of seating in the lower *cavea* consisted of continuous high-backed benches normally terminating in arm rests at the stairways, but there is no evidence for them here (plan 2). The configuration of the packing indicates that the seat slabs of the top row blended into the paving of the *diazoma*. We have, then, for the original *ima cavea* a total of 16 rows of normal seating extending from the orchestra to the *diazoma* for a vertical distance of 5.90 m. Seats are on the average 0.37 m high and 0.65 m deep. Stairways are ca. 0.68 m wide.

⁵⁷ There is no detailed analysis of feline legs in theaters. Nonetheless, the study by Moss 1989, esp. 102–192 on chronology shows the limitations of dating a similar group of objects. Especially see 142–158 on dating.

⁵⁸ See below chap. 3.5.

⁵⁹ Cf. the Bouleuterion in Aphrodisias, BIER 2008, 145–168, and the theater in Ephesos.

The *diazoma*, originally ca. 1.90 m wide, is paved with slabs of various shapes and sizes laid in an irregular pattern on a bed of pink mortar (pls. 24, 1–2). Twenty five contiguous slabs survive towards the center of the plan, one cut from a fluted column, and a drawing by Wilberg (pl. 7, 1) shows four more in front of the east *vomitorium* which have since disappeared. The surviving slabs were laid up against a series of roughly shaped stones leveled at the top to support the footing for the curved podium of the *summa cavea*. Directly to the north of the east *vomitorium*, this foundation projects as much as 0.13 m, and has a shallow ledge cut in it to receive the edges of the paving stones.

The footing itself is 0.21 m high and extends 0.21 m beyond the concrete packing of the podium. It is similar in technique to the one supporting the rear wall and had the same function. On it rested curving dado blocks, 0.92–0.94 m high, that were held in place by dowels. They revetted the podium face and helped support the horizontal slabs of a walkway. The dowel holes differ from those of the upper *diazoma* in that they were smaller and most of them were not provided with pour channels. The dado blocks have not survived but a Wilberg drawing (pl. 7, 1) records one flanking the upper part of staircase U7.

Very little of the *summa cavea* survived the depredations of stone hunters who began denuding the monument of its building materials already in Byzantine times, and the original packing surfaces have been completely rebuilt in concrete during modern restoration work. The concrete packing, which still holds bits of the original fabric, shows that the stairways of the lower *cavea* continued to the top of the auditorium, and that the broad *cunei* were subdivided by additional stairways in the usual manner (plan 1; pls. 2; 12, 1). W. Wilberg's well-known reconstruction plan leaves the lateral *cunei* blank omitting two stairways on each side (pl. 5, 1), although they must have existed before the vaults supporting these portions of the building collapsed. R. Heberdey's photographs (pls. 5, 2; 12, 1), taken directly after cleaning, show the packing's eroded surface, and a field drawing by Wilberg (pl. 7, 2) confirms ten rows of seats to which an eleventh row should be added to bring the seating to the level on which the wall pilasters rested.

The central stairway (plan 1; pl. 25, 1) could be reached from the *diazoma* by a steep flight of nine small steps (including the footing) that penetrated the podium and led directly to the level of the second row of seats. To the east and west are fragmentary slabs belonging to the broad walkway beneath the first row of seats. The one on the west side overhangs the podium wall. Its lip molding is not preserved, but must have resembled those cut in the seats. The foot of stairway U7 preserves only two steps which rest on the prepared packing (pls. 24, 1–2). The presence of two dowel holes in the footing directly below shows that this point of access was of secondary construction necessitating the removal of a segment of the dado. The modern restorers, perhaps following Wilberg's published plan, have included the packing for similar steps at the base of the other stairways as well, but there is no evidence for them either in the old photographs or in Wilberg's field drawings.⁶⁰

2.1.4 THE ANALEMMATA

The *cavea* is contained by *analemma* walls, ca. 0.62 m thick, that extend from the corners of the orchestra to the outer retaining wall into which they were bonded. Their orientations relative to the scene and to each other have puzzling irregularities which make it difficult to judge the builders' intentions regarding their planometric organization. The eastern wall (pl. 25, 2) is angled out ca. 2° towards the scene wall (plan 1) and would appear to conform to the standard scheme of Hellenistic theaters. The orchestra podium, constructed at a later time when the two lower rows of seats were removed, is concentric with the seating of the *cavea*, then continues for 2.00 m in a straight line perpendicular to the scene to join the *pulpitum*. But a surviving seat riser (located at the end of the first row) in this otherwise unevenly preserved area of the building shows that the seating continued circular in plan to the outer stairways (plan 2; pl. 26, 1). The circular rows of seats might suggest that the angling of the *analemma* wall was necessarily a rational decision as the combination seems to follow Greek tradition which lived on in Asia Minor well into the Roman period.⁶¹ But *caveae* describing more than

⁶⁰ There could have been additional access via stairways U1 and U11 (pl. 30, 3). One might suppose that all the intermediate stairways (U2, U4, U6, U8 and U10) were also linked to the *diazoma*. Another possibility is that the dowels across the line of U7 represent a builder's error.

⁶¹ See WÆLKENS 1988, 77–88: Waelkens states on p. 89 that the only truly Roman plan in Asia Minor is the theater at Aspendos.

a semicircle combined with non-angled *analemmata* are common, appearing, for example in the Bouleuteria of Miletus, Thasos and Aphrodisias (pl. 54).⁶² The angling of the western *analemma* wall, on the other hand, is negligible. It seems to have been determined by the location of the terminal element at the orchestra end which was placed 0.20 m further south than its counterpart on the east. The *pulpitum* edge therefore continues the line of the west *analemma* adding to the haphazard appearance of the plan.

Both *analemmata* are preserved for their full lengths but in no place higher than the seating that was built up against them (pl. 23, 1), so that the original appearance of the parapets – their exact height and cross section – is unknown. The walls were built up in regular courses of orthostates alternating with low bonding courses (pl. 25, 2). The former consisted of an outer row of blocks, 0.19 – 0.23 m thick and ca. 0.90 m in height. The bonding courses, 0.22 – 0.25 m high, ran through the wall. The blocks in each course of this marble surface masonry were joined by clamps, and the courses by dowels. Pour channels normally emerge on the *parodos* side but in at least one case the sealing lead was poured in from the back.

Important features of these walls, still not completely understood, are the vertical building seams located below the ends of the *diazoma* (pl. 26, 2). E. Fossel quite reasonably saw them as evidence for the secondary expansion of an earlier building, and this was generally accepted by later writers.⁶³ After a close examination of the walls, it now seems unlikely that they indicate distinct building phases, indeed, that there was any significant time differential between the construction of the segments of wall they separated. If Fossel's suggestion were correct, one would expect to find drafted corners on the orchestra side abutted by the “extensions”, but one can observe, where the stones have separated, a normal *anathyrosis* with oblique (and slightly warped) joining surfaces. Differences in technique between the segments of wall on both sides of the seams might also suggest two building campaigns.⁶⁴ The marble courses of orthostates outside the seams were backed by an inner layer of roughhewn limestone slabs which were not clamped or doweled but held in place by the weight of the leveling courses above. This inner layer was not used on the orchestra side of the seams, but this indicates only that the downward slope of the seating left no room for large blocks of this format, which could conveniently be replaced by a packing of unshaped stones in gray mortar. The impression of two building phases was also enhanced by slight differences in the heights of contiguous courses on both sides of the seams, and by the use of narrow vertical blocks which interrupt the coursing at these points. It should be noted, however, that there are no significant differences in surface tooling or in the forms of cuttings for clamps and dowels that might indicate different phases. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that whatever the function of the vertical seams may have been, the *analemma* walls were built as a unit with the *cavea* in one construction campaign. It is possible, however, that a smaller building was originally envisioned and that the seams betray a sudden change in plans.⁶⁵

The *analemmata* were set into shallow vertical cuttings in the outer retaining wall which can be traced intermittently in the blocks of the east side to a height of 2.55 m (above floor). They were pierced near their outer ends by doorways 1.15 m (east; pl. 41, 2) and 1.18 m (west; pl. 46, 3) wide, which provided access to the *vomitorium* staircases. The unmolded jambs may have supported keystone arches like those of the staircase doorways opposite. In the western doorway, a fully preserved jamb block displays a pair of dowel holes with pour channels in its top surface. The unrestored floor surface between the jambs in the eastern doorway consists of two blocks of the same thickness as the wall, joined by a single clamp. There are no cuttings either in this “threshold” or in the preserved jamb surfaces to indicate that these passages could be closed.

The *analemmata* terminated towards the center of the plan in marble blocks 0.62 m square and 0.73 m high. These were set upright on marble slabs, 0.21 m thick, which were cut to form the corners of the orchestra (pl. 22, 1; 27, 1; plan 2). The upper surfaces, polished smooth by foot traffic, are featureless. Evidence for a reorganization of this area, certainly late in the building's history when the orchestra was widened, can be seen in the stretch of wall that abutted this feature. Here the *analemma* parapet was cut down to form low steps leading directly to the stairway and to what had now become the first two rows of seats (pl. 23, 1). The deliberate nature of this alteration is clear from a slab of stone, 0.19 m thick, with a simple base molding that projects an

⁶² See below chap. 7.4.

⁶³ Including the present writer: BIER 1999, 11.

⁶⁴ FOSSEL 1967, 77.

⁶⁵ See below chap. 3.2 and 7.

additional 0.03 m, set upright on this new surface which was neatly chiseled down to receive it. Broken at the top and on both sides, this slab conformed to the circular plan of the seating and would have served as a short balustrade terminating the sloping *analemma* parapet which it joined at an oblique angle to define the outer edge of this new point of access. The west side seems to have been reconfigured similarly but not enough is left to be certain.⁶⁶

Resting in a shallow cutting at the top of the east *analemma* wall, 2.75 m above the sloping *parodos* ramp and 7.19 m in from the corner of the orchestra, is a marble spring stone for an arch (pl. 27, 2). The block, unprofiled, is 0.70 m wide and is cut radially for most of its upper surface to receive a voussoir. The sloping bed surface has a small lewis hole in the center and four dowel holes, only two with pour channels. It fronted a broad arch and a rising tunnel vault that were thrown up over the *parodos* in a later phase of construction to carry the *diazoma* and the seating of the upper *cavea* to the scene building. The fabric of the arch behind the marble voussoirs consisted of unshaped stones in mortar of which several are preserved behind the spring stone. Nothing remains of the arch in the west *parodos* except the cutting for the spring stone at the top of the *analemma* wall (plan 1).

2.1.5 VAULTED CHAMBERS

The doorways in the outer ends of the *analemmata* gave access to a pair of vaulted chambers measuring ca. 7.19 m long and 1.68 m wide. Unknown to R. Heberdey and W. Wilberg, they were defined only in the course of cleaning and restoration work in these areas of the building in 1970. The short end walls on the orchestra side have been capped with modern stonework obscuring the north face of both vertical seams in the *analemma* walls a few centimeters in from their faces. The masonry of the *analemmata* which formed the chambers' south walls has been described above. The masonry of the other walls consists of small unshaped stones in mortar laid up in horizontal courses. The original vaults of these chambers must have supported the upper rows of the *cavea* and would thus have risen at the angle of the seating. These vaults must have collapsed at some point to be replaced with horizontal ones whose remains are visible today in the long north walls and adhering to the rough stonework of the great retaining wall (pl. 27, 3). It is unlikely that the fallen portions of the *cavea* were ever rebuilt and the chambers must now have served some purpose unconnected with support. Perhaps they provided facilities for performers that were lacking in this building. They contain up to 3 m of unexcavated debris. Both chambers were closed off by walls roughly built of *spolia* probably late in the building's history to define square vestibules in front of the stairway entrances.

2.1.6 VAULTED STAIRCASES AND VOMITORIA

In the north walls of these long chambers, directly opposite the openings in the *analemmata*, are arched doorways leading to the staircases of the *vomitoria* which, in turn, provided direct access to the *diazoma*. The eastern staircase is much better preserved than the other which has been largely rebuilt in recent times. The entrance consists of two plain marble jambs set 1.18 m apart on the first step, surmounted by a keystone arch with a molding of two *fascia* and a bevel crown molding (pl. 41, 3). Beyond this, fourteen steps rise at an angle of 30° to a paved landing for a total vertical height of 48.57 m above sea-level. The walls and vault were made of unshaped stones laid in mortar. The gently curving outer wall roughly followed the contour of the great retaining wall against which it was built (plan 1). The opposite wall continued in a straight line at a slightly oblique angle to the steps for most of its length before curving gently outward towards the top. The width of the staircase was 1.65 m at the bottom tapering to 1.82 m at the landing. The steps, shallowly bonded with the side walls, averaged 0.19 m in height with treads 0.38 m wide. A few were made from single blocks but most consisted of two blocks finely joined without clamps.

The unrestored curving vault of the west stairway's lower flight has a horizontal crown 3.00 m above the level of the intermediate landing and would have helped support the upper rows of seating of the first *cuneus*. The vault of the east staircase is 5.24 m high at the bottom and 3.93 m high at the top rising at a smaller angle than that of the steps. Walls and vaults of both staircases have several layers of ancient plaster, the latest show-

⁶⁶ See WOOD's plan (pl. 4, 2) for this reconstructed detail.

ing preparation for an additional coat that was never applied. Surfaces display traces of pigment, and were most likely partially or completely painted.

The large concrete stair chambers covering the *vomitoria* today (pl. 2; 13, 2; plan 3) were built as part of the Selçuk Museum's consolidation of the ruins. R. Heberdey's photographs (pls. 5, 2; 12, 1), taken immediately after cleaning, show the upper portion of the eastern staircases as an open trench and the western staircase can be seen in the same condition in photographs taken in the course of the Museum's recent work. Each contained a second flight of steps oriented along an axis radial to the center of the plan, which gave onto an upper landing 0.78 m below the paving of the *diazoma*. The original scheme would have had rising vaults angled upwards with the seating and connected to the longer curving vaults by means of groin vaults over the landings.

The well-preserved eastern stairway (pls. 28, 1–2) consists of seven steps that narrow slightly with the walls converging from 2.15 m at the bottom to 2.00 m at the top. The steps, unlike those of the lower flight, were not bonded with the side walls. Three paving stones of the upper landing bear cuttings for pillars that served as door jambs. Two pairs of dowel holes with pour channels indicate that the doorway was 1.16 m wide and set 0.85 m back from the edge of the *diazoma*. The only surviving component is a loose pier capital with a simple molding at the top of the front side (pl. 29, 1). This must have supported a lintel that was positioned below the second row of seats while the space between the doorway and the *diazoma* (ca. 0.85 m) would have been open (plan 1). Two adjacent stones, reused as pavers, seem to have belonged to this doorway. Dowel holes in the *diazoma* footing where it turns inward towards the stairs must have secured the lower blocks of a short wall which helped support the seating at this point and enclosed a shallow vestibule of the *vomitrium*.

Less is preserved of the western staircase. None of the steps are ancient, but enough is left of the original masonry of the upper flight to indicate that the strongly converging walls are in their correct positions. Two blocks, 1.16 m apart at the entrance, seem to represent the lower portions of doorjambs, but these are only 0.85 m from the *diazoma*, have no dowel holes in their upper surfaces and may not be *in situ*.

2.2 Orchestra and Pulpitum

The junction of orchestra and *pulpitum* is particularly important as it provides much of the existing evidence that will be used for distinguishing between what were certainly three major phases in the building history of the Bouleuterion. To produce the sunken orchestra, the seating blocks of the third row were cut back and a patchwork of irregularly-shaped slabs of stone was clamped to the stumps and to each other to form a lower *diazoma*, 0.90 m wide (plan 2; pls. 22, 1; 26, 1). The profiled edge of the walkway, preserved best, but incompletely in *cuneus* E, is supported by a curved podium faced with orthostates 0.12 m thick and 0.50–0.55 m high, which rest in turn on a molded base course (pls. 27, 1; 30, 1). The three elements were interconnected with dowels, some without pour channels, and adjacent stones of the lower two are joined by small clamps. The podium rests on a series of limestone slabs, most of which project from beneath the base molding and, in the east, on the upper surface of the early wall.

W. Alzinger's excavations in the orchestra necessitated the removal of the floor. It is preserved today only in R. Heberdey's photographs (pls. 12, 1–2) and in a drawing by W. Wilberg (pl. 8, 2) which shows long, rectangular pavers of white marble laid east-west in rows. When uncovered before the First World War, it was very well-preserved with the exception of the western corner which had been damaged. J. T. Wood mentions having found a decorative circular marble drain cover somewhere in the eastern half of the orchestra but does not give its dimensions or indicate whether it was found *in situ*.⁶⁷ Any evidence for drainage in the orchestra would naturally be of great interest for the roofing problem, but this feature, if it actually existed, is likely, as R. Meinel concluded, to have carried off water used for cleaning.⁶⁸ Pavers were cut to fit the curve of the podium's base molding and rested on the projecting edges of the stones supporting the podium, and on the early wall in the orchestra's east corner. Faint plaster lines on the molding's fillet give a thickness of ca. 0.06 m for these slabs.

The *pulpitum* rose 0.90 m above the level of the orchestra's paving. Its front wall (*proscenium*) was constructed of large limestone blocks 0.23 m thick, 0.62 m high, and from 1.10 to 1.56 m wide (pls. 22, 1; 29, 2).

⁶⁷ WOOD 1877, 52.

⁶⁸ MEINEL 1980, 123.

It terminates in a pair of narrow blocks 0.26 m (east) and 0.23 m (west) thick, that projected 0.26 m into the orchestra and – together with the square corner blocks – bracketed the *pulpitum* stairways (pl. 27, 1). Two of the large blocks display an elaborate configuration of cuttings (pl. 29, 2) for what must have been ornamental attachments (perhaps an acanthus scroll) but were clearly reused here as *spolia*, and would have been hidden behind the revetment.⁶⁹ The *pulpitum* was fronted by a base molding (pl. 30, 1) which differs in height and profile from that of the podium wall. It forms a corner at the small stairway parapets and continues with them to the ends of the bottom steps (pl. 27, 1). The long central segment supported a dado 0.12 m thick, which is not preserved. Its crown molding, entirely broken away, would have been carved into the series of slabs which edged the *pulpitum* paving.

2.3 The Scene (Plan 4)

The *pulpitum* and its *parodos* ramps separated the orchestra and *cavea* from the scene (plan 1; 4). This did not comprise a proper stage building. While similar buildings, like the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias (pl. 54)⁷⁰ and Roman theaters like that at Aspendos⁷¹, contained genuine roofed back stage corridors with features such as staircases and alcoves with raised platforms, the scene at Ephesos was, in essence, a screen wall strongly reinforced with buttresses behind whose main functions were to enclose the auditorium on the south while supporting both the roof and the columnar display of the *scaenae frons* (plan 7). The construction of a short wall between the western pier and the Basilica Stoa (plan 1; pls. 30, 2; 43, 1) to control access from the *clivus sacer* did little to hide the non-architectonic nature of this space which served essentially as a drain to catch the runoff from the roofs of both buildings, in addition to providing a conduit for water from the Bath Gymnasium complex immediately to the east (pl. 1). None of its original wall surfaces were meant to be seen (pl. 30, 2), and some measures were taken to hide them from the view of those entering the building from the south.

2.3.1 THE SCENE WALL

The scene wall was less than 1 m thick, and was dependent for its stability upon a system of piers and buttresses whose placement seems to have been determined by the location of the major roof beams it supported (pl. 30, 3). Both wall and roof were anchored in the massive piers at the east and west corners which measured ca. 2.78 m by 2.38 m and are preserved today to a height of ca. 5.50 m (plan 1; 3; pl. 2). They are built of large blocks carefully joined without the use of clamps or dowels. Irregular coursing required that some blocks be set into shallow beds cut in the course below, a stabilizing feature that can be seen in the top of the western pier. Another device intended to enhance stability at these critical points is represented by a diagonal joint in the same surface which was probably repeated through alternate courses, although this cannot be checked. The east pier seems to have employed this device as well, but the stone is broken in the corresponding location. The west and south faces of the west pier, visible from the *clivus sacer*, were regular if utilitarian, undistinguished by special surface treatment, whereas the east pier, perhaps completely concealed, rose from the rear corridor as a stepped, irregular mass of partially shaped blocks.

The scene wall in both *parodoi* was constructed in two zones (plan 5). The lower zone, consisting of masonry of roughly finished blocks similar to that of the corner piers, rose to a uniform height of ca. 2.40 m above the level of the *pulpitum* to support a double-faced marble wall with a finely worked surface on the *cavea* side. Two heavy pillars (B–C and H–J) built up of single blocks 1.05 m wide projected 0.80 m into each *parodos*. Their bedding joints, roughly aligned through all four, followed the coursing of the east pillar but were independent from those of the western pillar. During a secondary construction of vaults to carry extensions of the upper *cavea*, the broad alcove formed by each pair of pillars was filled in, hiding wall surfaces which would have resembled the short lengths of wall adjacent to the doorways in the lateral bays. Buttresses, aligned with the pillars B to J and equal to them in width, extended ca. 0.70 m into the rear corridor (plan 1; pls. 30, 2; 40, 1).

⁶⁹ W. ALZINGER in his notebooks refers to them as *spolia*.

⁷⁰ BIER 2008, 145–168.

⁷¹ LANCKOROŃSKI 1890, 102–120, esp. 107–116 pl. 24–27; BIEBER 1961, 208–209; CAN 2005, 89–119.

Although firmly bonded with the wall they supported, their construction is irregular, consisting of rough-hewn blocks of varied formats piled one upon the other, employing neither clamps, dowels nor mortar.

Piercing this front wall in the end bays, interrupting the heavy masonry of the lower wall zone, are two doorways of squat proportion, each surmounted by a flat arch (SD 1 and SD 7; plan 5; pls. 31, 1–2). Their placement off center was clearly intended to bring them into alignment with the arched stairway entrances. Constructed of white marble and worked to a fine surface with a toothed chisel, they contrast strongly with the coarser walls into which they were built. The unmolded jambs, ca. 0.33 m wide, and made of either one or two blocks, equaled the thickness of the wall. They carry simple capitals 0.29 m high molded on all three sides. The outer jambs and the elements they supported were set into shallow cuttings in the pier faces. The inner jambs abutted the large wall blocks which were then stepped back to accommodate their capitals and the flat arches above them. Both sides of these arches, 0.45 m high, incline slightly outwards towards the top. The eastern arch consists of three voussoirs, the western arch of five. Both support a thin course which made up the final 0.17 m of the lower zone.

The western doorway has a cutting in its east jamb 1.23 m above the floor and 0.04 m in from the outer surface. 6 cm wide by 8 cm high and 3 cm deep, it was designed to hold a wooden beam which could be let down into a slot cut in the opposite jamb to secure a door (pl. 31, 3). The original paving between the jambs has been restored but the absence of sockets in the underside of the arch indicates that there were no permanent door leaves. Either these were planned and the necessary preparations for their installation never completed, or they were set into a wooden frame held in place by friction which has left no trace. The eastern doorway, in any case, displays no cuttings and apparently could not be closed.

Shallow slots, 0.17 m wide, cut in the wall immediately adjacent to the capitals (plan 5), suggest that traffic through these doors (and from the great arched lateral doorways) could be diverted from the *parodos* ramps and *pulpitum* directly to the *vomitium* stairways, but any traces surviving in the paving to anchor either a permanent or temporary structure such as a screen wall or gate would have been covered by modern restoration, and there are no cuttings in the surviving portions of the *analemmata* directly opposite.

The rough masonry surface of the south wall shows numerous holes for metal hooks which secured sheets of marble revetment. Pairs of holes held hooks which secured pilaster bases. No fragments of revetment have survived *in situ*, although large patches of pink mortar poured in behind them still adhere to the walls. The west face of the pier adjacent to the west doorway (SD 1) bears patches of plaster applied in several layers over time (pl. 42, 1). The outer layer has traces of green and blue pigment which would seem to indicate that painted plaster replaced the marble sheeting in this area, perhaps at some late phase in the building's history.

The masonry type of the scene wall's upper zone continued for several meters north of the corner piers across the east and west ends of the *parodoi*, abruptly blending with the larger blocks of the great retaining wall at the *analemmata* (plan 3). It consisted of two faces with matching courses. The inner face has been mostly robbed but portions of the outer face are preserved to a maximum height of 52.46 m above sea-level in the lateral bays and above the arched doorway of the east *parodos* (pl. 32, 1).⁷² It was built of roughly shaped blocks with smooth bedding surfaces. Like the piers to which they were bonded, they utilized neither dowels nor clamps. Courses vary considerably in height. The narrower ones were normally shallow, leaving continuous slots into which the backs of the finely dressed blocks of the inner face were set. This permitted a kind of clampless bonding of the two faces through the thickness of the wall. In the extant portions, the equal rate of rise of the two faces is broken only above the arched doorway where a horizontal slot is cut in at the bottom of a relatively tall course (pl. 32, 1).

The preserved portions of the front wall's upper zone are located mainly in the *parodoi* (plan 5). It was articulated on the *cavea* side by a columnar architecture. The system began with a plain string course, 0.24 m thick, which projected out over the piers to carry tall pedestals. These were 1.585 m high and consisted of a shaft with joints near the top and bottom (pls. 32, 2–3; 33). The pedestals resting on the four supporting piers are roughly square and project a maximum of 0.77 m from the walls. The end pedestals are supported on the inner corners of the piers, which at pedestal level are L-shaped. These pedestals project only 0.40 m from the front wall and were set back 0.34 m from the edge of the string course. They were later hidden by the walls of

⁷² See also below chap. 8.2.1, inscr. 4.

petit appareil constructed to support the *parodos* vaults. Each carried a molded base for a corner pilaster. They were 0.325 m high, and included a plinth and an upper and lower *torus* bracketing two fillets and a *scotia*.

These pilaster bases occupied almost the entire upper surface of the tall pedestals, overhanging the shaft by 4.5 cm. The moldings of the bases and their supporting pedestals were cut to continue through the stretches of wall that connected them. One wall block, bearing the base molding of the tall pedestals, is preserved in the east bay, while the crown molding of the same course has left an impression in the mortar laid up against it in the construction of the vault-bearing walls of the west *parodos*. A dado block slightly shifted in the west bay is rabbeted at one side to accommodate the rear corner of the shaft of the tall pedestal to which it was clamped.

The western corner base (pls. 33; 34, 1) gives little information about the element it supported aside from that provided by two dowel holes with their pour channels set 2 cm in from the front edge. Its bearing surface measures 0.74 m by 0.64 m, but the block continues back into the wall. It is carefully dressed with a fine toothed chisel but shows no setting lines or *anathyrosis*. The upper *torus* extends around all three sides although it is separated from the lateral wall by only 4.5 cm. This gap is bridged at the back by a short extension of the base's upper surface which would have carried a corresponding extension of the pilaster shaft's lowest segment to form a corner with the adjacent wall. The original appearance of these lateral portions of the façade is clearer in the eastern corner where the base preserves enough information to permit the identification of fallen elements belonging to the elevation (pls. 33; 34, 2). As in the west corner base, the bearing surface is finely dressed with a toothed chisel but displays an *anathyrosis* consisting of a slightly sunken panel, 0.33 m square, made with a pointed chisel. There is also a small lewis hole in the center. A pair of dowel holes, supplied with pour channels from the sides, is set 0.20 m in from the front surface. There is no gap between base and wall. The *torus* molding was carved on only two sides while the third abutted the east wall, but the outer end of the pour channel and the corresponding setting line clearly indicate that, as on the west side, there was a small gap between wall and pilaster. There is also a small patch of fine tooling to produce a level bedding for an extension of the lowest pilaster block that was bonded into the east wall. A setting line in the plane of the front wall and a pry hole at the northern edge also help to establish the pilaster shaft's precise position.

These features permit the identification of two pilaster segments which belonged to these corner bases. A fallen block resting today on the east *analemma* wall, and on the unexcavated debris behind it, certainly belongs to the eastern corner pilaster (pl. 35, 1). Identical are the size and position of the dowel holes and their pour channels, the form and tooling of the *anathyrosis*, and the size of the lewis hole. The block is 0.98 m high and is "T"-shaped in plan. The side extensions are equal in thickness to the wall's facing blocks of which this formed a part. The vertical right edge is smooth and bears a clamp hole in its upper surface. The left extension was left rough at the end where it was bonded into the side wall. The pilaster portion is 0.64 m wide and 0.40 m deep. These dimensions leave room for a flare of ca. 0.05 m at the bottom of the shaft, but no blocks of this type have been located. The form of the capital surmounting these pilasters is also unknown. A second block belonging to the west corner pilaster now rests in the north aisle of the Basilica Stoa immediately to the south.

At some time in the building's history, a decision was made to increase the seating capacity, and vaults were constructed across the *parodoi* on which extensions of the upper *cavea* were carried to the scene wall (pl. 30, 3). The broad alcoves formed by the piers were filled in with *petit appareil*, a coursed masonry of irregular facing stones in thick mortar beds which contained numerous small stones and pebbles. These walls were capped with a leveling course of re-used blocks set between the shafts of the tall bases (plan 5). On this surface, 2.65 m above the level of the *pulpitum*, rested the south springing of barrel vaults 3.00 m deep which were faced with marble keystone arches. The position of the springstone in the east *analemma* wall and the cutting for the other (plan 1; pl. 27, 2) indicate that the southern springing of these marble arches was in line with pillars C and H, whose tall pedestals were partially dismantled to support them. These barrel vaults would have carried the extensions of the *diazoma* and perhaps *tribunalia*. Behind the outer ends of these vaults fragmentary remains of walls, set back 0.15 m from the edge of the levelling course, were built up like the lower walls in courses of roughly shaped stones in mortar. These would have supported sloping barrel vaults carrying extensions of the upper *cavea* (plan 6; 7). The flat-arched doorways (pls. 31, 1–2) were retained in this phase, set back in alcoves. Continuations for the walls supporting the sloping barrel vaults show neat corners above the levelling course, as do the sections of wall built over the tall pedestals opposite. The three preserved courses in the east *parodos* give a minimum height for the springing of the alcove arches which have not survived. There are no holes in this masonry for marble revetment. The walls bear traces of pink plaster near the paving.

2.3.2 SCAENAE FRONS

The long south wall, as it appears today, shows an awkward disjunction between the *parodoi* and the remains of the central portion that includes the five doorways and the pedestals of the *scaenae frons* which flank them (plan 4; 5). The impression is produced partly by the comparatively poor preservation of the stage architecture which stands to a maximum height of only 2.30 m. More important are the alterations made in the course of the mid-2nd century rebuilding, most notably in the redesign of the *scaenae frons*, which produced abrupt changes of scale and technique in contiguous features. Once the two major phases are disentangled, it will become clear that there was, in the pre-Vedius Bouleuterion, a unity of design across the entire width of the building. This was based, as in the *parodoi*, on two continuous horizontal zones – a massive lower zone built of large, roughly finished blocks revetted with sheets of marble, supporting well made walls of finely joined and dressed marble blocks – both vertically subdivided by a system of projecting column-bearing elements, essentially structural, but partly decorative in nature (pl. 45).

The roughly faced masonry of the *parodos* walls with its system of crudely built, but well-bonded buttresses continued through the scene, which was pierced by five doorways (SD 1–SD 5). The doorways SD 3 and SD 5 (plan 1) were clearly secondary features cut through the wall, at some point, to augment the original three, which show a more sophisticated construction technique.⁷³ The thresholds of these later doorways, laid upon the undisturbed wall course below, were made of re-used cornice blocks from doorways whose molded profiles are visible from the corridor side (pl. 35, 2). Each received two sets of pivot holes in its outer ends. The larger set was connected by a doorstop and held leaves that opened outwards on the corridor side. The second set, ca. 0.27 m to the north, was smaller and would have supported a less substantial door. One threshold bears vertical, radially tapered slots apparently for bolts attached to the door which could be let down to secure the gate from the inside. This system of relatively flimsy doors, and a pair of pry holes in the eastern threshold, suggests that regular stone doorjambs were planned but abandoned, probably when it was realized that the doorway thus formed would be only 0.68 m wide. It is not known whether inner and outer doors were used together or whether one replaced the other.

The three original doorway openings (SD 2, SD 4 and SD 6), representing the traditional stage doors in Greek and Roman theaters, formed an integral part of the wall. The central door, or *porta regia*, was 1.80 m wide, and the lateral doors or *portae hospitales*, 1.27 m wide respectively.

The lower portion of each jamb was made of a single block whose upper surfaces rose to a uniform height of 0.75 m above the threshold. The jambs were 0.85 m to 0.95 m wide and nearly equal in thickness to the wall. Each was cut back on the corridor side to accommodate door leaves in an open position, and was provided with cuttings to take a metal plate for pivots (plan 1). Above this level, the wall was stepped back as in the doorways in the ends of the southern *parodos* walls, and blocks were set in with segments of fasciated jamb moldings cut in their outer edges. These blocks also extended through the thickness of the wall and were cut back with continuations of the reveals for the door leaves.

The outer jambs in the east and west doorways (SD 2 and SD 6) bear remains of pier capitals (pl. 36, 1) identical in size, form and level with those in the *parodos* doorways (SD 1 and SD 7; pls. 31, 1–3), and we can assume that the other jambs, whose lower blocks terminate at the same height, carried these capitals as well. This is irrefutable evidence that the *pulpitum* was a secondary addition to an earlier plan, for the thresholds of the original stage doors lay at the same level as those in the *parodoi*. When the *pulpitum* was built, the jambs were refashioned above the higher floor level, receiving sockets and reveals, and thresholds were inserted with doorstops for leaves that swung open into the rear corridor. A small hole 0.09 m off-center above the doorstop in the western doorway would have received a bolt fastened to one of the door leaves securing the door from the inside. The other two thresholds do not have this feature and may have belonged to later repairs.

2.3.3 THE PEDESTALS

Of all aspects of the Bouleuterion, the column-bearing pedestals attached to the scene wall have received the most interest. This is certainly due to E. Fossel's theory that the building had originally served as a Council

⁷³ See below chap. 3.4 with notes.

House during the reign of Augustus, but was converted into an “Odeion” in the 2nd century and provided with a scenic apparatus.⁷⁴ This is only partially correct. Close observation will show that only the central portions of the four broad pedestals were built with the walls they front, and that these were then truncated and extended laterally during a subsequent renovation which added the two smaller pedestals 1 and 6 occupying the corners adjacent to the projecting piers at the entrances to the *parodoi*. All six pedestals in the final phase supported a crown course forming surfaces 1.50 m above the *pulpitum* paving. All but the two central crown blocks have survived, preserving dowel holes, setting lines, and pry holes for both column and statue bases (plan 4) which provide vital evidence for a reconstruction of the *scaenae frons*.⁷⁵

The broad pedestals, which supported paired columns, are built of roughly shaped blocks arranged in three vertical segments (plan 4; pl. 36, 3). The central segments resemble the piers in the *parodoi*, to which they are identical in width, surface treatment, and in the level of their horizontal joints. The lateral segments are coarser. Smaller blocks are occasionally set in vertically as space fillers. The wide joints and irregular gaps between the segments were filled with mortar containing small stones and pieces of terracotta roof tiles.

The crown slabs resting on these cores were 0.255 m thick with molded edges and were connected to tall base moldings by sheets of marble ca. 0.06 m thick held in place at the top and bottom by iron pins (pl. 36, 2). Base moldings and revetment were also secured directly to the stonework they masked, and pink hydraulic mortar poured in behind.

It is clear at a glance that the buttresses projecting into the corridor were built with the walls they supported, but the relationship between the walls and the broad pedestals fronting them is more subtle. A key to the original design lies in the marble string course (plan 4; pl. 36, 3) which ran all along the south wall of the *parodoi* separating the two wall zones and carrying the finely dressed upper walls and a columnar architecture which fronted them. The stretch of wall behind pedestal 5 has preserved four blocks and most of a fifth belonging to this course. They were joined by a single row of clamps, each ca. 0.19 m long, that were set ca. 0.20 m in from the northern face. The bar channels are 0.026 m wide and 0.005 m deep, the holes 0.03–0.035 m wide and 0.025 m deep.

A single cutting for a much larger clamp which ran north-south is preserved at the north face of the block on the central axis of the pedestal. The clamp hole and channel are 0.04 m and 0.03 m deep respectively and are both 0.04 m wide. This clamp was, in any case, substantial, and seen in conjunction with the elevation of the scene wall, its function is clear. It must have anchored a northern extension of the string course which rested on a narrower pillar, represented today by the two large blocks of the central segment of pedestal 5. The blocks of the string course are missing in the stretches of wall behind pedestals 2, 3 and 4, but judging again from the scene elevation they must have had the same arrangement. The extensions of the string course would have been 1.00 m wide, or equal to those carried by the piers of the *parodos*.

The builders seem to have had a very specific idea about how high the new pedestals were to be as they removed a block from the top of each of the original pillars and replaced them with slabs only 0.10 m high. Additional blocks were then added at the sides to support the broad crown blocks (plan 4; pl. 36, 3). In order to secure both the crown and the lateral segments which helped to support them, the wall was cut back as much as 20 cm to form shelves into which clamp holes and their channels were sunk (pl. 42, 2). The lateral clamps for the pillar shafts were quite long, measuring 28–43 cm in length. One end was let into its cutting in the top of the crown block, and the other swung down into a hole carved in the wall opposite. It should be noted that the blocks of the central segments which comprised the original, narrow pillars, follow the coursing of the wall and, like the buttresses, must have been bonded to it. The lateral segments, added later, had an independent coursing and thus required clamping.

In contrast to the four broad pedestals are the two corner ones which are constructed of very irregular stones squared only at their corners and set with greater amounts of mortar that contained large pebbles and pieces of brick and tile (plan 4; pls. 38, 1–2). They abutted the pre-existing piers with which they clash both in scale and technique. The string course, well-preserved behind the eastern corner pedestal 6, bears only a dowel hole in its upper surface near the north face but had no clamps, indicating clearly that these did not belong to the initial system of high pedestals. A single block of the string course preserved in the west corner has cuttings for a pair of clamps which connected it to an adjacent block on its east side. Its north face, like that of the rest of the

⁷⁴ FOSSEL 1967, 72–81.

⁷⁵ See below chap. 4.

scene wall, was shaved back in the second phase to effect, with a large clamp, a secondary bond between wall and pedestal (pl. 38, 2). Once the corner pedestals are removed, the reason for the locations of the first and fifth stage doors, off-center in their final phase, becomes clear. They were positioned between the axes represented by the buttresses, perhaps to emphasize the essentially load-bearing nature of the early, narrower, piers as the elements resting upon them ultimately supported the roof (pl. 30, 3).

2.3.4 PAVING OF PULPITUM AND PARODOI

The paving of both *pulpitum* and *parodoi* consists largely of ancient revetment and paving fragments reused by the modern restorers. The old photographs show large, rectangular sheets of white marble paving (pls. 6, 1; 12, 1), but there are no drawings and the paving pattern is not clear. The outer ends of the *parodoi* retain some large pavers made of a porous limestone which may represent secondary patching.

2.3.5 THE ENTRANCES FROM THE BASILICA STOA

The north wall of the Basilica is pierced by five doorways (BD 1–BD 5), two aligned with the low lateral entranceways (SD 1 and SD 7) and three with the doorways SD 2, SD 4 and SD 6 of the south wall (plan 1; pls. 38, 3; 39, 1–2). The differences in height were made up by stairways built into the thickness of the wall.

The jambs of the well-preserved central doorway (BD 3; pl. 39, 1) consisted of slabs of marble 0.35 m wide and 0.84 m deep that were set 1.81 m apart. They are carved on their south face with moldings which consist of three fascias, astragal, ovolo and *taenia*. The lower step, consisting of two blocks clamped together, extended slightly beyond the inner faces of the jambs and projected 0.42 m into the Basilica. A second and third step, each made of two blocks joined without clamps, were set in between the jambs. The upper step, made from a single block 0.48 m deep and 2.30 m wide, was cut back around the rear inner corners of the jambs directly behind which were sockets for door pivots. These consisted of shallow rectangular cuttings with round holes (0.10 m in diameter and 0.07 m deep) sunk in the bottom. It is unlikely that the two elements belonged to the same phase, however. Short channels projecting from the round holes, intended to prevent a metal socket from turning with the doorpost, would not have been necessary if the original hardware had included a square plate. It is more likely that the rectangular cuttings were later additions to hold the pivot plates of a door which replaced a more elaborate doorway structure. The door leaves, in any case, opened into the corridor and closed against a doorstep at the edge of the step which had a hole behind it for a bolt.

The two flanking doorways exhibit essentially the same technique and must have been built at the same time. The western doorway (BD 2; pl. 38, 3) was 1.15 m wide. A well-made footing resting on a rougher foundation course exposed by W. Alzinger's excavations projects slightly beyond the wall face to support the jambs and the first of two steps that are set between them. The broader top step contains the doorstep, locking hole and round sockets, of which only the eastern one shows traces of the square cutting. The eastern doorway (BD 4), 1.13 m wide, has three steps between the jambs, each made of a single block. No excavations were done here and the footing is not exposed.

The two end doorways are constructed in a fashion similar to that of the other three but also show significant differences. The eastern doorway was 1.04 m wide. The western doorway has lost its east jamb but had a width of about 1.23 m judging from the pry holes (plan 1; pl. 39, 2). Their lower rise required fewer steps which consisted only of the well-made footing and the broad block containing the doorstep and post sockets. These doorways also differ from the others in that their jambs are shallower, extending back only 0.53 m rather than through the entire thickness of the wall. This variation and the much cruder carving of the jamb moldings may indicate that they are of another phase.

The surviving portions of the jambs from the broad central doorway are broken at the top so we cannot know whether they were monolithic. The jambs of the four narrower doorways were built up in segments. As the largely preserved portions of their upper surfaces display no dowel holes, we must assume that the higher segments were clamped to the walls or even bonded with them. Records of the early Austrian excavations may contain evidence for their reconstruction.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ See below chap. 4.9 on the fallen arches found during the early excavation.

2.3.6 CORRIDOR

The long narrow space between the scene wall and the rear wall of the Basilica had, at least in its initial state, no special architectural treatment, and probably served no special function connected with either of the two buildings it separated (plan 1; 7; pls. 30, 2; 40, 1). A short wall joined the west pier with the Basilica (pl. 43, 1) preventing direct access from the *clivus sacer*. As the locking devices in the doorways of both buildings would have been superfluous with an open passage, we can assume that this wall or a predecessor was an original feature of the plan. Made of rough stones set in mortar, the wall is 0.20 m thick and preserved to a height of 1.00 m. The opposite end of the space is less well defined as it lies at the edge of the excavated area (pl. 40, 1).

The most important feature of this space is the drain (plan 1; pl. 40, 1), ca. 1.90 m deep and 0.30 m wide, running down the middle which must, at some point, have served to catch the rainwater from the roofs of the buildings on both sides (plan 7) while carrying off water from the Baths on the Upper Agora immediately to the east. Made of unshaped stones laid flat without mortar, its walls undulate in plan. Incorporated into its northern side is a boulder ca. 1.10 m wide and 0.85 m high. Worked to a level upper surface, it underlies the buttress behind pedestal 2 at a level +45.05 m above sea-level beneath the paving of the *pulpitum*. These rough walls have been seen as belonging to the foundations of the two buildings flanking them, but they appear to have served merely as revetment for the earthen sides of the channel. The slabs that today cover stretches of the drain, providing a precarious footing for those entering the Bouleuterion, are not original but replace a more regular series removed during excavations in 1966.

On his restored plan of the Bouleuterion, J. T. Wood indicated corridors formed by short walls connecting the five pairs of doorways giving access from the Basilica (pl. 4, 2). Traces of one of these walls flank the low eastern doorway on its western side, and E. Fossel's photographs show several more.⁷⁷ These must have served to hide the rough masonry surfaces and at the same time to support canopies that permitted passage in rainy weather. It is likely that these were in ruins when the rear wall was hidden behind a brick revetment. The springing of a brick arch on the western side of the easternmost buttress (pl. 43, 2) indicates that the broad spaces between the buttresses were made into alcoves of a blind arcade. In the brickwork of one of these, Fossel noted a segment of terracotta pipe which she believed to have been part of a drainage system connected with the roof.⁷⁸ Large limestone pavers are preserved between the buttresses which flank the first stage door.

2.4 The Tall Arched Doorways

The outer retaining wall was pierced at the ends of the *parodoi* by tall arched doorways which allowed direct access to the Baths on the Upper Agora to the east (plan 3; pl. 32, 1) and the official buildings lining the *clivus sacer* on the west (pl. 43, 3). A short flight of steps (pl. 40, 2) made up the difference in level of 0.55 m between the outer ends of the two *parodoi* of the Bouleuterion and these buildings which rested on broad terraces about 0.90 m above the Basilica. The eastern doorway was 1.46 m wide and 3.00 m high (up to the impost capital), the western doorway 1.66 m wide and 2.80 m high. Both doorways have unmolded jambs 0.44 m wide and 1.06–1.08 m deep which are built in segments of unequal height. At the upper ends of the jambs impost capitals with crown moldings on three sides supported keystone arches of five voussoirs carved with fascias moldings on both faces (pls. 16, 1; 41, 1).

The top of the second step of the western doorway was level with the stylobate of the Rhodian Peristyle. A third step, apparently added to serve as a threshold, bears at least two sets of cuttings for doorposts (pl. 40, 2). The south impost was cut in near its outer face to receive the top of a doorpost or frame which was strengthened near the top and bottom by metal elements anchored in small rectangular holes in the jamb. Double door leaves could be secured from the inside by a bar that was inserted into a socket in the northern jamb and lowered into a curving groove opposite. Rectangular holes in the intrados of the arch supported a semicircular grate that rested on the impost blocks. A photograph shows this doorway blocked by a well-made wall constructed of stone and brick in mortar plastered on the inside, which seems to belong to a late, probably Byzantine phase (pl. 46, 2).

⁷⁷ FOSSEL 1967, *passim*.

⁷⁸ FOSSEL 1967, 75; MEINEL 1980, 125.

The eastern doorway (pl. 32, 1) was blocked more deliberately and probably much earlier by a platform-like structure which occupies almost its entire thickness to a height of 1.25 m above the top of the second step. The jambs are finely finished with a toothed chisel from this level to the top, and the impost capital is more elaborately carved than its counterpart in the west, but the surface below the level of this feature was left rough. The jambs and the voussoirs also lack the cuttings for hardware to secure a gate and lunette grill, so the platform was probably an early addition to a doorway which was never used for through traffic. A wall of unshaped stones and brick fragments with a plastered surface on the plane of the doorway's outer face produced a deep niche which may have held a statue.

(L. Bier)

3. PHASING AND RECONSTRUCTION

3.1 W. Alzinger's Theories concerning a Hellenistic Bouleuterion

The discovery during post-war excavations of the city's Prytaneion and other buildings of a sacro-political nature along the northern edge of the Upper Agora led to a reinterpretation of this area as "Staatsmarkt", and suggested at the same time that the so-called Odeion might in fact have been, at least in an early phase, a Bouleuterion, an indispensable component of such ensembles in the Roman East.⁷⁹ E. Fossel's close study of the building, published in 1967,⁸⁰ seemed to support this theory and soon led to a systematic investigation designed to locate the pre-Augustan (i. e. Hellenistic) Council House which, as was assumed, would have underlain the standing high Imperial remains.⁸¹ Important to this end was the discovery in a linear series of sondages of the front wall of a long one-aisled stoa beneath the Augustan Basilica Stoa (pl. 44, 1–2) which could be dated by ceramic finds from the foundations between 220 and 180 B.C.⁸² Two trenches revealed "Baufugen" (construction breaks) in its rear wall, 28.80 m apart, which W. Alzinger took to be the front corners of the early Bouleuterion abutted by the back wall of the original basilical hall which incorporated it. This would seem to have represented the first phase of the Ephesian Bouleuterion.⁸³

In his article of 1988,⁸⁴ Alzinger superimposed on an area plan the square outline of a Hellenistic Council House which he tied to the construction breaks in the rear wall of the early Stoa (pl. 44, 2). As an architectural model, he cited the early phase of the Odeion at Gortyn in Crete (pl. 56, 1)⁸⁵ which had almost identical outer dimensions, and emphasized, as Fossel had done, that the apparent spatial relationship between this early assembly hall and Stoa was characteristic for Hellenistic Bouleuteria in other cities.

Alzinger was certainly correct in insisting that a Bouleuterion pre-dating the Roman one was to be found in the Civic Agora, and very likely in the same location as the present one. Ephesos was a Greek city and every Greek city had a *boule* which needed a permanent meeting place for deliberative assemblies. It is unlikely that this city should have gone without a Council House between the time that this civic center was laid out under Augustus and the construction of the high Imperial building at least a century later. We cannot, however, assume, as Alzinger did, that a Bouleuterion dating to the time of Lysimachus remains to be discovered in the "Staatsmarkt", since it has not been proved that this was the civic center of Hellenistic Ephesos.⁸⁶ A fragmentary inscription cut in a block found in 1961 built as *spolia* into the north wall of the "Hestiasaal" has been cited quite reasonably as evidence for the existence of an early Bouleuterion. It honored a certain Zopyros, son of Balagros, who had made alterations to a Bouleuterion or provided furnishings. The inscription has been dated on paleographic grounds to the 1st century B.C.⁸⁷ and could thus refer to an Augustan building whose remains are yet to be identified.

W. Alzinger's published documentation, however, is not adequate to justify his conclusions. Conspicuously lacking, for example, is a detailed masonry study demonstrating that the two corners actually belonged to the same building. Excavation of the orchestra and the central stretch of the *pulpitum* in 1970 (S 6/1970; pls. 15, 1–2) and again in the orchestra in 1986 (pl. 15, 3) produced three early water channels running in a north-south direction, in addition to some fragmentary walls whose relationship to one another is unclear.

⁷⁹ See above chap. 1 for the history of research on the Bouleuterion.

⁸⁰ FOSSEL 1967, 72–81.

⁸¹ ALZINGER 1988, 21–29.

⁸² According to amphora handles and lamps from Sondage 8/72, MITSOPOULOS-LEON – LANG-AUINGER 2007, 6.

⁸³ ALZINGER 1988, 23 figs. 4, 5.

⁸⁴ ALZINGER 1988, 21–29.

⁸⁵ See below chap. 7.4.

⁸⁶ SCHERRER 2001, 61–68.

⁸⁷ EICHLER 1962, 41: Hellenistic; IVÉ 740B: undated; ALZINGER 1988, 23: 1st century B.C.

The west wall of the Hellenistic Bouleuterion, according to Alzinger, can be followed running beneath the eastern stylobate of the Rhodian Peristyle (S 8/1968; pl. 44, 1). The east wall, however, has left no trace. Alzinger's sketch plan of the remains beneath the orchestra (pl. 15, 3) shows a gap about 1.50 m wide, precisely in line with the supposed southeast corner. Nor does it appear to have been picked up in the *pulpitum* sounding of 1970 (S 6/1970; pls. 15, 1–2).⁸⁸ The north wall does not take into account the probable steep rise of ground and is, in any case, entirely hypothetical.

The only conclusion to be drawn here is that while the Bouleuterion was built over earlier remains, these display, in their poorly preserved state, no features peculiar to the theater architecture appropriate to a Council House. If a Bouleuterion existed in this part of the city in Hellenistic times, as the Balagros inscription⁸⁹ suggests, it remains elusive.⁹⁰

3.2 The Earliest Identifiable Bouleuterion

An understanding of the Bouleuterion as it appeared in its earliest coherent form is dependent upon a number of observations which have been presented in the description in the previous chapter. Most important is that the present building did not result, as E. Fossel implied – and as I accepted⁹¹ –, from the secondary enlargement of a smaller structure; the vertical seams in the *analemmata* (pls. 25, 2; 26, 2) do not represent a significant lapse of time between the construction of the *ima* and *summa caveae* but probably a change in plans while construction was in progress.⁹² Thus the entire *cavea* is essentially of one piece and is contemporary both with the outer retaining wall and the long scene wall with which it was bonded. Also critical for the phasing problem are the capitals inadvertently left in place on the jambs of the lateral stage doorways (SD 2 and 6) which were recut in the course of building the *scaenae frons* (pl. 36, 1). They indicate that the original stage doors had the same austere form as the south doors of the *parodoi* (SD 1 and SD 7; pls. 31, 1–2), and that the *pulpitum*, which rose to within 1.35 m of the lintels these capitals carried, was inserted into the earlier plan along with its rising *parodos* ramps. Finally, a major rebuilding can be seen in the tripartite construction of the four broad, column-bearing pedestals of the *scaenae frons*, in which are embedded the piers of an original, more severe *scaenae frons* (plan 4; pls. 36, 3; 45).

The first identifiable Bouleuterion, then, was defined by the massive retaining wall which incorporated an auditorium with a maximum seating capacity of over 1600. *Ima* and *summa caveae* were separated by a *diazoma* accessible by vaulted staircases from the outer ends of the *parodoi* below. The seating rose from the orchestra floor, and was defined by *analemmata* which must certainly have terminated in tall, molded statue bases at their inner ends.

⁸⁸ The sondage is described in ALZINGER's Fieldbook for spring, 1970, May 1–31. A box in the archive of the Austrian Archaeological Institute marked "Alzinger Unterlagen" contains a letter addressed to H. VETTERS dated 27 May 1970 suggesting that excavations beneath the seating might eventually provide the only possibility of locating the Hellenistic Bouleuterion: "Im Odeion öffneten wir auch das Logeion, unter dem wir gleich zwei weitere hellenistische Fundamente entdeckten, die mit den seinerzeit freigelegten Resten zusammengehen, nicht aber mit unserer Baufuge. Ich hoffe da noch auf die Planaufnahme, unter dem Koilon sind m.E. die Möglichkeiten zu beschränkt." – The strata contained ten fragments of mold-made bowls, four fragments of so-called Ephesos-lamps, and two Roman coins: for the mold-made bowls, cf. MITSOPOULOS-LEON 1991, 70–74, no. D2. D3. D10. D20. D27. D28. D37. D39. D48. D57; for the lamps, cf. MITSOPOULOS-LEON, in: MITSOPOULOS-LEON – LANG-AUINGER 2007, 96–97 no. L75. L83. L84; 103–104 no. L156; for the coins, cf. S. KARWIESE, in: MITSOPOULOS-LEON – LANG-AUINGER 2007, 193 no. 70/022 (Trebonianus Gallus) and no. 70/023 (Claudius II.). According to Ch. ROGL (via personal communication) the bowls were manufactured by the so-called PAR-monogram workshop and were produced no later than the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C. For this workshop, cf. ROGL 2001. The fragments of the so-called Ephesos-lamps are of an early type whose manufacturing started, according to A. GIULIANI (via personal communication), in the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

⁸⁹ IVE 740B; ALZINGER 1988, 23–25 fig. 6.

⁹⁰ The great wall uncovered by W. ALZINGER at the east side of the orchestra may have belonged to an earlier Bouleuterion. Cf. pls. 14, 2; 15, 3.

⁹¹ BIER 1999, 16.

⁹² The addition of rows of seats is documented archaeologically for a number of theaters. BALTY 1991, 459. 520. 536 note 517 discusses this type of enlargement for Anemurium, Cibyra, Dura Europos, and Apollonia. Gerasa (BALTY 1991, 543) was enlarged from diameter of 42.30 m in its first phase to 58.60 m in the second phase. BALTY follows J. D. STEWART in: CLARKE et al. 1986, 229 that the *cavea* had six rows of seats in the original phase, for 800 people, which was doubled to fourteen rows.

The *ima cavea* (plan 2) had 15 rows of seats and was divided by radial stairways into five *cunei*. The *summa cavea* (plan 1) contained 10 rows and was subdivided in the usual manner by additional stairways into 10 segments of seating. At some later time, all of the stairways penetrated the curved podium wall providing multiple access points from the *diazoma*, but in this first phase the barrier was less permeable. The existence of dowel holes cut in the podium footing in line with the seventh stairway (U 7) proves that a dado slab was removed in order to extend this stairway down (pl. 24, 2), and we must assume that this was the case at other points as well. It is unlikely that the central stairway, which appears to be original, offered a sole means of access for several hundred persons, and one should expect at least two more, perhaps at the *analemmata*, but this cannot be proved, as the upper *cavea*, at these points, has fallen away.⁹³ Circulation was also impeded at the top of the *cavea* where the pilaster bases fronting the rear wall encroached on the narrow space above the seats (pl. 17), although this would not have been sufficient to preclude a practicable *diazoma* at this level.

The pilasters, which were applied to the rear wall at the top of the *cavea* in this building phase, are of some interest (plan 1; pl. 17). Not only do they comprise a major element of design, but they offer some clue to the approximate height of the rear wall and thus for the height of the *scaenae frons* and the building's roof. The precise positions of ten contiguous pilasters are known from cuttings in the upper *diazoma* which is preserved in the eastern half of the building. Their center distances were not entirely consistent, varying between 4.70 and 5.00 m with no evident pattern to indicate intentional augmentation or diminution. Towards the rear of the *cavea*, each pilaster was paired with an external buttress which occupied the same radial axis, but pilasters and buttresses diverged gradually as they approached the *analemma* wall. The series of pilasters seems to have terminated in front of the great lateral buttresses. On the east side, where a portion of the *diazoma* is preserved,⁹⁴ two dowel holes and their pour channels indicate that the wall footing projecting here was at least 0.25 m wide (pl. 17). The terminal elements it supported must have been either plain tongue walls or paired pilasters.

The series of re-used slabs fronting pilasters 7 through 12 (pl. 17) must have served, at one point in the building's history, as support blocks for column bases or wooden posts. All are partially embedded in concrete laid down in the course of the museum's restoration, but a drawing by W. Wilberg (pl. 7, 2) shows that they were shifted little if at all during this process. None bear cuttings to indicate the precise position of the supporting elements they carried, but the distance between columns and pilaster bases must have been between 0.25 and 0.35 m – too close to have allowed passage. That these free-standing supports were not part of the original plan but later intrusions is clear; some staircases were blocked by their erection while the upper *cavea*, already poor in access and circulation, was deprived of a practicable *diazoma*. The wall entablature of the original scheme, instead of extending into the auditorium as *ressauts*, would then have projected only slightly over each pilaster capital.

The single preserved pilaster base (pls. 20, 1–2) had a plinth 0.62 m wide and a bearing surface of 0.516 m. Allowing for a flare, the pilaster shaft would have been about 0.50 m wide at the bottom giving a shaft height of 4.00 m and a pilaster height of 4.80 m.

The addition of a full entablature with architrave, frieze and cornice would have added approximately 1.20 m, giving a minimum height for the ceiling of ca. 6.00 m above the upper *diazoma*.⁹⁵ On analogy with well-preserved theaters at Aspendos and Perge, the walls between the pilasters would certainly have been pierced by tall arched windows for the lighting and ventilation of the interior.⁹⁶

The long scene wall, in its original phase (pl. 45), was pierced by five doorways of which the two end ones (SD 1 and 7; plan 6; pls. 31, 1–2) gave access to the outer ends of the *parodoi*, and the other three (SD 2, SD 4 and SD 6; plan 4) to the orchestra. Their jambs were surmounted by capitals with simple moldings (pl. 36, 1) on which rested either flat arches or normal lintels. All the doorways were 1.85 m high and had squat proportions (especially the central one which was almost square). The wall was built up in courses of marble, dressed only on the stage side. This masonry was interrupted at intervals by heavy piers of rough finish, each 1.10 m

⁹³ See also above chap. 2.1.3.

⁹⁴ It is located on the spot of pilaster 14, i. e. the inner side of Buttress 14.

⁹⁵ Similar proportions are shown by the second story of the Celsus Library, where the lower diameter of the column measures 0.50 m. Cf. WILBERG 1943, 24 fig. 49.

⁹⁶ See MEINEL 1980, 124. Cf. also the theaters of Aspendos and Perge. For Perge s. ÖZTÜRK 2009, 58 pl. 13, 1. See also İNAN et al. 2000, 285–340; DE BERNARDI FERRERO 1970, 147–157, esp. 162 fig. 162 pl. 30 a. For Aspendos see also DE BERNARDI FERRERO 1970, 161–174, esp. 163 fig. 174 pl. 32 a.

wide, which projected 1.25 m into the *parodoi* and stage. The wall was capped at a height of 1.75 m (above the *pulpitum*) by a continuous string course which projected forward over the piers. On it rested a column display of which only small portions of the corner elements remain (plan 5; pl. 45); molded pedestals, 1.585 m high, supported corner pillars that were 0.64 m wide and 0.40 m deep. The four heavy pillars in the *parodoi* were surmounted by similar pedestals which must have had free-standing columns set towards their front edges with pilasters behind, an arrangement that continued across the stage.

As the great pillars and the buttresses behind them on the corridor side were aligned with the buttresses in the curved rear wall, we can assume that the columnar façade had an upper story in this initial phase, and that its primary purpose was to support the southern end of the roof. The top surfaces of the surviving pedestals cannot be examined, as they are covered by later masonry. The column bases they carried must have been about 0.90 m (plinth) wide, supporting shafts with a lower diameter of ca. 0.70 m. A hypothetical projection of these dimensions based on Vitruvian principles and the architectural remains⁹⁷ gives an approximate height of 17.20 m for this façade, roughly equal to the projected height of the curved rear wall.

It is unlikely that this columnar architecture was entirely structural to the exclusion of sculptural decoration. There were, as yet, no projecting *aediculae*, but statues might have occupied niches in the stretches of wall between the piers. The recent discovery that at least a portion of the dressed wall surface bore inscriptions⁹⁸ proves that this surface was initially exposed. Holes for metal pins were cut into these inscribed surfaces, indicating that they were later concealed behind a revetment of marble sheets. The coarse piers bear numerous anchor holes for these pins in addition to patches of pink hydraulic mortar, and were probably covered from the beginning.

An important feature of this initial building phase are the open *parodoi* which can be reconstructed with certainty from shallow grooves high up in the large blocks of the outer retaining wall which were made to anchor the ends of the *analemmata*.

It is also significant that the building lacked a proper façade; the narrow corridor behind the stage (pls. 30, 2; 40, 1) served at this period merely as a catchment for rain water from the building's roof and that of the Basilica Stoa immediately to its south. Those entering the Bouleuterion through the five doors in the Basilica's north wall would have passed between short walls forming narrow passages of which traces have survived⁹⁹. These would have been covered to provide protection from the torrents of water pouring down during periods of rain. Indeed, it is unlikely that the corridor's rough walls could be seen at all.

The doorways BD 1 and BD 5 in the rear wall of the Basilica Stoa contained no more than one step which actually comprised the footing for its wall (pl. 39, 2). The difference in floor level between the two buildings was only 0.50–0.60 m. There are no traces of the original doorways which would have been obliterated by the construction of the doorways of the subsequent phase.

The Bouleuterion in its original, pre-Vedius form, was large and austere. Its front wall was articulated by a series of tall pillars extending the width of the building, on which rested single columns in two stories whose main function was to help support the south end of the roof. The piers encroached both on the *parodoi* and on a vaguely defined stage area on the same level as the orchestra. The walls above the piers were not concealed by revetment paneling. They were made of marble and had a finely finished surface which bore at least one inscription from the time of Hadrian. It is likely that there were niches containing statuary as well.

(L. Bier)

3.3 The Conversion of the Scaenae Frons from Phase 1 to Phase 2

Remains of the first phase of the stage can still be distinguished among the remnants. On both sides of the stage doors SD 1 and SD 7 the piers supporting the columns of phase 1 are still left in place (plan 5; pl. 45). They are preserved up to the top where the column base would have been. Pedestals 1 and 6 in the area of the stage are lower (plan 4), but still show surface treatment and dowel holes for the course above. The four central piers

⁹⁷ See appendix 2 for comparative measurements.

⁹⁸ See below chap. 8 and the reconstruction drawing (plan 6).

⁹⁹ See above chap. 2.3.6.

had to be truncated during the conversion. Nonetheless, some of their original components were left in place and can be seen in the later pedestals, which are now void of their marble revetment.

Only one column base (cat. 1-1; pl. 72) has been preserved from the Bouleuterion.¹⁰⁰ Its origin in the first building phase might well be possible. The same is true for the columns made from red granite (pl. 73), that have been ascribed to the *scaenae frons*: the general height of both stories remained unchanged (as did the overall height of the building), and therefore the proportions stayed the same. Also the capitals (pls. 74; 83, 3; 84) might originate from the older stage building. Nonetheless, the use of this particular capital type is also testified in the third quarter of the second century, which makes both options plausible¹⁰¹.

The architraves of both stories bear the building inscription and certainly belong to the “Vedius-phase” of the stage (pls. 60; 61). This is not only suggested by the scarce remains of the building ornamentation,¹⁰² but also by the new arrangement of the architraves in the second phase: the alternation of freestanding pieces with wall blocks did not allow the re-use of architraves from the first phase. The reworking of a fascia on some of the fragments from level 10 therefore cannot be explained by their re-utilization¹⁰³. Maybe, it was executed as an afterthought, to provide more space for the letters of the inscription.

The question whether the roof over the whole building itself had to be removed during the course of the conversion has to remain unanswered.

(U. Quatember)

3.4 Renovations by Vedius in the Mid-Second Century

The overall effect of the original *scaenae frons* must have been decidedly old-fashioned by the mid-2nd century. Its architecture was flat. The series of identical columnar units was rhythmical but repetitive and without focus, producing an effect like that of the Hellenistic Council Houses, although on a larger scale. Vedius replaced this scheme with a more modern one that was already being used in Roman theaters in Asia Minor¹⁰⁴ (plan 6). His motive for this project was essentially to create an ensemble of inscriptions and statuary at the very center of the city’s political life that would focus public attention on the close relationship which had developed between himself and the Antonine imperial family. Primary to his goal was the creation of an aediculated façade which would render his sculptural program more visible and emphatic by projecting it out towards those seated in the auditorium. Even the extension of the *summa cavea* to the scene wall contributed to this end (pl. 30, 3), as it made possible the inclusion of *tribunalia*, highly visible seats of honor traditionally reserved for prominent individuals, which Vedius himself may have occupied on occasion.

The renovation began with the construction of a *pulpitum*. A *proscenium* wall (pls. 22, 1; 29, 2) of large, re-used blocks was built across the orchestra in line with the *analemmata*, displacing their terminal statue bases. An earth fill containing potsherds and other debris was dumped in behind, creating a platform which was worked around the wall segments, their piers and buttresses, and brought to the rear wall of the Stoa. Sloping ramps built in the *parodoi* (plan 5; pl. 25, 2) gave access from the lateral doorways. The three central doorways in the rear wall of the Stoa (BD 2, 3 and 4; pls. 38, 3; 39, 1) must date, in their present form, from this time, as the heights of their thresholds were clearly determined by the new rise in level of the stage and the corridor behind it (pls. 30, 2; 40, 1). Furthermore, it was probably during this phase that the deep drain received its present form, as the unshaped stones revetting its sides continue in a uniform technique to the newly raised surface.

The *proscenium* was masked by a dado which rested on a low, molded base and supported a molded crown course (pl. 29, 2). The base molding (pl. 30, 1) extended around either the lowest row of seats of the original orchestra, or a continuous footing that fronted it. The orchestra had a diameter of only 7.80 m.

¹⁰⁰ See below appendix 1 (U. QUATEMBER).

¹⁰¹ See below chap. 5.

¹⁰² See below chap. 5.

¹⁰³ See below appendix 1, level 10.

¹⁰⁴ On the earliest *scaenae frons* architecture in Asia Minor s. BERNS 2002, 159–174; BURRELL 2006, 437–469. Also the big theater of Ephesos featured a three-storied aediculated *scaenae frons* in Flavian times, cf. ÖZTÜRK 2005.

Virtually all theaters and theater-like buildings at this time had tall statue bases at the inner ends of their *analemma* walls, and it is unlikely that the Bouleuterion lacked them.¹⁰⁵ In buildings like this one, where the seating continued below the stage down to the orchestra, the bases occupied the higher level.

Once the *pulpitum* was completed, the builders could concentrate on the construction of the new *scaenae frons* (plan 6). The four central units of the old columnar architecture were taken down, and the piers on which they rested were shortened, then broadened by the addition of lateral segments built directly upon the raised stage (plan 4; pl. 36, 3). The new pedestals were masked by sheets of marble revetment which were inserted between tall base moldings and the molded crown slabs on which the columnar screen was built (pl. 36, 2). At the same time, two additional pedestals (1 and 6) were added at the ends for single columns. This provided the basis for a columnar screen with projecting *aediculae* surmounted by pediments. A full presentation of the evidence for the appearance of the Vedius *scaenae frons* will appear in the following chapter.

The construction of the lateral pedestals clashed with the design of the existing architecture of the *parodoi* and rendered it obsolete. The spaces between the old piers received walls of *petit appareil* (plan 5) which extended over the molded pedestals they carried to support rising *parodos* vaults for extensions of the *summa cavea* (plan 7). The barrel vaults fronting them probably supported *tribunalia*.

3.5 The Bouleuterion after Vedius

A number of changes, both major and minor, were made to the Bouleuterion subsequent to the alterations carried out by Vedius. They are difficult to date and do not readily resolve themselves into distinct phases.¹⁰⁶

The most important and visible change to the building's design was the removal of the first two rows of seats and the construction of a curved podium wall to produce a sunken orchestra that was 9 m wide and 5.70 m deep (plan 2). It was now necessary to connect the orchestra with the *pulpitum*, and stairways were built at either end (pl. 27, 1). Direct access to the *cavea* was now cut off, necessitating the alteration of the *analemmata* at these points. It must, therefore, have been at this time that flights of low steps bordered by short parapets on their outer sides were carved in the blocks of the *analemma* walls (pl. 23, 1). That the sunken orchestra was not part of Vedius's project but was a later alteration, is proved by the base molding of the podium, which has a different profile than that of the *pulpitum* (pl. 30, 1). This was no minor difference which might have resulted from a superficial renovation; neither molding is applied, but cut in a course of blocks which supported both the dado and the molded element above it. The radial stairways that penetrate the podium in the north are clearly later additions, possibly afterthoughts, but this is less clear for the steps in the east corner which may be contemporary with the conversion (pl. 27, 1).

The second and fourth stage doorways (SD 3 and SD 5) are somewhat problematic. They were cut through the stage wall after the three principal entrances were built in the Vedius remodeling.¹⁰⁷ As the cornice blocks reused as thresholds rest on an undisturbed course of the original wall (pl. 35, 2), there can be no question of a continued use of these doorways from the first phase. A second indication that these doors are late additions comes from the brick arcades on the corridor side. Hard edges of brickwork show that the arcade did not front these bays but only the ones that held doorways SD 2, SD 4 and SD 6 (pl. 40, 1).¹⁰⁸

There is no way of knowing whether the two sets of pivot holes operated at the same time or represent different phases in the building's use. In any case, the five-doorway plan becomes a common, if not standard, feature in theaters and theater-like buildings in the course of the later 2nd century.

Excavation photographs show that the arched, western doorway was blocked at one point by a wall built of stone, uncoursed brick, and pieces of *spolia* that was plastered on the inside (pls. 6, 1; 46, 2). Similar walls blocked the eastern arched doorway (pl. 32, 1), and the lower entrance to the western *vomitium* staircase

¹⁰⁵ Remnants may probably be seen in the tall, square blocks abutted by the outer ends of the *pulpitum* stairways (pl. 27, 1). As will be seen below, these were later truncated when the orchestra was broadened in order to facilitate access from the stage to the *cavea*.

¹⁰⁶ See below chap. 4.

¹⁰⁷ There is also the possibility, that SD 3 and SD 5 are part of the Vedius *scaenae frons*. The differences in construction are to be expected, because the thresholds of SD 2, SD 4 and SD 6 were laid on packings in already existing openings, whereas those of SD 3 and SD 5 were laid directly on blocks of existing ashlar masonry in newly cut recesses.

¹⁰⁸ The absence of brick arcades next to SD 3 and SD 5 can also be explained by the fact that there are no corresponding doorways in the north wall of the Basilica. The brick arcades may have served as protective roofs against rain, see also above chap. 2.3.6.

