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The Martyrdom of Ariadne of Prymnessos and an Inscription from Perge

The Martyrdom of St Ariadne of Prymnessos is a short Greek hagiographic biography, apparently composed in the fourth or fifth century AD, and preserved in a single Vatican palimpsest of the ninth or tenth century AD.¹ The Martyrdom was first published by PIO FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI in 1901, with an illuminating discussion of the very curious character of the text. The greater part of the Martyrdom, although of significant potential interest to the historian of civic life in late Roman Anatolia, is clearly fictitious. But as FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI already recognised, the Martyrdom contains embedded within it a lengthy (and somewhat embellished) paraphrase of another, much earlier text, apparently an honorific inscription of the second century AD for a civic benefactor from one of the cities of Asia Minor.² In this paper, I hope to offer some clarification about the character and provenance of this «lost» inscription.

The contents of the extant Martyrdom can be summarised as follows. The author begins by quoting an alleged edict of «Hadrian and Antoninus» outlawing the Christian faith throughout the empire.³ At this time, there lived a Christian woman by the name of Ariadne, a slave of a certain Tertullus, the first man of the city of Prymnessos in the province of Phrygia Salutaris (πρώτου τῆς πόλεως Πρυμνησοῦ Φρυγίας

Abbreviations follow those used in SEG, with the following additions: FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *I Martirii* = P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *I Martirii di S. Teodoto e di S. Ariadne* (*Studi e Testi* 6), 1901; ROBERT, *Ariadne* = L. ROBERT, *La pierre phrygienne dans la Passion d'Ariadne à Prymnessos*, in: *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, 1980, 244–56; SGO I–V = R. MERKELBACH – J. STAUBER, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, 5 vols., 1998–2004. I am grateful to MUSTAFA ADAK, VICTOR WALSER, and two anonymous referees for comments and criticism.

¹ BHG 165; FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *I Martirii*, 91–133; additional remarks, with a revised edition of the «trial of Tertullus» (see below), in: id., *Note Agiografiche* (*Studi e Testi* 8), 1902, 3–21. Date of composition: P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Hagiographica* (*Studi e Testi* 19), 1908, 131 n. 2, and nn. 4 and 11 below. A summary of the contents of the Martyrdom is provided by MERKELBACH – STAUBER, SGO IV, 115–17.

² FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *I Martirii*, 108–12; his arguments are elaborated by ROBERT, *Ariadne*.

³ FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *I Martirii*, 97–105. The edict is certainly fictitious (aside from anything else, Hadrian and Antoninus did not reign together): H. DELEHAYE, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*, 1966, 173–7.

Σαλουταρίας).⁴ On the day that Tertullus was celebrating the birthday of his son, Ariadne refused to join in the pagan rituals; Tertullus had her whipped and imprisoned in his house for thirty days.⁵ It was then brought to the notice of the provincial governor (ἡγεμῶν) Gordios that Tertullus had a Christian woman concealed in his house. A trial was accordingly convened by the governor in the city Sebasteion.⁶ Gordios began by reading out a longer version of the imperial edict summarised in the opening paragraph of the text.⁷ A relative of Tertullus, the *scholastikos* Nikagoras, then made a lengthy speech in defence of his kinsman, describing his various virtues and benefactions to the city. The governor Gordios, after cross-examining Tertullus on the life-history of his slave Ariadne, decided to acquit Tertullus on the basis of the documents before him (ἐπίσθην ... ἐκ τίτλων).

Ariadne herself was then brought before the tribunal, and professed her Christian faith.⁸ The governor was keen for her to be crucified forthwith, but the people of Prymnessos interceded in her favour, and Ariadne was granted three days' grace to repent. The girl then fled into the nearby mountains, where she successfully prayed for the earth to swallow her up, leaving only a scrap of her clothing.⁹ Following a series of

⁴ For the small Phrygian city of Prymnessos, at modern Sülün, 8 km south of Afyon (medieval Akroinos), see H. VON AULOCK, Münzen und Städte Phrygiens II, 1987, 34–6, 117–21; C. BRIKHE – T. DREW-BEAR, Kadmos 49, 2010, 161–8; P. THONEMANN, MAMA XI, p. xxii. The late Roman provinces of Phrygia Prima and Secunda are probably of Diocletianic origin, although the names «Pacatiana» and «Salutaris» are not attested until the mid-fourth century: K. BELKE – N. MERSICH, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7: Phrygien und Pisidien, 1990, 48–9.

⁵ A pagan birthday celebration also serves as the occasion of the Martyrdom of Hesperus and Zoe at Attaleia in Pamphylia: BHG 746; FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, I Martirii, 108. The description of the celebration is paralleled in other eastern hagiographies: FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, Hagiographica (above, n. 1), 34.

⁶ προκαθεσθεις ὁ ἡγεμῶν πρὸ βήματος ἐν τῷ σεβαστείῳ τῆς πόλεως. For the phrase πρὸ βήματος (*pro tribunali*), see R. FÄRBER, Römische Gerichtsorte, 2014, 176–81. The placement of the governor's tribunal at the city Sebasteion does not seem to be paralleled elsewhere: A.-V. PONT, in: O. HEKSTER – S. SCHMIDT-HOFNER – C. WITSCHERL Ritual (eds.), Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire, 2009, 185. It is anyway unlikely that a small town like Prymnessos would have hosted a trial of this kind, either before or after the creation of Phrygia Salutaris: FÄRBER, 155–73.

⁷ The edict begins with the imperial titulature βασιλεῖς μεγάλοι καὶ αὐτοκράτορες Ἀδριανὸς καὶ Ἄντωνίνος σεβαστοὶ εὐσεβεῖς τροπαιοῦχοι σωτῆρες καὶ κτίσται τῆς οἰκουμένης. Aside from the late Roman imperial title τροπαιοῦχος, this is suggestively close to the real titulature of Antoninus Pius alone, Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τ. Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἄντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς Εὐσεβῆς σωτῆρ καὶ κτίστης τῆς οἰκουμένης (e.g. IG V 2, 130 [Tegea]; TAM V 2, 1308 [Hyrkanis]). An honorific base for Antoninus Pius, honoured as [σωτῆ]ρα καὶ κτίστην, is known from Prymnessos: MAMA IV 5.

⁸ The first part of her speech, missing in the Greek original, can be partly reconstructed from the Latin paraphrase in the *Passio S. Mariae ancillae* (BHL 5422): FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, Note Agiografiche (above, n. 1), 17–21.

⁹ The theme of the rock opening to receive the saint, and the scrap of clothing left behind as proof, also appears in the legends of St Thekla: G. DAGRON, Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle,

increasingly improbable portents, including the destruction of a temple at Prymnessos by lightning, the entire population of Prymnessos ended up converting to Christianity, to the number of three thousand.

The sole part of the text that concerns us is the speech delivered by the *scholastikos* Nikagoras in defence of Tertullus. This speech begins with an address to the governor, in a style characteristic of late Roman *encomia*:

ὁ τῆς ἐπαρχίας πρύτανις, ὁ ἑσφόρος πάντων ἡμῶν, ἡ δεξιὰ τῶν κατερραγμένων, ὁ εὐδιος λιμῆν, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἡμέτερον, ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τῆς εὐδοκίας τῶν δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, τῶν ἀηττήτων βασιλέων, ὧν νόμοι τε καὶ φωναὶ ἐπετήρησαν (ἡμᾶς) εἰς εὐδιον λιμένα, ἐπακοῦσαι ἡμῶν καταξίωσον, δεόμεθα τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας.

«Lord of the province, morning-star to us all, right-hand of those who have been cast down, calm harbour, our light, author of the goodwill of the masters of the world, the undefeated emperors, whose laws and voices have preserved us safe into a calm harbour, vouchsafe to hear us, we entreat your Benevolence.»

The general approach corresponds well to the advice given by Menander Rhetor to orators delivering an address to a governor on his arrival in a city (an ἐπιβατήριον); in particular, the imagery of dawn light could have been drawn directly from Menander's precepts.¹⁰ The use of the term πρύτανις for a provincial governor, as ROBERT noted, is often found in epigrams of the late Roman period,¹¹ and the phraseology of the final clauses is characteristic of petitions to emperors and governors from the second century AD onwards.¹²

At this point, Nikagoras abruptly shifts into a very different mode. The greater part of his speech consists of a long paratactic narrative of Tertullus' various benefactions to the city of Prymnessos. As FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI recognised, and as ROBERT subsequently demonstrated in great detail, the style of this narrative is otherwise entirely foreign to the Martyrdom, and instead reflects the content, language and syn-

1978, 48–54. It is possible that the tale served as an aetiology for a cult-place of Ariadne in the mountains near Prymnessos: A. BUSINE, *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6/2, 2013, 343.

