Greek High Culture in Hellenistic and Early Imperial Bithynia

Towards a Prosopography of Practitioners of Greek Culture in Bithynia Down to the Middle of the Third Century AD

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Abstract

The article attempts to set out evidence for various forms of Greek high culture in Bithynia from the fifth century BC to the middle of the third century AD, taking as a cut-off point the tetrarchic period in which Diocletian’s choice of Nicomedia as a capital had a marked impact on its and other Bithynian cities’ cultural life. The preliminary prosopography lists representatives of Greek culture by city, subdividing into the categories doctor, grammaticus, historian, philosopher, poet, rhetor or sophist, and scholar (with a sprinkling of other performers). Only Nicaea, with 30 names, makes a strong and persistent showing; of other cities only Nicomedia musters more than 10 names, though Prusa and Prusias ad mare produce several doctors. Prusias ad Hypium, by contrast, can boast only a single philosopher, perhaps a rhetor who moved to Nicaea, and a visiting tragic performer.

Keywords

city – hellenisation – medicine – philosophy – poet – rhetoric

1 Introduction

Bithynia had no Greek settlements before the ‘colonising’ movement of the eighth and seventh centuries BC. Even that established only a few cities—the
ἀποικίαι (‘colonies’) of Astacus (712/711 BC) and Chalcedon (685 BC, modern Kadıköy), Megarian foundations; Cius, a Milesian foundation; and Myrleia, originally founded by Colophonians as Brylleion. Olbia may be added: its location, not certainly identified, was in the eastern part of the Gulf of Nicomedia.¹

The number of Greek cities grew with the creation of a kingdom of Bithynia. Its second king, Nicomedes I (c. 279-c. 255 BC), replaced Astacus, which had been taken by Lysimachus, with his adjacent foundation, Nicomedia, which he made his capital. In the East he founded Bithynion, apparently de novo. He also annexed the city at the eastern end of Lake Ascanius: this had started life as Antigoneia when founded by Philip’s son Antigonus in 311 BC; then, in 301 BC, it became Nicaea, named after Lysimachus’ wife.²

At the end of the third century Bithynia’s expansion by Prusias I (c. 230-182 BC) added the coastal cities of Cius and Myrleia to the kingdom. Cius became Prusias ad mare;³ and either then or later, under Nicomedes II (149-127 BC), Myrleia became Apamea. Prusias also acquired Heracleia Pontica’s colony Cierus, which became Prusias ad Hypium,⁴ took Tieium, and founded de novo Prusa ad Olympum.⁵ In the first century BC, Caesar founded colonia Iulia Concordia (later colonia Iulia Concordia Augusta) on Apamean territory, but apparently the Greek city continued to exist.

These cities old and new were major vehicles of hellenisation, seemingly a conscious policy of all the Bithynian kings. One interesting case involves the myth of Hylas. It is no accident that in the mid-third century BC Apollonius of Rhodes (1.1207-1357) and Theocritus (Idyll 13), and in the mid-second century BC Nicander (cf. Ant.Lib. no. 26), set versions of the Argonaut Hylas’ abduction by a nymph or nymphs in the back-country of Cius. This poetic activity reflects

