

PETER J. THONEMANN – FUNDA ERTUĞRUL

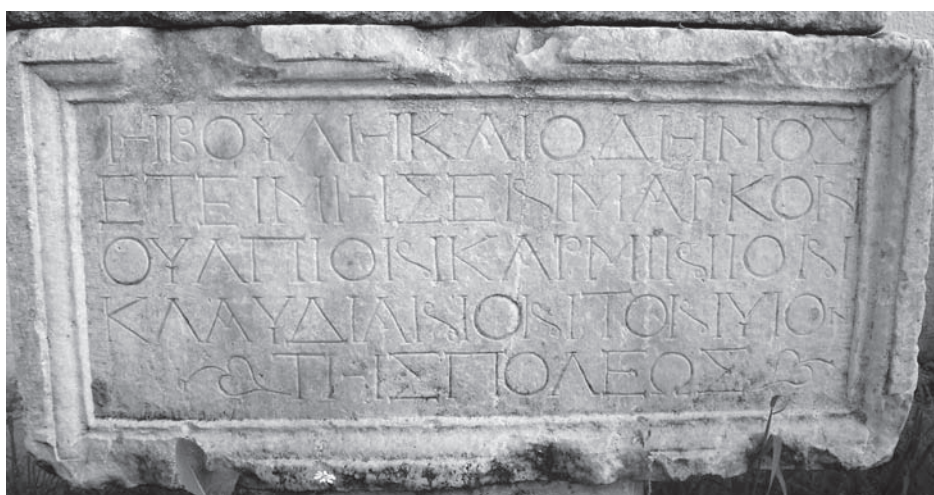
THE CARMINII OF ATTOUDA

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THE CARMINII OF ATTOUDA

In this article we present two unpublished Greek inscriptions, brought to the Archaeological Museum at Aydın on the 19th October 1998, and said to have been discovered in the town of Kuyucak in Aydın province. P. J. Thonemann would like to thank Emin Yener, director of the Aydın Arkeoloji Müzesi, for the opportunity to study and publish these interesting documents.

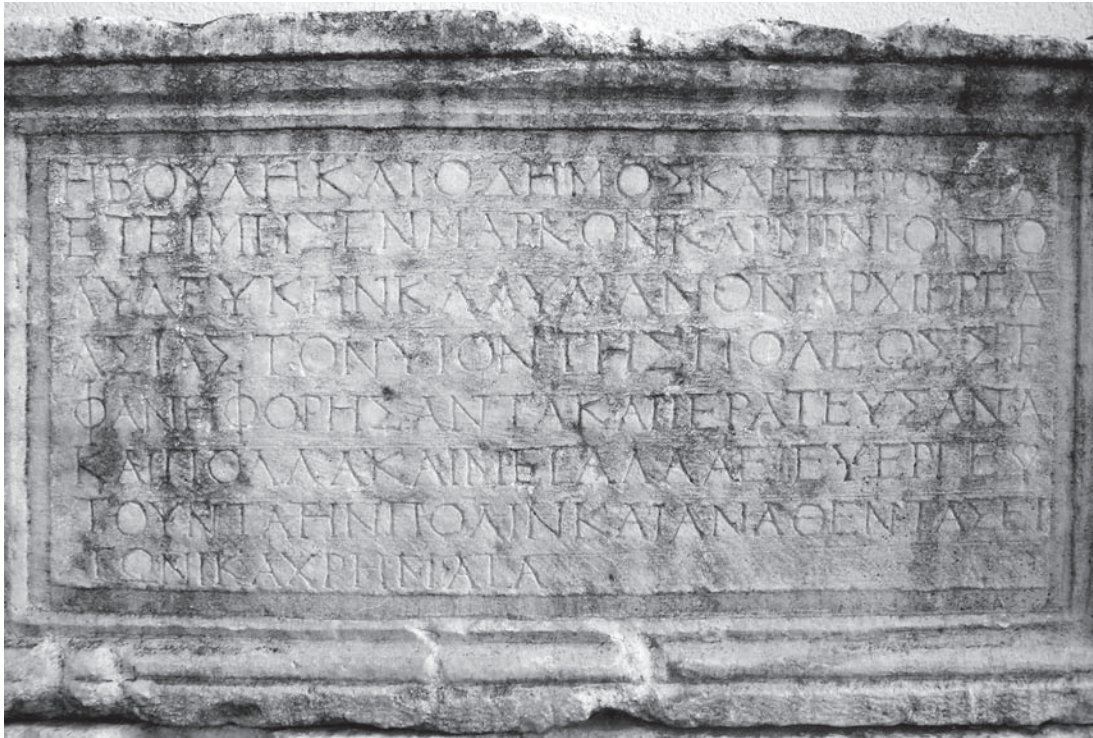


1. Rectangular statue base with channel cut into upper surface. Aydın Museum Inv. 4706. Height 0.41m, width 0.84m, depth 0.45m. Mouldings 0.05m. Letter heights 0.04m.

Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος	The council and the people
ἑτείμησεν Μάρκον	honoured Marcus
Οὔλιον Καρμίνιον	Ulpian Carminianus
Κλαυδιανὸν τὸν υἱὸν	Claudianus, the son
(leaf) τῆς πόλεως (leaf)	of the city.

2. Rectangular statue base with fixing holes for a bronze statue. Aydın Museum Inv. 4705. Height 0.44m, width 0.81m, depth 0.39m. Mouldings 0.05m. Letter heights 0.02m; numerous ligatures.

Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία	The council and the people and the
ἑτείμησεν Μάρκον Καρμίνιον Πο-	<i>gerousia</i> honoured Marcus Carminianus
λυτεύκην Κλαυδιανὸν ἀρχιερέα	Polydeuces Claudianus, high-priest of
Ἀσίας τὸν υἱὸν τῆς πόλεως στε-	Asia, the son of the city, having been
5 φανηφορήσαντα καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα	<i>stephanephoros</i> and priest, who always
καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀεὶ εὐεργε-	provides many and great benefactions
τοῦντα τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀναθέντα σει-	to the city, and has dedicated
τωνικὰ χρήματα (vac.)	grain-money.



These two honorific inscriptions are said to have been discovered at Kuyucak, in the lower Büyük Menderes valley, the ancient Maeander. However, this provenance occasions some surprise. It is, as we shall see, all but certain that the inscriptions come from the small Phrygian town of Attouda, modern Hisar köyü, some 35km east-south-east of Kuyucak, and at least twice that distance by any modern or ancient road.¹ However, the mobility of stones in the lower Maeander valley is well-known: numerous cases can be cited of inscriptions which have migrated, often considerable distances, and frequently to the vicinity of the railway.²

¹ The only ancient site in the immediate vicinity of Kuyucak, north of the Maeander river, is Anineta, securely located in the foothills of the Messogis at Bögdelik, an hour and a quarter to the north of the Kuyucak railway station. For the location and scanty history of Anineta, see Robert 1980, 325–334. Little is known of the cities on the north bank of the Maeander between Nysa and Tripolis. Anineta's near neighbour, Brioula, is placed by the *Barrington Atlas* (on Ramsay's authority) at 'Billara' (the correct orthography was Bilara, and it was renamed Kurtuluş more than a quarter of a century ago), four or five kilometres west of Buharkent. This identification was based on air, as shown by Robert, *op. cit.* 325 n. 17, who argues convincingly for a location west of Nazilli/Mastaura.

² 'Dans cette vallée du Méandre les pierres voyagent facilement': Robert 1937, 433, with n. 4 (Germencik to Sultanhisar). *CIL* III 7148 (Nysa?) likewise travelled eastward from Sultanhisar to Sarayköy, and *I. Kibyra* 130 migrated from Gölhisar to Aydın in the mid-1880s. A building inscription from Kuyucak, published as originating from Anineta, is just as likely to have migrated east or west along the railway: see *SEG* 32 (1982), 1208, with the Roberts' comments in the *BE* (1983), 395. Prof. W. Blümel has kindly pointed out to me that the position of Kuyucak, at the head of the Dandalas valley, suggest the possibility that the two inscriptions might rather have migrated northwards from Aphrodisias. This is not impossible: the family had close ties with Aphrodisias, and numerous inscriptions honouring its members have been found there. However, if my identification of the second inscription's honorand, Marcus Carminius Polydeuces Claudianus, is correct, an Attoudan provenance seems more likely, on the basis of other evidence for his career: see further below.

Both of the new inscriptions are honorific statue bases for members of one of the best-attested of all Asiatic families under the empire, the Carminii of Attouda.³ The relatively rare gentilician renders it all but certain that the family attained the citizenship through the offices of Sex. Carminius Vetus, proconsul of Asia in AD 96/7; according to custom, the newly enfranchised Carminius also adopted the new emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen*, and family members are henceforth designated M. Ulp. Carminii.⁴

Attouda was a small Phrygian town lying high on the north flank of Mt Kadmos, overlooking the confluence of the Lycus and Maeander rivers. The site is a dramatic one: perched on a conical hill, surrounded by ravines, with spectacular views over the Lycus plain as far as the snowy terraces of Hierapolis. In the Byzantine and early Ottoman periods, the site carried the name Ὑψηλή, 'the Height'.⁵ Little is known of the history of the town before the Roman conquest: a fragmentary epistle has been attributed to the later Hellenistic period, and a small silver coinage may date to the early first century BC.⁶ Geographically isolated, its natural neighbours are few – a few miles to the east, lower on the slopes of Kadmos, the little town of Trapezopolis;⁷ and further away to the south-west, over the ridge on the south face of the mountain range, the beautiful and opulent city of Aphrodisias.⁸

