

THE PLANCII IN ASIA MINOR

By STEPHEN MITCHELL*

(Plates I-III)

In elucidating the history of Asia Minor it has always been profitable to examine the origin, background and influence of the wealthy families of the Greco-Roman cities, and the connections they established between themselves. As more information comes to light it becomes increasingly obvious how complex the relationships between the various families were, and how far the influence of any one family could extend. From this evidence we are beginning to be able to form a convincing, if sketchy, picture of a power structure, based on a close-knit network of dominant families, which produced the ruling élite of the cities, the dynasts of the Hellenistic period, and the senators and consuls who made careers for themselves in the eastern provinces and maintained their family traditions of power and influence within the framework of the Roman Empire. Fresh evidence now allows us to weave more threads into the pattern, linking two important families of the city of Perge on the south coast, one certainly of Italian descent,¹ with the cities and families of the vast Anatolian hinterland, and suggesting an important source for the wealth which enabled members of these families to rise from a mercantile background to become senators in the first and second centuries A.D.

In *JRS* lv (1965), 54 f., Miss Shelagh Jameson discussed these connected families, the Plancii and the Cornuti, in particular the origins of Cornutus Tertullus, *cos. suff.* in A.D. 100 and the younger Pliny's successor as legate in Bithynia, and the career of M. Plancius Varus, governor of Bithynia under Vespasian. She established beyond reasonable doubt that Cornutus Tertullus was connected, probably by adoption, with the Cornuti of Perge, and that he himself, in turn, had adopted the son of M. Plancius Varus, henceforth known as C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus, also of Perge. These facts make it virtually certain that Cornutus Tertullus himself was of Pergaeian origin. The remainder of her study was devoted to an examination of the Plancii, and showed that M. Plancius Varus ended his career with the proconsulship of Bithynia, and did not go on to the consulship and proconsulship of Asia, as was commonly thought. The new evidence throws further light on his career and indicates that both families had wider connections in Asia Minor than was previously suspected. Above all it enables us to see the families against a broad social and economic background, and goes some way to explaining their prominence both at Perge and in the Roman administration.

I

1. *Colonia Germa* (Babadat köy, Sivrihissar, Eskişehir). Grey marble column, broken above and below. Ht. 0.48 m; diam. ca 0.55 m; letters 0.025-0.03 m. Published: I. W. Macpherson, *New Evidence for the Historical Geography of Galatia* (Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1958), inscr. no. 35; *AS* xxii (1972), 217, no. 1; S. Frederick Starr, *Ancient Roads of Asia Minor* (Report to the National Geographic Society, Yale, 1962), 38; H. Von Aulock, *Ist. Mitt.* xviii (1968), 231, no. 4 (using Macpherson's copy); referred to by Macpherson, *TAD* vi (1956), 32; Jameson, *op. cit.*, 56, n. 20; R. Syme, *Historia* xviii (1969), 366, n. 21; W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Trajan, Vestigia* 13 (Munich, 1970), 231, n. 506; G. W. Houston, *TAPA* ciii (1972), 167 f. I was unable to make my own copy of the stone which is now cemented into the foundations of the village mosque at Babadat and can no longer be read. The text reproduced is Macpherson's, which differs from von Aulock's only in dotting the first six letters of *Fab. Proculus* in line 10. Both Macpherson and von Aulock suggest M.f. in line 1, for which there is no evidence.

M.Planc[io -f.]
Varo, Xviro stl.
iud., q. pro pr. pro-
vinciae Ponti et
5 Bithyniae, tr. pl.,

* I am very grateful to Miss Shelagh Jameson, E. L. Bowie and A. S. Hall for their help with this paper.

¹ For the Italian origins of the Plancii, see S. Jameson, *JRS* lv (1965), 55.

pr., leg. pro pr. provinciarum Achaiae et Asiae,
P. Cornelius P.f.
10 Fab. Pro[culus.]

The inscription sets out the early senatorial career of M. Plancius Varus in chronological order:

- (1) *Decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*
- (2) *Quaestor pro praetore prov. Ponti et Bithyniae*
- (3) *Tribunus plebis*
- (4) *Praetor*
- (5) *Legatus pro praetore prov. Achaiae*
- (6) *Legatus pro praetore prov. Asiae.*

Since publishing her original study Shelagh Jameson has compared this *cursus*, which was then unknown to her, with an acephalous Greek inscription of Attaleia in Pamphylia, recording an identical career from *quaestor* to *legatus pro praetore provinciarum Achaiae et Asiae*. This was clearly set up in honour of the Pergaeian senator by a friend who was a prominent citizen of neighbouring Attaleia:²

[ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἐπαρχείας]
Πόντου καὶ Βειθυ-
νίας, δήμαρχον,
στρατηγόν, πρεσβευ-
τὴν καὶ ἀντιστρά-
τηγον ἐπαρχείων
Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἀσίας,
Μάρκος Σε(μ)πρόνιος
Ἀλβανὸς ἀρχιερεὺς
καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης,
ἐπαρχὸς Ἰππέων Ἰλῆς
Σεβαστῆς Γερμανικι-
ανῆς, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον.³

From Tacitus we learn that Plancius Varus was ex-praetor in A.D. 69, and this enables us to give a rough date to his earlier posts.⁴ He must have entered the senate under Nero, in the 50's or early 60's, and his next three offices take him up to the praetorship which cannot have been held later than 68. They are not remarkable, but the connection with Bithynia was important, and gave him the chance to establish contacts that would be of use to him when he later became governor.⁵ The quaestorship also carried praetorian status in the province, implying that he acted in place of the proconsul or the proconsul's legate during his tenure of office. The later offices are all to be dated to the reign of Vespasian. Nero had declared Achaia free in 67;⁶ it became a senatorial province again under Vespasian. The date is not known for certain but it was probably early in the reign,⁷ and Plancius Varus will have been legate to one of the earliest, if not the first, of the restored proconsuls. He could have been legate in Asia in the following year, before being made proconsul in Bithynia, a position which we know him to have held from other sources.⁸ The new inscription suggests that this latest office must have fallen around the middle or towards the end of Vespasian's reign, and not at the beginning as has been suggested. The evidence

² *RE Suppl.* xii, 119–120 s.v. Attaleia. Confirmation that M. Plancius Varus had connections and influence at Attaleia comes from *IGR* iii, no. 782, mentioning M. Plancius Plato Calpurnianus Proculus and M. Plancius Plato, who were presumably freedmen. Like the freedmen in south Pisidia (see below), they became local figures of some standing.

³ *SEG* vi, no. 650.

⁴ *Hist.* ii, 63.

⁵ He is associated by the inscription on the east gate of Nicaea (*IGR* iii, no. 37) with C. Cassius Chrestus. An inscription on the same gate, to be published in due course by E. L. Bowie, specifically calls him patron of the city and friend of Cassius

Chrestus. Contacts such as these probably had their origin during his quaestorship.

⁶ E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian* (1939), 39–40.

⁷ *ibid.* 41; A. W. Braithwaite, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Vespasianus* (1927), 44–6 ad c. viii, 4; C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (1971), 18, n. 30.