¹ Ptol. Geog. 5.1.3, though Plin. Nat. 5.148 takes Olbia to be an earlier name of Nicaea. That Olbia is another name for Astacus is possible but beyond proof, see K. Strobel in Brill’s New Pauly s.n. ‘Olbia [5]’: For these and other Bithynian cities’ locations see Map 1.
² Str. 12.4.7.565C.
³ Str. 12.4.3.564C: κατέσκαψε δὲ τὴν Κίον Φιλίππος, ὁ Δημητρίου μὲν υἱός, Περσέως δὲ πατήρ, ἐδωκε δὲ Προὐσὶ τῷ Ζήλα, συγκατασκάψαντες καὶ ταύτην καὶ Μύρλειαν ἀστυγείτονα πόλιν, πλησίον δὲ καὶ Προύσης οὖ σαν· ἀναλαβὼν δ ’ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῶν ἐρείπων αὐτῶν ἐπωνόμασεν ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν Προὐσιάδα πόλιν τὴν Κίον, τὴν δὲ Μύρλειαν Απάμειαν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός (‘Philip, Demetrius’ son and Perseus’ father, razed Cius and gave it to Prusias son of Zelas, who had helped him raze both Cius and the neighbouring city of Myrleia, which was also near Prusa: and he restored these cities from their ruins and gave Cius the further name Prusias after himself, and Myrleia the further name Apamea after his wife’).
⁴ Memnon of Heracleia, FGrH 434 c. 27.
⁵ Str. 12.4.3.564C: Προῦσα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ολυμπίας ἱδρυται τῷ Μυσίῳ, πόλις εὐνομουμένη, τοῖς τε Φρυγίων ἡμοῖς καὶ τοῖς Μυσίων, κτίσμα Προῦσιου τοῦ πρὸς Κροῖσον πολεμήσαντος (‘On Mysian Mt Olympus is built Prusa, a well-run city, adjacent to Phrygia and Mysia, the foundation of Prusias who fought against Croesus’); Plin. Nat. 5.148 credits Hannibal.
the search for Greek pedigrees for their cities by the Bithynian kings, who were probably responsible for developing the Hylas festival involving *oreibasia* still celebrated in Strabo’s time.\(^6\) The outcomes of this policy of hellenisation could be assessed by examining civic structures,\(^7\) relations between civic elites and monarchs, and festivals, though on all these our evidence is very patchy. In this paper I pick out one diagnostic phenomenon, the emergence of practitioners of high culture, as a palpable index of Hellenism, surveying the period from these cities’ foundation to the middle of the third century AD: late in the third century Bithynia’s intellectual landscape changed radically with the advance of Christianity and Diocletian’s choice of Nicomedia for his capital.

2 Practitioners of High Culture

It is clear from my prosopography and table that whereas Myrleia and Chalcedon make some contribution before the third century BC, from no later than the second century BC Nicaea’s cultural figures were more numerous and often more distinguished; only from late in the first century AD does Nicomedia begin to make a showing. There is a mere scattering of testimonies to high culture elsewhere. By contrast with Nicomedia and the other cities, the combination of a few literary sources,\(^8\) a catalogue of philosophers in the charred papyri of Herculaneum, and some notices in the late George of Cyprus, with the Suda entry on Nicaea, several inscriptions, and a remark in Athenaeus, allows us to assemble a substantial list of mathematicians,

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\(^6\) Str. 12.4.3-564C: καὶ νῦν δ’ ἔτη ἱστορή τις ἄγεται παρὰ τοῖς Προυσιεῦσι καὶ ὀρειβασία θιασευόντων καὶ καλοῦντων ὰδανον ἔτη τὸν κατὰ ζήτησιν τὴν ἐκείνου πεποιημένων τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ὄλας ἔξοδον (‘And there is still a festival that the people of Prusias celebrate and roaming in the mountains by people who form cult-groups and call out “Hylas” just as was done by those who—during their search of Hylas—undertook the expedition into the forests’). The cult can be traced back to as early as the fifth century BC, cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 2005.

\(^7\) For the magistracies and council in Greek cities of Bithynia after the Augustan modifications of the *lex Pompeia* see Ameling 1984; for their socio-political structures, Fernoux 2004.

\(^8\) Note especially St.Byz. s.v. Νίκαια· πόλις Βιθυνίας, Βοττιαίων ἄποικος. ἐκαλεῖτο δ’ ἀπὸ τοὐτοῦ Ἀγκώρη, εἶτα Ἀντιγόνεια, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Λυσιμάχου γυναικὸς Νίκαια μετεκλήθη … ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἑλικώρης καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης καὶ Παρθένιος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδης καὶ Ἐπιθέρσης γραμματικὸς γράψας περὶ λέξεων ἀττικῶν καὶ κωμικῶν καὶ τραγικῶν (‘Nicaea: a city of Bithynia, a colony of the Bottiaeans. And it was previously called Ancore, then Antigoneia, and later its name was changed to Nicaea after the wife of Lysimachus … from there came Isigonous and Asclepiades and Parthenius and Apollonides and Epiphanes the grammaticus who wrote *On Attic expressions in comedy and tragedy*’). Some details may be drawn from Arr. *Bithyni(a)ca*, cf. Merkelbach 1985, suggesting also that Ἑλικώρη should be preferred to Ἀρχώρη.
philosophers and literary figures from Nicaea, a list comprising some 30 individuals, among them no fewer than 9 philosophers.