¹⁰ Menander Rhetor (ed. D. A. RUSSELL – N. G. WILSON, 1981), II.iii (377. 31–382. 9) περὶ ἐπιβατηρίου, with E. MEYER-ZWIFFELHOFFER, *Πολιτικῶς ἄρχειν*, 2003, 92–102; note especially Menander Rhetor 378. 11–12, ὡσπερ ἡλίου φαιδρά τις ἀκτὶς ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν ὀφθεῖσα; 381. 11–18, ἀστέρα φανότατον ὀνομάζοντες ... νῦν ἡλίου φῶς φαιδρότερον, νῦν ὡσπερ ἕκ τινος ζόφου προσβλέπειν δοκοῦμεν λευκὴν ἡμέραν. The phrase φῶς ἡμέτερον does not seem otherwise to appear until Euthymios Tornikes: J. DARROUZÈS, *REB* 26, 1968, 71 (ὡ φῶς ἡμέτερον σὺ, βασιλεῦ, of Alexios Komnenos). The theme of the governor's intercession with the emperors (ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τῆς εὐδοκίας τῶν δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης) also appears in Menander Rhetor: 379. 25–6, πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς βασιλέα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τοῖς γράμμασιν.

¹¹ ROBERT, *Ariadne*, 245 n. 9, citing SEG 52, 1423 (Perge); I.Ephesos 1300, 1302.

¹² For the phrase δεόμεθα τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας, compare e.g. the petition of the inhabitants of Dagis to a *legatus Augusti* in AD 159/60, *IScM* I 378 (T. HAUKEN, *Petition and Response*, 1998, 170–8), δεόμεθα ... ἡμεῖς ... [τῆς σου ἀσ]νκρίτου φιλ[ανθρω]πίας ἐλεῆσε ἡμ[ᾶς].

tax of civic honorific inscriptions on statue-bases of the high imperial period.¹³ This part of Nikagoras' speech should be quoted in its entirety; for ease of reference, I have divided it into 14 subsections.

(1) οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ εὐγενῆς ὑπάρχει, ἀρχιερεὺς μὲν τῶν Σεβαστῶν, δημιουργὸς δὲ τῆ πόλει, (2) καὶ <πρὸς> ταῖς ἄλλαις αὐτοῦ πάσαις δωρεαῖς ταῖς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις αἷς εὐεργέτησεν τὴν πόλιν (3) πρεσβέων ἐπὶ τῆ δωρεᾷ τοῦ βαλανείου, οὕτινος εἰς τὸν κόσμον †λίθον Φρύγιον ποικίλας καὶ χαριτώσας† μεγάλως ἐπεμελήθη. (4) ὁ προειρημένος ἀρχηγὸς καὶ πρωτεύων γενόμενος τῆς τοιαύτης †ἀρετῆς† λαμπρὸς καὶ ἄξιος ἀπεδείχθη. (5) καὶ τί λέγω; τίς γὰρ <ἄν> δυνηθεὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ ἐξειπεῖν μεγάλας οὐσας καὶ ἀναριθμήτους; (6) τὰ δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ εὐεργετήματα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἃς παρέσχεν τῆ πόλει καθ' ἑκάστην <ἀρχὴν>, τίς ἄν ἐκφράσαι δυνηθεῖ; (7) ἀρχιερεὺς μὲν ἐκ προγόνων καὶ γυμνασιάρχος, ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς γεγονὼς καὶ πασῇ ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένος, (8) ἐπιτελέσας καὶ θυσίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς τε πατρώοις θεοῖς καὶ τῆ παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀσύλω Δικαιοσύνη καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς, (9) ἐστιάσας τοὺς τε πολίτας, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὴν γερουσίαν, τοὺς δὲ παρεπιδημοῦντας ξένους καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰστιᾶτο. (10) ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας εὐσεβῶς διακείμενος πρὸς τε τοὺς <θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς> Σεβαστοὺς, εὐνοικῶς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν πατρίδα, (11) ὡς προεῖπον, οὐδένα καιρὸν παραλέλοιπεν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας; (12) πᾶσαν μὲν πεπλήρωκεν φιλοδοξίαν, ἀρχιερευσάμενος τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγνωστοθετήσας τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἱερῶν Καισαρείων πενταετηρικῶν ἀγώνων; (13) θεωρίας δὲ καὶ ἱερὰς πανηγύρεις παρέσχεν, θηριομαχίας τε εὐπρεπεῖς παντοίων ζῶων μονομάχους τε τῆ τέχνη γυμνάσας καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, (14) διαφόρους πρεσβείας ἐπρέσβευσεν δωρεάν, προκρίνας τοῦ ἰδίου λυσιτελοῦς τὸ τῆ πόλει συμφέρον.

§ 2: <πρὸς> add. ROBERT. § 3: πρεσβέων ἐπὶ τῆ δωρεᾷ MS, ROBERT; πρεσβέων, ἔτι τε τῆ δωρεᾷ FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI. λίθον Φρύγιον ποικίλας καὶ χαριτώσας MS; ποικίλον †καίχαριτώσας† ROBERT. § 4: ἀρετῆς MS; <φιλοτιμίας> vel sim. ROBERT. § 5: <ἄν> add. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI. § 6: post καθ' ἑκάστην lacunam posuit ROBERT; <ἀρχὴν> THONEMANN. § 8: καὶ τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς MS; καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ROBERT. § 10: <θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς> add. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI. § 13: θεωρίας τε MS; δὲ FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI. post κόσμῳ lacunam posuit DE SANCTIS ap. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI.

«(1) This is a man of noble birth, a high-priest of the Augusti, and *demiourgos* to the city, (2) and <in addition to> all his other gifts to his homeland and the benefactions which he has bestowed on the city (3), going on an embassy concerning the gift of the bath-house, for the decoration of which †*Phrygian stone ... polychrome ... granted*† he took care of in a magnificent manner. (4) This afore-mentioned (man) having been the originator and the first man of such a †*virtue*†, he was proclaimed glorious and

¹³ FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, I Martirii, 110–12; ROBERT, Ariadne, 246–50, with copious epigraphic parallels.

worthy.¹⁴ (5) But what am I saying? Who could list his benefactions, great and numberless as they are? (6) Who could express his good deeds, from the start (sc. of his career), and the gifts which he has bestowed on the city in each of his (offices)?¹⁵ (7) High-priest like his ancestors and gymnasiarch, having been a fine and good man and adorned with every virtue, (8) having also performed sacrifices from his own resources to the ancestral gods and to the inviolable (*asylos*) maiden Artemis Dikaio-syne and to the Augusti, (9) and having feasted the citizens, especially the *gerousia*, he also feasted the foreigners who were in town. (10) From his earliest youth being piously disposed towards the (gods and the) Augusti, and well-disposed also towards his homeland, (11) as I have said, this man allowed no occasion to pass by for showing his piety and generosity; (12) he has fulfilled every opportunity for honour, in acting as high-priest of the Augusti and agonothete of the Greater sacred Kaisareian penteteric contests; (13) he has also provided spectacles and sacred *panegyreis*, (and laid on) splendid wild-beast combats of all kinds of animals, and gladiators whom he trained up in technical skill with splendid equipment, (14) (and) went on various embassies at his own expense,¹⁶ putting the city's benefit before his own profit.»

Taken phrase by phrase, the greater part of Nikagoras' speech in praise of Tertullus is made up of entirely conventional elements, familiar to any student of the honorific epigraphy of the eastern Roman empire in the second and third centuries AD – «le pain quotidien des épigraphistes», as ROBERT put it. But taken as a whole, the text leaves a distinctly odd impression: it is clear that the author of the Martyrdom has substantially recast his original epigraphic model or models.

Most Greek honorific inscriptions of the Roman imperial period present the hono-rand's good deeds in the form of a string of participial clauses, usually in the accusative (ἡ βουλή και ὁ δήμος ἐτείμησαν τὸν δείνα, ἀρχάς τινας ἄρξαντα, τι ποιήσαντα,

¹⁴ The manuscript reading τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς makes no sense. As ROBERT remarked (Ariadne, 247), we would expect instead a term such as φιλοτιμίας, «gift». ROBERT may have had in mind the Aphrodisian inscription ala2004 87 (sixth century AD, discussed by ROBERT, *Hel-lenica* IV, 1948, 127–32), where the hono-rand is described as «originator of the generous gift of the summer Olympian bath», [τὸν ἀρ]χηγὸν τῆς φιλοτιμίας τοῦ θερινοῦ Ὀλυμπίου λουτροῦ. On any hypothesis, the participle πρωτεύων seems out of place here.