(pl. 46, 3). Blocking of the *vomitoria* may have been a measure taken to prevent access to a vaulted structure that had fallen in or was in danger of collapse, but the walling up of the lateral doorways must have had the more intentional function of limiting access to the building from the sides to make a less open plan. The size of these doors points to a ceremonial nature and originally must have emphasized an organic relationship between the Bouleuterion and the monuments flanking it – the bath-gymnasium-complex on the east, and the Prytaneion on the west (pl. 1). The blocking of these doorways must date to a time when these relationships had ceased to exist, which would, in the case of the latter, have been when the Prytaneion was plundered of its building materials.¹⁰⁹

This western doorway shows evidence of several phases of use even before it was walled up (pl. 43, 3). The first three steps leading up to it from the *parodos* were necessary to compensate for a difference in level of 0.75 m between the Bouleuterion and the Rhodian Peristyle which occupied a terrace 1 m above the level of the Basilica Stoa. At some point, the original threshold was partially covered by a fourth step – presumably in succession – into which were sunk two sets of cuttings for door pivots. To one of these belonged the iron fittings in the jambs which held a wooden door frame (pl. 40, 2).

It was probably also during the late use of the building¹¹⁰ that the roughly-built buttresses of the scene wall and the wall itself were hidden by brickwork which formed a series of shallow alcoves of which five were pierced by the stage doorways. The Bouleuterion thus seems to have received a proper façade, an addition which indicates that the space between the two buildings no longer served merely as a drain but as a proper corridor (pls. 30, 2; 40, 1). It was probably in this phase that the drainage channel was carefully covered with re-used stone slabs to form a walkway.

The *synthronon* at the top of the *cavea* (pls. 17; 21, 1) clearly belongs to a very late stage in the building's use. Its curved wall extends 1.50 m beyond the outer face of the building's rear wall, and must rest on a ground level that had risen considerably from the original time of construction. The upper portions of the two central buttresses seem to have been moved further towards the center to serve as lateral supports for this apse, which may have been covered by a shallow semi-dome. The building was presumably no longer roofed. The central portion of the rear wall had either fallen down or was broken through. The series of pilasters articulating the rear wall from the original phase no longer existed. One of its supporting blocks was reused at a lower level.

There is no clear evidence for specifically Christian use. A cross carved in the outer face of the lintel above the doorway leading from the corridor to the east end of the east *parodos* (SD 7) merely reflects a practice common at Ephesos and other cities of Roman Asia Minor of neutralizing monuments of pagan origin.

3.6 The Roofing Problem (pl. 30, 3)

The methods used by the builders of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods to roof small, theater-like buildings are fairly well-known and generally agreed upon by those who have written about them, and hypothetical reconstructions have been worked out in some detail for a number of monuments, most notably at Miletus, Athens and Pompeii.¹¹¹ The outer walls of these rectangular structures almost certainly supported a series of identical trusses sometimes with the help of interior colonnades. The transformation of the *theatrum tectum* in the 1st century to a new form in which a semicircular auditorium was joined to a rectangular stage complex in imitation of the large open Roman theaters necessitated a complete rethinking of the roofing problem. A series of triangular trusses identical in size and shape no longer sufficed for an irregular plan which often presented great spanning distances towards the center. None of these roofs have survived but their existence can be postulated from several classes of evidence, as R. Meinel has amply demonstrated.¹¹² Lack of a drainage apparatus in the orchestra, the presence of iron bands used for joining segments of timber, quantities of roof tiles and carbonized wood can all suggest a permanent roof. But a hypothetical reconstruction of the roof's shape depends upon wall thicknesses and the form and deployment of heavy support structures.

¹⁰⁹ ALZINGER 1970, 1645. For the fate of the Prytaneion in Late Antiquity, see STESKAL 2010, 81–83. 197–202.

¹¹⁰ The brickwork is hard to date. Nonetheless, missing structures in the Vedius renovation phase were filled in with petit appareil. Therefore the brickwork is probably a later addition.

¹¹¹ MEINEL 1980, 40–42. 51–55. 101–112. 167–169.

¹¹² MEINEL 1980, *passim*.

The well-preserved remains of the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias,¹¹³ built in the third quarter of the 2nd century, offer clear evidence for a roof based on eight great beams set about 4.60 m apart, resting on massive parallel buttresses in the curved rear wall and piers in the scene wall that were aligned with them (pl. 46, 1). A similar system should ultimately be restored for Ephesos where, however, the evidence is not quite as unambiguous. Meinel, who has made the most thorough study of the roofing problem for the Roman covered theaters,¹¹⁴ nowhere suggests radial trussing as a possibility. There is some evidence for it at Patras where several buttresses along the outer wall are radially aligned with an inner series of buttresses lining a corridor wall, making Meinel's solution of parallel trusses here seem forced.¹¹⁵ A similar system would appear theoretically possible for Ephesos also; one can envision fourteen identical trusses rising from the radial buttresses in the rear wall and meeting above the center of the orchestra to join a pair of slightly longer trusses anchored in the corner piers, producing a frame for a triangular hipped roof at the front. This model would seem to be contradicted, however, by two features. In such a system one would expect the pilasters articulating the rear wall to have been used to better advantage by making a visual link between structure and decoration. As we have seen, however, buttresses and pilasters were aligned only in the central portion of the building falling gradually out of phase towards the *analemmata*. The use of pilasters in connection with a radially trussed roof might also have suggested to the builders fronting columns which could have significantly reduced a formidable span. But the support blocks which W. Wilberg discovered on radial axes with the pilasters were (pl. 7, 1), as mentioned above, certainly later additions and were not connected with the original roof. It is possible that they were inserted in a late phase of the building to help support radial beams of a light roof or canopy that replaced the original roof after a collapse.¹¹⁶

The most important argument for parallel as opposed to radial trusses at Ephesos comes, however, from the position of the buttresses of the curved wall relative to the "piers" or buttressed segments of the stage. Parallel lines drawn on the plan bisecting six of eight of the broad pedestals and lateral piers and extended out perpendicular to the front wall intersect buttresses opposite (pl. 30, 3). This can hardly have been fortuitous, especially when considering that an average wall thickness between the buttresses of only 0.75 m gave little leeway in positioning the trusses. The two exceptions, buttresses 4 and 7, belong to a portion of the outer wall which collapsed at some later time and had to be rebuilt, and it is unlikely that these are in their original places. The distances between the trusses varied from 4.70–5.15 m with 6.30 m for the central bay. In the original phase, the spanning distance at the center was 28 m decreasing to 21 m at the sides. For actual beam lengths we must add to each an additional meter in the north and 3 m in the south both to provide support and to bring the front edge of the roof out over the corridor and its drain. In the second phase, the columnar architecture was crowned with pediments which did not provide a bearing surface (plan 6), with the result that the span increased to 29.0–29.2 m at the center and 22.0–22.2 m at the sides, but the roof would not have had to be rebuilt, as the shortened bearing surface would have sufficed.

Such lengths would not have been beyond the resources of builders and their patrons at Ephesos, especially during the prosperous time of Trajan's reign. Colossal timbers of 100 Roman feet (33 m) and more are known from inscriptions and literary sources.¹¹⁷ In his account of exceptionally large trees, Pliny mentions a log of larchwood 120 Roman feet long with a uniform thickness of 2 feet that was exhibited as a marvel (*propter miraculum*) by Tiberius in Rome in a structure built for naval games where it lay until A.D. 59 when Nero used it for a temporary wooden amphitheater.¹¹⁸ He also mentions a second beam, 100 feet long and 1.5 feet thick, that was displayed by Marcus Agrippa in a portico of the *Septae* in the *Campus Martius*.¹¹⁹ This had been left over from his *diribitorium*, which Dio Cassius, writing in the early 3rd century, claimed was the largest building

¹¹³ MEINEL 1980, 323; BIER 2008, 144–168.

¹¹⁴ MEINEL 1980, 342–352.

¹¹⁵ Cf. MILLER 1988, 134–139; MEINEL 1980, 269, 273–278.

¹¹⁶ RIORDEN 1996, 104 assumes that the Odeion in Troy was unroofed because fragments of columns and cornices have been found in the north, suggesting that the building had a colonnade at the top of the *cavea*. The situation is similar in the theater of the Hadriatic Asklepieion at Pergamon. See RADT 1999, 233 fig. 176. RIORDEN says that this type of roofed gallery only occurs in roofless structures.

¹¹⁷ See MEIGGS 1982, esp. 225–255, and appendix 8, 472–477.

¹¹⁸ Plin. nat. 16, 76, 200–201.

¹¹⁹ Plin. nat. 16, 76, 201.

ever constructed under a single roof. Severely damaged by fire in A.D. 80,¹²⁰ it remained “open to the sky” in Dio’s time “since it [the roof] could not be put together again,”¹²¹ so we must not imagine that such technical feats were a commonplace during the Empire, even in Rome itself. But enormous timbers of larch, fir and pine did exist which clearly inspired awe and might well have been procured for an important civic building in this wealthy capital of Asia by a patron eager to demonstrate his generosity towards his city. Even if such long beams were not available, shorter lengths could be joined together using carpentry techniques well known to ancient builders.

The triangulated tie-beam trusses used by Roman builders were placed at intervals determined by specific support conditions such as the location of columns, piers or buttressing. As each open frame had to support tiles or other cladding in addition to its own weight, it depended on internal bracing consisting of smaller timbers joined, strapped or doweled together to neutralize the various forces inherent in the system such as compression, flexion (bending) and tension (pulling). In a typical truss the tie-beams, each made either from a single timber or from two timbers joined and strapped together, were secured to profiled corbels set in the tops of opposite walls. The feet of the sloping principal rafters were rabbeted into the ends of this beam and tied together at the top. A vertical “kingpost” hung from the apex, was doweled to the tie-beam preventing it from sagging. Drawings made of the great late-antique trusses of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome before they burned in 1823 show the king-post clasped between doubled tie-beams,¹²² a system which Vitruvius describes for the roof covering his own basilica at Fanum.¹²³ Additional internal bracing timbers including horizontal, vertical and diagonal beams were used in various combinations. A very old roof in the monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai,¹²⁴ dating from the 6th century, uses “scissor braces,” in which diagonal struts connected at the bottom to the tie-beam and king-post join the principal rafters at right angles near the top, a technique most suitable for roofs of steep pitch. In the shallower roof hypothetically restored for the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias, the maximum span of 27 m is divided into four equal parts by a king-post and two queen-posts.¹²⁵ The truss thus formed is made more rigid by joining the tops of the queen-posts with a collar beam.

Trussed roofs utilized a system of secondary timbers which permitted the actual covering of the area over which they were erected. A series of purlins, equally spaced, spanned the distance between the primary rafters, supporting in turn common rafters of smaller cross-section set at right angles to them. The cladding rested either on thin batons or on a “plating” made of boards. The type of cladding used played a part in determining a roof’s design. Steep roofs, capable of bearing heavier weights, could be covered with metal sheeting which was fixed to the timbers. Roof tiles depended on gravity and friction and could be used only on relatively shallow roofs with a pitch of less than about 20%. The great quantities of roof tiles found during excavation of the Bouleuterion at Ephesos suggest that its roof belonged to the latter category.

The roofs of Basilical halls, the only type of large ancient roof we have real information about, consisted of identical units which were multiplied along an axis as required. Trusses for such buildings were isosceles triangles of uniform size composed of bracing members of standard arrangement and scantling. The class of buildings to which our Bouleuterion belongs added a further design factor in that it required trusses of different lengths. Furthermore, if all the trusses in a roof took the form of isosceles triangles, the ridge would have curved both in plan and elevation, presenting a decidedly awkward appearance. R. Meinel has assumed that only the longest central trusses had sides of equal length and that their apex determined the position of the ridge which bisected the plan parallel to the building’s façade.¹²⁶ This is not the only possibility, however, and at Ephesos there is some evidence that another solution was employed.

A series of trusses would have had to be tied together at the top with short beams spanning the distances between them to provide lateral stability, and then anchored in the walls at both sides by diagonal struts in the same vertical plane. Assuming central trusses of isosceles pattern, such a roof ridge at Ephesos would have been aligned not with buttresses but with sections of screen wall only 0.75 m thick, which would appear too

¹²⁰ Dio 66, 24, 2.

¹²¹ Dio 55, 8, 4.

¹²² MEINEL 1980, 343 fig. 144,4.

¹²³ Vitr. 5, 1, 6–10.

¹²⁴ GALEY 2003, 44–47. 94–95.

¹²⁵ Cf. the design of the Aphrodisias roof, in: MEINEL 1980, 323–326 fig. 137.

¹²⁶ MEINEL 1980, 349.

thin for such critical points. It is much more likely that the ridge was positioned over the center of the orchestra, about 0.75 m further south where it would have terminated in the two oversized buttresses near the *parodos* entrances. This solution seems all the more credible when we consider the projecting terminal elements¹²⁷ which have left traces in the upper surface of the *diazoma* (pl. 17). Whether paired pilasters or short tongue walls, these would have marked critical junctures between the roof and its supporting structures providing some extra support while producing a greater visual impression of stability. Struts connecting the apexes of the two lateral trusses with the massive corner piers would then have produced a broad hipped roof in the south.

Since our roof is an entirely hypothetical construct, there is no need for a lengthy discourse over whether or not there was a ceiling. Many Greek temples had coffered ceilings and the technique was used by the Romans as well. Vitruvius describes his basilica at Fanum,¹²⁸ however, as having an open beam ceiling and the great trusses of the Roman basilical churches were exposed as well. Seneca, writing in the mid-1st century, says “great timbers would not have been obscured by paneled ceilings”.¹²⁹ The impressive structure of our Bouleuterion’s roof, one of the largest in antiquity, must have strained both technical and financial resources and it seems unlikely that its builders would have chosen to hide it behind a paneled ceiling. Lacking any evidence to the contrary, an open timber roof is proposed here as well.

While the vast interior space of the Bouleuterion at this major phase of its building history, emphasized and augmented by an enormous open beam roof, was singularly impressive, the exterior was not. Its walls rose to a height of about 17 m with an additional 3–4 m added by the roof. The long Basilica Stoa fronting it, as restored by E. Fossel had a total height to the ridge of 47 ½ Roman feet (approx. 14 m)¹³⁰, so the Bouleuterion would have been largely invisible from the Agora and its surrounding buildings. Standing on the hills to the north and south, one could have looked down on its great expanse of tiled roofing without being able to fully comprehend its great size or visually appreciate the extraordinary feat of its construction. The great arched doorway leading in from the west (pl. 16, 1) would seem to suggest a monumental approach but, in fact, a visitor approaching from the *clivus sacer* along the rear wall of the Basilica would have found his angle of view narrowly limited first by the retaining walls of the Prytaneion’s forecourt and by the Rhodian Peristyle. On the east, the Bouleuterion was hemmed in by the massive walls of the bath-gymnasium-complex, and, as the tall arched doorway on that side appears never to have been finished, it is possible that there was never access from this direction.

The single surviving terracotta pipe first noted by E. Fossel in the late brickwork constructed to produce a regular façade may have been part of a system which continued across the front carrying off rainwater from the main roof.¹³¹ But this is the only pipe. None of the other piers show pipes and this piece must have been a fragment thrown in. The existence of a shed roof over the corridor would have required the incorporation of similar pipes in the rear wall of the Stoa, but as none appear, we must assume that the area remained open, and that rainwater from the Basilica Stoa flowed into the large drain through manholes in the late paving.

(L. Bier)

¹²⁷ See above chap. 3.2.

¹²⁸ Vitr. 5, 1, 6–10.

¹²⁹ Sen. epist. 90, 9 (transl. R. Gummere, Loeb Classical Library 2); PACKER 1997, 443.

¹³⁰ FOSSEL 1982, 50. The total height from the stylobate was 12.73 m, from the level of the “Staatsmarkt” it was 14.06 m.

¹³¹ FOSSEL 1967, 75.

4. THE SCAENAE FRONS OF P. VEDIUS ANTONINUS

The changes wrought by P. Vedius in what was at earliest a Domitianic, and at latest a Trajanic building,¹³² involved an augmentation of the seating capacity by vaulting the *parodoi* to carry the upper *cavea* to the *scaenae* wall, and the addition of a *pulpitum* (plan 7; pl. 30, 3). But more central to his building program was the provision of a modern columnar façade with projecting *aediculae* suitable for the prominent display of statuary that was to present the reigning emperor and members of the imperial family, past and present, as guarantors of his civic status (plan 6). There is good reason to believe that the ensemble included images of the patron and his wife in accordance with contemporary practice, although they are unlikely to have occupied the *scaenae frons* itself.¹³³ Several letters from Antoninus Pius to the Ephesians praising Vedius for his efforts on behalf of the city were to be given monumental expression, however, by being inscribed on the thin marble slabs of the revetment along with two Hadrianic letters recopied from the original wall surface.¹³⁴

Before attempting a reconstruction of the *scaenae frons* it might be useful to reiterate briefly the importance of the entablature fragments mentioned in the introduction, as they not only recount the circumstances of the Antonine renovation but provide vital information about the architectural ornament, the proportional system used and ultimately about the design of the *scaenae frons* as a whole.

Central to both the architectural and epigraphic record is the block discovered in many pieces by R. Heberdey in 1908 and published in 1912 that bore the foundation inscription naming Papiane and (certainly) her husband Vedius Antoninus as donors (pls. 47, 1; 48, 1; 61).¹³⁵ A second block found in the debris bore a fragmentary inscription of formulaic content mentioning Artemis¹³⁶ (pls. 47, 2; 60). Both inscriptions were transcribed in the report but neither illustrated, although Heberdey did remark that they came from two different stories of a “Sockelarchitektur” and that the first was an architrave-frieze wall block, the second part of a freestanding architrave block that had been carved separately from its frieze.¹³⁷

Of much greater interest for our present purpose is J. Keil’s “Skizzenbuch” for 1908 in which appears, along with the fragments of the Papiane inscription drawn to scale, a dimension drawing of the restored block¹³⁸ (pl. 48, 1). Another drawing (pl. 47, 2) with the pieces of the second inscription includes one fragment of the architrave block preserving both top and bottom surfaces for which the height is given. In comparing the heights of both blocks it is clear that they were elements of the first and second story. The notebook also illustrated a third series of fragments found in the Bouleuterion belonging to the first story architrave which bore an inscription on its upper fascia¹³⁹ (pl. 48, 2).

Meanwhile, a recent search of the inscription depot beneath the Domitian terrace at Ephesus has turned up many (though not all) of the fragments recorded by Keil.¹⁴⁰ Matching these were additional pieces brought to light in the 1960’s during excavations in the Basilica Stoa which, judging from their size, style and technique of carving, belonged to each of the three groups. Taken together, this material provides a basis for reconstructing both the architecture of the *scaenae frons* and the inscribed texts it carried (pls. 60; 61).¹⁴¹

It is interesting to note that the only architectural elements to have survived and/or to have been recorded are those bearing inscriptions. It is to Keil’s credit that he viewed inscriptions as being integral with the build-

¹³² See below chap. 7.4.

¹³³ See below chap. 9.

¹³⁴ See below chap. 8.

¹³⁵ IvE 40; see below chap. 8.1.2. The text was published for the first time by HEBERDEY 1912, 172–173.

¹³⁶ IvE 460. In the “Skizzenbücher” the piece was recorded by J. KEIL (Skizzenbuch 1686 fragment D), including a drawing with the architectural decoration to scale.

¹³⁷ HEBERDEY 1912, 172 f.

¹³⁸ Skizzenbuch no. 1685 recto.

¹³⁹ IvE 477; Skizzenbuch no. 1687. 2403.

¹⁴⁰ This search was greatly facilitated by ENGELMANN 1993, 279–288. For a list of all the fragments see appendix 1.

¹⁴¹ See below chap. 8 and appendix 1.

ing on which they appeared, and drew all ten fragments of the Papiane wall block although only five bore letters. The cornices, in any case, and other elements such as the pediments which must have surmounted the second story *aediculae* were most likely uninscribed and were discarded.

4.1 The Pedestals

As described in the previous chapter, the Antonine renovation of the *scaenae frons* began with truncating the four central pillars which projected onto the stage, then broadening them to form pedestals (plan 4), each wide enough to accommodate a pair of columns with a statue in between. At the same time narrow pedestals of the same height were built at the sides flanking the lateral stage doors to carry single columns. The pillars they abutted retained their original form, but the tall pedestals which they carried were partially dismantled and used to support the south ends of arches spanning the *parodoi* (plan 5; 7).

The crown course of all six pedestals was 0.17 m thick and molded on the front and sides (pls. 36, 2–3; 37). The broader pedestals supported doubled slabs joined by pairs of clamps while the smaller corner pedestals carried single slabs. The second broad pedestal has preserved only a small portion of its stylobate which seems to be *in situ* but that of the third is missing entirely. All stylobates were clamped to shelves cut in the rear wall, the two corner ones to their abutting piers as well. These stylobate blocks were joined to tall base moldings by sheets of revetment 0.88 m high, fixed at top and bottom and to the surfaces they faced by iron pins, and the space behind filled in with pink hydraulic mortar. The revetment has not survived although its thickness (ca. 0.03 m) and (in some places) its precise position can be determined by examining the tops of the base moldings where they are preserved *in situ* as well as plaster lines where they joined the rear wall. The reconstructed width of the two central pedestals including their revetment is 2.52–2.54 m, that of the flanking broad pedestals 2.40–2.46 m, while the small corner pedestals were each 0.90 m wide (pls. 38, 1–2). The depth of the stylobate surfaces is more difficult to come by as there are no clues for the precise position of the wall revetment, a problem that will be dealt with later.

4.2 General Remarks on the Elevation of the Scaenae Frons (plan 6)

The number and relative size of the pedestals offer two common possibilities for the organization of a multi-storied Roman *scaenae frons* in addition to a number of variations. In the simplest, the single lateral columns in both stories carry ressauts – short sections of architrave projecting at right angles to the wall – that support corresponding projections of the cornice. The paired columns are connected by sections of entablature in both stories that turn back to join with the ends of the entablature wall blocks above the doorways. The pediments capping the upper story are above the pedestals. A well-known variation also has lateral ressauts but only in the first story. The projecting spaces in the second story are staggered so that the pediments are aligned with the doorways. To prove one or the other, it is necessary to have a complete block from the upper entablature that ran parallel to the stage wall as this can be matched with the spaces defined by the positions of the columns. In the second scheme, for example, a wall block would be somewhat wider than a free-standing one. Since none of the entablature blocks from the upper story of the Bouleuterion preserve their entire width, we cannot be certain which of these schemes the *scaenae frons* followed. The second model is chosen here simply because it fits what appears to have been the taste of the time; the last multistoried columnar façades at Ephesos to follow the first scheme were the Nymphaeum built by C. Laecanius Bassus in 79/80 A.D. (pl. 49, 1)¹⁴² and the so-called Street Fountain (pl. 49, 2).¹⁴³ This system was given up thereafter for the second scheme best known from the Celsus Library (pl. 50, 1) erected during the late reign of emperor Trajan.¹⁴⁴ Likewise, the Celsus Library utilized a well-known system of alternating segmental and triangular pediments to terminate the façade.¹⁴⁵ Since

¹⁴² FOSSEL – LANGMANN 1972–75, 301–310; JUNG 2006, 79–86.

¹⁴³ QUATEMBER 2008c, 219–264, esp. 244 fig. 38; for a summary cf. QUATEMBER 2008a and QUATEMBER 2008b.

¹⁴⁴ STROCKA 1978, 893 – 899.

¹⁴⁵ On the building in general s. WILBERG 1943; HUEBER 1985, 175 –200. For a summary s. HUEBER 1997, 77–83. Also the so-called Nymphaeum Traiani on the Curetes Street uses alternating round and triangular pediments, see QUATEMBER, FiE (forthcoming). For a compilation of earlier façades of this kind in Asia Minor see BERNS 2002, 159–174.

we have nothing to suggest any of the possible variants on this scheme such as a broken pediment or triangular pediment incorporating an arch or vault, the simpler solution is adopted here.

4.3 Column Bases

Approximate positions for the column bases of the lower story can be determined by the location of pryholes cut for shifting them into place and by pairs of dowel holes used for securing the bases to the stylobates. There are no setting lines however, or significant changes in tooling in the upper surfaces to indicate their precise locations, which would remain unknown but for a pair of shallow holes made with a pointed tool in the eastern half of the crown course over the first broad pedestal (ped. 5; pls. 36, 3; 37; plan 4). These are spaced 0.83 m apart, and, as one of the pair is located on the axis of the pryholes, we can assume that their purpose was to help in positioning a base whose plinth was 0.83 m wide. A fragmentary column base (cat. 1.1; pl. 72) for which this width can be restored lay shifted slightly to the west at the beginning of this project. A pair of dowel holes in the underside on one of the main axis is spaced 0.455 m apart and corresponds precisely with the dowel holes in the stylobate.

The base belongs to a class that is rather unusual in the eastern half of the Roman Empire¹⁴⁶: Above a quadratic plinth is a convex *torus* followed by a concave *scotia* between fillets, a projecting astragal, a second *scotia* between fillets, and a badly preserved but easily restorable upper *torus*. The total height was 0.31 m and the bedding surface ca. 0.62 m. The bottom surface contains, in addition to the dowel holes, a small compass hole from which short masons' lines extend out on two sides to mark the main axes. Concentric with the compass hole are two roughly chiseled circles with radii of 0.369 m and 0.385 m. In the top of the base is a lewis hole that became a dowel hole in the construction phase when it was provided with a narrow pour channel. Workmanship is of high quality. Top and bottom surfaces were finished with fine point and toothed chisel. The sides were worked smooth with crisply cut profiles. Both *scotiae* dip slightly below the tops of their lower fillets to form shallow annular channels.

The small positioning holes in the crown course of the first broad pedestal are also important for the information they provide about the precise location of the other bases and thus of the columns they supported, at least along the east-west axis (plan 4). The easternmost hole is vertically aligned with the bearing surface of the base molding below and we can safely assume that this was also the case with the other bases whose original positions on their respective pedestals are given approximately by the dowel holes cut to secure them and more accurately by the pedestal base moldings, most of which are *in situ*. This arrangement must have been followed in positioning the bases on the north-south axis as well.

4.4 Column Shafts

Identification of the shafts that went with these bases is more difficult, depending as it does largely on the circumstantial evidence of size and present location. J. T. Wood reported finding column shafts made of "Egyptian syenite", the red granite quarried at Aswan, which he assumed "had fallen from the circular colonnade above."¹⁴⁷ A few small pieces of these shafts can still be seen in the *diazoma* near the east *vomitorium* (pl. 12, 1) while a series of longer lengths have been collected together in recent times in the "Staatsmarkt" near the southeast corner of the temple excavations and in the Basilica Stoa directly south of the Prytaneion (pls. 73, 1–2).

The fragments (cat. 2-1–2-10 in appendix 1), about two dozen in all, include the tops and bottoms of column shafts that seem to belong to a two-storied façade. Moldings consist of a flare that is too irregular in profile to be called a *torus*, and a fillet which sometimes tapers outwards from the bottom. The flares at the base of the larger shafts measure about 0.62 m in diameter and the lower shaft diameter is ca 0.60 m. This fits well with the Bouleuterion column base. Included among the fragments are some in gray limestone which share the same dimensions, technique and style, indicating a polychrome arrangement. The original shaft height cannot be given for either the first or second story.

¹⁴⁶ See below chap. 5.1.1.

¹⁴⁷ WOOD 1877, 51.

4.5 Capitals of the Lower Order

Neither J. T. Wood nor subsequent excavators reported finding capitals in the debris of the Bouleuterion, and attribution must again depend on factors like proximity of find-spot, appropriateness of scale and size, as well as approximate date of production. The upper bed surfaces of the larger column shafts described above measure between 0.52 and 0.54 m in diameter which fits well with a capital (cat. 3-1; pl. 74, 1–3) discovered in 1961 during excavations in the Basilica and displayed since then in the Basilica Stoa.¹⁴⁸ The capital, of which only two sides are reasonably well preserved, is 0.67 m high and has a lower diameter of 0.52 m which fits the top of the column shafts very well.¹⁴⁹

4.6 The Architrave-Frieze Course of the Lower Story

The fragments of an architrave-frieze wall block bearing a portion of the foundation inscription in letters 0.12 m high were recorded by J. Keil in his “Skizzenbuch” (pls. 47, 1; 48, 1)¹⁵⁰ for the 1908 campaign carefully drawn to a scale of 1 : 10 (cat. 4-6. 4-9. 4-10). They were found according to his notation scattered in the orchestra, in the entrance to the left of the central door in the debris on the floor, and on a wall of the western *parodos*. A reconstruction drawing gives the major dimensions (pl. 48, 1). The complete block was 2.55 m wide and 0.835 m high. The sides were chamfered to join the ends of the projecting blocks of the adjacent *aediculae* so that the actual length of frieze available for the inscription measured 2.09 m. Keil’s rounding off of the height to half a centimeter inspires confidence in his measurements, and this is fortunate as the present location of these fragments is unknown, if indeed they have survived. They allow us to place the block above the fourth stage door (SD 3) where the interval at the level of the frieze would have been about 2.10 m, judging from the positions of the column bases. Furthermore, as he took the trouble to record all the fragments, including those which did not bear letters, we have the full sequence of decorative elements. The crown of the convex frieze was an egg-and-dart molding surmounted by a fillet. Crowning the architrave was a cluster of three contiguous moldings comprising (from the top down) palmettes, egg-and-dart, and bead-and-reel. The three fascias of the architrave were separated by a leaf-and-dart cymation and a bead-and-reel respectively.

J. Keil also recorded a second series of inscribed fragments (pl. 48, 2) which certainly belonged to this course. The letters, measuring 6.5 cm high, were cut in the upper fascia between the bead-and-reel and leaf-and-dart moldings. The inscription must have been brief as it did not extend as far as the Papiane block, and assuming symmetrical spacing, could only have occupied the two central *aediculae* and the wall in between.¹⁵¹

The search of the Domitian Depot in 2001 and 2002 has produced some additional fragments of the dedicatory inscription (pl. 61), including one bearing ETA to fill a gap in J. Keil’s drawing, and nine fragments of the architrave inscription.¹⁵² All seem to have come to light between 1964 and 1966 during clearing of the Basilica Stoa.

The lower surfaces of this course are gone along with any soffit decoration they may have carried. Nor do any of our fragments preserve traces of the shelves which typically supported coffer blocks although, like the soffits, these must have existed. Finally, as mentioned above, the method used to join free-standing blocks with wall blocks is known from Keil’s drawing and its accompanying notation which indicate a simple chamfered join reinforced with clamps.

¹⁴⁸ The top surface of the abacus bears faintly scratched excavation number P61-59. According to the excavation diary it was found in the southern aisle of the Basilica.

¹⁴⁹ It is highly probable that parts of the *scaenae frons* fell southwards in the direction of the Basilica Stoa. Thus it seems likely that the capital found there by W. Alzinger was once part of the Bouleuterion. Recently, G. A. PLATTNER and A. SCHMIDT-COLINET have assigned the capital to the Basilica Stoa, cf. PLATTNER – SCHMIDT-COLINET 2005, 245 fig. 3. However, the fact that there are two different sizes of the same capital type rather indicates that they more probably come from the Bouleuterion than from a secondary repair in the Basilica Stoa. For a full discussion of the capitals see below chap. 5.1.2.

¹⁵⁰ Skizzenbuch 1685 recto and verso.

¹⁵¹ See below chap. 8.

¹⁵² See below chap. 8 and esp. appendix 1.

4.7 The Cornice of the First Story and the Height of the Order

That no blocks of the cornice can be identified today suggests that they were anepigraphic and were therefore discarded, left to their fate on discovery, rather than being set aside or at least recorded. The height of the column shafts and cornice height,¹⁵³ however, can be reconstructed with confidence on analogy with roughly contemporary monuments in Ephesos, such as the Celsus Library¹⁵⁴ and Hadrian's Gate¹⁵⁵. Both monuments also possess fully preserved columns.¹⁵⁶ On this basis we can restore shafts of 4.75 m and a cornice of 0.40 m.

The proportional relationships between the shaft and the complete column in the Corinthian order also coincides with the results of M. Wilson Jones.¹⁵⁷

4.8 The Upper Order

A hypothetical reconstruction of the upper story is more problematic as fewer elements can be confidently identified or even put forth as possible candidates. Neither the column bases nor their stylobate platforms have left identifiable traces while the frieze, carved separately from its architrave, has not survived. Thus, the proportions of the second story are reconstructed by analogy with roughly contemporary buildings¹⁵⁸ and the dimensions for our second order can only be approximate.

The capitals of the upper story (cat. 9-1, 9-2; pls. 83, 3; 84, 1–2) are displayed today in the Basilica Stoa. They are 0.58 m high, are identical in design and technique to the large capital assigned here to the first story and must belong to the upper order.

The entablature is represented only by its architrave of which J. Keil recorded six fragments (pl. 47, 2); our search of the depot has yielded eight more.¹⁵⁹ The group again provides valuable information of both a technical and epigraphic nature. The blocks, 0.40 m high, had three fascias increasing in size from the bottom in the normal manner and without intermediate moldings. They were crowned by a triple molding of which only the lower element, a bead-and-reel, is preserved in cat. 10-6 and 10-8 (pls. 87, 1; 89, 1). Above this were probably an egg and dart and an anthemion. In order to provide a surface for the inscription whose letters were 0.12 m high, the upper fascia was chiseled off, an operation which has left clear traces in the surface tooling. A single corner fragment, cat. 10-4 (pl. 86, 1), preserves its upper fascia on one side suggesting that the inscription may only have occupied the surfaces facing the *cavea*.

Adjoining blocks were joined in the same manner as those in the lower order. The chamfered surface was worked smooth with a fine toothed chisel and displays no *anathyrosis*. As only the bottom surface is preserved we have no clamp holes.

The method of lifting can be seen in cat. 10-6 (pl. 87, 1) which retains portions of a lewis hole. This device is seen only in the pedestals' stylobate slabs and does not appear to have been used in the building's original phase.

Small portions of soffit panels bearing acanthus ornament appear in cat. 10-7, 10-9 and obviously also 10-10 (pls. 87, 2; 88, 1–2; 89, 2). Fragment 10-7 contains a poorly preserved acanthus bush indicating that it belonged to the center of a free-standing block, a significant clue for the reconstruction of the inscription. Fragment 10-9 (pl. 89, 2) contains part of a scroll pattern or rinceaux (which grow from such bushes), containing a rosette enclosed within a main stem emerging from a bract with plain (unfluted) *cauliculus* and a backward-bending secondary stem. Block 10-9 also displays on its back side a roughly worked vertical surface which curves at the bottom to form a shelf for the support of a coffer.

¹⁵³ In the original manuscript, L. Bier used a nymphaeum excavated alongside the road to the Magnesian Gate as an analogy for comparative measurements of the height. Since latest research has established a divergent reconstruction, more reliable examples have been used for a reconstruction. For a new reconstruction of the so-called Street Fountain cf. QUATEMBER 2008c, 219–264.

¹⁵⁴ On the monument see WILBERG 1943; HUEBER 1985; HUEBER 1997, 77–83.

¹⁵⁵ On the building in general see THÜR 1989.

¹⁵⁶ See below the table in appendix 2.

¹⁵⁷ WILSON JONES 2000, passim, esp. 147–148.

¹⁵⁸ See below appendix 2.

¹⁵⁹ See below appendix 1.

The awkward expedient of removing the upper fascia of the architrave to provide space for the inscription must have been due to a reluctance to alter an existing frieze which most likely bore acanthus decoration. Ironically, this might have assured the preservation of some of the fragments.

(L. Bier)

4.9 The Fallen Arches and the Question of Windows

In 1908, W. Wilberg documented in three sketches a series of voussoirs as they had fallen and presented reconstructions (pls. 10, 1–2; 11, 1). As find-spot, he indicated “In Falllage vor der Mauer links (westl.) der Mittelthür” (“As it had fallen in front of the wall to the left, i.e. west of the central door”; pl. 10, 1). Five blocks of an arch (A) are documented in this sketch: the length of the chord of the intrados of four of these blocks measures 40 cm, the chord of the left springstone measures 27 + 10 cm. Both the left and the right springstone are broken. The voussoirs rested on a spring course of white marble and of 23 cm height. The arch abutted on spandrels and big square stones of various height (H. on the left side: 62 cm, on the right side 49 cm, 24.5 cm, 45 cm respectively). Below the spring course, a square block of 64 cm height and a smaller one of 23 cm height as well as a block of 90 cm height are documented. In the left margin of the sketch, Wilberg noted: “mit Ausnahme der einen Schicht aus w.[eisse]m M.[armor] sind alle Quadern aus blauem Kalkstein mit rauher Oberfläche” (“with the exception of one course of white marble, all the square blocks are made of blue limestone with a rough surface”). On the sketch, four blocks of the right side and two blocks of the left side are recorded as “glatt” or “gl.” (“smooth”). Above the list of measurements, left of the sketch, Wilberg noted: “Quaderhöhen der Mauer links der Mittelthür, nach der Falllage” (“height of the blocks left of the central door, as they had fallen”). The list of measurements, starting from the bottom: 65 – 21 – 30 – 33 – 23 (“weißer Marmor” = “white marble”) – 30 – 58.

In another drawing (pl. 10, 2), Wilberg presents the reconstruction of an arch (B) with a span of 1.20 m, consisting of five arch blocks whose chord length is 37 cm, 37 cm, 37 cm, 36 cm and 38 cm, respectively. On the right side, the arch rests on a profiled impost capital which is reworked according to Wilberg (“abgearbeitet”). On the right side of the arch there are two spandrel blocks (H. 67.5 cm and 22.5 cm). A recess is cut into the big lower spandrel (H. 27 cm. w. 32 cm), a thin inset is noted in the upper right corner. On the right side, the 23.5 cm high spring course consists of three blocks: the block with the impost capital (H. 56 cm), a block of 69 cm length and a block of 1.075 m length featuring a projecting pilaster or pillar (W. 42 cm, projecting 3 cm). The interval between this pillar and the jamb is 1.59 m. The height of this jamb is indicated as 1.515 m, but noted as “nach anderem Stück gemessen” (“the measurement is based on another piece”). The spandrels of the left side are preserved, too: a big block (H. 67.5 cm) rests on a broken block of the string course; this big block features a recess (H. 25 cm. w. 34 cm. d. 13 cm). Wilberg called this recess “Loch zum Einsatz einer Konsole” (“hole for the insertion of a console”). The bottom edge of this hole continues in a cutting towards the left. Resting on this big block, a spandrel block (H. 22.5 cm. l. 40 cm) and two other blocks (L. 64 cm and 43 cm) are preserved. A stone course of 45 cm height follows on top. A long keystone served as a relieving device above the arch. On the right side, two blocks of 56 cm and 47 cm length follow; the relevant blocks on the left side measure 52 cm. Above the holes for consoles dowel holes are cut into the blocks. Regarding the dowel hole on the left, Wilberg noted: “Eisenstange 205 lang, 3 cm breit, 2 cm dick” (“iron rod, l. 205, w. 3 cm, d. 2 cm”).

In a third sketch (pl. 11, 1), Wilberg presented a wall of square blocks featuring two arches. The left arch corresponds to arch B in pl. 10, 2, compare the big wedge-shaped keystone above the arch (l. 1.62 m), the hole for the console and the 43 cm wide pillar or pilaster on the right. As to the arch on the right, Wilberg only noted: “5 Bogenst[eine]”, i.e. “5 voussoirs”. He noted measurements of another long keystone (bottom l. 1.40 m, upper l. 1.51 m) and described it as “keilförmig, saß über dem Mittelbogen” (“wedge-shaped, rested above the middle arch”). A course of 24 cm height is preserved on the right side by a block of 72 cm length and on the left side by a block of 1.13 m length which is joined to a block of 65 cm length. On top, four blocks of a 45 cm high course are added to the wall. Based on the sketch alone, it is unclear whether the sequence of blocks between the left and the right arch is actually certain (the interval between the jambs is ca. 3.80 m). As the spandrels and square blocks adjoining the right arch are not identical with the relevant blocks of arch A (pl. 10, 1), the remains of a third arch (C) were obviously documented in the sketch’s right arch. Therefore, Wilberg obviously discovered and documented the blocks of three arches and the adjoining wall parts.

He noted the find-spot for arch A only, “west of the central door”. In the left lower corner of pl. 11, 1, a brick block is documented as “Ziegelmauerwerk, wahrsch.[einlich] spätere Füllung eines Fensters(?)”, i.e. “brickwork, probably secondary filling of a window (?)”. The block dimensions are 1.05 m height, 65 cm width and 1.00 m depth. In a sketch in the lower part of pl. 11, 1, its find-spot is indicated as “lag in der Halle vor dem Odeion zwischen der vorletzten und letzten Tür im Osten” (“found in the hall in front of the Odeion, between the two easternmost doors”), i.e. doors BD 4 and BD 5. According to its shape, the brick filling could belong to one of the arch openings. As the filling featured “dünner weißer Putz auf einer Unterlage von Sand und Kalk” (“thin white plaster on a bed of sand and limestone”) on its whole vertical side, only half of the opening was walled up, or a small slot was left open in a wide opening (as proposed by Wilberg’s small sketch above the location sketch in pl. 11,1).

In Wilberg’s drawings, the measurements of the depths of the arch blocks are missing. The material of the wall blocks is characterised by Wilberg as roughly worked limestone, i.e. the local bluish gray marble from Panayırdağ. Only for one course, the string course, white marble is recorded. In pl. 11, 1, Wilberg describes a huge block on top of the 45 cm high lintel as “großer bl.[auer] Kalkst.[ein]/ durchlaufende Schicht über dem Bogen” (“big blue limestone/ through course above the arch”), i.e. a course of binders.

The two long keystones above arches B and C, and the spandrel blocks show that the archways belonged to the original remains of a wall and were not inserted secondarily. The location where they had fallen confirms that these openings were *in situ* in the latest phase of the structure. In this phase, one of the openings could have been partially blocked by brickwork. According to their find-spot, the three arches could have belonged to the north wall of the Basilica Stoa; in this case, they were oriented towards north, i.e. towards the small corridor between Basilica and the back of the scene wall. A second possibility is the south wall of the Bouleuterion, i.e. the back of the scene wall. In this case, they were oriented towards the interior of the Bouleuterion.

E. Fossel’s¹⁶⁰ reconstruction of the Basilica Stoa does not include arched windows. Theoretically, archways or arched windows could have been inserted above the remains of the north wall. As these openings were oriented towards the 1.60–2.00 m wide corridor, an only roughly worked interspace, and the high scene wall, these openings could not have served as a source of light. As the Basilica Stoa was lighted and ventilated by openings in the upper story of the central aisle, windows in the north wall would make no sense.

The material of the wall with the arches is the local bluish gray marble of Panayırdağ (“blue limestone”) which corresponds to the material of the Bouleuterion’s scene wall, but not to the material of the Basilica Stoa’s north wall.¹⁶¹ The thickness of the scene wall (0.98 m) corresponds to the depth of a part of the arch blocks (96–100 cm), too. The uneven, only roughly worked south face of the scene wall also matches this evidence.

Before the analysis of the blocks as part of the scene wall, the blocks themselves have to be discussed. In spring 2009, 17 voussoirs plus several fragments were located in the northern aisle of the Basilica Stoa. 10 blocks are located east of the central door of the Basilica Stoa’s north wall, obviously near the find-spot documented by Wilberg. 7 blocks are lying west of this door. The depth of these voussoirs varies. On all these blocks, only the front of the arch is worked as the visible face and furnished with fascias and a crown molding. Due to the measurements of the depth, the blocks can be divided into two groups. The jambs of the longer blocks measures 94–100 cm. The back of these blocks is roughly worked and cannot have been visible. The jamb is worked as a visible face, only a small strip at the rear edge is worked less carefully and probably served as a support. The exposed, visible part of the jambs measured approximately 88 cm. The face of the arch is divided into two fascias (w. of the inner fascia 5 cm, of the outer 8 cm), a concave molding and a fillet. The fascias are worked very carefully with a seam. This group consists of 10 blocks; one of them features two dowels in the lateral joint.

The depth of the second group of voussoirs is only 64–66 cm, measured at the jamb. Several of the blocks are broken. The back of these blocks is roughly worked, like the blocks of the first group. Their visible face differs, it features also two fascias, but the crown molding is rendered more simply with an oblique and a straight fillet, and the seams on the fascias are lacking. There is no trace of a support at the rear edge of the jamb of these blocks. The voussoirs are worked of white marble. Contrary to the voussoirs, the wall blocks of

¹⁶⁰ FOSSEL 1982, 16 pl. 3.

¹⁶¹ The orthostates of this wall consist of carefully worked marble blocks whereas the upper part of the wall is made of quarry stones. It is unclear, though, whether this represents the original condition.

local gray Panayırdağ-marble are not located in their original find-spot any more. For their analysis, we have to rely only on Wilberg's notes.

Before the determination of the original position of the arch blocks we have to analyse the scene wall. As previously stated, the voussoirs belong to the original structure, i.e. to phase 1 of the building – unless the reconstruction in Phase 2 was so radical as to include the replacement of the roof and parts of the scene wall.¹⁶² As the first story of the north face of the scene wall in Phase 1 was built of marble blocks and the upper story featured marble veneer, the arches can only belong to the upper part of the wall. A position of the arches above the doors can be ruled out, as there are no doors with matching intervals of 1.20 m inside width in the Bouleuterion. Due to the traces of workmanship and of supports on the voussoirs, an exposed area of approximately 88 cm can be observed. The remaining area of 10 cm rested on a filling. The measurement of about 10 cm would fit well for a marble window-frame. Therefore, two of the arches, i.e. those measuring 96–100 cm (depth of the blocks), probably belonged to window openings. The blocks of the third arch with a depth of 64–66 cm, on the other hand, probably joined into a wall construction of 98 cm depth as upper part of a vaulted niche. In this niche, a statue could have been set up. According to the find-spot and the way the arch (A) had fallen, such a niche could originally have been positioned above the small door SD3 in the upper story, in the bay west of the central *aedicula*.

The two archways which had an approximate interval of 3.80 m, on the other hand, probably belonged to windows which were built into the back wall, in the upper story east of the façade. Their position is confirmed by the find-spot of the brick block. These windows lit the upper *cavea* and especially the seating above the *parodoi*. Half of one of the windows was obviously walled up secondarily by brickwork.

The interpretations of these archways proposed here are only hypothetical as it is not certain whether the blocks preserved today actually correspond to the blocks documented in Wilberg's sketches.

(H. Thür)

¹⁶² See above chap. 3.3.

5. ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION

Unlike many other buildings without an inscription, the Bouleuterion does not require an analysis of the architectural ornamentation of the *scaenae frons* to establish its dating. On the contrary, the dedicatory inscription of the renovated structure by P. Vedius Antoninus and his wife Fl. Papiane provides a reliable date that could never be superseded by means of stylistic analyses. Furthermore, the inscription provides an opportunity to ask questions that go beyond dating the *scaenae frons* and to assess the relationship between this building and other structures commissioned by the Vedii. The first part of this chapter will summarize the ornamentation of the preserved architectural fragments of the Bouleuterion's *scaenae frons* according to the compilation in appendix 1 (catalog of the architectural fragments). The second part will discuss the methodological basis for a comparison with other buildings commissioned by the Vedius family. Their dates, assignment and architectural ornamentation suggest suppositions about the relationship among benefactor, ornamentation and craftsmen or workshops.

5.1. Architectural Decoration of the Bouleuterion Scaenae Frons

5.1.1 BASES AND MOLDINGS

The pedestals forming the substructure for the *scaenae frons* display elaborate moldings (pl. 36, 2). The base consists of two vertical bands, the upper one set back slightly, a chamfer, an inverted *cyma recta* and two further chamfers. On the crown molding a cavetto is followed by an astragal, an ovolo and another cavetto concluded by a *taenia*. This kind of complex succession of different moldings is known from other contemporary buildings in Ephesos, including the Monopteros along the road to Magnesia (pl. 53), where the combination of forms is identical to the top of the pedestal.¹⁶³ Also the crown molding of the pedestals in the so-called “Marble Hall” in the Vedius Gymnasium displays an identical sequence. The base molding there nevertheless is different: instead of the chamfered zones, the Vedius Gymnasium shows an inverted *cyma recta*.¹⁶⁴

Only one column base has been attributed to the *scaenae frons* by L. Bier (cat. 1-1). It displays two *scotiae* over the lower *torus* (pl. 72). The upper *torus* according to L. Bier's reconstruction protrudes well over the upper *scotia*. Therefore, this specimen clearly belongs to a kind known as the Roman version of the Ionic base. In this type, the top of the *scotia* is always set back from the greatest projection of the upper *torus*. Usually, there is only one *scotia*, but already from the Late Republican period onward we know examples where the *scotia* is doubled, sometimes with an astragal in between.¹⁶⁵ In and around Rome, bases with two *scotiae* are known both in ornate forms with elaborate decoration¹⁶⁶ and with simple moldings¹⁶⁷, similar to the Ephesian piece. Curiously, the Roman Ionic base is usually limited to the western half of the Roman Empire with a few exceptions where it has spread over from Italy into Greek territory.¹⁶⁸ In Corinth, the use of Roman Ionic bases during the early Imperial period goes back to the refounding of the city in 44 B.C. and the Italian origin of the colonists who rebuilt the city.¹⁶⁹ This is clearly an exception; normally, the Attic-Ionic base is preferred in Asia Minor.¹⁷⁰ For example, in the well-studied city of Sagalassos in Pisidia exclusively this type was found.¹⁷¹ We

¹⁶³ See below chap. 5.2.2.3 and KOENIGS – RADT 1979, insert 2.

¹⁶⁴ STESKAL – LA TORRE 2008, pl. 69, 1. 3.

¹⁶⁵ MERITT 1969, 191–195 fig. 3 f.

¹⁶⁶ For instance in the peristyle of Domitian's palace on the Palatine, now in the antiquarium, WEGNER 1965, pl. 8 b. Other examples can be found in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, WEGNER 1965, pl. 19 b.

¹⁶⁷ For example in the hippodrome of Domitian's palace on the Palatine, MERITT 1969, pl. 52 d.

¹⁶⁸ MERITT 1969, 197–198.

¹⁶⁹ SHOE 1964, 300–303.

¹⁷⁰ MERITT 1969, 195–196.

¹⁷¹ VANDEPUT 1997, 175.

can only speculate, why such a peculiar form – at least for this region – might have been used for the Bouleuterion *scaenae frons* architecture in the middle of the 2nd century A.D.

From the first building phase of the *scaenae frons*, two pedestals and bases have been preserved in the south-east and south-west corner of the scene wall (pls. 32, 2–3; 33).¹⁷² They belong to the regular Attic-Ionic type, which is very well known in the Eastern Roman Empire, especially in Asia Minor.¹⁷³ Above a square plinth follow a *torus*, a *scotia* and a *torus* again. The latter does not project beyond the upper edge of the *scotia*. Other examples for the use of this type include Ephesian buildings throughout the first and second century A.D., such as the so-called Street Fountain¹⁷⁴ from the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. and the Vedius Gymnasium¹⁷⁵. In aedicular façades an Attic-Ionic base is frequently combined with pedestals of varying heights, as seen in the Nymphaeum Traiani¹⁷⁶, the Celsus Library¹⁷⁷ and Hadrian's Gate¹⁷⁸.

5.1.2 CORINTHIAN CAPITALS

Altogether three capitals, in two different sizes (cat. 3-1. 9-1. 9-2; pls. 74; 83, 3; 84, 1–2), are preserved from the *scaenae frons*.¹⁷⁹ Their characteristic features include leaves that are decidedly in the Asia Minor tradition. The display of the single lobes is fan-shaped, their ribs are carved with V-shaped section, and the eyelets are elongated. The calyx shows deep drillings.

All three capitals were found in the Basilica Stoa in 1961 by W. Alzinger. Lately G. A. Plattner and A. Schmidt-Colinet attributed them to a Late Antique (?) repair of the structure.¹⁸⁰ Their hypothesis is debatable because of the divergent sizes that seem less suitable for reuse in a building such as the basilica. Furthermore, the diameter of the capitals fits the columns assigned to the Bouleuterion's *scaenae frons*. L. Bier's attribution to the Bouleuterion therefore seems plausible.

All three capitals show the same characteristics and belong to a group of capitals that, according to G. A. Plattner, dominates Ephesian building activities in the first half of the 2nd century A.D.¹⁸¹ or the late 1st and early 2nd century A.D.¹⁸² G. A. Plattner more recently seems to favor the latter date.¹⁸³ P. Scherrer assumes a use of this particular group between the late 1st century A.D. and the Hadrianic or Early Antonine era.¹⁸⁴ This led L. Bier to the assumption that the capitals were re-used for the Vedius *scaenae frons* from an earlier building phase.

To clarify this question, the evidence for Ephesian capitals in the 2nd century A.D. will be reassessed. Plattner lists buildings with these capitals, which he calls the "Ephesos type".¹⁸⁵ Among them he considers the ones in the Harbor Gymnasium, the Varius baths and the temenos of the so-called Serapeion (pl. 52, 3) to come from the original building phase. The Serapeion temenos is best testified and the attribution of the capitals to the original structure is certain.¹⁸⁶ The chronology of the construction of the temple has been the subject of much scholarly debate.¹⁸⁷ For the porticos, P. Scherrer suggested a date between the late 1st century and the middle of the 2nd century A.D.¹⁸⁸ According to L. Rembart's recent study on the stratigraphy and the finds, the

¹⁷² See below chap. 2.3.1.

¹⁷³ MERITT 1969, 186–204, esp. 195–197 on its distribution in Roman times.

¹⁷⁴ QUATEMBER 2008c, 229 fig. 12.

¹⁷⁵ STESKAL – LA TORRE 2008, pl. 79, 5.

¹⁷⁶ QUATEMBER, FiE (forthcoming).

¹⁷⁷ WILBERG 1943, 4 fig. 6.

¹⁷⁸ THÜR 1989, 88–90.

¹⁷⁹ See also above chap. 4.5.

¹⁸⁰ PLATTNER – SCHMIDT-COLINET 2005, 245.

¹⁸¹ PLATTNER 2002, 247–248.

¹⁸² PLATTNER – SCHMIDT-COLINET 2005, 245.

¹⁸³ PLATTNER 2002, 247–248 with further references; PLATTNER 2008, 276.

¹⁸⁴ SCHERRER 2005, 120–121.

¹⁸⁵ PLATTNER 2002, 247–248; PLATTNER 2008, 276 note 1337.

¹⁸⁶ KOLLER 2005, 139–141 fig. 4.5; SCHERRER 2005, fig. 5.6.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. for example KOENIGS – RADT 1979, 346 (last quarter of the 2nd century A.D.); STROCKA 1988, 303–305 (Hadrianic); SCHERRER 2005, 109–138, esp. 119–121. 129–130 (first half of the 2nd century A.D.); PLATTNER 2008, 276 note 1337 (early 2nd century A.D.).

¹⁸⁸ SCHERRER 2005, esp. 119.

Serapeion should be placed in the second half of the 2nd century.¹⁸⁹ The situations in the Harbor Gymnasium and the Varius baths are more ambiguous. The Harbor Gymnasium-Bath complex has been identified as the “Sebaston Gymnasion” with good reasons.¹⁹⁰ Its date nevertheless depends upon inscriptions on a group of bases from the Harbor Gymnasium, which can be dated to 92/93 A.D.¹⁹¹ and has often been taken as proof for the building’s completion during the late Flavian era. Yet, some problems with this date in my opinion are still unsolved: the donation of the so-called marble hall adjacent to the *palaestra* has been attributed to Ti. Claudius Aristion and therefore to the time of the emperor Domitian. The position of the respective inscription on the architrave, its attribution to the building in general and also its date are by no means certain.¹⁹² In addition, the building ornamentation of the bath itself according to V. M. Strocka is Hadrianic.¹⁹³ Such a gap in between the erection of the *palaestra* under Domitian and the bath at least twenty years later seems curious. In contrast, W. Alzinger argues for an uninterrupted construction of the whole complex.¹⁹⁴ These contradictions clearly have to be resolved before we can judge the building’s ornamentation on a grander scale. Nevertheless, the available evidence seems to point towards the construction of at least parts of the Harbor Gymnasium-Bath complex during the Hadrianic era. Also the building phases of the Varius baths have never been properly studied,¹⁹⁵ and the attribution of the “Ephesos type” to the original structure remains uncertain.¹⁹⁶

From the evidence presented thus far, we can deduce the use of the “Ephesos type” from the middle of the 2nd century A.D. onward. Earlier dates remain uncertain. This fits quite well with another building adorned with capitals of the “Ephesos Type”, the Monopteros along the road to Magnesia (pls. 52, 1–2).¹⁹⁷ As will be argued below, this building was probably erected during the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D.

Taking this evidence into consideration, the Corinthian capitals today displayed in the Basilica Stoa might well have been produced as building parts of the mid-second century Vedius *scaenae frons* in the Bouleuterion.

5.1.3 ARCHITRAVE-FRIEZE OF THE LOWER STORY

The best preserved piece of this course is 4-9, the so-called “Papiane-block” due to its inscription (pls. 76, 2; 78, 1–2). It is therefore best suited for studying the architectural ornamentation of this level. Architrave and frieze are worked in one piece. The three fascias of the architrave are separated by moldings: a bead-and-reel between the lower one, a Lesbian kymation between the upper ones. The architrave’s crown molding shows a bead-and-reel and an egg-and-dart. Above it there was a cavetto with palmettes preserved on one single fragment (fragment E; pl. 76, 2). This threefold combination is more or less standard in Asia Minor during the Roman period.¹⁹⁸ The axes of the bead-and-reel and the egg-and-dart do not correlate. The frieze zone is characterized by a convex frieze profile, and is crowned by an egg-and-dart. Both features are common in this region in Roman Imperial times.

¹⁸⁹ REMBART 2009; I want to thank the author for sharing with me the results of her work.

¹⁹⁰ FRIESEN 1993, 121–137; SCHERRER, in: THÜR 1997, esp. 112, 118.

¹⁹¹ SCHERRER, in: THÜR 1997, 117 f.

¹⁹² IvE 427; cf. QUATEMBER 2007, 104 with further references. In addition, the copy of the inscription in the “Skizzenbücher” displays an angular lunar sigma which rarely occurs during the Flavian era, cf. Skizzenbücher Inv. 31–33. See also a remark on the inscription by R. Heberdey in the Archive of the ÖAI, Emil Reisch papers (III, Inschriften Ephesos): “Nach der Schrift (□!) nicht gut in flav. Zeit möglich. Da die gekrümmte Friesfläche nur roh behauen ist, ist denkbar, daß die Inschrift bei einer Reparatur eingetragen wurde, wobei der vielleicht mit Ranken verzierte Fries abgearbeitet wurde”. I want to thank G. Wlach who informed me about this document in the archive of the ÖAI. – Indeed, according to M. Guarducci, the angular shaped lunar sigma occurs mainly in the 3rd century A.D., cf. GUARDUCCI 1967, 377. However, in Ephesos the earliest example is known from the Hadrianic period: IvE 271a (Skizzenbuch no. 2695). I want to thank A. Sokolicek for information on this topic.

¹⁹³ STROCKA 1988, 302–303. Also SCHERRER, in: THÜR 1997, 112 note 168. 118 note 66 states that additional building activities took place in the Harbour Gymnasium during the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D., probably connected to the Hadrianic Neokoros-Temple.

¹⁹⁴ ALZINGER 1970, 1610: “Der Aufbau des gesamten Therme-Gymnasion-Komplexes wirkt trotz seiner additiven Struktur so einheitlich und ausgewogen, daß man nur ungern verschiedene Entstehungszeiten annehmen möchte”.

¹⁹⁵ MILTNER 1955, 34–40; MILTNER 1959a, 250–264; ALZINGER 1970, 1619 f.; on the identification of the building and its name see KNIBBE –MERKELBACH 1978, 99; on the renovation by Scholastikia see STROCKA 1985, 229–232.

¹⁹⁶ Similar SCHERRER 2005, 121.

¹⁹⁷ See below chap. 5.2.2.3.

¹⁹⁸ KÖSTER 2004, 161.

In all egg-and-dart moldings the middle motif in between two eggs is arrow-shaped. The casing is wide and the structure is dominated by light and dark effects. As Köster has demonstrated, arrow-shaped darts occur as early as the Neronian period in Asia Minor.¹⁹⁹ In Ephesos this motif is attested at least from the reign of Domitian onwards.²⁰⁰ It also appears, for example, on the Celsus Library,²⁰¹ where the wide casing and the light and dark effects are also evident. Nonetheless, its general layout there seems more fragile and less coarse than in the Bouleuterion egg-and-dart moldings, a feature that can also be observed on other buildings commissioned by the Vedii.²⁰²

The leaf-and-dart is of the type called stirrup-framed by L. Vandeput.²⁰³ It clearly fits into the line of development as sketched by Köster, with a tendency to break up the motif into single elements by using deep drillings in between them.²⁰⁴

5.1.4 ARCHITRAVE OF THE UPPER STORY

Unfortunately, only small fragments of the architrave zone are preserved. The crown molding is only represented by a bead-and-reel on cats. 10-6 and 10-8 (pls. 87, 1; 89, 1). As mentioned above, a crowning egg-and-dart and cavetto can be assumed based on various analogies.²⁰⁵ According to the preserved corner piece cat. 10-4 (pl. 86, 1) and toolmarks on various other pieces (for example cat. 10-5; pl. 86, 2), the architrave originally had three fascias. The upper one was later removed, leaving more space for the inscription.²⁰⁶ An architrave with three fascias in the upper story provides an exception to R. Köster's assumption that the choice was based on the size of the architectural elements.²⁰⁷ The upper story architrave is considerably smaller than that of the lower story and it might therefore seem natural to use only two fascias. This issue has to remain unresolved, especially given the fact that a fascia was worked off for the inscription, maybe as an afterthought to provide more space for the letters of the inscription. Very little of the soffit panels has been preserved. From cats. 10-7 and 10-9 (pls. 88, 1–2; 89, 2) we can conclude that they were decorated with some vegetal motif. Vegetal ornamentation of soffit panels occurs in Ephesos from the 2nd century A.D. onwards, as seen in the Celsus Library.²⁰⁸ Cat. 10-7 shows a central acanthus chalice from which the tendrils grow out. According to R. Köster, such a central ornament is first testified in the Celsus Library and originates from influence from the city of Rome.²⁰⁹ Based on the scant remaining evidence, it is impossible to draw any further conclusions regarding the upper story. We can only assume that the frieze was adorned with some kind of ornament, either vegetal such as an acanthus scroll, or even figured.

5.2. The Bouleuterion Ornaments in Context: The Buildings of the Vedii

5.2.1 METHODOLOGY: PATTERNS AND THEIR COMBINATION

In order to search for the characteristics in the architectural ornamentation of buildings commissioned by the Vedii, the basis of the material analyzed has to be established first. Only on definite grounds can we determine features that are inherent in that particular group.

¹⁹⁹ KÖSTER 2004, 143–144.

²⁰⁰ PÜLZ 1989, 15–16 and note 77.

²⁰¹ WILBERG 1943, for example fig. 8. 10. 13. 14.; VANDEPUT 1997, 145 interprets this as proof for the import of this motif from Rome. This is clearly contradicted by the occurrence in earlier buildings in Asia Minor, see KÖSTER 2004, 144.

²⁰² See below 5.3.

²⁰³ VANDEPUT 1997, 29 and note 53.

²⁰⁴ KÖSTER 2004, 145–147, esp. 146. On the development of stirrup-framed leaf-and-darts see also VANDEPUT 1997, 151–154, on the Antonine period 152–153. In Sagalassos, the mid-rib of the Lesbian kymation in contemporary buildings, such as the Temple of Antoninus Pius, is split into three parts, thus forming two side ribs. Cf. VANDEPUT 1997, pl. 28, 2. In this respect the examples from Sagalassos differ clearly from the Ephesian ones.

²⁰⁵ KÖSTER 2004, 161.

²⁰⁶ See also above chap. 4.8.

²⁰⁷ KÖSTER 2004, 160–161.

²⁰⁸ PLATTNER 2008, 280.

²⁰⁹ KÖSTER 2004, 160.

In a second step, we need to identify a method of searching for patterns within this specific group. For the purpose of this study, this is achieved via a twofold approach: first, individual ornaments are considered. Both the ornamental patterns and their execution should be identical in order to link the production of the respective items. Second, the pattern of distribution of each ornament has to be considered: identical ornaments could still be a coincidence connected to one particular craftsman and/or pattern books.²¹⁰ This possibility has to be ruled out by defining combinations of these attributes. Unlike the definition of types,²¹¹ not every combination of attributes has to be present in all members of the group. On the contrary, as the results below will show (see also table 1), none of the buildings commissioned by the Vedii shows exactly the same characteristics. But the distribution of distinctive features is so evenly spread that we can consider them as a group linked together not only by their donor, but also by their manufacture.

5.2.2 BUILDINGS COMMISSIONED BY THE VEDII AND THEIR ORNAMENTATION

5.2.2.1 *Vedius Gymnasium*

The Structure

The so-called Vedius Gymnasium, a large bath-gymnasium-complex located at the northern edge of the city, was commissioned by the Vedii, hence its name.²¹² According to the latest research, the construction can be securely dated to the years between 147 and 149 A.D., testified by the building inscription and the proconsul L. Antonius Albus.²¹³ While the majority of the building need not concern us here, the so-called Kaisersaal (pl. 50, 2) is important for this study: the hall adjacent to the *palaestra*, whose function is still the subject of scholarly debate,²¹⁴ was adorned with a two storied aedicular façade. Its architecture – and also ornamentation as we shall see – is very similar to the Bouleuterion.²¹⁵

Description and Discussion of the Ornamentation (pl. 51, 1)

The lower story of the Vedius “Kaisersaal” displays Composite capitals with a characteristic rope molding on the astragal between the volutes. According to H. Thür and G. A. Plattner, this type “dominates” Ephesian building activities in the mid-2nd century A.D.,²¹⁶ among them also the East Gymnasium.²¹⁷ 22 specimens were found on the Tetragonos Agora.²¹⁸ The earliest examples for this type according to G. A. Plattner can be found in the Church of Mary,²¹⁹ which was built into the south colonnade of the temple precinct for the Emperor Hadrian. The pillars and the capitals that rest on them are part of the few original remnants from the Hadrianic period.²²⁰ The duration of usage for these capitals is testified from the Vedius “Kaisersaal” at least until the middle of the 2nd century. This period probably has to be extended until the third quarter of the 2nd century, if we take the East Gymnasium²²¹ and the so-called St. Luke’s Grave²²² into consideration.

²¹⁰ On general considerations concerning workshops and pattern books s. PLATTNER 2004, 17–35, esp. 29–35.

²¹¹ On the definition of types in general s. ADAMS – ADAMS 1991, esp. 29–95.

²¹² On the building in general see STESKAL – LA TORRE 2008.

²¹³ IVE 431. 438; M. STESKAL, in: STESKAL – LA TORRE 2008, esp. 92 note 672 with further references.

²¹⁴ Most recently: BURELL 2006, 437–469.

²¹⁵ On the development of aedicular faades in Asia Minor s. QUATEMBER, FiE (forthcoming). On the earlier examples s. BERNS 2002, 159–174.

²¹⁶ THÜR 1989, 96–97; PLATTNER 2002, 248; PLATTNER 2008, 276.

²¹⁷ KEIL 1932, 29–30 fig. 14 (capitals from the propylon); PLATTNER 2008, 277; LEUNG in: AUINGER (in preparation).

²¹⁸ SCHERRER, in: SCHERRER – TRINKL 2006, 50, says, that there is no proof for them being in their original context. On the contrary, PLATTNER 2008, 277, seems to support their belonging to the agora.

²¹⁹ PLATTNER 2008, 277 pl. 379, 2. See also KNOLL 1932, 21–22 fig. 11–12.

²²⁰ KARWIESE 1989, 13 fig. 10: “Was nun die innere Gestaltung der dreischiffigen Stoa anlangt, die damit als *Basilika* zu bezeichnen ist, so zeigte sich, daß der große Marmorpilaster vor dem südlichen Ort der Ostapsis *in situ stehend* in den Kirchenbau einbezogen wurde”. On Hadrian’s imperial cult temple in general see SCHERRER 1999, 137–144.

²²¹ See below chap. 5.2.2.2. Cf. also PLATTNER 2008, 277–278. 281–282.

²²² The so-called St. Luke’s Grave in its original building phase was a monopteros fountain on a square surrounded by colonnades on four sides. It can be dated to the second half of the 2nd century A.D. The columns of the colonnade carried composite capitals with

The entablature of the Vedium “Kaisersaal” includes an architrave-frieze worked in one piece.²²³ The fascias are not separated, and the crown shows the usual combination of bead-and-reel, egg-and-dart and cavetto with terminating band. The forms of the first two are identical to the ones known from the Bouleuterion. The cavetto is adorned with palmettes. The convex frieze is crowned by an egg-and-dart and a band. On the cornice, the dentils are followed by a bead-and-reel and an egg-and-dart. The front of the corona displays a running spiral motif. Above another bead-and-reel, the steep sima is decorated with alternating open and closed palmettes. Conspicuously the axes of the motifs do not correspond in most cases.

5.2.2.2 East Gymnasium

The addition of a *palaestra* and a “Kaisersaal” to a pre-existing bath complex in the so-called East Gymnasium has often been connected to T. Flavius Damianus and his wife Vedia Phaedrina.²²⁴ J. Keil supplemented the preserved fragment as “Antonina or “Antoniniana” and thus the whole name as “Vedia Phaedrina Antonina”.²²⁵ More recently, reasonable doubts have been expressed concerning Keil’s interpretation: as testified so far by other inscriptions, the name of Vedia Phaedrina never includes “Antonina” or “Antoniniana”.²²⁶ Currently a project on this structure is underway²²⁷ and new results on the inscription and the benefactor are to be expected. Despite their similarity, the building ornamentation will therefore be excluded from this study.²²⁸

5.2.2.3 Monopteros along the Road to Magnesia

The Monument

The so-called Round Tomb on the road to Magnesia was excavated in 1929 (pl. 51, 2). J. Keil mentioned it briefly in the excavation report and illustrated his text with a tentative reconstruction by M. Theuer (pl. 53).²²⁹ As an important parallel to a similar building in Pergamon, the Ephesian Monopteros was dealt with extensively in a study by W. Koenigs and W. Radt (pl. 53).²³⁰ A full publication based on a stone-by-stone reconstruction is nonetheless still lacking. Despite this desideratum the structure serves as an important parallel for the Bouleuterion *scaenae frons*.

Even though the inscription is only partially preserved, the reconstruction of the names of Flavius Damianus and Vedia Phaedrina²³¹ has been widely accepted.²³² Koenigs and Radt proposed a date towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. for the structure, based solely on stylistic criteria without considering the epigraphic evidence.²³³ The similarity of the building ornamentation with the Bouleuterion and the Vedium Gymnasium, in combination with genealogical considerations, makes a date in the third quarter of the 2nd century more likely.

rope molding of the type discussed here: PLATTNER 2008, 277. Cf. also PÜLZ 2010, esp. 72–74 on the capitals. His recent results could not be incorporated in this study. However, due to the poorly preserved building inscription, the context of the erection of the fountain remains too unclear to draw conclusions on the questions posed here.

²²³ On the entablature see PLATTNER 2008, 280–282.

²²⁴ KEIL 1932, 31–32 note 3; ALZINGER 1970, 1613–1615; more recently for example YEGÜL 1992, 423.

²²⁵ KEIL 1932, 31–32 note 3 and fig. 15.

²²⁶ DILLON 1996, 272 note 39; STESKAL 2003, 232–233; BURRELL 2006, 448 note 45.

²²⁷ Conducted by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, financed by the Austrian Science Fund (P18605) under the direction of M. AURENHAMMER together with J. AUINGER and A. LEUNG.

²²⁸ On the building ornamentation see PLATTNER 2008, 277–278. 281–282.

²²⁹ KEIL 1930b, 45–48; s. also KEIL 1964, 144 fig. 82.