³ Some changes are here proposed to the traditional stemma and chronology of this family, and hence the evidence will be presented in some detail. The most useful earlier treatments of the Carminii are Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, I 180–183, with stemma LXIV, and Pera 1996; for more bibliography, Campanile 1994, 69–70. The facts were correctly stated in Halfmann 1979, 203–4; Halfmann 1982, 633, imports deep confusion, perpetuated by Leunissen 1989, who employs the ghost name M. Ulp. Carminius Athenagoras throughout. For the Aphrodisian branch of the family, see Reynolds 1999, with a useful stemma of the ancestors of Flavia Appia at 329, although this too is not without error (note the conflation of Appia's son and eldest grandson at bottom right). The data from Reynolds 2002 (Flavia Attalis Aeliana married to T. Flavius Athenagoras Agathos) is not incorporated into the new stemma, since the identification of the husband appears to depend on unpublished material (allegedly showing that T. Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras, brother of Flavia Appia, also carried the *agnomen* Agathos).

⁴ The omission of the 'Ulpian' in the longer of our two new inscriptions is slightly surprising, and may be accidental (although see n. 10 below). For Carminius Vetus, Eck 1982, 326–7; for the grant, Christol – Demougin 1988, 18–19. Of course the grant of citizenship strictly comes from the emperor, not the magistrate. Carminius Vetus would have established contacts with the family in the last year of Nerva's reign, and then procured the citizenship from Trajan a few years later. A precisely parallel case is that of the M. Ulpium Pomponii at Iconium, who evidently gained the citizenship through T. Pomponius Bassus (*PIR*² P 705), governor of Cappadocia-Galatia in AD 94–100 (Mitchell 1979, 413).

⁵ *TIB Phrygien* 275–276, s.v. Hypsele; Gökçe 2000, 214–5 (Ottoman Ibsili). For photographs of the modern village, see Umar 1999, 328–333.

⁶ *MAMA* VI 65, perhaps Attalid; a new fragment of this inscription, mentioning 'satraps', was seen by J. and L. Robert in 1962 (*OMS* IV, 246). A squeeze of the new fragment – the stone appears to be lost – is held at the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton; we hope that the text will be published shortly. Buckler and Calder further believed that *MAMA* VI 68 concerns a friend of the Attalid monarchs, disputed by L. and J. Robert, *La Carie II*, 109. The *MAMA* editors also assume (followed by L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, s.v.) that our Attouda is identical to that attested in the Mnesimachos conveyance (*Sardis* VII 1, 1 col. I, 10; probably of the early 3rd century, but reinscribed c. 200 BC; Schuler 1998, 160): 'a village in Attouda (ἐν Ἀττούδδοις), which is called the village of Ilos'. However, it seems more likely that the Mnesimachan Attouda, like the other properties attested in this document, lay in the plain of Sardis. A small late-Hellenistic silver coinage in the name of Attouda is known: Imhoof-Blumer, *KM* I 123, nos. 1–2 (ethnic Ἀττούδδῆων).

⁷ At Boludüzü, NE of the modern village of Bekirler. For a schematic plan of the site, see Şimşek 2002, 6.

⁸ 'Attouda ... may be reached, as it was by C[alder], from Geyre, the ancient Aphrodisias. Thence the bridle-path ascends by an easy gradient in three and a quarter hours to the summit of the pass over Salbakos' [the mountain in question had not yet been identified as Cadmus], 'and from that point the descent, in places very steep, of one and three quarter hours brings one to Hisarköy' (*MAMA* VI, xii). Sherard and Picenini had taken the same route

The earliest direct evidence for the Carminii of Attouda dates to the reign of Antoninus Pius, under whom were produced a number of Attoudan bronze coin issues ‘dedicated by’ (ἀνέθηκε) or minted ‘through the offices of’ (διὰ) a certain M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus, further described as son of the *demos* (υἱὸς τοῦ δήμου) and son of the *polis* (υἱὸς πόλεως).⁹ A single issue proclaims *homonoia* with the neighbouring town of Trapezopolis; a series of undated coins of Trapezopolis also bear the name of Marcus Carminius Claudianus, no doubt furnished on same occasion as the *homonoia* issue.¹⁰ On the last of Claudianus’ coinages, minted in AD 166–169, his name is distinguished with the title of asiarch, presumably obtained only at that late season, and an excellent pretext for yet another attractive and impressive issue.¹¹ The identification of the asiarch Claudianus has given rise to unnecessary confusion. Epigraphically a single male member of the family is known to have served as high-priest of Asia:¹² the father of the great Aphrodisian *euergetes* M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus, whose family and benefactions are enumerated in a most informative Aphrodisian honorific decree.¹³ Chronologically the identification of the mint-magistrate with the father of M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus is acceptable. The *son* of the Aphrodisian benefactor attained the consulate AD c. 190 (see below); hence a date of birth for his father c. 120, and a *floruit* for his grandfather under Hadrian and Pius. The asiarchate would in that case have fallen to him late in life. Given the likely date of the citizenship grant (AD c. 97), the asiarch Carminius Claudianus is best assumed to have been the son of the original beneficiary. A swift rise, then, to provincial prominence.