¹⁵ As ROBERT already noted (Ariadne, 247 n. 18), a word must have dropped out after καθ' ἐκάστην. For my restoration καθ' ἐκάστην (ἀρχήν), cf. C. ΚΟΚΚΙΝΙΑ, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift von Rhodiapolis*, 2000, III E lines 6–8, προγόνων ... καθ' ἐ[κάστη]ν ἀρχή[ν] πολιτεικήν τε και ἔθνιαήν ἀσυ[κρίτω]ς φιλοτεμησαμένων; TAM II 1202 (Phaselis), lines 14–16, ὡ[στε και] καθ' ἐκάστην ἀρχήν τε[τεμιῆσθαι] ... ὑπὸ τῆς πόλ[εως] (similarly TAM II 1200); G. E. BEAN – T. B. MITFORD, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, 1970, 31–3 no. 13 (Kotenna), lines 15–16, ἐστιάσασα καθ' ἐκάστην ἱερωσύνην πάντα τὸν δήμον.

¹⁶ ROBERT rightly remarks (Ariadne, 249 n. 31) that the adjective διαφόρους («various») is unattested in this context; the closest parallels known to me are I.Iasos 616 (Bargydia), θε[ας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ δόντα δ]ιαφόρους (the restorations are not certain); IGR III 115 (Pontic Sebastopolis), κυνηγέσια και μονομαχίας διαφερούσας παρεσχημένον.

πρός τινα πρεσβεύσαντα, etc.), more rarely in the nominative.¹⁷ This «original» syntactical structure is partially preserved in the extant version of Nikagoras' speech (§ 7–9, γεγωνῶς ... κεκοσμημένος ... ἐπιτελέσας ... ἐστιάσας; § 12, ἀρχιερευσάμενος ... καὶ ἀγνωθετήσας), and has partially been replaced with indicative verbs in the perfect (§ 11–12, παραλέλοιπεν ... πεπλήρωκεν) and aorist (§ 3–4, ἐπεμελήθη ... ἀπεδείχθη). The results of this partial recasting into the indicative are at times distinctly awkward: note especially § 9 (ἐστιάσας τοὺς τε πολίτας ... τοὺς δὲ παρεπιδημοῦντας ξένους καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰσιῖατο), where the ugly ἐστιάσας ... εἰσιῖατο is very unlikely to reflect an epigraphic «original».¹⁸ The author has also rephrased a couple of clauses as rhetorical questions, in a form entirely foreign to honorific epigraphy, but eminently suitable to a oral encomium (§ 5–6, τίς γὰρ ἄν) δυνηθείη ... ἐξειπεῖν; ... τίς ἄν ἐκφράσαι δυνηθείη;).

The sequence of clauses in Nikagoras' speech is also strikingly incoherent. We are told of Tertullus' high-priesthood of the Augusti at least twice, and perhaps three times (§ 1, 7, 12); one embassy is described early on (§ 3), with other embassies alluded to at the very end (§ 14). The description of Tertullus' piety «from his earliest youth» (§ 10) would more naturally have preceded the account of his various sacrifices (§ 8), and we might have expected the general description of him as «a fine and good man and adorned with every virtue» (§ 7) to have come either at the very beginning or the very end of the speech. It is hard not to conclude that the text as we have it is a composite of some kind, perhaps drawn from more than one honorific inscription, or at least substantially reorganised and reordered.¹⁹

In his analysis of Nikagoras' eulogy of Tertullus, ROBERT remarked on one particularly noteworthy detail of the text. In § 8, one of the chief objects of Tertullus' piety is a deity by the name of παρθένος Ἄρτεμις ἄσυλος Δικαιοσύνη. Here we find the sole touch of local Prymnessian «colour» in the entire speech: the chief deity of Roman Prymnessos, as we learn from the iconography of the city's bronze coinage, was indeed the goddess Δικαιοσύνη, «Justice».²⁰ But a composite deity Ἄρτεμις Δικαιοσύνη is otherwise unattested and, as ROBERT demonstrated, the epithet ἄσυλος seems to point

¹⁷ J. MA, *Statues and Cities*, 2013, 32. Honorific inscriptions of this type can run to well over a dozen participial clauses: e.g. J. NOLLÉ, *Side im Altertum I*, 1993, 195–202, TEP 1 (sixteen participial clauses, mostly in asyndeton); I.Kaunos 139 (sixteen accusative participles).

¹⁸ For the sense, compare BEAN – MITFORD (above, n. 15), 31–3 no. 13 (Kotenna), lines 15–16, ἐστιάσασα καθ' ἐκάστην ἱερωσύνην πάντα τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας ξένους; I.Perge 58, πολλάκις τε δόντα [ἐστιάσ]εις πανδήμους το[ίς] κατοικοῦσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τ[οῖς] ἐ[πι]δημ[ή]σασιν ξένοις.

¹⁹ Contra, ROBERT, *Ariadne*, 255 («un seul décret honorifique»).

²⁰ ROBERT, *Ariadne*, 251–5. *Dikaiosyne* on coins of Prymnessos: H. VON AULOCK, *Münzen und Städte Phrygiens II*, 1987, 34–6, 117–21; RPC I, 3194–3210; RPC II, 1396–7; RPC IV (<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>), 1914, 1916–17, 1921, 3353; RPC VII 1, 776–7, 780–2, 784; S. MITCHELL, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, 1993, II 18. The cult is epigraphically attested only in MERKELBACH – STAUBER, *SGO III*, 16/52/01.

to another part of Asia Minor altogether: the city of Perge in Pamphylia, where the goddess Artemis Pergaia was regularly designated as ἄσυλος in inscriptions from the Flavian period onwards.²¹

Other elements of Nikagoras' speech also point to a Pamphylian, if not to a specifically Pergaian origin for the epigraphic «original». The civic magistracy mentioned in § 1, the δημιουργός, is unattested in Phrygia; however, the δημιουργός was the eponymous magistrate in numerous cities of Kilikia, southern Pisidia, and Pamphylia, Perge included.²² The name of the festival for which Tertullus is said to have acted as agonothete, the μεγάλοι (καὶ ἱεροί) πενταετηρικοὶ Καισάρειοι ἀγῶνες, is attested as the official name of local festivals at Perge, Attaleia and Aspendos in Pamphylia, as well as at Apollonia by Pisidia – once again, a festival of this name is unattested anywhere in Phrygia.²³

Given the evidence available to him, ROBERT was not able to take this curious (and rather tenuous) connection between the Martyrdom of Ariadne of Prynnessos and the city of Perge in Pamphylia any further. Additional problems are raised by a difficult verse epigram from Sagalassos in Pisidia, to which (as both FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI and ROBERT recognised) certain passages in Nikagoras' speech also bear a curious resemblance; we shall return to this important text in a few pages' time.²⁴ Concluding his analysis of Nikagoras' eulogy of Tertullus, ROBERT was only able to offer a highly tentative solution to the problem of the text's «original» provenance. In ROBERT's view, the mention of the goddess Dikaosyne in Nikagoras' speech implies that the epigraphic «original» on which the speech was based was indeed a lost honorific inscription of Prynnessos in Phrygia. But for reasons unknown, this text then suffered a number of Pergaian «interpolations» on points of detail (the name of the goddess Artemis ἄσυλος; the mention of a δημιουργός). ROBERT cautiously concludes that two separate inscriptions of the high imperial period, one of Prynnessos, the other of Perge, somehow (and somewhere!) ended up getting «amalgamated»; this amalgamated document was then decontextualised and re-imagined as a juridical eulogy by the author of the fictive Martyrdom.²⁵

²¹ K. J. RIGSBY, *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, 1996, 449–55. The goddess carries the title ἄσυλος on third-century coins of Perge: RPC IX (<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>), 1063 (Etruscilla), 1073 (Gallus).

²² ROBERT, *Ariadne*, 250; R. K. SHERK, *ZPE* 93, 1992, 240.

²³ ROBERT, *Ariadne*, 252. Perge: I.Perge 42–3, 60–1, 63. Attaleia: SEG 17, 577, 580–1, 587, 596. Aspendos: IGR III 804. Apollonia: MAMA IV 152, 154. The adjective ἱεροί appears only at Apollonia (MAMA IV 152).

²⁴ L. ROBERT, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, 1940, 142–3, no. 98; MERKELBACH – STAUBER, *SGO* IV, 114–17, 18/08/01 (with a discussion of the relationship with the Martyrdom of Ariadne).