²³⁰ KOENIGS – RADT 1979, 317–354, esp. 345–348.

²³¹ IvE 2100.

²³² H. THÜR in: SCHERRER 2000, 228; BERNS 2003, 162 and note 296.

²³³ KOENIGS – RADT 1979, 345–348; followed by PLATTNER 2002, 248 note 50.

Description and Discussion of the Ornamentation (pl. 52, 1)

The documentation from the excavation allows us to attribute capitals of the so-called Ephesos Type²³⁴ to the Round Tomb (pls. 51, 2; 52, 1–2). As has been discussed above, the latest research has shed new light on the date of this group,²³⁵ which now fits very well into the overall context of the building’s architectural decoration into the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D.

The architrave is worked separately from the frieze (pl. 53). It possesses three fascias without separating moldings, crowned by an astragal, egg-and-dart and cavetto. The egg-and-dart is the only molding where the ornaments are worked out. It displays eggs with very broad casing and pointed, arrow-shaped darts. The succession of the three crowning moldings is not only identical to the Vedius “Kaisersaal”, but also very common in Asia Minor since Hellenistic times.²³⁶

The frieze is convex, as in the Bouleuterion and the Vedius Gymnasium (pl. 51, 1). It does not carry an inscription – which is rendered on the orthostats of the base – but is decorated with an elaborate acanthus frieze. This difference among the buildings under discussion is certainly due to practical reasons. In an aedicular façade such as the Bouleuterion or the “Kaisersäle”, the most suitable place for at least the main portion of the inscription is the frieze zone. At the same time an acanthus frieze is a time-consuming – and thus probably costly – item. Its presence in the Monopteros is certainly connected to the function and small size of the monument.

The Monopteros along the road to Magnesia is the only single-story structure discussed here and displays a console cornice in its entablature. Above the dentils is an egg-and dart molding. The bottom of the consoles is decorated with an acanthus leaf, while the vertical area in between them shows scrolls of varying patterns. An egg-and-dart molding frames the consoles. The corona is decorated with a running spiral motif. Separated by a bead-and-reel, the sima is adorned with an anthemion.

5.3 Similarities and Dissimilarities of the Vedii Structures

According to the premises discussed above,²³⁷ individual moldings will be discussed first. An egg-and-dart molding is present in all known buildings commissioned by the Vedii. They all share an arrow-shaped central motif in between two eggs and the dominance of light and dark effects (pls. 51, 1; 52, 1; 78, 2). The arrows are not decorated and their sides touch the casing in the upper third.

The bead-and-reel in the Bouleuterion is not preserved well enough to verify its precise design. The examples from the Vedius Gymnasium and the Monopteros along the road to Magnesia show identical proportions. The surface of the individual elements is not plastically molded, but rather flat. In the cases where bead-and-reel and egg-and-dart are combined, their axes are not lined up.

The running spiral in the Vedius Gymnasium (pl. 51, 1) and on the Monopteros (pl. 52, 1) is clearly identical – though mirrored – in every detail. A *cyma reversa* is only seen at the Bouleuterion, while alternating open and closed palmettes on the architrave cavetto only occur in the Vedius Gymnasium (pl. 51, 1); thus, both lack comparative examples. The last single motif to be compared is the anthemion on the sima. Here a different model was clearly chosen. The Vedius Gymnasium shows alternating open and closed palmettes (pl. 51, 1). The Monopteros modifies this pattern with closed palmettes and open ones turned upside down (pl. 52, 1). Also single elements differ, for example the scrolls at the bottom of the closed palmettes are turned in different ways.

As evident in this analysis, individual moldings are identical in many cases. This fact can be connected to workshops, single workmen or perhaps pattern books; in any case, it confirms that they must have been produced in the same context.

In a next step the combination of patterns has to be considered. As can also be seen in table 1, the distribution of some features is so evenly spread that this strongly suggests the same context for their manufacture: Corinthian capitals of the same type are attested for the Bouleuterion (pls. 74; 83, 3; 84, 1–2) and the Monopteros (pls. 52, 1–2), while the Vedius Gymnasium in the lower story possesses Composite capitals with rope

²³⁴ PLATTNER 2002, 247 f.; PLATTNER – SCHMIDT-COLINET 2005, 245; PLATTNER 2008, 276.

²³⁵ See above chap. 5.1.2.

²³⁶ See above chap. 5.2.2.1. See also Quatember 2007, 107 with further references.

²³⁷ See above chap. 5.2.1.

molding (pl. 51, 1). According to the new evidence presented above, this does not contradict the interconnection of these structures. Corinthian capitals of the “Ephesos Type” occur during the 2nd half of the 2nd century A.D., while the beginnings of this group might be a little bit earlier, perhaps Hadrianic.²³⁸ Composite capitals with rope molding²³⁹ commence during the Hadrianic era, and continue well into the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D. A new date for the Corinthian capitals is proposed following L. Rembart’s interpretation of the stratigraphic evidence in the Serapeion. This shows that they might not be predecessors to the Composite capitals with rope molding, as has been suggested by Plattner.²⁴⁰ On the contrary, their usage overlaps for a certain period of time. Their concurrency is further supported by the design of the acanthus leaves, which are – also according to Plattner²⁴¹ – more or less identical. Therefore, in my opinion, the two groups do not necessarily represent two types that can be distinguished chronologically, but functionally. Corinthian capitals might represent the more “traditional” type that was applied for a more dignified context, such as a grave monument or the city’s Bouleuterion. For a public building of a more functional nature, like a bath-gymnasium complex, the more “modern” Composite capital type was chosen.

The entablature of the three buildings shows striking similarities on the one hand, and also differences on the other. The fascias without separating moldings are present in the Vedius Gymnasium (pl. 51, 1) and the Monopteros (pl. 52, 1; 53). In the Bouleuterion, on the contrary, a bead-and-reel and a Lesbian kymation serve as a partition (pl. 78, 1). The crown moldings of the architraves are identical, as in most of the instances dating to the Roman Imperial period in Asia Minor. Their degree of elaboration varies: the Monopteros only shows an egg-and-dart, the Bouleuterion at least an additional bead-and-reel, and the Vedius Gymnasium has palmettes on the cavetto. The frieze profile is convex in all the examples. On the Monopteros it is further decorated with an anthemion frieze. The crown molding combination of egg-and-dart and vertical band appears to be identical again. The cornice can only be compared at the Vedius Gymnasium and the Monopteros, since this course is not preserved in the Bouleuterion. Here we can detect the most striking difference between the two buildings: the Vedius Gymnasium displays a cornice with simple dentils, whereas the one-storied Monopteros is adorned with consoles. Both the consoles and the coffers in between are richly decorated. Despite this divergence, the running spiral on the corona results in a very similar overall impression for the pieces. On the sima, the succession of bead-and-reel and anthemion are identical, while the single palmettes are rendered differently.

	Vedius Gymnasium	Bouleuterion	Monopteros
Crown molding of pedestal			
Cavetto, astragal, ovolo, cavetto, <i>taenia</i>	×	×	×
Capitals			
Corinthian Capitals (“Ephesos Type”)		×	×
Capitals with rope/cable molding	×		
Architrave-Frieze	×	×	(two pieces)
Three fascias, no separating molding	×	× (upper story)	×
Crown molding of architrave: astragal, egg-and-dart, cavetto, <i>taenia</i>	×	×(?)	×
Convex frieze profile	×	×	×
Crown molding of frieze: egg-and-dart and <i>taenia</i>	×	×	×?
Cornice			
Cornice with dentil	×	?	
Cornice with consoles		?	×
Running spiral on corona	×		×
Sima: astragal and palmette frieze	×		×

Table 1: Distribution of features in the buildings commissioned by the Vedii

²³⁸ See above chap. 5.1.2.

²³⁹ See above chap. 5.2.2.1.

²⁴⁰ PLATTNER 2002, 248; PLATTNER 2008, 276.

²⁴¹ PLATTNER 2002, 248; PLATTNER 2008, 276.

This distribution of pattern is almost too regular to be coincidental; in addition to the same context for their manufacture, I therefore suggest that it was intended by the employer or principal.²⁴² All the structures that were – according to their inscriptions – commissioned by the Vedii, display the same characteristics.²⁴³ Yet, it is difficult to verify this hypothesis due to the lack of contemporary buildings that are proved *not* to be commissioned by the Vedii. Nevertheless, this well-defined group of structures sheds new light on the relationship between donor and donation. It might have been part of the building concept of the Vedii to create a certain pattern in the decoration that could visually connect buildings of different layout and purpose – a Bouleuterion as a civic institution, a bath-gymnasium-complex as a recreational, but also semi-public institution, and a family tomb monument. These patterns would have been recognized by the viewer. Stated differently, one might say that the Vedii used the architectural decoration to establish a visual trademark for the outsider. Further research will clarify if this was a common practice among Roman benefactors. A potential explanation model might be the personal connection between the Vedii and Emperor Antoninus Pius. Specialized workshops of the Roman emperor have been identified for the period from Domitian to Hadrian and for the Severans.²⁴⁴ On a smaller scale, the Vedii might have tried to copy this model for their own building activities.

(U. Quatember)

²⁴² Similar thoughts concerning the capitals were also expressed by L. Bier, cf. SCHERRER 2005, 135 note 55.

²⁴³ The East Gymnasium, as far as can be said at present, will show no exception to this rule. Even though the particulars are not known, the sculpture found in the “Kaisersaal” points towards the Vedii, as does – according to my theory – the architectural decoration. On the evidence from the sculpture, see DILLON 1996, 261–274.

²⁴⁴ FREYBERGER 1991, esp. 133–135.

6. MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

The building description in Chapter 2 deals with all aspects of structure and design. The present chapter offers a summary of building techniques with more detailed information about materials and methods of construction.

6.1 Materials

The Bouleuterion, in its first phase, was built largely of white marble and bluish gray marble. The former probably came from quarries located around Ephesos.²⁴⁵ The bluish gray marble was taken directly from Panayırdağ, where quarries are a conspicuous feature of the landscape, around the base on the east side,²⁴⁶ and on the mountain itself. Brick was used only in the back-stage corridor in the construction of a blind arcade which fronted the rough south façade of the stage wall, probably late in the building's history (pl. 40, 1). Pavers made of a porous, light gray limestone²⁴⁷ replaced an original marble paving in several locations. *Opus caementicium*²⁴⁸ was used in significant quantities only as bedding for the marble seating and stairways of the *cavea* (pl. 12, 1), and in lesser quantities in the “petit appareil” walls inserted between the piers of the *parodoi* during the second (i.e. Antonine) phase (plan 5). The only surviving elements employing imported materials were columns of the *scaenae frons*, which were made from red Egyptian granite (pls. 73, 1–2).²⁴⁹

6.2 Stone Working²⁵⁰

Bluish gray marble was used for the basic structural elements of the building, where its roughness and the size of its units were appropriate to the functions of support and enclosure. The great curved retaining wall and the thinner wall it supported (pls. 16, 1–2) were made of bluish gray marble, as were the lower portions of the long stage wall (plan 4) and its terminal piers. The interior surfaces were hidden behind a marble revetment, either in the form of thick orthostat slabs, as in the podia of the orchestra (pl. 29, 2) and *summa cavea* (pls. 24, 1–2), and the curved rear wall (pl. 17), or thinner marble sheets, as in the column-bearing pedestals and the walls of the *scaenae frons* (plan 4; 5; pl. 36, 3). It is unlikely that the rough surface of the scene wall on the corridor side was ever intended to be seen, and at some late period an attempt was made to mask portions of it with brick (pl. 40, 1; 43, 2). The only exposed bluish gray marble surfaces were those of the curved outer wall and the corner piers. The former probably represents a cheaper and faster mode of reconstruction.²⁵¹ The original appearance of this masonry is preserved in several contiguous courses at the base of the wall between Buttresses 2 and 3 (pl. 16, 2). The blocks show a uniform rustication with carefully rounded bolsters that are angled in at the sides. These blocks are finished with a point, the beveled portions with a fine toothed chisel, and there are narrow, neatly drafted margins at the vertical joints. Similar blocks appear at the base of the front wall on the corridor side. The units of the corner piers, below the marble superstructure, display a variety of masonry styles.

The upper scene wall alternated marble string courses with doubled orthostats of which only the inner blocks were of marble (plan 5; pl. 38, 2). Marble was used for the exposed portions of the *analemmata* (pls. 25, 2; 26, 2), which were similar in construction to the upper scene wall, for the seating and steps of the *cavea*, and for the footings which supported the curved marble orthostat slabs of the podia and the rear retaining wall (pl. 18, 1). It was used for door frames, for the base moldings and molded crown blocks of the pedestals, and,

²⁴⁵ BENNDORF 1906, 38–41 fig. 10; ATALAY 1976/77, 59–60; ATALAY 1985, 311–314. Most recently the survey by L. MOENS and collaborators (University of Gent), cf. KOLLER 1999, 40; Jahresbericht ÖAI 1999, 381–382; Jahresbericht ÖAI 2001, 382.

²⁴⁶ BENNDORF 1906, 39.

²⁴⁷ LANG-AUINGER 1996, 23; THÜR 2005, 22.

²⁴⁸ On *opus caementicium* in general s. LAMPRECHT 1987.

²⁴⁹ MIELSCH 1985, 67 pl. 22 no. 749–755; BORGHINI 2001, 225–226.

²⁵⁰ On stone working in general see ROCKWELL 1993; ADAM 1994, 29–40.

²⁵¹ See chap. 2.1.1.

with the exception of some granite columns, for the aedicular architecture they supported. All vertical marble surfaces were exposed, at least in the original building phase. Holes for iron pins in the upper walls, preserved at both ends of the stage building, indicate revetment, but this represents an alteration. An orthostat block belonging to this wall, originally recorded by J. Keil and preserved in the depot under the Domitian Terrace, bears a portion of a Hadrianic letter.²⁵² It was later covered by marble paneling, as revetment holes in its surface show (pl. 62), into which the inscription was recut.

All visible surfaces in the building's interior, with the exception of the reveals of the stage doors, were carefully finished, normally with fine to medium toothed chisels. Drafted margins cut with flat or fine toothed chisels can be seen in the curved surface of the footing of the rear wall, and along the top edges of the fascias of the architraves. The lack of drafting in the blocks of the *analemmata* is probably due to the fact that these walls were refinished after the *pulpitum* was built.

Bedding surfaces vary in treatment. The well-preserved stretch of scene wall behind Pedestal 6 (plan 4; pl. 38, 2) shows a two-row construction consisting of marble blocks in front with bluish gray marble behind. The finely finished top surface shows the marks of the point and the toothed chisel. Shallow beds were cut in two places to receive blocks of the next course. The orthostat courses were finely finished, top and bottom, without *anathyrosis*. In the *analemma* walls, the bedding surfaces of string courses and orthostats were chiseled smooth.

Vertical joints are tight. *Anathyrosis* consists of broad margins produced with a fine toothed chisel adjacent to the face and sometimes along the top as well, while the slightly recessed center is more roughly worked with a point. The backs of marble blocks are quarry-faced or worked rough.

Setting lines appear in a number of places throughout the building, often accompanied by pry holes. Most conspicuous in Pedestals 2 and 5 (pl. 37), they are helpful in determining the precise positions of bases for statues and columns. Setting lines can also be seen in the blocks on top of the scene wall, in both kinds of marble.

6.3 Clamps and Dowels

The outer retaining wall is remarkable in that it utilized neither clamps nor dowels; stability depended instead on the sheer weight of its units, occasional changes in height within individual stones, and a series of piers and buttresses with which it was bonded. The marble portions of the building, by contrast, employed both devices; clamps connected blocks horizontally within a course, while dowels prevented the courses from shifting in relation to one another.²⁵³ Clamps and dowels were made of iron and set with lead.²⁵⁴

Clamps connecting the blocks of the footings that supported the curved orthostat slabs of the rear wall, and of the podium of the upper *cavea*, were set a uniform distance back from the wall's outer surface. Clamps in both the orthostat and string courses of the *analemmata* were also aligned equidistant from the wall edge and close to it, as were those of the scene wall where a single row was used even in the string courses that were more than a meter wide. Doubled clamps appear only in the column-bearing pedestals of the second phase where they tied together pairs of stylobate blocks.

Clamp sizes varied with the tasks they performed. Normal clamps, such as those in the scene and *analemma* walls, and in the footings that supported the curved orthostat slabs of the *diazoma* podium and rear wall, measured between 14 and 25 cm long and were from 2–4 cm wide. The paired clamps of the pedestals were relatively large, with cuttings ca. 24–26 cm long by 4–5 cm wide, and clamp holes 5–7 cm deep. Those joining the low, thin riser slabs of the seating are 16–17 cm long and only 1.6–2.3 cm wide. Colossal clamps, measuring 28–43 cm long, anchored both the crown slabs of the pedestals and the lateral extensions of the pedestal shafts to the scene wall (pl. 37; 42, 2), while the two smaller pedestals were attached to their adjacent piers as well. In this system, necessitated by the different heights of the blocks being joined, one hook was set into a hole in the pedestal, and the other end of the clamp let down through a radially cut slot into a second hole, about

²⁵² See below chap. 8.2.1.

²⁵³ On clamps and dowels in general see ADAM 1994, 51–58.

²⁵⁴ On dowels from the roughly contemporary Celsus Library see HUEBER 1989, 224–225 fig. 8.

12 cm beyond the wall face. Slots and clamp channels were 3–4 cm wide. Channels were between 2 and 5 cm deep, clamp holes ca. 6.5 cm deep.

A complete clamp, *in situ* in the east *analemma* wall where it can be seen through a robber's hole, is 12 cm long \times 2 cm wide and 3.5 cm thick. A second clamp in the podium footing, near the central staircase of the upper *cavea*, measures 15.3 \times 2 cm. It is set in lead that bears the multiple impressions of a tool with a pyramidal tip used to tamp the soft metal into place. This practice of working the lead around the clamp for greater stability can also be seen in one of the large anchor clamps where the mason used a flat chisel.

Iron dowels fitted snugly into square holes in the upper blocks. The much larger holes in the bedding surfaces below, either square or rectangular, were filled with lead, generally by means of pour channels after the course above was laid. All but one of the dowel holes in the footing of the podium behind the *diazoma* lack pour channels (pl. 24, 2). They were apparently considered unnecessary as the orthostat slabs they secured, measuring only 1.10 m high and 0.18 m thick, were light enough to move into place, the molten lead having first been poured in from above. Channels were V-shaped in section, and could extend either perpendicularly or obliquely to the wall face. Those which fed the large dowel holes for the column bases were more than 0.40 m long. One dowel hole in pedestal 1 had two channels (plan 4; 5; pl. 38, 1).

Dowel holes were doubled in the column bases, in the corner piers and in the jamb of the door that lead from the west *parodos* to the *vomitorium* staircase. A dowel is preserved on the scene wall above Pedestal 5. It projects 3.7 cm from the bottom of a block belonging to the first marble course and has a cross section measuring 1 \times 1 cm. A dowel of the same cross-sectional dimensions has left its impression in the lead that fills a large, rectangular hole in the podium base, near the central stairway of the upper *cavea*. A second impression, 1.1 \times 1.5 cm can be seen in the lead preserved in a dowel hole that is 3.5 cm square at the northeast corner of the wall segment behind Pedestal 5.

6.4 Lifting

Of all the lifting devices available to Roman builders,²⁵⁵ only the lewis hole is evident, and even this was used sparingly.²⁵⁶ In general terms, these were cut in the upper surface of the stone to be lifted, normally close to the center of gravity. They are essentially deep, elongated rectangular slots whose narrow ends taper out towards the bottom. The lifting hardware would have consisted of two wedge-shaped pieces of metal which were jammed into the tapering sides, and a third piece with parallel sides that was inserted between them.²⁵⁷ All three were connected to a single ring which was attached in turn to a crane. After the block had been lowered into place, the ring was slipped out and the three elements could be easily removed.

In the Bouleuterion, the largest lewis holes are found in the stylobate blocks of the pedestals (plan 4; pl. 37). Two of these were later provided with pour channels and used as dowel holes for statue bases. They are typically ca. 12 cm long, 5.5 cm wide and 9–12 cm deep. Some have the long sides vertical, while others narrow towards the bottom. The lewis hole in Pedestal 6 has one vertical side while the other slopes inward (pl. 38, 2). These cuttings are also seen in the three pier segments and in the pier base in the southeast corner. In the latter, the hole is 9.5 cm long by 2.5 cm wide and 6.5 cm deep. The lewis holes in the pier segments have similar measurements in plan, but are shallower, although this was probably due to the fact that the blocks were worked down after being set in place. The spring stone of the arch which once spanned the east *parodos* (pl. 27, 2) has a lewis hole that is 7.5 cm long \times 2 cm wide and 6.5 cm deep.

The absence of lifting holes in the bluish gray marble blocks, even the very largest, which belonged to the curved foundation wall, is not surprising if we assume that they were quarried from the mountain into which the Bouleuterion was built, and simply let down with the help of gravity, and shifted into place. Their absence in the marble blocks of the stage building with the exception of the corner piers, however, is puzzling.

²⁵⁵ See ADAM 1994, 43–51.

²⁵⁶ On lewis holes in the Celsus Library and the Agora South Gate in Ephesos see HUEBER 1989, 222. fig. 3–6. On lewises in Pergamon see AYLWARD 2009, 309–322.

²⁵⁷ Cf. ADAM 1994, 48–50 figs. 102. 110.

6.5 Revetment

The curved marble orthostats of the podium at the base of the upper *cavea*, and the retaining wall at its top, acted as revetment in that they masked coarse surfaces of mortared rubble and roughly cut bluish gray marble. But as they measured between 0.20 and 0.25 m thick and were secured by a system of clamps and dowels they must be regarded primarily as structural in nature.

The stage building and the pedestals of the *scaenae frons* were revetted with thin sheets of marble which were fixed to the supporting masonry by means of iron pins.²⁵⁸ As described above, the marble walls of the original phase must have been exposed as they were finely dressed, and bore at least one inscription. They were covered subsequently in the course of the renovations under Vedius. The white marble panels inscribed with the Imperial letters, preserved in the British Museum,²⁵⁹ have been reconstituted from numerous fragments and given a slate backing. The few accessible edges bear saw marks which seem to be modern; they were probably cut by J. T. Wood from larger panels of unknown size and trimmed to facilitate transportation and display, and thus offer no technical information about methods of attachment. They are between 6 cm and 8 cm thick.

A number of holes in the scene wall measuring 2×2 cm held anchor pins of which four are preserved (plan 4). Arranged in two pairs, these secured the pilaster bases behind the first and second columns. The holes of each pair are spaced 0.34 m apart and are 0.32 m above the stylobate, the same height as the one preserved column base. Projecting from the iron plugs are flat nails which extended out before being bent down and inserted into holes in the tops of the pilaster bases. The same method was used to attach the base moldings of the pedestals to the masonry behind them. But the marble sheets masking the pedestal shafts, which had a maximum thickness of only 2 cm, were held in place by straight pins whose holes can be seen in the tops of the base moldings and in the under surfaces of the stylobate blocks.

The numerous anchor holes visible in the piers probably belong to the first phase, remaining in use through the second phase, when the walls around the three original doorways were revetted with the rest of the façade. When the second and fifth doorways were cut through, iron pins in their sides secured either thin door jambs or marble sheeting. Aside from the cuttings for the pilaster bases and pedestal base moldings, the numerous anchor holes visible in the preserved wall surfaces are without an obvious pattern, but must reflect the arrangement of revetment slabs of various sizes. Some piers also show anchor holes in their exterior corners, and the pier against which Pedestal 1 was built has a pair of holes for horizontal pins in its upper surface.

6.6 Petit appareil

This well-known method of Roman construction, found throughout Ephesos,²⁶⁰ was used only in the walls built up between the piers of the *parodoi* in the Antonine phase (plan 5), to support vaults which carried extensions of the seating to the stage wall. These walls were capped at the level of the tall bases above the pillars with leveling courses made of re-used orthostats, above which the walls continued to the springing of a rising vault. Short segments of *petit appareil* were built on the same vertical plane on the two corner pillars hiding the tall pedestals and bases which had supported the corner pilasters in the first phase. The walls were made of mortared rubble faced with stones worked flat on their outer surfaces and set in regular courses which varied from 0.16 to 0.24 m in height. The vertical joints are generally narrow with adjacent stones sometimes touching, while the horizontal mortar beds are thick and normally contain smaller stones and bits of terracotta.

6.7 Brickwork

Brickwork appears in the Bouleuterion only in the rear corridor where it was used in walls that were built up against the rough south face of the scene (pls. 40, 1; 43, 2).²⁶¹ The existing buttresses were encased in a masonry

²⁵⁸ This is also the case for the marble revetment of the Nymphaeum Traiani, cf. QUATEMBER, FiE (forthcoming). Marble slabs in the domestic context of the “Hanghäuser” are also often secured by bronze pins. See KOLLER 2004, 111–124.

²⁵⁹ See below chap. 8.2.2–8.2.6.

²⁶⁰ For example the back wall of the Nymphaeum Traiani and the “Kaisersaal” of the Vedius Gymnasium and the East Gymnasium; see QUATEMBER 2009, 463–465.

²⁶¹ For a summary on the usage of brick in Greece and Asia Minor see DODGE 1987, 106–116. On brick formats in Ephesos see THÜR

made of re-used stones to a height of 0.30–0.50 m. These piers then continued in brick and were joined by broad brick arches. The bricks measure 30–32 × 16–30 × 4–5 cm and vary in color from an orange-yellow to red. The mortar beds are generally shallow, measuring ca. 2 cm. Vertical joints are less regular.

6.8 Paving

The paving of the orchestra was laid after the orchestra was widened and thus belonged to the latest major phase in the history of the building (pls. 8, 2; 12, 1–2). It was removed in the 1960's in the course of W. Alzinger's search for the Hellenistic Bouleuterion. Early excavation photographs and drawings show long, polished pavers finely joined, laid in tapering rows. Faint plaster lines on the curved face of the podium's base molding, which the pavers abutted, give a thickness of ca. 6 cm.

The marble paving which covered the *pulpitum* and *parodoi* (pls. 3,1; 6, 1; 12, 1–2) was also removed in order to excavate the stage, and can be seen only in old photographs. This was apparently patched sometime in antiquity by paving stones made of a soft, light gray limestone, some of which remain at the outer ends of the *parodoi*, and in front of the stairway of the western *vomitorium*. This type of paving survives also in the rear corridor near SD 2 and 5 and the lateral doors (SD 1 and SD 7), and it is possible that the entire corridor was originally covered with it. This stone was also used in some of the piers that supported the brickwork of the late arcade. Its softness made it ideal for patching, as pieces could be easily cut to fit irregular spaces where they were needed. Pavers with their sides exposed measure 6–10 cm thick. The space directly south of Stage Door 1 shows two layers. This material is known from the "Hanghäuser" (Terrace Houses) where it is used for doorjambs and other structural features.²⁶²

(L. Bier)

2005, 22–23; THÜR 2009, 483–496.

²⁶² LANG-AUINGER 1996, 23; THÜR 2005, 22.

7. BUILDING TYPOLOGY AND DATE

7.1 Architectural Context and Date

A *terminus ante quem* for the pre-Vedius building phase is provided by the Hadrianic letter of A.D. 128/129 which was carved on the scene wall and covered by veneer in the Vedian phase.²⁶³ A date *post quem* is more difficult to arrive at, depending as it does largely on its perceived position in the architectural development of a general type.

As the original building was constructed sometime before 128/129, but after the layout of the “Staatsmarkt” under Augustus,²⁶⁴ it rests within two overlapping areas of uncertainty in the history of Roman architecture which limit our ability to connect it with a specific time. The first is the origin of the Roman Odeion, the small covered theater that blended the semicircular plan of the open theater, reduced in scale, and covered with a wooden roof.²⁶⁵ The second is the development of the columnar façade in Roman Asia Minor, as it appeared not only in theatrical contexts, but in other types of public monuments including *nymphaea*, gates and grave monuments.²⁶⁶ Examination of the building in both contexts will produce a range of possibility centering on the turn of the 2nd century, a date which is confirmed both by internal evidence, as well as comparanda from Ephesos and from other sites.

7.2 Semicircular Odeia and Bouleuteria

The monuments most closely resembling our Bouleuterion in size and the organization of its component parts belong to a distinct class of buildings designated “monuments non-inscrits” by J. Ch. Balty to distinguish them from the earlier type of roofed theater in which the *auditorium* was set within a rectangular outer wall,²⁶⁷ but which are here called semicircular to reflect the overall shape of the buildings. Examples in Asia Minor offering particularly close parallels are the Bouleuteria at Aphrodisias²⁶⁸ (pl. 54) and Cibyra²⁶⁹ (pl. 55). Each measures between 45 and 46 m across the front and follows the Vitruvian canon for the Roman theater in which a semicircular *cavea* is joined to a rectangular stage building.²⁷⁰ Both were entered through multiple doorways in the *scaenae* wall, and at Cibyra, as at Ephesos, direct access to the *diazoma* was provided by *vomitoria* consisting of vaulted staircases rising in two flights from the *parodoi*. The buildings at Aphrodisias and Cibyra should be dated to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century,²⁷¹ and are thus of little use for dating the original phase at Ephesos. But they are of some interest here because they illustrate the development of a form which may have been initiated at Ephesos and – due to her enormous prestige as the capital and gateway to Asia – disseminated to the east where we find the type fully developed in Roman cities like Philippopolis (el-Subha)²⁷², Pella²⁷³, Gadara²⁷⁴ and Philadelphia (Ammon)²⁷⁵. There were, however, semicircular roofed theaters being built already in the 1st and early 2nd century which provide a partial context for the Bouleuterion at Ephesos. All were built as *odeia*.

²⁶³ See below chap. 8.2.1, inscr. 4 on the letter.

²⁶⁴ KENZLER 2006, 169–181; most recently THÜR 2007, 77–90.

²⁶⁵ See MEINEL 1980, *passim*.

²⁶⁶ See below. For a summary on the development of early aedicular faades see BERNIS 2002, 159–174.

²⁶⁷ BALTY 1991, 511–551. MEINEL 1980, 35 defines the Ephesian Bouleuterion as “Mischtyp”.

²⁶⁸ BIER 2008, 144–168; BALTY 1991, 515–519; MEINEL 1980, 321–327. 347–352.

²⁶⁹ BALTY 1991, 519–521.

²⁷⁰ The circles described by the seating in both bouleuteria actually extend beyond 180°.

²⁷¹ Aphrodisias: BIER 2008, 144–168, esp.++ 156–161 on the chronology; Cibyra: BALTY 1991, 519–520.

²⁷² MEINEL 1980, 329; but see BALTY 1991, 439–443.

²⁷³ BALTY 1991, 545–547.

²⁷⁴ BALTY 1991, 541.

²⁷⁵ BALTY 1991, 538–540; MEINEL 1980, 292–294.

The earliest were great Imperial foundations of the Flavian period which are known almost entirely from literary sources. The 6th century chronicler John Malalas reported that Vespasian had ordered an Odeion built at Caesarea on the spot where a Jewish synagogue had stood, and remarked on the great diameter of the auditorium.²⁷⁶ Towards the end of the 1st century in the reign of Domitian another enormous Odeion was built in Rome specifically to accommodate musical competitions connected with the Capitoline games.²⁷⁷ This has left some traces so it is possible to envision a vast building with a semicircular *auditorium* of about 110 m in diameter.²⁷⁸ A third building of this class rose in Corinth at about this time.²⁷⁹ Philostratus' well-known description refers to a costly refurbishment paid for by Herodes Atticus, but excavations conducted in the 1930's by O. Broneer proved that the building existed in its full diameter of 67 m before the end of the 1st century.²⁸⁰ This series of *odeia*, characterized by their sheer size, sumptuous interior decoration and scenic apparatus, continues into the 2nd century; two large *odeia* were built at Vienne (Colonia Iulia Augusta Florentia Vienna)²⁸¹ and at Lyon (Lugdunum)²⁸² in Roman Gaul probably during Hadrian's reign, and Herodes Atticus presented his great Odeion to the city of Athens under the Antonines.²⁸³ All were eclipsed by the colossal Odeion built at Carthage in 207 for the Pythian games.²⁸⁴ It had a diameter of 96 m and a seating capacity of over 10 000!

7.3 The Smaller Non-Inscribed Roofed Theaters

The class of monuments to which the Bouleuterion at Ephesos in its first phase belongs represents a parallel but separate development that can be traced back with certainty no further than the late 1st century A.D. It consists both of Odeia and Bouleuteria (i. e. roofed theaters) of more modest dimensions, in no case exceeding 50 m in width. The great *odeia* were clearly built as *tours de force* and duly became objects of wonder to ancient authors like Pausanias²⁸⁵ and Philostratus²⁸⁶, who described them in enthusiastic terms. These writers tended to limit their remarks to brief *ekphrasis* emphasizing costly materials and lavish decoration. Roofs are briefly mentioned as spectacular features which testify to the sumptuousness of the project and the generosity of the patron but few technical details are provided and little information is given regarding their actual appearance. R. Meinel's confidence in restoring enormous trusses over these vast spaces seems overly optimistic especially considering that the single engineering analysis he offers deals with the much smaller building at Aphrodisias.²⁸⁷ The roof of cedar wood mentioned by Philostratus for Athens may have been limited to only a portion of the building; whether it covered the entire interior space remains an object of dispute.²⁸⁸ The Bouleuterion at Ephesos and its immediate successors in Asia Minor²⁸⁹ and possibly in the eastern provinces of Syria and Jordan²⁹⁰ represent a more realistic approach to providing an indoor theatrical space. The uniformity of their spanning distances varies from 15.50–54 m but the figures cluster around 26 m. The dimension is significant because it matches the widths of the largest ancient basilicas like *San Paolo fuori le mura* in Rome²⁹¹ that were

²⁷⁶ THURN 2000, 197 (X 46; Dindorf 261,13). See FRÉZOULS 1961, 55 and note 4. 5.

²⁷⁷ MEINEL 1980, 298–299.

²⁷⁸ PLATNER 1929, III 71; COARELLI 1977, 807–846; GROS 1996, 311–312.

²⁷⁹ MEINEL 1980, 59–80. 247–252. 287–288.

²⁸⁰ BRONEER 1932, 144.

²⁸¹ MEINEL 1980, 309–310.

²⁸² MEINEL 1980, 304–309.

²⁸³ MEINEL 1980, 25–26. 80–117. 280–282. 285–287.

²⁸⁴ MEINEL 1980, 312–313.

²⁸⁵ Paus. 7, 20, 6 on the Odeion of Herodes Atticus in Athens.

²⁸⁶ Philostr. *soph.* 2, 1, 5 (Odeion of Herodes Atticus in Athens and Odeion in Corinth); Philostr. *soph.* 2, 5, 4 and 2, 8, 4 (Odeion on the Agora in Athens).

²⁸⁷ MEINEL 1980, 323–326. 342–352. 373–416.

²⁸⁸ See the contribution of M. KORRES in: A. von KIENLIN (ed.), *Holztragwerke in der Antike*, Byzas 11 (forthcoming).

²⁸⁹ Bargylia: BALTY 1991, 531. 579 (diam. 15.5 m; dated to the 1st or 2nd century A.D.); Magnesia on the Meander: BALTY 1991, 524–526 (diam. 40 m; dated to 147 A.D.).

²⁹⁰ Gadara: BALTY 1991, 541 (diam. 54 m; dated to the 2nd century); Pella: BALTY 1991, 545–547 (diam. 39 m, dated to the 2nd century); Amman: BALTY 1991, 538–539 (diam. 38 m, dated to the second half of the 2nd century); Gerasa: BALTY 1991, 541–545 (diam. 58.60 m, dated to 155/156 A.D.).

²⁹¹ MEINEL 1980, 343 fig. 144, 4.

covered with great trussed roofs, and must represent known or perceived limits in wood truss construction in antiquity.

7.4 The Bouleuterion in its First Phase (pl. 45)

All but one of the very few monuments of this class that have been dated prior to the Antonine period, are located in the Balkans and show a later stage of development than the original Bouleuterion at Ephesos. The *odeia* at Nikopolis (Epirus)²⁹² and Patras²⁹³, which were probably built in the first or early 2nd century A.D. (Nikopolis) and in the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D. (Patras), differ from it in the greater complexity of their plans, especially in the area of the stage, as, for example, in the use of *paraskenia* and vaulted *parodoi*. The Odeion at Nea Paphos in Western Cyprus, built probably in the reign of Trajan, seems to have had a *scaenae frons* resembling the one at Ephesos, but in its second (i. e. Vedius) phase, rather than in its first.²⁹⁴

The original phase at Ephesos has its closest parallel in the earliest known instance of this class of monuments “non-inscrits”, a building excavated at Gortyn on Crete by an Italian mission in 1921 under the direction of L. Pernier.²⁹⁵ In 2004 several trenches were laid out in the building to clarify its history (pl. 56, 1).²⁹⁶ The foundation inscription, datable to 100 A.D., identified it as a rebuilding under Trajan of an *odeum ruina conlapsum*.²⁹⁷ Its great circular retaining wall, with a diameter of 32.40 m and a thickness of almost 2 m, was reused from a building of Augustan date, which was built over an earlier Hellenistic structure of square plan.²⁹⁸ In the late 2nd century A.D. the Odeion was completely rebuilt in *opus caementicium* reusing blocks of the first Roman Imperial phase.²⁹⁹

The circular seating was preserved only in its lower rows. The outer wall, which carefully incorporated on its inner face earlier blocks bearing the text of the archaic Gortyn law code, extended about 33° beyond a semicircle on each side so as to bracket a raised stage with correspondingly rounded sides. This stage could be entered through three doorways in the *scaenae* wall and by lateral doorways from the ends of the outer corridor. A paved orchestra extended to the base of the *pulpitum* and was likewise accessible from the outer corridor by *parodoi* and by two stairways from the stage.

The relatively small size and unusual shape of the plan at its southern end resulted from the constraints imposed by the preexisting building site and should not obscure important analogies which can be drawn with the pre-Vedius Bouleuterion at Ephesos. The stage of the Gortyn Odeion had rows of beam holes cut in the foundation of the *scaenae* wall and in the back of the *pulpitum* wall opposite,³⁰⁰ which indicates that, at least in the initial phase, a wooden floor extended for the entire length of 26 m. Neither traces of doorway thresholds nor tongue walls were found to indicate that the arrangement included *paraskenia (versurae)*, and as these projections would have been necessary to anchor vaults for supporting extensions of the upper *cavea*, with or without *tribunalia*, the *parodoi* must have been open as at Ephesos.

²⁹² MEINEL 1980, 259–267; VOGIATZES 2006, 496–501.

²⁹³ MEINEL 1980, 267–280 with bibliography.

²⁹⁴ Little documentation has been published and heavy restoration work was carried out even as excavation proceeded. BALTY 1991, 547–549 has placed this building in the reign of Trajan when the city was rebuilt. According to the published documentation, the building had a semicircular *auditorium*, 48 m in diameter, whose lower *cavea* was divided by radial stairways into five *cunei*. The diagrammatic plan (BALTY 1991, 548 fig. 268) appears to indicate broad pedestals projecting from a front wall that is pierced by doorways connecting the stage area to a narrow backstage corridor. There is no indication in the brief reports as to whether traces of additional segments of stage wall were found (or might have existed), but a gap in the center of about 4 m that corresponds to the width of the orchestra could have accommodated two additional “piers,” adding three doorways. The *scaenae frons* would then have had four broad pedestals for paired columns. The plan seems to indicate smaller pedestals at either end for single columns.

²⁹⁵ PERNIER 1914, 373–376; PERNIER 1925/26, 1–61, esp. 35–57; MEINEL 1980, 177–178, 183–187, 253–259; BALTY 1991, 437–439.

²⁹⁶ DI VITA 2004, 671–702.

²⁹⁷ GUARDUCCI 1950, 355 no. 331. The Trajanic building may actually have been a second rebuilding after a great earthquake in A.D. 46. See MEINEL 1980, 254, note 707 and 258–259.

²⁹⁸ Also MEINEL 1980, 253–254 considers this building with the round outer wall which conformed to the circular seating as an innovation which set the standard for the fully developed Roman Odeion.

²⁹⁹ DI VITA 2004, 689–697.

³⁰⁰ PERNIER 1925/26, 45.

The articulation of the scene wall offers another point of comparison with the Bouleuterion at Ephesos in its pre-Vedius phase. Projecting into the stage from the brick *scaenae frons* were eight “pilastrî” built up of single blocks of stone about 1 m wide and 2 m deep.³⁰¹ L. Pernier suggested in his excavation report that stone voussoirs found on the stage may have belonged to arches that connected these piers.³⁰² He does not, however, provide dimensions, and they may, instead, have covered wall niches set into the walls between the piers, whose existence is suggested by statues of draped and undraped figures found in the debris.³⁰³ It seems most probable that the “pilastrî” functioned in the same manner as the piers that articulated the stage wall at Ephesos (pls. 32, 2–3; 33); they must have supported single columns arranged in two stories that helped to support parallel roof beams.³⁰⁴

The Odeion at Gortyn and the Bouleuterion at Ephesos, in its original phase, had a similar *scaenae frons*, whose design was entirely independent of the aedicular façade as it developed through the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. in the Greek east. These displays incorporated projecting platforms in two or three stories which produced “cages of space”³⁰⁵ defined by paired columns and pilasters, and the entablatures they carried.

The design, which was used not only in theaters but in all kinds of public monuments, offered space for the display of honorific portrait statues of the local elite in well-organized and highly visible ensembles which typically included other family members, as well as Imperial portraits, personifications and deities.³⁰⁶ By the high Imperial period it had become standard in Asia Minor, but had appeared already fully developed under the Flavian emperors, as we know, for example, from the Domitianic stage building of the Great Theater at Ephesos (pl. 56, 2)³⁰⁷, the Nymphaeum of C. Laecanius Bassus in Ephesos (pl. 49, 1)³⁰⁸ and the Nymphaeum at Miletus (pl. 57, 1)³⁰⁹.

The failure of the architects of the Odeion at Gortyn and the original Bouleuterion at Ephesos to take advantage of a system that offered such possibilities for display must be attributed to practical considerations. The “Tabernakelfassade,” whether it appeared inside a building, as in the “Kaisersaal” of the Harbour Gymnasium at Ephesos (pl. 57, 2)³¹⁰, or in the open air, was essentially a decorative screen attached to the stage wall. It usually terminated in a series of low pediments,³¹¹ which were unsuitable as members of support. The buildings at Gortyn and Ephesos, that deployed a series of true supporting members across the entire width of the scene wall, must represent the first tentative attempts to come to terms with the technical problems of roofing these large, irregular spaces. It is possible that the Bouleuterion at Ephesos, which must, like the Odeion at Gortyn (pl. 56, 1), date around the turn of the 2nd century, was the first building to achieve this. In subsequent roofed theaters like the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias (pls. 46, 1; 54), or the one resulting from Vedius’ renovation, the column display was detached from the roof. It was relieved of its support function to become a purely decorative device.

The disposition of single, column bearing piers across the façade gives the original Bouleuterion at Ephesos a decidedly archaic aspect. As an important visual attribute of the building, as well as a structural one, it may be seen as continuing a tradition begun in the Council Houses of the Hellenistic cities.³¹² The lower walls of these buildings were normally plain without projecting elements of any kind, aside from an occasional speak-

³⁰¹ PERNIER 1925/26, 45–46.

³⁰² PERNIER 1925/26, 46. 51–54.

³⁰³ PERNIER 1925/26, 46, left open the possibility that they belonged to niches in the *scaenae frons*.

³⁰⁴ MEINEL 1980, 258 is certainly correct in suggesting that this was the case at Gortyn.

³⁰⁵ MACDONALD 1986, 245.

³⁰⁶ BERNS 2002, 167–170.

³⁰⁷ HEBERDEY et al. 1912; HÖRMANN 1923/24, 275–345; most recently ÖZTÜRK 2005, 4–14 with bibliography.

³⁰⁸ FOSSEL – LANGMANN 1972–75, 301–310; FOSSEL – LANGMANN 1983, 53–55; DORL-KLINGENSCHMID 2001, 186–187 (cat. 24) with bibliography; JUNG 2006, 79–86; AURENHAMMER – JUNG (in preparation).

³⁰⁹ On the architecture see HÜLSEN 1919 and also DORL-KLINGENSCHMID 2001, 215–216 with further references; on the dating see most recently ALFÖLDI 1998, 367–399.

³¹⁰ Cf. the reconstruction drawing in MILTNER 1958, 44 fig. 35; BENNDORF – HEBERDEY 1898, 64–66; KEIL 1933, 19–21; cf. also QUATEMBER 2007, 103–104 with further references.

³¹¹ Alternatively, a pediment spanning several bays could be used, cf. the Nymphaeum of Laecanius Bassus, JUNG 2006, 84 fig. 6. 7 or the Market Gate of Miletus, see KNACKFUSS 1924, 69–155, esp. 142–148. Nonetheless, such a solution seems far less probable for the interior of a building because of the height of such a pediment.

³¹² MEINEL 1980, 159–187.

ers' platform placed against the front wall on the central axis. The upper walls, however, could be articulated with pilasters which rested on a continuous molding and extended around the hall's interior. Such a scheme was used, for example, in the Bouleuterion at Miletus,³¹³ and the Odeia at the Agora in Athens³¹⁴ and in Pompeii.³¹⁵ At all of these buildings, the case has been made for roof trusses set upon the tops of the walls, either along the longitudinal or lateral axis, whose ends rested on facing pairs of pilasters. The projecting piers at Ephesos, with their columns in two stories, must certainly mark the position of the roof trusses, as they are not equidistant but aligned with the radial buttresses of the outer retaining wall. Much deeper and imposing than mere pilasters or engaged columns, they served, above all, the structural function of shortening (by 1–1.20 m) what must have appeared at this early stage, formidable spanning distances. But they would have produced at the same time a similar visual impression to that of the Hellenistic buildings, since they subdivided the front wall vertically, and emphasized the structural connection between the roof and its supporting walls across the entire width of the building.

Seen in this light, other archaic aspects of the Ephesian Bouleuterion appear more integral to the building's style. The extension of the seating beyond a half-circle, combined with *analemma* walls positioned obliquely so that they form angles with the stage wall, is a standard feature of Greek theater architecture through the Classical and Hellenistic periods.³¹⁶ A variation on this arrangement can be seen in the Hellenistic Bouleuteria at Miletus and Athens, where the seating described more than 180° of a circle, but abutted *analemmata* that ran parallel to the stage.³¹⁷ The intention at Ephesos seems to have been to produce a plan of the first type, as the eastern *analemma* wall is angled (plan 1). The western wall, however, is parallel to the façade, suggesting either an error in laying out the ground plan, or (less likely) a change of plans after construction had already begun. The angle of the east *analemma* wall, in any case, is slight in comparison with all other buildings of this type. The use of open *parodoi*, as opposed to vaulted ones, is likewise characteristic of Greek theaters, having developed before the Roman period when *auditorium* and stage building were joined to produce a single, closed unit.³¹⁸

An early date for the original phase of the Bouleuterion at Ephesos is supported by a detail of technique. The style of the masonry at the base of the curved wall of the Ephesian Bouleuterion (pls. 16, 1–2), as described above, has precise parallels in the Roman scene of the great theater, dated by inscription to A.D. 66 (pl. 58, 1),³¹⁹ and the so-called Sockelbau (pl. 58, 2), dated to the time of Nero.³²⁰ This is particularly interesting as it raises the possibility that the Bouleuterion was part of the great building program undertaken at Ephesos under the Flavians.³²¹ It does not in itself, however, provide decisive evidence for a Flavian date,³²² and all that can be said for the time being is that a broad date of construction between the late 1st century and A.D. 128/129 seems likely on architectural and epigraphic grounds.³²³

7.5 The Vedius Phase (plan 6–7)

By the time Vedius decided to undertake renovations in the Bouleuterion, both the *scaenae frons* and the open *parodoi* must have looked decidedly archaic. This must have led to the decision to alter the building. The *scaenae frons* was detached from the roof and modernized, partly reusing architectural pieces from the earlier phase.³²⁴ Its characteristic features include in the lower story four pairs of columns on high pedestals, framed by a detached column on either side. One can assume that the alteration of projecting *aediculae* and receding

³¹³ KNACKFUSS 1908; KRISCHEN 1941, 7–12; TUCHELT 1975, 91–140; MEINEL 1980, 167–169.

³¹⁴ THOMPSON 1950, 31–141; MEINEL 1980, 44–56.

³¹⁵ MEINEL 1980, 36–42.

³¹⁶ On the history of Greek and Roman theater in general see recently BURMEISTER 2006 with bibliography; GROS 1996, 272–307.

³¹⁷ TUCHELT 1975, figs. 4, 1.2.

³¹⁸ See GROS 1996, 272–307.

³¹⁹ On the theater of Ephesos see HEBERDEY et al. 1912; HÖRMANN 1923/24, 275–345; recently ÖZTÜRK 2005, 4–14 with bibliography.

³²⁰ Inscription: IVE 410; SCHERRER 2000, 88–90 with further references.

³²¹ SCHERRER 1997, 93–112; HALFMANN 2001, 39–44.

³²² For example M. Waelkens indicated that Hellenistic masonry continued into the high Roman period, cf. WÆLKENS 1989, 77.

³²³ See below chap. 8.2.1, inscr. 4.

³²⁴ See above chap. 3.3.

bays was shifted in the upper story, which is the case in most façades of this kind contemporary with the Vedius *scaenae frons*. This leads to the reconstruction of a small pediment on top of each *aedicula*, probably alternating triangular and rounded in shape. The *aediculae* housed the statues of a rich sculptural program.³²⁵

Although details of the reconstruction of the Vedius *scaenae frons* have to remain hypothetical, it certainly represents an aedicular façade of the type known throughout the Roman Imperial period in Asia Minor. As has been mentioned above, examples such as the *scaenae frons* in the theaters of Aphrodisias (pl. 59, 1)³²⁶ and Stratonikeia³²⁷ date back to the late 1st century B.C. or the early 1st century A.D. In Ephesos, the earliest examples appear in the Flavian period and include the Nymphaeum of Laecanius Bassus (pl. 49, 1)³²⁸, the stage building of the theater (pl. 56, 2)³²⁹ and the so-called Marmorsaal in the Harbor Gymnasium (pl. 57, 2)³³⁰. Their utilization in different building types continues throughout the 2nd century A.D. and includes *nymphaea* such as the Nymphaeum Traiani (pl. 59, 2)³³¹ and the “Straßenbrunnen” (Street Fountain) (pl. 49, 2)³³² as well as rooms attached to gymnasia, for example in the Vedius Gymnasium³³³ and the East Gymnasium³³⁴ and the well known Library of Celsus (pl. 50, 1)³³⁵. Considering these numerous examples, the renovation of the Bouleuterion’s interior in the time of Vedius seems only appropriate.

Parallels for the secondary vaulting of formerly open *parodoi* can be found in Termessos (only in the south *parodos*)³³⁶ and in Perge (on both sides).³³⁷ Due to this construction, the *auditorium* was linked to the stage and the seating capacity was enlarged. The newly gained space was used for places of honor.

(L. Bier)

³²⁵ See below chap. 9.

³²⁶ REYNOLDS 1991, 15–28; BERNS 2002, 159–174.

³²⁷ MERT 1999; MERT 2002, 187–196, esp. fig. 11.

³²⁸ FOSSEL – LANGMANN 1972–75, 301–310; JUNG 2006, 79–86; AURENHAMMER – JUNG (in preparation).

³²⁹ HEBERDEY et al. 1912; HÖRMANN 1923/24, 275–345; recently ÖZTÜRK 2005, 4–14 with bibliography.

³³⁰ QUATEMBER 2007, 103–104 with further references.

³³¹ QUATEMBER, FiE (forthcoming).

³³² QUATEMBER, 2008c, 219–264; on summaries see also QUATEMBER 2008a, 129–134; QUATEMBER 2008b, 243–249.

³³³ STESKAL – LA TORRE 2008, 19–24, 295–296.

³³⁴ KEIL 1932, 25–51; KEIL 1933, 6–14; ALZINGER 1970, 1613–1615; SCHERRER 2000, 70–71; AUINGER – RATHMAYR 2007, 242.

³³⁵ WILBERG 1943; STROCKA 1978, 893–899; HUEBER 1985, 175–200; DORL-KLINGENSCHMID 2001, 191 (cat. 29).

³³⁶ DE BERNARDI FERRERO 1969, 11–34.

³³⁷ DE BERNARDI FERRERO 1970, 148–157; ÖZTÜRK 2009, esp. 23 pl. 2, 1.

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 γλυκυτάτῃι 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.,³³⁸ 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 732³³⁹, 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.³⁴⁰

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

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

³⁴⁰ 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.³⁴¹ 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 family³⁴² 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; PIR² 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

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

³⁴² 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 εἶναί 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· εὐ]χεται δὲ βουλευτῆς
 [γ]ενέσθαι· κἀγὼ τὴν μὲν δοκιμα[σίαν ἐφ' ὑμείν
 ποιούμα]ι· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐμποδῶν εἴη α]ὐτῷ, ἀλλ[ὰ]
 [δ]όξει τ[ῆς] τεμῆς ἄξιος, τὸ ἀργύριον ὅσον δ]ιδό[ασιν]
 [ο]ῖ βουλευ[όντες τῆς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐνεκα 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. Hicks³⁴³ 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

³⁴³ 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.³⁴⁴

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.³ 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]σίω[ν] 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 [ἦν]
 χρησίμ[ο]ς γενέσ[θαι] τῆ πατρ[ίδι], καὶ τοῦ ἔθ[ν]ου[ς] το[ύ] ἡγε-
 μόν[α]ς 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· κάγω τὴν μὲν [δοκι]μασία[ν] ἐ[φ'] ὑμῖν
 ποιῶμαι· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐνποδῶν [εἴ]η αὐτῶ, ἀλλὰ δόξαι τῆς τει[μ]ῆς ἄξι[ο]ς,
 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).

³⁴⁴ 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΄, πατήρ 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, imperator 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 career³⁴⁵), 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.

³⁴⁵ 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-]
 τήρ 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[ὐ]δήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος ἔμαθον οὐχ οὕτω[ς] ἐκ
 τῶν ὑμετέρων[ν γραμ]μάτων ὡς ἐκ τῶν [ἐκ]είνου· βουλόμε-
 νος γὰρ παρ´ ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν βοηθείας [εἰς τὸ]ν κόσμον τῶν
 ἔργων ὧν ὑμεῖν ἐπηγγελῆσθε 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]ὐτῷ [. . .]ς
 ἃ ἠτήσατ[ο] καὶ ἀπεδεξάμην ὅτι [οὐ] τὸν π[ολλῶν τῶ]ν πο-
 λειτευομένων τρόπον, οἱ τοῦ [παρ]αχρημ[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

[Αὐ]τοκράτω[ρ Καί]σαρ θεοῦ
 Ἄδριανοῦ υ[ι]ός, θεοῦ Τραια[νοῦ]
 Π[αρ]θικοῦ [υ]ιώνος, θεοῦ Ν[έρ-]
 οῦ ἔκγονος Τ[ίτος Αἴλιος Ἄ]δριανός
 Ἄντωνεῖνος Σεβασ[τός,] ἀρχιερεὺς
 μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆ[ς ἐξ]ουσίας τὸ
 ιγ', αὐτοκράτωρ [τ]ὸ [β', ὑπατο]ς τὸ δ',
 πατήρ πατρί[δος Ἐφεσίων τοῖς]
 ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ β[ουλῇ καὶ] τῷ δή[μῳ],
 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 13th 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

[Αὐ]τοκρά[τωρ Καί]σαρ θεοῦ Ἄδ[ρ]ιανοῦ υἱός,
 [θ]εοῦ Τραια[νοῦ] Παρθικοῦ υἱώνος,
 θεοῦ [Ν]έρο[υ] ἔκγονος [Τίτος Αἴλιος]
 Ἄδριανός Ἄντωνεῖνος Σε[β]ασ[τός,] ἀρχιερεὺς
 μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ [ι—], αὐτοκ[ράτωρ] τ[ὸ] β',
 [ὑπατος τ]ὸ δ', πατήρ πατρί[δος τοῖς ἐ]πὶ τῆς Ἀ[σίας Ἐλ-]
 [λησιν χαίρ]ε[ιν]. κα[λὸν] μὲν [—]
 Ἐφεσίων καὶ σεμν[ὸν —] [— τοι-]
 αὐτῆ πόλε[ι· φ]ίλον γ[ὰρ ἴσ]ως π[—]
 ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ὑπε[ρέχου]σιν ο[—]
 [κ]αὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν [ταῖς] προεχ[ούσαις —]
 π[ροσ]ῆ[κο]ν ἡ[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 135.³⁴⁶ This means that the inscription was written during the last years of Hadrian’s reign.³⁴⁷

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)³⁴⁸ 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.³⁴⁹

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.

³⁴⁶ KIENAST 1990, 130.

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

³⁴⁸ KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 351–352.

³⁴⁹ 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).³⁵⁰ 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.³⁵¹ 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.

³⁵⁰ FITTSCHEN 1999, 4.

³⁵¹ 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".³⁵² 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.³⁵³

Vedius (III) originated from an already prominent Ephesian family of equestrian rank which can be traced over several generations.³⁵⁴ 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 "not³⁵⁵ 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,³⁵⁶ 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.³⁵⁷ 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,³⁵⁸ 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)³⁵⁹ and to build a covered way from the Roman town to the sanctuary of Artemis.³⁶⁰

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,³⁶¹ the issues of everyday politics were mainly discussed and decided by the city council, the *boule*. Its 450 members,³⁶² 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.³⁶³

(H. Taeuber)

³⁵² See, most recently, CHAUSSON 2006, 57.

³⁵³ 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.

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

³⁵⁵ 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.

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

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

³⁵⁸ Philostr. *soph.* 2, 23 gives a short biography.

³⁵⁹ IvE 672 and 3080; KALINOWSKI 2006, 53–59.

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

³⁶¹ SCHULTE 1994.

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

³⁶³ Cf. BIER 2008, 161–163.

9. THE SCULPTURES FOUND IN THE BOULEUTERION AND THE SCULPTURAL PROGRAM OF THE VEDIUS SCAENAE FRONS³⁶⁴

The sculptures found in the Bouleuterion were mainly discovered by J. T. Wood in the early 1860s. Two fragments of inscribed statue bases (sculp. 1.3 and 1.6, see chapter 9.5, pls. 67, 2; 68) were recorded by J. Keil in 1908, whereas W. Alzinger's excavations in 1970 yielded only one small fragment of a male head (sculp. 2.4, pl. 70, 2). About half of the sculptures are attested only by inscribed statue bases or are mentioned in Wood's letters to the British Museum. As far as we know, Wood sent three sculptures (sculp. 1.1; 1.4; 2.3, pls. 66; 69; 70, 1.3) to the British Museum; one of them (sculp. 1.4, pls. 69; 70, 1) was returned to the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople. A fourth piece, the statue of a Muse (sculp. 2.1, pls. 70, 4; 71), was also intended for the British Museum, but sank with the ship off the coast of Syros. It was retrieved in a partially damaged state from the sea and is now displayed in the Archaeological Museum of Syros (see below, chapter 9.2). The whereabouts of five other bases or plinths and sculptures (sculp. 1.2; 1.5; 2.2; 3.1; 3.2; pl. 67, 1) found by Wood are unknown. The fragment of the inscribed base sculp. 1.3 is stored in the epigraphic depot at the site of Ephesos; the location of the fragment of the base sculp. 1.6 (pl. 67, 2) is presently unknown.

Iconographically, the sculptures can be roughly divided into two parts: a series of portrait statues of the Antonine dynasty (sculp. 1.1; 1.2; 1.3; 1.4, pls. 66; 67, 1; 68; 69; 70, 1), and a group of mythological figures and personifications (sculp. 1.6; 2.1; 2.2; 2.3; 2.4, pls. 67, 2; 70, 2–4; 71). The “statue of an actor or orator” (a torso) mentioned by Wood (sculp. 1.5) was probably also a portrait statue. The interpretation of the seated female statue “of an earlier period apparently” (sculp. 3.1) and of the “female torso” (sculp. 3.2) remains obscure.

9.1 Portrait Statuary and Statues of Personifications

In the course of the last decade, K. Fittschen, A. Kalinowski and H. Taeuber reconstructed a group of Imperial statues of the Antonine dynasty for the *scaenae frons* donated by P. Vedius Antoninus III and Flavia Papiane, based on extant sculptures, inscribed statue bases and information in J. T. Wood's letters.³⁶⁵

One extant remaining Imperial statue from the Bouleuterion is the torso of Lucius Verus as a crown prince in the guise of Mars (sculp. 1.1, pl. 66), utilizing the Ares Borghese body type; it was found near the middle doorway of the *scaenae frons*.³⁶⁶ It is identified through a Greek dedicatory inscription on the plinth, which gives the future emperor's full name of *Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus* and states that the statue was set up during the lifetime of the Emperor Antoninus Pius by a Vedius Antoninus, i. e. M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus, who was responsible for the renovation of the Bouleuterion.³⁶⁷ The plinth is of simple oval form, with a slightly projecting panel featuring the inscription.³⁶⁸

When complete, the statue would have been nearly 2 m tall.³⁶⁹ Now, only the lower half of the sculpture with the legs and the torso up to just above the navel survives, but at the time of its discovery the missing up-

³⁶⁴ The main part of the text was written by M. Aurenhammer. Th. Opper (British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities) contributed an important section, the passage on the statue of Lucius Verus (including sculp. 1.1). He was also the first to question the unity of the dynastic program.

³⁶⁵ FITTSCHEN 1999, 130; KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 351–357; KALINOWSKI 2002, 138–145; cf. also DEPPMEYER 2008, I 113 f. II 245–247 cat. 114.

³⁶⁶ The best replica of the Ares Borghese type is the statue in the Louvre (Paris, Louvre MA 866); for a recent bibliography on the Ares Borghese and a replica-list including copies used as portrait statues, see HARTSWICK 1990, 227–283. For the Ephesos statue cf. HARTSWICK 1990, 280 no. 23, where it is wrongly dated to the Severan period.

³⁶⁷ See above chap. 8.3.1, inscr. 11 on the inscription.

³⁶⁸ For this type of plinth (“Rahmenplinthe”) which was popular in the Roman East in the 2nd century A.D., cf. MUTHMANN 1951, 125 (“3. Gruppe”). Examples: a variant of the statue of Apollo from the Tiber in Cherchel, Musée des Antiquités S 30, cf. LANDWEHR – DIMAS 2000, 1–12 cat. 67 pl. 1–3; an Ephesian example with profiled panel is the replica of the Boy with the Goose in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 816; AURENHAMMER 1990, 149–152 cat. 132 pl. 91.

³⁶⁹ The distance from the soles of the feet to the lower end of the navel measures 1.22 m, from which a total height of the statue of

per body and head seem to have still existed.³⁷⁰ As far as one can tell, the body closely followed the Borghese type.³⁷¹ The ankle ring on the right leg of the Borghese statue was not represented.³⁷² Also in contrast to the Borghese statue, Lucius Verus was depicted with a long *paludamentum* that fell over his shoulders and back and reached down to the calves. Remains of the *paludamentum* are visible behind the legs of the statue. The direction of folds within the garment suggests that he clasped it with his missing right hand.³⁷³ The motif of the left arm and hand is unclear. There are no marble struts on the left thigh that might give an indication of the position of the left hand and any traces of an attribute that may have been visible on the plinth disappeared with its now missing left corner. Other statues of this type show the left hand holding a spear or clasping a sheathed sword and it is likely that Lucius Verus was represented here in a similar manner. Along the left leg the statue was supported by a thick marble tree trunk. The trunk's surface is rendered to imitate the rough, cracked texture of bark, while the rim along its upper end is carved in a wave pattern, typical elements of statue supports from the time of Hadrian onwards.³⁷⁴ Depending on the exact date of the sculpture, the missing head should have shown Lucius Verus in his second or third portrait type.³⁷⁵ The sheer size of the statue perhaps suggests that he was of a more mature age here and therefore represented in the third type, which has been connected with his first consulship in A.D. 154.³⁷⁶ In either case, it should have worn the Attic helmet of the Ares Borghese type.

A number of portrait statues using the Ares Borghese type are preserved.³⁷⁷ It seems that the emperor Hadrian, relatively early in his reign, was the first person to have been portrayed in this manner.³⁷⁸ Presenting him as a living embodiment of Ares/Mars, this statuary type seems particularly appropriate for a symbolic portrayal of the emperor as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. It thus provided a powerful alternative to the more frequent, realistic portrait in military cuirass. As the statue of Lucius Verus and a few others show, the type was later used for other male members of the imperial family, but it seems to have remained relatively rare. It seems the more remarkable that Lucius Verus was honored in this fashion at Ephesos when he was still a crown prince.³⁷⁹ Perhaps this might also suggest a date for the statue after his consulship in A.D. 154 at a time when he did not yet fulfil a significant public role. The Borghese type was also used for private portraits, but with a very different meaning.³⁸⁰

The technical treatment of the statue of Lucius Verus clearly shows that it was intended to fit into a specific setting; T. Opper considers a shallow wall niche.³⁸¹ To this end, the back of the sculpture had to be flattened and

1.97 m or thereabouts can be extrapolated.

³⁷⁰ For the fate of the different parts of the statue, see the catalog on sculp.1.1 (chap. 9.5).

³⁷¹ Cf. FURTWÄGLER 1896, 43 note 1 no. 7.

³⁷² The ankle ring appears to be unique to the Borghese statue, but may have been part of the original, cf. FREYER 1962, 211–226, esp. 225–226.

³⁷³ There is no trace at all of the “object, a sceptre-staff [...] against his right thigh” mentioned by VERMEULE III 2002, 329. The date of A.D. 163 given by C. C. VERMEULE is impossible, as the statue was dedicated before the death of Antoninus Pius in A.D. 161.

³⁷⁴ Cf. MUTHMANN 1951, 45.

³⁷⁵ Cf. FITTSCHEN 1999, 130. In K. FITTSCHEN's typology, this would correspond to his types D or E: FITTSCHEN 1999, 39–45 pl. 64–73.

³⁷⁶ For the date s. FITTSCHEN 1999, 44–45 with note 256. In the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia, thought to have been dedicated in A.D. 153, Lucius Verus was represented in his second portrait type and the statue attributed to him is much smaller than the one from Ephesos, Olympia, Museum A166, cf. BOL 1984, 159–164 fig. 72 pl. 22–23.

³⁷⁷ The following portrait statues and heads of members of the imperial family based on the Ares Borghese type are currently known: Rome, Museo Capitolino 634: Hadrian. FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1994, 48–49 no. 48 pl. 53; London, British Museum (see sculp. 1.1): Lucius Verus; Rome, Vatican, magazine 4093: Marcus Aurelius. KASCHNITZ-WEINBERG 1937, 284 no. 685 pl. 108; FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1994, 49 note 5; Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori 778: Statue. BERGMANN 1977, 45; WREDE 1981, 270 no. 198. The statue has been attributed to various 3rd-century emperors in the past. It is perhaps more likely that it represents a private individual, such as a general.

³⁷⁸ Hadrian's pointed use of this martial imagery stands in clear contrast to the current prevailing notion of him as an “intellectual”. The earliest preserved example seems to be an early Hadrianic statue in the Capitoline Museum using the Chiaramonti 392 portrait type of ca. A.D. 120–130, Rome, Museo Capitolino 634, cf. FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1994, 48–49 no. 48 pl. 53.

³⁷⁹ FITTSCHEN 1971, 225 note 45.

³⁸⁰ It seems that in private portraiture the Ares Borghese type was almost always linked in a group with the female type of the Venus of Capua to portray married couples. See most recently, KOUSSER 2007, 673–691 for the Augustan prototype and the Antonine portrait groups.

³⁸¹ The statue plinth has a depth of 49.5 cm. The trimming of the statue's back, meant to ensure that it did not extend beyond the back end of the plinth at any point, suggests a depth of the niche of not more than 50 cm. – L. Bier placed Lucius Verus' statue in his

the central section partly hollowed out. The surface here is only roughly picked and clearly was never intended to be seen. Similarly, the dedicatory inscription was carved into the front of the plinth, rather than on a separate base as would have been standard practice.³⁸² Taken together, these technical details may suggest that the statue had to be fitted into an already existing setting in the Bouleuterion *scaenae frons*. We do not know of course when exactly the back of the statue was trimmed. Theoretically, the scene wall of both the first and the second phase of the *scaenae frons* may have featured niches.³⁸³ On the basis of further epigraphic evidence, it has been suggested that the statue of Lucius Verus belonged to a larger portrait gallery of members of the imperial family that was dedicated by the wealthy benefactor P. Vedius Antoninus in the Bouleuterion as part of a wider sculptural program.³⁸⁴ These inscriptions belonged to statues of Marcus Aurelius (sculp. 1.2) and one of his daughters, Faustina (sculp. 1.3).³⁸⁵ The low (?), profiled support of Marcus Aurelius' statue is recorded only by J. T. Wood's sketch in one of his letters (pl. 67, 1). Wood does not provide any detailed information on this inscribed stone. Considering Wood's section of the support and the profiled bases of the statues of Faustina (sculp. 1.3; pl. 68) and especially of the personification of Demos (sculp. 1.6; pl. 67, 2, see below), this support was also probably a low base (rather than a plinth). The chamfered base of Faustina's statue is fragmentarily preserved; it was found in the debris of the orchestra. Its back was flat, the moldings were probably not finished.³⁸⁶ The preserved part of its top is finely worked and features a pry (?) hole, according to L. Bier's drawing (pl. 68). Both Marcus Aurelius' and Faustina's bases use the same dedicatory formula as the inscription on the plinth of Lucius Verus' statue. On the Faustina base, though, the inscription starts on the upper chamfer which is unusual. The unfinished moldings and the position of the Faustina inscription point to an improvised procedure, as do the trimming of Lucius Verus' statue and the unusual position of its inscription.³⁸⁷

J. T. Wood's reference to a statue of Antoninus Pius found in the early stages of the excavation of the Bouleuterion, taken at face value by A. Kalinowski and H. Taeuber,³⁸⁸ ought to be treated with suspicion. His description "a statue of Antoninus Pius, at present wanting the head, is broken into 8 or 10 pieces and will measure when put together more than 7 feet" fits the statue of Lucius Verus very well;³⁸⁹ the reference to Antoninus Pius may have been due to a misreading of the dedicatory inscription on the plinth (see chap. 8.3.3 inscr. 13). Kalinowski and Taeuber preferred a statue of Domitia Faustina on the Faustina base, the first daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Minor, as in the portrait gallery of the Gerontikon at Nysa, where only the first daughter was represented.³⁹⁰ Domitia Faustina lived for only a few years (born A.D. 147, lived probably until 151) whereas Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina, the third daughter, reached a more mature age.³⁹¹ She was born in A.D. 151 or 153, she is documented on coins as one of four surviving daughters until A.D. 161 and appears as one of Marcus Aurelius' children in inscriptions from the Capitol of Sabratha in A.D. 166.³⁹² The year of her death is not recorded; she probably survived her father and died between A.D. 180 and 182.³⁹³ K. Fittschen left the question of the identification of Marcus Aurelius' daughter in the *scaenae frons* of the Ephesian Bouleuterion open.³⁹⁴

hypothetical reconstruction on a tall base in the *aedicula* next to the central doorway, see plan 6. The depth of the pedestal on which the columns rested is 1.20 m.

³⁸² A parallel from Ephesos for this otherwise not very common procedure is provided by the statue of the Emperor Trajan from the Nymphaeum of Trajan, IvE 256, cf. MILTNER 1959b, 328. 343 fig. 174; FLEISCHER 1982, 123; AURENHAMMER (in preparation) and QUATEMBER, FiE (forthcoming). The lettering on this plinth is much superior to that of the Bouleuterion statue.

³⁸³ See above chap. 3.2, 4.9 and below in parts 9.1 and 9.3.

³⁸⁴ FITTSCHEN 1999, 130; KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 351–357; KALINOWSKI 2002, 143–144.