(An alternative reconstruction, favoured – for bad reasons – by most modern authorities, would identify the Attoudan mint-magistrate and asiarch with the Aphrodisian benefactor himself, M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus.¹⁴ Reassurance has been derived from the fact that the latter’s wife, Flavia Appia, is on record as high-priestess of Asia. But serious difficulties attend the identification. Although on two occasions the offices obtained by the Aphrodisian benefactor are listed in

in 1701: *JHS* 8 (1887), 222. Anderson approached Attouda from the east, taking a road which he believed to be ancient: *JHS* 17 (1897), 398–400. The history of Attouda, and its relations with Trapezopolis and Aphrodisias, are studied in more detail by Thonemann, *The Maeander* (Oxford DPhil thesis, in progress).

⁹ Eight different types, with varying legends and images, are known to have been minted by Claudianus for Attouda under Antoninus Pius (not counting the *homonoia* issue). For published examples, see Imhoof-Blumer, *KM I* 124–5, nos. 7–11; *SNG Von Aulock* 2500; *Coll. Wadd.* 7048. I am grateful to Liv Yarrow for information on unpublished types from the Antonine *RPC* database.

¹⁰ Franke – Nollé 1997, no. 90 (Paris, *homonoia*); cf. *BMC Caria*, 178, nos. 6–7 (Trapezopolis, ps.-aut.). Note the absence of the imperial gentilician, and compare our inscription 2 (Marcus Carminius Polydeukes Claudianus).

¹¹ *SNG Schweiz II* (Righetti) 955; *Coll. Wadd.* 2268 (διὰ Καρμινίου Κλαυδιανοῦ ἀσιάρχου). A separate type, without the designation ἀσιάρχου, was minted at the same time: *Coll. Wadd.* 7049; *RN* (1884) 29, no. 27 (ἐπιμεληθέντος Καρμ. Κλαυδιανοῦ). The chronological limits of these two issues are determined by the presence of L. Verus (pre-169) and the titles Ἀρ(μενιακοὶ) Πα(ρθικοὶ μέγιστοι) Μη(δικοὶ) (post-166). Macro 1979, 96, argues from the absence of the title *patres patriae* that the issues must date precisely to 166: but coins seldom carry the complete imperial titulature.

¹² It is assumed throughout that the terms Ἀσιάρχης and ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας refer to a single office. Recent statements of the ‘identity theory’, object of renewed scepticism in recent years, are persuasive. See most recently *AE* 1999, 1508–9; Weiss 2002; Carter 2004.

¹³ *CIG* 2782, 2–3 (Μαρ. Οὐλ. Καρ. Κλαυδιανόν, υἱὸν Καρ. Κλαυδιανοῦ Ἀσίας ἀρχιερέως), cf. 9–10 (αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας υἱόν).

¹⁴ Thus, among others, *PIR*² C 433; Macro 1979 and 1985; Campanile 1994; Pera 1996.

some detail, in neither case is there any mention of a provincial high-priesthood.¹⁵ Nor need the fact that his wife was provincial high-priestess necessarily imply that they held joint office.¹⁶ Epigraphically a single asiarch is attested; numismatically a single asiarch is attested; the chronology is compatible. *Asiarchi non multiplicandi sunt praeter necessitatem.*)

It seems very likely that it is this asiarch, the father of M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus of Aphrodisias, who is honoured in the second of our two new inscriptions. In the Aphrodisian document only two elements of the father's name were recorded, Carminius Claudianus; the coins also furnish the imperial *praenomen* and gentilician, Marcus Ulpius. The new document adds a Greek *cognomen* alongside the Latinate Claudianus: his full name emerges as Marcus Ulpius Carminius Polydeukes Claudianus. The polyonymy suits the family: compare the mixed Graeco-Roman nomenclature of his grandson, T. Fl. Carminius Athenagoras Claudianus, and his great-grandson M. Fl. Carminius Athenagoras Livianus.

The new inscription offers us more details concerning the career of M. Ulp. Carminius Polydeukes Claudianus. He carries the title 'son of the *polis*', already known from his coinage.¹⁷ He has served as *stephanephoros* (his son, a wealthier man, was to become *stephanephoros* for life: *MAMA VI* 74, 4–5). He also occupied one or more of the city's numerous priesthoods. The priesthoods of Meter Adrastos and Dionysos *Prokathegemon* are epigraphically attested; a priesthood of Men Karou may perhaps be assumed, given the shrine's proximity to Attouda and the god's presence on coins of the city.¹⁸ It could be argued, however, that Claudianus' priesthood is most likely to have been that of Meter Adrastos. On the *homonoia* coinage minted for Trapezopolis and Attouda by (δία) Claudianus, the *Tychai* representing Attouda and Trapezopolis appear to right and left of a standing female goddess, conventionally labelled 'Cybele', better designated as the Attoudan Meter Adrastos. The goddess is depicted serving as divine intermediary in the declaration of civic alliance between the two cities; her presence would have added point if her sublunary representative, the mint-magistrate of Attouda and Trapezopolis, could lay claim to a special relationship of this kind with her.