²⁵ ROBERT, *Ariadne*, 256: «Singulière est la discordance de certains détails d'institutions, dont l'un mène directement à Prynnessos comme on l'attend d'après le récit, tandis qu'un autre conduit au moins vers la Pisidie [i.e. Sagalassos], un autre vers la Pamphylie [i.e. Perge] [...] Mais comment a-t-on pu amalgamer un document de Prynnessos et, pour deux ou trois détails, un document, disons, de Pergè?». An even less plausible scenario was proposed by R. MERKEL-

This elaborate and implausible reconstruction did not satisfy ROBERT himself, and nor should it us. Happily, thanks to the emergence of new epigraphic evidence, we are now able to provide a somewhat more satisfactory account of the real epigraphic «origins» of Nikagoras' speech.

* * *

One of the most prominent Asiatic Greeks in imperial service in the later second century AD was a certain Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus, whose career can be reconstructed from half a dozen inscriptions from widely dispersed parts of the Asia Minor peninsula. On an honorific base from the Asklepieion at Pergamon he is described as *ab epistulis Graecis* of the emperor Marcus Aurelius; the imperial titulature suggests that the inscription should be dated between summer 173 and summer 175, most probably in the first half of AD 175.²⁶ An inscription from Melli in Pisidia, honouring Tertullus as «benefactor and patron» of the city, describes him as *ab epistulis Graecis* of plural emperors, suggesting that his tenure of the office continued into at least 177, when Commodus was associated with Marcus as joint emperor.²⁷ A slightly later bilingual inscription from Ephesos adds two further equestrian offices for Tertullus, both still under Marcus and Commodus (i.e. between 177 and 180), the posts of *a rationibus* and *praefectus vigilum*.²⁸ A fourth inscription, from Selge in Pisidia, describes Tertullus as *ab epistulis Graecis* and *a rationibus*, but of Marcus Aurelius alone (this time with the victory title *Sarmaticus*, i.e. after summer 175).²⁹ Fitting the Selge document into Tertullus' career is rather problematic, since the Melli inscription implies that he did not become *a rationibus* until 177 or later; it is probably easiest to assume that the name of the joint-emperor Commodus has been inadvertently omitted from the Selge text.³⁰

BACH, *Philologica: Ausgewählte kleine Schriften*, 1997, 381 n. 6: «Die ältere Vita ist in Prynnessos niedergeschrieben, die Überarbeitung hat in Perge stattgefunden» – even though this alleged «reworking» would have left its traces only in the goddess' name παρθένος Ἄρτεμις ἄσυλος (Δικαιοσύνη) and in the civic office of δημιουργός!

²⁶ AvP VIII 3, 28: Κλαύδιον Ουίβιανόν Τέρτυλλον ἐπὶ ἐπιστολῶν Ἑλληνικῶν αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μ. Αὐρηλίου Ἄντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ. For the date, see S. MITCHELL, *AS* 53, 2003, 147.

²⁷ MITCHELL (n. 26), 146–8, no. 8 (SEG 53, 1582; AE 2003, 1763): ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος [Τι]β. Κ[λ.] Ουίβιανόν Τέρτυλλον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν αὐτοκράτορων, τὸν πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως.

²⁸ I.Eph. 651 (ILS 1344): Τι(βέριον) Κλ(αύδιον) Ουίβιανόν Τέρτυλλον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων τῶν μεγίστων αὐτοκράτορων καὶ ἔπαρχον οὐργοῦλων.

²⁹ I.Selge 13: Τιβ. Κλ. Ουίβιανόν Τέρ[τυ]λλον ... τὸν [ἐπὶ] τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ καθολικὸν ἐπίτροπον τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκρά(τορος) Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἄντωνεῖνου Σεβ(αστοῦ) Ἀρμενιακοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μηδικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ.

³⁰ Thus MITCHELL, *AS* 53, 2003, 147–8. The editors of Chiron plausibly suggest connecting this flurry of documents from the latter half of the 170s with Marcus' eastern travels in AD

Tertullus' city of origin does not emerge clearly from these four documents. CH. HABICHT believed that he was a native of Pergamon, on the basis both of his membership of a private cult-association at Pergamon, and the existence of a later Pergamene *strategos* by the name of Ti. Claudius Tertullus.³¹ The inscription from Selge describes Tertullus as «citizen and benefactor» of Selge, and honours him for his actions «towards his homeland (*patris*)», but this need not imply that Selge was his real place of origin; Roman and provincial notables were often granted citizenship at several different cities, all of which could thereby be named as the individual's «*patris*».³²

In fact, the most plausible candidate for Tertullus' native town is the city of Perge in Pamphylia. Tertullus appears – probably – in two inscriptions from Perge, both published for the first time in SENCER ŞAHİN'S *Die Inschriften von Perge I* (1999, IGSK 54). The first of these (I.Perge 194) is a difficult fragmentary text, reconstructed from three separate fragments, apparently recording the joint dedication or restoration of a swimming-bath by Tertullus and his son.³³

Τιβ. Κλ[αύδιος Ούειβιανός Τέ]ρτυλλος ὕπατος
καὶ Τι[β. Κλαύδιος – c. 8 – ο]ς Ούειβιανός
Τερτ[υλλ- - c. 17 –]ς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ,
[- - - - - κο]λύμβου τοῦ τε-
[- - - - -]κειονικ[. . 3–4. .]ων
5 [- - - - -]ντες τῆ π[. . 4–5 . .]

«Tib(erius) Cl[audius Vibianus Te]rtullus, consul, and Ti[b(erius) Claudius - - -u]s Vibianus Tert[ull- - -], his son, [...] swimming-bath, [...] columns (?) [...]»³⁴

175–176 (H. HALFMANN, *Itinera principum*, 1986, 213): Tertullus could well have mediated between the emperor and provincial cities in Asia in his capacity as *ab epistulis Graecis*.

³¹ CH. HABICHT, *AvP VIII* 3, p. 67; the later *strategos* appears on Pergamene bronze coins struck under Severus Alexander (H. VON FRITZE, *Die Münzen von Pergamon*, 1910, 93; SNG Von Aulock 1417–18; GM Winterthur 2667).

³² D. ERKELENZ, *Patria, civis, condecurio*, ZPE 137, 2001, 271–9 (AE 2001, 106); Tertullus is one of the key examples there cited. On the phenomenon of multiple citizenship in the Roman East, see now A. HELLER – A.-V. PONT (eds.), *Patrie d'origine et patries électives*, 2012.

³³ Cf. PIR² T p. 34 and LGPN V.B, s. v. Τέρτυλλος (5–6). The term [κο]λύμβου in line 4 seems not otherwise to be attested epigraphically, though cf. TAM II 396 (Patara, AD 68/9), τὸ βάλαν-εἶον κατεσκευάσεν [ἐκ] θεμελ[ι]ῶν σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ προσκοσμήμασιν καὶ ταῖς κολυμβήθραις.

³⁴ In his commentary to I.Perge 194, S. ŞAHİN notes the possibility of a shorter lacuna in the middle of the line, which would permit us to restore Τιβ. Κλ[αύδιος Τέ]ρτυλλος ὕπατος | καὶ Τι[β. Κλαύδιο]ς Ούειβιανός | Τέρτ[υλλος – c. 3–5 –]ς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ. In this case, Vibianus Tertullus would be the *son* of the consul; however, as ŞAHİN remarks, this creates serious chronological difficulties. If we accept (as I do) the longer line-length, then the name of the consul's son can be read as Ti[b. Claudius - - -u]s Vibianus Tert[ull- - -]; in line 3, we could restore either

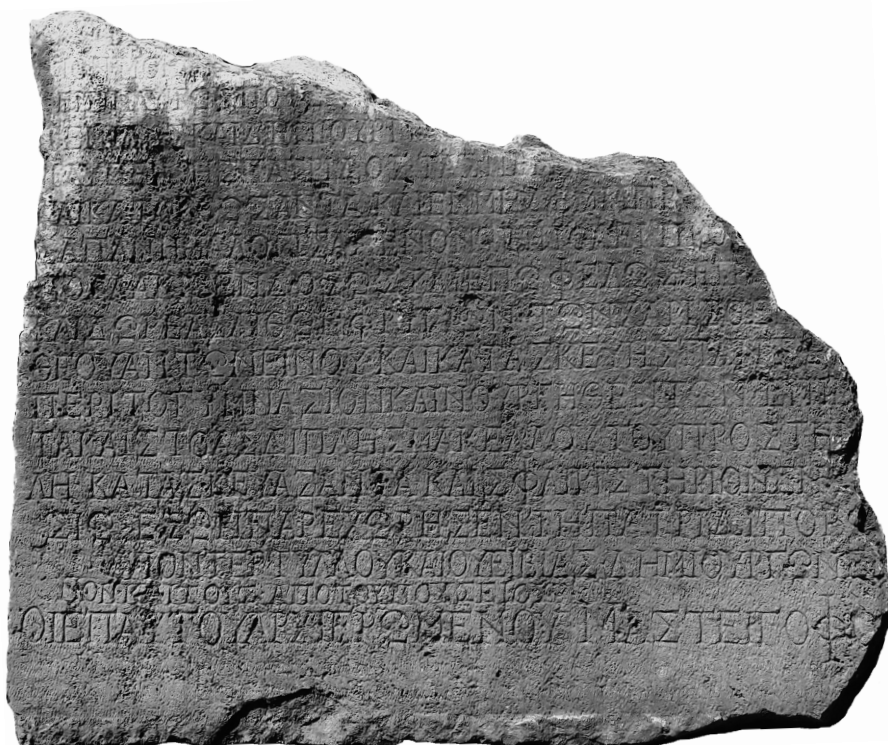


Fig. 1: Die Inschriften von Perge 193 (Photo: MUSTAFA ADAK).