³⁸⁵ See above chap. 8.3.2–3, inscr. 12–13 on the inscriptions.

³⁸⁶ As on several bases from the Nymphaeum Traiani, cf. QUATEMBER, FiE (forthcoming).

³⁸⁷ See above chap. 8.4 on the epigraphical evidence for dating the building.

³⁸⁸ KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 355.

³⁸⁹ Letter to A. PANIZZI, principal librarian, of April 28, 1864.

³⁹⁰ KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 355–357; KALINOWSKI 2002, 144. Nysa: FITTSCHEN 1999, 133–136 cat. 58 pl. 207; GALLI 2002, 65–66. 69–70; KADIOĞLU 2008, 360. 362. 364.

³⁹¹ For the chronology of Marcus Aurelius' and Faustina Minor's children cf. FITTSCHEN 1982, 22–33; Domitia Faustina: 23–26; Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina: 27–30 with note 29. 32; for all the children: genealogical tree FITTSCHEN 1982, 94–95; BOL 1984, 30–45. 117–119; FITTSCHEN 1999, 2–10.

³⁹² FITTSCHEN 1982, 30–31; FITTSCHEN 1999, 117 no. 27 (Sabratha).

³⁹³ FITTSCHEN 1999, 4 and 133 no.155 (fragments of an Ephesian statue-group of the Antonine dynasty, Marcus Aurelius as "Theos").

³⁹⁴ FITTSCHEN 1999, 130.

A finely carved girlish head (sculp. 1.4; pl. 69; 70, 1) of 18 cm height was found near one of the doorways of the *scaenae frons* according to J. T. Wood. Originally, the head was turned to the left. The oval face with its ideal features and its pursed lips conveys an atmosphere of seriousness as well as sweetness. The tight waves of the girl's hair are parted in the middle and bound by a broad fillet. Behind the ears, the hair is pulled up, covering the fillet almost completely. At the nape of the neck, the hair is brought together into a ponytail which is obviously tied twice. A long spiral curl hangs down in front of the left ear (indicating the principal view), while loose curls cover both sides of the neck, originating from the ponytail. The incised irises, the pupils incised in the shape of a bean-shaped line and the scarce drill-work in the hair framing the face and on top of the head, just behind the fillet, point to a date in the early Antonine period.³⁹⁵ For the small waves of hair framing the forehead, portraits of Faustina Maior offer the best parallel as they feature a similar hairstyle on the sides of the head.³⁹⁶ The bigger waves of hair on the girl's portrait, especially on the left side and on top of her head, rendered in a linear manner, may be compared with portraits of Faustina Minor.³⁹⁷ For the hair at the back and the motif of the rolled up parts framing the neck, compare another portrait of Faustina Minor rendered in a late portrait type.³⁹⁸

The hairdo is reminiscent of the hairstyle of goddesses such as Artemis or Aphrodite.³⁹⁹ For Artemis, compare for example the Hadrianic, eclectic statue of Artemis from the first floor of unit 4 of Terrace House 2 at Ephesos.⁴⁰⁰ There, the hair covers the ears and it is bound by a fillet, but it ends in a thick mop of hair at the nape of the neck where it is bound twice; finally, it hangs down loosely on the back. Sabina and Faustina Minor in the guise of goddesses feature a thick mop of hair hanging down the back, tied by a fillet, or loose hair falling onto the back.⁴⁰¹

As a stylish coiffure, the Ephesian girl's hairdo with the ponytail or thin braid originates from the hairstyle with "Nackenschopf" or "Nackenzopf" made fashionable by empresses of the Julio-Claudian era (Antonia Minor) and taken up as part of a different hairstyle by later empresses, in the 2nd century by Plotina.⁴⁰² In most of these portraits, the ears are not covered by the hair. Loose locks and strands of hair enrich this simple hairstyle; the loose strands framing the Ephesian girl's neck are a characteristic feature and an indication that this head is a portrait.⁴⁰³ Loose locks, including the spiral curls in front of the ears, are also a standard feature of contemporary female portraits in general.⁴⁰⁴

The girl's face is highly idealized, lacking distinct portrait features, but the profile may be compared with contemporary women's and girl's portraits, both imperial and private.⁴⁰⁵ The charm of the girl's features and their melancholy expression are characteristic of female portraits of the Antonine and Severan period.⁴⁰⁶

³⁹⁵ Cf. for example the first two portrait types of Marcus Aurelius, FITTSCHEN 1999, p. 14 cat. A 10 and 14 pl. 8. 11. p. 23 cat. B 8 pl. 30. p. 14–20 cat. B 16. 22. 24. 26. 34. 36. 37 pl. 36. 41. 43. 44. 49. 52c. 52d. 53. For the carving of the eyes in general FITTSCHEN 1999, 18 with note 135. A striking parallel for the carving of the irises and pupils is the recently discovered Ephesian replica of Polycleitus' Doryphoros, Selçuk, Efes Müzesi 23/4/05, cf. AURENHAMMER 2008.

³⁹⁶ Cf. for example the portraits in Rome, Museo Capitolino 447 and Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori 994, 851, cf. FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1983, 13–15. 19–20 cat. 13. 14. 18 pl. 15–18. 22–23.

³⁹⁷ For example portraits of the 5th portrait type (Faustina Minor or Lucilla?), Rome, Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 2195 and London, British Museum 1905 and 1468, cf. FITTSCHEN 1982, 51–52 no. 1. 5 and 6 pl. 19. 21–22. Date of the type: A.D. 152.

³⁹⁸ Portrait in Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 642, FITTSCHEN 1982, 60 no. 3 pl. 36. Date of the 8th portrait type: A.D. 162.

³⁹⁹ Aphrodite: for example two bronze statuettes in Paris, Musée du Louvre Br. 4422, and Paris, Musée du Louvre Br. 389, cf. JENTEL 1984, 163 nos. 206–207 pl. 167.

⁴⁰⁰ Selçuk, Efes Müzesi 2165; RATHMAYR 2005, 218. 229 S 17 pl. 143. 146.

⁴⁰¹ Sabina's portraits in Rome, Museo Capitolino 690 and Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori 848 and in St. Petersburg, Hermitage A 400a, cf. FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1983, 10. 12–13 cat. 9 and 12 pl. 11. 14; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 183 cat. 179–180 pl. 39, and Faustina's portrait in Munich, Glyptothek 535, ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 193 cat. 200 pl. 43, 1–2.

⁴⁰² MANNSPERGER 1998, 44–55. 62–67.

⁴⁰³ Cf. two Augustan/Tiberian private portraits in Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori 1081 and Rome, Museo Nuovo Capitolino 922, cf. FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1983, 42–43. 45 cat. 49 and 54 pl. 63–64. 68–69.

⁴⁰⁴ For the spiral curl in front of the ear, cf. portraits of Lucius Verus' sister (?) in Rome, Museo Capitolino 336 and Rome, Museo Capitolino 6269, cf. FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1983, 26–27 cat. 26–27 pl. 35–37 and the portrait of Athenais (?) in Olympia, Museum A 159, cf. BOL 1984, 180–181 cat. 43 pl. 48–50; BOL 1998, 127–128 pl. 28. Regarding the identification of this portrait type, cf. FUCHS 1986, 858.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Faustina Minor's and Lucilla's first portrait types, FITTSCHEN 1982, 38–39 pl. 8–13 and p. 75–77 pl. 44–47; private portraiture: for example a portrait in Rome, Museo Capitolino 667, cf. FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1983, 74–75 cat. 97 pl. 122 or the portrait of a girl from the Palatine, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 1119, cf. FITTSCHEN 1991, 297–302 pl. 65,1. 66,1. 67,1. 69,1 (about A.D. 200).

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. FITTSCHEN 1991, 301–302.

Generally, the Ephesian head shows a high level of workmanship on all sides, including details like the folds of the broad fillet or the manner in which the fillet cuts into the hair in the nape of the neck. The back is also equally finely carved. This overall quality also indicates a portrait.

As the girlish head is a portrait, it is of course tempting to link it with the base of Faustina's statue (sculp. 1.3; pl. 68).⁴⁰⁷ An identification with Marcus Aurelius' first and short-lived daughter, Domitia Faustina, has obviously to be ruled out as the Ephesian girl is clearly older. The Ephesian head probably portrays a girl in her early "teens", the ponytail-coiffure possibly an allusion to her unmarried status. As an indicator for this age-group, the Ephesian head should be compared with the first portrait types of Faustina Minor and Lucilla – minted in honor of their wedding or the birth of their first child –, and with the portrait of Athenais (?) from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia.⁴⁰⁸ Faustina Minor was about 15 or 17 years old at the time, Lucilla 14, 15 or 16 years old, while Athenais (?) was about 10 years old.⁴⁰⁹ On this basis, a tentative identification of the Ephesian head with Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina seems more probable. Annia Faustina was probably married in A.D. 166 or 167.⁴¹⁰ The Faustina base from the Bouleuterion was set up in the lifetime of Antoninus Pius who died in A.D. 161. The date of Vedius' renovation of the *scaenae frons*, which may be limited to the 150s A.D., would point to the erection of a statue of Annia Faustina at an age of 10 years (151–161).⁴¹¹

All these considerations are hypothetical as we do not know Annia Faustina's (or Domitia Faustina's) portrait. Two or three of Marcus Aurelius' daughters were represented in the dynastic statue-group in the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia, dedicated in A.D. 153: Annia Faustina and another daughter are documented by their bases.⁴¹² Besides, two portraits of girls featuring the melon coiffure were found there, but their connection with the statue bases and their identification is disputed.⁴¹³ In the *scaenae frons* of the theater at Leptis Magna, a portrait of Faustina Minor (first portrait type) was used for a statue of one of her daughters, possibly Annia Faustina.⁴¹⁴ The ponytail-coiffure does not figure among the sculpted portraits of princesses of the Antonine dynasty known to us. The images of Marcus Aurelius' and Faustina's daughters on coins with their grandfather's or their mother's portrait on the obverse cannot be a guideline, since they are too small and too summarily executed to determine the hairdo of the girls anyway.⁴¹⁵ Domitia Faustina obviously wears a small bun at the nape of her neck in her image on an *aureus* minted under Antoninus Pius in A.D. 150, whereas Lucilla might wear a ponytail (rather than a bun) in her image on a coin with her mother's portrait, minted A.D. 150/151.⁴¹⁶ Lucilla's sculpted portraits are modelled after official types, probably commemorating her wedding and the births of her children, as her mother's portraits.⁴¹⁷ The three youngest daughters of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Minor were born after A.D. 159 and married in the 170s – too late for a tentative identification with the early Antonine Ephesian portrait.⁴¹⁸

Summing up, statues of Marcus Aurelius and one of his daughters, Faustina, were set up in the Vedius *scaenae frons*. Lucius Verus' portrait statue was obviously worked to fit into an already existing setting (a niche); it was probably included after his consulship in A.D. 154. The portrait of the girl might be linked with one of Marcus' daughters, and if the connection with the Faustina base is correct, she might be identified with Annia Faustina. The portraits of Marcus Aurelius and his daughter call for a statue of Faustina Minor, and it stands

⁴⁰⁷ An identification with Faustina Minor has clearly to be ruled out, cf. KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 355 note 23.

⁴⁰⁸ FITTSCHEN 1982, 44–48. 75–77 pl. 8–13. 44–47; FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1983, 20–21 cat. 19 pl. 24–26 and 24–25 cat. 24 pl. 33; FITTSCHEN 1999, 113 note 541; Athenais (?): BOL 1984, 180–182 cat. 43 pl. 48–50; BOL 1998, 127–129 pl. 28 ("about 10 years old"). For the identification, cf. FUCHS' review, FUCHS 1986, 858.

⁴⁰⁹ Faustina Minor's year of birth is not known, cf. FITTSCHEN 1982, 22; FITTSCHEN 1999, 2 note 8; Lucilla's dates: FITTSCHEN 1982, 72–73; FITTSCHEN 1999, 3.

⁴¹⁰ FITTSCHEN 1982, 4.

⁴¹¹ FITTSCHEN 1999, 130.

⁴¹² BOL 1984, 31. 36–38. 117–120 cat. 7–9.

⁴¹³ BOL 1984, 182–185 cat. 44–45 pl. 51–53. 56; FUCHS 1986, 858; FITTSCHEN 1999, 127–128: Olympia, Museum A 160 and Olympia, Museum A 161a.

⁴¹⁴ Tripolis, Museum 484, cf. FITTSCHEN 1982, 57 no. 20 pl. 30, 3; FITTSCHEN 1999, 116 cat. 25; FUCHS 1986, 856.

⁴¹⁵ FITTSCHEN 1982, 22–33. 38–43; for the numismatic program of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, cf. ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 23–26.

⁴¹⁶ FITTSCHEN 1982, pl. 1–3, see p. 11–12 and 26–27.

⁴¹⁷ FITTSCHEN 1982, 69–81; FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1983, 24–26 cat. 24–25 pl. 33–34.

⁴¹⁸ FITTSCHEN 1982, 4–6.

to reason that statues of Antoninus Pius and Faustina Maior were represented, too.⁴¹⁹ The existence of statues of other children of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Minor depends on the date of erection of the *scaenae frons*, the available positions for the setting of statues and the question whether the dynastic program was actualized or not. If Annia Faustina was represented, a statue of Lucilla has to be expected, too.⁴²⁰

L. Bier prepared his hypothetical reconstruction first of all for the paper he delivered in Vienna in 2002.⁴²¹ It was not altered by the editors. L. Bier placed all the statues on tall bases (plan 6). He considered both the supports of Marcus Aurelius' and his daughter's statues (and of the statue of Demos, sculp. 1.6, see below) as plinths which he reconstructed on top of the tall bases.⁴²² The *scaenae frons* had, like the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias, eight major places for statues in addition to a (reconstructed) large central niche in the second story.⁴²³ The original position of the statues and their relation to another is based on the evidence of the remains and the information gleaned from other contemporary portrait galleries. According to its find-spot near the central doorway, L. Bier placed Lucius Verus' statue on one of the two central pedestals with his adoptive brother (dressed in the *toga*) opposite. The crown princes are flanked by Marcus Aurelius' daughter (on the right) and Faustina Minor (on the left). The restoration of Faustina's, the daughter's, fragmentary base leads to a width of about 75 cm which fits the cuttings in both pedestals. Maintaining the symmetry and hierarchy typical of these statue-groups, L. Bier placed the Emperor Antoninus Pius in a central niche in the second story.⁴²⁴ This arrangement is paralleled by Fittschen's reconstruction of the statue gallery in the Gerontikon at Nysa, which must have been erected before A.D. 143, as only the first daughter was represented, before the birth of the twin boys.⁴²⁵ According to the find-spots of the statue bases and Fittschen's reconstruction, the crown princes flanked the central doorway there (Marcus Aurelius in the *toga*), Faustina Minor's statue was set up on the eastern, and Domitia Faustina's statue on the western pedestal. For the statue of Antoninus Pius (in cuirass?), there is only room in a hypothetical niche above the central doorway. Recently, the statues of Antoninus Pius (in cuirass) and of Marcus Aurelius (in the *toga*) were "rediscovered" in the museum in Izmir.⁴²⁶ M. Kadioğlu's current research will probably lead to further results.

L. Bier succeeded in adding a fifth statue to the decoration of the *scaenae frons*, not a portrait but a personification. He realized that an inscribed fragment with the letters [Δ]HMOΣ is indeed part of the support of a statue (sculp. 1.6) and not part of the architecture of the *scaenae frons* (pl. 67, 2).⁴²⁷ The fragment was found in front of the central doorway to the stage. The form, the molding – a steep inverted *cyma reversa* –, the lack of clamp cuttings and the obvious lack of traces of a statue on top confirm that this support is a statue base rather than a plinth.⁴²⁸ With regard to its height and the height of the letters of the inscription, it differs from Faustina's base (sculp. 1.3; pl. 68). The depth of the Demos base is almost equal to Lucius Verus' plinth (sculp. 1.1; pl. 66).⁴²⁹ In his hypothetical reconstruction (plan 6) L. Bier placed Demos' base in the second story, above Faustina Minor's statue, as upper part of a tall base. Actually, the preserved fragment probably belonged to a complete base which was put up on its own without a tall shaft. A crown molding similar to the base molding can be assumed. According to the form of the letters, the inscription can only generally be dated to the 2nd century A.D.⁴³⁰ A statue of Demos calls for a statue of Boule, which Bier placed as a pendant of Demos above

⁴¹⁹ KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 355; KALINOWSKI 2002, 144.

⁴²⁰ For the children alive in the 150s A.D., cf. FITTSCHEN's genealogical tree in FITTSCHEN 1982, 94–95.

⁴²¹ For this paragraph and the following ones, M. AURENHAMMER relied on the draft of L. BIER's paper.

⁴²² For the tall, stand-alone bases used in the high Imperial period at Ephesos and Aphrodisias, cf. SMITH 2006, 33–34.

⁴²³ Aphrodisias, Museum 62–451. 62–452. 62–486. 63–19; SMITH 2006, 62–65 fig. 17–18; BIER 2008, 153 fig. 13. In the comprehensive publication of the Bouleuterion, the sculptures will be presented by C. HALLETT.

⁴²⁴ For these central niches, cf. FITTSCHEN 1999, 134 with note 745; GALLI 2002, 76.

⁴²⁵ FITTSCHEN 1999, 133–136 cat. 58 pl. 207; KADIOĞLU 2008, who started new research in 2006.

⁴²⁶ KADIOĞLU 2008, 360 note 8 f.

⁴²⁷ L. BIER and H. TAEUBER searched for the fragment in the epigraphic depot at Ephesos, but in vain.

⁴²⁸ For comparable Ephesian statue bases, cf. the bases from the Nymphaeum Traianai (MILTNER 1959b, 332–339 fig. 176. 180. 181); QUATEMBER, FiE (forthcoming) and a base from the East Gymnasium (information by J. AUINGER). A. SOKOLICEK is preparing a study of the Ephesian statue bases. – Cf. also bases from the Nymphaeum at Olympia and the Gerontikon at Nysa; Olympia: BOL 1984, 113–150 pl. 5–14; Nysa, statue base of Marcus Aurelius, cf. KOUROUNIOTIS 1921/22, 54–56. 69–70 fig. 38–39. 55.

⁴²⁹ 50 cm (Demos) to 49.5 cm (Lucius Verus). Preserved width of Demos' base: 62 cm. The original width of Demos' base may be completed to about 90 cm (Lucius Verus: 97 cm).

⁴³⁰ Information by H. TAEUBER; See above chap. 8.3.4, inscr. 14 on the inscription.

the statue of Marcus Aurelius' daughter. Demos and Boule were also represented in the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias, the bases obviously carrying "recycled" statues.⁴³¹ The inscription on the plinth of Demos' statue there is late antique. As the Ephesian Demos base can only be dated into the 2nd century A.D., a pre- or post-Vedius display is possible, too.

As to the interpretation of the statues of a couple flanking the central statue of Antoninus Pius, L. Bier offered two possibilities in his paper of 2002. At first he identified them, "temporarily", with statues of the donors Vedius and Papiane, but at the end of the paper, he proposed statues of Hadrian and Sabina instead. The representation of Hadrian in the *scaenae frons* would have expressed continuity with the previous emperor who was the adoptive father of the reigning emperor. Vedius and his father had underlined their devotion to Sabina by dedicating a statue to her before they themselves were adopted into the Vedius family.⁴³² Vedius probably owed his advancement to senatorial rank to Hadrian, and he might have met the emperor (and Sabina?) personally during his visit to Ephesos in A.D. 128/129.⁴³³ Another link to Hadrian is provided by two letters written by Hadrian to the Ephesian *boule* and *demos* supporting the entry of two ship-captains into the *boule*. At least one of them was originally inscribed on the wall blocks of the scene wall of the first phase.⁴³⁴ One (?) of these letters, regarding the ship-captain Erastos, was re-carved on a thin sheet of marble revetment for Vedius' renovation.⁴³⁵ A third honorary inscription for Hadrian probably belongs to the Bouleuterion, too.⁴³⁶ The incorporation of posthumous dedications of statues of Hadrian in Antonine donations is recorded by several examples in the Eastern part of the empire.⁴³⁷

Statues of the donors were traditionally set up on the terminating blocks of the *analemmata*, as for example in the Gerontikon at Nysa and in the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias.⁴³⁸ At the Ephesian Bouleuterion, the bases on top of these blocks were removed probably in the post-Vedius period to allow greater accessibility to the *cavea* from the stage, and the two statues would either have been disregarded or else moved to some less central location.

In the second story of the *scaenae frons*, there are four more possible positions for the setting of statues in the *aediculae*, not counting the central one where L. Bier reconstructed a central niche. The depth of the available space for the setting of statues was about 70 cm. So there would have been space for the representation of other members of the Antonine dynasty, such as Faustina Maior, which L. Bier did not include in his reconstruction, or of other children of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Minor. Niches could theoretically have also existed above the doorways. There is no trace of actual niches as the wall of the stage building is preserved only to a very limited height. But the trimming of the back of Lucius Verus' statue (sculp. 1.1; pl. 66) points to the existence of niches, as T. Opper suggested. Based on Wilberg's drawings of fallen arches, H. Thür reconstructed a vaulted niche which could have been located in the 2nd story between the statues of Sabina and Boule.⁴³⁹

According to J. T. Wood's letters, a male portrait statue ("a fine statue of an actor or orator declaiming", sculp. 1.5) and obviously two female statues, a seated statue "of an earlier period" (sculp. 3.1) and a female torso (sculp. 3.2) were also found in the Bouleuterion, but they are not otherwise recorded.⁴⁴⁰ The male portrait statue could theoretically be linked with the statue of the donor. For the theoretical interpretation of the seated female statue, see below chapter 9.2.

In his hypothetical reconstruction of the Vedius *scaenae frons* (plan 6), L. Bier also included the panels featuring the so-called Imperial Letters which were displayed as wall-revetments.⁴⁴¹ He drew the restored panels

⁴³¹ SMITH 2006, 62–65 fig. 17–18. 162–164 cat. 44 pl. 34.

⁴³² IvE 4108; KALINOWSKI 2002, 118–119.

⁴³³ KALINOWSKI 2002, 119.

⁴³⁴ IvE 1487 and 1488; KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 353; KALINOWSKI 2002, 119. 142; See also above chap. 8.2.1 and 8.2.2, inscr. 4–5.

⁴³⁵ IvE 1487; See above introduction to chap. 4 and chap. 6.2; see also above chap. 8.2.2, inscr. 5.

⁴³⁶ See above chap. 8.2.7, inscr. 10.

⁴³⁷ Cf. GALLI 2002, 74–75. 230–231.

⁴³⁸ See above chap. 3.3 and introduction to chap. 4; Nysa: FITTSCHEN 1999, 135 pl. 207 (pending new research by M. KADIOĞLU); Aphrodisias: SMITH 2006, 61–63 fig. 17; BIER 2008, 156 f.

⁴³⁹ See above chap. 4.9.

⁴⁴⁰ For the female statues, cf. KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 355. They tentatively linked one of the statues with Faustina Minor.

⁴⁴¹ IvE 1491–1493. 1489 (Antoninus Pius). 1487 and 1488 (Hadrian); STESKAL 2001, 184–188; KALINOWSKI 2002, 110–117. 141. 144

to scale using the dimensions given by E. L. Hicks in his edition of 1890.⁴⁴² The so-called triple inscription (IvE 1491–1493)⁴⁴³ could only have been placed over the central door. L. Bier placed it in the first story rather than the second for better visibility and also because of the presumed existence of a large central niche in the second story. He arranged the two other letters, one of Antoninus Pius, the other of Hadrian (IvE 1489 and 1487),⁴⁴⁴ according to the available space, each of them inscribed on a single panel within a *tabula ansata*.

Let us return to the portrait statuary displayed in the *scaenae frons* of the Bouleuterion. Its remains are too scant and the evidence is too uncertain to allow for a precise date and for the determination of the extent of this gallery. Considering the relatively long period into which the Vedius renovation of the Bouleuterion and the statue bases may be dated (150–161), the improvised features of the statue of Lucius Verus and the Faustina base, and the age of the girl's portrait (which can only tentatively be identified with Annia Faustina), it is quite possible that the statues were set up successively. The statues of Lucius Verus and Annia Faustina were probably set up in the late 150s A.D. Maybe the statues of Lucius Verus (and Faustina) were set up on short notice, possibly in honour of one of Lucius Verus' visits to Ephesos. According to epigraphical evidence, Lucius Verus was attended during his visits by P. Vedius Antoninus in matters of sports.⁴⁴⁵

The portraits of the Antonine dynasty set up in the *scaenae frons* of the Bouleuterion are only one example of a remarkable series of Antonine statue-groups which were erected throughout the city.⁴⁴⁶ Two of them were set up also in the lifetime of Antoninus Pius (and included portraits of Annia Faustina).⁴⁴⁷

The donation and the display of Imperial statuary and dynastic statue-groups is a common feature of the *scaenae frontes* of Bouleuteria/Odeia, starting already in the early Roman Empire. Homogeneous donations as well as actualized groups are recorded. With the donation of the Antonine statue-group – in combination with the display of the “Imperial Letters” – in the Ephesian Bouleuterion P. Vedius Antoninus underlined his affiliation with the reigning dynasty as well as his standing in the Ephesian elite, moreover he presented his euergetism and his cultural values in the Bouleuterion.⁴⁴⁸ M. Galli has described the influence of the movement of the Second Sophistic expressed in such donations.⁴⁴⁹ Comparable contemporary monuments are for example the donations in the Bouleuteria of Nysa and Patara.⁴⁵⁰

An inscription citing the Emperor Septimius Severus is recorded in the “Inschriften von Ephesos” as having been found “near the Odeion” (i. e., the Bouleuterion).⁴⁵¹ It was discovered during J. T. Wood's excavations, but Wood actually did not record any find-spot nor did he give any information about the form of the stone.⁴⁵² Nevertheless, there is evidence of statues of Septimius Severus in statue-groups of the Antonine dynasty, due to the emperor's incorporation into this dynasty in A.D. 195.⁴⁵³

pl. 1–3; GALLI 2002, 85. See above introduction to chap. 4 and 6.5; see also above chap. 8.2.1–8.2.6, inscr. 4–9.

⁴⁴² HICKS 1890, 151.

⁴⁴³ See also above chap. 8.2.4–8.2.6, inscr. 7–9.

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. TAEUBER, above chap. 8, Inscr. 8.2.2–3 (cat. 5–6).

⁴⁴⁵ IvE 728; KARWIESE 1990, 172. 177.

⁴⁴⁶ FITTSCHEN 1999, 129–133; DEPPMEYER 2008, II 237–245 cat. 107–113, cf. also I 55 f. 196. 209.

⁴⁴⁷ FITTSCHEN 1999, 129–131 cat. 49 and 51; DEPPMEYER 2008, II 244 f. Kat. 112 f.

⁴⁴⁸ KALINOWSKI 2002, 138–144; GALLI 2002, 71–72. 85–86. For the general character of these donations, cf. GALLI 2002, 73–76. 78–80. 84.

⁴⁴⁹ GALLI 2002, 78–80. 84. 105–107.

⁴⁵⁰ Nysa (homogeneous group): FITTSCHEN 1999, 133–136 cat. 58; GALLI 2002, 65–70; Patara (actualized group): FITTSCHEN 1999, 136 cat. 59; GALLI 2002, 70. 72–73; KORKUT – GROSCHKE 2007, 102–107.

⁴⁵¹ IvE 294.

⁴⁵² WOOD 1877, Appendix “Inscriptions from the City and Suburbs” 37 no. 15. Only inscription no. 14 was found “near the Odeum”.

⁴⁵³ FITTSCHEN 1999, 109–110 cat. 3 (Ostia, Exedra for the imperial cult), 112 cat. 10 (Glanum).

9.2 Mythological Sculpture

The second part of the surviving sculptural finds from the Bouleuterion comprises mythological sculpture, two statues of Muses and the torso of a Silenus.

The life-size statue of a Muse (sculp. 2.1) was found at the end of the “eastern passage”, i. e. the eastern *parodos*; according to J. T. Wood it had evidently fallen from a “niche” onto the pavement (pls. 70, 4; 71).⁴⁵⁴ Originally destined for the British Museum, the statue sank in a shipwreck off the coast of Syros. It was retrieved from the sea and handed over to the British consul at Syros who obviously in turn deposited it in the Archaeological Museum in Ermoupoli which was founded in 1835.⁴⁵⁵ There, the statue was displayed “unidentified” for one and a half centuries until comprehensive research on the Ephesian Bouleuterion. Due to the shipwreck and the exposure to sea-water, the left part of the plinth including a base with the stringed instrument was lost and the surface of the statue was damaged.⁴⁵⁶ Wood’s drawing shows the original condition of the statue (pl. 71) and according to one of Wood’s letters, two parts of one arm had originally also been found; these too were lost during the process.⁴⁵⁷

Based on the rounded form of the stringed instrument on the lost base, this instrument should be interpreted as a lyre (rather than a kithara).⁴⁵⁸ The position of the stringed instrument on a base beside the figure is well known from free-standing sculpture as well as from sarcophagi.⁴⁵⁹ Wood identified the Muse first (in his letters) as Euterpe, in his book however as Erato.⁴⁶⁰ The ancient sources and the (ambiguous) figural tradition do not offer a reliable guideline for the allocation of specific stringed instruments (and specific functions) to the Muses Erato and Terpsichore.⁴⁶¹ As Erato is not equipped with the lyre in figural tradition, we might identify the Ephesian Muse with Terpsichore, but the uncertainty remains.⁴⁶²

The statue is broken into two parts below the waistline.⁴⁶³ The head and right arm of the statue below the shoulder were originally separately attached, and the main part of the left arm is broken off.

Iconographically, the sculptor adopted a model used widely in Roman sculpture, especially for Hygieia and Tyche, but also for other mythological figures and for portrait statues.⁴⁶⁴ Formerly these statues of Hygieia were attributed to the “Broadlands” type, assuming a common sculptural type.⁴⁶⁵ More recently, D. Grassinger and Ch. Landwehr emphasized the common iconographical motif used as a figural concept (“Konzept”) for the images of various mythological figures.⁴⁶⁶ This motif is characterized by a female figure dressed in chiton and himation in the following manner: the chiton features long sleeves and it is tied by a belt just below the breasts, while the himation covers most of the legs and the left arm. A bulge of the himation is pulled up from the right hip to the left arm. The weight of the figure rests on the left leg, both upper arms are lowered. The left upper arm of the Ephesian statue is slightly pulled back.

Among this group of images, the Ephesian statue follows the late Hellenistic version, but includes the long-sleeved chiton (which is an element of the earlier version going back to the early 3rd century B.C.).⁴⁶⁷ The later version is characterized by a thin chiton clinging to the body and showing the navel, and by a bulge of the himation starting low on the right hip. Most of the torso is visible above this bulge. Ephesian torsi of statuettes and statues of Tyche (and of other mythological figures) feature this Hellenistic version with the thin chiton,

⁴⁵⁴ WOOD 1877, 50.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. text in the catalog, sculp.2.1 (chap. 9.5).

⁴⁵⁶ WOOD 1877, 50.

⁴⁵⁷ Letter of December 8, 1866; see text in sculp.2.1 (chap. 9.5).

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. for example Terpsichore’s lyre from the group in the Vatican, TÜRRE 1971, 21–25 pl. 13.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. AURENHAMMER 2006, 48 with note 20.

⁴⁶⁰ For the letters, cf. text in sculp.2.1 (chap. 9.5); WOOD 1877, 50.

⁴⁶¹ PADUANO FAEDO 1981, 74.

⁴⁶² PADUANO FAEDO 1981, 74.

⁴⁶³ There are remains of a dowel hole (?) in the upper part, in the area of the right hip.

⁴⁶⁴ Hygieia: SOBEL 1990, 29–30 pl. 11 a. b, 12 b; CROISSANT 1990, 560–562; Tyche: RAUSA 1997, 128 type “Claudia Iusta”.

⁴⁶⁵ Broadlands 31: GRASSINGER 1994, 2 and 51–53 cat. 2 pl. 137.

⁴⁶⁶ LANDWEHR 1993, 89–90 cat. 66 pl. 94–95 (she invented the term “Konzept”); GRASSINGER 1994, 52–53.

⁴⁶⁷ GRASSINGER 1994, 52–53 with note 8 for other examples following the Hellenistic version and including the long sleeves. Cf. also a statue of Tyche, London, British Museum 1701, cf. RAUSA 1997, 128 cat. 33.

including the sleeves.⁴⁶⁸ A special feature of some of these Ephesian torsi (and a statue from Leptis Magna) is the small triangular piece of drapery between the legs, just below the bulge of the himation.⁴⁶⁹

This figural concept was used also for images of Muses, for free-standing sculpture as well as for the images of Muses on sarcophagi.⁴⁷⁰ The mid-2nd century A.D. group of Muses from the theater in Ferentium uses this concept, with variations, for four of the Muses.⁴⁷¹ One of the early Severan muses from the Odeion in Salonica is also reminiscent of this concept.⁴⁷²

The Ephesian statue is elongated, emphasizing the front view, whereas the side views are flat and shallow. The rich folds of the himation on the left side of the figure which are characteristic for this concept are disregarded here, and the himation covering the left leg is rendered in simple, parallel folds. On the back, the drapery is rendered schematically (pl. 70, 4). The statue is generally not of a high quality, even considering its damaged surface. The parallel folds of the chiton falling down on the feet are preserved best. They are separated by the drill in a manner reminiscent of Antonine and Severan female portrait statues.⁴⁷³ The combination of this drillwork in the vertical folds of the chiton with engraved lines in the chiton covering the upper torso is paralleled by a group of Aphrodisian female portrait statues of the later 2nd/early 3rd century.⁴⁷⁴

The statue's low plinth is typical for the 2nd century A.D. up to the Severan period, featuring simple moldings and a *scotia* on the front and on its preserved, rounded right side.⁴⁷⁵ There is a clamp cutting on the right side.

Aside from this statue, J. T. Wood mentioned the fragmentary base of a statue of Melpomene with a tragic mask on it which is not otherwise recorded (sculp. 2.2). "The statue of a female seated, of an earlier period apparently..." mentioned by Wood in one of his letters (sculp. 3.1), could theoretically also have been a Muse.⁴⁷⁶

Statues of Muses, as patrons of orators and musicians, are of course well suited for the decoration of *scaenae frontes* of the multi-functional Bouleuteria in the high Imperial period.⁴⁷⁷ We do not know whether the two (or three) Muses from the Ephesian Bouleuterion were originally part of a larger group.

The combined display of portrait statues and mythological sculpture is epigraphically recorded for the Bouleuterion at Patara.⁴⁷⁸ But the preserved Muse in Syros and the other Muses were probably added later to the essentially political original program of the Ephesian *scaenae frons*. The supplementation of original sculptural programs in public buildings at Ephesos has always to be reckoned with, including during the Late Antique period.⁴⁷⁹

The under life-size torso of a Silenus (sculp. 2.3) was found "in one of the small passages near the central doorway" of the *scaenae frons* (pl. 70, 3).⁴⁸⁰ It is modelled after the "Kista- or Liknophoros" motif which is only represented by a couple of free-standing sculptures, mostly of Roman date.⁴⁸¹ Among them are the two

⁴⁶⁸ ATALAY 1989, especially 35–38, 91–92 cat. 26, 29, 30 fig. 63, 66–67. For other Ephesian comparanda, cf. a statue of Hygieia from the East Gymnasium, Sel uk, Efes Müzesi 33, cf. ATALAY 1989, 32 cat. 22, 88 fig. 57; SCHNEIDER 1999, 41–42 pl. 21 a, and two statues from the theater: London, British Museum 1247, a statue lacking attributes, cf. ATALAY 1989, 38–39 cat. 32, 93 fig. 69, and Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 931, a statue of Nemesis, cf. ATALAY 1989, 39–40, 93–94 cat. 33 fig. 71.

⁴⁶⁹ Sel uk, Efes Müzesi 2410 and 459, cf. ATALAY 1989, 37–38 cat. 29–30 fig. 66–67; Leptis Magna, Museum 4, cf. CAPUTO – TRAVERSARI 1976, 49–50 no. 28 pl. 25–26.

⁴⁷⁰ Sarcophagi: PADUANO FAEDO 1981, 147–148 type III B in the tabulation; FAEDO 1994, 1033–1034 types D and D1.

⁴⁷¹ Florence, Museo archeologico 81015–81017, 81019, cf. FUCHS 1987, 92–93 cat. E II 2.3 (Terpsichore with lyre); 4, 6 pl. 36–37; s. SCHNEIDER 1999, 216–217.

⁴⁷² Salonica, Archaeological Museum 6681, cf. STEPHANIDOU-TIVERIOU 1997, 122 cat. 93 pl. 340–341; SCHNEIDER 1999, 219.

⁴⁷³ Compare for example Faustina Maior's statue in Malibu, P. Getty Museum 70.AA.113 (probably from Asia Minor), cf. İNAN – ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM 1979, cat. 55 pl. 49; SCHNEIDER 1999, 32–33 pl. 19; and two female portrait statues from the Aphrodisias Museum, 62–490, 63–54, 63–56 and 72–1, SMITH 2006, 214–216 cat. 95 pl. 74–75 and 219–220 cat. 97 pl. 78.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. the statues from Aphrodisias, s. previous note.

⁴⁷⁵ For this type of plinth with a *scotia* between simple moldings, cf. FILGES 1999, 404 with examples on p. 399–401, cf. especially p. 400 no. f; SMITH 2006, 31.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. also GALLI 2002, 72 note 266.

⁴⁷⁷ For the multi-functional Bouleuteria, cf. BIER 2008, 161–163. For the statues of Muses in Odeia, cf. SCHNEIDER 1999, 216–220.

⁴⁷⁸ GALLI 2002, 72–73. In the recent publication of the building, the sculptural finds are preliminary listed, cf. KORKUT – GROSCHKE 2007, 102–107; according to this evidence, the emphasis is on portrait statuary.

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. AUINGER – RATHMAYR 2007, passim, and AURENHAMMER (forthcoming).

⁴⁸⁰ AURENHAMMER 1990, 75–76.

⁴⁸¹ RAEDER 2000, 103, 105 note 8 with a list (excluding the torso in the Vatican); VORSTER 2004, 48. I had no access to images of the

well-known Silenoi from the Canopus of Hadrian's Villa, used as supporting figures for the entablature,⁴⁸² a torso in a private collection in Capri (said to be also from this Villa),⁴⁸³ and a statue in Petworth House⁴⁸⁴ of the early 2nd century A.D. and of unknown find-location. The earliest torso in this series in the Vatican – again without find-location – dates to the 1st century B.C. according to C. Vorster.⁴⁸⁵

In this motif, Silenus is dressed in the loin-cloth of sacrificial servants which is tied – on the Ephesian torso and on the Silenoi from the Hadrian's Villa – under the paunch, the Ephesian torso featuring a zigzag-shaped end between the legs.⁴⁸⁶ The Silenus puts one leg forward, while the hip of the weight-bearing leg bulges out. The Silenoi from Hadrian's Villa, the Silenus in Petworth House and a fragmentary statuette from a Roman house in Aventicum balance an object on their head, a fruit basket or a *liknon*.⁴⁸⁷ The Ephesian torso, like the Vatican torso and the statuette from Aventicum, raises only one arm, and its head is only partially preserved, so its original position and activity remain unclear, strictly speaking. The motif of the basket filled with objects is repeated in the top of the unusual support of the Ephesian Silenus, an open basket displaying a phallus below a *lunula*, sitting on a bulging vase which itself rests on a tripod.⁴⁸⁸ A puntello in the Ephesian torso's left armpit points to an attribute (a thyrsos?) in this arm. Apart from its muscular right upper arm, only the pectoral muscles and the coastal arch of the Ephesian torso are accentuated, while the navel is deeply drilled. Compared to the rather schematic rendering of the drapery of the loin-cloth, the preserved hair of the beard is finely carved, exclusively with the chisel. The beard is shaped as a compact mass of hair, differing from the arrangement of single locks of the heads of the Silenoi from Hadrian's Villa and in Petworth House.

The arrangement of the loin-cloth recalls the statues from Hadrian's Villa. Stylistically, the rendering of the beard and the rather crude drillwork in the folds of the cloth is paralleled by a fragmentary Ephesian replica of the "Dresden Zeus" and by figures from slabs of the Parthian Monument, which point to a Hadrianic/early Antonine date for the Silenus from the Bouleuterion.⁴⁸⁹

Silenoi are often represented in theaters,⁴⁹⁰ but there are, as far as I know, no records for Silenoi displayed in Bouleuteria/Odeia.⁴⁹¹ The iconographical motif described above and the attributes of the Silenoi evoke the atmosphere of Dionysiac mysteries.⁴⁹² The original setting of free-standing Roman sculpture of this kind is to be expected in villas, gardens and the private realm, rather than in an official Roman building, the meeting place of the *boule* or other civic bodies.⁴⁹³ Therefore, the Silenus was probably added later to the decoration of the *Vedius scaenae frons* (if at all).

examples in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, and in the London art market, RAEDER 2000, 103. 105 note 8, no. 2 and 4.

⁴⁸² Tivoli, Hadrian's Villa, Museum 2249: for example RAEDER 1983, 85 cat. I 81–82 pl. 22. 24; AURIGEMMA 1961, 116 fig. 100–102. 118 fig. 107–109; recently HESBERG 2007, 68–70 fig. 2.

⁴⁸³ Capri, Private Collection: RAEDER 2000, 105 note 8, no. 3; SCHMIDT 1982, 214 note 768 pl. 35, 3.

⁴⁸⁴ Petworth House, Little Dining Room no. 54, cf. RAEDER 2000, 103–105 cat. 27 pl. 38–39.

⁴⁸⁵ Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 9898, cf. VORSTER 2004, 48–49 cat. 18 pl. 24, 2. 3; 25.

⁴⁸⁶ For the loin-cloth tied centrally under the paunch cf. MANDEL 2005, 214.

⁴⁸⁷ A fruit basket on the statues from Hadrian's Villa, RAEDER 1983, 85 cat. I 81–82 pl. 22. 24, a *liknon* on the statue in Petworth House, RAEDER 2000, 103–105 cat. 27 pl. 38–39, and on the 1st century A.D. statuette from Aventicum, Avenches, Musée romain 1866/1298, cf. BOSSERT 1983, 20–21 cat. 7 pl. 8 and BOSSERT 1998, 29. 118. 132–133 note 13 cat. Rs 7 pl. 41. The right arm of the Silenus from Aventicum is bent, not stretched as on the Ephesian Silenus.

⁴⁸⁸ AURENHAMMER 1990, 75.

⁴⁸⁹ For the beard, cf. the replica of the "Dresden Zeus" from Ephesos, İzmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi 554, cf. AURENHAMMER 1990, cat. 109 pl. 76 b. c, and the head of a river-god from the Parthian Monument, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 1659, cf. LANDSKRON 2006, 113–114 fig. 20; OBERLEITNER 2009, 105–107 cat. FR 20 fig. 184. 186. For the crude drillwork, compare for example the figure of "Demeter" from the Parthian Monument, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 861; cf. OBERLEITNER 2009, 125–127 cat. FR 26 fig. 223. 225 (compare the folds of the himation on her right arm).

⁴⁹⁰ Silenoi in theaters: for example SCHWINGENSTEIN 1977, 35–40; FUCHS 1987, 128–131. 135. 137. 142. 192; MANDEL 2005, 207–227.

⁴⁹¹ For the plinth of a statue-group of Marsyas and Olympos (?) from the building at Ptolemais, cf. BALTJ 1991, 498 note 340; SICHTERMANN 1959, 340–341 fig. 101. The function of the building (Bouleuterion or Odeion) is disputed. According to CAPUTO 1954, 458–466 fig. 1–3, the statues of Athena and "Tyche" were found in the portico behind (in the west) of the stage building. R. G. GOODCHILD – C. H. KRAELING in: KRAELING 1962, 93 and D. M. BRINKERHOFF in: KRAELING 1962, 183–184 mention several statues, among them the aforementioned and the plinth, as having been found "in the odeion".

⁴⁹² RAEDER 2000, 103.

⁴⁹³ For the setting, cf. RAEDER 2000, 103–104. This is documented by the two (or three) Silenoi from Hadrian's Villa and the statuette

In 1970, W. Alzinger discovered the fragment of a male bearded head (sculp. 2.4) in a sondage in the *pulpitum*, 20 cm below the upper edge of the projecting foundation of the orchestra (pl. 70, 2; cf. 15, 1–2). According to its height, it belonged to an at least life-size head. It comprises part of the lower part of the face – including the lower lip and the left side of the beard – and a part of the neck. The curled end of the moustache at the left of the lip identifies the head as part of a mythological sculpture, probably a male divinity.⁴⁹⁴ The curled ends of the moustache also occur on the figure of Demos of the Zoilos-frieze from Aphrodisias which is typologically based on high classical heads, though.⁴⁹⁵ According to the drillwork in the locks, the Ephesian fragment can be dated to the Antonine period. Because of its style and its find-spot, the fragment might have belonged to the decoration of the *Vedius scaenae frons*.

9.3 Other Locations for the Setting of Sculptures in the Bouleuterion

Sculptural decoration for the first phase of the Bouleuterion may be assumed even though no trace of it has survived. The scene wall of this phase did not yet feature projecting *aediculae*, but statues could have been set up in niches in the wall between the piers.⁴⁹⁶

A wall of unshaped stones on the outer face of the blocked arched doorway at the eastern end of the *parodos* produced a deep niche which may also have held a statue.⁴⁹⁷

Based on Wilberg's drawings of three fallen arches (pls. 10, 1–2; 11, 1) and the remains of arches, H. Thür reconstructed two arched windows and a vaulted niche which probably served as setting for a statue.⁴⁹⁸ According to the find-spot of this arch and the way it had fallen, the niche might have been located in the 2nd story of *Vedius' scaenae frons*, above doorway SD 3, in L. Bier's reconstruction of the *scaenae frons* between the hypothetical statues of Sabina (at Antoninus Pius', the central statue's, right) and Boule (on the far right in plan 6).

9.4 Summary

Essentially, the original sculptural decoration of the *Vedius scaenae frons* consisted of a statue-group of the Antonine dynasty, highlighting the donor's affiliation with the Emperor Antoninus Pius and his standing in the Ephesian elite, his euergetism and his cultural values. According to epigraphic and archaeological evidence, the Ephesian group comprised statues of Lucius Verus (sculp. 1.1), Marcus Aurelius (sculp. 1.2) and one of his daughters, Faustina (sculp. 1.3). If the portrait of a young girl (sculp. 1.4) could be linked with the Faustina base (sculp. 1.3), it could hypothetically be identified with Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina, the third daughter. Proceeding from these preserved or recorded monuments, statues of Antoninus Pius, Faustina Maior and Faustina Minor have to be assumed. If indeed Annia Faustina was represented, Lucilla's statue has to be expected, too. Considering the scant remains of the group, the improvised features of Lucius Verus' statue and the Faustina base as well as the hypothetical identification of the girl's portrait with Annia Faustina, the exact date and extent of the statue-group cannot be determined, and its unity cannot be taken for granted. It is quite possible that the statues were set up successively. A date in the reign of Antoninus Pius is given by the preserved inscribed plinths and bases. Lucius Verus' statue in the guise of Mars and the girl's portrait (if the identification with Annia Faustina is correct) might point to the late 150s A.D. A part of the original program survived the centuries until Late Antiquity.

L. Bier reconstructed the display of the Antonine statue gallery hypothetically, based on the evidence of its remains and the pedestals, and on the evidence of similar statue-groups, especially the group in the Gerontikon at Nysa. He included statues of Hadrian and Sabina and personifications of Demos and Boule, recorded by

from a Roman house in Aventicum, cf. RAEDER 1983, 85 cat. I 81–82 pl. 22. 24 and BOSSERT 1983, 20–21 cat. 7 pl. 8.

⁴⁹⁴ Compare for example the statue of Zeus from Terrace House 1, Selçuk, Efes Müzesi 32/75/92, AURENHAMMER 2003, 169–171. 199–200 cat. S 49 pl. 97–98. Cf. also an Ephesian head, İzmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi 482, AURENHAMMER 1990, 131 cat. 107 pl. 76 a, and a missing head, AURENHAMMER 1990, 198 cat. 166 pl. 126 b. Generally, cf. LANDWEHR 1990, 108 for this detail as part of a Roman figural concept of bearded male divinities.

⁴⁹⁵ SMITH 1993, 32–33 pl. 10–11.

⁴⁹⁶ See above chap. 3.2.

⁴⁹⁷ See above chap. 2.4.

⁴⁹⁸ See above chap. 4.9.

Demos' preserved base (sculp. 1.6). Statues of the donors were surely set up on the terminating blocks of the *analemmata*.

The mythological sculpture found in the Bouleuterion – two Muses (sculp. 2.1; 2.2) and a Silenus (sculp. 2.3) – was probably added later to the original political program of the *Vedius scaenae frons*. According to the extant sculpture and the statue bases, the sculptural decoration of the *scaenae frons* in Late Antiquity presented the remains of the dynastic group in combination with statues illustrating the function of the building (see the Muses and Demos, sculp. 1.6, with Boule), and a torso of Silenus which must surely have been introduced from a different setting.

Sculptural decoration for the first phase of the *scaenae frons*, displayed in niches, may be assumed, but it is not confirmed by the actual remains.

9.5 The Sculptures found in the Bouleuterion: Catalog⁴⁹⁹

9.5.1 PORTRAIT STATUARY AND STATUES OF PERSONIFICATIONS

Sculp.1.1 Lower half of a male portrait statue, Lucius Verus as Mars, Early Antonine (pl. 66)

London, British Museum 1256, GR 1865.12-6.1

Near the central doorway of the stage; 1864

Medium crystal white marble, from the finish perhaps Parian

H. statue 1.29 m. w. plinth 0.97 m. d. plinth 0.495 m. h. plinth 9 cm. letter h. 2 cm.

The statue is broken above the navel through its entire width. Only the lower half of the body remains; it is made up of seven joining fragments. They comprise the right part of the front of the plinth with the right foot up to the ankle, the middle front section of the plinth with the toes of the left foot, and the back left part of the plinth with the tree trunk and the back part of the left foot and the left leg up to the thigh. Further fragments include the right leg from the ankle to below the knee, the right knee with parts of the *paludamentum* on either side, the right thigh with sections of the *paludamentum* and the bottom part of the torso with the genital area and top of left thigh. The genitals themselves are missing. They were carved separately and attached with a metal dowel; now only the dowel hole remains.

The back right and the left front section of the plinth with a small part of the tree trunk are restored in concrete.

The flesh and drapery are smoothly finished and polished. Claw chisel marks appear on the supporting tree-trunk close to the figure's left leg. The base is finished with a flat chisel. The back of the statue is hollowed out and very roughly finished with a point, except for the back of the left leg, which is worked with a heavy flat chisel. A deeply carved channel, perhaps cut with a bull-nosed chisel, separates the left leg from the tree-trunk.

According to WOOD 1877, 50, the upper part of the body was lost in a shipwreck near Syros of the vessel "Cornish Lass", transporting the sculpture to Britain. However, in correspondence with C. Newton of the British Museum (6.1.1866), Wood states that the upper part of the statue was stolen from its place of concealment in the excavations. In another letter (8.3.1869), Wood states that "I have not yet found the head of Commodus (sic), but I have found the man who has it, perhaps this will be best managed when you (i. e. Newton) are here...", contradicting the account given in WOOD 1877, 78, in which he states that he was offered the head for 20 lire in April 1867 by a man in Smyrna who had purchased it for 8. The head is said by SMITH 1900, 189 to have gone to the Museum of the Evangelical School at Smyrna (Izmir). In a letter of 8.12.1866, Wood reports the planned transport of a hand of this statue (together with the statue of a Muse, below 2.1) to Britain. In a letter of 22.7.1892, J. Crick offered a damaged hand said to be from this figure to the Trustees of the British Museum.⁵⁰⁰

In most of his letters, J. T. Wood identified the statue as Commodus, but in his book (WOOD 1877, 47. 50. 78) he presented the right identification, following H. Mommsen (in CURTIUS 1870). The fragments of an over-life-size statue of Antoninus Pius mentioned in the earliest relevant letter (28.4.1864) also correspond to Lucius Verus' statue and should not be taken literally.

CURTIUS 1870, 189–190. – WOOD 1877, 47. 50. 78, Appendix 5, Inscriptions from the Odeum no. 6. – HICKS 1890, 505. – LIPPOLD 1923, 182. – BERNOULLI 1891, 207 no. 10. – FURTWÄNGLER 1896, 43. – SMITH 1900, no. 1256. – MUTHMANN 1951, 45. 222. – WEGNER 1939, 232. 282. 285. – VERMEULE 1968, 397 no. 6–7. – FITTSCHEN 1971, 225 note 45. – WEGNER 1980, 47. – HARTSWICK 1990, 280 no. 23. – FITTSCHEN 1999, 40 note 240; 130 pl. 66 b–e. – KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 352–357 fig. 1. – KALINOWSKI 2002, 143–144 pl. 4. – VERMEULE III 2002, 329. – GALLI 2002, 71 with note 266.

Inscription on the plinth: IvE 1505; s. above chap. 8.3.1, inscr. 11 (H. TAEUBER).

⁴⁹⁹ T. OPPER contributed the catalog entry on sculp. 1.1.

⁵⁰⁰ All the letters quoted in the catalog are in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum.

Sculp. 1.2 Statue Base of Marcus Aurelius, Early Antonine (pl. 67, 1)

Whereabouts unknown

Discovered by J. T. Wood in 1864. Recorded by Wood's sketch on the reverse of a letter of 28.11.1864. The base was obviously not transported to Britain; it is not registered in the British Museum.

KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 353–354, fig. 2; see above chap. 8.3.2, inscr. 12 (H. TAEUBER).

Sculp. 1.3 Fragment of a statue base of Faustina, Early Antonine (pl. 68)

Selçuk, Efes Müzesi

In the debris of the orchestra; 1908

Gray marble

H. 0.22 m. w. 0.287 m. d. 0.20 m. letter h. 2.9 cm

The left side of the base and parts of the upper side and the back are broken off. The base is broken below the second line of the inscription through its entire depth. The chamfers of the front and the right side are partially broken off.

The upper side is worked with a fine tooth chisel, the bottom side is roughly finished. Remains of a pry hole (?) on the upper side.

BOL 1984, 34. – FITTSCHEN 1999, 130 fig. 66 a. – KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 354. – GALLI 2002, 71–72 with note 266. Inscription: Skizzenbuch 1684 (J. Keil); IvE 285a; s. above chap. 8.3.3, inscr. 13 (H. TAEUBER).

Sculp. 1.4 Portrait of a girl, Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina?, Early Antonine (pl. 69; 70, 1)

Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzeleri 53 (British Museum: GR 1864.10-28.2)

“Near one of the entrances” of the stage-building (Wood's letter, 28.11.1866); 1864

Fine crystal white marble

H. 0.212 m. h. head 0.18 m. h. face 0.118 m. w. head 0.16 m. d. head 0.177 m

Broken at the neck. The nose and the lower part of the ponytail are broken off. The right eye and brow, the left cheek, the lips and the locks of the hair are partially damaged. Traces of rootlets on the surface.

The irises are incised, the bean-shaped pupils are drilled. Drillwork in the wavy hair framing the face.

The head is one of three sculptures originally sent to the British Museum by J.T. Wood, but later on (1870) returned by the Trustees to the museum in Constantinople (cf. WOOD 1877, 47 and MENDEL 1914, 128 no. 410, 350 no. 610, 363 no. 620).

WOOD 1877, 47. – MENDEL 1914, 128 no. 410 with further literature. – KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 355 note 23.

Sculp. 1.5 Male Portrait statue

Whereabouts unknown

“I have found at the odeum a fine statue of an actor or orator declaiming (life size) – it is, of course, headless, handless and footless. I am however searching for the parts missing...” (J.T. Wood, letter of 23.3.1866)

Sculp. 1.6 Fragment of a statue base of Demos, 2nd century A.D. (pl. 67, 2)

Selçuk, Efes Müzesi

In front of the central doorway, in the debris; 1908 recorded by J. Keil

White marble

H. 0.30 m. w. 0.62 m. d. 0.50 m. letter h. 7.5 cm

(Documentation by J. Keil)

Inscription: Skizzenbuch 1658 (J. Keil); IvE 1903; s. above chap. 8.3.4, inscr. 14 (H. TAEUBER).

9.5.2. MYTHOLOGICAL SCULPTURE

Sculp. 2.1 Statue of a Muse, Terpsichore or Erato?, Antonine/Severan (pl. 70, 4; 71)

Ermoupoli, Syros, Archaeological Museum 682

“... at the end of the eastern passage [eastern *parodos*]; ... had evidently fallen from a niche upon the pavement below” (WOOD 1877, 50); 1864

White marble with grayish veins

H. 1.54 m. h. plinth 0.11 m. w. plinth ca. 0.52 m. d. plinth 0.30 m. h. moldings of the plinth 4 cm (crown molding), 5 cm (base molding)

The statue went down in a shipwreck off the coast of Syros and was partially retrieved from the sea, apart from the left part of the plinth and the attribute, a lyre on a base (for the original condition of the statue and its fate cf. WOOD 1877, 49–50 and two letters of 10.1.1867). Due to its damaged condition, the statue was left in Syros and not sent to the British Museum.

The statue is broken at the hips through its entire width. The main part of the left arm including parts of the drapery is broken off. The head and the main part of the right arm were originally attached. In one of his letters (8.12.1866), J. T. Wood mentions two portions of an arm of the statue shipped to Britain. The right side of the plinth, the moldings on this side and on the front, the toes of the feet and the drapery are damaged. The whole surface of the statue is damaged due to its exposure to sea-water. The front is rust-stained, the back is partially discoloured (grayish colour).

The head originally sat in a shallow socket (worked with the chisel) and was fastened with a big iron dowel which is partially preserved. The stump of the right arm was worked for the attachment of the lower part of the arm with a dowel hole. In the break just behind the right hip, there are remains of a dowel hole (?) in the upper part of the statue. There is a pin hole on the outside of the right upper thigh, and a clamp cutting on the right side of the plinth with a pouring channel.

In his first relevant letters (28.11.1866, 8.12.1866), Wood identified the Muse as Euterpe, whereas in his book (WOOD 1877, 50) he decided on Erato.

WOOD 1877, 49–50. – SCHNEIDER 1999, 218.

Sculp. 2.2 Base of a statue of Melpomene

Whereabouts unknown

In a letter of 28.11.1866, J.T. Wood mentions the discovery of a statue of Euterpe (see sculp. 2.1) and continues: “I have a good chance of finding a statue of Melpomene at the odeum, as I have found what appears to be a portion of the base of her statue. It has a tragic mask on it.”

Sculp. 2.3 Torso of a Silenus, “Kista- or Liknophoros”, Hadrianic/Antonine (pl. 70, 3)

London, British Museum 1257, GR 1867.11-22.427

In one of the small “passages“ near the central doorway; 1864

Large crystal white marble, yellowish patina

H. 0.84 m. h. of the support 0.62 m

Missing are the head (apart from the locks of the beard), both arms apart from the stumps, both lower legs and the lowest part of the support. The stump of the right arm and the zigzag-shaped end of the loin-cloth were re-attached. The puntello in the left armpit is broken off. The locks of the beard are partially damaged.

The naked parts are polished, the navel is drilled.

WOOD 1877, 50–51. – SMITH 1900, no. 1257. – MEINEL 1980, 129. – AURENHAMMER 1990, 75–76 cat. 56 pl. 37. – RAEDER 2000, 105 note 8. – GALLI 2002, 72 note 266. – VORSTER 2004, 48 note 5 (cat. 18).

Sculp. 2.4 Fragment of a male head, Antonine (pl. 70, 2)

Selçuk, Depot in the Austrian excavation house, Find no. O 2/70

Trench 6/70: trench in the *pulpitum*, 20 cm below the upper edge of the southern foundation of the orchestra; 1970

Fine crystal white marble

H. 0.17 m. w. 0.18 m. d. 0.17 m

Broken on all sides. The preserved parts are polished, drillwork in the locks.

AURENHAMMER 1990, 134–135 cat. 111 pl. 78 c.

9.5.3. SCULPTURES WITHOUT SPECIFIC IDENTIFICATION

Sculp. 3.1 Female seated statue

Whereabouts unknown

White marble

J. T. Wood's letter of 28.4.1864: "A statue of a female seated, of an earlier period apparently but wanting head, hands and feet. It is valuable for the beauty of the drapery which is uninjured."

WOOD 1877, 46. – KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 355. – GALLI 2002, 72 note 266.

Sculp. 3.2 Torso of a female statue

Whereabouts unknown

J. T. Wood's letter of 28.11.1964: "The female torso I found some time ago, and referred to in a former letter, is very inferior to the head I have sent you" (for the female head, see sculp. 1.4).

KALINOWSKI – TAEUBER 2001, 355.

(M. Aurenhammer – Th. Opper)

10. SUMMARY

Introduction

This volume, which aims to present a comprehensive publication of the Bouleuterion at Ephesos, is based on a manuscript by Lionel Bier, Professor of Art History, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, written in the last years before his death in 2004. Maria Aurenhammer, Ursula Quatember and Hilke Thür edited the manuscript, adding footnotes and recent scholarly literature, and compiled the author's drawings and photographs. New chapters were written by Hilke Thür (fallen arches), Ursula Quatember (architectural decoration), Hans Taeuber (inscriptions) and Maria Aurenhammer and Thorsten Opper (sculptures).

History of Excavations and Research

The aim of this volume is the comprehensive publication of the Bouleuterion at Ephesos. The building has a long history of research, but a proper analysis of the architecture and a comprehensive documentation, including the architectural and sculptural decoration, were lacking. First excavations were already undertaken by J. T. Wood in the mid-19th century who published the results in his book "Discoveries at Ephesus" (1877). More information can be gleaned from the letters he sent to the British Museum. Wood also sent cases with a series of inscriptions and sculptures to this museum, while one piece was returned by the Trustees to the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople. Excavations under the auspices of the Austrian Archaeological Institute were undertaken in 1908 (R. Heberdey, W. Wilberg) and in the 1960s. The graphic and photographic documentation of the early Austrian excavations is highly valuable for the research on the building. In the 1960s, W. Alzinger excavated in the orchestra in search of the Hellenistic Bouleuterion, and E. Fossel determined the essentially political function of the building. The important series of inscriptions ("Imperial Letters") and part of the sculptures found in the building were published in corpora and in other scholarly literature. Finally, the Ephesian Bouleuterion was introduced into comprehensive publications on Odeia (R. Meinel, 1980) and the Curia (J. C. Balty, 1991). In the last decade, several authors studied the sculptural program of the *scaenae frons* donated by P. Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane in the mid-2nd century A.D. (K. Fittschen, 1990, A. Kalinowski and H. Taeuber, 2001 and 2002, M. Galli, 2002).

Building Description

The Bouleuterion's ground plan – as it exists today – is defined by a semicircular retaining wall with a diameter of 47 m, an *ima* and a *summa cavea*, a sunken orchestra, a *pulpitum* and a scene comprising a scene wall and a later *scaenae frons*. The retaining wall and the scene wall are reinforced by buttresses and corner piers which furnish important evidence for the reconstruction of the roof. The inner side of the retaining wall was articulated by pilasters which were later removed. Of these, only traces remain on the back wall and on the floor of the uppermost *diazoma* (dowel holes and pry holes). The pilasters end in the area of the large buttresses 1 and 14, bonded with a projecting wall. On the middle axis of the *cavea*, the retaining wall was removed secondarily and an apse (a *synthronon*?) was erected.

The *cavea* is located on the southern slope of the Panayırdağ, erected on original soil and on earlier deposits. In two southern *cunei*, tiers of the *summa cavea* were supported by the barrel vaults of the *vomitoria* and the vaulted chambers next to the *analemmata*. The substructure of the rows of seats is built up of mortared rubble. The seats were encased by marble slabs which are preserved mainly in the *ima cavea*. At the six radial stairways of the *ima cavea*, the rows of seats ended in upright marble slabs featuring lion paws. The *summa cavea* was divided into ten *cunei*. The two *parodoi*, originally open, were later vaulted over and supported rows of seating (not preserved today).

The middle *diazoma*, accessible via the *vomitoria*, was used as distributor for the *summa* and *ima cavea*. The *analemmata* are inclined minimally towards the stage building, following the ground plan of the Greek theater. The walls of the *analemmata* are constructed of regular coursed masonry. There was no chronological gap between the erection of the *ima* and *summa cavea*, according to the analysis of the *analemma* walls. At the east and west end, the *analemmata* are pierced by doors which lead to vaulted chambers north of the *analemmata* (nowadays blocked), and, via other doors, to the *vomitoria*. These initially run parallel to the retaining wall towards a landing, where they turn at an angle of 90° to a second landing and finally to the middle *diazoma*. The lower *diazoma* and the *pulpitum* of 0.90 m height, accessible via ramps in the *paradoi*, were erected in a later building phase. The originally small orchestra was enlarged by the removal of two rows of seats. With the erection of a podium and the lower *diazoma* it became a sunken orchestra.

The scene of the Ephesian Bouleuterion did not feature a proper stage building with additional chambers, only a scene wall reinforced by buttresses and columns which supported the roof. The scene wall is pierced at both ends by almost square doors allowing the entrance to the *paradoi* and the *vomitoria* from the south (from the Basilica Stoa). There were three other broad, low doorways in the middle part of the scene wall.

The original inner façade of the stage wall can be reconstructed roughly, based on details of the construction and the pedestals of the columnar articulation. This featured a paratactic two-storyed architecture consisting of eight columns in each story with a pilaster at each end. In the second phase, an aediculated *scaenae frons* was erected, and at the same time the *summa cavea* was enlarged and bonded to the stage wall.

A corridor of 2.0 m width runs between the stage wall and the north wall of the Basilica Stoa, covering a deep drain. This corridor continues eastwards; it was used as a drain for the Upper Gymnasium. Five doors led from the Basilica Stoa into the Bouleuterion; these doorways were probably covered by brick vaults.

At the ends of the *paradoi*, the retaining wall is pierced by high arched doors. The western door links the Bouleuterion with the so-called Rhodian Peristyle or Temenos (probably a precinct for the imperial cult) and the Prytaneion. From the west, the Bouleuterion was accessible via the Clivus Sacer and the so-called Domitian Square. In Late Antiquity, this entrance was blocked. The eastern door was obviously never finished, but converted into a niche (for the setting of a statue?) instead. The originally planned passage to the Upper Gymnasium leads to substructures which might have been functionally connected with the Bouleuterion or its stage building.

Phasing and Reconstruction

The scant remains of Hellenistic walls discovered under the orchestra do not confirm the existence of a Hellenistic Bouleuterion postulated by W. Alzinger, even though an inscription mentions a Bouleuterion of this time.

The Bouleuterion of the first phase already featured the form and the measurements of the building visible today. A secondary enlargement was postulated by E. Fossel and initially also by L. Bier, based on a vertical seam in the *analemma* walls. But this was probably caused by a change of the original plan during the construction. The reworked capitals of doorways SD 2 and SD 6 confirm a secondary elevation of the *proscenium* and its transformation into a *pulpitum*. The *cavea* of the first phase had seats for 1 600 spectators, starting on the level of the orchestra. The *ima cavea* featured 15 rows of seats and was divided into 5 *cunei* whereas the *summa cavea* had 10 rows of seats and was divided into 10 *cunei*. The semicircular back wall of the *cavea* was structured by pilasters. According to the measurements of the contour of a base, the height of the pilaster can be estimated at 4.80 m, and the total height up to the roof at 6.0 m above the upper *diazoma*.

In the first phase, the scene wall was pierced by 5 doors, the two lateral ones gave access to the open *paradoi* and the staircases, the other three gave way to the orchestra and the auditorium. The reconstruction of the original scene wall can be deduced from the remains facing the *paradoi* and from the secondary encasement of the four central pillars in the four broad pedestals of the later *scaenae frons*. Ten pillars (eight 1.10 m wide plus two corner pillars) projected 1.25 m in front of the scene wall and carried pedestals for a row of eight single columns and pilasters. These pillars and pedestals corresponded with the buttresses on the exterior of the scene wall and also with the buttresses and pilasters of the outer retaining wall of the *cavea*. Therefore these pedestals must have been put up with regard to the construction of the roof. The upper part of the scene wall was built of marble blocks featuring inscriptions (see below) and probably also niches for the display of statues.

The first Ephesian Bouleuterion was large and austere. The two-storied scene wall was characterized by high pedestals supporting single columns which functioned primarily as supports for the framework of the roof. The *terminus ante quem* for the first phase is provided by a letter of Hadrian dated A.D. 128/129 which was inscribed on the wall blocks of the scene wall. The evidence for its *terminus post quem* is largely circumstantial. According to typological parallels and to details of the technique (for example the style of the masonry at the base of the retaining wall), the first Bouleuterion may be dated to the late 1st/early 2nd century A.D. This raises the possibility that the Ephesian Bouleuterion was part of the building program undertaken at Ephesos under the Flavians.

In the second phase, this old-fashioned scene wall was renovated by Vedius in the 150s A.D. He ordered an aediculated façade which was already widely used in theaters. The ensemble of inscriptions and sculptures displayed in the *scaenae frons* aimed at the representation of the donor's good connections with the dynasty of the Antonines. Contemporary with the aediculated façade are the vaults of the *parodoi* and the enlargement of the *summa cavea* towards the stage wall, making room for honorary seats ("*tribunalia*"). The *pulpitum* of 1.35 m height was raised as a *proscenium*, accessible from ramps in the *parodoi*. Facing the orchestra, it was screened by marble orthostats which accommodated statue bases at both ends. The rhythm of the two-storied *scaenae frons* was defined by four broad pedestals supporting *aediculae* with two columns, flanked by two narrower pedestals carrying a single column.

After the renovation by Vedius the orchestra was altered. The first two rows of seats were removed, the enlarged orchestra (diam. 9.0 m) was transformed into a sunken orchestra, including a semicircular podium. At the same time, a narrow lower *diazoma* was set out in front of the first seat row, and the auditorium was made accessible by five stairs.

Later constructions include two additional doors in the stage wall and the enlargement of the upper *diazoma* by an apse (*synthronon*). The western arched door giving way to the Rhodian Peristyle was blocked even later.

The roofing of these small rectangular theater-like buildings was no technical problem in Hellenistic and early Roman times. The combination of a semicircular auditorium with a rectangular stage building was a certain challenge, though. The form of the roof was a crucial question for the design of the Ephesian Bouleuterion. Theoretically, radially arranged trusses might have converged on the centre of the building to form a half-conical roof over the cavea with a hipped roof over the remainder of the building. This roof construction would have been too complicated, though. The architectural remains point to another system: the auditorium was spanned by a framework of parallel beams at intervals of 4.70–5.15 m (6.30 m in the central part) and of different lengths to suit the semicircular ground plan. The ridge of the roof aligned with buttresses 1 and 14. The span of the triangular trusses amounted to 31 m in the middle and 23.5 m on the sides. These span widths could be tackled easily in the early Imperial age. Tree trunks and beams up to 33 m long are mentioned in ancient literature, and Roman architects were familiar with the system and technology of wooden truss roofs. The roofing system of the Ephesian Bouleuterion was a technical feat in its time. Therefore it was probably visible from below. The total height of the Bouleuterion amounted to 17 m with another 3–4 m for the roof; yet because of the two-storied Basilica Stoa in front, the building was hardly visible from the Upper Agora.