⁸ The phrase *leg. pro pr. provinciarum Achaiae et Asiae* (and its Greek equivalent), in place of the expected *leg. pro pr. prov. Achaiae, leg. pro pr. prov. Asiae*, is paralleled on the inscriptions of the Trajanic senator M. Arruntius Claudianus from Xanthus in Lycia (*TAM* ii, no. 282; *JOAI* xlix (1968–71), Beiblatt 6, no. 1; cf. Chr. Habicht, *ZPE* xiii (1974), 1 f.).

for the governorship consists of inscriptions at Nicaea and Nicomedia,⁹ and coins, notably a simultaneous issue of Nicaea, Nicomedia, Juliopolis, Bithynium and Prusias, with the legends ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΟΥΕΣΤΙΑΣΙΑΝΩ and ΕΠΙ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΠΛΑΝΚΙΟΥ ΟΥΑΡΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ.¹⁰ These have been interpreted by Jameson and others as an accession issue for the emperor, thus dating Plancius Varus' governorship to the beginning of the reign.¹¹ However, since Jameson herself has demonstrated that Plancius Varus did not become proconsul of Asia under Vespasian (or anyone else), belief in which had strongly influenced earlier reconstructions of his career,¹² there is no pressing need to look for the earliest possible date for his Bithynian governorship and date the coins to Vespasian's accession. The new inscription confirms that a later date should be preferred and a different explanation sought for the coin issue. Cl. Bosch suggested that it might commemorate Vespasian's death and deification in 79,¹³ but this is no more than a conjecture, and W. Eck, in his recent study of the senators of the period, does not commit himself to an exact date.¹⁴

The newly attested legateship of Asia provides a possible explanation for the coins of Phrygian Apameia bearing the reverse legend ΕΠΙ ΠΛΑΝΚΙΟΥ ΟΥΑΡΟΥ· ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΦΡΥΓΙΑΣ ΑΠΑΜΕΙΣ and also dated to Vespasian's reign.¹⁵ Jameson suggested that Plancius Varus, along with Marius Cordus and Vettius Niger who are named on comparable issues of Apameia under Nero,¹⁶ might be local magistrates or officials of the *koinon*.¹⁷ If this explanation is correct it is surprising that all three men have names of Roman origin, which would be unusual even for honorary holders of these offices. Even though there is no obvious parallel for it in the coinage of the cities of Asia, the new evidence suggests that the issue may have been made under the auspices of the proconsul's legate, and that, like Plancius Varus, Marius Cordus and Vettius Niger should also be added to the roster of Asian legates.¹⁸

The inscription of Germa, like that at Attaleia, must have been set up after the appointment to Asia, but before the proconsulship of Bithynia, that is between *ca.* A.D. 73 and 77. This fact is of importance for the history of the site on which it was found, *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Germa*. The normal conclusion, derived from these titles, has been that the colony was an Augustan foundation, but this has been questioned, most recently by Miss Barbara Levick, who canvassed for a Domitianic date as a likely alternative.¹⁹ She argued that a coin of Domitian, attributed to Germa, was a foundation issue. Von Aulock has since shown that this type should be attributed not to Germa but to Parium,²⁰ and thus removed the only positive piece of evidence for a Domitianic foundation. As Macpherson saw,²¹ the new inscription, set up under Vespasian, clinches an earlier foundation date for the colony, and there is no reason to set aside the evidence of its titles and put it outside the reign of Augustus.²²

Nothing of the history of M. Plancius Varus revealed so far explains why the inscription was set up at Germa in the first place. Hitherto there has been no evidence to connect him with the province of Galatia in general or *Colonia Germa* in particular. The latest office

⁹ *IGR* iii, no. 4 (Nicomedia), and 37 (Nicaea); see n. 5 above.

¹⁰ Cl. Bosch, *Die kleinasiatischen Münzen der röm. Kaiserzeit, Bithynien* (1935), 87.

¹¹ *op. cit.*, 56.

¹² e.g. D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, vol. ii (Princeton, 1950), app. 1, 1582; *PIR*¹ iii, 42, P. no. 334; *RE* xx, 2016 (Hoffmann).

¹³ Cl. Bosch, *op. cit.* 87.

¹⁴ *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* 231, n. 506. G. W. Houston, *TAPA* ciii (1972), 167 f. attempts to compress the legateship of Asia and the proconsulship of Bithynia into the years 69–71. He suggests that the legateship of Asia was an extraordinary office held *vice proconsulis* after the departure of Fonteius Capito to Moesia in the autumn of 69 (*Tac., Hist.* iii, 46). However, A. B. Bosworth has recently argued convincingly that the man responsible for organizing the Flavian cause in Asia after Fonteius Capito had left was C. Rutilius Gallicus, who held an extraordinary legateship *vice proconsulis* from the autumn of 69 to the autumn of 70, when he returned

to Rome and was rewarded with the consulship (*Athenaeum* li (1973), 1 f.).

¹⁵ *BMC Phrygia* 95, nos. 150–151.

¹⁶ *ibid.* 94, nos. 143 and 147.

¹⁷ *op. cit.* 58.

¹⁸ Hitherto, like Plancius Varus, they have usually been regarded as proconsuls of Asia. See, e.g., Magie, *op. cit.* app. 1, 1582. For further inconclusive speculation on the occasion of the coin issue at Apameia, see Houston, *op. cit.* 173 f.

¹⁹ *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford, 1967), app. 3, 158–9.

²⁰ *Ist. Mitt.* xviii (1968), 233.

²¹ *TAD* vi (1956), 32; *AS* xxii (1972), 218.

²² In the same appendix (see n. 19) Levick discussed the foundation of *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Ninica* in Cilicia Tracheia, and also attributed it to Domitian. Although the evidence for this date is somewhat stronger than that for Germa, its identical titles argue very strongly that it too was Augustan. For the most recent discussion of the problem, and a possible Augustan coin of Ninica, see H. Seyrig, *Rev. Num.*, vi^e série, xi (1969), 50–52.