Assuming the text has been correctly restored, we thereby learn that Vibianus Tertullus was raised to the suffect consulship at some point in his career, evidently after AD 177–180; ECK and PANGERL have plausibly identified him with a «Tertullus» known to have held the consulship in AD c. 183/4.³⁵

The second inscription from Perge is a long honorific inscription for a local civic benefactor (I.Perge 193; here, Fig. 1), erected by the «whip-bearers» (μαστιγοφόροι) who served as festival-police during the honorand's tenure of the civic high-priest-

Τέρτ[υλλος] or Τερτ[υλλιανός], followed either by a *cognomen* or a local civic office (e.g. [δημοουργός]).

³⁵ A fragmentary military diploma, probably from the reign of Commodus, gives us a consular pair by the names of [- -] Apronianus and [- -] Tertullus (W. ECK – A. PANGERL, ZPE 152, 2005, 258–62, no. 14 [AE 2005, 1721]). As ECK – PANGERL argue, the first of these could well be M. Cassius Apronianus, father of the historian Cassius Dio, suffect consul AD c. 183/4 (P. LEUNISSEN, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander*, 1989, 139); a consulship for Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus in the mid-180s, a few years after his attested equestrian offices, would fit our available evidence well.

hood of the imperial cult.³⁶ The name of the honorand stood in the missing first part of the inscription; however, he is described in line 15 as the «son of Tertullus and Vibia, the *demiourgoi*», and hence we can reasonably assume that the honorand was the later consul Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus. I would restore the text as follows:³⁷

- [... (Τιβ. Κλαύδιον Ουείβιανὸν Τέρτυλλον ...)]
 [... ἀρχιερασάμενον τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνο]-
 [0] [θετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Καισαρείων πενταετηρι]-
 1 [κ]ῶν ἀ[γώνων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ εἰσαγαγόντα ζευ]-
 γίον μονο[μάχων ὀξέσι σιδήροις τοῖς συνχωρη]-
 [θ]εῖσιν αὐτῶ ὑπὸ τῶ[ν Σεβαστῶν, καὶ ἱερέα τῆς Ἀρ]-
 τέμιδος καὶ δημιουργῶ[ν γενόμενον, καὶ τελέσαν]-
 5 τα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τὰς περὶ . [. . c. 4–5 . . πρεσβείας]
 καὶ κατορθώσαντα, καὶ ἐν μηδεμιᾷ πρ[εσβείᾳ τὸ]
 δαπάνημα λογισάμενον τῇ πόλει, προ[ηγορήσαντα]
 πολλάκις ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπωφελῶς, ἐπ[ιμεληθέντα]
 καὶ δωρεᾶς λίθων Φρυγίων τῶν χαρισθέν[των ὑπὸ]
 10 θεοῦ Ἄντωνείνου καὶ κατασκευῆς πάντ[ων τῶν]
 περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον καινουργηθέντων, ἐπιμ[εληθέν]-
 τα καὶ στοᾶς διπλῆς μακέλλου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ μ[εγάλῃ πύ]-
 λῃ, κατασκευάσαντα καὶ σφαιριστήριον ἐν τ[ῶ γυμνα]-
 σίῳ ἐξ ὧν παρεχώρησεν τῇ πατρίδι πόρω[ν vac.?
 15 υἶὸν Τερτύλλου καὶ Ουείβιας δημιουργῶν, εἰ[ερασάμε]-
 γον καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου. vac.
 οἱ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερωμένου μαστειγοφ[όροι]

[0]–1: [ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τῶν μεγά[λ]ων ἐ[γώνων πενταετηρικῶν Καισαρείων καὶ --] ΣΑΗΙΝ; [ἀρχιερασάμενον τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Καισαρείων πενταετηρι|κ]ῶν ἀ[γώνων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων] ΤΗΟΝΕΜΑΝΝ. 1–3: . ΙΟΝ μονο[μαχ--]]. εἰσιν ΣΑΗΙΝ; [καὶ εἰσαγαγόντα ζευ]|γίον μονο[μάχων ὀξέσι σιδήροις τοῖς συνχωρη|θ]εῖσιν ΤΗΟΝΕΜΑΝΝ. 3: ὑπὸ τῶ[ν Σεβαστῶν, καὶ ἱερέα τῆς Ἀρ]|τέμιδος ΣΑΗΙΝ. 4–5: δημιουργ[ὸν -- ἐκδική(?)σαν]|τα ΣΑΗΙΝ; [-- πρεσβεύσαν]|τα ΡΕΤΖΛ; δημιουργ[ὸν γενόμενον καὶ τελέσαν]|τα ΤΗΟΝΕΜΑΝΝ. 5: τὰς περὶ . [-- δίκας (?)] ΣΑΗΙΝ; τὰς περὶ . [-- πρεσβείας] ΡΕΤΖΛ. 6: ἐν μηδενὶ ἀπρ[όσδεκτον (?)] ΣΑΗΙΝ; ἐν μηδεμιᾷ πρ[εσβείᾳ] ΡΕΤΖΛ. 7: προ[δικήσαντα (?)] ΣΑΗΙΝ; προ[ηγορήσαντα] ΤΗΟΝΕΜΑΝΝ. 8–17: rest. ΣΑΗΙΝ.

³⁶ μαστειγοφόροι: M. WÖRRLE, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, 1988, lines 63–5, with pp. 202–3 (μαστειγοφόρους κ' ... ἐπιμεληθησομένους τῆς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις εὐκοσμίας, καθὼς ἂν ταγῶσι ὑπὸ το[ῦ] ἀγωνοθέτου); cf. SEG 44, 1187 (Oinoanda), SEG 58, 1613 (Patara).

³⁷ For the restorations of lines 4–7, see already G. PETZL, EA 31, 1999, 96 n. 2 (SEG 49, 1890).

«[... and having acted as high-priest of the Augusti and as agonothete of the penteter]ic G[reater Kaisareian contests from his own resources, and also having laid on a pa]ir of glad[iators with sharp weapons, as gran]ted to him by the [emperors, and having been priest of Ar]temis and *demiourg[os]*, and having undertaken embassies] on behalf of his homeland ..., and having been successful, and in no em[bassy] having charged his expenses to the city, having act[ed as the city's advocate] on many occasions in a splendid and beneficial manner, and having also ta[ken care of] the gift of Phrygian stones which had been gran[t]ed by the divine Antoninus and of the construction of a[ll the] new building-works around the gymnasium, and having also ta[ken ca]re of the double stoa of the *macellum* near the G[reat] Gate, and having also constructed a *sphairisterion* in t[he gymna]sium from the revenues which he made over to his homeland – the son of the *demiourgoi* Tertullus and Vibia, having acted as p[riest] also for those in the Mouseion. The whip-bearers in office during his high-priesthood (set this up).»

Lines 0–1: ΣΑΗΙΝ's proposed restoration in lines 0–1 captures the sense, but his suggested word-order is unlikely: other inscriptions from Perge always refer either to the μεγάλων Καισαρείων πενταετηρικῶν ἀγώνων (I.Perge 42, 43) or to the μεγάλων πενταετηρικῶν Καισαρείων ἀγώνων (I.Perge 60, 61, 63), never to the *μεγάλων ἀγώνων πενταετηρικῶν Καισαρείων. For the phraseology ἀγωνοθέτης/ἀγωνοθετεῖν ... ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, cf. I.Perge 47, 60, 61, 63.