The Vedius *scaenae frons* and the Architectural Decoration

Around the middle of the 2nd century A.D. the Bouleuterion's stage wall received a two-storied aedicular façade following an architectural layout that is well testified in Asia Minor throughout the Imperial period. The new two-storied aedicular façade had pairs of columns on the pedestals of the lower story, forming *aediculae* by means of the projecting and receding entablature. On the western and eastern end the façade was framed by detached single columns. In the upper story, this system was probably shifted, forming pavilions that were crowned by pediments. This kind of elaborately decorated façade architecture is very common in Asia Minor not only in theaters and odeia, but also for fountains and other types of buildings like gateways or the Library of Celsus at Ephesos. Many inscribed fragments of the *scaenae frons* were recorded during the excavation process. Other fragments were identified by L. Bier during the course of his research, including a base and three capitals. The architrave inscription mentions the donors P. Vedius Antoninus and his wife Fl. Papiane. They are members of the most prominent Ephesian family in the 2nd century A.D. The outstanding role of P. Vedius

Antoninus is also reflected by the transcript of letters written by the Emperor Antoninus Pius to the Ephesians (see below). They concern Vedius' role as a benefactor and confirm the emperor's support for his activities, among them important buildings like the so-called Vedius Gymnasium at the northern edge of the city.

This in turn has implications for the interpretation of the decoration: the architectural ornament of the *scaenae frons* ties the Bouleuterion closely to the other structures commissioned by the Vedii. The similarities to the decoration of the so-called Kaisersaal in the Vedius Gymnasium and to the capitals and the entablature of a Monopteros generally considered as the family tomb are evident. It seems that the decoration is a carefully chosen feature of the family's building program.

The type of aedicular façade represented by the Vedius *scaenae frons* is known in Asia Minor since the time of Augustus. The earliest examples in Aphrodisias and Stratonikeia share the same characteristics with later examples: the projecting and receding entablature forms *aediculae*, which are in the upper story crowned by pediments of varying shapes. The shifted pattern in the upper story is first testified in the *scaenae frons* of the theater in Miletus which probably dates to the reign of Nero. In Ephesos, the Vedius *scaenae frons* in the Bouleuterion is preceded by the one in the theater (under Domitian), as well as aedicular façades from fountains (Nymphaeum of Laecanius Bassus finished 78/79 A.D., Nymphaeum Traiani and Street Fountain, finished between 102 and 114 A.D.) and other buildings like the Library of Celsus (late Trajanic).

The Inscriptions

The series of inscriptions found in the Bouleuterion is presented in this volume focusing on its relevance for the history of the building. A building inscription was displayed on the upper architrave, on the lower frieze and on the lower architrave. The proposed text is paralleled by the inscriptions from the Vedius Gymnasium (147–149 A.D.). It starts with the dedication of the building to Artemis Ephesia, the Emperor Antoninus Pius and his family, and to Ephesos, the metropolis of Asia, and continues with the names and titles of the dedicants, Vedius III (the “donor”) and his wife Papiane, restored on the basis of titles attested in other inscriptions. Due to its fragmentary state and the lack of direct parallels, a comprehensive restoration of the text on the lower architrave is not possible. Some fragments might point to a connection with the family of Ti. Claudius Demostros Kailianos who was a prominent figure at Ephesos under the reign of Hadrian.

The famous “Imperial Letters” comprise two letters of Hadrian to Ephesos, three letters of Antoninus Pius to the Ephesians, and one letter of Antoninus Pius to the Hellenes in Asia. The two identical letters of Hadrian concern the entry of two sea-captains into the Ephesian Boule. At least one letter belonged to the wall blocks of the *proscenium* of the first phase of the Bouleuterion, the other was replaced by a marble sheet in Vedius' renovation. An honorary inscription for Hadrian, dating to the last years of his reign and written on a wall block, resembles one of the Hadrianic letters and probably belongs to the Bouleuterion as well.

The inscription most important for Ephesos is the so-called Triple Inscription, inscribed on marble slabs: three letters of Antoninus Pius encouraging Vedius' building program at Ephesos – obviously including the Bouleuterion – which had met resistance in Ephesian society. These letters can be dated to the years 145–161 A.D. and were obviously engraved at the same time.

The inscribed statue plinths and bases found in the Bouleuterion comprise the plinth of a statue of Lucius Verus, a base (?) for Marcus Aurelius only recorded in a sketch by J. T. Wood, and a base for a daughter of Marcus Aurelius, Faustina. All of them feature the same dedicatory formula and were set up by Vedius during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Moreover, a statue base of the personification of Demos was found in front of the stage.

The Hadrianic inscriptions on wall blocks of the scene wall show that the earlier Bouleuterion was built in 128/129 at the latest. As to the Imperial Letters which were inscribed on the marble slabs of the Vedius renovation, the Triple Inscription points to the 150s A.D. for the completion of this renovation. The statue plinths and bases were set up in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Epigraphical and sculptural evidence (see below) suggest that the portrait statuary of the Antonine gallery was not put in place at the same time.

The Sculptures found in the Bouleuterion and the Sculptural Program of the *Vedius scaenae frons*

The sculptures found in the Bouleuterion were mainly discovered during J. T. Wood's excavations. About half of the sculptures are documented only by inscribed statue bases or are mentioned in Wood's letters. The surviving sculptures are now housed in the British Museum and in the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul, Selçuk and Syros (Greece). Iconographically, the sculptures may be roughly divided into two groups: portrait statuary and statues of personifications, and mythological sculpture. The original sculptural decoration of the *Vedius scaenae frons* featured a portrait gallery of the Antonine dynasty, highlighting the donors' affiliation with the ruling Emperor Antoninus Pius and his standing in the Ephesian elite as well as expressing his euergetism and his cultural values. Of this gallery, only a torso of Lucius Verus in the guise of Ares Borghese and an inscribed base of one of Marcus Aurelius' daughters, Faustina, are actually preserved, as well as the portrait of a young girl. A base of Marcus Aurelius' statue is only recorded by a sketch in one of Wood's letters. According to the inscribed bases, all of these statues were set up under the reign of Antoninus Pius. The head of the young girl could be interpreted as a portrait of one of Marcus Aurelius' daughters, and, if linked with the Faustina base, could hypothetically be identified with his third daughter Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina. Proceeding from this evidence, the representation of the reigning emperor and his wife Faustina Maior and of Marcus Aurelius' wife Faustina Minor has to be assumed, too. If the identification of the girl with Annia Faustina is correct, the second daughter Lucilla must have been represented, too. Considering the scant remains of the dynastic group, the improvised features of the statue of Lucius Verus and of the Faustina base, and the hypothetical identification of the girl with Annia Faustina, we must state that the exact date and the extent of the statue-group cannot be ascertained. Only a rough date between 150 and 161 can be given, for the statues of Lucius Verus and Annia Faustina preferably a date in the late 150s A.D. It is quite possible that the portrait statues were set up successively, and that the statues of Lucius Verus and Faustina were set up on short notice. L. Bier added a statue of Demos – recorded by an inscribed base – to the sculptural decor. The base can be dated generally to the 2nd century A.D. and was probably accompanied by a statue of Boule as a pendant.

L. Bier's hypothetical reconstruction of the *scaenae frons* offers eight major places for the setting of statues (as in the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias), in addition to a hypothetical central niche for the statue of the reigning emperor in the second story. In this story, there could have been four more positions for the setting of other statues, above doorways 1, 2, 4 and 5. L. Bier peopled his reconstruction with portrait statues according to the evidence of the remains and the information gleaned from other contemporary dynastic galleries, especially the gallery in the Gerontikon at Nysa (where only Marcus Aurelius' first-born daughter Domitia Faustina was represented). In his reconstruction, the central doorway was flanked by statues of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius which in turn were flanked by statues of Faustina Minor (on the eastern side) and her daughter Faustina (on the western side). A statue of Antoninus Pius was, hypothetically, displayed in the central niche of the second story, flanked by statues of Hadrian and Sabina. The presumed representation of Hadrian is supported by historical and epigraphic parallels. Finally, L. Bier also arranged the statues of the personifications in the second story. Portraits of the donors were traditionally set up on the terminating blocks of the *analemmata*. According to J. T. Wood's letters, a male portrait statue (maybe the statue of the donor?) and two female statues, one of them seated, were found in the Bouleuterion, too, which are not otherwise recorded.

The mythological sculpture found in the Bouleuterion comprises two statues of Muses and the torso of a Silenus. A statue of Terpsichore or Erato is displayed in the Archaeological Museum in Syros, whereas a plinth of a statue of Melpomene is again recorded only in one of Wood's letters. Although statues of Muses are well-suited for the multifunctional Bouleuteria of the high Imperial period, these two statues were probably added later to the original, essentially political program. This certainly applies to the torso of a Silenus, furnished with attributes hinting at the Dionysian mysteries, which was originally displayed in a quite different ambience. In Late Antiquity, the sculptural decor combined the remains of the Imperial statue-group with statues illustrating the functions of the building (Muses, Demos), and possibly the statue of a Silenus.

Sculptural decoration for the first phase of the *scaenae frons*, displayed in niches, may be assumed, but it is not confirmed by the actual remains.

(M. Aurenhammer – U. Quatember – H. Thür)

ÖZET

Giriş

Ephesos Bouleuterionu'nun kapsamlı yayını sunmayı amaçlayan bu cilt, New York City Üniversitesi Brooklyn College'de sanat tarihi profesörü olan Lionel Bier'in 2004 yılındaki vefatından önceki son yıllarda kaleme aldığı bir yazıya dayanmaktadır. Maria Aurenhammer, Ursula Quatember ve Hilke Thür bu yazıyı düzene sokarak dipnotlarıyla donatmış, son bilimsel kaynakları eklemiş, yazarın çizim ve fotoğraflarını düzenlemişlerdir. Yazıya eklenen yeni bölümler ise, H. Thür (basık kemer), Ursula Quatember (mimari bezeme), Hans Taeuber (yazıtlar), Maria Aurenhammer ve Thorsten Opper (heykeller) tarafından yazılmışlardır.

Kazı ve Araştırmaların Tarihçesi

Bu yayının amacı Ephesos'taki Bouleuterionun ayrıntılı yayınıdır. Yapının araştırılması eskilere dayanmakta ancak yapının mimari ve yontusal bezemelerini de içeren mimarisine ve ayrıntılı belgelemesine ilişkin özel bir araştırma bulunmamaktaydı. İlk kazıları 19. yüzyılın ortalarında J. T. Wood yapmış ve kazı sonuçlarını "Discoveries at Ephesus" (1877) adlı kitabında yayınlamıştır. Daha ayrıntılı bilgiye ise yazarın British Museum'a gönderdiği mektuplardan ulaşılabilmektedir. Wood bu müzeye sandıklarla bir dizi yazıt ve heykel de göndermiş, bunlardan biri ise Kuratorium tarafından İstanbul'daki Osmanlı İmparatorluk Müzesi'ne iade edilmiştir. Avusturya Arkeoloji Enstitüsü yönetiminde ise 1908 (R. Heberdey, W. Wilberg) ve 1960'lı yıllarda kazılar yapılmıştır. Yapının araştırılmasında ilk Avusturya kazılarınınca çizim ve fotoğraf yoluyla yapılan belgelemeler oldukça önemli yere sahiptir. 1960'lı yıllarda W. Alzinger Hellenistik Bouleuterionu bulmak amacıyla orkestrada kazılar yapmış, E. Fossel ise yapının siyasal işlevini tespit etmiştir. Yapıda bulunmuş önemli yazıtlar serisi ("İmparator mektupları") ve heykellerin bir kısmı corpuslarda ve diğer bilimsel yayınlarda yayımlanmıştır. Son olarak da Ephesos Bouleuterionu, Odeia (R. Meinel, 1980) ve Curia (J. C. Balty) üzerine yazılmış ayrıntılı yayınlarla tanıtılmıştır. Son on yılda ise bir kaç araştırmacı M.S. 2. yüzyıl ortalarında P. Vedius Antoninus ve Flavia Papiane tarafından yaptırılan *scaenae frons* heykelleri üzerine incelemeler yapmışlardır (K. Fittschen, 1990, A. Kalinowski ve H. Taeuber, 2001 ve 2002, M. Galli, 2002).

Yapının Tanımı

Günümüze ulaştığı şekliyle Bouleuterionun temel planı 47 m. çapında bir destek duvarından, bir *ima* ve *summa cavea*dan, düşük bir orkestradan, *pulpitum*, bir *scene* duvarı ve daha sonraları *scaenae frons* olan sahneden oluşmaktadır. Destek duvarı ve sahne duvarı payandalarla ve köşe payeleriyle güçlendirilmiş olup, çatının rekonsrüksiyonuna yönelik önemli ipuçları sağlamaktadır. Destek duvarının iç kısmı, daha sonraları buldukları yerlerden kaldırılmış ve pilastrlarla vurgulanmıştır. Bunlardan geriye sadece arka duvarda ve en üst diazomanın zemininde izler kalmıştır (dübel delikleri ve kenet yuvaları) Pilastrlar, öne çıkıntı yapan duvarla bağlantılı olarak, 1 ve 14 no.lu geniş payeli alanda sona ermektedir. Cavea orta ekseninde, destek duvarı sonradan kaldırılarak bir apsis (*synthronon*?) yapılmıştır.

Cavea Panayırdağ'ın güney eteğine, ana toprağa ve daha önceki yığmalar üzerine yapılmıştır. Güneydeki *cuneus*ların ikisinde *summa cavea* sıraları *vomitorium*ların beşik tonozlarıyla ve *analemmataya* bitişik tonozlu odalarla desteklenmiştir. Oturma sıralarının substrüksiyonu harçlı moloz taş örgüyle inşaa edilmiştir. Sıralar mermer levhalarla kaplanmış olup, bu haliyle korunagelmiş durumda olanları asıl olarak *ima cavea*da bulunmaktadır. *Ima cavea*nın altı radial düzenli merdivenindeki oturma sıraları, kaplama levhaları yukarı doğru konulmuş aslan pençesi şeklinde bitmektedir. *Summa cavea* on *cuneusa* ayrılmıştı. Asıl biçimiyle üstü açık iki *parodosun* üstü, daha sonra tonozla kapatılmış, bu haliyle oturma sıralarına destek oluşturmuştur (günümüzde mevcut değildir).

Vomitoria üzerinden ulaşılan orta *diazoma*, *summa* ve *ima cavea*, dağıtım yeri işlevine sahipti. *Analemmata*, grek tiyatrosunun temel planına uygun biçimde sahne binasına doğru hafif eğimlidir. *Analemmata* duvarları düzgün duvar örgüsüne sahiptir. *Analemma* duvarlarının tahlilinden yola çıkıldığında, *ima* ve *summa caveanin* yapımında tarihsel bir boşluk gözlenmemektedir. *Analemmata* doğu ve batı uçlarda *analemmatanın* kuzeyindeki odalara açılan ve diğer kapılarla *vomitoriuma* giden kapı boşluğuyla (günümüzde kapatılmış durumdadır) kesintiye uğrar. Bunlar aslen destek duvarına paralel olarak bir sahanlığa doğru gidiyordu ve buradan da 90° açıyla dönerek ikinci sahanlığa ve orta *diazomaya* gidiyordu. Alt *diazoma* ve *pulpitum* 0.90 m. yüksekliktedir. Buralara *paradoslara* daha sonraki yapı evrelerinde yapılmış rampalar yoluyla ulaşılmaktaydı. Asıl halinde küçük olan orkestra iki oturma sırası kaldırılarak genişletilmiştir. Bir podium ve alt *diazoma*'nın yapılmasıyla düşük orkestra biçimine dönüşmüştür.

Ephesos Bouleuterionu scenesinde ek odaları olan ayrı bir sahne binası özelliğine sahip değildir, sadece payeler ve sütunlarla güçlendirilmiş ve çatıyı taşıyan bir sahne duvarı bulunur. Scene duvarı her iki ucunda kareye yakın biçimli, güneyden (Basilika stoasından) *paradoi* ve *vomitoria*'ya girişi sağlayan kapılarla kesintiye uğramıştır. Ayrıca scene duvarının orta kısmında dar, alçak üç kapı girişi daha vardır.

Yapı ayrıntıları ve yüksek sütun kaidelerinin konuluş şekline dayanılarak sahne duvarının iç cephesinin asıl hali kabaca tümlenebilmektedir. Yapı, her bir katında sekiz sütun ve uçlarında pilastr bulunan, yan yana dizilmiş iki katlı bir yapı özelliği göstermektedir. İkinci yapı evresinde *aedukulalı* bir *scaenae frons* yapılmış ve aynı zamanda *summa cavea* genişletilmiş ve sahne duvarına bağlanmıştır.

Sahne duvarı ve Basilika stoanın kuzey duvarı arasında 2.0 m. genişliğinde, derin bir (atık) su yolunu örten bir koridor bulunur. Bu koridor, doğuya doğru gider ve Yukarı Gymnasium (atık) su kanalı olarak kullanılmıştır. Basilika Stoa'dan Bouleuteriona beş kapı açılır ve girişlerin üzeri olasılıkla tuğladan yapılmış tonozlarla örtülmüştür.

Destek duvarı, *paradosların* uçlarında yüksek kemerli kapılarla boşluklara sahiptir. Batı kapısı Bouleuterion ile Rhodos Peristyli diye adlandırılan yapı veya Temenos (muhtemelen İmparatorluk Kültü alanı) ve Prytaneion ile bağlantıyı sağlar. Bouleuteriona batıdan *clivus sacer* ve Domitian meydanı üzerinden girilebiliyordu. Geç Antik Dönem'de bu giriş kapatılmıştır. Görünüşe bakılırsa doğu kapısı tamamlanmamış, fakat bunun yerine bir nişe (bir heykel koymak için?) çevrilmiştir. Aslen Yukarı Gymnasium'a gidecek şekilde planlanmış üstü kapalı geçiş substrükyonlara gider ve olasılıkla Bouleuterion veya Bouleuterionun sahne yapısıyla işlevsel bir bağlantı içindedir.

Yapı Evreleri ve Rekonstrüksiyon

Her ne kadar bir yazıt Hellenistik Döneme ait bir bouleuteriondan söz etse de, orkestranın altında günyüzüne çıkarılan hellenistik duvara ait çok az kalıntı, W. Alzinger tarafından öne sürülen bir Hellenistik Dönem bouleuterionun varlığını kanıtlamamaktadır.

Bouleuterion daha ilk yapı evresinde günümüzde görülen biçim ve ölçülere sahipti. Yapının daha sonradan genişletildiği E. Fossel ve aslen de L. Bier tarafından, *analemma* duvarlarındaki dikey bağlantı yerinden yola çıkarak öne sürülmüştür. Ancak bu, yapım sırasında asıl planın değişikliğe uğraması nedeniyle meydana gelmiş olmalıdır. SD 2 ve SD 6 no.lu kapı girişlerinin yeniden işlenmiş başlıkları, prosceniumun seviyesinin sonradan yükseltilerek bir *pulpituma* dönüştürüldüğünü kanıtlamaktadır. İlk evreye ait *cavea*, orkestra seviyesinden başlayarak 1600 seyirciyi alacak oturma kapasitesine sahipti. *Ima cavea* 5 *cuneusa* ayrılarak 15 oturma sırasına sahipken *summa caveanin* 10 oturma sırası vardı ve 10 *cuneusa* ayrılıyordu. *Caveanin* yarım daire biçimli arka duvarı pilastrlarla desteklenmiştir. Bir kaidenin hat ölçülerinden yola çıkarak pilastrın tahmini 4.80 m. yükseklikte olduğunu ve yukarı *diazoma* üzerindeki çatıya kadar olan toplam yüksekliğin 6.0 m. ye ulaştığını söyleyebiliriz.

Sahne duvarı ilk yapı evresinde 5 kapıyla bölünmüştü. Bu kapılardan yanlardaki ikisi açık *paradoslara* ve merdivenlere ulaşımı sağlıyordu, diğer üçü ise sahne, orkestra ve auditorium'a çıkıyordu. Sahne duvarının rekonstrüksiyonunu *paradoslara* bakan kalıntılardan ve geç dönem *scaenae fronsi*'na ait dört dar kaideye dört merkezi payenin ikincil kullanımından yola çıkarak gerçekleştirmek mümkündür. Köşe payeleri de dahil olmak üzere 10 adet paye (bunlardan 8 tanesi 1.10 m. genişliğindedir) sahne duvarı cephesinde 1.25 m. öne çıkıntı yaparak, bir sıra teşkil eden on tek sütun ve pilastr kaidelerini taşımaktadır. Bu paye ve kaideler sahne duvarının dışındaki payandalarla ve aynı şekilde *caveanin* dış destek duvarının payanda ve pilastrlarıyla bağlantı-

lıydı. Bu nedenle kaideler, çatı konstrüksiyonu dikkate alınarak buralara konulmuş olmalıdır. Sahne duvarının üst kısmı üzerinde yazıtlar bulunan mermer bloklarla yapılmıştı (bkz. aşağıda) ve ayrıca burada muhtemelen heykellerin sergilendiği nişler yer almaktaydı.

Ephesos Bouleuterionu ilk hali geniş ve sadeydi. İki katlı sahne binasına aslen çatı çerçevesi desteği işlevi gören ayrı ayrı sütunları taşıyan yüksek kaideler damgasını vurmuştur. Bu ilk yapı evresi için *terminus ante quem* M.S. 128/129'a tarihlenen sahne duvarındaki bloklara yazılmış Hadrian'ın mektubudur. Yazıtın *terminus post quem* olabileceğine ilişkin işaretler ise oldukça inandırıcıdır. Tipoloji açısından benzerleri ve yapım tekniğine ilişkin ayrıntılara bakılarak (örneğin destek duvarının kaidesi yanındaki duvar örgüsü stili), ilk bouleuterionun M.S.1 yüzyıl sonu./2. yüzyılın başına tarihlenmesini olası kılar. Bu da Ephesos Bouleuterionu'nun Flaviuslar Dönemin'de başlanılan yapı programının bir parçası olma olasılığını yükseltmektedir.

Bu eski moda sahne duvarı, ikinci yapı evresinde M.S. 150'li yıllarda Vedius tarafından yenileştirilmiştir. Vedius hali hazırda tiyatrolarda oldukça yaygın kullanım gören *aediculalı* bir cephe yaptırmıştır. *Scaenae frons*'ta sergilenen yazıt ve heykel topluluğu, yapının banisinin Antonin sülalesiyle iyi ilişkiler içinde olduğunu göstermeyi amaçlıyordu. *Parodos* tonozlarının yapımı ve onur koltukları ("*tribunalia*") için yer açmak amacıyla *summa cavean*ın sahne duvarına doğru genişletilmesi *aedikulalı* cepheyle aynı zamana rastlar. 1.35 m. yüksekliğindeki *pulpitum*, *proscenium* olarak yükseltilmişti ve buraya *parodostaki* rampalardan ulaşılmaktaydı. Orkestranın karşısı her iki uçta heykel kaidelerinin konulduğu mermer ortostatlarla donatılmıştı. Çift katlı *scaenae frons* ritmini, iki sütunla *aediculayı* destekleyen sütunların konulduğu dört geniş kaide ve bunları yanlardan çevreleyen tek sütun taşıyan daha dar iki kaide belirlemektedir.

Vedius'un yapıda yenilemeler yaptırmamasıyla orkestra da değişikliğe uğramıştır. İlk iki oturma sırası kaldırılarak genişletilen orkestra (çapı 9.0 m.) yarım daireli bir podyuma sahip düşük bir orkestraya haline dönüşürülmüştür. Yine aynı dönemde ilk oturma sırası önüde dar bir aşağı *diazoma* oluşturularak, auditoriuma beş merdivenle ulaşım sağlanmıştır.

Daha sonraki yapı faaliyetleri sahne duvarına iki kapı açılmasını ve yukarı *diazomanın* bir apsisle (*synthronon*) genişletilmesini içerir. Rhodos *peristyline* girişi sağlayan batıdaki kemerli kapı daha sonraları kapatılmıştır.

Bu yapı gibi küçük dörtköşe biçimli tiyatro benzeri yapıların çatıyla örtülmesi Hellenistik ve Erken Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde teknik bir sorun oluşturuyordu. Bununla birlikte yarım daire biçimli auditoriumun dikdörtgen planlı sahne binasıyla bir araya getirilmesi cüretkar bir girişimdi. Çatı biçimi Ephesos Bouleuterionu tasarımı açısından hassas bir konuydu. Kuramsal olarak radial şekilde düzenlenmiş kirişler, yapı merkez noktasında bir araya gelerek cavea üzerinde yarı konik çatıyı oluşturuyordu ve yapının geri kalan kısmında çatı yarı yükseklikte kalıyordu. Fakat bu çatı konstrüksiyonu olasılıkl oldukça karmaşıktı. Mimari kalıntılar başka bir sistemi işaret eder: auditorium 4.70 – 5.15 m. arasında değişen aralıklarla (merkez kısmında 6.30 m.) konulan ve yarım daire biçimli temel plana uyum sağlaması için farklı uzunluktaki hatılların oluşturduğu bir kafesle örtülüyordu. Çatı mahyası 1 ve 14 no.lu payandalarla aynı doğrultuyu göstermekteydi. Üçgen biçimli düzenlenmiş kirişlerin açıklığı ortada 31 m. ve kenarlarda 23.5 m. tutmaktadır. Erken İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde bu genişlikte bir açıklığın üstesinden kolayca gelinebiliyordu. Antik Dönem yazınında 33 m.ye varan uzunlukta ağaç gövdesine ve hatıllara değinilmektedir. Roma mimarları da ahşap çatı sistemine ve teknojisine aşina idiler. Ephesos Bouleuterionu'nun çatı sistemi zamanının teknik başarılarından biriydi. Bu nedenle çatının alttan görülebilir olması olasıdır. Bouleuterionun toplam yüksekliği, 3 – 4 m. çatı da hesaba katılarak 17 m. civarındaydı, fakat önünde iki katlı Basilika Stoa olduğundan yapının Yukarı Agora'dan görünmesi oldukça zordu.

Vedius Scaenae Frons'u ve Mimari Bezeme

M.S. 2. yüzyılın ortalarında Bouleuterion sahne duvarı, Küçük Asya'da varlığı iyi belgelenmiş mimari planları izleyen iki katlı *aediculalı* bir cepheye kavuştu. Bu yeni iki katlı *aediculalı* cephenin alt katında yüksek kaideler üzerinde çifte sütunlar bulunuyordu ve *aediculalar* saçaklığın öne çıkarılması ve geri çekilmesi yoluyla oluşturuluyordu. Cephe doğu ve batı uçlarda diğerlerinden ayrı duran sütunlarla çerçevelenmişti. Bu sistem yukarı katta alınıklarla taçlandırılan pavyonlar oluşturmak amacıyla muhtemelen dikkate alınmamıştır. Bu türden ayrıntısıyla bezenmiş cephe mimarisi Küçük Asya'da oldukça yaygındır ve sadece tiyatro ve odeionlarla sınırlı kalmaz, çeşme ve giriş kapıları gibi diğer yapı tiplerinde veya Ephesos'taki Celsus Kütüphanesi gibi yapılarda da görülür. Kazılar sırasında *scaenae fronsa* ait pek çok yazıtlı parça ele geçirildi. Diğer parçalar

da arařtırmaları sırasında L. Bier tarafından teřhis edildi; bunlar arasında bir kaide ve üç bařlıđı sayabiliriz. Arřıtravdaki yazıtlar baniler olarak P. Vedius Antoninus ve eři F. Papiane'nin adlarına deđinmektedir. Bu iki řahıs M.S. 2. yüzyılda Ephesos'un en tanınmıř ailelerinin üyeleridir. P. Vedius Antoninus'un sıradıřı rolü İmparator Antoninus Pius'un Ephesoslulara yazdıđı mektupların kopyasında da yansıtılmıřtır (bkz. ařađıda). Bu mektuplar Vedius'un hayırsever rolüyle ilgilidir ve aralarında kentın kuzey kenarındaki Vedius Gymnasiumu olarak bilinen önemli yapının da bulunduđu yapı etkinliklerinde imparatorun desteđini onaylamaktadır.

Diđer yandan bu bezeme yorumu ađısından önem tařır: *Scaenae frons*un mimari bezemesi bouleterionu Vediusların yaptırdıđı diđer yapılarla yakın bađlantı iđine sokar. Vedius Gymnasiumu'nun Kaisersaal (İmparator salonu) olarak bilinen yapının bezemeleri ve genel olarak aile mezar anıtı olduđu düřünölen Monopteros bařlıkları ve sađaklıđı ile olan benzerliđi ađıkça görölmektedir. Bezemelerin aile yapı programının özenle sečilmiř bir özelliđi olduđu gözlenmektedir.

Vedius'un yaptırdıđı aedikulalı *scaenae frons* ile temsil edilen cephe tipi, Küçük Asya'da Augustus Dönemi'nden beri bilinmektedir. Bunların Aphrodisias ve Stratonikeia'daki bilinen en erken örnekleri daha sonraki örnekleriyle aynı özellikleri paylařır: Öne çıkıntı yapan ve geri çekilmıř sađaklık *aediculaları* biçimlendirir ve *aediculaların* üzerine üst katta deđiřik biçimli alınlıklar konulmuřtur. Üst kattaki öđeleri kaydırılmıř örnek karřımıza ilk kez muhtemelen Nero Dönemi'ne tarihlenen Milet tiyatrosu *scaenae frons*unda çıkmaktadır. Ephesos'ta Bouleteriondaki Vedius *scaenae frons*undan önce ise bu tiyatrodaki (Domitian Dönemi) ve çeřmelerin *aedikulalı* cephelerinde (Laecanius Bassus Nymphaeum, M.S. 78/79'da tamamlanmıřtır, Nymphaeum Traiani ve Cadde Çeřmesi, yapı bitiriliři M.S. 102 ve 114) ve Celcus Kütüphanesi (Geç Traian Dönemi) gibi diđer yapılarda karřımıza çıkmaktadır.

Yazıtlar

Bu ciltte sunulan bouleterionda bulunmuř yazıtlar serisi, yapı tarihi ađısından önem tařıyan yazıtlara odaklanmaktadır. Yukarı arřıtrav, ařađı friz, ve ařađı arřıtravda birer yapı yazıtı bulunur. Önerilen metine Vedius Gymnasium'u (M.S. 147–149) yazıtı örnek teřkil eder. Yazıt yapının Artemis Ephesia'ya, İmparator Antoninus Pius ve ailesine, Asia metropolisi Ephesos'a adanmasıyla bařlayarak, yapıyı yaptıran III. Vedius ve eři Papiane'nin isim ve ünvanlarıyla devam eder. Yazıtın tümlemesi diđer yazıtlarda belgelenmiř olan ünvanlar temel alınarak yapılmıřtır. Fragman halinde olması ve dođrudan benzerlerinin bulunmaması nedeniyle, ařađı arřıtravdaki metnin ayrıntılı tümlemesi mümkün deđildir. Bazı fragmanların Hadrian Dönemin'de Ephesos'un önemli řahsiyetlerinden Ti. Claudius Demonstratos Kailianos'un ailesiyle iliřkiye iřaret etmesi olasıdır.

Meřhur "İmparator mektupları" Hadrian'ın Ephesos'a iki mektubundan, Antoninus Pius'un Ephesoslulara üç mektubundan ve Antoninus Pius'un Asia'daki Hellenlere hitabettiđi bir mektuptan oluşur. Hadrian'ın iki özdeř mektubu iki deniz kaptanının Ephesos Boulesine giriřiyle ilgilidir. Son bir mektup da Bouleterion ilk yapı evresinden *proscenium* duvar bloklarına ait bir yazıttır, diđer bir mektup ise Vedius'un yaptıđı onarımında mermer bir levhayla deđiřtirilmiřtir. Hadrian Dönemi'nin son yıllarına tarihlenen, bir duvar blođuna yazılmıř Hadrian'ın onurlandırma yazıtı, Hadrian mektuplarından birine benzer olup, muhtemelen o da Bouleteriona aittir.

Ephesos için çok önemli olan bir yazıt ise mermer levhalara kazınmıř olan ve "üçlü yazıt" olarak adlandırılan yazıttır: Antoninus Pius'un üç mektubu, Ephesos'ta oturanların direniřiyle karřılařan Vedius'un Ephesos'taki yapı programını – görünen odur ki bu Bouleterionu da içermekteydi – cesaret vermektedir. Bu mektuplar M.S. 145 – 161 yılları arasına tarihlenmekte ve görünüře göre mermer levhalara da aynı zamanda kazınmıřlardır.

Bouleterionda bulunmuř yazıtlı heykel plintheleri ve kaideleri Lucius Verus'a ait bir heykel plinthesinden, sadece J. T. Wood'un eskiziyle belgelenmiř Marcus Aurelius'a ait bir kaide (?) ve Marcus Aurelius'un kızı Faustina için yapılmıř bir heykel kaidesinden oluşmaktadır. Bunların hepsindeki ithaflarda aynı kalıplařmıř ifadelere rastlanır ve Antoninus Pius Döneminde Vedius tarafından koydurulmuřtur. Ayrıca Demos kiřileřtirilmesine ait bir heykel kaidesi de sahne önünde bulunmuřtur.

Sahne duvarının duvar bloklarındaki Hadrian Dönemi yazıtı daha önceki bouleterionun en geç M.S. 128/129'da yapıldıđını göstermektedir. Mermer bloklara kazınmıř imparator mektupları Vedius'un yapı onarım sürecine ait yazıtlardır. "Üçlü yazıt" ise M.S. 150'lere tarihlenerek yenileme hareketlerinin bitiř dönemine denk gelir. Heykellere ait plinthe ve kaideler Antoninus Pius Dönemi'nde konulmuřtur. Yazıtibilimsel ve yontusal kanıtlar (bkz. ařađıda), Antoninler portre galerisinin aynı zamanda konulmadıđını göstermektedir.

Bouleuterionda Bulunmuş Heykeller ve Vedius *Scaenae Frons*'u Heykel Programı

Bouleuterionda bulunan heykellerin çoğu J. T. Wood'un yaptığı kazılar sırasında gün ışığına çıkarılmıştı. Heykellerden aşağı yukarı yarısı sadece yazıtlı heykel kaideleri veya Wood'un mektuplarında değerlendirilerek belgelenmiştir. Günümüze ulaşan heykeller ise bugün British Museum'da, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde, Selçuk'ta ve Syros'ta (Yunanistan) bulunmaktadır. Heykeller ikonografik olarak kabaca iki gruba ayrılabilir: portre heykelleri ile kişileştirme heykelleri ve mitolojik konulu heykeller. Vedius *scaenae frons*unun asıl heykel bezemesi olan Antonin sülalesinin portre galerisi, yaptırın kişi veya kişilerin, yönetimde bulunan İmparator Antoninus Pius ile ilişkilisini gösteren, Ephesos seçkinleri arasındaki konumunun, hayırseverliğinin (*euergetism*) ve kültürel değerlerinin vurgulandığı eserlerdir. Bu galeriden sadece Ares Borghese tipinde betimlenmiş Lucius Verus torsosu, Marcus Aurelius'un kızlarından biri olan Faustina'ya ait yazıtlı heykel kaidesi ve bir genç kız portresi korunagelmıştır. Marcus Aurelius heykeline ait bir kaide sadece Wood'un mektuplarındaki bir taslak çizimle kayıt altına alınmıştır. Yazıtlı kaidelere göre bu heykellerin hepsi buraya Antoninus Pius Dönemi'nde konulmuştur. Genç kız başı, Marcus Aurelius'un kızlarından birinin portresi olarak yorumlanabilir ve Faustina kaidesiyle ilişkilendirilebilirse, varsayımsal olarak imparatorun üçüncü kızı Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina olarak teşhis edilebilir. Bu kanıtlardan yola çıkarak hüküm süren imparator ile eşi Faustina Maior ve Marcus Aurelius'un eşi olan Faustina Minor'un da tasvir edildiği varsayılmalıdır. Genç kızın Annia Faustina olduğu doğrusa, imparatorun ikinci kızı Lucilla'nın da burada tasvir edilmiş olması gerekir. Hanedan heykel grubundan mevcut kalıntıların yetersizliği, Lucius Verus heykelinin ve Faustina kaidesinin kesin belirlenebilir nitelikte olmaması ve sözkonusu kızın Annia Faustina olarak teşhisinin varsayımsal olması nedeniyle heykel grubunun kesin tarihini ve kapsamını tam olarak belirlememizin mümkün olmadığını belirtmeliyiz. Sadece M.S. 151 – 161 arasında kaba bir tarih verilebilir ve Lucius Verus ile Annia Faustina heykelleri için ise tercihen M.S. Geç 150'li yıllar önerilebilir. Portre heykellerinin hepsinin birden dikilmediği, Faustina ve Lucius Verus heykellerinin ise kısa bir süre için dikilmiş olması da olasıdır. L. Bier heykel süslemelerine – yazıtlı bir kaideyle belgelenmiş – bir Demos heykeli de katmıştır. Bu heykele ait kaide genel olarak M.S. 2. yüzyıla tarihlenebilir ve muhtemelen bu heykele karşılık olarak bir Boule heykeli de eşlik ediyordu.

L. Bier'in varsayımsal *scaenae frons* rekonstrüksiyonu, ikinci katta varsayılan iktidardaki imparator merkezi nişine ilave olarak heykellerin konulacağı sekiz büyük yer (Aphrodisias Bouleuterionunda olduğu gibi) sunmaktadır. İkinci katta diğer heykellerin konulması için 1, 2, 4 ve 5 no.lu kapıların üzerinde dört yer daha olabilir. L. Bier rekonstrüksiyonunu, mevcut kanıtların kalıntılara dayanarak ve diğer çağdaş hanedanlık heykel galerilerinden elde edilen bilgilerden yola çıkarak, özellikle de Nysa'da Gerontikondaki galeriye dayanarak (ki burada sadece Marcus Aurelius'un ilk doğan kızı Domitia Faustina sergileniyordu), portre heykelleriyle donatmıştır. Bier'in rekonstrüksiyonunda merkezi kapı girişi Lucius Verus ve Marcus Aurelius'un heykelleriyle çevriliydi ve bu heykeller de Faustina Minor (doğuda) ve kızı Faustina'nın (batıda) heykelleriyle çevriliydi. Antoninus Pius'un heykeli varsayımsal olarak ikinci kat merkez nişine konulmuştu ve bu heykelin etrafında Hadrian ve Sabina'nın heykelleri yer alıyordu. Hadrian heykelinin buraya konulmuş olduğu tahmini, tarihi ve epigrafik benzer örneklerle dayanılarak yapılmıştır. L. Bier, son olarak kişileştirme heykellerini de ikinci kata yerleştirmiştir. Bani portreleri geleneksel olarak *analemata* bitiş bloklarına konulmaktaydı. J. T. Wood'un mektuplarına göre bouleuterionda, başka kaydı bulunmayan bir erkek portre heykeli (belki de bannin heykeli?) ve biri oturur şekilde tasvir edilmiş iki kadın heykeli de bulunmuştu.

Bouleuterionda bulunmuş mitolojik konulu heykeller iki Musa heykelinden ve bir Silenus torsosundan oluşmaktadır. Bir Terpsikhore veya Erato heykeli Syros Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde sergilenirken, Melpomene heykeline ait bir plinthe yine yalnızca Wood'un mektuplarından birinden bilinmektedir. Yüksek İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde çok işlevli bouleteriyaya Musa heykelleri oldukça uygun heykeller olsada, bu iki heykel, muhtemelen aslen siyasi olan ilk heykel programına sonradan eklenmişlerdir. Bu mutlaka donanmış olduğu atribütlerle Dionisiak gizemlere işaret eden ve aslen oldukça farklı bir ortamda sergilenen Silenus torsosu için de geçerlidir. Geç Antik Dönem'de yontusal bezeme, İmparatorluk heykel grubu kalıntıları ve yapının işlevlerini de gösteren heykelleri (Musa ve Demos) Silenus heykeliyle biraraya getirmiştir. *Scaenae frons* ilk yapı evresinde nişlerde heykel süslemesinin varlığı kabul edilebilir, fakat mevcut kalıntılar bunu göstermemektedir.

(M. Aurenhammer – U. Quatember – H. Thür)
(Terçüme: B. Marksteiner-Yener – F. Özcan)

**APPENDIX 1:
CATALOG OF ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS FROM THE SCAENAE FRONS
AND THEIR POSITION**

First Story

LEVEL 1: COLUMN BASES

It is not possible to determine the position of the single preserved fragment.

1-1 Column Base (pl. 72)

Column base following the Roman Ionic type with *torus – scotia – scotia – torus* above a square plinth, light gray marble. H. 31 cm, p. l. max. 76 cm, upper diam. approx. 60 cm.

Less than a quarter of the molding is preserved, all corners of the square plinth are chipped. Top surface with lewis hole (9.5 × 5 cm) and a radial pour channel to the edge. Surface smoothed with fine tooth chisel. Bottom with two parallel dowel holes (2.5 × 2.5 cm each) and a setting out line in the center. Two concentric dimension lines around the edge of the plinth. Surface smoothed with fine tooth chisel.

LEVEL 2: COLUMNS

It is not possible to determine the position of the preserved fragments.

2 Column Shafts (pl. 73, 1–2)

All the pieces are of red granite.

For all pieces, only the diameter of the shaft could be measured. None of the bearing surfaces is fully preserved.

No.	Top/bottom	Dowel holes	Diam. of shaft	Preserved height
2-1	Bottom	3 × 3.5 cm	62 cm	73 cm
2-2	Top	6 × 6.5 cm, pour channel	53 cm	47 cm
2-3	Bottom	3 × 3.5 cm	59 cm	106 cm
2-4	Bottom	3 × 3.5 cm	59 cm	128 cm
2-5	Top	6.5 × 6.5 cm, pour channel	52 cm	60 cm
2-6	Bottom	3.5 × 3.5 cm	60.5 cm	66 cm
2-7	Bottom	3 × 2.5 cm	59 cm	98 cm
2-8	Top	7 × 7 cm, pour channel	53 cm	73 cm
2-9	Top	5 × ? cm (partly broken)	53 cm	65 cm
2-10	Top	5.5 × 5.5 cm, pour channel	54 cm	55 cm

LEVEL 3: CAPITALS

It is not possible to determine the position of the piece.

3-1 Column Capital (pl. 74)

Corinthian capital, light gray marble. Findspot no. P61/59.

H. 67 cm, lower diam. 52 cm.

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Corinthian column capital with eight acanthus leaves for the lower and eight for the upper ring. Three corners are broken off for the most part, on one side a part of the calathos is missing. The piece is damaged and parts of the leaves, esp. the drooping tops are chipped.

The leaves of the first ring have five lobes with ribs that are carved V-shaped in section, the leaves of the second ring have three lobes. The eyelets are elongated. The calyx shows deep drillings. The three preserved fleurons differ from each other. Two are flowers with projecting fleshy petals, the third one is fan-shaped.

The top is worked with a pointed chisel, no dowel holes are preserved.

LEVEL 4: ARCHITRAVE-FRIEZE (PL. 61)

The catalog first lists all the fragments that could be attributed to the frieze zone with only one architectural block being almost complete (4-6, the so-called “Papiane-block”), followed by the fragments of a second inscription on the upper fascia.

The reconstruction of the inscription on the architrave of the upper story and the frieze and architrave of the lower story is complicated by the disparate documentation. Most of the architectural fragments with an inscription were documented by J. Keil in the so-called *Skizzenbücher*. This format was mainly designed for collecting inscriptions and not for architectural documentation. Thus information on the non-epigraphic evidence is scarce in these sheets. W. Alzinger’s excavations from the 1960s and 1970s followed the same procedure. The only fragments which Keil recorded which did not bear letters were from the so-called Papiane-block (4-9), while other pieces for which a position could not be attributed were probably discarded.

Only a certain number of fragments could be retrieved in the depot by H. Taeuber and L. Bier in 2001. These pieces were carefully measured and drawn by the latter. This documentation forms the basis for their attribution to a certain position as discussed below. For the other fragments, all information available from the “*Skizzenbücher*” was scrutinized in order to aid in assigning them to their proper location.

Fragment **4-1** is a corner with only one vertical stroke preserved. The distance between the letter and the molding (that has obviously been worked off with a rough-toothed chisel) indicates that it is a left (i. e. east) corner: as we see on 4-9, the spacing at the bottom is larger than at the top. Since we have no information on the findspot, the reconstructed position is likely, but not the only possibility for this piece. **4-2** can be placed according to the letters “ΟΠΛ”. Hypothetically, it is also possible to associate it with the filiation in the donor’s name; nonetheless this solution seems less likely considering the reconstructed arrangement of the letters on two separated blocks. Also the next two pieces, **4-3** and **4-4**, can be located by means of the inscription (“ΟΣΟ” and “YHΔ”) in a definite position. For the location of **4-5** we can draw upon the findspot (“the door east of the middle”) as well as the letter “O” with the remains of a vertical stroke to its right. The combination of both facts provides conclusive evidence. On piece **4-6** the letter A is combined with a vertical line. If the latter is reconstructed as “N”, it can only be located in the current position. If it is complemented as a “P”, it could be the beginning of the title “APXIEPEYΣ” or “APXIEPEIAΣ” (if present in the text)⁵⁰¹; if there were an “M” it could be part of “TPAMMATEYΣ”. **4-7** provides more information from the architecture: the miter joint preserved to the right of the letters “TI” clearly indicates its location at an inner right (i. e. west) corner, for which we only have the option displayed in the reconstruction. According to the available space we then have to conclude that the title “TPAMMATEYΣ TOY ΔHMOY” precedes the title “APXIEPEYΣ”.⁵⁰² This implies that **4-8** is part of the latter word which is located on a freestanding architrave. At first sight this does not seem plausible, as the depth measures only 25 cm and the back is worked with a rough point chisel. Nonetheless, **4-1** with its chipped off molding also indicates later alterations. Possibly some architectural elements were destroyed intentionally, and perhaps the back of **4-8** was deliberately worked off. The epigraphic evidence in this case seems to overrule the architectural uncertainties and thus the position of **4-8**, as indicated, is very likely. **4-9** is almost entirely preserved, but broken into ten pieces.⁵⁰³ It not only displays a large part of the inscription and provides valuable information on the decoration, but it can also be clearly positioned because of its length and contents.⁵⁰⁴ The last fragment from the frieze, **4-10**, can again be placed by means of the preserved letters “YNA”. Most of the fragments from the upper fascia of the architrave can only be placed by means of their inscription. This is the case for **4-11** (“ANE”), **4-12** (“ΘYΓAT”), **4-14** (“MIΔO”), **4-15** (“AA”), **4-16** (“CTPA”), **4-17** (“TOY”), **4-19** (“ΨIO”), **4-22** (“IAIAN”) and **4-24** (“PEΣ”). Because of their preserved back and their depth between 17.5 cm and 20 cm, **4-18** (“AN”), **4-20** (“IBE”), **4-21** (“TPAT”) and **4-23** (“TOYΔE”) seem to come from a wall architrave. **4-13** (“ΔIA”) is clearly a corner piece.

⁵⁰¹ See above chap. 8.1.2 (H. TAEUBER).

⁵⁰² See above chap. 8.1.2 (H. TAEUBER).

⁵⁰³ For a detailed inscription see the catalog entry.

⁵⁰⁴ The findspot as indicated by the “*Skizzenbücher*” (“entrance left of the middle, on the floor in the debris, fragment C and D on the wall to the west”) remains unclear because the term “left” might refer to either side, depending on the viewpoint.

- 4-1 Architrave-Frieze, corner fragment (pl. 75, 1)**
 P. l. 13.5 cm, p. h. 21 cm, p. d. 11 cm.
 Inscription: Π (?)
 Outer left corner, only one vertical stroke preserved. Part of the architrave crown molding apparently worked off with a rough tooth chisel, rest of the surface dressed with fine tooth chisel.
- 4-2 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 75, 2)**
 P. l. 39 cm, p. h. 21 cm, p. d. 17 cm.
 Inscription: ΟΠΛ
 Fragment of frieze zone, no molding preserved. Surface worked with tooth chisel. Back broken off.
- 4-3 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 75, 3)**
 P. l. 41 cm, p. h. 27 cm, p. d. 11.5 cm.
 Inscription: ΟΞΟ
 Fragment of frieze zone with egg-and-dart crown molding, one dart and one egg preserved, second dart and egg without original surface. Frieze dressed with tooth chisel, top surface with coarse tooth chisel. Back broken off.
- 4-4 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 76, 1)**
 P. l. 37 cm, h. 26 cm, p. d. 8 cm.
 Inscription: ΗΔ
 Fragment of frieze zone, no molding preserved. Surface worked with rough and fine tooth chisel. Back broken off.
- 4-5 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 76, 2)**
 P. l. 29,5 cm, p.h. 23,5 cm.
 Inscription: ΟΠ; Skizzenbuch no. 1685, fragment F, findspot: “gef. bei der Tür östl. der Mitte”.
 Fragment of frieze zone, no molding preserved. Depth and rear side not documented.
- 4-6 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 77, 1)**
 P. l. approx. 17 cm, p. h. approx. 25 cm.
 Inscription: ΑΝ(?); Skizzenbuch no. 1686, without number (“zur vorigen Seite”).
 Fragment of frieze zone, no molding preserved. Depth and rear side not documented.
- 4-7 Architrave-Frieze, corner fragment (pl. 77, 2)**
 P. l. 47.5 cm, p. h. approx. 15.5 cm, p. d. 25 cm.
 Inscription: [Η ?]ΤΙ; Skizzenbuch no. 3444, without information on findspot.
 Fragment of frieze zone, no molding preserved. Surface dressed with tooth chisel. Western end of block, parts of the miter joint preserved. The piece is thus an inner right corner. Depth and rear side not documented.
- 4-8 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 76, 3)**
 P. l. 22 cm, h. 15.5 cm, d. 0.25 cm.
 Inscription: ΙΕΡ
 Fragment of frieze zone, no molding preserved. Surface dressed with tooth chisel. Back worked with rough point chisel.
- 4-9 Architrave-Frieze, wall block (pls. 76, 2; 78, 1–2)**
 “Papiane-Block”
 L. 255 cm, h. 83,5 cm, d. 27–29 cm.
 Inscription: κεν μετὰ Φλ(αοῦίας) Παπιανῆς τῆς; Skizzenbuch no. 1685, fragments A, B, C, D and E and four additional fragments without inscription. Joining fragment found in 1966 (W/66/5) with top part of the letters “ETA” fits between A and B. Findspot: “Orchestra in dem Eingange hinter der Mitte unten am Boden im Schutte. C und D auf der Mauer westl. dieses Durchganges”; Fragment W/66/5: “Schuttdeponie südöstl. Odeion (vor der Bühnenwand desselben)”.
 Almost whole block preserved, broken into altogether ten fragments. Egg-and-dart frieze crown preserved. Architrave crown moldings from top to bottom: egg-and-dart, bead-and-reel; separating moldings between upper and middle fascia Lesbian kymation, between middle and lower fascia bead-and-reel. Miter joints on both ends. On fragment W/66/5 frieze dressed with tooth chisel.
- 4-10 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 76, 2)**
 P. l. 26 cm, p. h. 29 cm.
 Inscription: ΥΝΑ; Skizzenbuch no. 1685, fragment G
 Fragment of frieze zone, no molding preserved. Depth and rear side not documented.
- 4-11 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 79, 1)**
 P. l. 31.5 cm, p. h. 11 cm, p. d. 14 cm.
 Inscription: ΑΝΕ; Skizzenbuch no. 1687, fragment C
 Fragment of upper fascia. Part of top crown molding (bead-and-reel) preserved.
- 4-12 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 79, 2)**
 P. l. 28.5 cm, p. h. 20 cm.

Inscription: ΘΥΤΑΤ; Skizzenbuch no. 3449, found in 1965, findspot not documented.

Fragment of upper fascia. Part of separating molding (Lesbian kymation) preserved. Depth and rear side not documented.

4-13 Architrave-Frieze, corner fragment (pl. 80, 1)

P. l. approx. 35 cm, p. h. 24 cm, p. d. 29 cm.

Inscription: ΔΙΑ

Outer right corner. Only small parts of crown molding remain on both sides, right side preserves also part of Lesbian kymation and middle fascia. Surface dressed with tooth chisel. Back and bottom (?) broken off.

4-14 Architrave-Frieze (pls. 79, 1; 80, 2)

P. l. 27 cm, p. h. 15,5 cm, p. d. 9 cm.

Inscription: ΜΙΔΟ; Skizzenbuch no. 1687, fragment F; findspot: “bei den Kammern 150 x westlich des Wasserbaues”.

Upper fascia and part of the Lesbian kymation of crown molding preserved. Surface dressed with tooth chisel. Back broken off.

4-15 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 81, 1)

P. l. 22 cm, p. h. 13cm p. d. 19.5 cm.

Inscription: ΛΑ

Upper fascia and part of the Lesbian kymation preserved. Surface dressed with tooth chisel. Back broken off.

4-16 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 79, 1)

P. l. 27 cm, p. h. 15 cm, p. d. 8 cm.

Inscription: ΣΤΡΑ; Skizzenbuch no. 1687, fragments D and E

Upper fascia, Lesbian kymation and part of middle fascia preserved. Back broken off.

4-17 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 81, 2)

P. l. 19 cm, p. h. 20.5 cm, p. d. 17 cm.

Inscription: ΤΟΥ

Upper fascia and bead-and-reel of crown molding on top preserved. Back worked with rough point chisel or pick.

4-18 Architrave-Frieze, wall fragment (pl. 81, 3)

P. l. 18 cm, p. h. approx. 20 cm, p. d. 19 cm.

Inscription: ΑΝ

Upper fascia with bead-and-reel of crown molding and small remains of Lesbian kymation. Surface smoothed, back worked with rough point chisel.

4-19 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 81, 4)

P. l. 25 cm, p. h. 23 cm, p. d. 11 cm.

Inscription: ΨΙΟ

Upper fascia with bead-and-reel of crown molding and slight remains of Lesbian kymation. Surface dressed with tooth chisel. Back broken off.

4-20 Architrave-Frieze, wall fragment (pls. 79, 1; 82, 1)

P. l. 30 cm, p. h. 22 cm, p. d. 20 cm.

Inscription: ΙΒΕ; Skizzenbuch no. 1687, fragment A

Upper fascia and Lesbian kymation preserved. Back roughly worked.

4-21 Architrave-Frieze, wall fragment ? (pl. 82, 2)

P. l. 26.5 cm, p. h. 17.5 cm, p. d. 17.5 cm.

Inscription: ΤΡΑΤ

Upper fascia and part of Lesbian kymation preserved, back probably worked with point chisel.

4-22 Architrave-Frieze (pl. 82, 3)

P. l. 36 cm, p. h. 17 cm.

Inscription: ΙΑΙΑΝ; found in 1966, no. 66-3, findspot: “Schuttdeponie südöstl. Odeion”.

Upper fascia preserved, bead-and-reel of crown molding with little original surface. Back broken off (?)

4-23 Architrave-Frieze, wall block (pls. 79, 1; 83, 1)

P. l. approx. 25 cm, p. h. approx. 22 cm, p. d. 19 cm.

Inscription: ΤΟΥΔΕ; right fragment: Skizzenbuch no. 1687, fragment B; findspot: “im Schutte der Orchestra”.

Two joining pieces showing upper fascia. On one, part of bead-and-reel of crown molding, on the other one, Lesbian kymation and part of middle fascia preserved. Back worked with rough point chisel.

4-24 Architrave-Frieze, wall fragment ? (pl. 83, 2)

P. l. 26 cm, p. h. 18 cm, p. d. 20 cm

Inscription: ΡΕΣ

Upper fascia with bead-and-reel molding above and small remains of Lesbian kymation below.

LEVEL 5: CORNICE OF THE LOWER STORY

The cornice of the lower story has not been preserved.

Second Story

LEVELS 6 AND 7: STYLOBATE AND BASES

The stylobate and the bases of the upper story have not been preserved.

LEVEL 8: COLUMNS

It is not possible to determine the position of the preserved fragments.

8 Column Shafts (pls. 73, 1–2)

Due to their poor state of preservation, none of the column fragments could be attributed to the upper story with certainty. Nonetheless, it seems possible that some are among the shaft fragments listed below. The pieces in question are made of red granite.

LEVEL 9: CAPITALS

It is not possible to determine the exact position of the preserved pieces.

9-1 Column Capital (pls. 83, 3; 84, 1)

Corinthian capital, light gray marble.

H. 58 cm, lower diam. 47.5 cm.

The abacus and the lip of the calathos are broken off, one side is missing completely. The acanthus leaves are altogether damaged and the drooping tops are chipped. Their form is identical with 3-1, only the drillwork seems to be slightly flatter. The top is worked with a pointed chisel, two dowel holes (8 × 8 cm and 7 × 8 cm) are preserved.

9-2 Column Capital (pl. 84, 2)

Corinthian capital, light gray marble.

H. 59 cm, lower diam. 47 cm.

Only one corner of the abacus is partly preserved. The piece was broken into several fragments and shows modern restorations. Two sides are largely damaged, the acanthus leaves on the other two sides relatively well preserved. Their form follows 3-1.

The bearing surface shows a *scamillus* which is flattened with a tooth chisel. The preserved corner of the abacus is worked with a pointed chisel. No dowel holes preserved.

LEVEL 10: ARCHITRAVE (PL. 60)

Fragment **10-1**, apparently two matching pieces, is documented on Skizzenbuch 1686. It clearly is an outer left (i. e. east) corner from an *aedicula*. According to the two preserved letters “AP” we can ascribe it to the very beginning of the inscription. The findspot as indicated by the “Skizzenbuch” (“in front of the door east of the middle”) might be slightly off from that position; nonetheless, considering the fall from the second story, or even a possible re-location, it does not contradict this assertion. **10-2** can be located according to the inscription “IEΦ” that only appears in this position. Judging from the side view documented by L. Bier, it seems to originate from a freestanding architrave because the piece was either hollowed out or worked off for the support of coffer blocks. **10-3** only preserves a single “A”. Its position is thus rather arbitrary, relying simply on the findspot (“in front of the east entrance in the debris”) as documented in the “Skizzenbücher”. In this regard **10-4** is more instructive: it clearly is the outer right (i. e. west) corner of a freestanding *aedicula* with the letters “OPI”. The combination of both these facts allows us to place the fragment without any doubt. In addition, the surface on the side shows an additional fascia that has been worked off on the front to allow more room for the inscription. The letters on the next fragment, **10-5**, can be reconstructed as the word “KAI”, which appears several times in the text. The thickness of the pieces proves that it is a wall fragment and therefore we can only place it in this position. **10-6** very likely comes from the same block and has precisely the same thickness. Remains of a lewis hole preserved in the top show that it comes from its center of gravity. This fits very well

with the inscription “AP” on the front. **10-7** is part of a freestanding architrave. The motif preserved on the soffit panel probably represents the middle of the ornament. The location in the middle of the *aedicula* and the letters “NQI” match the reconstruction of the inscription very well, while the findspot (close to the temple foundation on the “Upper Agora”) does not provide any additional information. If a note on L. Bier’s drawing of **10-8** actually indicates the depth, the fragment with the letters “TQ” comes from a wall architrave. Since we are lacking further information, two other positions might be possible as well: one next to 10-6 on the first wall block from the east, the other one on the westernmost specimen. **10-9** possesses a soffit panel and thus definitely comes from a freestanding architrave. Unfortunately, the letters “KAI” appear several times in the text. Since the findspot is unknown, its position has to remain arbitrary. The same is true for **10-10**: according to the soffit the fragment originates from an *aedicula*, but the single preserved vertical stroke does not really provide evidence for its location, which therefore was chosen randomly. **10-11** with the remains of five letters, “MEΓIΣ”, constitutes the longest section of the inscription preserved in one piece. We have no information on the architectural features of the block, but the reconstructed text conforms very well with the findspot (“in the southern corridor in between the middle entrance and the one east of it”). The combination of the letters “OΛE” as on **10-12** appears twice in the inscription, but only once on a wall architrave as indicated for this piece by its thickness. For this reason it can be safely placed in that position. Fragment **10-13** with the letters “KO” or “KQ” is only documented on a record card with approximate measurements. Its position is hence rather arbitrary. For **10-14** the entry in the “Skizzenbücher” indicates a clamphole in the break on the left side. This – in combination with the inscription “QN” – gives a secure location for the piece.

Since the original upper fascia was worked back to the face of the middle fascia, almost all fragments show a different finish in the two parts of the inscribed fascia.

10-1 Architrave (pl. 85, 1)

P. l. 35 cm, p. h. approx. 23 cm, p.(?) d. 24 cm.

Inscription: AP; Skizzenbuch no. 1686, fragment D.

Two joining fragments of an eastern corner piece. Upper fascia with inscription and lower fascia preserved. Back broken off (?).

10-2 Architrave (pl. 85, 2)

P. l. approx. 31 cm, p. h. approx. 15 cm.

Inscription: IEΦ

Upper fascia with inscription and lower fascia preserved. Surface treated with tooth chisel.

10-3 Architrave (pl. 85, 1)

P. l. 22 cm, p. h. 15.5 cm, p. d. 6 cm.

Inscription: A; Skizzenbuch no. 1686, fragment E.

Upper fascia with one letter.

10-4 Architrave (pl. 86, 1)

P. l. 29 cm, p. h. 17 cm, p. d. 14.5 cm.

Inscription: OPI

Right corner piece of freestanding (detached?) architrave. Front: upper fascia with inscription and edge of lower fascia preserved. West side: original upper and middle fascia preserved. Surface dressed with tooth chisel.

10-5 Architrave (pl. 86, 2)

P. l. 32 cm, p. h. 29 cm, d. 21 cm.

Inscription: KAI

Fragment of upper fascia with inscription and lower fascia. Surface worked with fine tooth chisel, lower half of upper fascia smoothed with flat chisel. Back preserved.

10-6 Architrave (pl. 87, 1)

P. l. 35 cm, h. 40 cm, d. 21.

Inscription: API

Center piece of wall block with lewis hole in top. Front: both fasciae preserved, crown molding broken off. Lower half of upper fascia and lower fascia carefully smoothed, upper half of upper fascia treated with tooth chisel. Bottom: fine tooth chisel work, plaster line 14 cm set back from face. Top surface dressed with point chisel, back with rough point chisel.

10-7 Architrave, fragment from detached block (pls. 87, 2; 88, 1–2)

P. l. 34,5 cm, p. h. 20 cm, p. d. 30 cm.

Inscription: ΝΩΙ; Skizzenbuch 1786 A, findspot: “Bei den gewölbten Substruktionen südlich des Tempelfundamentes w. des Odeions”.

Upper fascia with inscription, lower fascia and part of the bottom with soffit panel preserved. Front and bottom surface dressed with tooth chisel.

10-8 Architrave (pl. 89, 1)

P. l. approx. 25 cm, p. h. approx. 25 cm.

Inscription: ΤΩ.

Upper fascia with inscription, top preserved (?), crown molding almost completely broken off; apparently bead-and-reel, but no original surface preserved.

10-9 Architrave, fragment from detached block (pl. 89, 2)

P. l. 41.5 cm, p. h. 14 cm, p. d. 26 cm.

Inscription: ΚΑΙ; Skizzenbuch 3448; no information on findspot.

Part of upper fascia with inscription, lower fascia and part of the bottom with soffit panel preserved. Front surface dressed with tooth chisel.

10-10 Architrave, fragment from detached block (pl. 88, 2)

P. l. 37 cm, p. h. 19 cm, p. d. 31 cm.

Inscription: Τ(?); Skizzenbuch 1725 B, findspot: “ca. 20 Schritte östlich der SO Ecke des Odeions auf dem Felde liegend”.

Part of upper fascia with one vertical stroke, lower fascia and part of the bottom with soffit panel (“mit Ranken und Rosetten”) preserved.

10-11 Architrave (pl. 85, 1)

P. l. 55 cm, h. 40 cm, d. 20 cm

Inscription: ΜΕΠΙΣ; Skizzenbuch no. 1686, fragment A, findspot: “im S Quergange zwischen dem Mittel- und östlich davon gelegenen Eingange”.

Fragment of upper fascia with inscription and lower fascia. Surface treated with fine tooth chisel, lower half of upper fascia smoothed with flat chisel. Back preserved.

10-12 Architrave (pls. 85, 1; 90, 1)

P. l. 42 cm, p. h. 25 cm, d. 20 cm.

Inscription: ΟΑΕ; Skizzenbuch no. 1686, fragment B, findspot: “in der Orchestra”; recorded again on Skizzenbuch no. 3441.

Fragment of upper fascia with inscription and lower fascia. Surface treated with fine tooth chisel, lower half of upper fascia smoothed with flat chisel. Back worked very roughly.

10-13 Architrave (pl. 90, 2)

P. l. 36 cm, p. h. 19 cm.

Inscription: ΚΟ; recorded on index card, found in 1968, no. 068/6.

Fragment of upper fascia.

10-14 Architrave (pl. 85, 1)

P. l. 45 cm, h. 40 cm, d. 21 cm.

Inscription: ΩΝ; Skizzenbuch no. 1686, fragment C, findspot: “vor der Mitteltür”.

Both fasciae preserved, crown molding broken off except for a small piece of the bead-and-reel. Lower half of upper fascia and lower fascia carefully smoothed, upper half of upper fascia treated with tooth chisel. Remains of clamp hole in left side.

LEVEL 11: CORNICE AND PEDIMENTS

No pieces from this level could be identified.

COLUMN FRAGMENTS:

In addition to the column fragments listed above (level 2), several fragments could not be assigned to the upper or lower story. All of them are made of red granite.

No.	Diam. of shaft	Preserved height	Location
1	53 cm	73 cm	Basilica Stoa
2	57.5 cm	124 cm	Basilica Stoa
3	60 cm	54 cm	Basilica Stoa
4	58 cm	76 cm	Basilica Stoa
5	54 cm	63 cm	Basilica Stoa
6	? (too broken)	78 cm	Basilica Stoa
7	? (too broken)	40 cm	Basilica Stoa
8	59 cm	68 cm	Basilica Stoa
9	? (too broken)	64 cm	Basilica Stoa
10	56 cm	48 cm	Basilica Stoa
11	54 cm	71 cm	Basilica Stoa
12	59 cm	65 cm	Basilica Stoa
13	60 cm	106 cm	Basilica Stoa
14	62 cm	62 cm	Basilica Stoa
15	57 cm	67 cm	Basilica Stoa
16	? (too broken)	28 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
17	? (too broken)	? (too broken)	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
18	? (too broken)	? (too broken)	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
19	? (too broken)	59 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
20	? (too broken)	55 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
21	? (too broken)	60 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
22	55–56 cm	84 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
23	? (too broken)	50 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
24	? (too broken)	? (too broken)	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
25	? (too broken)	92 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
26	57–58.5 cm	145cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
27	? (too broken)	18 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
28	? (too broken)	20 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
29	? (too broken)	30 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
30	? (too broken)	57 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
31	? (too broken)	45 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
32	59 cm	98 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
33	? (too broken)	96 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
34	? (too broken)	73 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
35	? (too broken)	56 cm	“Staatsmarkt”, temple area
36	? (too broken)	65 cm	Bouleuterion
37	? (too broken)	? (too broken)	Bouleuterion

(U. Quatember)

APPENDIX II: COMPARATIVE MEASUREMENTS FOR THE SCAENAE FRONS

	Base, Diameter	Column, Height	Capital, Diameter	Capital, Height	Architrave, Height	Frieze, Height	Cornice, Height
Celsus Library Lower Story	74 cm	523.0–538.5 cm	51.0–59.4 cm	71.4–78.3 cm	52.5 cm	46 cm	50 cm
Hadrian's Gate Lower Story	57 cm	–	47–50 cm	58.4–59.6 cm	37.5 cm	29 cm	38.8 cm
Hadrian's Gate Upper Story	33.5 cm	235.5 cm	26–27 cm	33–33.5 cm	27 cm	19 cm	27.5 cm

Measurements for the Celsus Library are taken from:

F. Hueber, Beobachtungen zu Kurvatur und Scheinperspektive an der Celsusbibliothek und anderen kaiserzeitlichen Bauten, in: Bauplanung und Bautheorie der Antike, DiskAB 4 (Berlin 1985) 175–200, esp. fig. 1 and 3.