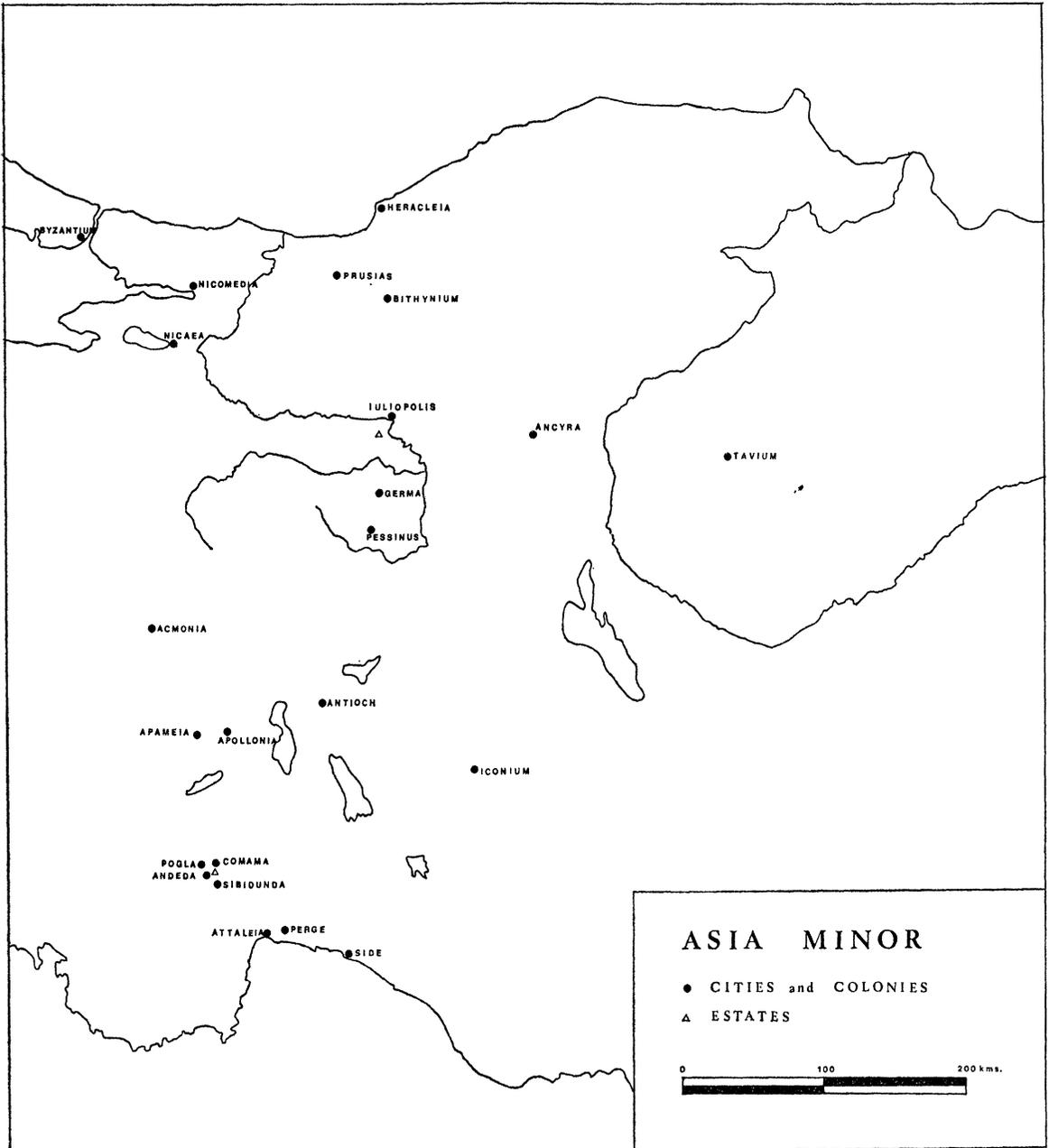


FIG. I

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recorded on the stone, the legateship of Asia, lead Macpherson to suggest that under Vespasian, and ever since its foundation, Germa was a part of the province of Asia.²³ This can hardly be the case. It is highly unlikely that Germa was in Asia while Pessinus, which lay south and slightly east of it, was in Galatia (which it indisputably was), and Ptolemy places Γέρμα ἢ Θέρμα κολωνία firmly in Tolistobogian territory in the Γαλατίας Θέσις.²⁴ This is confirmed by the epigraphic evidence. A milestone of A. Caesennius Gallus, governor of Galatia-Cappadocia under Titus and Domitian, was found at Mülk, about 6 km to the west

²³ *AS* xxii (1972), 218-9.

²⁴ v, 4, 7.

of the site of the colony near Babadat,²⁵ and an unpublished gravestone from Nasreddin Hoca köy,²⁶ about 2 km to the south-west of Babadat, bears the date ἔτους αἰρ', in the year 111. Since inscriptions in this part of the central Anatolian plateau are otherwise unknown as early as the reign of Tiberius, the gravestone is far more likely to belong to A.D. 86 (using a Galatian era of 25 B.C.), than to A.D. 26 (using the Sullan era for Asia of 85 B.C.). Mülk and Nasreddin Hoca, therefore, lay within Galatia in the Flavian period, and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that they were separated from Germa by a provincial boundary.

If we accept, then, that Germa was not in the province of Asia, and that Plancius Varus never held an official post in Galatia, we must look for an explanation for the presence of the inscription in his private activities and personal connections. For these there is a hint from a Latin gravestone discovered in 1898 by Anderson and Crowfoot at Beyköy, a village north-west of the town of Mihaliççik and about 40 km north of *Colonia Germa*:

Dis Manibus
M. Planci
Valentis
M. Plancius
[-----]
[-----p]atri
carissimo.²⁷

As Jameson notes, the *nomen* is rare,²⁸ and a connection with M. Plancius Varus is more than probable. The most likely explanation is that M. Plancius Valens was his freedman, administering an estate he owned in the district.²⁹ A second inscription, found at the village of Gökçeayva, west of Mihaliççik and probably not part of the estate, mentions a Plancia, wife of Asclepius.³⁰ She was surely connected with the same family of Plancii, and the date of the inscription, ἔτους δπ', A.D. 59 by the era of Galatia, shows that the Plancii had acquired the property at least fifteen years before the honorific inscription was set up at Germa.

A Byzantine gravestone of the fifth or sixth centuries found in Beyköy reveals that the name of the village at that time was Phyle:

2. Slab of grey limestone. Ht. 0,39 m; width 0,16 m; depth 0,06 m; letters 0,015 m. In the possession of Hacıali Ösken. Pl. III, 1.

Παῦλος
ὑπηρέ-
της χωρί-
ου Φυλῆς
ἐνθα κα-
τάκειται.
†

There is nothing inherently improbable in the suggestion that the Plancii had acquired property in this part of north Galatia, at least as early as the middle of the first century A.D. We already know of another estate in the same district, the χωρία Κωνσιδίανα, which lay south-west of Mihaliççik at and around the village of Yukarı İgde Ağaç.³¹ By the reign of Hadrian this estate had passed into the imperial *patrimonium*, but its name indicates that it was originally the property of a Considius, who had probably acquired it in the first half of the first century A.D. Although there is no evidence that the property of the Plancii ever belonged to the emperor, the early history of the two estates appears to have been remarkably similar.

²⁵ *CIL* iii, no. 318. For the site of Germa see S. Frederick Starr, *Archaeology* 16, no. 3 (1963), 167-9; *Illustrated London News*, 23rd Nov. 1963, 859; *Ancient Roads of Asia Minor* 38-43; H. von Aulock, *Ist. Mitt.* xviii (1968), 222-230. The remains still *in situ* lie on the south side of the main Ankara-Eskişehir highway, opposite the village of Babadat. They consist of a wide scatter of ruins focused on a central mound of prehistoric origin. Three circular structures, possibly tombs, can still be traced on the edge of the site, but little else stands above ground.

²⁶ Formerly Hortu köy, but recently renamed after the popular sage of folk legend who was born there.

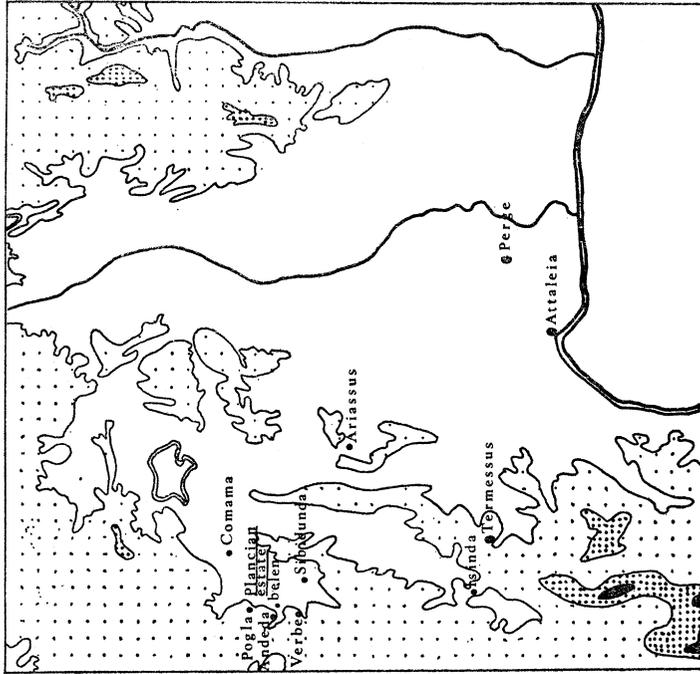
²⁷ J. G. C. Anderson, 'Exploration in Galatia *cis Halym*', *JHS* xix (1899), 75, no. 30.

²⁸ *op. cit.* 55 with n. 12.