Lines 1–3: The likely mention of gladiators (μονο[μάχων]) at the start of line 2 suggests that we need a collective noun for a pair or larger group of gladiators at the end of line 1 and start of line 2. The noun ζευγος is commonly used of a gladiatorial pair (L. ROBERT, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*, 1940, 282; W. GÜNTHER, *IstMitt* 35, 1985, 127), and hence I have restored [ζευ]γίον, «pair».³⁸ For the verb εισάγειν in this context, cf. I.Perge 203 (with SEG 49, 1891): εισήγαγεν [ζευ]γος μονομάχων τὸ [ὑπὲρ] ψυχῆς ἀγωνισάμενον ... κατὰ θεῖαν δω[ρε]άν; SEG 49, 817, line 10 (Thessalonike), εισάγοντες [καὶ ζε]ύγη δύο [μονο]μάχων. In line 3, we have a reference to something having been granted to the honorand (αὐτῷ), apparently by the emperors (ὑπὸ τῶ[ν Σεβαστῶν]). My restorations in lines 2–3 assume that the honorand was granted permission ([συνχωρη]θ[ε]ῖσιν) to lay on gladiatorial combats with sharp weapons (ὀξεσι σιδήροις, τοῖς ὀξέσιν). By the later second century AD, civic benefactors had to seek specific imperial authorisation to lay on such combats: see J. NOLLÉ, *Kaiserliche Privilegien für Gladiatorenmunera und Tierhetzen*, *JNG* 42/3, 1992/3, 49–82. For the use of συνχωρεῖν/συνχώρησις in this context, see MAMA XI 3 (Apollonia: μονομαχία[ς] ... ὀξέ[σι σιδήρ]οις ... κατὰ θε[ί]αν σ[υνχώρη]σιν); I.Beroia 69 (ζευγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνιούμενον ... κατὰ συνχώρησιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν); cf. also e.g. I.Eph. 3070 (φιλοτεμισάμενον ... ζυγοῖς ἀποτόμοις ... εὐτυχῆσαντα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Σεβαστῶν).

Lines 3–4: The second *omicron* of δημιουργὸ[ν] in line 4 seems to be visible on the photograph of the stone. The role of ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ δημιουργός seems to have been a single liturgical office at Perge (I.Perge 56, 58, 63, 118, 120–1, 123–5, 199, 252): note especially the various honours for Plancia Magna, in which her tenures of various offices are listed asyndetically (e.g. I.Perge 125: ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἀρ[τέ]μιδος καὶ δημιουργὸν τὸ τρίτον, ἱέρειαν Μητρὸς θεῶν διὰ

³⁸ One might also wonder about [(κοντρο)κνή]γιον; but the phrase *[κνή]γιον μονο[μάχων] is unparalleled, and the asyndeton [κνή]γιον (καὶ) μονο[μαχίας] would be hard to account for.

βίου, ἀρχιέρειαν τῶν Σεβαστῶν). ΣΑΗΙΝ prints and translates [καὶ ἱερέα τῆς Ἀρ]|τέμιδος καὶ δημιουργὸ[ν] as a self-contained clause, but we clearly need a participle here, and hence I have restored [γενόμενον] in line 4.

Lines 4–7: The general drift of these lines, misunderstood by ΣΑΗΙΝ, was correctly grasped by G. ΡΕΤΖΛ, EA 31, 1999, 96 n. 2 (SEG 49, 1890). In lines 4–5, ΡΕΤΖΛ restored the participle [πρεσβεύσαν]|τα, but assuming that my restoration [γενόμενον] is correct, this seems too long for the lacuna. Furthermore, the ordinary idiom for «go on an embassy» is either τελεῖν πρεσβείαν or simply πρεσβεύειν, not πρεσβεύειν πρεσβείαν: cf. e.g. I.Kibyra 75 (πρεσβεύσαντα ἐπὶ τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς ... καὶ ἑτέρας πλείστας πρεσβείας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τελέσαντα); I.Kaunos 139 (πρεσβεύσαντα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας δωρεάν, τελέσαντα δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας πρεσβείας πλείστας); I.Aph2007 12.306.i (τελέσαντα δὲ καὶ πρεσβείας ἄλλας τε πλείστας καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην). I have hence restored [τελέσαν]|τα in lines 4–5. At the end of line 5, I have no plausible suggestion for the first part of the lacuna (probably a very short prepositional phrase with περι + gen.; conceivably a compound adjective in περι-). In lines 6–7, ΡΕΤΖΛ restores and punctuates ἐν μηδεμιᾷ π[ρεσβείᾳ τὸ] δαπάνημα λογισάμενον τῇ πόλει. Honorary decrees for ambassadors often describe the embassy as having been conducted προῖκα (TAM III 1, 104), δωρεάν (I.Perge 67), αὐτεφόδιος (I.Keramos 14); longer periphrases of this kind are unusual.

Lines 7–8: ΣΑΗΙΝ tentatively restores here προ[δικήσαντα (?)], but the verb is very rare in epigraphic texts. I should prefer to restore προ[ηγορήσαντα], «having acted as the city's (legal) representative»; cf. SEG 19, 835 (Pogla: προηγορήσ[αν]τα καὶ [σ]υν[δικήσ]αντα ὑπέ[ρ τῆς πό]λεως); L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* IX, 1950, 11–14.

This inscription provides us with a wealth of information concerning Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus' energetic activities at Perge. From our perspective, the most interesting clauses come in lines 8–11:

... ἐπ[ιμεληθέντα]
καὶ δωρεᾶς λίθων Φρυγίων τῶν χαρισθέν[των ὑπὸ]
10 θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου καὶ κατασκευῆς πάντ[ων τῶν]
περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον καινουργηθέντων ...

«... having also ta[ken care of] the gift of Phrygian stones which had been gran[t]ed by] the divine Antoninus and of the construction of a[l]l the] new building-works in the gymnasium ...»

The «Phrygian stones» referred to here must be white or polychrome marble architectural members or revetment panels deriving from the imperial quarries at Dokimeion. As the excavations of Perge have abundantly demonstrated, Dokimeian marble, both white and polychrome, was indeed extensively used in second-century public architecture at Perge.³⁹ We should note that an imperial grant of «Phrygian

³⁹ J. J. HERRMANN JR. – R. H. TYBOUT, in: Y. MANIATIS (ed.), *ASMOSIA VII* (BCH Suppl. 51), 2009, 64–5. The «gymnasium» referred to in I.Perge 193 should probably be associated with the South Baths (ΣΑΗΙΝ, I.Perge I p. 209, cf. p.173), from which several architectural elements of Dokimeian marble are known. For the use of imported marble by imperial grant at Perge, see S. ΣΑΗΙΝ, *Marmor Numidicum in Perge unter Domitian*, *Gephyra* 9, 2012, 41–50.

stones» does not appear in any other epigraphic text. Such a grant does, however, make a prominent appearance in an extremely difficult and corrupt passage of Nikagoras' eulogy of Tertullus in the Martyrdom of Ariadne of Prymnessos:

(3) πρεσβέων ἐπὶ τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ βαλανείου, οὗτινος εἰς τὸν κόσμον †λίθον Φρύγιον ποικίλας καὶ χαριτώσας† μεγάλως ἐπεμελήθη.

«Going on an embassy concerning the gift of the bath-house, for the decoration of which †Phrygian stone ... polychrome ... granted† he took care of in a magnificent manner.»

As ROBERT noted, these clauses seem to be describing a successful embassy undertaken by the fictive Tertullus of Prymnessos to an unnamed Roman emperor, who was persuaded to grant a certain quantity of decorative polychrome Phrygian marble («pavonazzetto») from the imperial quarries at Dokimeion «for the decoration (of the bath-house)» (τοῦ βαλανείου ... εἰς τὸν κόσμον).⁴⁰ It can hardly be a coincidence that the sole epigraphically attested grant of «Phrygian stones» – that attested in I.Perge 193 – was procured by a real, historical individual also carrying the name of Tertullus. Indeed, the parallel of the Perge inscription suggests a possible way of reconstructing a badly corrupt phrase of the Martyrdom: †καὶ χαριτώσας† in § 3 probably conceals a passive participle of the verb χαρίζεσθαι, «to grant», as in I.Perge 193 (τῶν χαρισθέν[των ὑπὸ] θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου, lines 9–10).⁴¹

This is not the only parallel between I.Perge 193 and Nikagoras' speech in praise of Tertullus. The similarities between the two texts may be listed as follows:

1. The name of the honorand (Tertullus);
2. Oversight (ἐπεμελήθη, Martyrdom § 3; ἐπιμεληθέντα, I.Perge 193.8) of a gift of Phrygian stones (τῇ δωρεᾷ ... λίθων Φρυγίων, Martyrdom § 3; δωρεᾶς λίθων Φρυγίων, I.Perge 193.9) granted by an emperor (†καὶ χαριτώσας†, Martyrdom § 3; τῶν χαρισθέν[των ὑπὸ] θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου, I.Perge 193.9–10);
3. Tenure of the office of δημιουργός (Martyrdom § 1; I.Perge 193.4);

⁴⁰ ROBERT, Ariadne, 247, who compares I.Smyrna 697 (polychrome marble columns for the aleipterion of the Smyrna baths, granted by Hadrian through the agency of Polemo the sophist). The adjective ποικίλος, «polychrome», is not pleonastic, since the Dokimeian quarries in Phrygia exported both polychrome and white marble: PH. NIEWÖHNER, in: P. THONEMANN (ed.), Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society, 2013, 215–48, with bibliography.