W. Wilberg, Die Bibliothek, FiE 5, 1 (Vienna 1943) 7 fig. 10.

Measurements for the Hadrian's Gate are taken from:

H. Thür, Das Hadrianstor in Ephesos, FiE 11, 1 (Vienna 1989).

(U. Quatember)

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PLATES



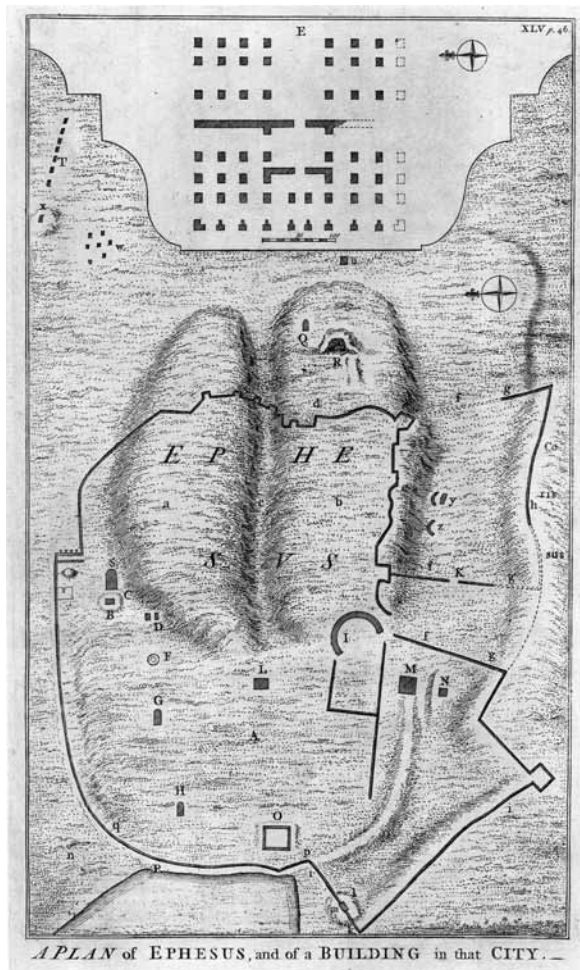
Aerial view of the Upper Agora ("Staatsmarkt")



Bouleuterion and Basilica Stoa



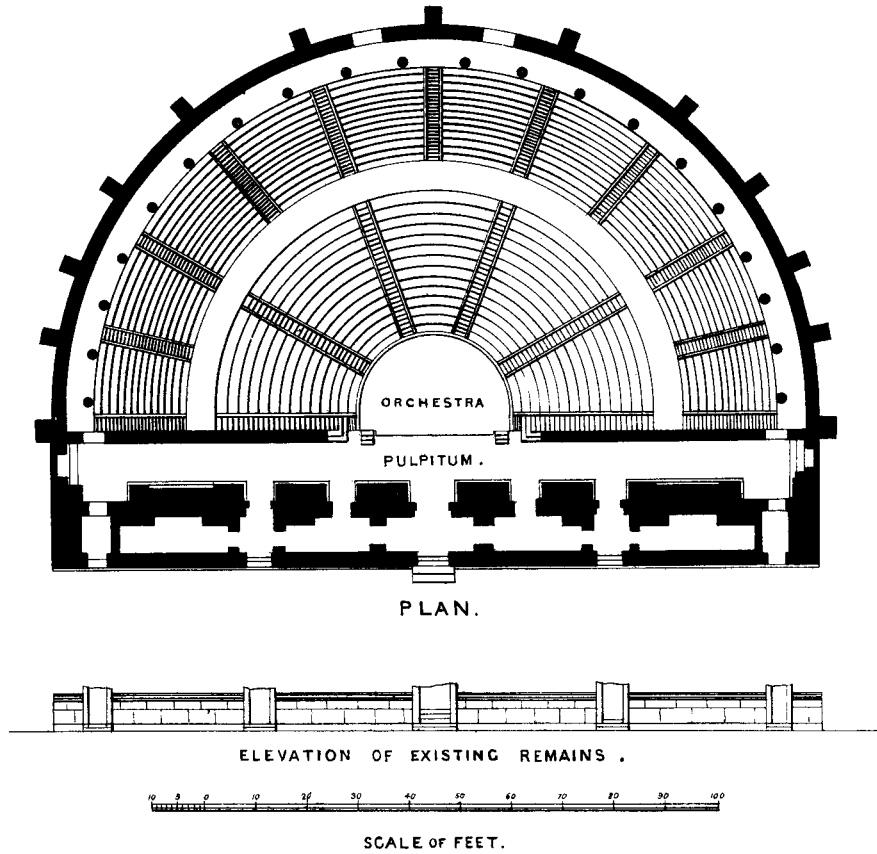
1 Bouleuterion and *scaenae frons* in 1908



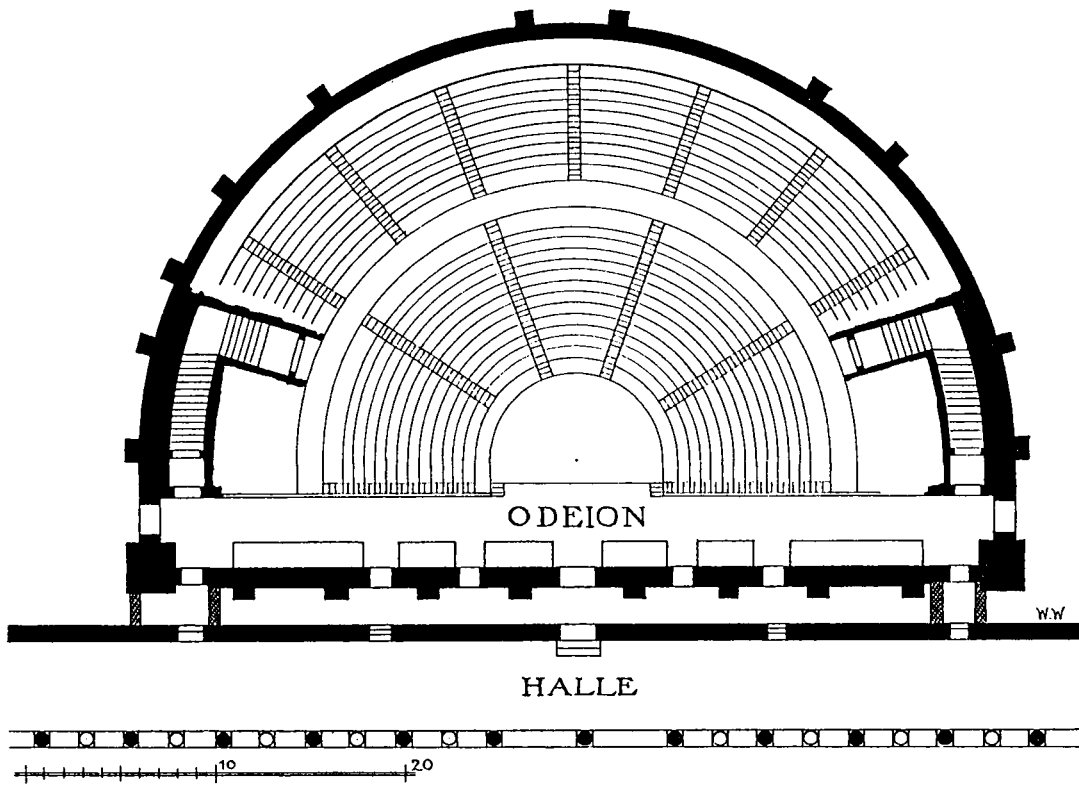
2 Plan of Ephesus
by R. Pococke,
published in 1745



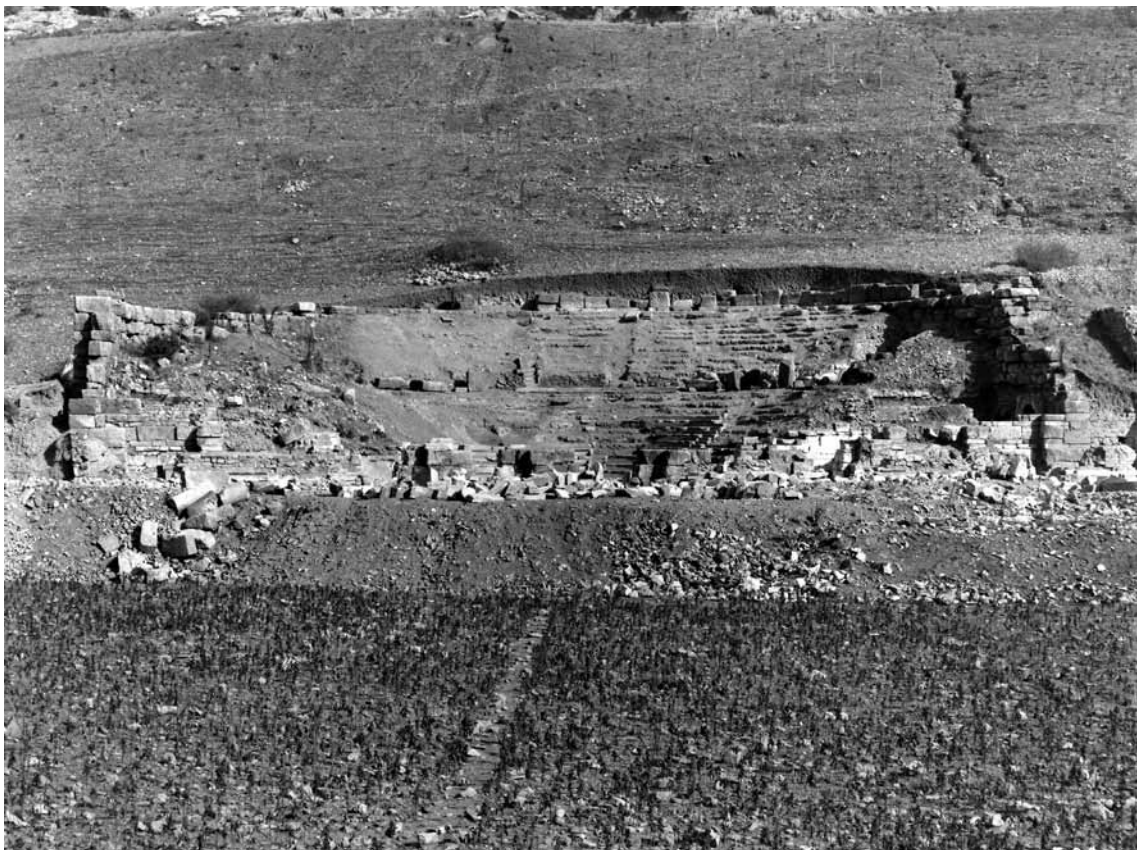
1 View of the Bouleuterion after J. T. Wood (1877)



2 Reconstructed plan of the Bouleuterion after J. T. Wood (1877)



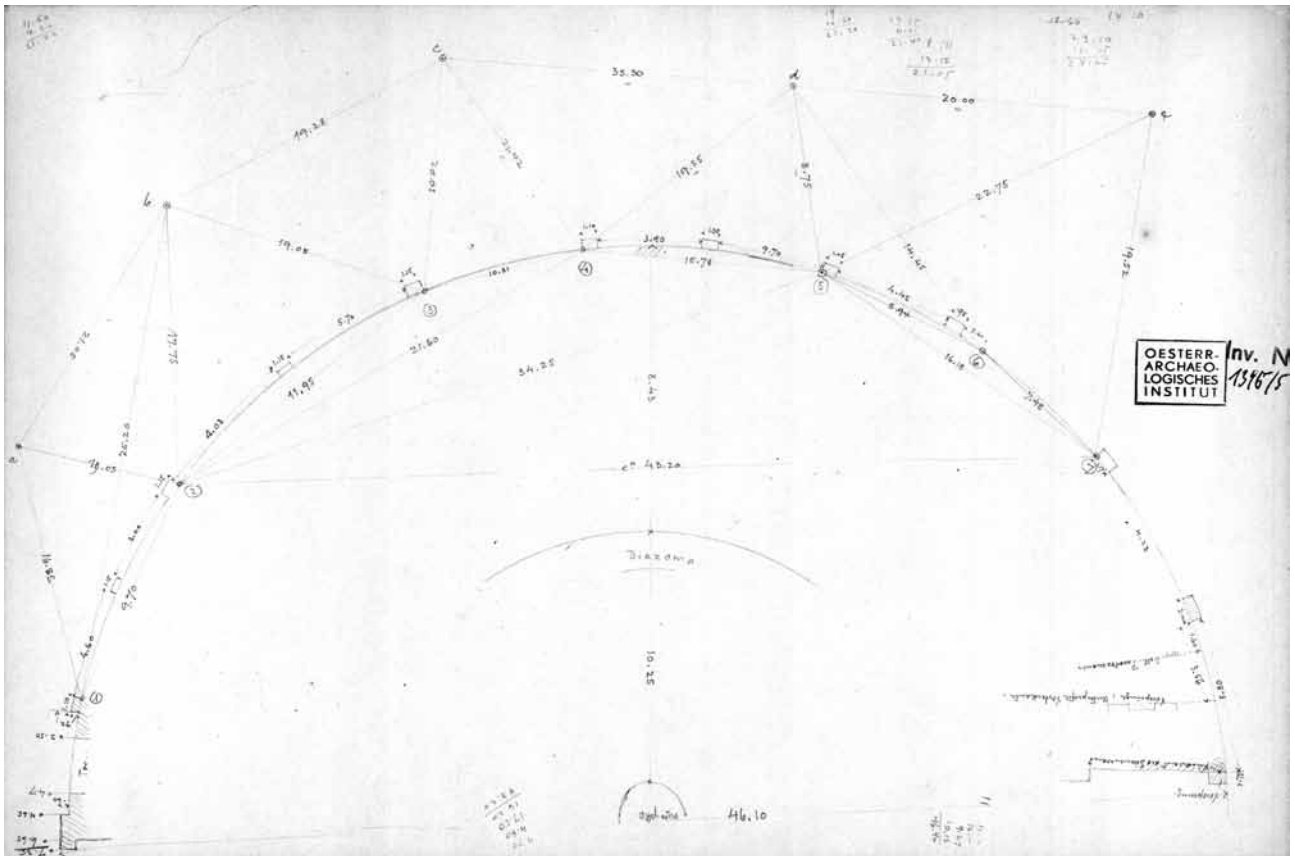
1 Reconstructed plan of the Bouleuterion by W. Wilberg (published in 1909)



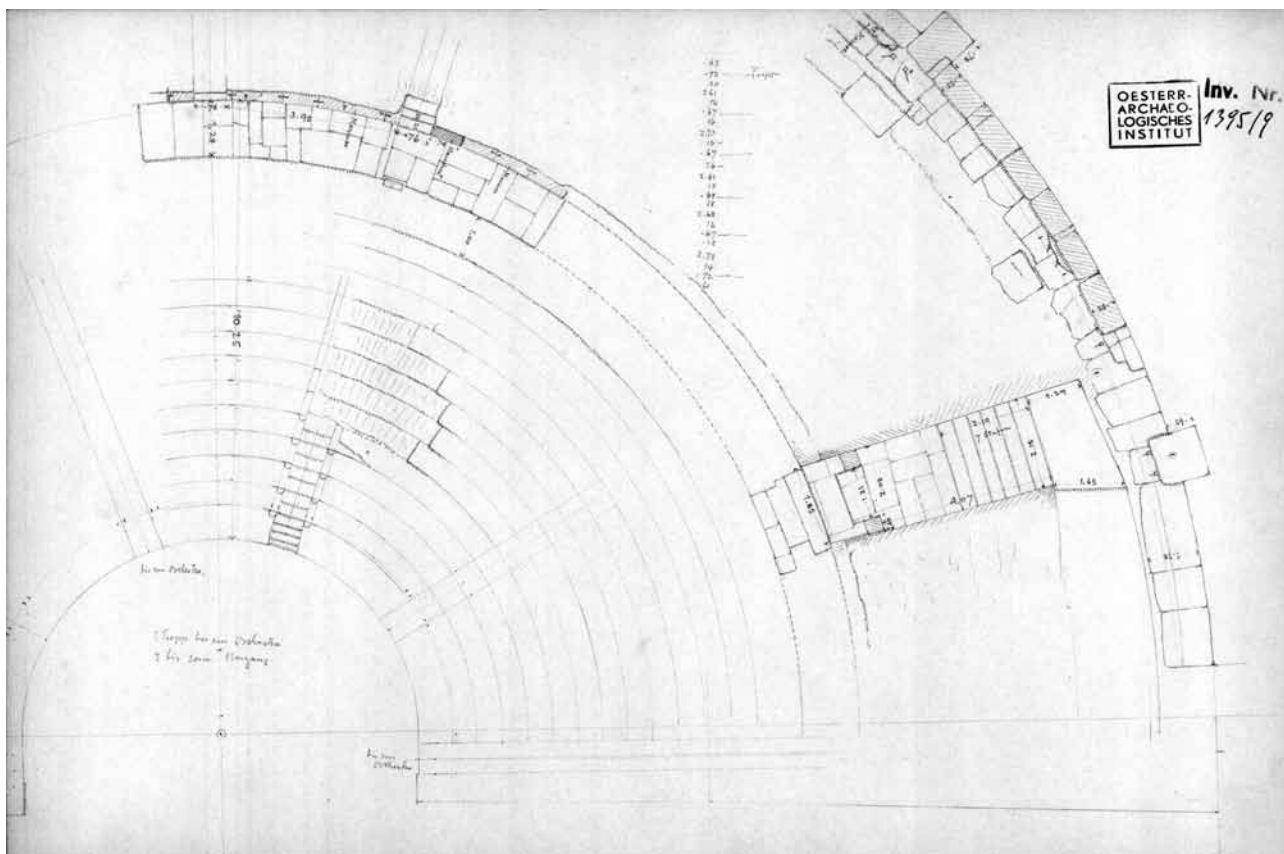
2 Bouleuterion from the south in 1908



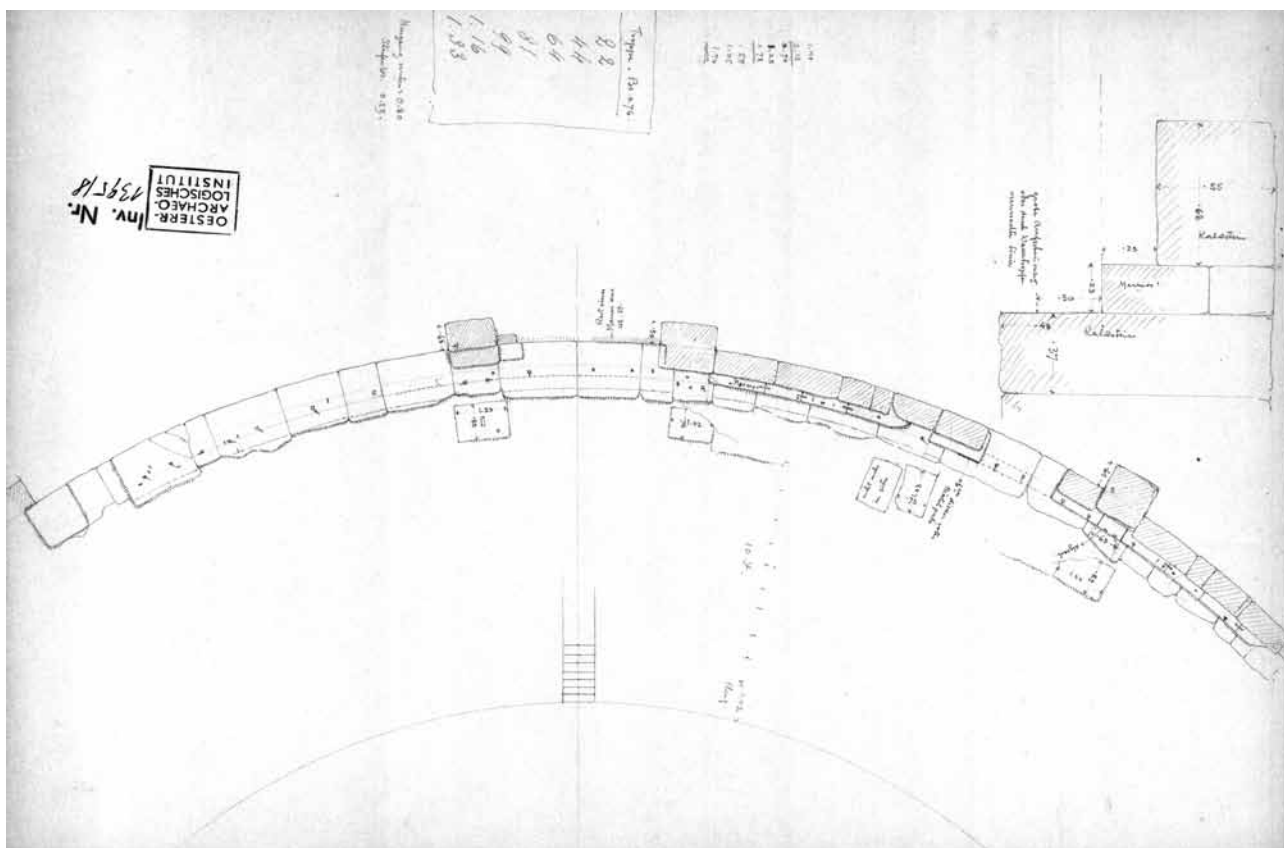
1 *cavea*, west *parodos* and *pulpitum* in 1908



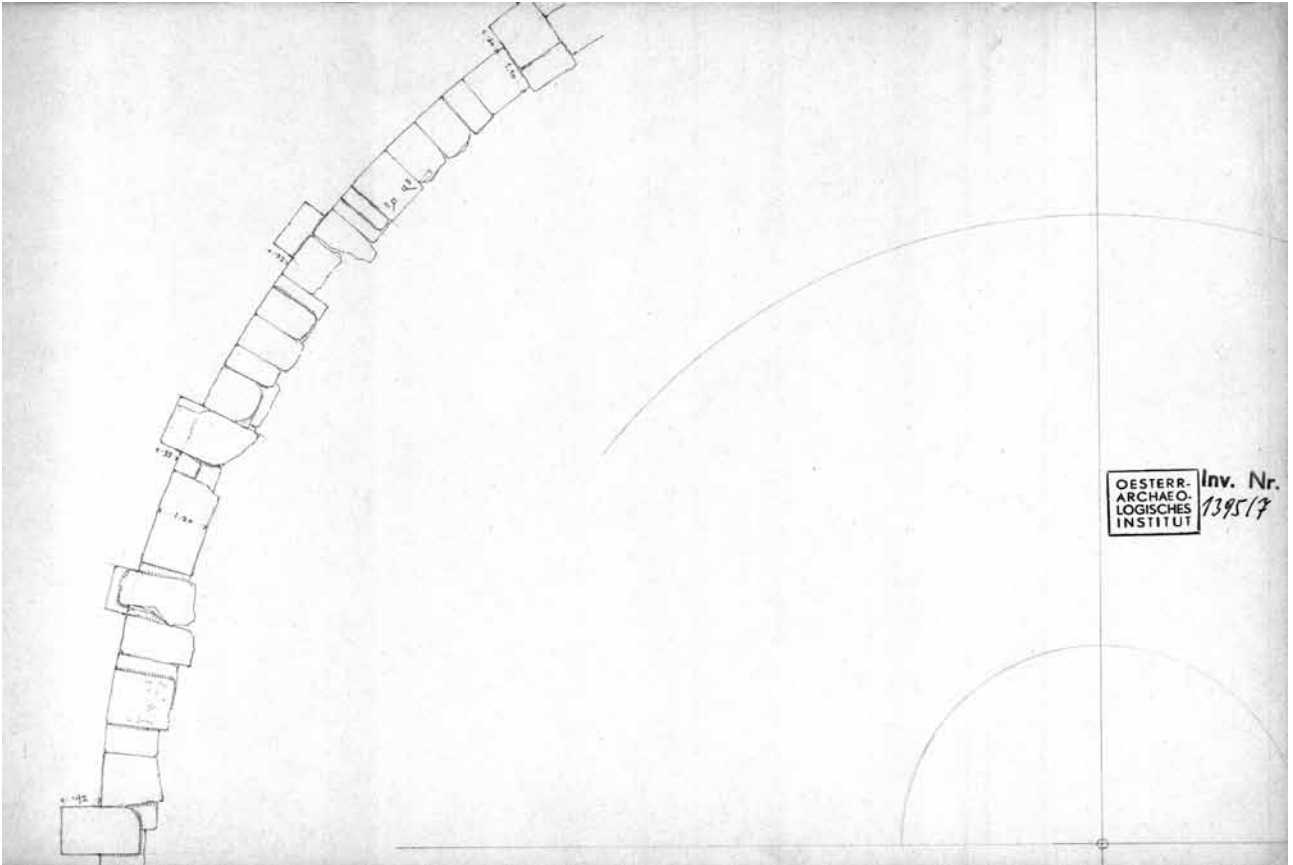
2 Drawing by W. Wilberg (1908), sketch of outer retaining wall



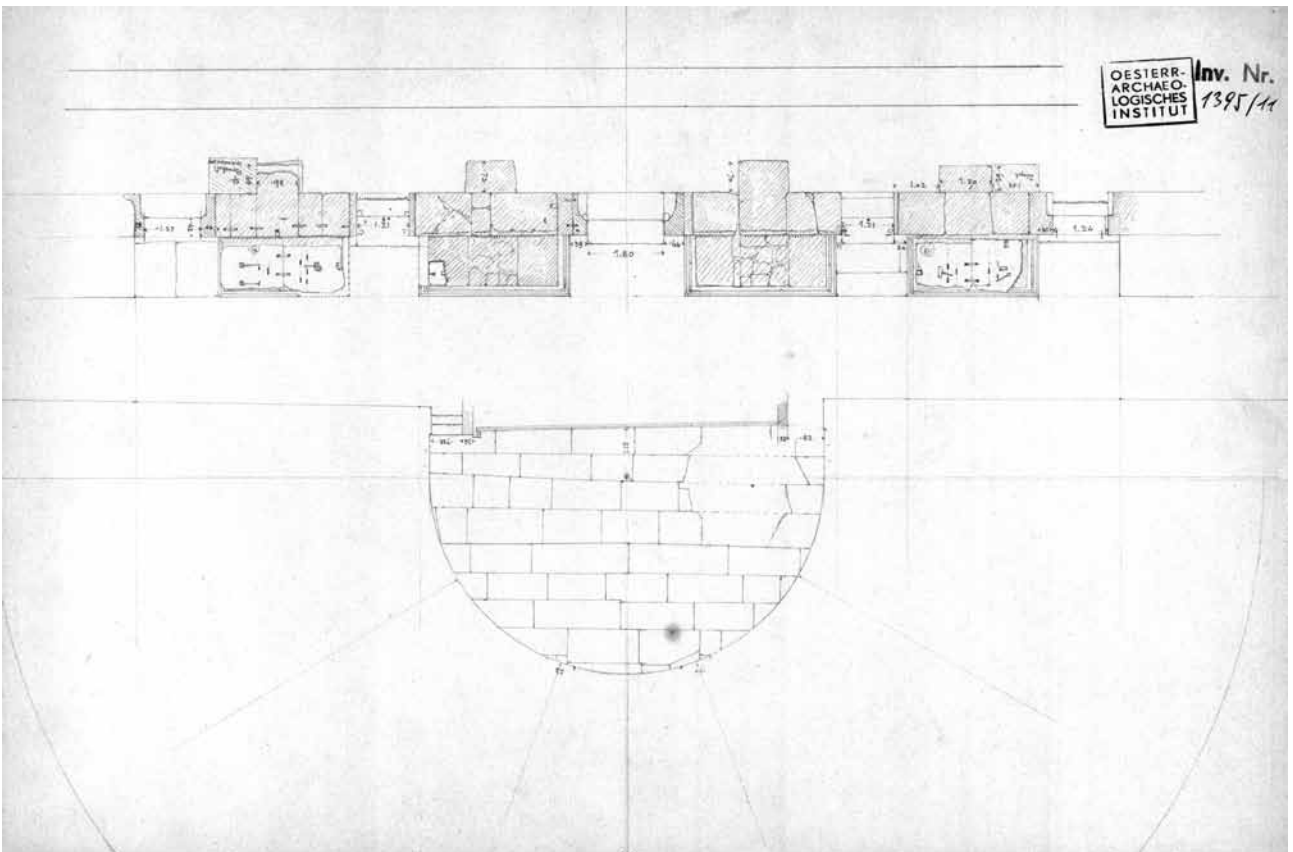
1 Drawing by W. Wilberg (1908), eastern part of cavea



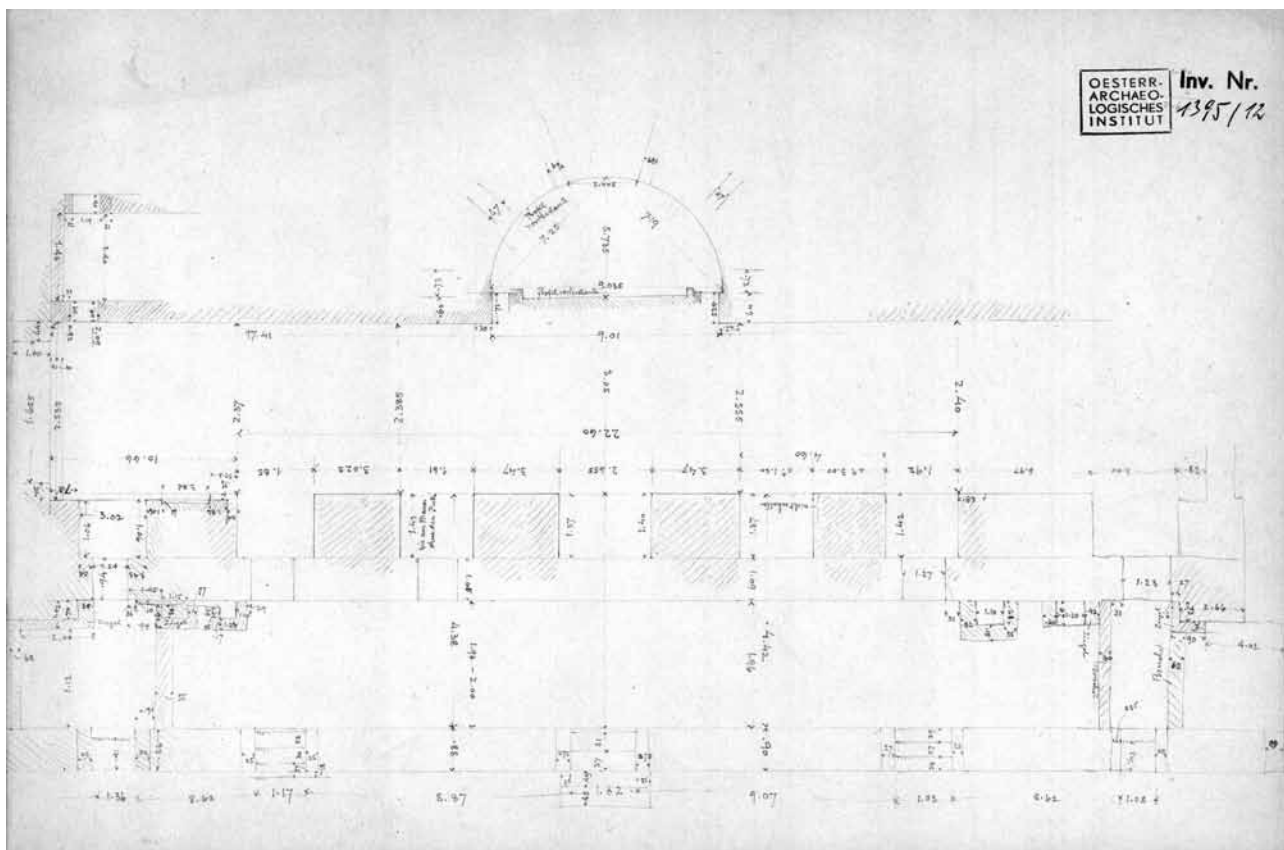
2 Drawing by W. Wilberg (1908), central part of rear wall



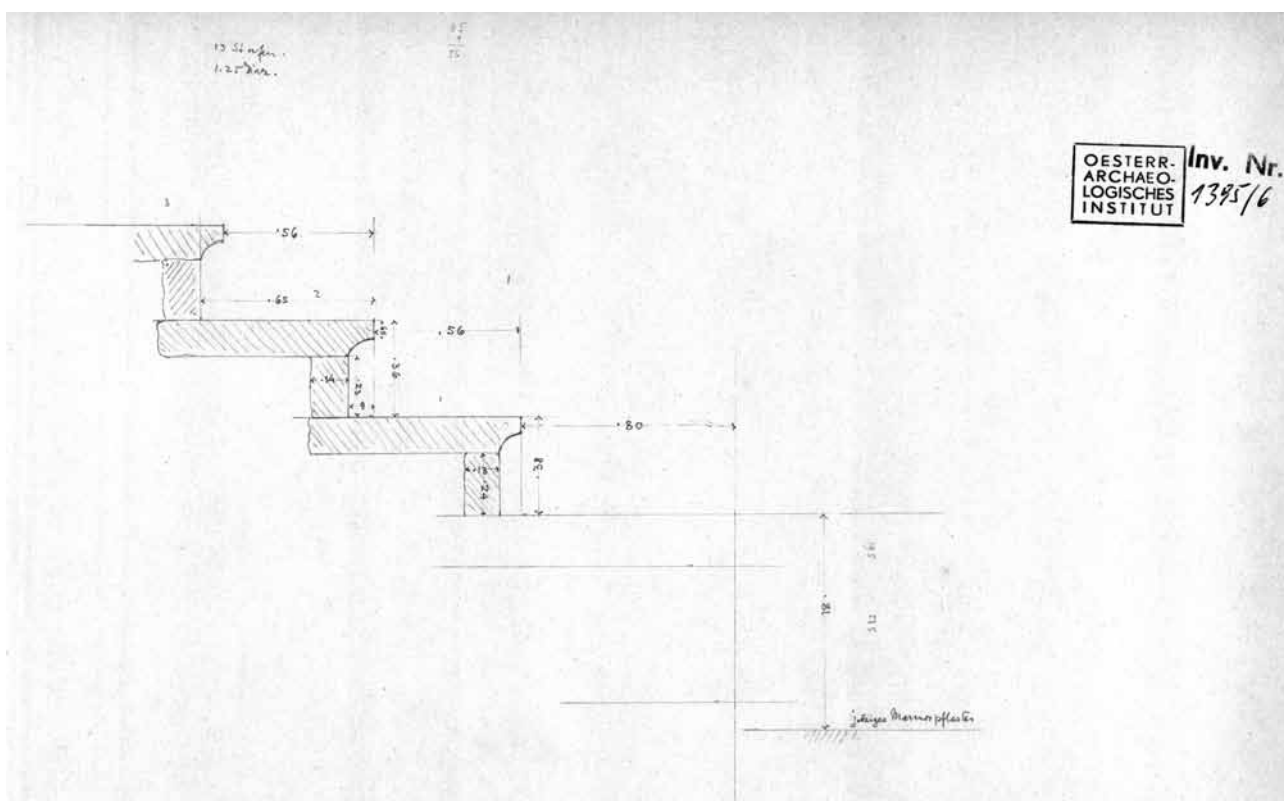
1 Drawing by W. Wilberg (1908), western part of enclosure wall



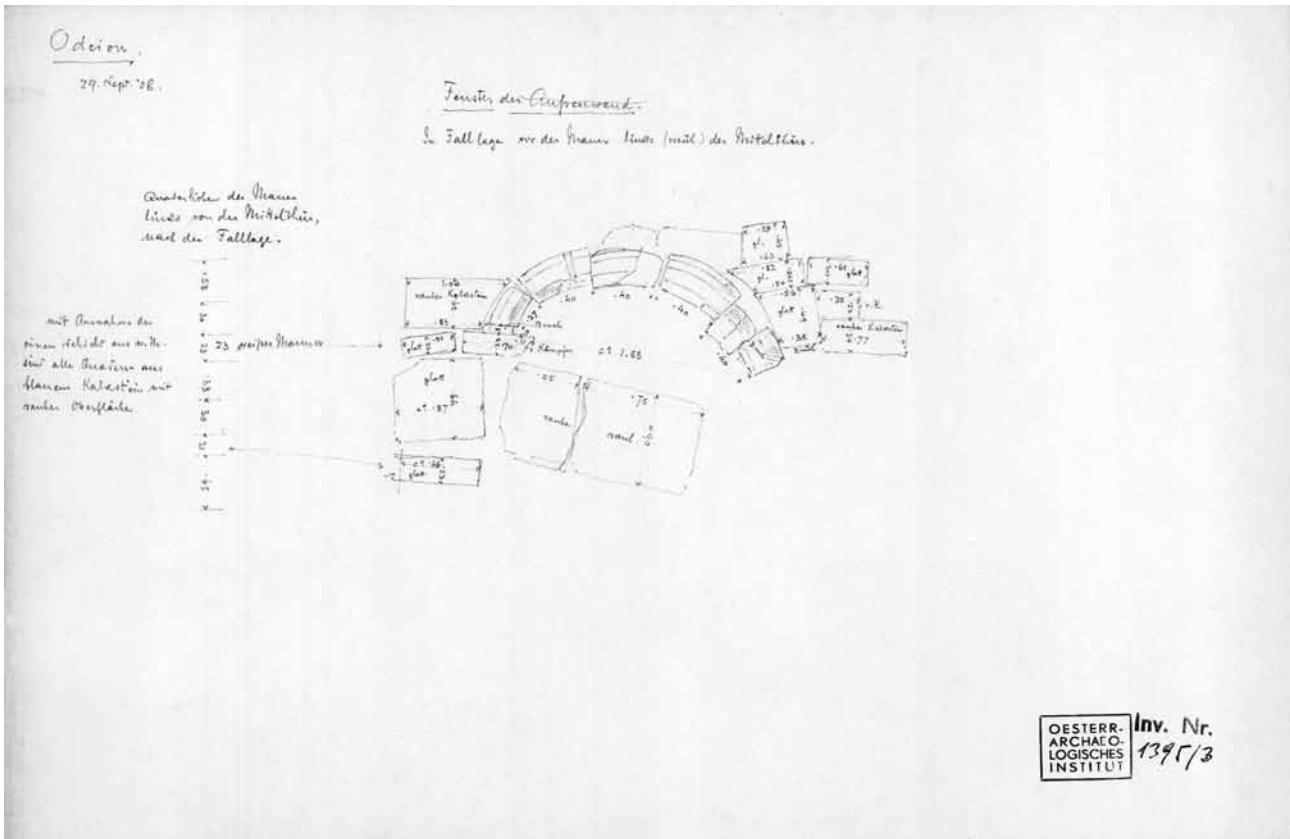
2 Drawing by W. Wilberg (1908), *scaenae frons* and orchestra



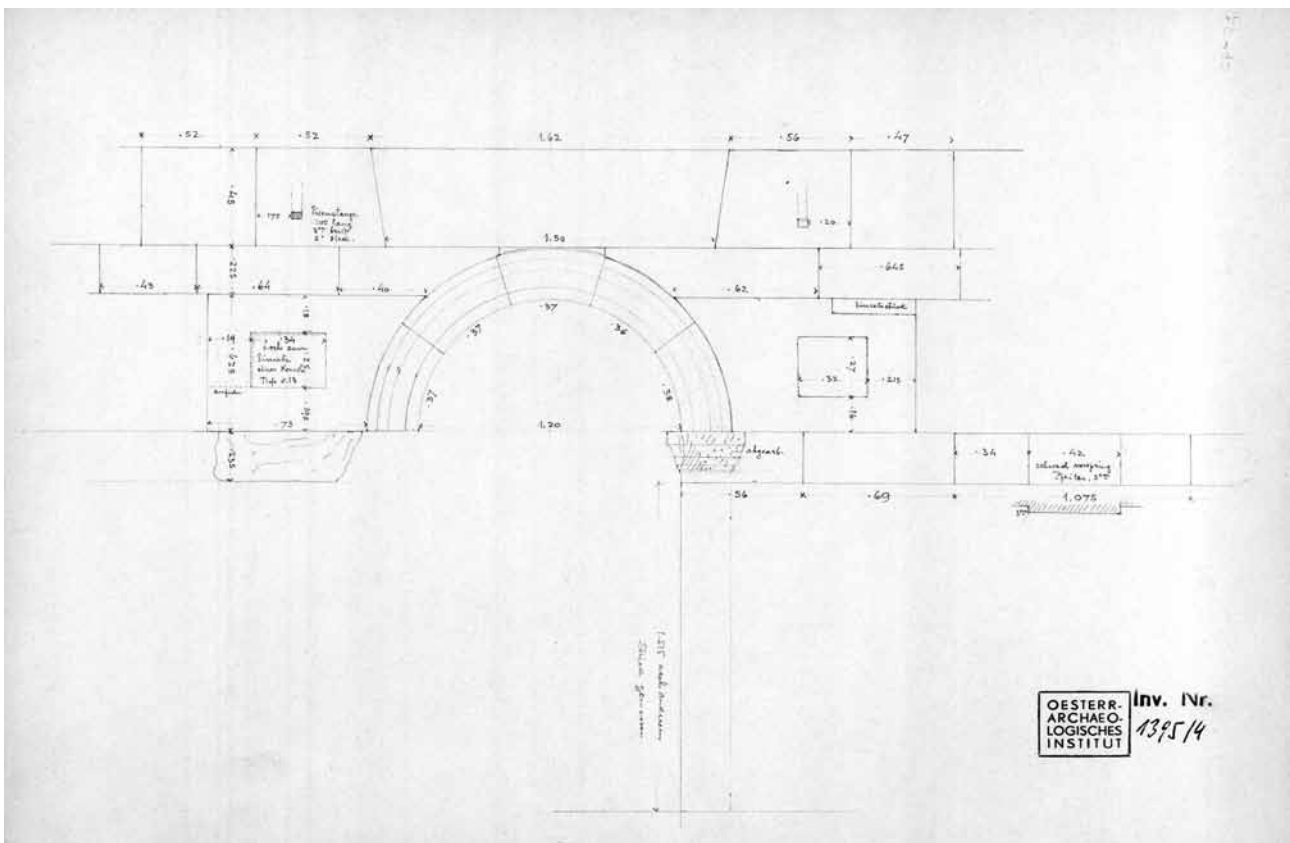
1 Drawing by W. Wilberg (1908), back stage corridor



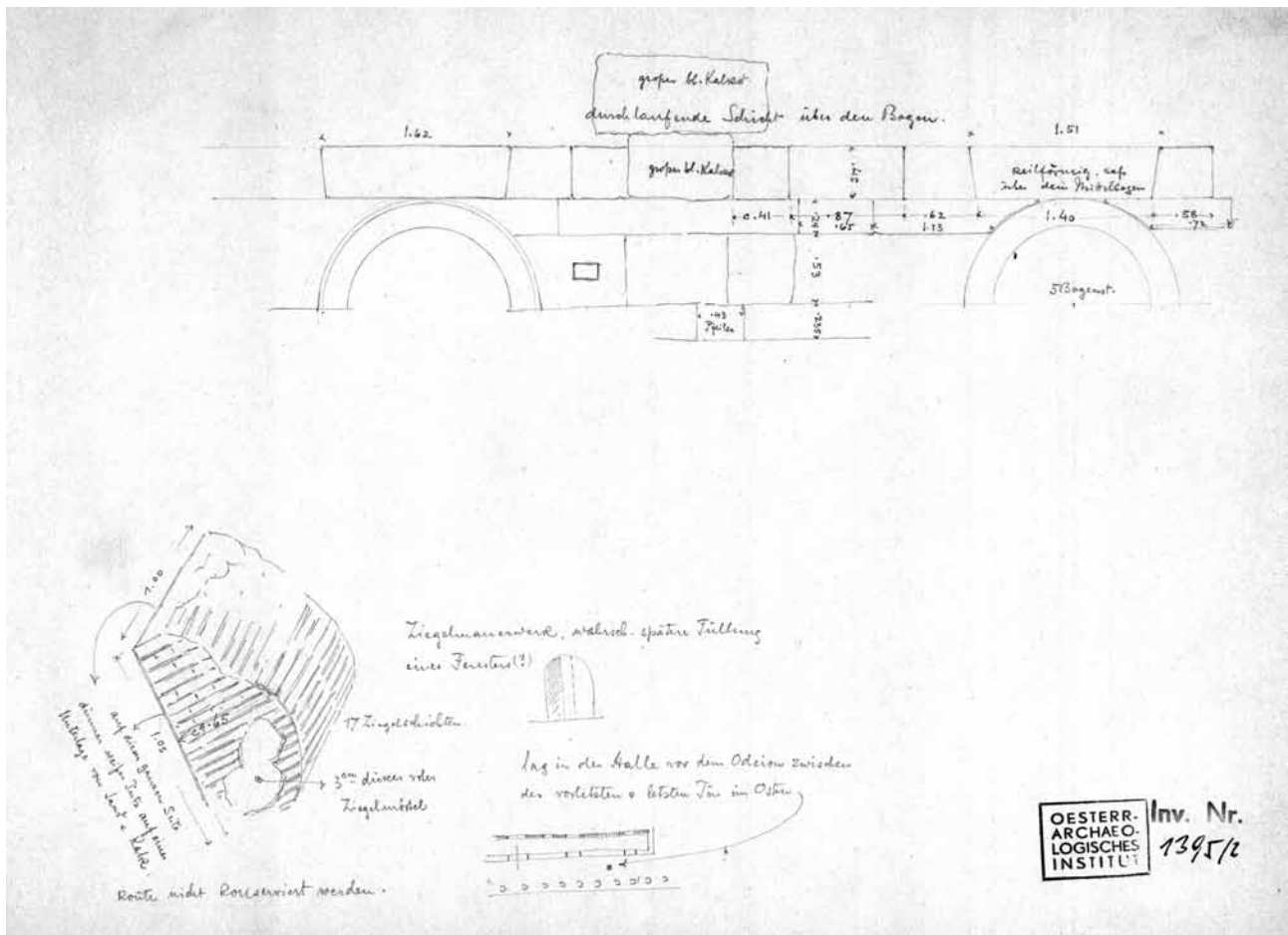
2 Drawing by W. Wilberg (1908), section through seats of lower cavea



1 Drawing by W. Wilberg (1908), arch found west of central doorway (SD 4) of the Bouleuterion



2 Drawing by W. Wilberg (1908), reconstruction of arch



1 Drawing by W. Wilberg (1908), reconstruction sketch of arched openings and wall blocks



2 Bouleuterion from top of the west *analemma* wall in 1908



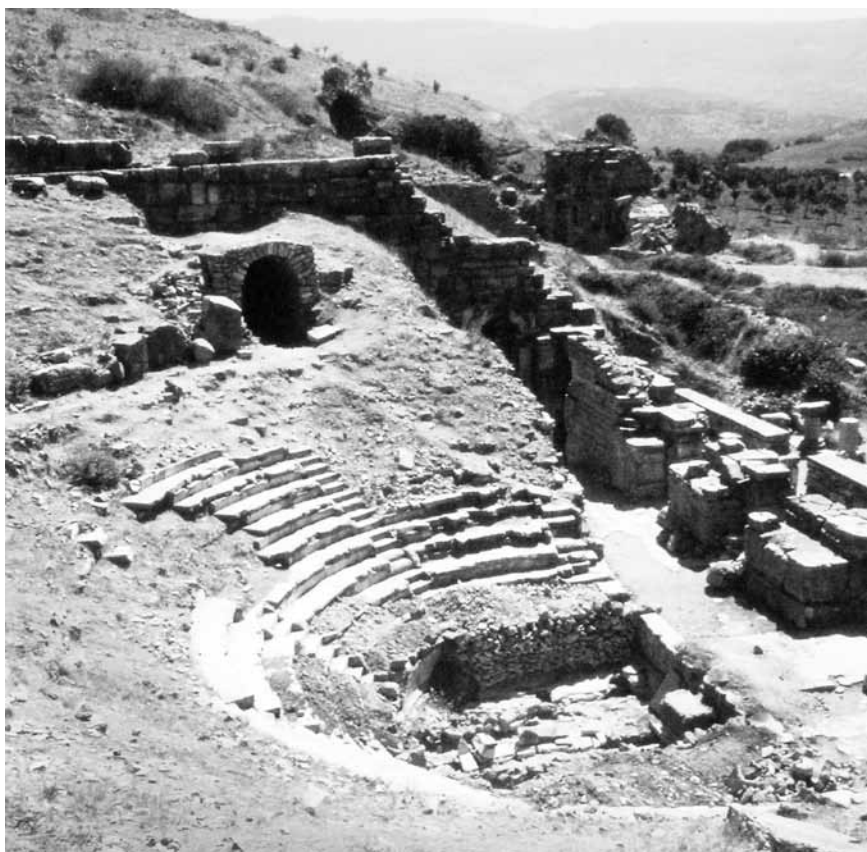
1 Orchestra and *cavea* in 1908



2 Orchestra and lower *cavea* in 1908



1 W. Alzinger's excavation in the orchestra in 1961 (H. Vettors in the foreground)



2 W. Alzinger's excavation in the orchestra in 1961 (east trench)

Plate 14



1 W. Alzinger's excavation in the orchestra in 1961 (west trench)



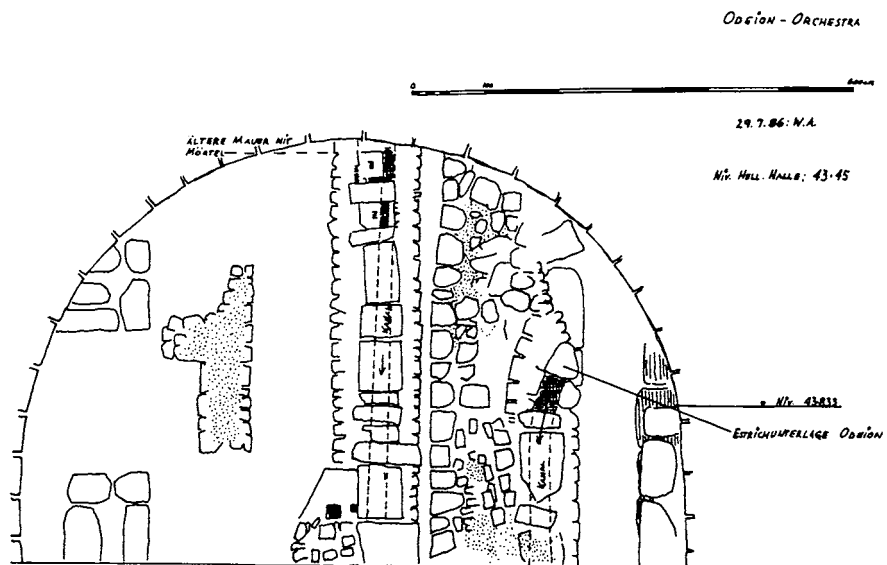
2 Remains of a wall underneath the orchestra (1961)



1 Trench in the *pulpitum* in 1970



2 Trench in the *pulpitum* in 1970



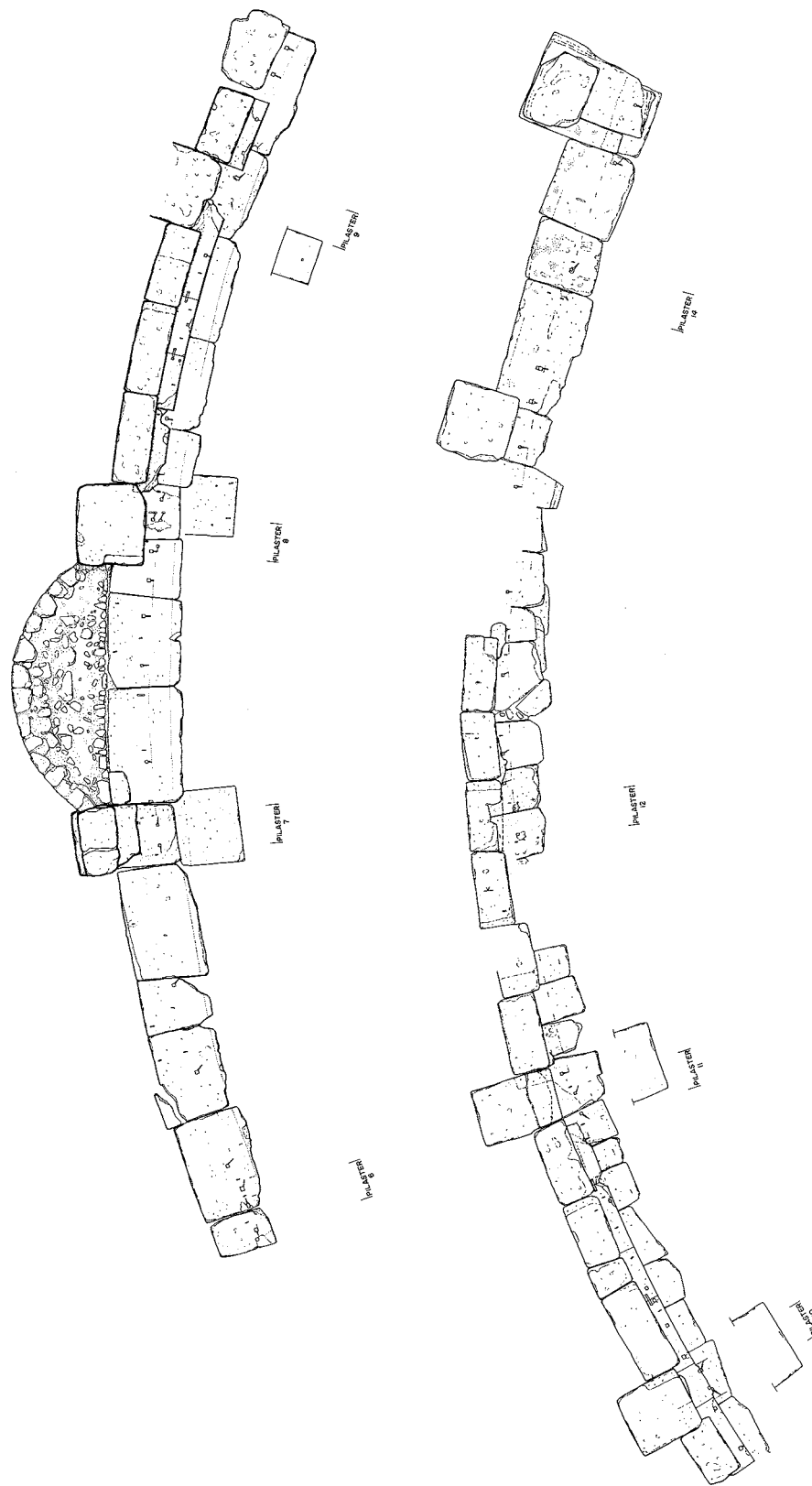
3 Sketch of W. Alzinger's trenches (1986)



1 Retaining wall of the *auditorium*, from the west



2 Retaining wall, detail between buttress 2 and 3



EPHEesos
BOULEUTERION
SEGMENTS OF REAR WALL WITH FOOTING SHOWING
CUTTINGS FOR REVETMENT AND PILASTER BASES
0 1 2 3 4 m
Drawing: LEB
L. BIER, 2000

Segments of the cavea's rear wall with traces of pilasters



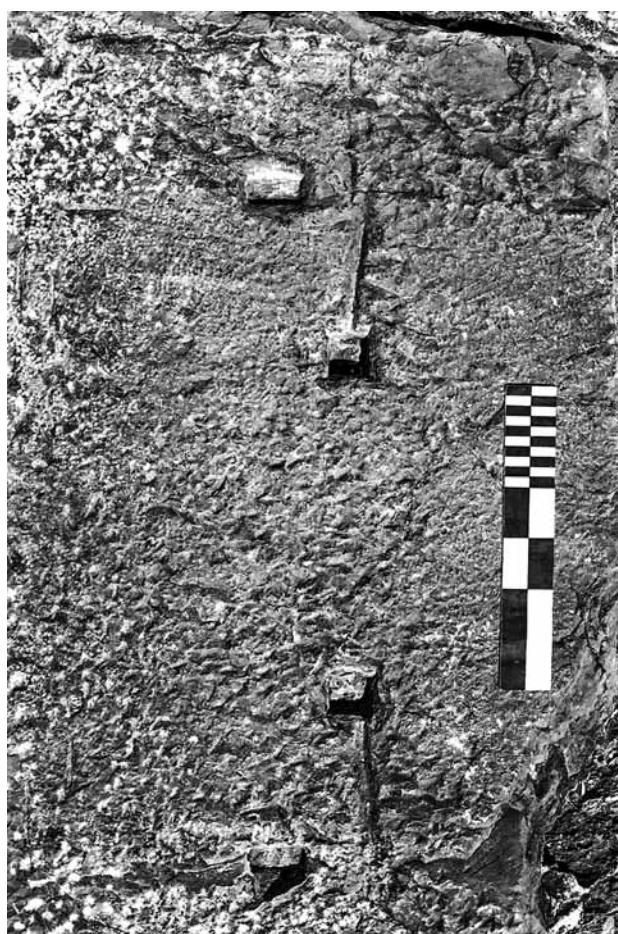
1 Upper *cavea* and remains of rear wall



2 Inner ring of curved retaining wall: incisions and bedding surface



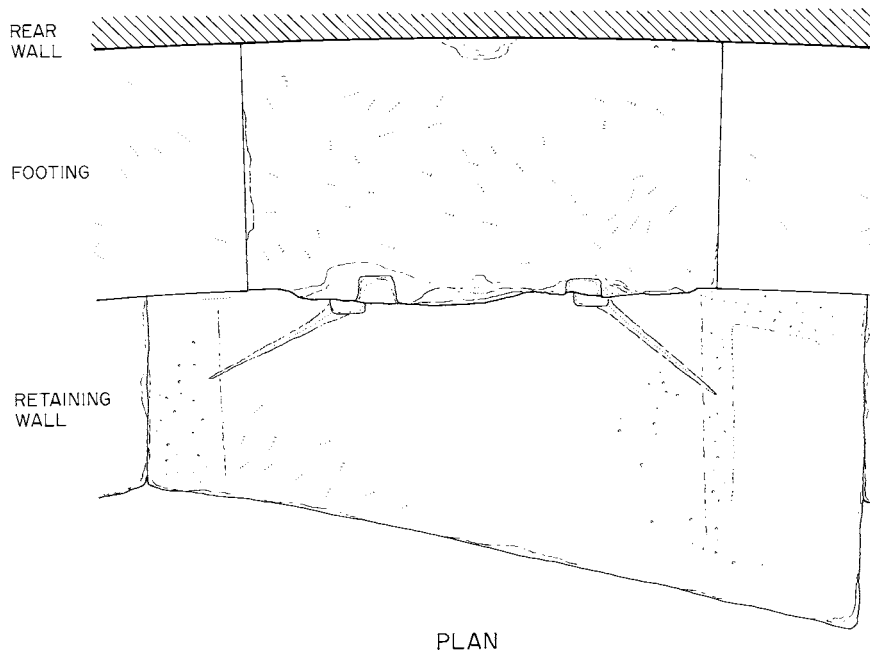
1 Dowel holes for revetment of rear wall with dado slabs



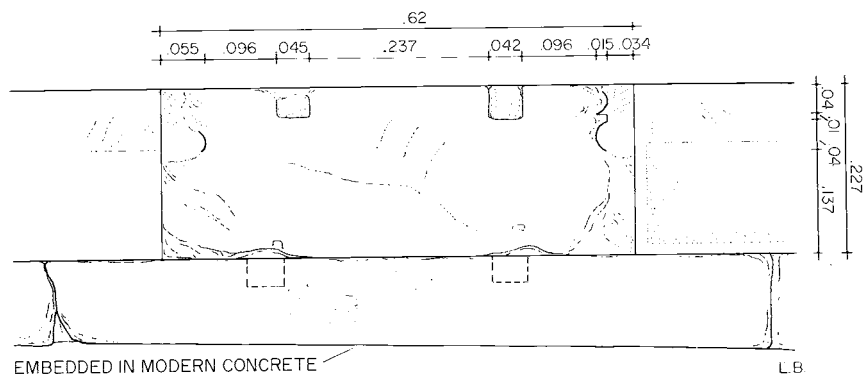
2 Pryholes and dowels for pilaster base



1 Remains of pilaster base on footing of rear wall



PLAN



2 Remains of pilaster base

FRONT



1 Central apse in the rear wall



2 The *cavea* before modern restorations



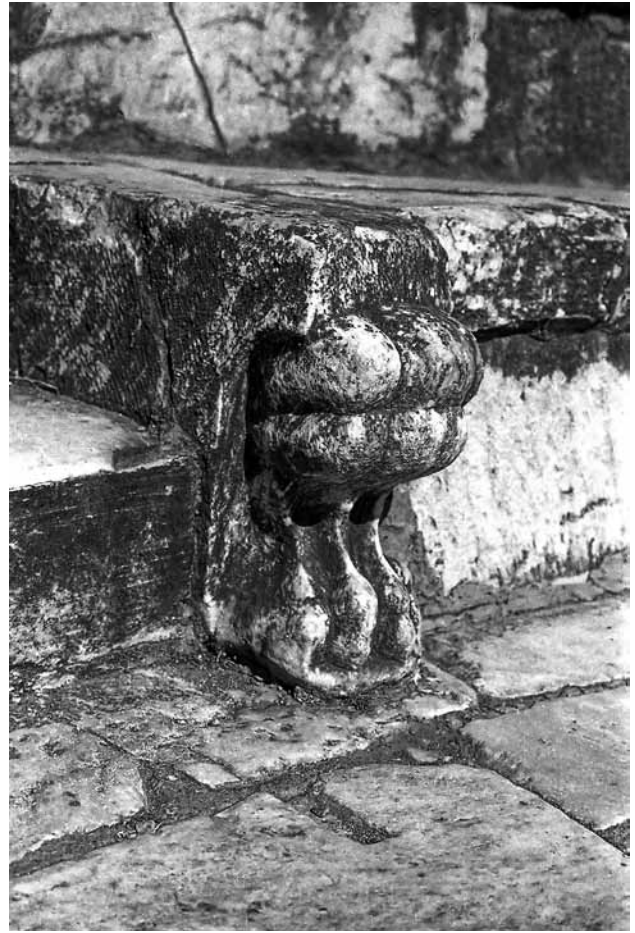
1 *cavea* and Basilica Stoa, view towards southeast



2 Seating in the lower *cavea*



1 Steps skirting east *analemma*



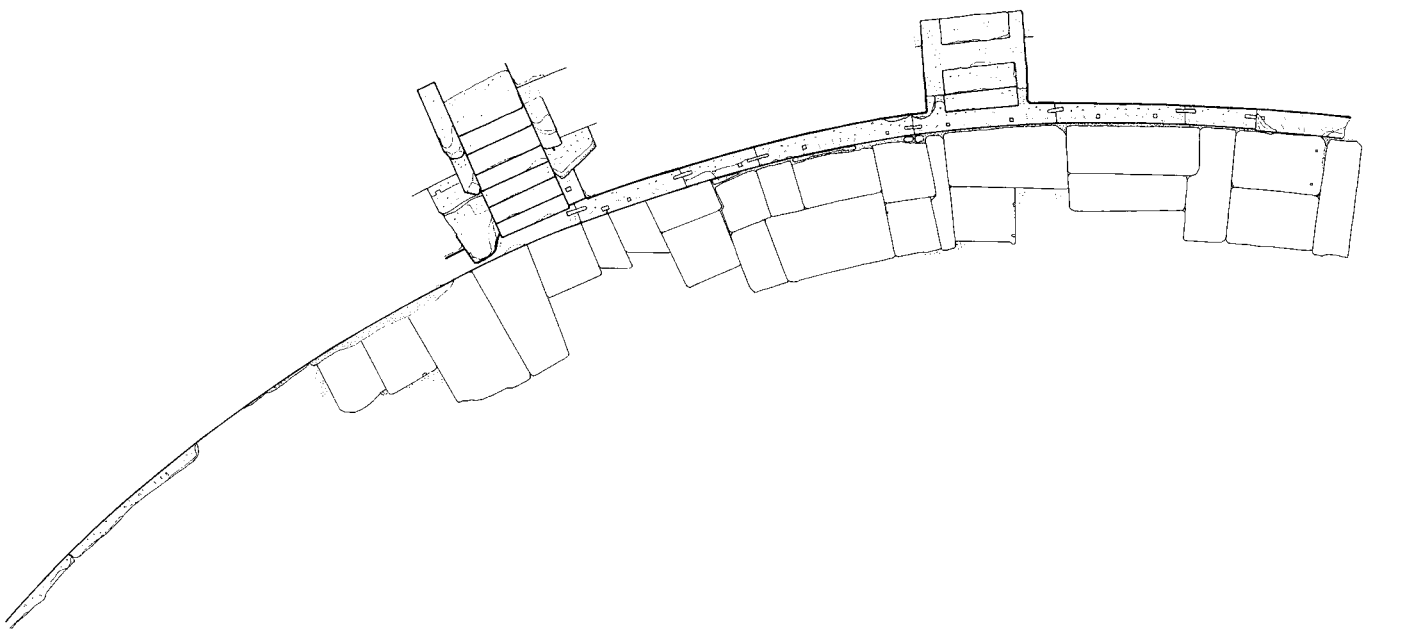
2 Lion paw at the north end of *cuneus* E



3 Seating slab in row 7, *cuneus* D, with inscribed circle and dowel holes



1 Paving of the middle *diazoma*



EPHESOS
BOULEUTERION
PRESERVED PORTIONS OF
DIAZOMA PAVING, PODIUM
FOOTING, AND STAIRWAYS
TO UPPER CAVEA

0 1 2 3m
DRAWN 1:25

L.BIER, 2000

2 Paving of the middle *diazoma*



1 Central stairway to the upper *diazoma*



2 East *analemma* wall



1 Surviving seat riser at the end of the first row of *cuneus* E



2 Vertical seam in the east *analemma* wall below the end of the *diazoma*



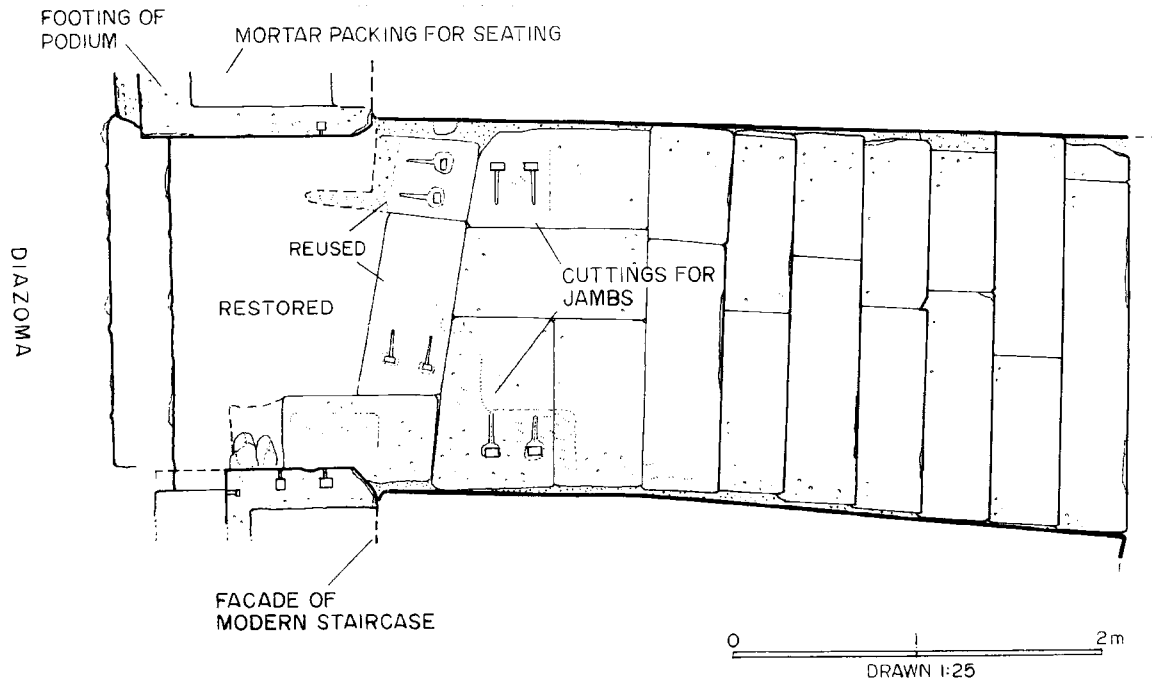
1 Marble block in south-east corner of orchestra



2 Springstone on top of east *analemma*



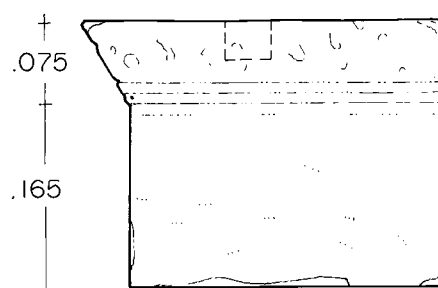
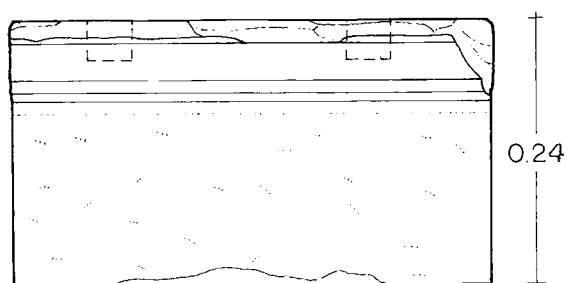
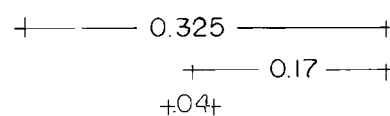
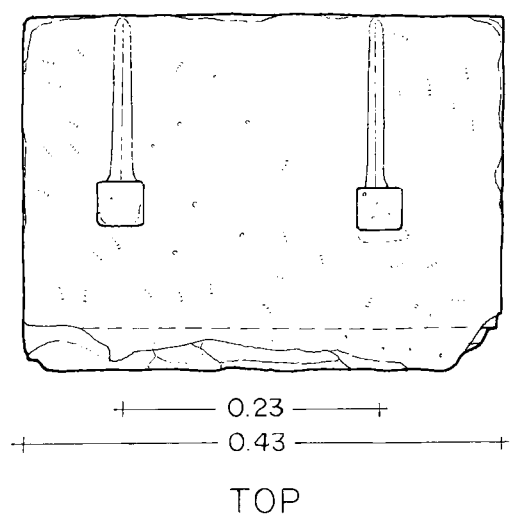
3 Vaulted chamber behind west *analemma*



1 Eastern stairway



2 Landing of eastern stairway with dowel holes for piers



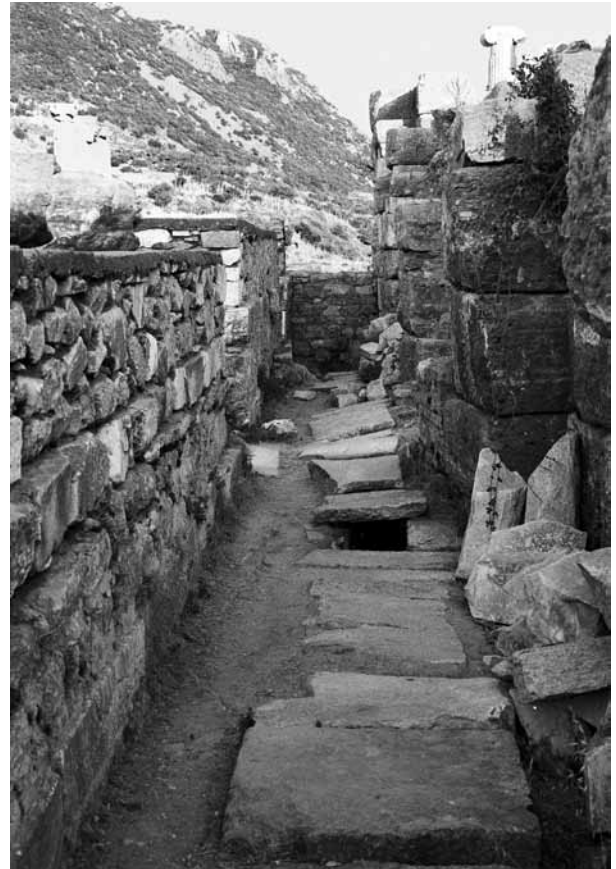
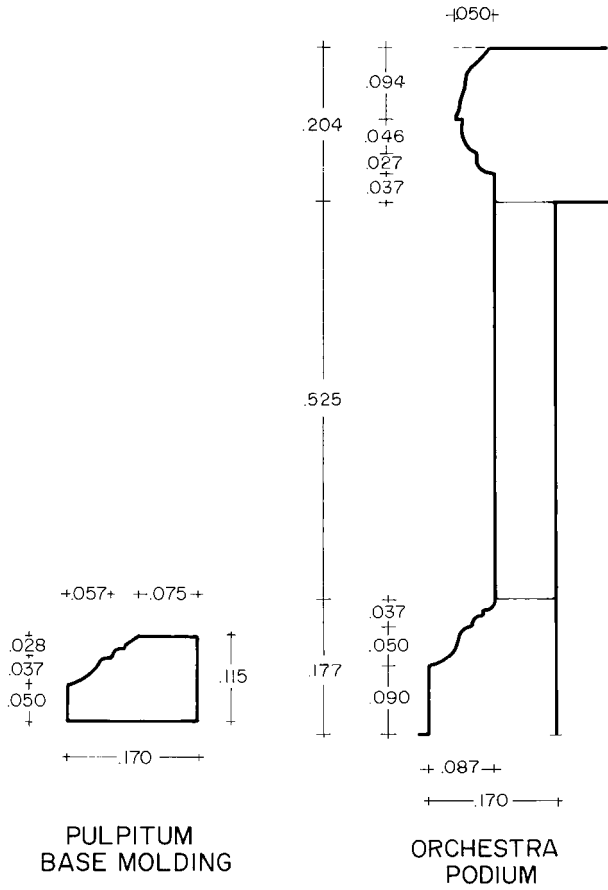
FRONT