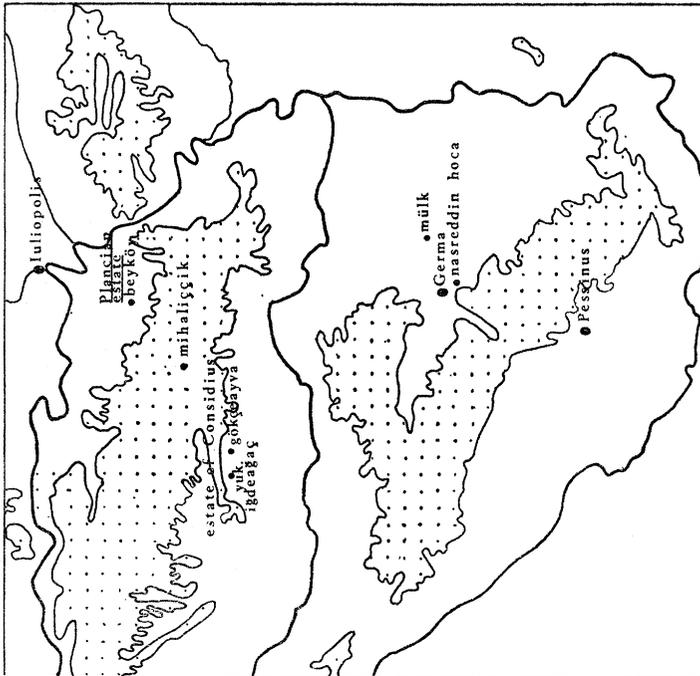
²⁹ Beyköy has also produced a second Latin inscription, the gravestone of C. Clitius C.f. Vel. Granus, who died aged four (*JHS* xix (1899), 74, no. 29). An estate owned by Plancius Varus would help to explain why this too was inscribed in Latin.

³⁰ Anderson, *op. cit.* 84, no. 59.

³¹ Anderson, *JRS* xxvii (1937), 18-21.