⁴¹ The text of the Martyrdom could originally have read (e.g.) οὗτινος εἰς τὸν κόσμον λίθων Φρυγίων ποικίλ(ων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος) χαρι(σθέντων) μεγάλως ἐπεμελήθη, «He took care of the decorative Phrygian stones, granted by x for the decoration of (the bath-house), in a magnificent manner».

4. High-priesthood of the Augusti (Martyrdom § 1, § 12; I.Perge 193.17 [and 0, restored]);
5. *Agonothesia* of the μεγάλοι Καισάρειοι πενταετηρικοί αγώνες (Martyrdom § 12; I.Perge 193.0–1 [partially restored]);
6. Provision of gladiatorial combats (Martyrdom § 13; I.Perge 193.1–3);
7. Performance of several embassies at his own expense (Martyrdom § 14; I.Perge 193.4–7);
8. Sacrifices to/priesthood of the goddess Artemis Pergaia (Martyrdom § 8; I.Perge 193.3–4).

The conclusion seems to me to be inescapable: that Nikagoras' eulogy of Tertullus in the Martyrdom of Ariadne of Prynnessos was modelled on a Pergaean inscription in honour of the Antonine dignitary Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus of Perge. Whether it was this very inscription (I.Perge 193) that served as the model for the author of the Martyrdom is less clear. We have no way of knowing how many lines might have been lost at the beginning of I.Perge 193: Tertullus' tenure of the office of gymnasiarch (§ 7), laying on of civic banquets (§ 9), and provision of wild-beast shows (§ 13) could easily have been mentioned in the lost first part of the inscription. Alternatively, it is perhaps preferable to assume that the author of the Martyrdom was drawing on a lost «sister-inscription» to I.Perge 193, describing many of the same benefactions by Tertullus to Perge in language somewhat closer to that of Nikagoras' eulogy. At any rate, there is very little in the speech of Nikagoras which we can say with reasonable certainty could not have come from a Pergaean epigraphic text – perhaps only the reference to the goddess Δικαιοσύνη in § 8 (an easy insertion for a Prynnessian author or redactor to make).

* * *

Both FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI and ROBERT were struck by a series of close and unexpected parallels between Nikagoras' eulogy of Tertullus and another Greek inscription of the high imperial period, a twelve-line verse epigram in honour of a certain Tertullus from Sagalassos in Pisidia.⁴² The stone is lost, and the inscription is known only from a copy made by F. V. J. ARUNDELL in 1824. The text reads as follows:

⁴² CIG III 4377; L. ROBERT, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, 1940, 142–3, no. 98; SGO IV, 114–17, 18/08/01. For the connection with the Martyrdom of Ariadne of Prynnessos, see FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *I MARTIRII*, 111; ROBERT, *Ariadne*, 250–2.

πάντη μὲν κῦδος Τερτύλλου [- - -]
 ἔκ τε σοφῶν ἔργων ἔκ τε ἀγαθῶν πατέρω[ν]·
 νῦν δ' ἔτι που καὶ μᾶλλον, ἀρηϊφίλων ὅτε φωτ[ῶν]
 τόσσην ἐν σταδίοις ἐστόρεσεν στρατι[ήν],
 5 ἄρκτους πορδά[λι]άς τε κατέχτανεν ἠδὲ λέ[οντας],
 σφῶν κτεάνων πάτρην πρεσβυτέραν θέμενο[ς]·
 τῷ μετὰ κλεινὸν Ἄρην ἐναγώνιος ἐστι καὶ Ἑρμ[ῆς],
 νείκην πορσύνων ἀνδράσιν ἀθλοφόροις.
 τοῦνεκα καὶ βασιλῆες ἐπιστέλλειν ἐπένευ[σαν],
 10 αἱ δ' ἄρεται τούτου καὶ προγόνων πλέον[ες].
 σῆμα δέ, κεῖ τέχνα Φρύγιον λίθον ἔργω ἐλέ[γχει],
 ψεύδεται· ἐγ γαίης τῆσδε πέφυκε λίθος.

«The glory of Tertullus is complete [- -],⁴³ both from his wise deeds and his excellent ancestors. But now it is greater still, since he has laid low so great an army of men beloved of Ares in the amphitheatre, and has slain bears, panthers, and lions, setting his homeland of higher worth than his own possessions. After famous Ares, he also has with him the Hermes of contests, who furnishes victory to prize-winning athletes. For the sake of this, the emperors have ...,⁴⁴ and his virtues are even greater than those of his ancestors. This monument, even if its artistry proclaims it to have been worked of Phrygian marble,⁴⁵ is deceptive: the stone is native to this land.»

As ROBERT demonstrated, this inscription probably accompanied a gladiatorial monument of some kind, most probably a collective tomb.⁴⁶ Tertullus – evidently a citizen of Sagalassos (πάτρην, line 6) – has laid on a series of spectacular public shows for his «homeland», including gladiatorial combats (lines 3–4), wild-beast hunts (line 5), and athletic contests (lines 7–8). The points of overlap between the epigram and Nikagoras' eulogy of Tertullus are, once again, striking: the name of the honorand (Tertullus); his provision of wild-beast hunts and gladiatorial combats (Martyrdom § 13; Sagalassos epigram, lines 3–5); the fact that he «set the city's interests above his

⁴³ The phrase πάντη μὲν κῦδος Τερτύλλου probably stands alone as an acclamation, without a verb: compare IG VII 95 (Megara: epigram for the governor Ploutarchos, IV AD), with L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* IV, 1948, 94–102: πάντη Πλουτάρχοιο κλέος, πάντη δέ τε θαῦμα, πάντη δ' εὐνομίης εὐχος ἀπειρέσιον.

⁴⁴ On the meaning of the phrase ἐπιστέλλειν ἐπένευ[σαν], see further below.

⁴⁵ Pace ROBERT, *Ariadne*, 251 n. 48, the restoration of the verb ἐλέ[γχει] is probably correct: cf. I.Cret. I xvi 24 (Lato, II BC: dedication of a temple of Aphrodite), τίνες δ' ὅδε πέτρος ἐλέγχει, «Who (the dedicators are), this stone reveals». But the whole phrase κεῖ ... ἐλέ[γχει] is undoubtedly awkward.

⁴⁶ L. ROBERT, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, 1940, 53–64; M. ΑΔΑΚ, *Nemesis in der bithynischen Metropole Nikaia und ein Prokonsul der Provinz Asia*, in *Vir doctus anaticolicus: Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin*, 2015, 8–14 (citing the Sagalassos monument at n. 55).

own profit» (προκρίνας τοῦ ἰδίου λυσιτελοῦς τὸ τῆ πόλει συμφέρον, Martyrdom § 14; σφῶν κτεάνων πάτρην πρεσβυτέρην θέμενο[ς], Sagalassos epigram, line 6); and, most peculiar of all, the mention of «Phrygian marble» (Martyrdom § 3; Sagalassos epigram, line 11), albeit in very different contexts (in the Martyrdom, a grant of Phrygian marble for a bath-house; at Sagalassos, a claim that the monument is, despite appearances, not in fact made of Phrygian marble).⁴⁷ ROBERT was evidently uncertain what to make of the curious links between these two texts («Le rapprochement des deux Tertullus est assez troublant»). There is nothing else in Nikagoras' speech to connect it to Sagalassos, and the praise of Tertullus in the Martyrdom cannot have been in any sense «modelled» on the Sagalassos epigram. So how should we explain these eerie similarities?

In fact, it seems to me, we can now offer a simple and convincing explanation. As we have already seen, Nikagoras' eulogy of Tertullus was almost certainly modelled on a Pergaian inscription of the Antonine period, erected in honour of the civic benefactor and Roman official Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus. We have already seen that Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus, although probably a native of Perge, was also a citizen of the Pisidian city of Selge, where he was honoured as «citizen and benefactor» for his actions «towards his homeland (*patris*)». ⁴⁸ It is perfectly plausible that Vibianus Tertullus of Perge should also have enjoyed citizenship at Sagalassos: the fact that Sagalassos is described as Tertullus' «homeland» (πάτρην, line 6) in the Sagalassian epigram is no impediment to this identification, as the Selge text shows. In that case, the verbal correspondences between the Sagalassos epigram and the Martyrdom of Ariadne of Prymnessos would result simply from the fact that both texts ultimately refer to the same historical individual, Vibianus Tertullus of Perge. It would be no surprise for Tertullus to have been praised in similar terms at Perge and Sagalassos.