RIGHT SIDE

1 Pillar capital

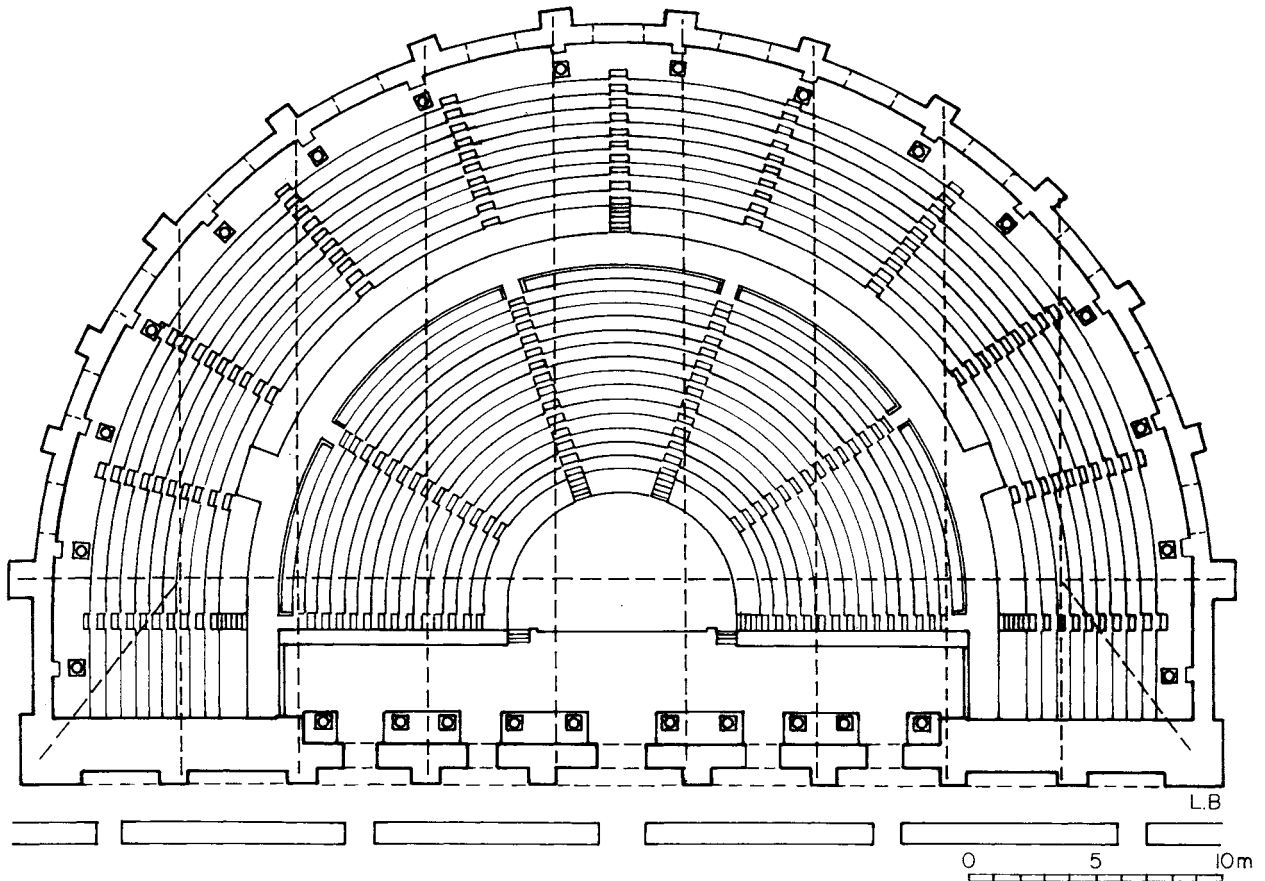


2 Front of *pulpitum*



1 Molding of orchestra and *pulpitum*

2 Corridor behind scene wall looking west



3 Bouleuterion after the renovations by P. Vedius with its roofing system



1 Doorway in east *parodos* from north (SD 7)



2 Doorway in west *parodos* from north (SD 1)



3 West *parodos*, SD 1: cutting in eastern door jamb



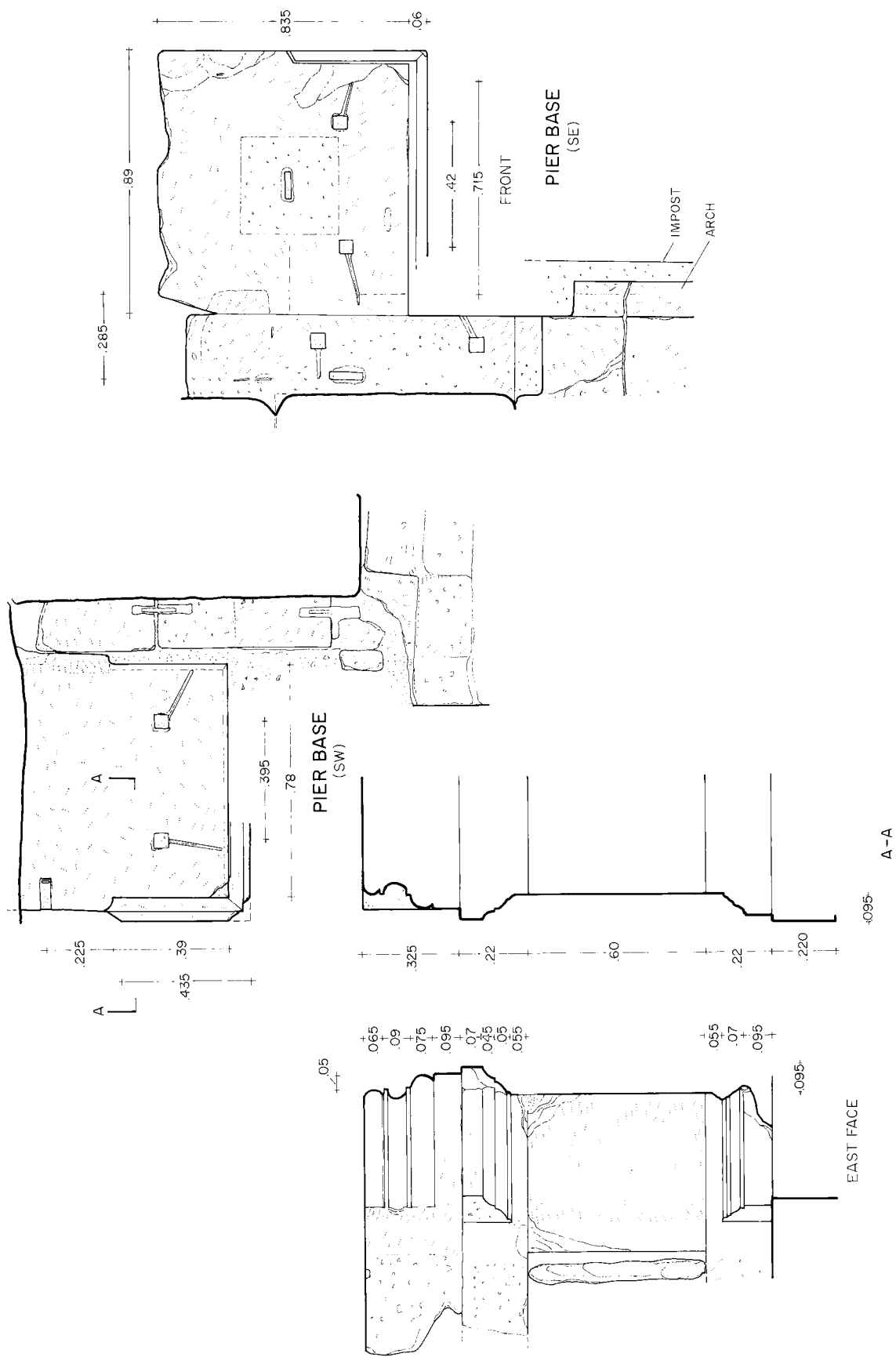
1 Arched doorway in east *parodos*



2 Pedestal and base in south-east corner



3 Pedestal and base in south-west corner



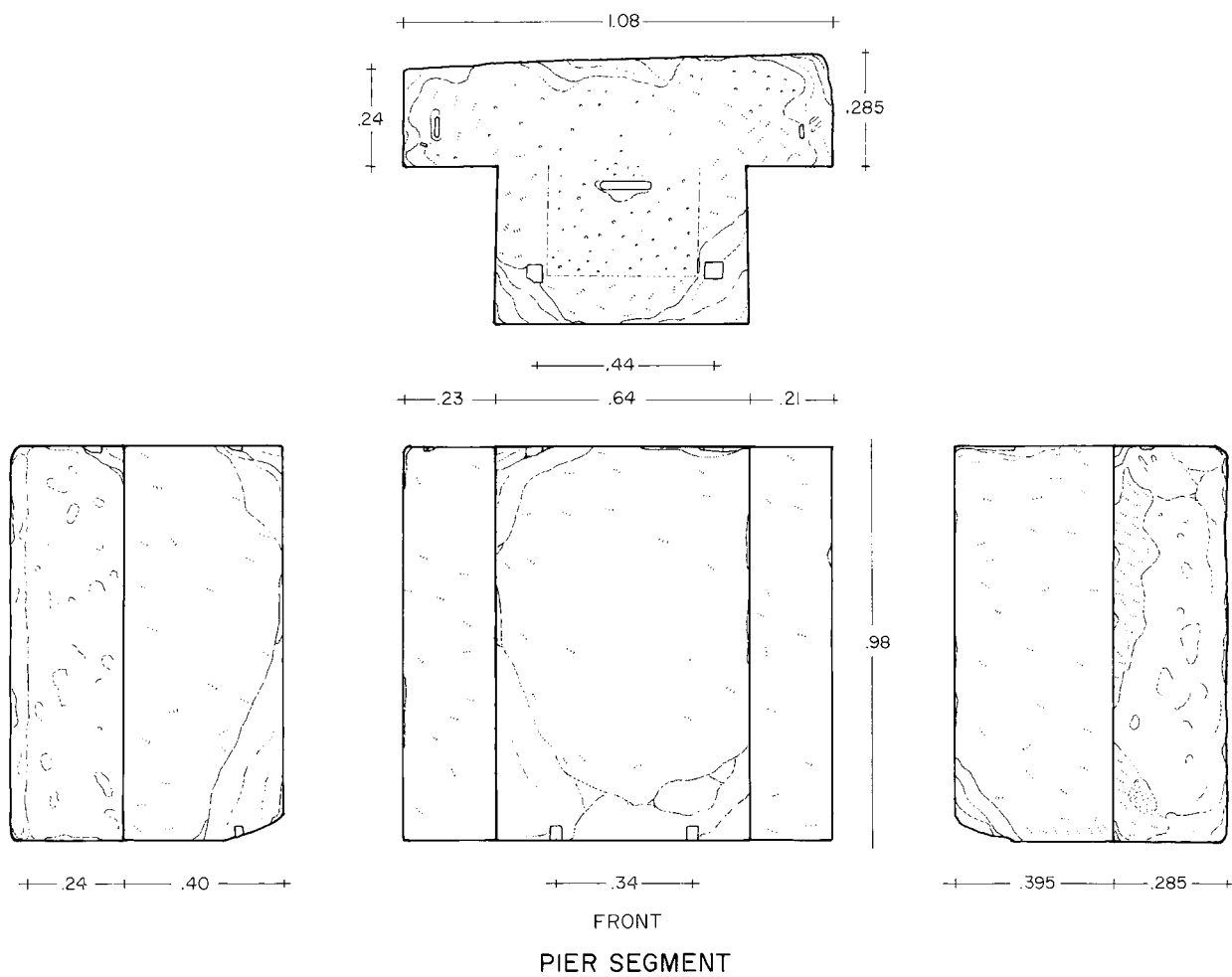
Pedestals and pilaster base in southeast and southwest corners



1 Top of western corner pilaster base



2 Top of eastern corner pilaster base



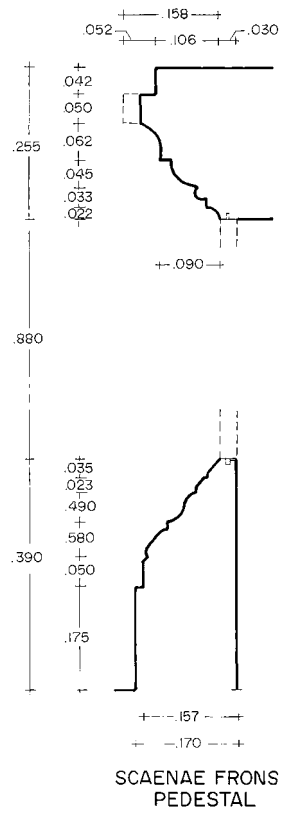
1 Part of eastern corner pilaster



2 Threshold of secondary doorway (SD 5)



1 Original doorway in scene wall (SD 6) from south with remains of original jamb capital



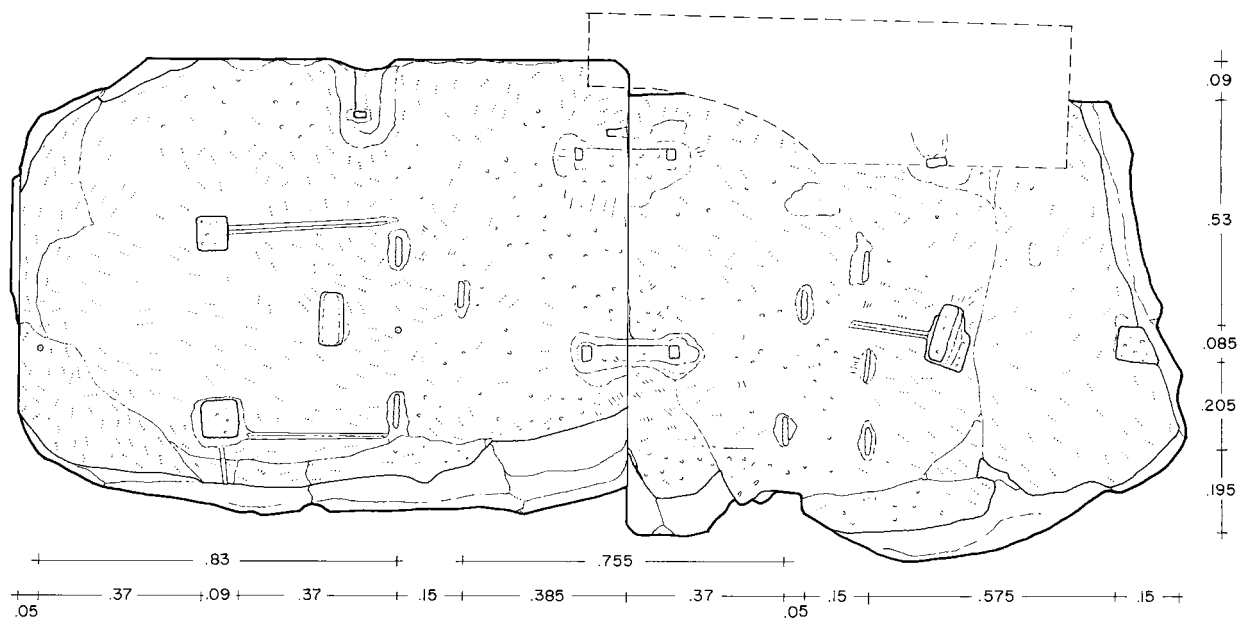
2 Pedestal molding



3 Pedestal 5



PEDESTAL 2



PEDESTAL 5

Pedestals 2 and 5



1 Pedestal 1 from north



2 Pedestal 6 from north



3 North wall of Basilica Stoa and doorway BD 2, with Bouleuterion SD 2 behind



1 Central door through Basilica Stoa (BD 3), north wall, with Bouleuterion SD 4 behind



2 Western lateral door in Basilica Stoa (BD 1), north wall, with Bouleuterion SD 1 behind



1 Corridor between
Bouleuterion and
Basilica Stoa looking
east



2 Steps of western arched doorway



1 South jamb of western arched doorway from east



2 Access to the *vomitorium* staircase from the east *parodos*



3 Access to the *vomitorium* staircase from the west *parodos*



1 Traces of plaster next to SD 1



2 Cutting for a clamp connecting pedestal 5 with the string course



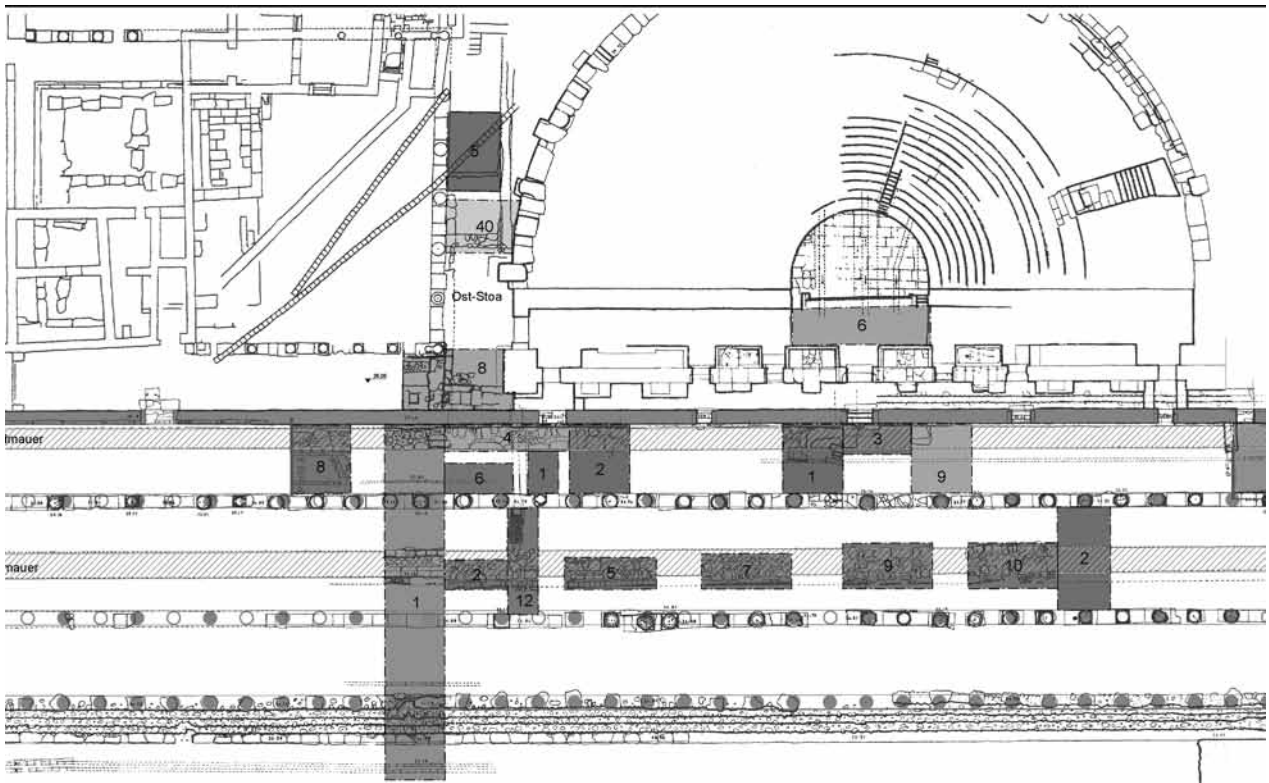
1 Short wall between west pier and Basilica Stoa



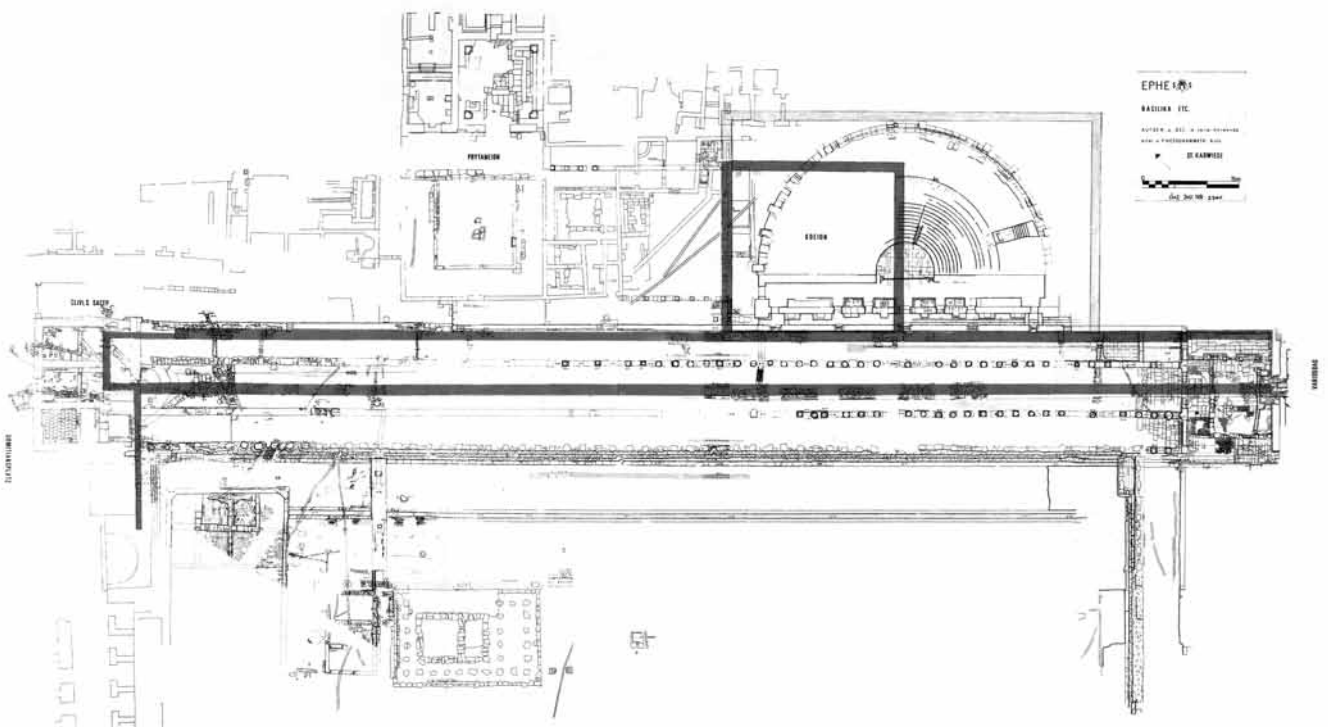
2 Brickwork on the easternmost buttress, next to SD 7



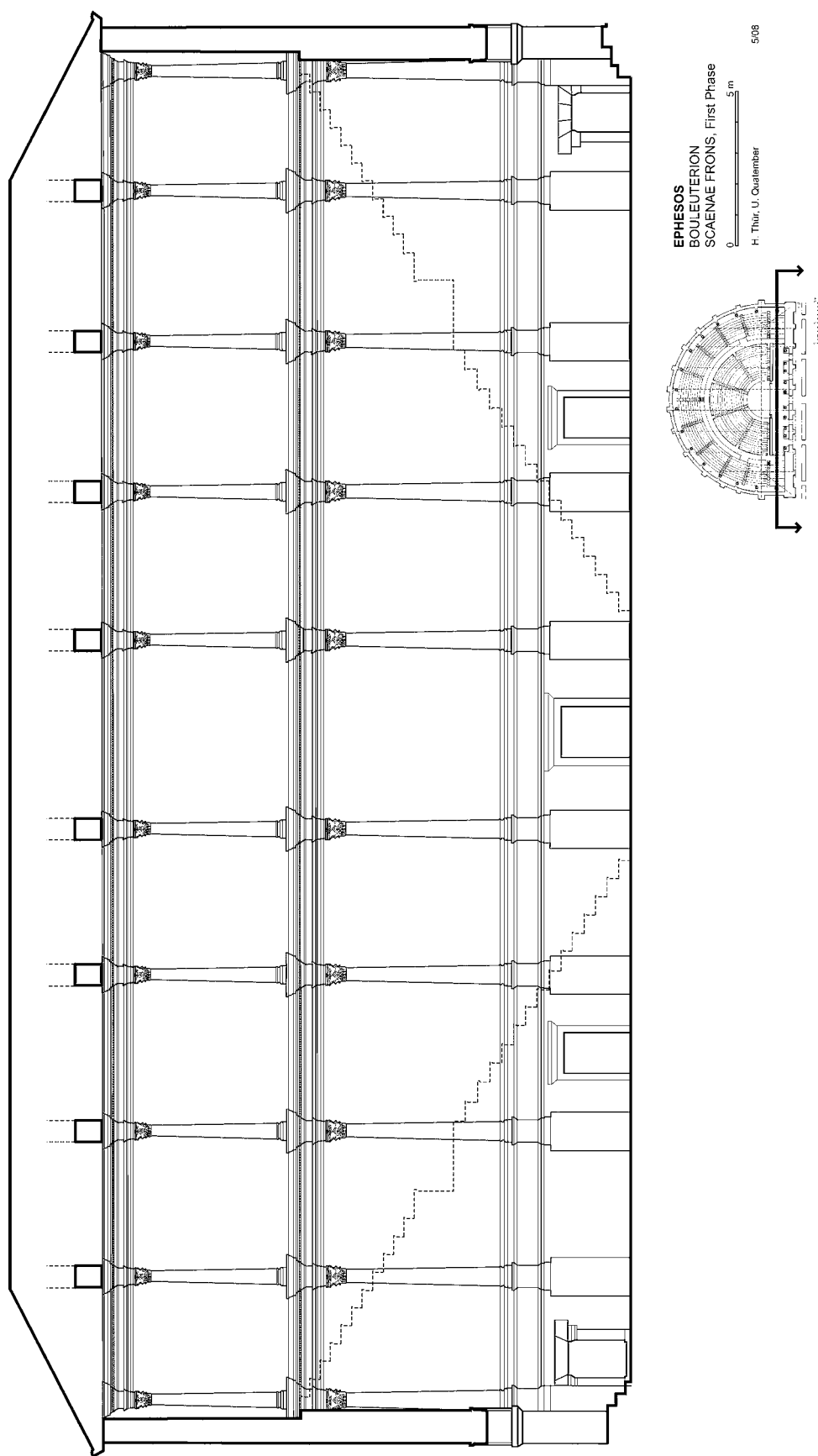
3 Vaulted door in west *parodos*



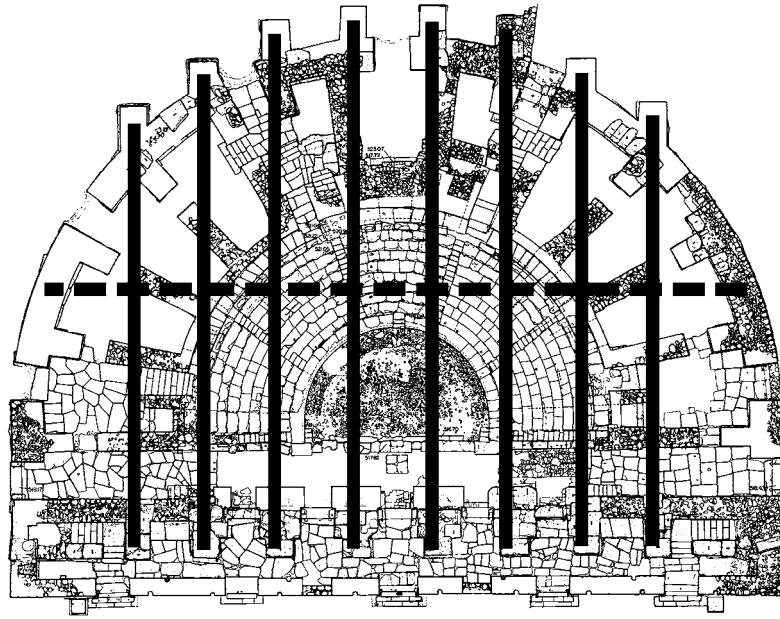
1 Trenches in the Basilica Stoa between 1963 and 1972 (detail)



2 W. Alzinger's reconstruction of a Hellenistic Bouleuterion and adjacent Stoa



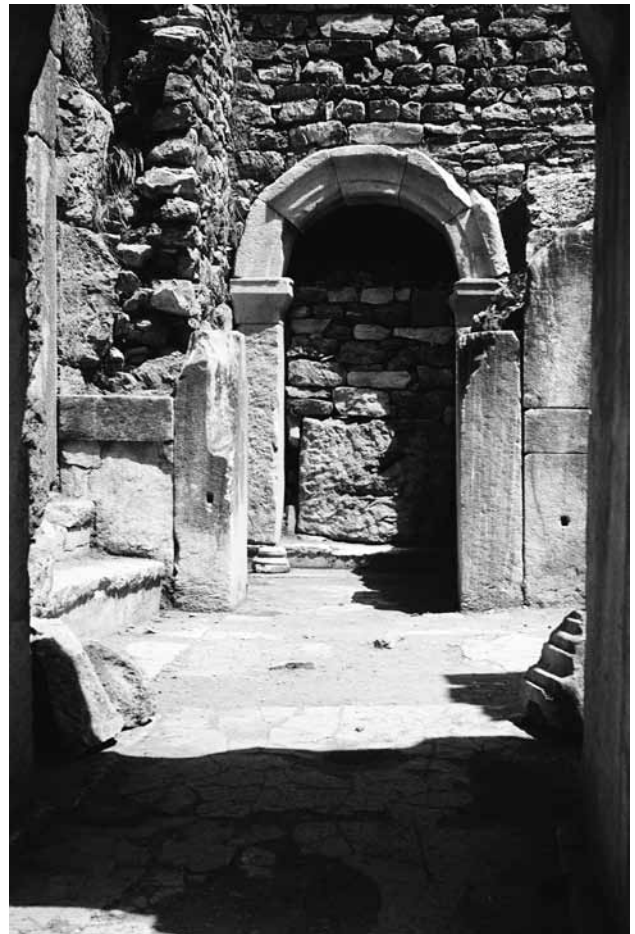
Reconstruction of the first building phase, scene wall



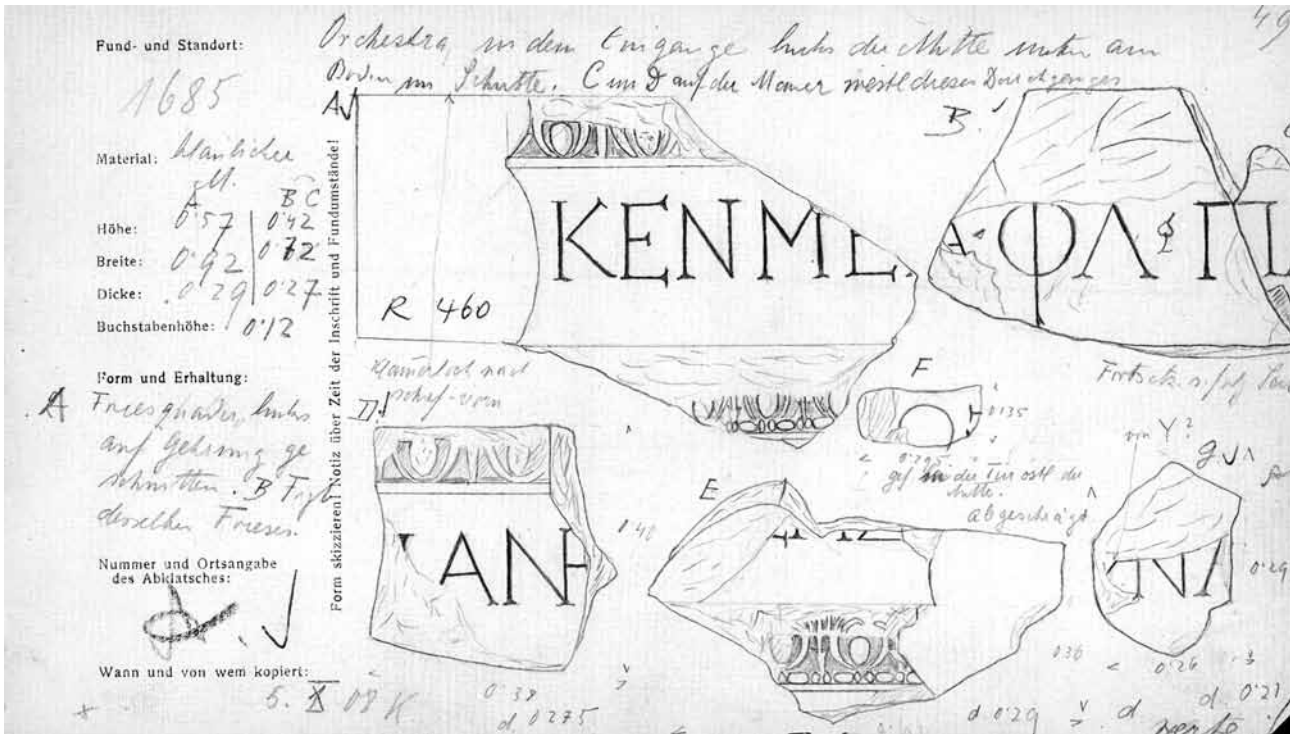
1 Reconstruction of the roofing system of the Bouleuterion in Aphrodisias (according to Meinel 1980)



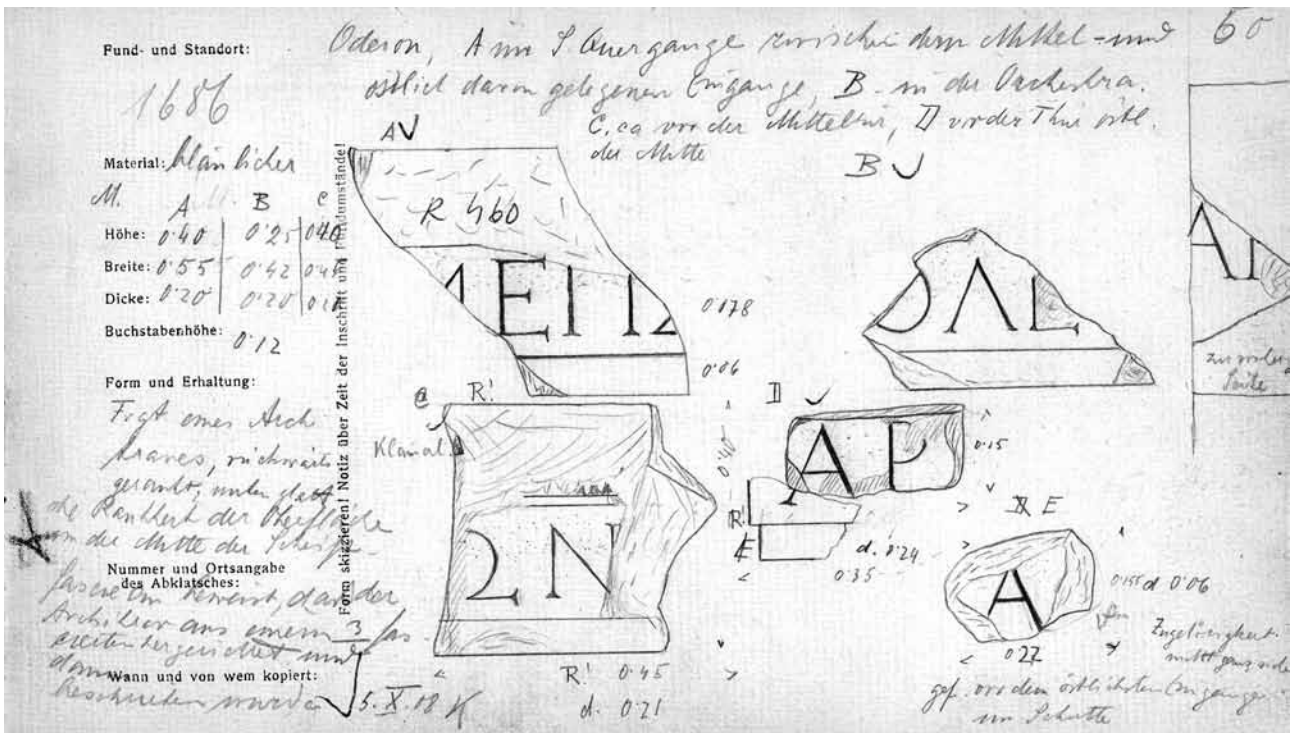
2 Blockage of western doorway between Bouleuterion and Rhodian Peristyle



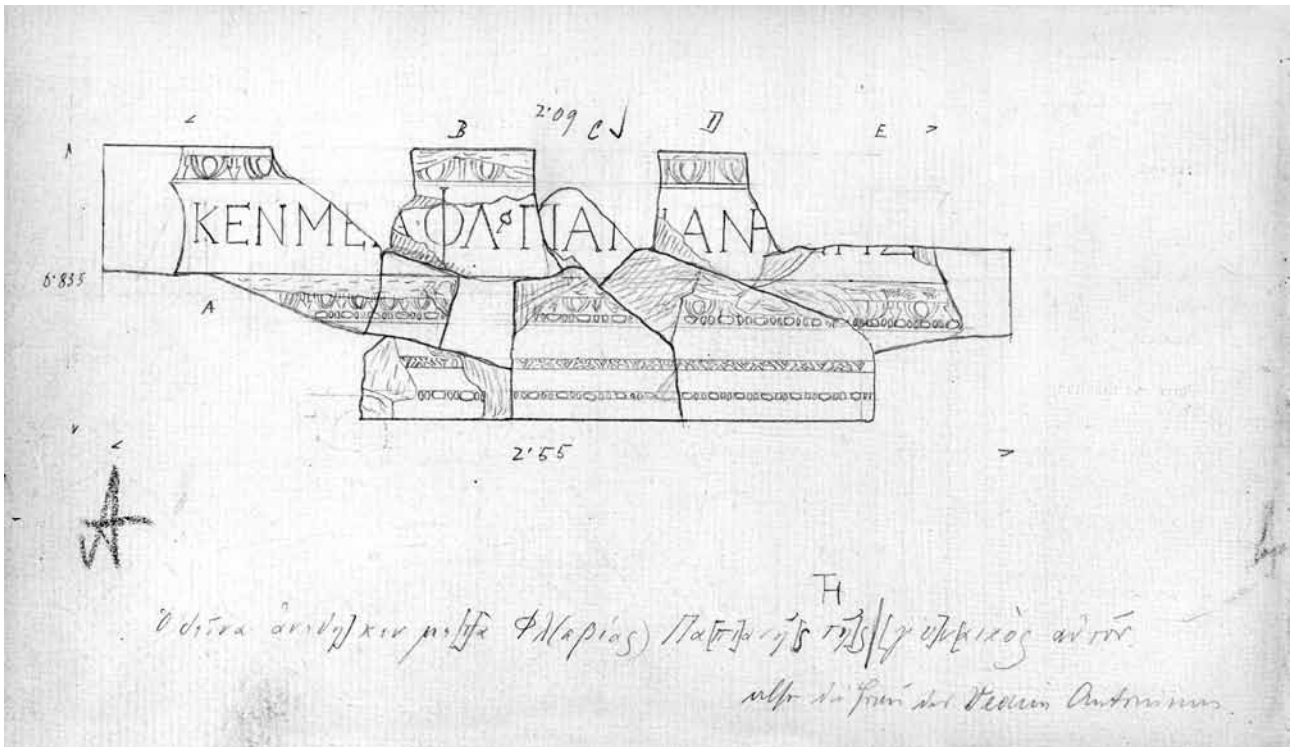
3 Blockage of doorway to west vomitorium



1 Skizzenbuch no. 1685



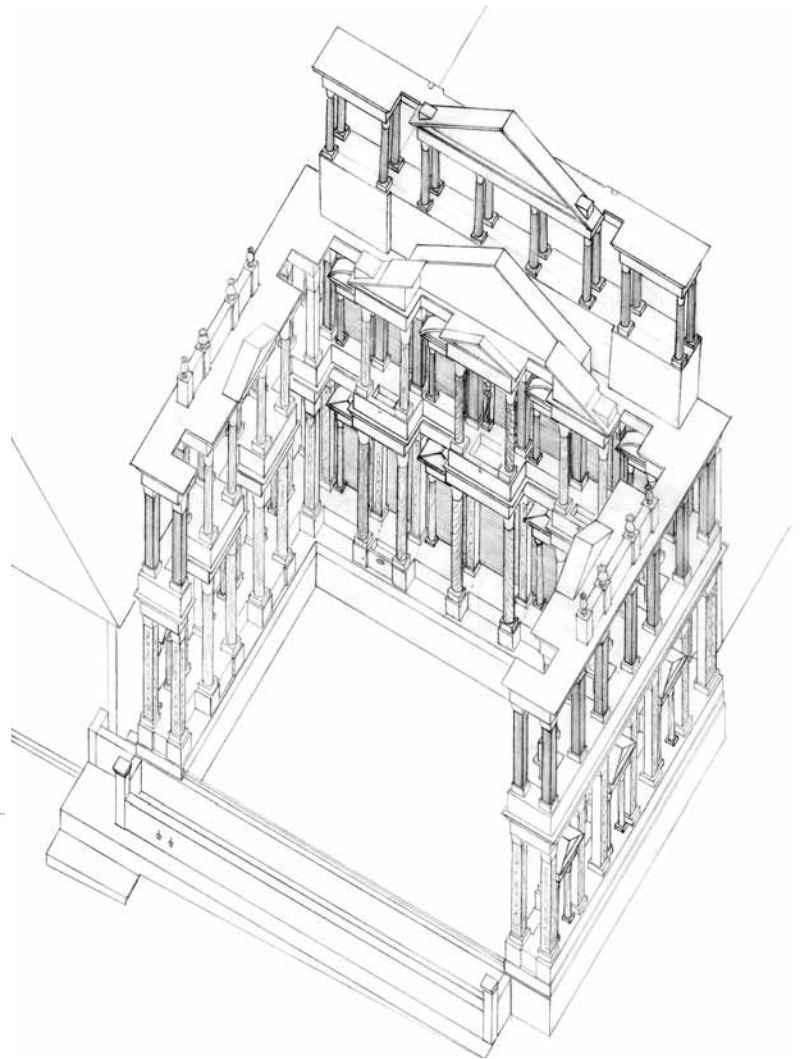
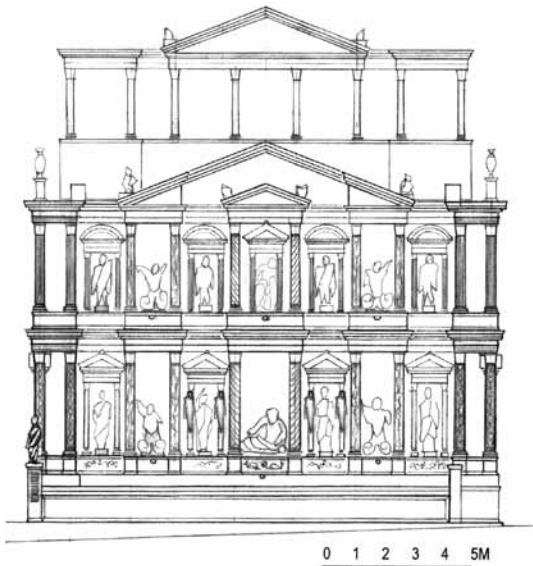
2 Skizzenbuch no. 1686



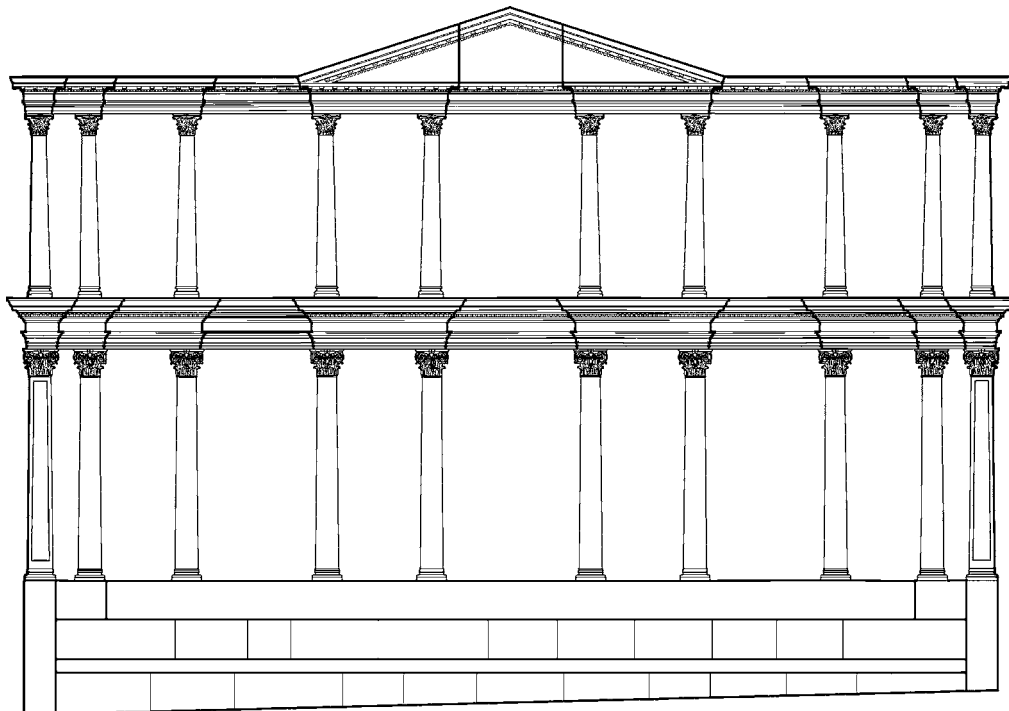
1 Skizzenbuch no. 1685, reverse



2 Skizzenbuch no. 1687



1 Ephesos, Nymphaeum of C. Laecanius Bassus (reconstruction by K. Jung)



2 Ephesos, Street Fountain on the road to the Magnesian Gate (reconstruction by U. Quatember)



1 Ephesos, Celsus Library



2 The so-called Kaisersaal in the Vedius Gymnasium (1927)



1 Entablature of the lower story in the "Kaisersaal"



2 The so-called Monopteros along the road to Magnesia during excavation in 1929



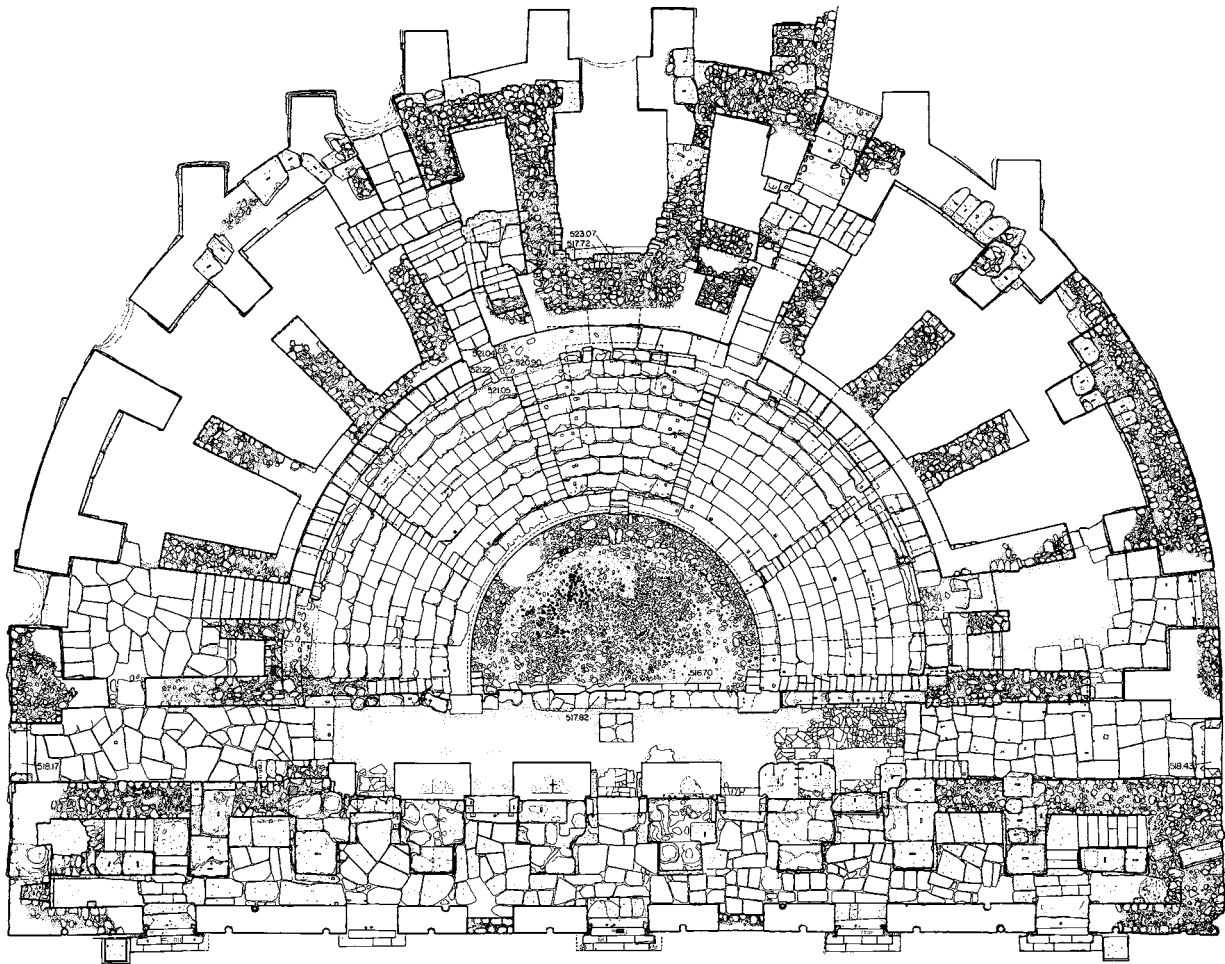
1 Entablature of the "Monopteros"



2 Capital from the "Monopteros"

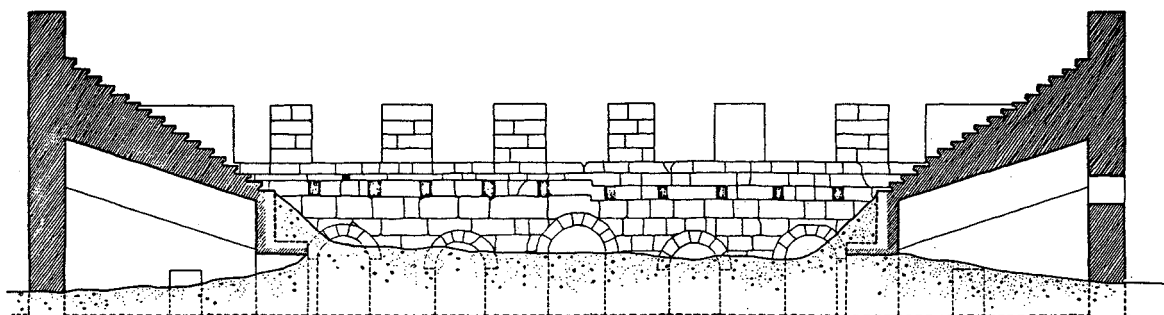
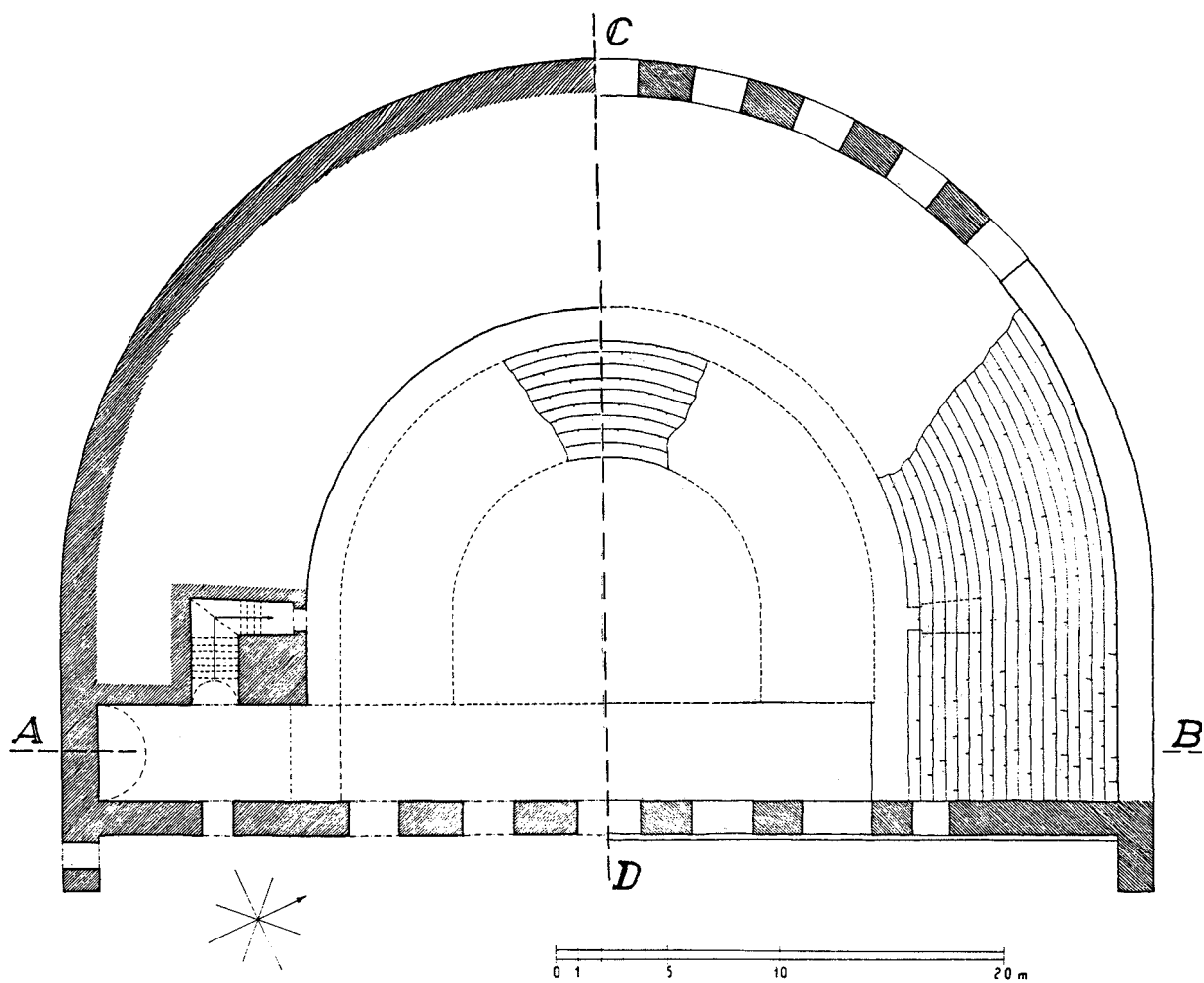


3 Capital from the so-called Serapeion

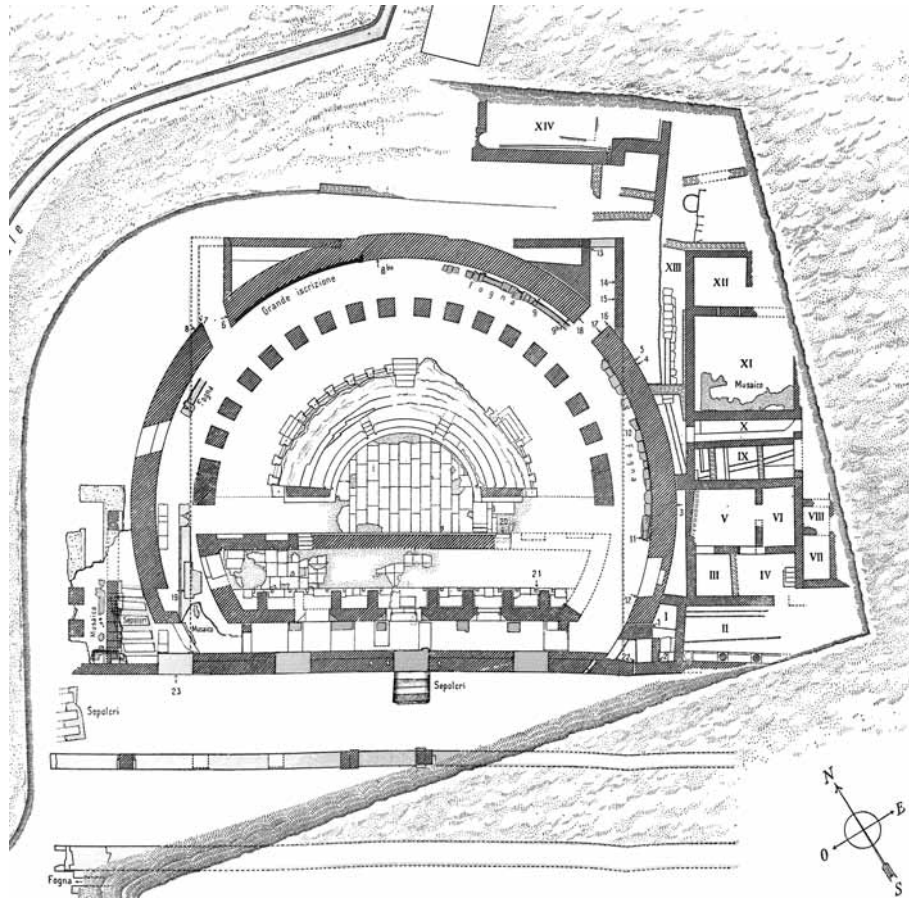


APHRODISIAS
BOUL 19
BOULEUTERION, PLAN
KEY
MORTAR, PLASTER
TILE, BRICK
TOPS OF WALLS RESTORED
DRAWN 1:50
SURVEYED AND DRAWN, L.B.E.R., 2000
REV. L.B., 2002

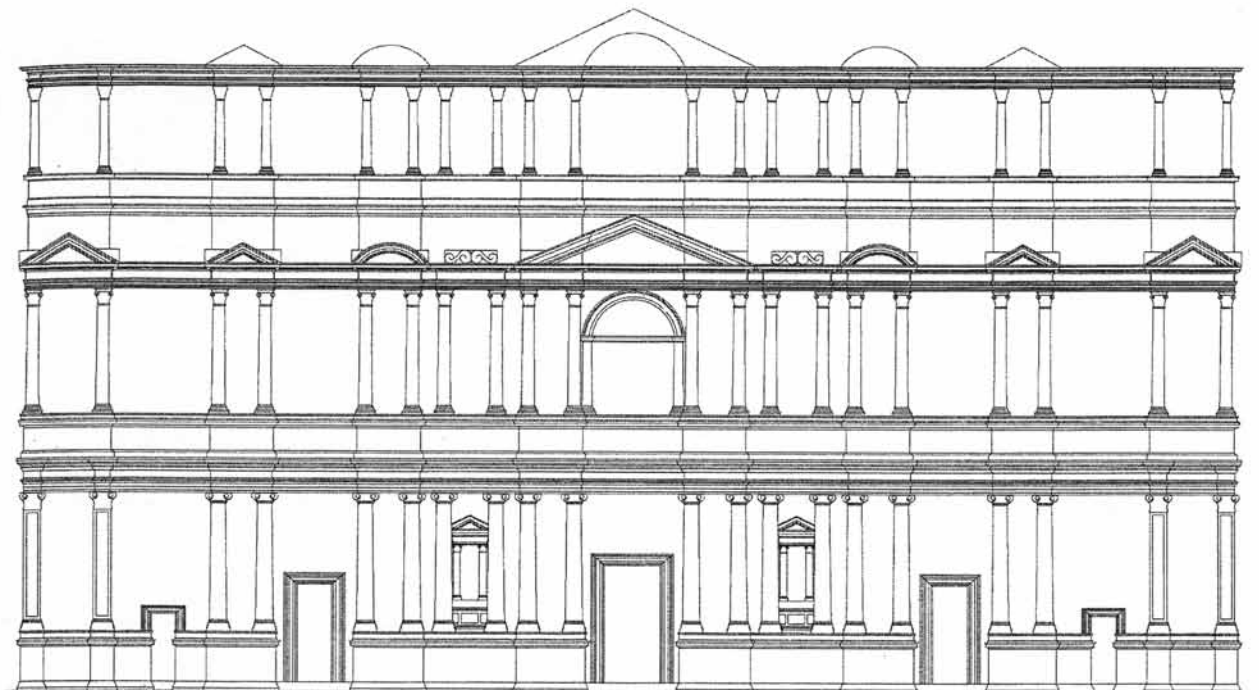
Plan of the Bouleuterion in Aphrodisias



Bouleuterion in Cibyra

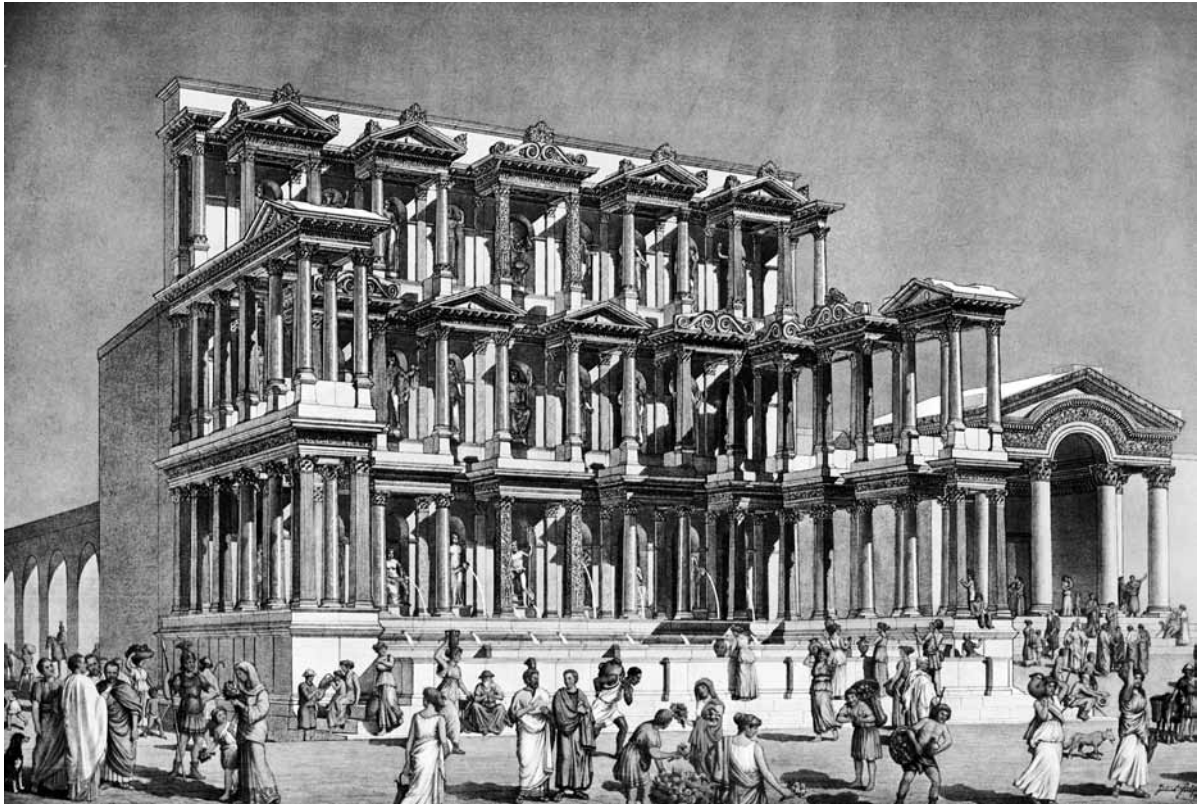


1 Odeion in Gortyn

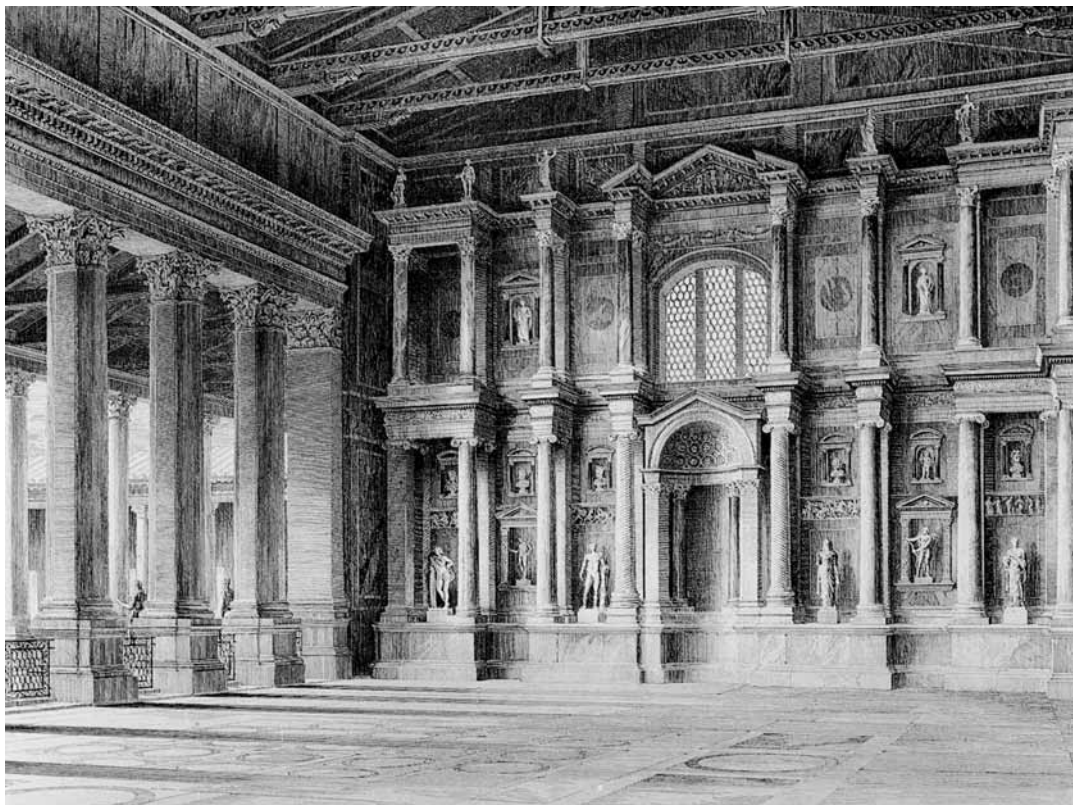


0 5 10 15m
 REKONSTRUKTION: Anzu Öztürk
 GEZEICHNET: İsmail Çokugras, Deniz Özkan

2 Ephesos, scaenae frons of the Great Theater (reconstruction by A. Öztürk)



1 Miletus, Nymphaeum (reconstruction by J. Hülsen)



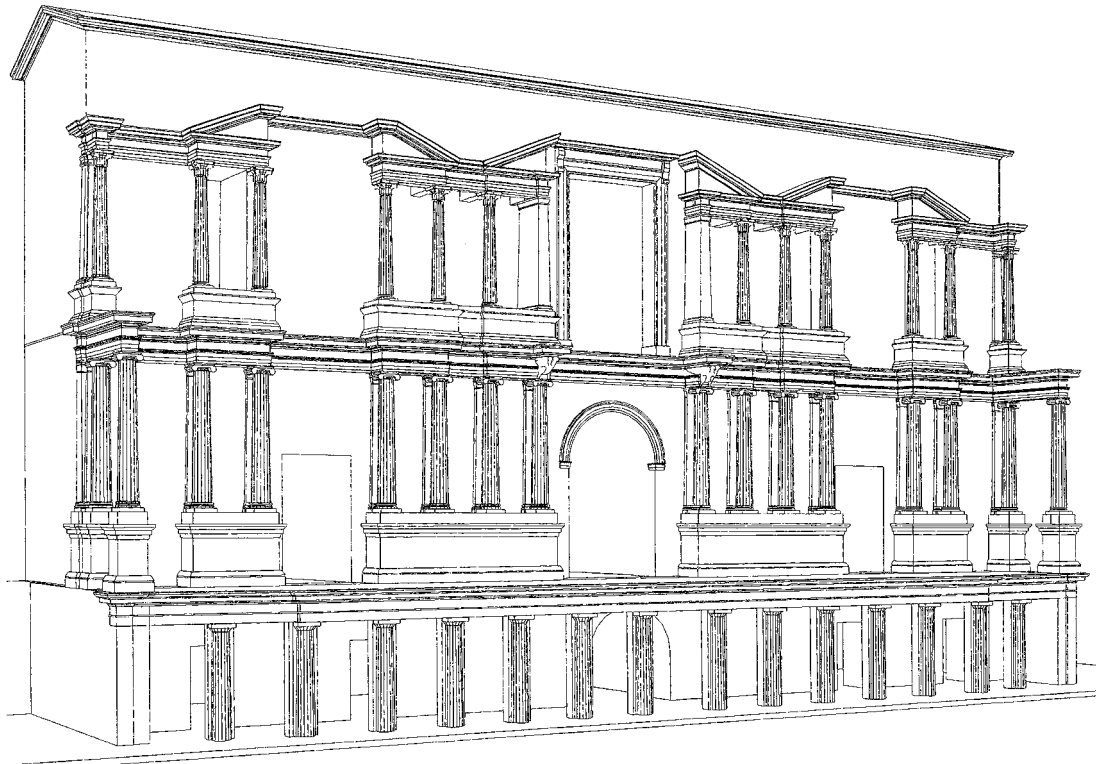
2 Ephesus, "Marmorsaal" in the Harbour Gymnasium (reconstruction by G. Niemann)



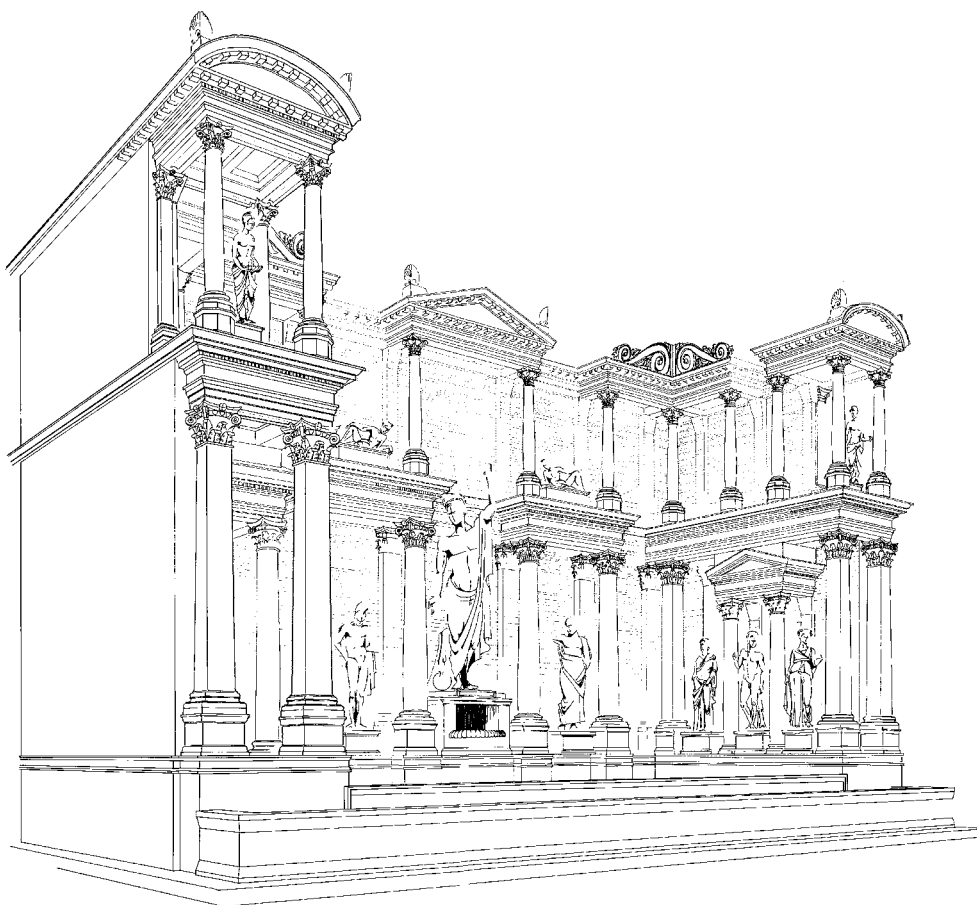
1 Masonry of the *scaenae frons* of the Great Theater in Ephesos