Finally, Claudianus has made a financial gift to the city for the purchase of grain, an ἐπίδοσις σειτωνική (*I. Didyma* 296, 3–5). For grants of σειτωνικά χρήματα, compare Sterrett 1888, 415–416 no. 612 (site at Ilyas in Pisidia), 12–14: ἐπιδούσαν καὶ σειτωνικά καὶ ἀγορανομικά χρήματα. For the use of the verb ἀνατιθέναι in this context, compare *IGR IV*, 1632 (Philadelphia), 13–16: ἀναθέντα τῇ πόλει τάχειον μὲν εἰς σειτωνικά χρήματα δηναρίων μυριάδας πέντε. In this Philadelphian document, however, the phrase σειτωνικά χρήματα is used in a slightly different sense, to refer to the fund to which the individual concerned made a contribution, rather than the contribution itself: for this usage, cf. *SEG* 29 (1979), 1281 (Nikaia), 8–9;

¹⁵ Macro 1979 goes so far as to suppose an error on the part of the stonecutter of *CIG* 2782. This has no great plausibility in itself, and fails to explain the similar silence in *MAMA VI* 74. The supposed 'confirmation' (Macro 1985) provided by Sheppard 1981, 25–26 no. 6, is nothing of the sort: see Drew-Bear 1984, 67–69. The inscription concerned (*SEG* 34 [1984], 1289), honouring a [Claud]ianus who was *stephanephoros* and high-priest of Dionysos *Prokathegemon* at Attouda, could pertain to any one of the three generations of M. Ulp. Carminii Claudiani.

¹⁶ Instances are known of women taking on the priesthood with relatives other than their husbands, although it is true that such cases are not particularly common: van Bremen 1996, 117–121 (rejecting the hypothesis that women could be high-priestesses 'in their own right').

¹⁷ For this title, see above all Robert 1969, 317–320.

¹⁸ Meter Adrastos: *MAMA VI* 74, 3; Dionysos *Prokathegemon*: *SEG* 34 (1984), 1289. Men Karou: depicted on coins minted by Claudianus, Imhoof-Blumer, *KM* 125, no. 9. For this sanctuary (with medical school attached), see Strabo 12, 8, 20 (580): it may, however, have been part of the territory of Laodicea.

I. Prusias ad Hypium 8, 6–7; 11, 15; 14, 7–8; Le Bas/Waddington 985 (Aizanoi), 11–13; perhaps *I. Kibyra* 19, 12.¹⁹

We now turn away from the evidence provided by the new documents, to trace the later history of the family, so far as is possible.

The career of M. Ulp. Carminius Polydeukes Claudianus seems to have been pursued entirely at Attouda, at least until his elevation to the asiarchate. Not so his son, the wealthy M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus (I). Having relocated to Aphrodisias early in his career, he lavished his wealth on his adoptive fellow-citizens, offering numerous cash distributions to the local notables in the council and *gerousia*. The theatre and gymnasium received vast subventions: no less than ten thousand denarii for the theatre seating. On the occasion of the construction of an aqueduct from the river Timeles to Aphrodisias, a generous distribution of oil was furnished. Office followed. At Aphrodisias, among other posts and honours, the high-priesthood of the imperial cult, and a life priesthood of Aphrodite. Nor were provincial titles lacking. Treasurer of the province of Asia; *curator reipublicae* at Cyzicus, a post proudly held ‘in succession to consulars’.²⁰ He seems hardly to have bothered himself with the affairs of Attouda: a life stephanephorate there was his, but it is clear that the focus of his benefactions and ambitions was always Aphrodisias.

His first marriage, to a certain Flavia Appia, was Claudianus’ most brilliant social success. Her father, T. Flavius Athenagoras Agathus, was of one of the oldest families in Aphrodisias – founder’s kin, no less –, an equestrian, and *procurator Augusti*. He had made an excellent marriage himself, to the daughter of a good Italian family, the Sallustii, thereby obtaining senators for father- and brother-in-law. His own son, T. Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras, duly acceded to the senate through the offices of his maternal uncle. Such was the family of Flavia Appia, sister, niece, and granddaughter of senators, and now wife of the rising Claudianus.²¹

Their first son was ostentatiously polyonymous: T. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Claudianus, twin gentilicians and *cognomina* deriving from father and maternal grandfather – or perhaps we should say, maternal uncle. It was his uncle, T. Sallustius Flavius Athenagoras, who had been the first Flavius to attain senatorial rank, and it was through his uncle that Athenagoras rose to the same station. His career was meteoric. Relocation to Rome, marriage to a certain Livia (it is inferred), four children, proudly declared to be of senatorial rank, and a brilliant career in public life. Under Commodus, he attained a proconsulate in the short-lived public province of Lycia-Pamphylia-Isauria; and, at length, the suffect consulate, in or around AD 190.²² It had taken the Carminii just four generations to rise from citizenship to consulate.