Many of these 30 are hard, if not impossible, to date with any precision, so the attempt here made to chart Nicaea’s cultural profile diachronically is necessarily extremely speculative (and for other Bithynian cities it would be impossible). But the astrologer Protagoras, for whom an *epicedion* was composed by Euphorion (b. 275 BC), can hardly have lived beyond the end of the third century BC, and the astronomer Hipparchus is firmly located in the second half of the second century BC, even if more of his career was in Rhodes than Nicaea. This must also be the time of the Stoic Asclepiodotus, a pupil of Panaetius; of the Academic Bataces, a pupil of Carneades; and probably of the mathematician and astronomer Theodosius, with his sons a generation later. For the middle of the first century BC Parthenius’ date and importance are certain. To its second half belongs the philosopher Apollos, with the epigrammatic poet Apollonides and the *biologos* Philistion certainly active under Augustus, as too, probably, the agricultural writer Diophanes. The Augustan period may also have seen a visit (admittedly to Nicomedia as well as to Nicaea) by the epigrammatist Diodorus of Sards. From Tiberius’ reign we know the *grammaticus* and *rhetor* Epitherses Aemilianus, from a generation later his son Aemilianus—one of these also a poet of epigrams—, then at some date before the elder Pliny the *grammaticus* Isigonus, and before Plutarch the historian Menecrates.

There may be a thinning in the second century, as Nicomedia’s importance grows. But the astrologer Antigonus belongs securely to Hadrian’s reign, and from the century’s end come the prominent figures of Cassius Dio and (it seems) Diogenes Laertius; perhaps also a mathematic teacher who died in Rome, Basileus. The pre-tetrarchic roll-call ends with a man who evokes the city’s early giant, Hipparchus, a third-century commentator on Aratus called Sporus. From the third century BC to the third century AD, Nicaea enjoyed an apparently unbroken sequence of cultural activity despite occasional political turbulence.

I have recently sketched elsewhere at greater length the profiles of four of Nicaea’s cultural eminences—the astronomer Hipparchus, the poet and prose mythographer Parthenius, the *grammaticus* and mythographer Asclepiades of Myrleia (originally from Nicaea), and the poet and scholar Apollonides. The prosopography of Nicaean cultural figures presented here merely registers

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9 On *grammatici* see Bowie 2021 and the article on grammarians and emperors by C.P. Jones in this issue.

10 Bowie 2014; for Apollonides, Bowie 2012.
these four, offering only cursory notices of them and of some other cities’ figures (like Asclepiades and Dio from Prusa, or Arrian from Nicomedia) about whose careers much has been written.

On present evidence, other Bithynian cities had a much thinner cultural history. Only for Nicomedia are more than ten names listed, enough perhaps to explain why Athenaeus thought it both plausible and entertaining to include among his banqueters two fictional philosophers from Nicomedia, Democritus and Pontianus. Within the few figures attested for Prusa and Cius-Prusias ad mare doctors bulk large. But the great sophist Antonius Polemo visited Prusa to sample the eloquence of Dio, and an elegant epigram of unknown authorship praises Prusan springs on Mt Olympus with an enthusiasm that suggests its poet’s visit. For Prusias ad Hypium, on the other hand, a philosopher Philippus mentioned by Plutarch and perhaps, before moving to Nicaea, the rhetor and grammaticus Epitherses, remain (despite several surviving inscriptions) our only evidence of homespun high culture. Moreover two cases of young men from Prusias who died studying elsewhere may suggest inadequate sophistic provision at home: certainly in the fourth century Himerius likewise left his native Prusias to study in Athens.

One brief generalisation may be hazarded. Medicine and philosophy (in one case combined in the same individual, Menodotus of Nicomedia) are relatively well represented; scholars and grammatici (perhaps more engaged in teaching than scholarly activity) make a stronger showing than sophists. Poetry looks weakest: only of Parthenius do we have poems (and of these only