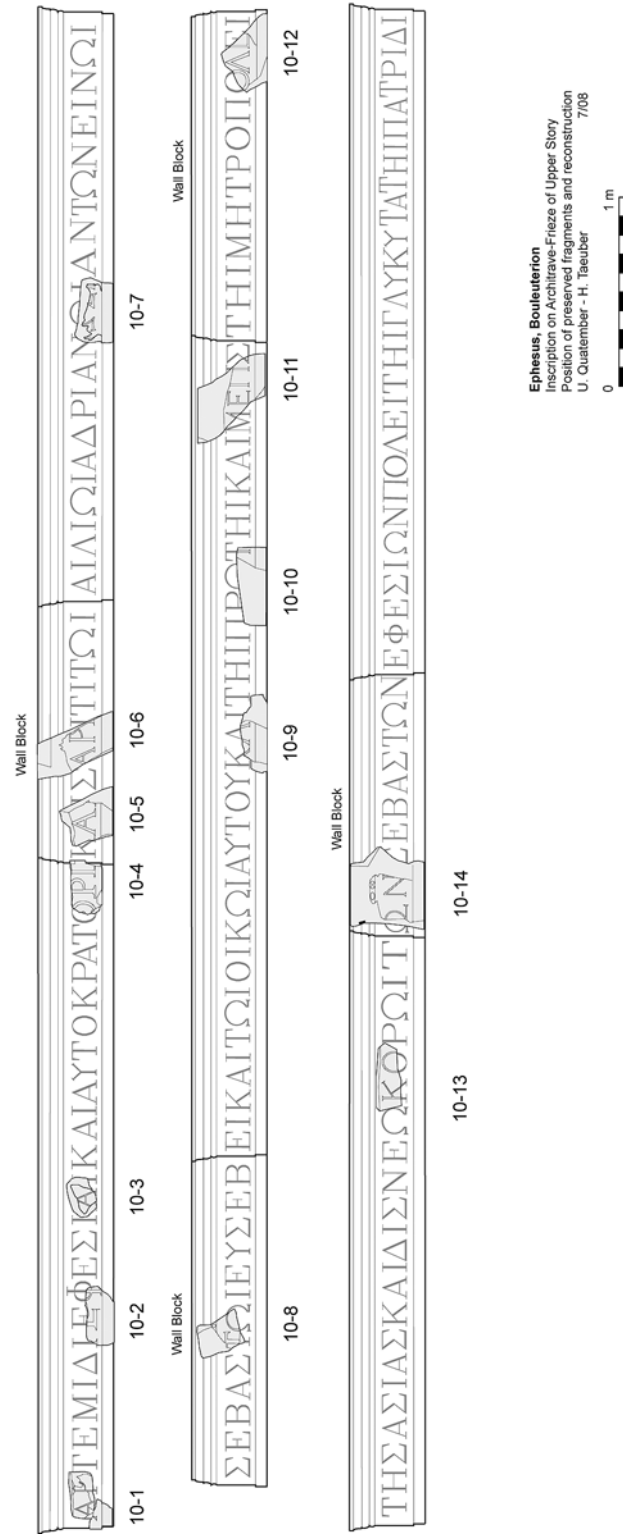
2 Masonry of the so-called Sockelbau



1 Aphrodisias, Great Theater (reconstruction by D. Theodorescu)

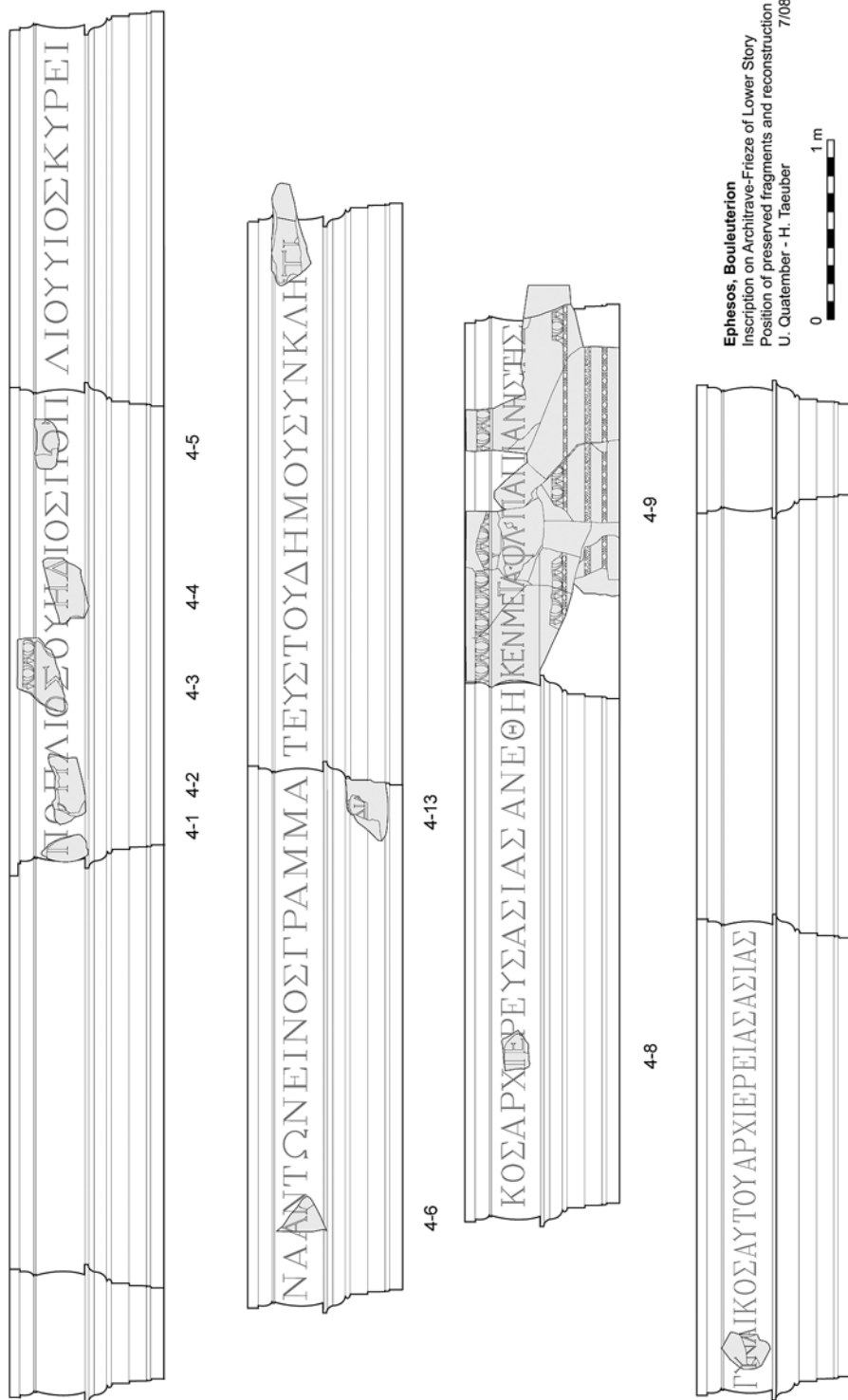


2 Ephesos, Nymphaeum Traiani (reconstruction by H. Pellionis)



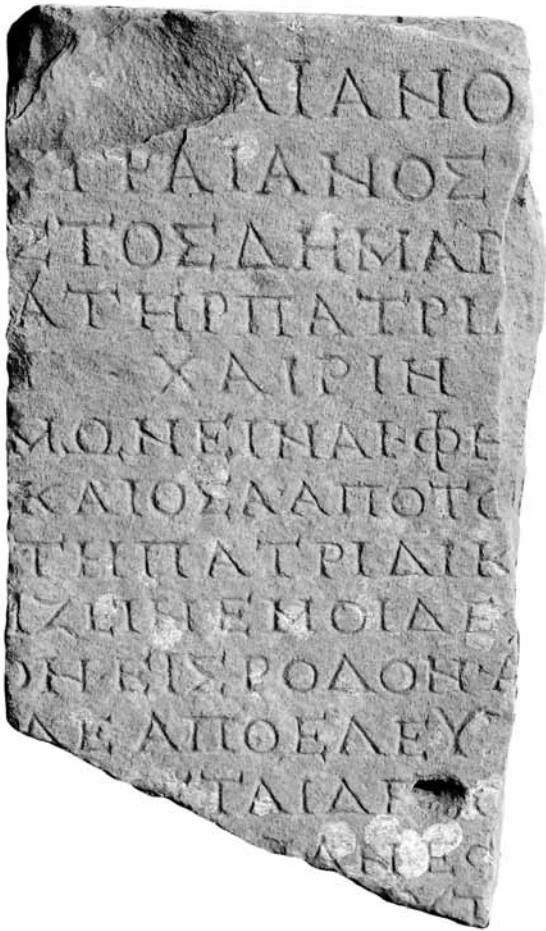
Ephesus, Bouleuterion
 Inscription on Architrave-Frieze of Upper Story
 Position of preserved fragments and reconstruction
 U. Quatember - H. Taeuber
 7/08

Inscription on architrave-frieze of upper story



Ephesos, Bouleuterion
 Inscription on Architrave-Frieze of Lower Story
 Position of preserved fragments and reconstruction
 U. Quatember - H. Taeuber
 7/08

4-10
 Inscription on lower story architrave-frieze: Reconstruction and position of fragments (inscr. 2) and position of fragment 4-13 (inscr. 3)



fragment A



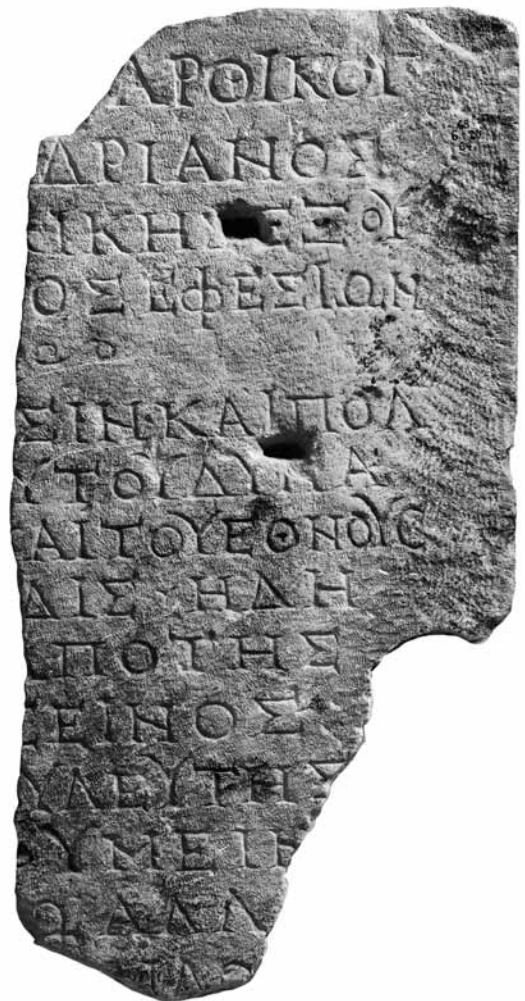
fragment B 1



fragment B 2



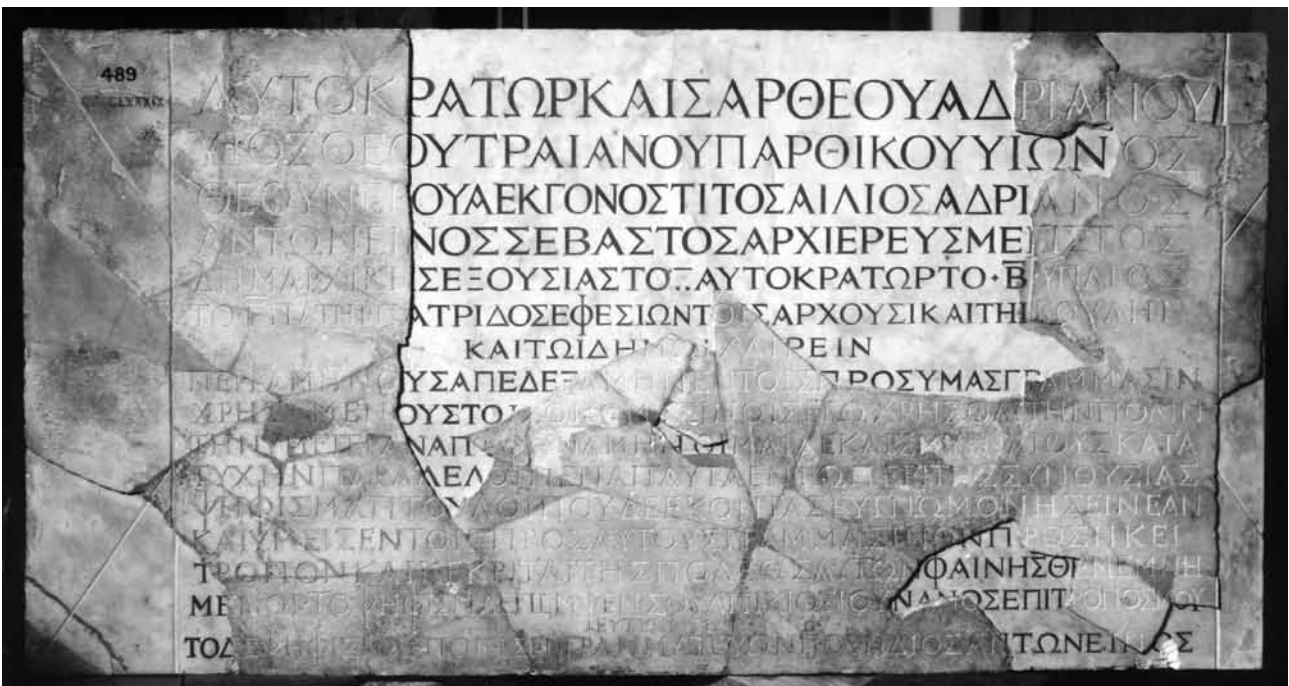
fragment B 3



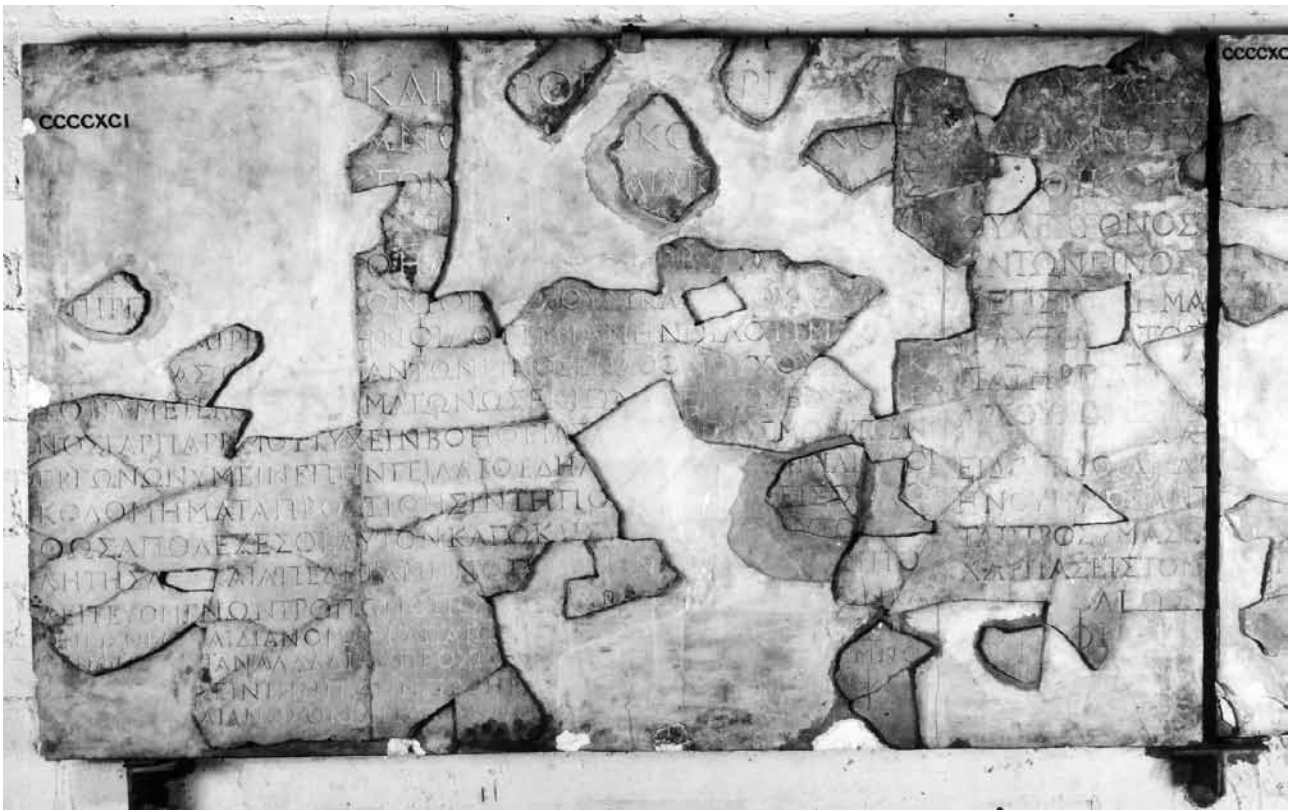
fragment D



1 Letter of Hadrian to Ephesos regarding the captain L. Erastus (inscr. 5)



2 Letter of Antoninus Pius to the Ephesians concerning the conflict over honorary city titles (inscr. 6)



1 Letter of Antoninus Pius to the Demos of Ephesos concerning building activities of Vedius Antoninus (inscr. 7)



2 Letter of Antoninus Pius in acknowledgement of a decree of the Ephesians respecting Vedius Antoninus (inscr. 8)



1 Letter of Antoninus Pius (inscr. 9)



2 Honorary inscription for Hadrian (inscr. 10)



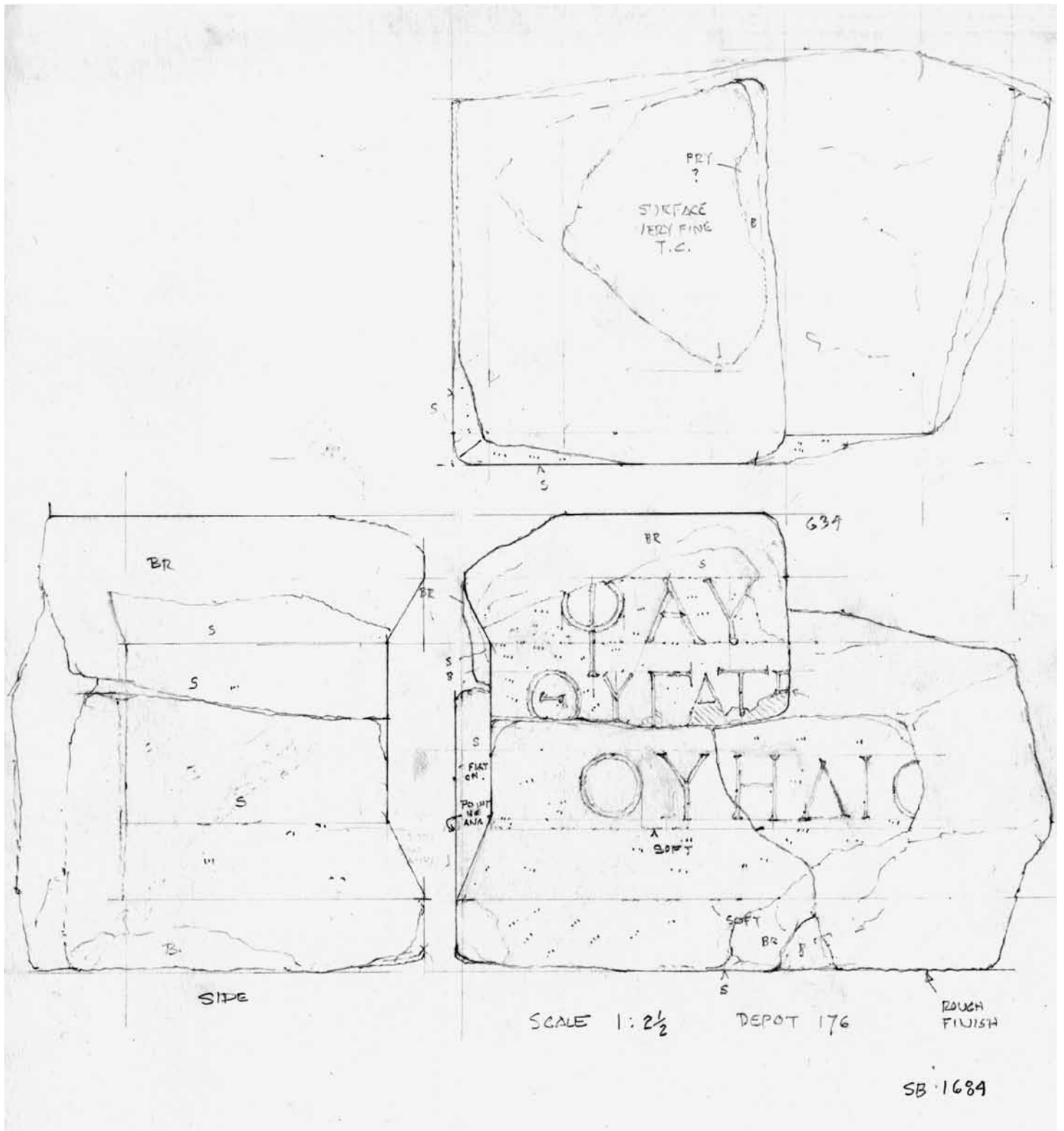
Portrait statue of Lucius Verus, British Museum (sculp. 1.1; inscr.11)



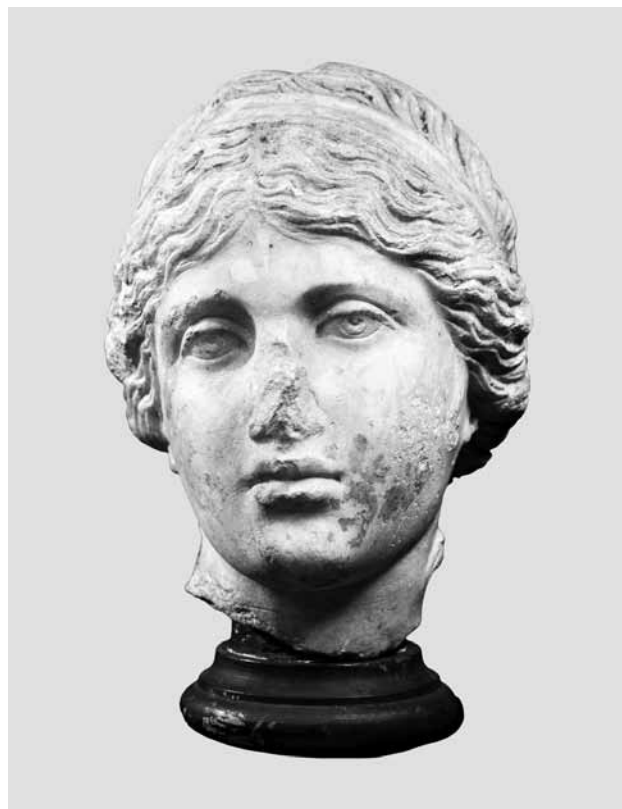
1 Statue base of Marcus Aurelius, sketch by J. T. Wood (sculp. 1.2; inscr. 12)



2 Statue base of Demos, Efes Müzesi, Selçuk, sketch by J. Keil (sculp. 1.6; inscr. 14)



Statue base of Faustina, Efes Müzesi, Selçuk, drawn by L. Bier (sculp. 1.3; inscr. 13)



Portrait of a girl, Archaeological Museum, İstanbul (sculp. 1.4)



1 Portrait of a girl, İstanbul (sculp. 1.4)



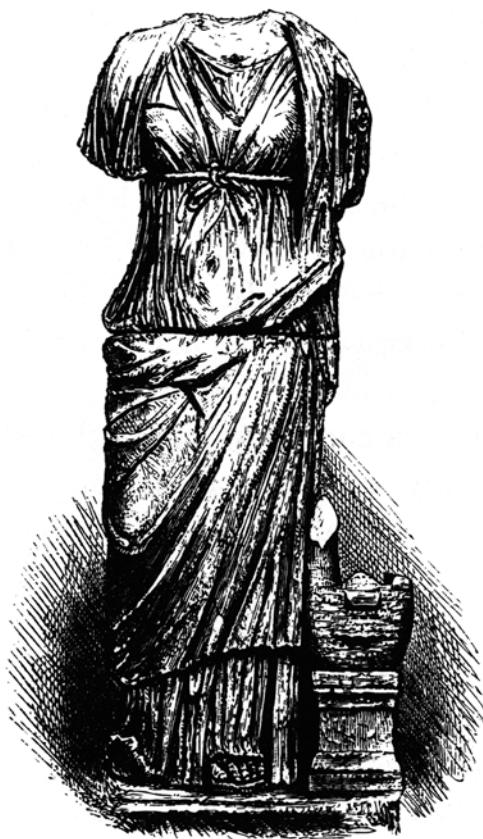
2 Fragment of a male head, Selçuk (sculp. 2.4)



3 Torso of a Silenus, British Museum (sculp. 2.3)



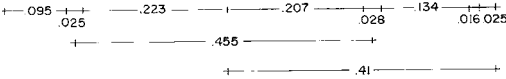
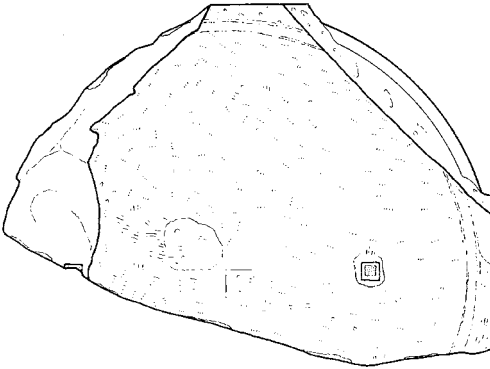
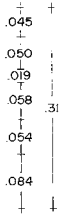
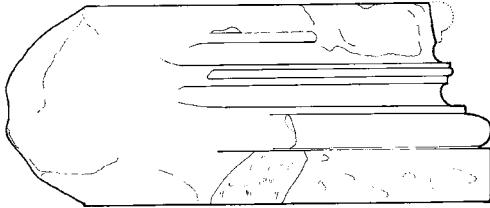
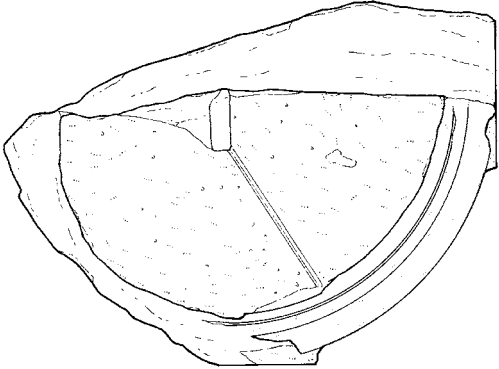
4 Statue of a Muse, Ermoupoli, Archaeological Museum (sculp. 2.1)



Engraving by J. T. Wood



Statue of a Muse, Ermoupoli, Archaeological Museum (sculp. 2.1)



Column base (cat. 1-1)



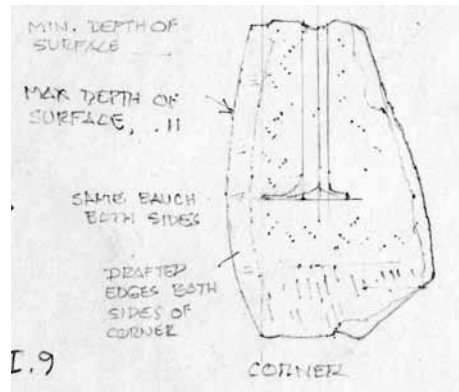
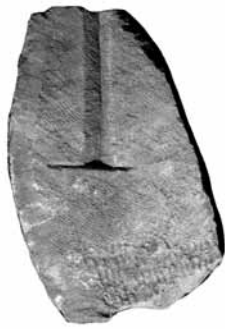
1 Column shafts (level 2), nowadays displayed in the Basilica Stoa



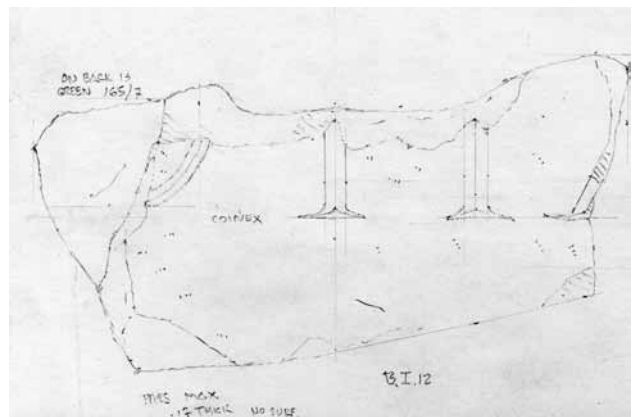
2 Column shafts (level 2) on the "Staatsmarkt"



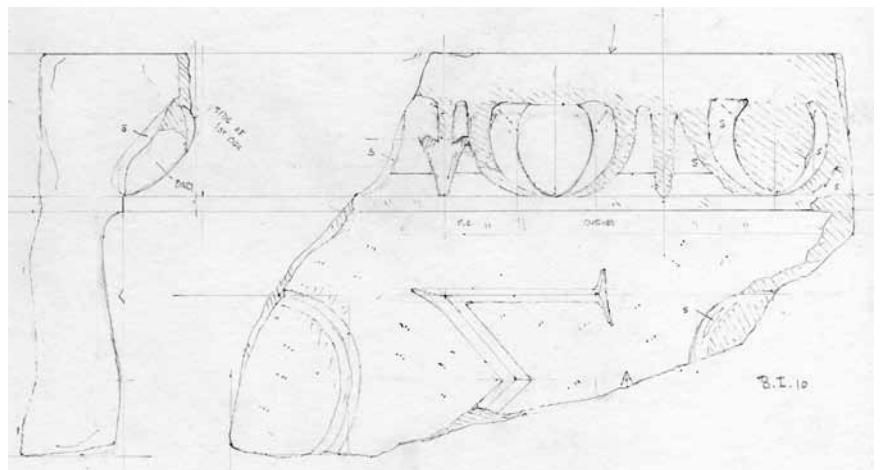
Column capital (cat. 3-1)



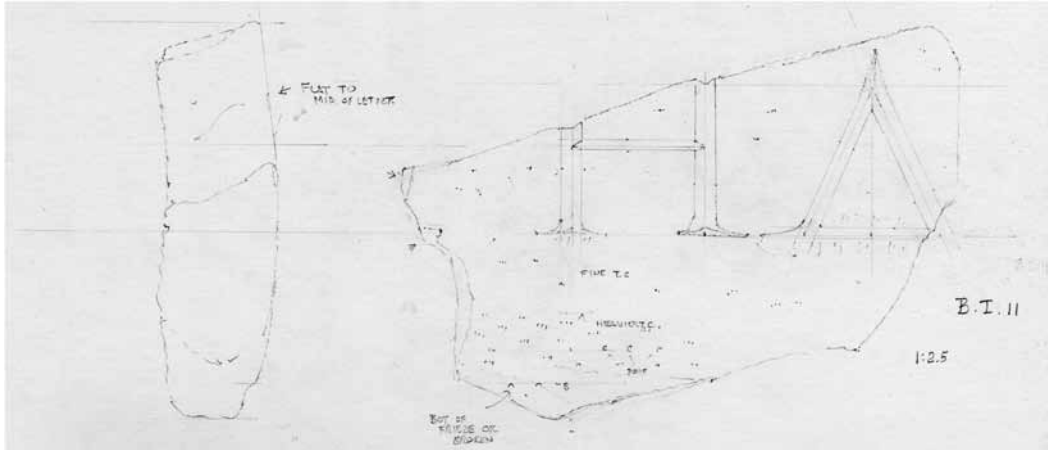
1 Architrave-frieze of lower story, cat. 4-1



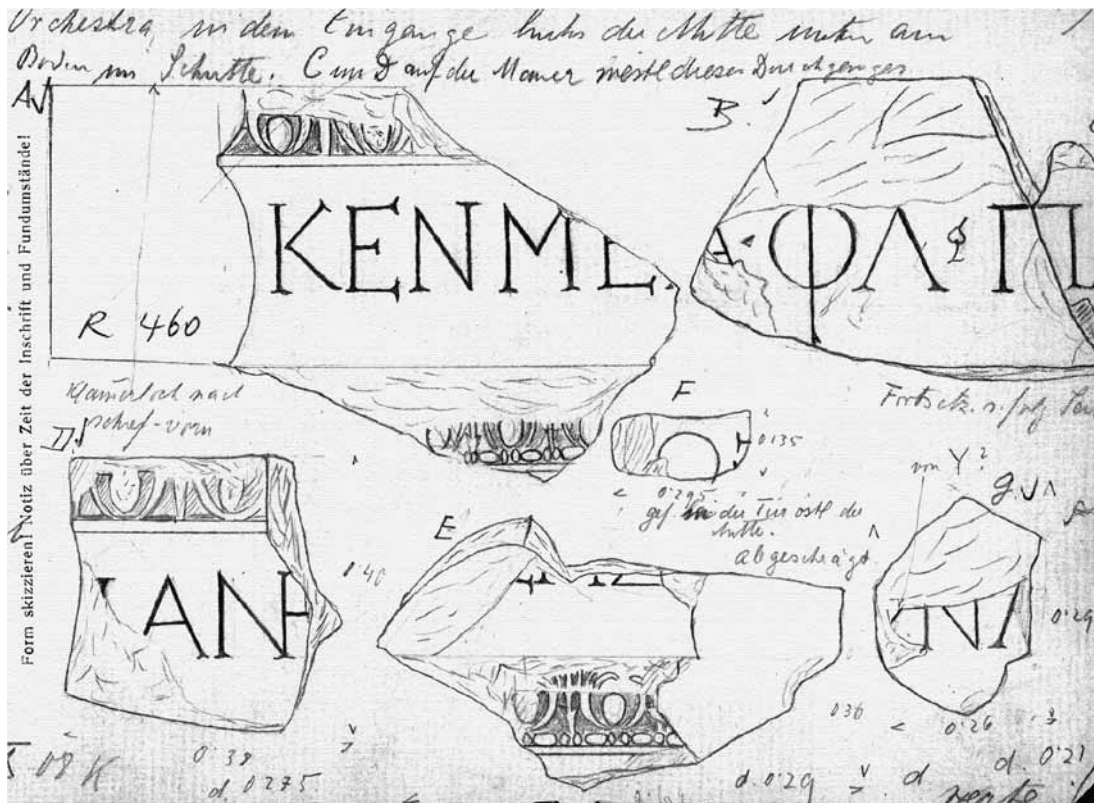
2 Architrave-frieze of lower story, cat. 4-2



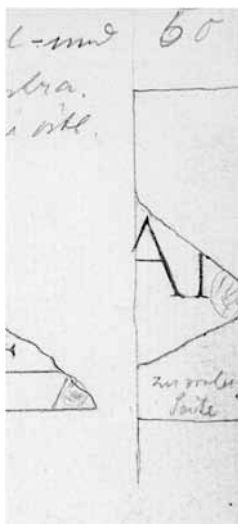
3 Architrave-frieze of lower story, cat. 4-3



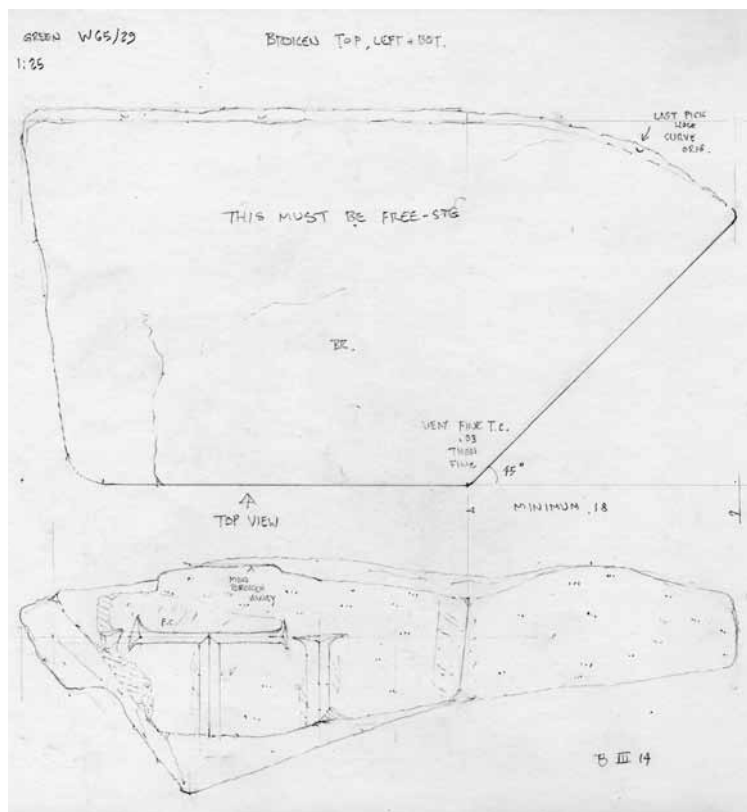
1 Architrave-frieze of lower story, cat. 4-4



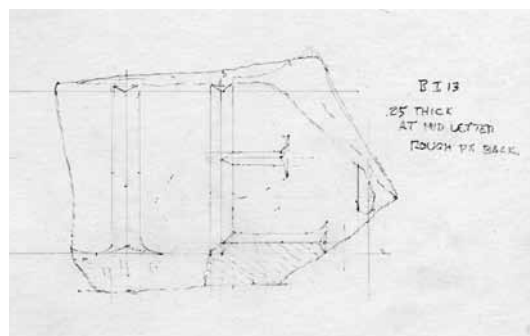
2 Architrave-frieze of lower story, cat. 4-5, cat. 4-10 and various fragments of cat. 4-9 depicted on Skizzenbuch 1685



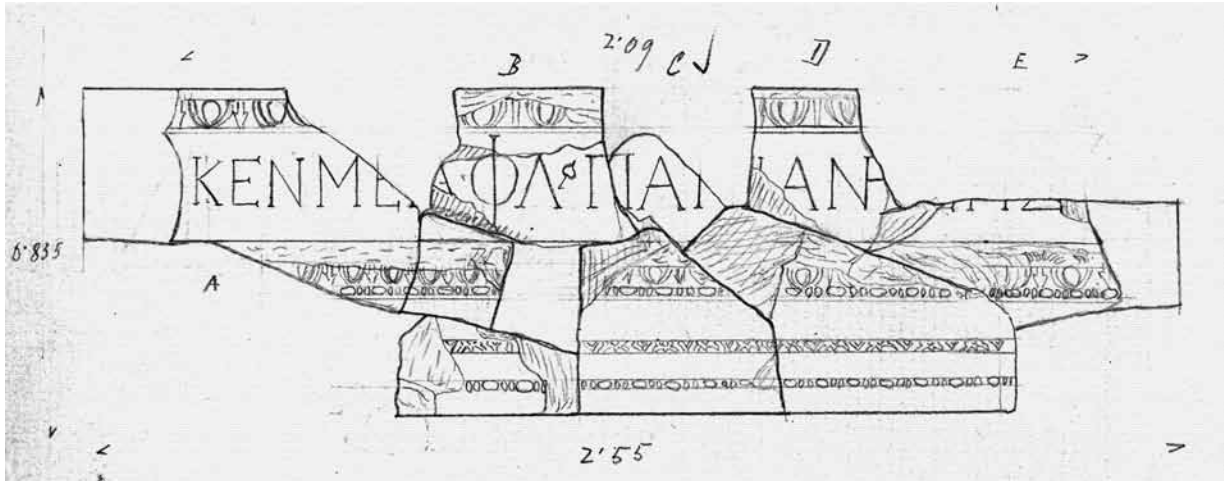
1 Cat. 4.6



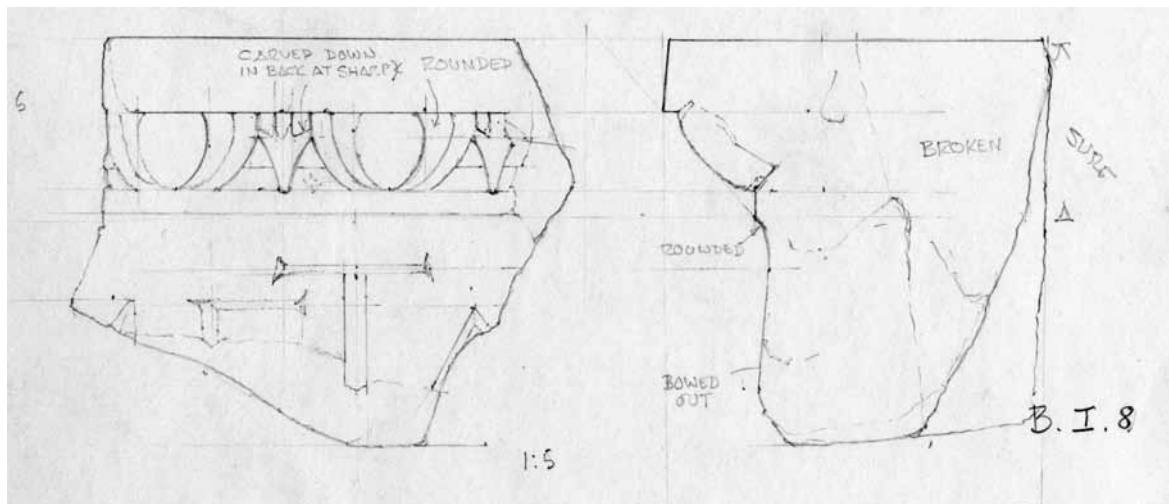
2 Architrave-frieze of lower story, cat. 4-7



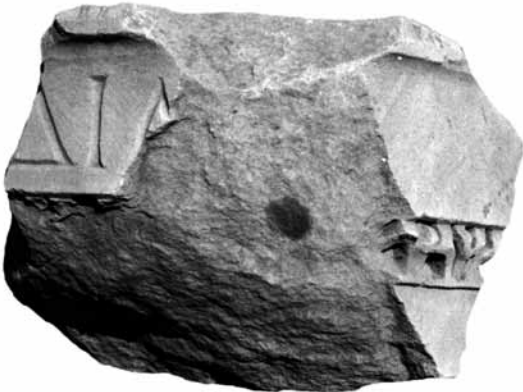
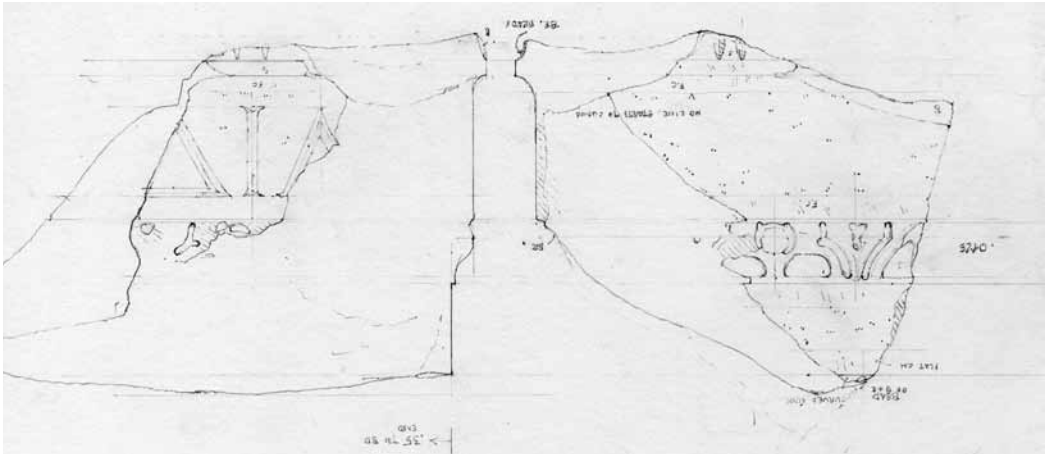
3 Architrave-frieze of lower story, cat. 4-8



1 Architrave-frieze of lower story, fragments of block 4-9, after Skizzenbuch no. 1685, reverse



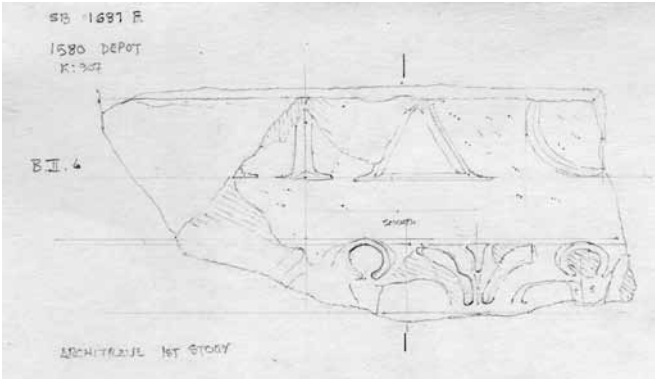
2 Fragment W/66/5 belonging to block 4-9, found in 1966



1 Cat. 4-13

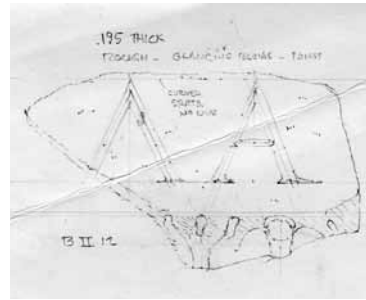


2 Cat. 4-14

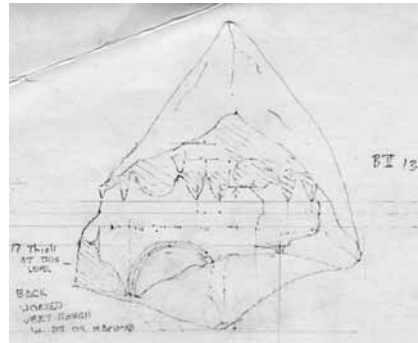




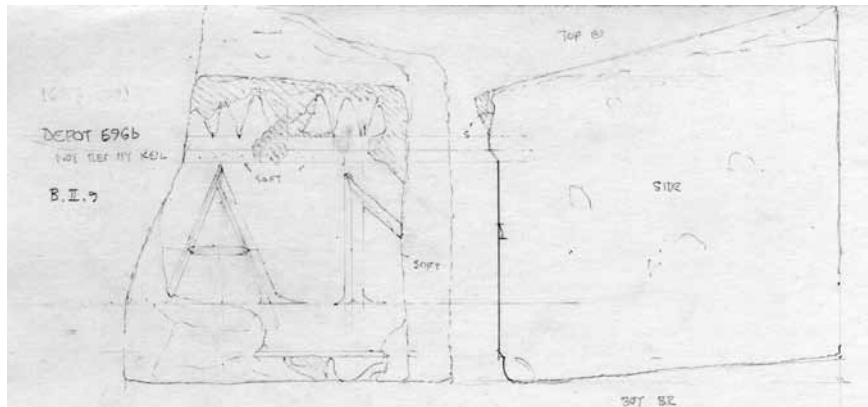
1 Cat. 4-15



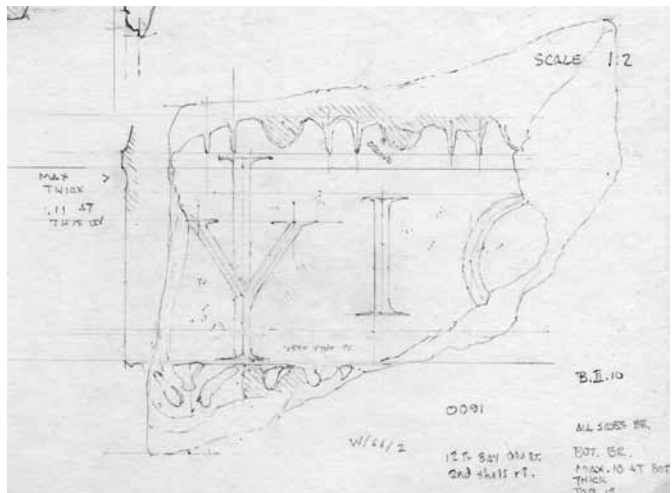
2 Cat.4-17

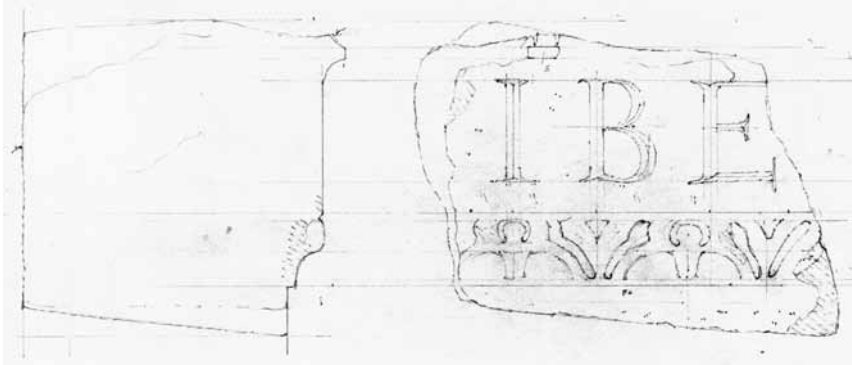


3 Cat. 4-18

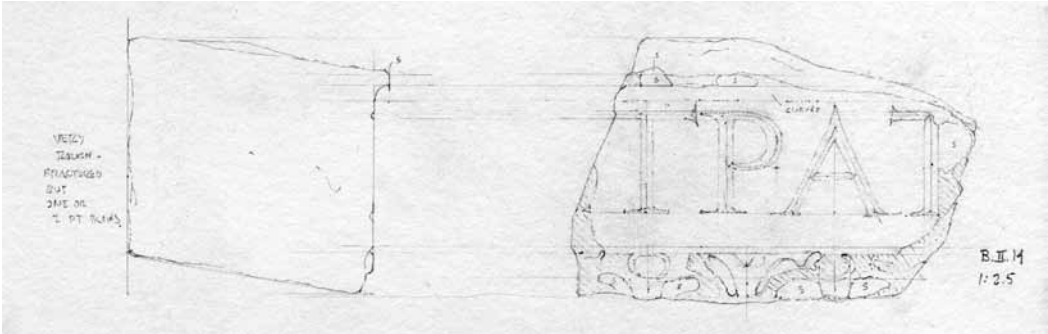


4 Cat. 4-19

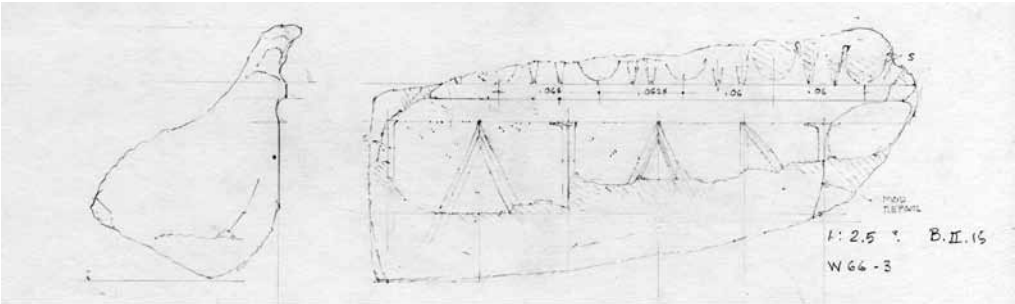




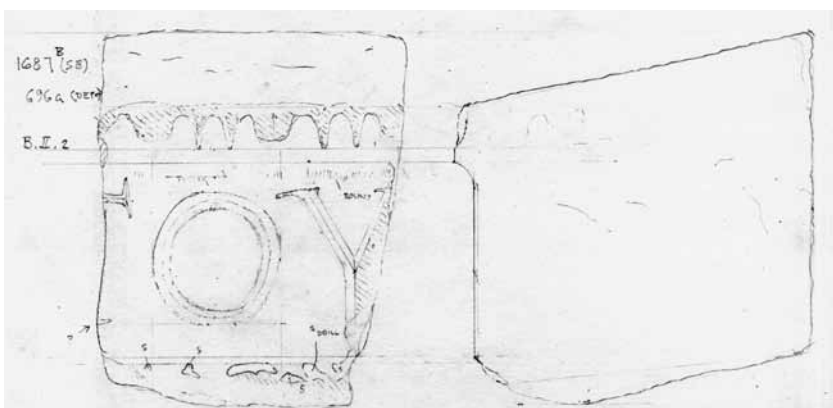
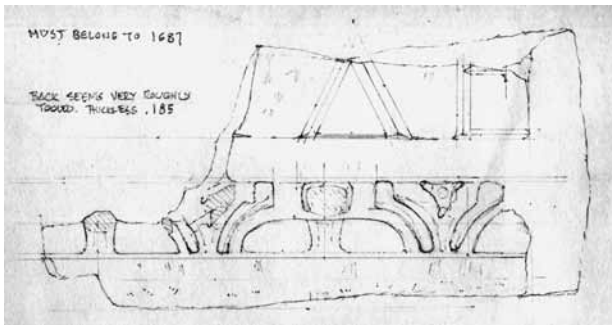
1 Cat.4-20



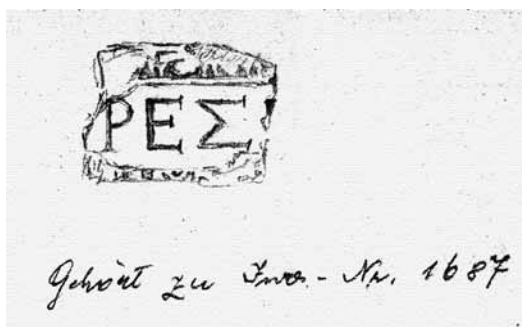
2 Cat. 4-21



3 Cat. 4-22



1 Cat. 4-23



2 Cat. 4-24



3 Column capital (cat. 9-1)

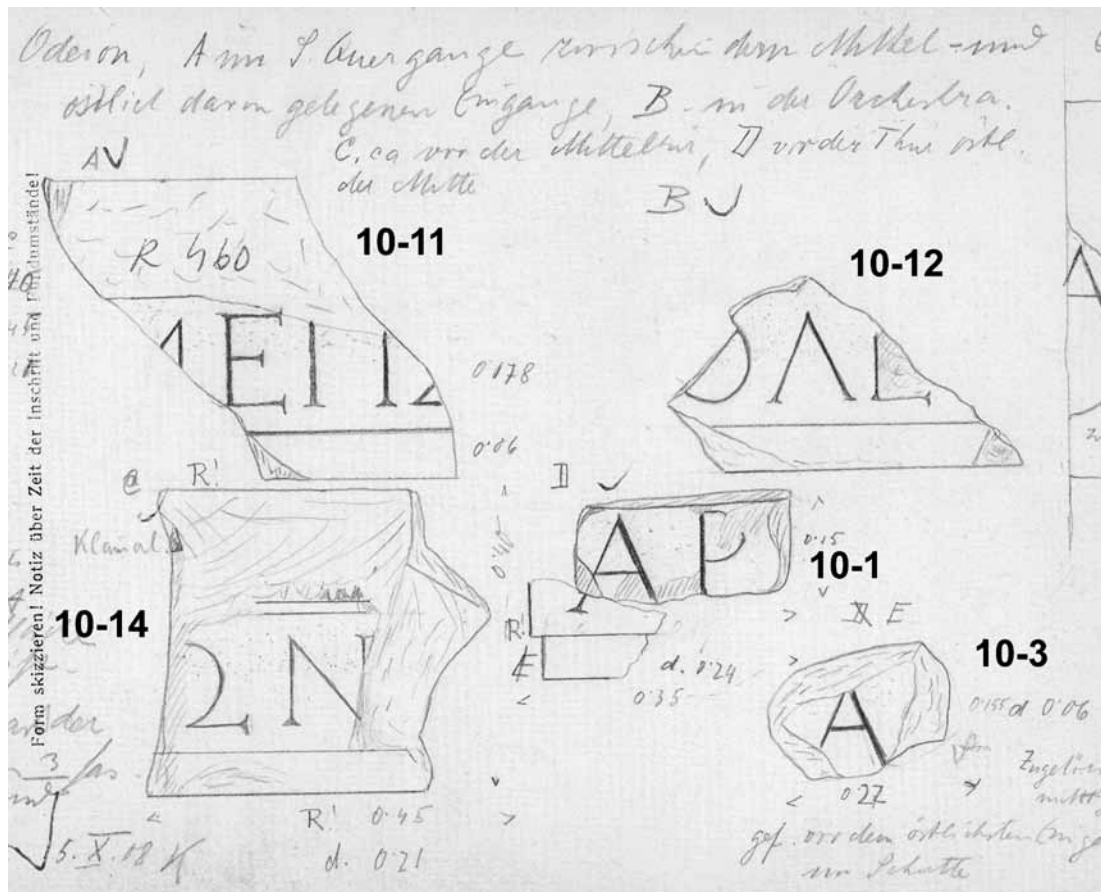


1 Column capital (cat. 9-1)

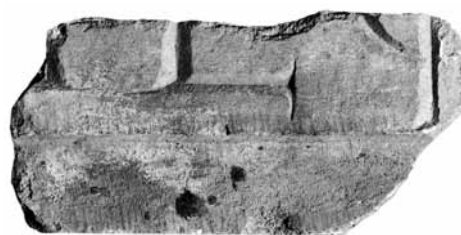
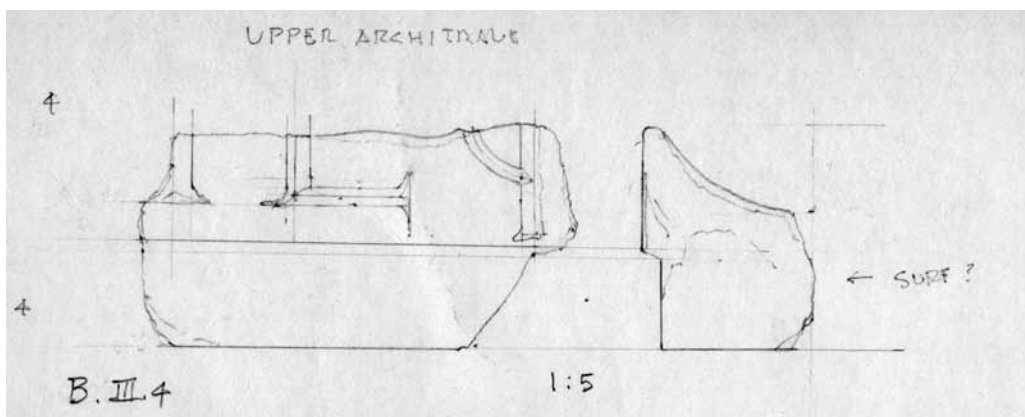


2 Column capital (cat. 9-2)

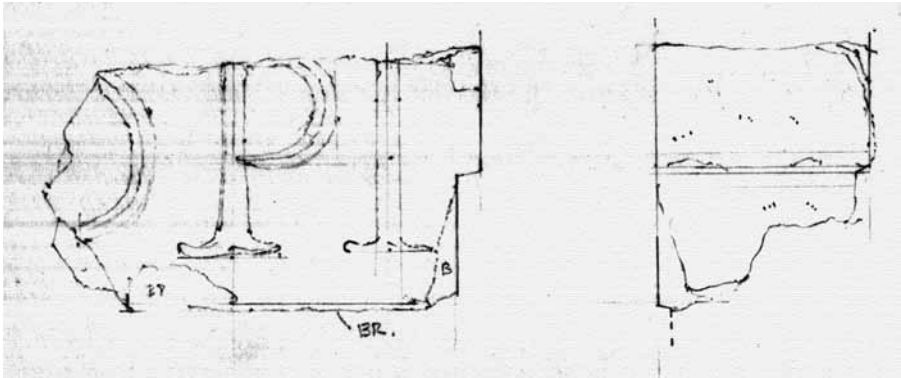




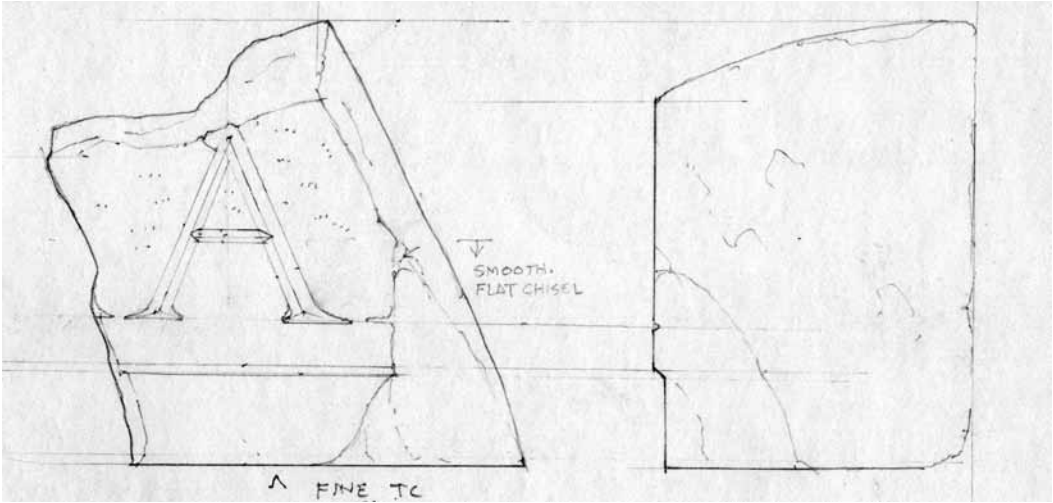
1 Several fragments of the inscription on the upper fascia of the upper story, after Skizzenbuch no. 1686



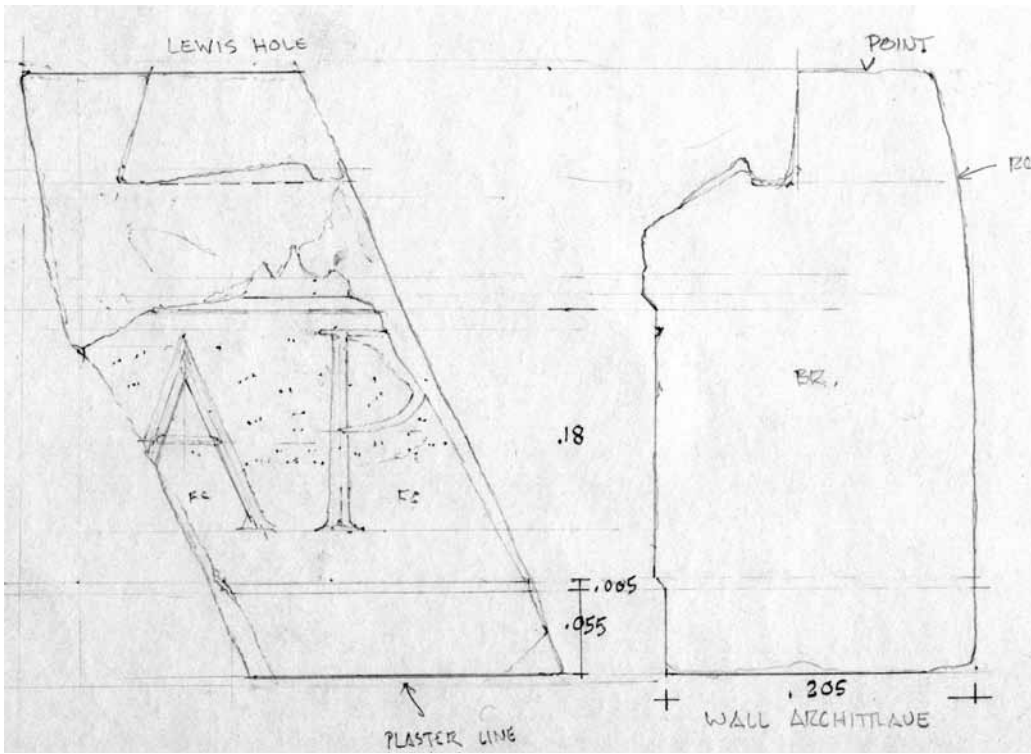
2 Architrave of the upper story, fragment 10-2



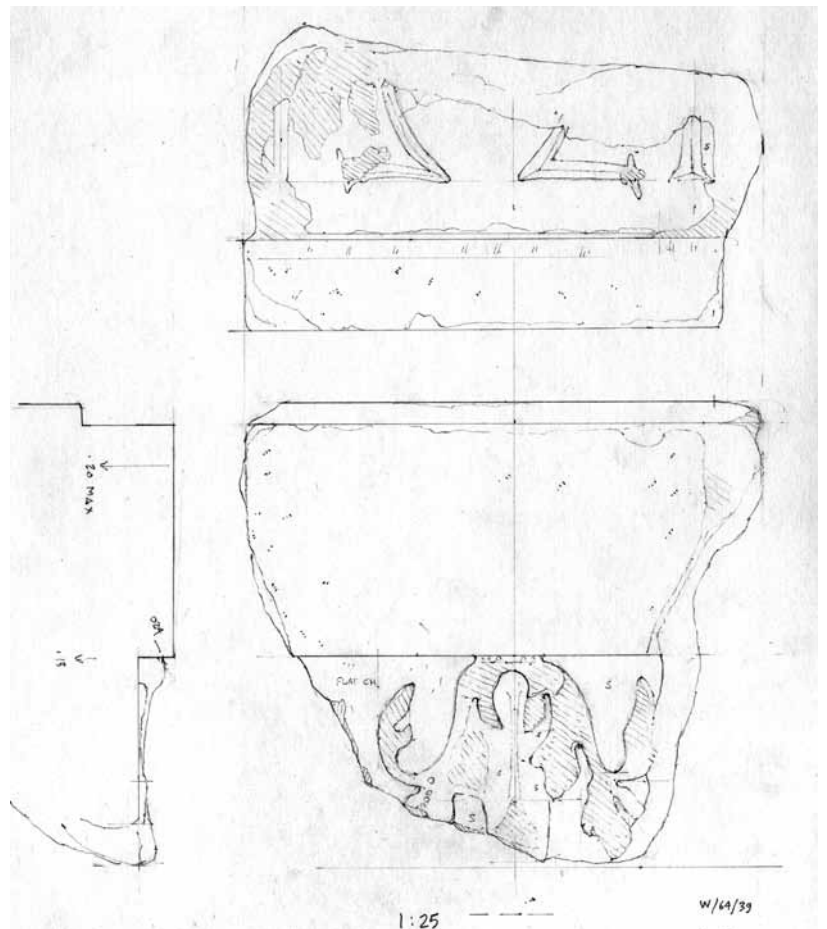
1 Architrave of upper story, cat. 10-4



2 Architrave of upper story, cat. 10-5



1 Architrave of the upper story, cat. 10-6



2 Architrave of the upper story, cat. 10-7



1 Architrave of the upper story, cat. 10-7

Fund- und Standort: A Bei den gemauerten Substruktionen südlich des Tempelfundamentes vor dem Odeon. B ca 20 Schritte östlich der P.O Ecke des Odeons auf dem Felsbänne.

1725

Material: Marmor

	A	B
Höhe:	0,19	0,195
Breite:	0,37	0,48
Dicke:	0,3	0,31
Buchstabenhöhe:	ca 0,03	

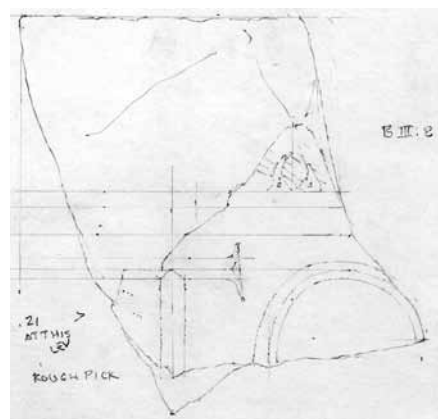
Form und Erhaltung:
 Fragm. einer architravenartigen Platte auf der Vorderseite

Form skizzieren! Notiz über Zeit der Inschrift und Fundumstände!

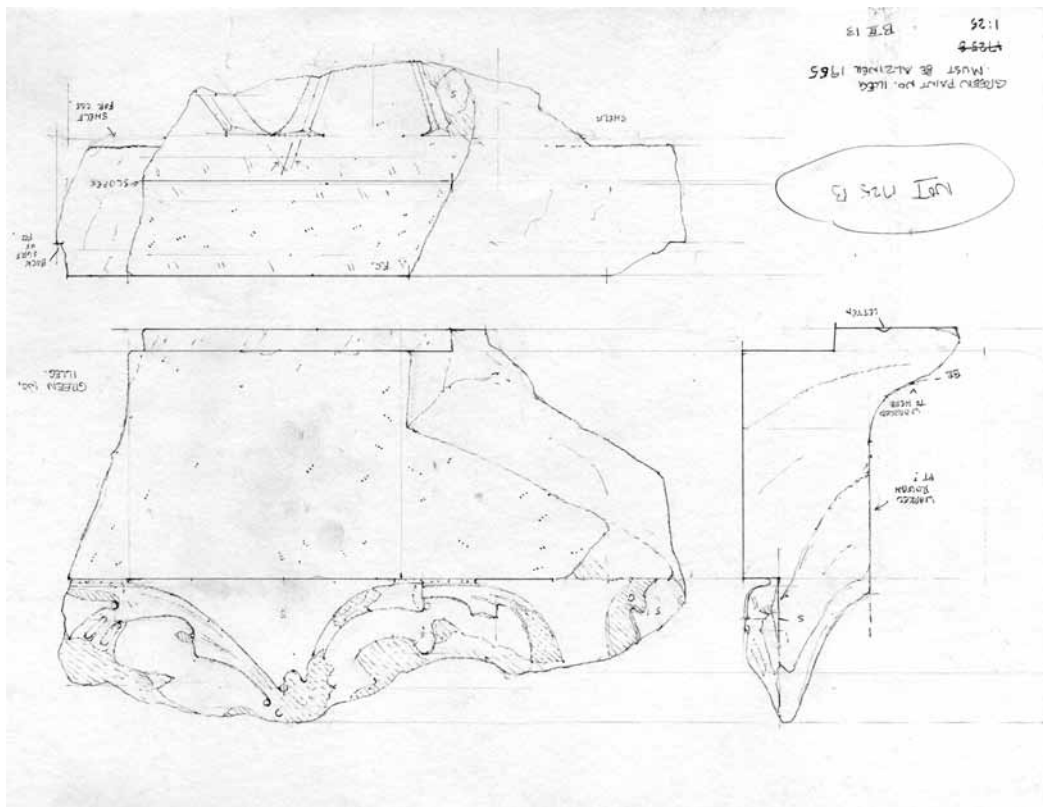
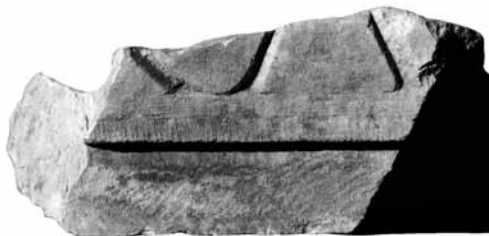
Untersseite ähnlich mit Ranken u. Rosetten.

Nummer und Ortsangabe des Abgusses:
 AA ✓

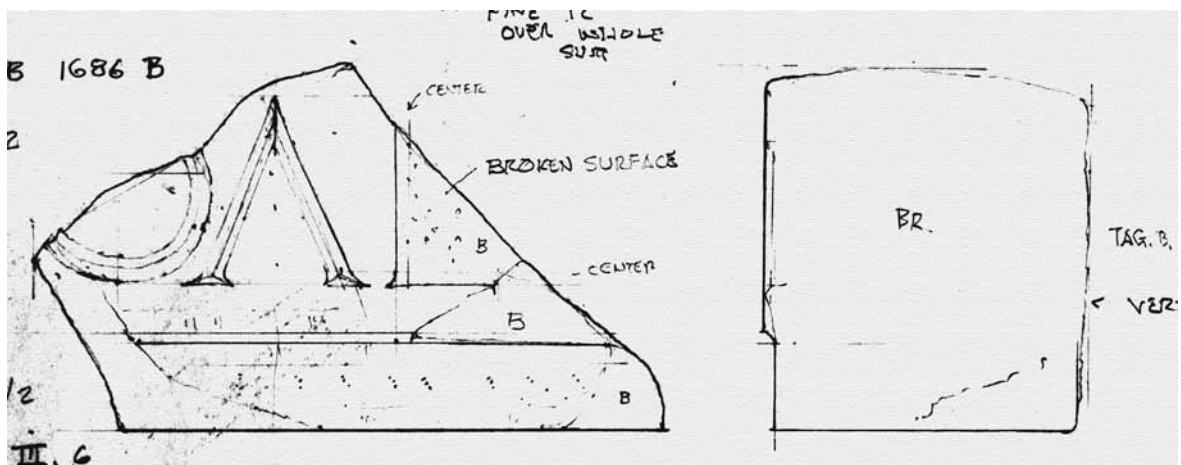
2 Fragments cat. 10-7 and 10-10 on Skizzenbuch no. 1725



1 Cat. 10-8



2 Cat. 10-9



1 Cat. 10-12

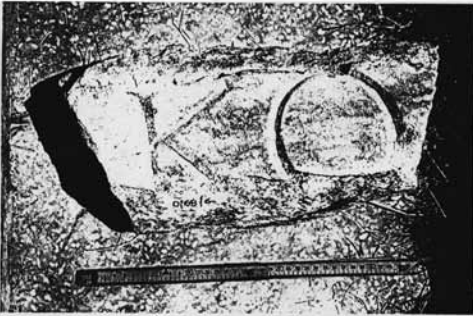
(P) 068/6

Material: Marmor

Gegenstand: Inschriftenbruchstücke

Maße: erh. max 36 x 19

Beschreibung:



Zeit:

Fundort: Odeion

Fundjahr: 1968

Jetziger Standort: Jahningshaus

Veröffentlicht:

Abzug nach
Anw. d. Fundstück
O.P. 51/68
Foto
1

2 Cat. 10-13