¹⁹ For the grain-funds and grain-magistrates of imperial Anatolia, see further Strubbe 1987 (catalogue) and 1989 (analysis), with Dirscherl 2000 (comparative).

²⁰ *CIG* 2782; for the aqueduct, *La Carie II*, 48–49. No reason to suppose that Claudianus was responsible for the construction itself.

²¹ Reynolds 1999; details in *MAMA* VIII 517, with corrections *AE* (1999), 1606. Appia’s consular uncle Sallustius Titillianus is no doubt identical to M. Sallustius Rufus Titillianus (*PIR*¹ S 67, *CIL* XV 7526), supporting the hypothesis of an Italian immigrant family. For the Aphrodisian Flavii as founder’s kin, Reynolds 1982, 165 no. 19.

²² For Athenagoras’ proconsulate, *MAMA* VI 74 and 75. The chronology of the formation and dissolution of the short-lived provincial grouping Lycia-Pamphylia-Isauria is not clear: Rémy 1986, 81, 93–95. A proconsulate during the 180s (certainly after 178) and a consulate in the last years’ of Commodus’ reign, perhaps the busy year 190, would give a plausible chronology. Athenagoras’ consulate is attested only in *CIG* 2783. More speculatively, he might perhaps be identified with the consul and augur T. Flavius Claudianus of *CIL* VI 1413 (*PIR*² F 236). The son recorded on that inscription (Flavius Pius) could then be identical to the son otherwise known only as Carminius Claudianus: the polyonymy would suit this branch of the family.

The acme of the Carminii was brief. Assassination brought a premature end to the Antonine dynasty on the last day of the year AD 192. Pretenders succeeded one another with perilous haste. By the following summer Septimius was installed at Rome, while the East had rallied to Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria. For the latter, defeat and death at Issus less than a year later, in the spring of 194. The senatorial adherents of Niger, eastern governors, legates and others, suffered catastrophe and eclipse. One of the victims is named in the *Digest*: a certain Flavius Athenagoras, who saw his estate confiscated and his daughter left without a dowry, at least until the benevolent Septimius intervened in her favour. No doubt the unfortunate man is none other than T. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Claudianus of Aphrodisias, struck down at the pinnacle of a brilliant career.²³ The two sons of Athenagoras fade into insignificance.²⁴ His youngest daughter, Carminia Liviana Diotima, marries well, joining an important Ephesian senatorial family.²⁵ Quite probably it was this very marriage that required subvention from the emperor. So much for the line of Athenagoras.

Two more family members come into view around the time of Athenagoras' Lycian proconsulship. First, Carminia Ammia, priestess of Aphrodite and Meter Adrastos at Attouda, wife of the Aphrodisian parvenue M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus: evidently a second wife, taken in old age by Claudianus, with Flavia Appia either deceased or divorced. Second, and more elusive, another son for Claudianus, homonymous with his father: M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus (II), helpfully qualified as *neoteros*, 'the Younger', honoured at Attouda as *stephanephoros* and priest of Meter Adrastos.²⁶

The parentage of Claudianus (II) *neoteros* is problematic. Raepsaet-Charlier has argued that he was the son of Carminia Ammia, and hence only a half-brother to the consular Athenagoras.²⁷ Her arguments are good (note in addition the absence of any maternal element to his name), and she may be right. However, in this case Carminius (II) *neoteros* would have to be a full generation younger than his half-brother, who was already father to four children before the death or divorce of Flavia Appia and the remarriage of Carminius Claudianus (I) (since Appia was still his wife at the time of *CIG* 2782). Serious chronological difficulties result. For example, assuming a date of birth c. 140 for the consular Athenagoras (and it could well be even later than that), Appia can hardly have died much before 170, providing a *terminus post quem* for any child of

²³ Papinianus, *Dig.* XXII 1, 6 (where Honoré's translation *ap.* Watson should be corrected to 'pay the daughter of Flavius Athenagoras'). The proposal here offered is that *PIR*² F 223 (the same man as *PIR*² C 429) is identical to *PIR*² F 224. That the confiscation of Athenagoras' estate was consequent upon support for Pescennius Niger was plausibly argued by Birley 1988, 114, who is aware of the Aphrodisian family but does not make the crucial connection. Athenagoras' property would have been confiscated in late 194. Some chronological novelties follow. The suggestion of Macro 1979, 96–7, that the reorganisation of Lycia-Pamphylia-Isauria took place in the aftermath of Niger's defeat, can clearly be rejected. Athenagoras' proconsulship there must have occurred several years earlier, in the 180s. His suffect consulship ought to have fallen in the last years of Commodus' reign. This would be consistent with a date of birth AD c. 145.