SOUTH PISIDIA AND PAMPHYLIA

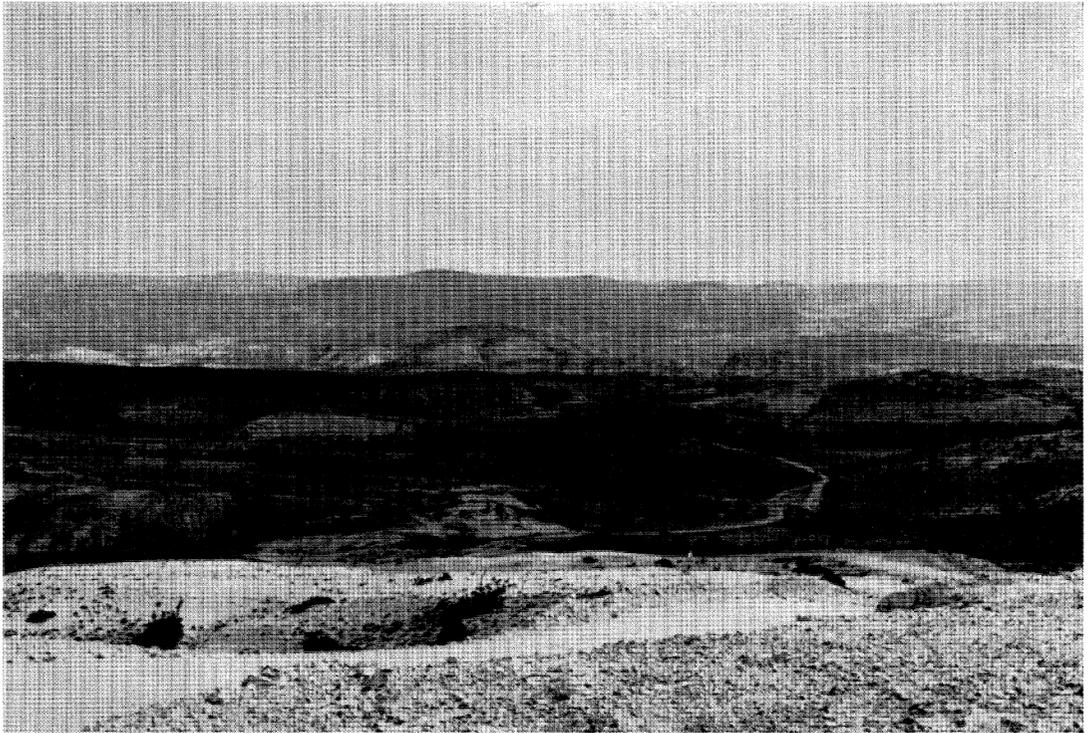


WEST GALATIA

TWO ESTATES OF M. PLANCIUS VARUS

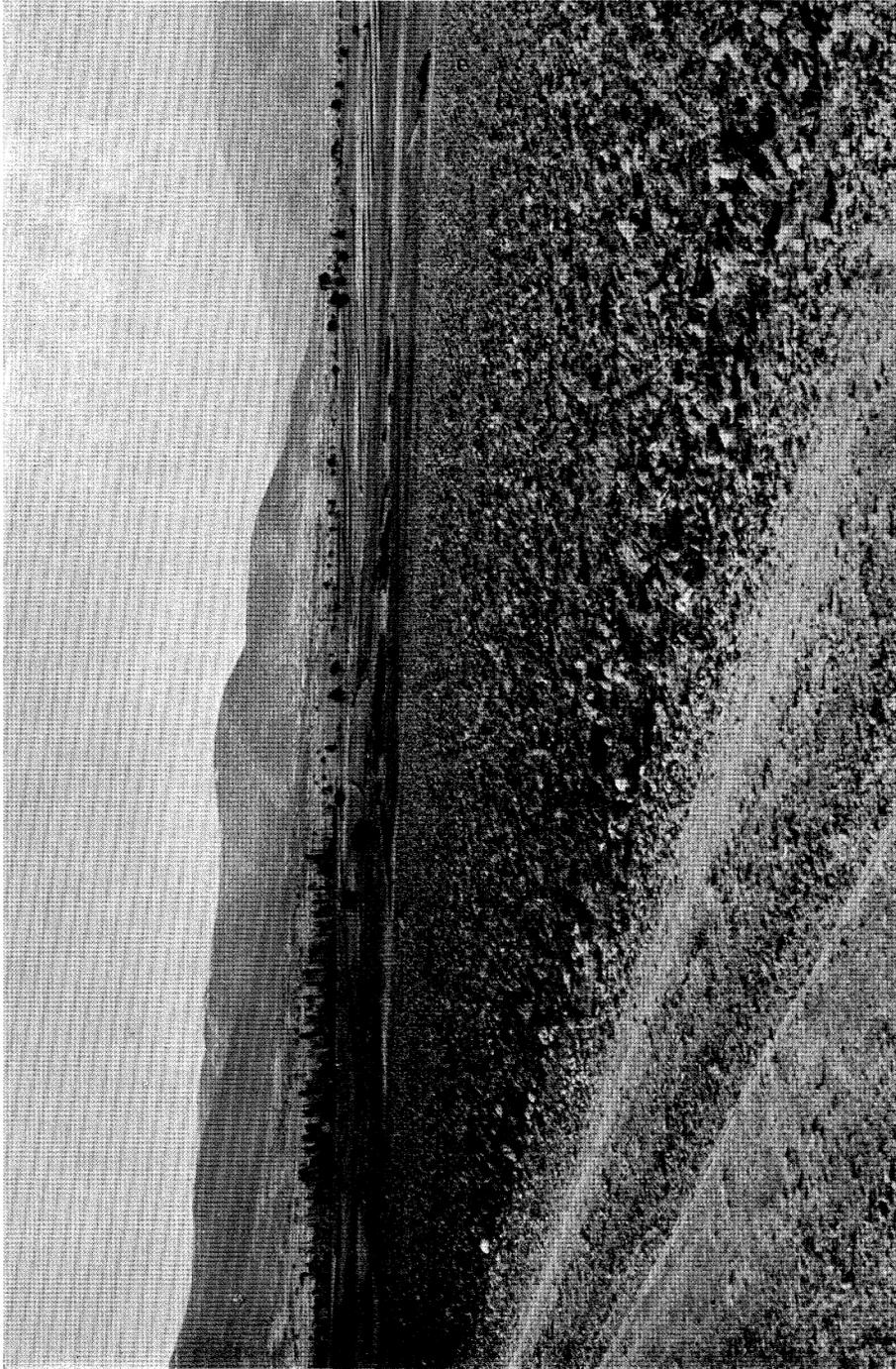
FIG. 2

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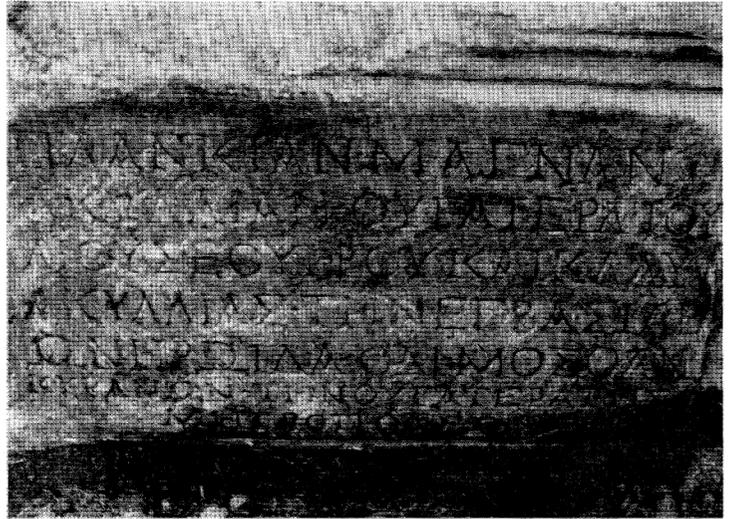
WESTERN GALATIA: (1) VIEW OF THE BEYKÖY VALLEY FROM THE NORTH. THE VILLAGE IS SEEN IN THE MIDDLE DISTANCE ON THE RIGHT OF THE PHOTOGRAPH. (2) MIHALIÇCIK DAĞI. A MIXED FLOCK OF SHEEP AND GOATS (see p. 33)

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SOUTHERN PISIDIA: VIEW OF THE BOZOVA, LOOKING FROM THE SOUTH-EAST TOWARDS ANEDED. THE FERTILE AREA ON THE RIGHT OF THE PHOTOGRAPH PROBABLY FORMED PART OF THE ESTATE OF M. PLANCIUS VARUS (see p. 34)

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NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM GALATIA. (1) FROM BEYKÖY (see p. 31). (2) FROM TAVIUM (see p. 34). (3) FROM APOLLONIA (see p. 37).

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Indeed, it is quite possible that most of the tract of country north of the river Tembris (the Porsuk Çay) and south of the Sangarius (the Sakarya Nehir), which contained no ancient cities, was divided up into large estates owned, in the first century at least, by members of Anatolia's aristocratic families (see Fig. 2). This was certainly the case in another much larger area of central Anatolia, which geographically closely resembles this district, the stretch of plateau between Ancyra and Iconium. The evidence for this area, which I hope to discuss in detail elsewhere, shows a very similar overall pattern. Most of the land was divided into large estates, owned by the leading families of Ancyra, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium and other cities, not all within the province of Galatia, or indeed close to the central plateau.³² In the course of the first and second centuries many of these estates, like the χωρία Κωνσιδίανα, became imperial property.

There is no direct ancient evidence for the produce of the two properties, situated in the undulating, hilly country which divides the valleys of the Porsuk and the Sakarya. Anderson remarked on the fertility of the χωρία Κωνσιδίανα, which was mainly situated in the valley of a tributary of the Porsuk.³³ The Plancian estate, though it too lay in a side valley (of the Sakarya), did not enjoy the same natural advantages, since the terrain north of the watershed which divides the two river valleys is more barren (see Pl. I, 1). However, it was certainly well capable of providing the two main products of central Anatolia, cereals and, in particular, wool (from sheep, goats and above all the Angora goat which thrives in this type of countryside: see Pl. I, 2). These will have formed the basis of the income from the estate.

In the context of this evidence for his personal involvement in north-west Galatia, it is not difficult to understand why M. Plancius Varus should have been honoured by a friend at Germa. Germa would have been more easily accessible from the estate than almost any other city in this sparsely populated area, and close connections would certainly have existed between the small isolated Augustan colony and the wealthy local land-owner, a descendant of an Italian merchant family,³⁴ perhaps not very different from the families of veterans settled by Augustus. The fortuitous (or deliberate) proximity of his estate to *Colonia Germa* gave Plancius Varus the opportunity to enlist the support of a *clientela* in this remote part of Asia Minor, which might best be compared to the local supporters of his counterparts in Italy who sought to advance in a senatorial career.

The evidence from north-west Galatia is not the only indication that M. Plancius Varus owned property in Asia Minor outside the bounds of his home city Perge. Inscriptions from Andeda and Sibidunda, in southern Pisidia, mention a M. Plancius Lelex and his wife Iulia Chlide. Both were prominent locally: the council and people of Sibidunda set up statues of both husband and wife,³⁵ and the council and people of Andeda of the husband alone.³⁶ Their family tomb was at Andeda.³⁷ Another inscription of Andeda mentions a member of the same family, or alternatively another freedman of the same *patronus*, M. Plancius Cornelianus Gaius, who was high priest of the imperial cult at Andeda and at the small neighbouring city of Verbe.³⁸ Once again the names suggest freedmen of M. Plancius Varus, and there is evidence to support the obvious hypothesis that they were responsible for running another estate in the region. In the course of a recent survey of Pisidia, George Bean found a boundary stone in the Bozova, near the village of Belen, north of the site of Andeda and south east of another city, Pogla.³⁹ The south-west and south-east faces of the stone, pointing towards Andeda, read ὄρος Ἀν(δεδέων) the north-west, pointing towards Pogla, Πω(γλέων). However, the text on the north-east face,

³² Most of the evidence for these estates is collected in *MAMA* vols. i and vii. It is discussed very briefly by Calder, *MAMA* i, xiii f., and by T. R. S. Broughton, *TAPA* lxxv (1934), 233-4. There has been some detailed discussion, notably of the property of the Sergii Paulli: W. M. Ramsay, *JRS* xvi (1926), 324 f., and W. M. Calder, *Klio* xxiv (1930/31), 59-62.

³³ *JRS* xxvii (1937), 18; *JHS* xix (1899), 75; *ABSA* iv (1897/8), 69.

³⁴ There is some uncertainty about the precise origins of the Italian settlers on the Pamphylian coast. There is evidence for deliberate colonial settlement at Attaleia, as well as for *negotiatores*. This has been discussed and rejected by B. Levick and

S. Jameson, *JRS* liv (1964), 101-2. It seems to me that a much stronger case can be made out for colonial settlement at Attaleia than they were prepared to admit. However, whatever the situation at Attaleia, there is no evidence for a colonial settlement at Perge, whose Italian inhabitants had certainly been attracted by the commercial possibilities.

³⁵ A. H. Sayce, *JHS* viii (1888), 254, nos. 35 and 36; cf. G. E. Bean, *AS* x (1960), 71, no. 123a.

³⁶ W. M. Ramsay, *AJA* iv (1888), 14, no. 6.

³⁷ *ibid.* no. 5.

³⁸ Ramsay, *Ath. Mitt.* x (1885), 338 (= *IGR* iii, no. 417).

³⁹ *AS* x (1960), 66, no. 118.

reading ΠΛ ---, was not so easily explained. Bean suggested that the letters were part of the name of an otherwise unknown town. However, the small site which he identified, lying some 4 km north-east of the boundary stone, hardly answers to the description of a town site, and, even in this region of small cities, it is slightly unlikely that another one should have completely escaped the remaining epigraphic, literary and numismatic record. An estate in the Bozova owned by M. Plancius Varus provides a ready made explanation: if we restore the name as ΠΛ[αυκ(ίου)] or ΠΛ[αυκ(ιαυδών)], the stone can be interpreted as the south-western boundary of the estate, which must have been situated in the plain north-east of Andeda, south-east of Pogla and south of the Roman colony of Comama (see Fig. 2).