In fact, the identification of the «Tertullus» of the Sagalassian epigram with the Pergaian benefactor Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus receives strong support from a curious and misunderstood phrase in the Sagalassian text. The words ἐπιστέλλειν ἐπένευ[σαν] in line 9 of the Sagalassian epigram have never been satisfactorily explained. ROBERT commented «Les mots sont difficiles ... Il me semble que ces mots font allusion aux permissions que donne l'empereur pour le nombre des gladiateurs et des bêtes et les modalités du combat, l'*indulgentia principis* ... Le mot ἐπιστέλλειν signifie «mander»». ⁴⁹ But there are various problems with this interpretation. First, the conjunctive adverb τοῦνεκα at the start of line 9 implies that the imperial decision was

⁴⁷ Local Sagalassian limestone is indeed difficult to distinguish by eye from white Dokimeian marble: M. WAELKENS, in: M. WAELKENS – J. POBLOME (eds.), *Sagalassos IV: Report on the Survey and Excavation Campagins of 1994 and 1995*, 1997, 241.

⁴⁸ I.Selge 13: Τιβ. Κλ. Οὐιβιανὸν Τέρ[τυ]λλον, πολείτην καὶ εὐ[ε]ργέτην τῆς πόλεως ... τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα διηνεκοῦς τεμῆς χάριν.

⁴⁹ ROBERT, *Ariadne*, 251 n. 47; MERKELBACH – STAUBER (SGO IV 18/08/01) translate «Deshalb haben auch die Kaiser befohlen, ihm Briefe zu schreiben».

the result of Tertullus' virtues and euergetic activities, not their precondition. Second, the sequence of clauses does not clearly link the imperial decision with the provision of gladiatorial combats and wild-beast hunts: the immediately preceding lines (7–8) are concerned with athletic contests at Sagalassos. Third, and most importantly, ἐπινεύσαι τι ποιεῖν does not mean «consent to do something». When the verb ἐπινεύειν is used with an object infinitive, the subject of the infinitive is the person or persons to whom consent is being given: ἐπινεύσαι (τινί) τι ποιεῖν means «permit/order someone to do something».⁵⁰ As a result, I suggest, line 9 of the Sagalassian epigram, τοῦνεκα καὶ βασιλῆς ἐπιστέλλειν ἐπένευ[σαν], ought to signify «For the sake of this, the emperors appointed him as *ab epistulis*». All four of the non-Pergaean honorific inscriptions for Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus mention his tenure of the post of *ab epistulis Graecis*, and it would be unsurprising for him to have mentioned the office here too.⁵¹

* * *

I am afraid that I can offer no entirely convincing solution to the most interesting question of all: how did it come about that a fourth- or fifth-century Greek hagiography for a (fictive) martyr from Phrygian Prynnessos should carry embedded within it an extended paraphrase of an Antonine honorific inscription from Perge? Two possible explanations may be proposed, neither of them entirely satisfactory.

The first possibility is that the Martyrdom as we have it is a reworking of an earlier, lost hagiographic text, originally composed and set at Perge – a hypothetical intermediary «Pergaean Martyrdom».⁵² On this hypothesis, the author of the extant Martyrdom of Ariadne, in transposing the tale to Prynnessos in Phrygia, would also have transferred Nikagoras' eulogy of Tertullus to a new geographic setting, altering only the name of the chief goddess of the city (παρθένος Ἄρτεμις ἄσλος <Δικαιοσύνη>). The author of the putative original «Pergaean Martyrdom» would have used, as one of his major sources for his fictitious narrative, an honorific inscription still visible at Perge at the time of composition (let us say, the fourth century AD). This kind of imaginative re-use of pagan epigraphy is not unknown in late antique hagiography: as I have shown elsewhere, much of the late fourth-century Life of Abercius of Hierapolis was fabricated from a group of genuine Hierapolitan inscriptions of the second century AD, which were creatively re-interpreted and inserted into the entirely fictitious biography of a historical local bishop.⁵³

⁵⁰ LSJ s. v. ἐπινεύω (2).

⁵¹ AvP VIII 3, 28; SEG 53, 1582 [Melli]; I.Eph. 651; I.Selge 13.

⁵² Wholesale textual recycling of this kind is not uncommon in hagiographic texts: H. DELEHAYE, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, 41955, 95–9.

⁵³ P. THONEMANN, *Abercius of Hierapolis: Christianization and Social Memory in Late Antique Asia Minor*, in: B. DIGNAS – R. R. SMITH (eds.), *Historical & Religious Memory in*

The second possibility (suggested to me by ANDREW MEADOWS) is that the honorific decree of the city of Perge recycled by the author of the Martyrdom was, in fact, inscribed on stone and erected at Prymnessos itself. We do not strictly know for certain that Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus was a native of Perge. It is theoretically possible that Tertullus was in fact a native of Prymnessos, and that his small Phrygian home-town had the honours which had been conferred on Tertullus at Perge re-inscribed (perhaps as part of a larger «dossier» of honorific decrees for Tertullus) at Prymnessos.⁵⁴ This hypothesis receives slight circumstantial support from the proximity of Prymnessos to the imperial quarries at Dokimeion, the source of the «Phrygian stones» granted by Antoninus Pius to Perge (I.Perge 193) through Tertullus' intercession. If Tertullus was a Prymnessian by origin, it becomes slightly more likely that he could have had some particular «local» interest in the Dokimeian marble-trade.⁵⁵ But this takes us into the realm of speculation.

At any rate, I hope to have shown that one of the fictional protagonists of the Martyrdom of Ariadne of Prymnessos, Tertullus, «the first man of the city of Prymnessos in the province of Phrygia Salutaris», conceals a perfectly real and concrete individual who lived under the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus, aside from being a major civic benefactor at his presumed home-town of Perge, also enjoyed citizenship at the nearby Pisidian cities of Selge and Sagalassos; at both Perge and Sagalassos, he funded a series of major public spectacles, including wild-beast hunts and gladiatorial combats. He had a distinguished equestrian career in the latter part of Marcus Aurelius' reign, holding the office of *ab epistulis Graecis* in the years between AD 175 and 177, and subsequently occupying the posts of *a rationibus* and *praefectus vigilum* (between 177 and 180). Adlected into the senate in the late 170s or early 180s, he seems to have held the suffect consulship some time in the mid-180s, perhaps in AD 183/4. His local offices and civic benefactions at Perge were celebrated in at least one lengthy Pergaean honorific inscription (I.Perge 193). Many years later, perhaps in the fourth century AD, a Christian hagiographer rediscovered this (or another) honorific inscription for Tertullus, either at Perge or at

the Ancient World, 2012, 257–82. See further DELEHAYE (n. 52), 73–82; C. RAPP, Hagiography and the Cult of Saints in the Light of Epigraphy and Acclamations, in: D. SULLIVAN – E. FISHER – S. PAPAIOANNOU (eds.), Byzantine Religious Culture, 2012, 291–311.

⁵⁴ For some analogous cases, cf. A. V. PONT, Grands notables et petites patries en Asie, in: A. HELLER – A.-V. PONT (eds.), Patrie d'origine et patries électives, 2012, 285–308. «Travelling» honorific decrees, with a copy erected in the honorand's native city, are common enough in the high imperial period: cf. e.g. I.Byzantion 3 (I AD: inscribed at Olbia); SEG 18, 143 (I AD: decrees of the Lycian League, Patara, Telmessos); I Aph 2007 12.27 (II AD: decree of Halikarnassos) and 5.214 (III AD: decree of Ephesos); J. NOLLÉ, Side im Altertum I, 1993, 195–202, TEp 1 (III AD: decree of Side, inscribed at Karallia). This last example is perhaps the closest parallel for the scenario postulated here, although Karallia is a mere 50 km east of Side.

⁵⁵ This might help to account for the otherwise very strange reference to «Phrygian marble» in the Sagalassos epigram (line 11).

Prymnessos. The hagiographer used the text of the inscription as the basis for a long prose encomium (the speech of Nikagoras), embedded in his biography of a fictive second-century Christian martyr. So it was that the real, historical career of Vibianus Tertullus of Perge ended up being preserved, in spectral and distorted form, in the late antique Greek Martyrdom of Ariadne of Prymnessos.

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