²⁴ T. Flavius Athenagoras Cornelianus (*IGUR* 608), to all appearances a student of medicine at Rome, is presumably a member of the same family, perhaps a grandson of Athenagoras. If so, his inscription can hardly predate the crash in 194, and we might assume that some of the family stayed on in Rome in reduced circumstances.

²⁵ Carminia Liviana Diotima: *PIR*² C 442 = 441. Her husband was P. Attius Pudens (A 1362): for his family, Eck 1980, 45–48. Groag (*RE* III col. 1597 *s.v.* Carminius 8) had preferred to identify Diotima as a granddaughter of the consular (through his second son, Carminius Claudianus); but since it is now clear (*AE* [1999] 1606) that the consular's praenomen was Titus, Groag's arguments cease to be valid.

²⁶ *MAMA* VI 74 (*neoteros*) and 75 (Ammia).

²⁷ Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, I 181.

Carminia Ammia; but the *daughter* of Carminius Claudianus (II) *neoteros*, Carminia Claudiana, was already eponym and mint-magistrate at Attuda AD c. 210. This chronology is recklessly tight. Hence it seems at least possible that Claudianus (II) is a son of Flavia Appia, full brother to Athenagoras, perhaps a few years his junior. That the earlier decree for M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus (I) from Aphrodisias does not deign to acknowledge his existence need not occasion concern. He had not yet held office, was perhaps still resident at Attouda, and mention of his name would not have augmented his father's status. But the point is evidently not to be pressed.

Provincial renown for Claudianus (II) *neoteros* comes only after the eclipse of his brother. A Severan coin issue from Attouda declares his elevation to the asiarchate, as for his grandfather Polydeukes Claudianus.²⁸ Even at Aphrodisias he had some success: Claudianus and his wife Ulpia Claudia Carminia Prokle, as *quondam* high-priests of Asia, were made priests of Aphrodite, and Prokle proclaimed 'daughter of the city'. The same title was bestowed upon their daughter, Carminia Claudiana, herself in due course to be high-priestess of the province.²⁹ A theatre seat was reserved for Carminia Claudiana at Aphrodisias, worthy honour for the granddaughter of the man who had poured his wealth so liberally into the auditorium.³⁰ She too, in the reign of Severus, around the time of her father's asiarchate, minted a small issue of bronze coinage at Attuda, in the year of her stephanephorate.³¹ It was to be the last such issue minted by a Carminius at Attouda: she is the last firmly attested member of the family.³²

A prosopography and stemma follow.

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²⁸ *SNG Von Aulock* 2501, 2505: AD 198–211.

²⁹ Unpublished inscriptions referred to by van Bremen 1996, 352 nos. 19 and 22.

³⁰ Roueché 1993, no. 46.X.18, with 'particularly elegant formal lettering'.

³¹ *GM Winterthur* 3340, 'pseudo-autonomous'. The issue is dated to 209–211 by the single 'imperial' type, *SNG Cop.* (Caria) 168 (Geta), with a slightly different reverse legend ('C(arminia) Claudiana dedicated'); cf. *GM Winterthur* 3341; *Coll. Wadd.* 2261.

³² Omitting a certain Marcus Aurelius Carminius Kataplous, whose relation to the main branch of the family cannot be determined: *BCH* 14 (1890), 238 no. 13.

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Prosopography

(The dates here offered are solely for the purposes of orientation. Readers are advised that the only remotely ‘fixed’ points within this chronology are (1) the date of the original citizenship

grant, (2) the dates of the various coin issues, (3) the proconsulate and proscription of T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus; all other dates are inferred from the relative chronology outlined above, and should be treated with due caution.)

(1) *M. Ulp. Carminius* (*flor.* AD 96/7). Not directly attested: inferred from likely date of citizenship grant.

(2) *M. Ulp. Carminius Polydeuces Claudianus* (*flor. c.* AD 138–169). *inscr.* CIG 2782, 2–3 (Carminius Claudianus); **2** above (Marcus Carminius Polydeuces Claudianus); *nummi* (numerous issues under Antoninus Pius, then again AD 166–9) (*M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus*). *archiereus* of Asia (CIG 2782, 2–3, 10–11) = asiarch AD 166–9 (*nummi*); *stephanephoros* and priest (**2** above). Probably son of (1).

(3) *M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus* (I) (*flor. c.* AD 150–180): *PIR*² C 433. *inscr.* CIG 2782, 2 (*M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus*); *MAMA* VI 74, 4–5; *MAMA* VI 75, 5–6 (Carminius Claudianus). *argyrotamias* of Asia; *curator reip.* at Cyzicus; high-priest, *tamias*, *archineopios*, and life priest of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias (CIG 2782, 13–16); life *stephanephoros* at Attouda (*MAMA* VI 74). Son of (2).

(4) Flavia Appia (*flor. c.* AD 150–170) *PIR*² F 412. *inscr.* CIG 2782, 5–6; *AE* (1999) 1606c, 10–12 (Flavia Appia). High-priestess of Asia (CIG 2782). First wife of (3), deceased *c.* AD 170.