The sandy grey soil of the Bozova, which gives it its name (translated literally the Turkish means 'grey plain'), is to-day one of those enclaves in the Pisidian mountains largely reserved for cereal cultivation (see Pl. II). The villages which, characteristically, ring the plain at the foot of the mountain slopes are surrounded by a fringe of gardens and orchards, but these do not supply the main produce of the area.⁴⁰ Certainly grain would have been the most important crop of the valley in antiquity, and we know from an interesting inscription of Pogla that the city was able to export corn to Alexandria during a famine in the second century A.D.⁴¹ The political geography of the present day also affords an interesting parallel for the Plancian estate. Much of the land of the Bozova and the other fertile valleys of south Pisidia, those of Korkuteli and Bademağaç, is owned by the bourgeoisie of Korkuteli and Antalya, indicating a state of affairs wholly comparable to the ancient situation.⁴²

We do not know for certain the date at which the Plancii acquired either of these two properties. However, since the family does not become prominent before the generation of M. Plancius Varus, and since all the known freedmen carry his *praenomen*, it seems most likely that he himself was the responsible agent, sometime around or a little before the middle of the first century. The enterprise he showed in acquiring these estates, and the wealth they brought him, were his prime recommendations for a senatorial career.

II

The connection of the Plancii with north Galatia is strengthened by other new evidence. In October, 1970, I copied the following inscription at Tavium (Büyük Nefes köy), the chief city of the Trocmi in eastern Galatia.

3. Block of grey limestone built into a garden wall on the south side of the village. Dimensions not measured. Ht. *ca.* 0,40 m.; width *ca.* 0,70 m.; letters *ca.* 0,02–0,035 m. Inscription in *tabula ansata* No squeeze. Pl. III, 2.

Πλανκίαν Μάγναν
 Ἄκυλλίαν, θυγατέρα Ἰου-
 λίου Σεουήρου καὶ Κλαυ.
 Ἄκυλλίας, τὴν ἐγ βασιλέ-
 5 ων ἡρωίδα, ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀν-
 κυρανῶν τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς
 μητροπόλεως.

The inscription is of a type already well known from Ancyra itself, where there are several similar texts set up by the city tribes or private individuals for members of the leading Ancyran families, descended from the tetrarchs and kings of the first century B.C. We may compare the inscriptions of Ti. Claudius Gentianus, ἀπόγονον Ἀσκληπιᾶδου

⁴⁰ cf. Xavier de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens* (Paris, 1958), 413; 'Les villages s'y cantonnent déjà presque toujours au piedmont des collines . . . l'économie reste essentiellement céréalière, organisée de plus en plus par l'assolement du terroir et le parcours de troupeaux communal.'

⁴¹ M. I. Rostovtzeff, *JOAI* iv (1901), Beiblatt 38–46 (= *IGR* iii no. 409); G. E. Bean, *AS* x (1960), 59, no. 104.

⁴² De Planhol, loc. cit.: 'Le régime de la grande propriété a longtemps prédominé, en relation avec le noyau urbain de Korkuteli et l'estivage des riches habitants d'Antalya.'

Another link between this part of Pisidia and

Perge is found in the numismatic evidence for the cult of Artemis of Perge. Artemis Pergaea is a regular reverse type on coins of Pogla, Andeda, Isinda and Ariassus. Other Artemis types are known at Sibidunda and Verbe. A ready explanation for the spread of the cult is the relative proximity of these cities to Perge, and the close connections which have always existed between the Pamphylian coast and the Pisidian uplands (see de Planhol, op. cit. *passim*). However, it would not be surprising if the freedmen of M. Plancius Varus had helped to spread the cult by building temples, endowing priesthoods and other means.

καὶ τετραρχῶν,⁴³ Claudia Balbina, τὴν ἐκ προγόνων βασιλίσσαν . . . μητέρα τῆς μητροπόλεως,⁴⁴ Ti. Claudius Bocchus, ἔκγονον τετραρχῶν,⁴⁵ the polyonymous Servenia Cornuta, τὴν ἐκ βασιλέων,⁴⁶ the parents of Plancia Magna Aquillia, C. Iulius Severus and Claudia Aquillia,⁴⁷ and, perhaps closest of all, for τὴν ἐκ βασιλέων Λατεινίαν Κλεοπάτραν, θυγατέρα Λατεινίου Ἀλεξάνδρου (whose titles and achievements are then listed) αἱ δώδεκα φυλαί, ἠρωίδα.⁴⁸

The parents on the new inscription are already well known. C. Iulius Severus was one of Ancyra's most prominent citizens under Trajan, he was *adlectus inter tribunicios* by Hadrian, and had a distinguished senatorial career ending in the proconsulship of Asia in 152/3.⁴⁹ Claudia Aquillia appears on the record of her husband's earlier, civic, career, and on two other Ancyran inscriptions where she is described as ἀρχιέρεια, ἀπόγονος βασιλέων and θυγάτηρ τῆς μητροπόλεως.⁵⁰ The connections of the family are impressive. C. Iulius Severus was ἀπόγονον βασιλέως Δηιοτάρου καὶ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Βριγάτου καὶ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Δυριαλοῦ τετραρχῶν καὶ βασιλέως Ἀσίας Ἀττάλου, ἀνεψιὸν ὑπατικῶν Ἰουλίου τε Κοδράτου καὶ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἰουλίου Ἀκύλου καὶ Κλ. Σεουήρου, καὶ συγγενῆ συγκλητικῶν πλείστων, ἀδελφὸν Ἰουλίου Ἀμυντιανοῦ.⁵¹ An inscription dating to his proconsulship of Achaëa gives the name of his father, Iulius Quadratus, not, however, the Iulius Quadratus who is named among his consular cousins.⁵² A son of the marriage, C. Iulius C.f. Fab. Severus, predictably moved up the ladder of the senatorial *cursus* faster than his father and became consul in 155.⁵³ However, the new inscription provides the first certain mention of a daughter, Plancia Magna Aquillia.⁵⁴ The name clearly indicates a connection with the family of Perge and recalls, in particular, Plancia Magna, the daughter of M. Plancius Varus, who was the most famous female member of the *gens* and was active at Perge under Trajan and Hadrian.⁵⁵ Unfortunately the inscription does not explicitly state what the relationship between the families was, but it was almost certainly one of adoption, by which the names of one family were acquired by a member of the other. We cannot be absolutely certain whether Iulius Severus and Claudia Aquillia were the natural or the adoptive parents of Plancia Magna Aquillia, but given the insistence of the inscription that she was descended from kings the former seems much more likely. Iulius Severus was probably born between A.D. 80 and 90, and had married well before his senatorial career began. His daughter, therefore, would have been a young woman of a suitable age to adopt in the early part of Hadrian's reign, when Plancia Magna herself was very active at Perge, and it is quite natural that she should have taken the names of the most prominent lady of the family. Plancia Magna herself, as a woman, was not legally entitled to adopt, and it is not possible to say for certain who the adoptive father was. He could have been Plancia Magna's brother, the C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus discussed by Miss Jameson,⁵⁶ and probably legate of Cilicia under Hadrian,⁵⁷ but, if so, it is perhaps surprising that none of the names of the Cornuti of Perge, who had adopted C. Plancius Varus, appear in the names of the newly adopted daughter. We can do no more than speculate about the origin of the connection between the two families. It may have come about through the Plancian connection with Germa, but there is a possibility that the family of Iulius Severus was familiar with the Cornuti, and thence the Plancii, through the medium of the Servenii of Acmonia.⁵⁸

⁴³ E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum* (Ankara, 1967), no. 73.

⁴⁴ *ibid.* no. 75.

⁴⁵ No. 100.

⁴⁶ No. 103.

⁴⁷ Nos. 105-8.

⁴⁸ No. 117.

⁴⁹ *PIR*² iv, 277-8, I no. 573.

⁵⁰ Bosch, *op. cit.* nos. 107-8; *PIR*² ii, 260, C no. 1072.

⁵¹ Bosch, *op. cit.* nos. 105-6.

⁵² A. B. West, *Excavations at Corinth*, viii, 2; *The Latin Inscriptions* (1938), 38, no. 56.

⁵³ *PIR*² iv, 278-9, I no. 574.

⁵⁴ The article on C. Iulius Severus in *PIR*² notes, 'filia fortasse Iulia C.f. Severa archiereus (sic) Augustorum duorum *MAMA* 6, 263.' However, as the article on Iulia Severa herself correctly recognizes

(*PIR*² iv, 323, I no. 701) she was 'ἀρχιέρεια καὶ ἀγνωσθῆτις domus totius deorum Augustorum' at Acmonia, certainly identical with the Iulia Severa known from Neronian coins of Acmonia and an ancestor of C. Iulius Severus.

⁵⁵ Jameson, *op. cit.* 55-6.

⁵⁶ *ibid.* 54.

⁵⁷ R. Syme, *Historia* xviii (1969), 365-6.

⁵⁸ See section III. The coin attributed to Germa (*Ist. Mitt.* xviii (1968), 236, no. 17) which carries the head of Iulia Aquilia Severa Augusta (*PIR*² iv, 306, I no. 648), the second wife of Elagabalus, who was certainly a descendant of C. Iulius Severus (see *PIR*² iv, 279), cannot be used as evidence for a family connection with the colony since it has recently been re-attributed to Aelia Capitolina in Palestine. See H. von Aulock, *Jb. Num.* xxi (1971), 23.

The connection of the linked Pergaeian families of the Plancii and the Cornuti with Ancyra is confirmed by two later inscriptions from Ancyra itself. The name on both stones (which are now lost) has been convincingly restored as Tertullus Varus by E. Bosch in his collection of sources for the history of ancient Ankara:

A. Mordtmann, *Marmora Ancyrana* (Berlin, 1874), 15, no. 3; (*IGR* iii, no. 201; Bosch, *op. cit.* no. 279):

[Ἀγαθῆι] Τύχηι
[Τέρτυλλ]ον Οὐᾶρον, ἱππέα
[Ῥωμαί]ων κτλ.

and Mordtmann, *ibid.* no. 4; A. von Domaszewski, *AEMO* ix (1885), 123, no. 82 (*IGR* iii, no. 205; Bosch, *op. cit.* no. 280):

[Τέρ]τυλλ(ον) Οὐᾶρ[ον]
— —] ἱππῆ Ῥωμαίω[ν —
κτλ.

If these restorations are correct, the inscriptions must commemorate a descendant of the families of Perge.⁵⁹ Both the letter forms⁶⁰ and the parallels for these inscriptions indicate a date in or after the middle of the third century A.D.,⁶¹ and the text of the more complete of the two, Bosch no. 280, informs us that although Tertullus Varus himself was only an *eques*, his children and grandchildren entered the senate.⁶²

If the facts of the adoption of Iulius Severus are as I have described them, and if the *eques* of the mid-third century is also to be associated with the family of C. Iulius Severus, we must probably postulate another adoptive connection between the two families, to explain the appearance of the names Tertullus and Varus in the Ancyran branch of the dynasty. Alternatively Tertullus Varus may belong to a branch of the Pergaeian family which established itself at Ancyra, perhaps in the wake of the original adoption, and doubtless maintained connections with the descendants of C. Iulius Severus.

To return to the new inscription, it is not obvious why the city of Ancyra should have set it up, in honour of the deceased daughter of one of its most distinguished citizens,⁶³ at Trocmian Tavium. We may speculate that she was connected by marriage to a Tavian, or that the family as a whole had links, possibly of kinship or in the form of estates and property, with the Trocmian city. There is some support for the idea of a family connection from a fragmentary honorific inscription discovered at Tavium in 1907 by the expedition of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology, under Professor Garstang.⁶⁴ The text reads:

— — ON
— — — —
— —] MONATA
.. ΟΣ — Λ — ὕπατον,
(π)ρεσβευτήν [Σ]εβασ.
ἀντιστράτηγον
Συρίας τῆς Παλαισ-
τήνης, τὸν ἐαυτῶν
εὐεργέτην.

⁵⁹ The name Tertullus was introduced by the Trajanic consular, Varus belonged to the Plancian branch.

⁶⁰ Domaszewski, *op. cit.* 123.

⁶¹ The closest are the honorific inscriptions of Cl. Caecilius Hermianus (Bosch, nos. 287–8), which were set up at Ancyra after Ancyra had become β' νεωκόρος in the reign of Valerian and Gallienus. The second of the inscriptions of Tertullus Varus has, in fact, been incorrectly attributed to Cl. Caecilius Hermianus. See A. Stein, *Die röm. Ritterstand* (Munich, 1927), 295, n. 4.

⁶² Tertullus Varus was πατέρα κέ π[άππον | συκλη-] τικῶν, if the restoration suggested by Domaszewski and adopted by all subsequent editors is correct.

Other Tertulli are known from the epigraphy of Ancyra: Cl. Tertullus, priest of Sarapis in 177/8

(Bosch, nos. 184–5); Aur. Tertullus of Heracleia Pontica (Bosch, no. 246); and Ti. Cl. Tertullus (*Arch. Anz.* 1932, 250, no. 1, an inscription omitted by Bosch and wrongly classified as Byzantine by its editor). The first and last of these (who could be identical) imply a separate Ancyran family, which had acquired the citizenship under the Julio-Claudians. We also know of two Ancyran Plancii, Πλάνκιος Κρατεῖνος who set up a votive altar to Tavian Zeus (Bosch, no. 212), and C. Planc[ius —], a native of Ancyra who was *duumvir quinquennalis* at Troesmis in Moesia in 163/4 (Bosch, no. 170). These may well be connected in some way with the family of Perge.

⁶³ The title ἠρωῖς could only be conferred after death. See *RE* viii, 1137–8, s.v. Heros (Eitrem).

⁶⁴ A. W. Linton and M. N. Tod, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* iv (1912), 38, no. 11.

Tod, who was partly responsible for the edition of the text, compared the honorific inscription at Ancyra of C. Iulius C.f. Fab. Severus, the brother of Plancia Magna Aquillia, which ends ὑπατον, πρεσβ. ἀντιστράτηγον Συρίας Παλαιστίνης, Τρέβιος Κοκκήσιος Ἀλέξανδρος, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην.⁶⁵ If this tentative suggestion, that the two inscriptions honour the same person, is correct, we know that two members of the same family, in the same generation, were honoured at Tavium, and we can assume that the family was very familiar there. However, this evidence cannot be pressed. Tod's suggestion is far from certain, and since the memorial of Plancia Magna Aquillia was set up by the city of Ancyra, not by a private individual or by the city of Tavium, it is possible that her connection with Tavium was fortuitous, or at least not close.

Plancia Magna Aquillia certainly died young. Like Latinia Cleopatra in the inscription already cited, none of her own offices, achievements or benefactions are listed, apart from the title of 'daughter of the metropolis', readily granted to the child of such notable parents. The inscription makes no mention of a husband, and she is honoured as the daughter of her parents, rather than in her own right.

III

In November, 1971 I copied another inscription at Uluborlu, the site of Apollonia in the Pisido-Phrygian limb of the province of Galatia, which throws further light on the connections of the Cornuti of Perge. At the south end of the well preserved west curtain of the Byzantine citadel at Uluborlu a whole section of a round tower, built mainly from re-used material, has slipped down the hill-side, but remained largely intact (see Pl. III, 3). Into it is built the following inscription:

4. Fragment of a curved architrave of white marble. Broken left and right. Ht. 0,60 m; length (around curve) ca. 1,70 m; letters 0,09 m. The text is heavily encrusted with a deposit of lime, and is in an impossible position to photograph or squeeze.