(5) Carminia Ammia (*flor. c.* AD 170–190). *inscr.* *MAMA* VI 75. *stephanephoros*, priest of Meter Adrastos and Aphrodite at Attouda. Second wife of (3).

(6) T. Carminius Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus (*flor. c.* AD 178–194): *PIR*² F 223 (=C 429) = F 224. *inscr.* *AE* (1999) 1606c, 7–9 (T. Flavius Athenagoras Claudianus); CIG 2782, 10–11; CIG 2783, 8–11; *MAMA* VI 74, 10–12; *MAMA* VI 75, 6–9 (Carminius Athenagoras); *Dig.* XXII 1, 6 (Flavius Athenagoras). *senatorius* (*AE* [1999] 1606c; CIG 2782); *procos. Lyc. Pamph. Isaur.* *c.* AD 180 (?) (*MAMA* VI 74 & 75); *consularis* (CIG 2783). Son of (3) and (4), *cos. suff. c.* AD 190 (?), estate confiscated AD 194.

(7) Livia (*flor. c.* AD 178–194). Wife of (6). Not directly attested: inferred from nomenclature of children of (6).

(8) *M. Ulp. Carminius Claudianus* (II) *neoteros* (*flor. c.* AD 198–211). *inscr.* *MAMA* VI 74; van Bremen 1996, 352, no.22. *nummi* *SNG Von Aulock* 2501, 2505 (AD 198–211). *stephanephoros*, priest of Meter Adrastos at Attouda (*MAMA* VI 74); priest of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias (van Bremen); asiarch (*nummi*). Brother or half-brother of (6). Second son of (3) and (4) [Thonemann *dubitanter*]; son of (3) and (5) [Raepsaet-Charlier].

(9) Ulpia Claudia Carminia Prokle (*flor. c.* AD 180–211). *inscr.* van Bremen 1996, 352, no.22. High-priestess of Asia, priestess of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias. Wife of (8)

(10) *M. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Livianus* (*flor. c.* AD 190–210): *PIR*² C 430. *inscr.* CIG 2782, 11 (Carminius Athenagoras); CIG 2783 (*M. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Livianus*). *senatorius, vir clarissimus* (CIG 2783). Elder son of (6) and (7).

(11) Carminius Claudianus (*flor. c.* AD 190–210): *PIR*² C 432. *inscr.* CIG 2782, 12. *senatorius*. Younger son of (6) and (7).

(12) Carminia Appia (*flor. c.* AD 190–210): *PIR*² C 440. *inscr.* CIG 2782, 12. *senatoria*. Elder daughter of (6) and (7).

(13) Carminia Liviana Diotima (*flor. c.* AD 190–210): *PIR*² C 442 = 441. *inscr.* CIG 2782, 12

(Carminia Liviana); *CIL* XI 3832 (Carminia T.f. Liviana Diotima); *CIL* XV 7424a. *Senatoria, femina clarissima*. Younger daughter of (6) and (7). Wife of P. Attius Pudens (*PIR*² A 1362).

(14) Ulpia Carminia Claudiana (*flor. c.* AD 209–211). *inscr.* Roueché 1993, 46.X.18 (Carminia Claudiana); van Bremen 1996, 352, no.19 (Claudiana). *nummi SNG Cop.* (Caria) 168 (AD 209–211); *Coll. Wadd.* 2261; *GM Winterthur* 3340 (Ulpia Claudiana), 3341. *High-priestess of Asia (van Bremen). Daughter of (8) and (9).*

Inscriptions unassigned:

(I) 1 above. Marcus Ulpius Carminius Claudianus = (2), (3), or (8).

(II) *SEG* 34 (1984), 1289. [Claud]ianus, *stephanephoros* and high-priest of Dionysos *Prokathemon* at Attouda = (2), (3), or (8).

Özet

Bu yazıda, Kuyucak'ta bulunarak Aydın Arkeoloji Müzesi'ne taşınan iki onurlandırma yazıtı tanıtılmaktadır. Her iki yazıtta ünlü Carminii ailesinin bireylerinin onurlandırılmasından hareketle yazarlar, bu yazıtları Attouda'ya (Hisarköy) maletmekte ve bu aile bireyleri tanıtılarak ailenin bir şeceresini vermektedirler. Yazıtların çevirisi şöyledir:

1- “Meclis ve Halk, şehrin evladı Marcus Ulpius Carminius Claudianus’u onurlandırdı”.

2- “Meclis, Halk ve Yaşlılar Meclisi, Asia’nın başrahibi ve şehrin evladı olan ve *stephanephoros* ve rahip olarak hizmet eden ve kente her zaman büyük iyilikler yapan ve hububat parası bağışlayan Marcus Carminius Polydeuces Claudianus’u onurlandırdı”.

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The Carminii of Attouda