- -]Iulius Cornutus d(e) s(uo)[- -

This architectural fragment clearly comes from a building of some pretensions, erected at the expense of Iulius Cornutus. It is inscribed in Latin which, if not unparalleled, is unusual in this Greek speaking city, and, in itself, marks the text out as worthy of comment.⁶⁶ Cornuti are already familiar at Apollonia.⁶⁷ The earliest is a Κορνοῦτος εὐεργέτης whose portrait appears on the reverse of Tiberian coins of the city,⁶⁸ and inscriptions refer to a C. Iulius Patroinus Cornutus φιλόπατρις,⁶⁹ to the important family of the Servenii Cornuti, known especially from inscriptions and coins of Phrygian Acmonia,⁷⁰ and to games called the Αἰλαία Κορνοντεία, held in the first half of the third century, but dating back at least to the first half of the second.⁷¹ All these Cornuti clearly belonged to the upper level of city society. However, the Iulius Cornutus of the new inscription most readily calls to mind the Cornuti of Perge, and, in particular, the C. Iulius Cornutus who set up a bilingual dedication to Nero.⁷² Both this inscription and the new text share the use of Latin, which is not found on the inscriptions of the other Cornuti of Apollonia. It is quite possible that the two men are identical, and virtually certain that they are related. Since the Tiberian Cornutus and C. Iulius Patroinus Cornutus are also almost certainly connected with them, we can trace the link between Perge and Apollonia, through the medium of this family, at least to the early principate. It also seems likely that it was through them that the *cognomen* Cornutus was introduced into the family of the Servenii at Acmonia, resulting in the nomenclature of the Neronian senator, L. Serenius Cornutus, son of Iulia Severa and

⁶⁵ Bosch, no. 158.

⁶⁶ *CIL* iii, no. 6868 (bilingual), and *Eph. Ep.* v, 584, no. 1381. Of the three texts of the *Res Gestae* found in Galatia, only the Apollonian version was inscribed in Greek alone.

⁶⁷ M. Grant, *Num. Chron.*, 6th series, vi (1949), 150-156.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ *MAMA* iv no. 163. Grant identifies him with the Tiberian εὐεργέτης. However, the double *cognomen* points to a slightly later period.

⁷⁰ *MAMA* vi, 94 f.

⁷¹ *MAMA* iv, no. 154.

⁷² *IGR* iii, no. 785.

L. Servenius Capito,⁷³ and his daughter Servenia Cornuta.⁷⁴ Iulia Severa herself represents a link between the Servenii and the family of C. Iulius Severus at Ancyra, and this brings us full circle, suggesting another possible area of connection between Ancyra and Perge.⁷⁵

Although the evidence is less complete and less suggestive than that for the Plancii, here too we can plausibly conjecture a network of relationships involving families of Perge, Apollonia, Acmonia and Ancyra, which produced both local dignitaries and Roman senators. Given the evidence already considered for the far flung connections of citizens of Perge, this conclusion should cause no surprise. Perge was accessible from Apollonia along the road which ran from Attaleia through central Pisidia to join the main route from western Asia Minor and the Maeander valley to the east.⁷⁶ Commercial traffic will have passed along this road, and the original interests of the Cornuti in the interior may well have been connected with this commerce.

Apollonia and Perge were also linked by an alliance coinage, recording *homonoia* between them.⁷⁷ A regular commercial relationship between the two cities, leading to close links between their leading families, would form an obvious basis for official associations of this kind.

The evidence which has been considered enables us to gain a useful insight into the background of the two families of Perge. By means of commerce and land ownership the Plancii (and also the Cornuti) built themselves up into a position where they could establish connections with the cream of the Anatolian aristocracy. The wealth of the family was no longer an exclusive product of mercantile activity, or derived from property around the city where they had settled, but was also drawn from large holdings in the Anatolian hinterland, acquired in the first half of the first century A.D. These estates had enabled M. Plancius Varus to make connections and establish a clientèle in north west Galatia and in south Pisidia, while his personal or commercial connections were probably responsible for a similar state of affairs in Attaleia. The enhanced social and economic status conferred by land ownership placed the Plancii in the same class bracket as the élite of the old Anatolian families. In the eyes of the Roman government their Italian origins gave them an advantage which probably explains why M. Plancius Varus reached the senate as early as the reign of Nero. However, his personal talents and energies, which he had devoted to raising the status of his family, were certainly the main reason for his promotion, and his connections and experience all over Asia Minor would have been indispensable in his service under the Roman administration. His career clearly indicates the chief reason why eastern senators were usually used in the eastern provinces. It was not so much that they were resented in the west, as that they were irreplaceable in the east. The periods of government service, in Bithynia, Asia and Achaëa, were naturally used to extend the family influence and to establish contacts with other cities. We can single out Nicaëa, Nicomedia and Apameia, which are actually named in connection with Plancius Varus, but much more widespread connections are likely. By the next generation, under Trajan or Hadrian, it was not below

⁷³ This parentage for L. Servenius Cornutus is generally accepted. See W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* 638 f., 647 f., 673 f.; *RE* x, 947 (Groag); *PIR*¹ S no. 104; *PIR*³ iv, 324, I no. 701; Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* 106; *RE* Ia, 1757–8 (Fluss); notes on *MAMA* iv, no. 139 and vi, no. 254.

⁷⁴ *MAMA* vi, no. 254 and iv, no. 139. The latter text implies that she predeceased her father and grandmother, and did not marry. She cannot therefore be the polyonymous Servenia Cornuta Cornelia Calpurnia Valeria Secunda Cotia Procilla Porcia Luculla Domna, honoured on an inscription of Ancyra (Bosch, no. 103). The multiplicity of names points to the second century, and she appears to have been married to P. Calpurnius Proculus, governor of Dacia in the 160's.

⁷⁵ See n. 58 above.

⁷⁶ The road is today represented by the highway

from Antalya to Burdur. See Levick, *op. cit.* 15, with her map: 'The only road in this region which ran north-south is represented to-day by the Antalya-Burdur highway, which cuts giddily over the grain of the mountains and over the Çubuk Boğaz. The ancient road climbed by way of Döşeme and Ariassus across the plain of Kestel Göl to Sagalassus, thus connecting Pamphylia directly with Baris and Seleuceia Sidera, and eventually with Apameia and Apollonia.' See also X. de Planhol, *op. cit.* 25, with his *carte d'orientation*: 'La plus active (route) de tous temps fut certes celle qui profitant des grandes surfaces aplanies des fonds de Poljés et des surfaces fluvio-karstiques qui s'échelonnent d'Antalya à Burdur, est aujourd'hui la grande voie carrossable, la route de Çubuk boğazi . . .'

⁷⁷ Head, *HN*² 706; *SNG Copenhagen*, Pisidia, no. 102 (Caracalla or Severus Alexander).

the best connected and richest family of Ancyra to set up links with the Plancii and give them further footholds in Galatia.⁷⁸

The connections between these two families can be seen to symbolize a much broader association, between the two main social groups of the Asiatic provinces which produced Roman senators and consuls, the descendants of Italian settlers, either merchants or veteran colonists, and the members of the royal dynastic families of central and eastern Anatolia.⁷⁹ As Augustus had seen when Roman control over much of Anatolia was still in its infancy, a close-knit web of connections and relationships between the leading families of the peninsula, and much of the rest of the Empire, was vital for the peaceful and effective control of so vast an area.⁸⁰

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⁷⁸ The best parallel for such connections is furnished, of course, by the earlier link between the family of C. Iulius Severus and the Servenii of Acmonia. See notes 54, 58 and 73.

⁷⁹ cf. Chr. Habicht, *Ist. Mitt.* ix (1959), 122-5.

⁸⁰ Suetonius, *Aug.* 48: 'Reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimus affinitatis cuiusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor.'