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11 Ath. l.id. For Athenaeus’ ludic presentation of philosophers see Bowie 2017.
12 Philostr. VS 1.25.539.
13 AP 9.676 = Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 09/04/03: ταῖς Προύσης Νύμφαις ὑποείκομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐταὶ χρέστοτες ἡμεῖς χαίρετε Πυθιάδες· ἀλλὰ δ’ ἄλλαι πάσαι μετὰ Πύθια καὶ μετὰ Προύσαν ἡμετέραις Νηιάδες (‘We yield to the Nymphs of Prusa, but hail, you Python nymphs, who are also superior to us: but you other Naiads, after the Pythia and Prusa, should all yield to our Nymphs!’).
14 The paideia praised in IK 27 no. 54 is not evidence that its bearer had been a professional educator: Οὐλπία Τιτία Φαδίλλιανὴ Ἀρτεμωνὶς [․․․]Ν Η τὸν γλυκύτατον υἱόν (‘Ulpia Titia Fadilliana Artemonis [—] in honour of her sweetest son Ulpius Titius Calpurnianus Fadus, hero, son of Titus Statilius Calpurnianus Fadus, grandson of a Bithyniarch and of logistae, kinsman of senatorial and consular men, honoured by the publicus ex inquisitione, who achieved primacy in his generation in paideia and excellence’).
15 Suda ι 34.8: Ἱμέριος, Ἀμεινίου ρήτορος, Προυσιάδος τῆς Βιθυνίας, σοφιστῆς τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως … (‘Himerius, son of the rhetor Ameinias, from Prusias in Bithynia, a sophist in the reign of Julian’).
fragments) other than epigrams; and the ‘literary’ epigrams known to us are greatly outnumbered by the dedicatory and sepulchral poems of varying quality preserved on stone. Of ‘literary’ epigrams only several by Apollonides and a few by Aemilianus were taken into the Garland of Philip.

3 A Preliminary Prosopography of Practitioners of High Culture

Apamea

Philosophers

01. Lasthenes, represented in Philostratus’ On Apollonius as having studied philosophy with Dio of Prusa, is almost certainly fictional.17

Poets

02. Maximus, twice winner at Olympics (presumably local, not those at Pisa which had no musical agon), was commemorated by an honorific statue erected at Cyzicus in the second or third century AD.18

With good fortune

His fellow citizens set up a statue of the poet Maximus of Apamea who had won garlands in two Olympiads

Rhetors

03. A Cleophanes or Cleochares figures in Strabo’s short list of Bithynian intellectuals.19

16 Following the example of Geiger 2014, I leave blank numbers under each city in the expectation that more individuals will be identified; at the same time I begin each city’s tally with 1, 11 etc.
17 Philostr. VA 5.38.2.
18 IMT Kyz PropKueste no. 1869 (found near Edincik) = CIG 3672 = IRom. iv 163 = Stefanis 1988, no. 1605.
19 Str. 12.4.9.566C: ἄνδρες δ’ ἀξιόλογοι κατὰ παιδείαν γεγόνασιν ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ Ξενοκράτης τε ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ διαλεκτικὸς καὶ Ἰππαρχος καὶ Θεοδόσιος καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ μαθηματικοὶ Κλεοφάνης τε ῥήτωρ ὁ Μυρλεανὸς Ἀσκληπιάδης τε ἰατρὸς ὁ Προυσιεύς (‘Men notable for their paideia from Bithynia have been the philosopher Xenocrates, the dialecticus Dionysius, the mathematicians Hipparchus and Theodosius and his sons, and the rhetor Cleophanes..."
Scholars

04. Asclepiades, son of Diotimus, ultimately from Nicaea, according to the Suda, is regularly assigned to Myrleia.20 The Suda entry offers glimpses of his career: after some time when he was still young in Alexandria under a Ptolemy21 he taught in Rome in the time of Pompey. Strabo adds a career as a grammaticus in Turditania (Spain), of which he published a periegesis.22 His writings included historical work on Bithynia, an Atticist peri ὀρθογραφίας, and a mythological work used by Parthenius, also from Nicaea.23

Students

05. Nonius, who died at eighteen, was commemorated by his parents in a grave-epigram followed by a prose text which Merkellbach and Stauber supplement to

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20 Suda α 4173: Ἀσκληπιάδης, Διοτίμου, Μυρλεανός (πόλις δέ ἐστι Βιθυνίας, ἡ νῦν Ἀπάμεια καλομένη), τὸ δὲ ἄνωθεν γένος ἦν Νικαεύς· γραμματικός, μαθητὴς Ἀπολλωνίου. γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ Εὐμενοῦ τ ῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ βασιλέων. ἔγραψε φιλοσόφων βιβλίων διορθωτικά· ἔπαιδευσε δὲ καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ Πομπηΐου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ νέος διέτριψεν. ἔγραψε πολλά ('Asclepiades, son of Diotimus, of Myrleia (a city in Bithynia, now called Apameia) whose family originated in Nicaea: a grammaticus, pupil of Apollonius. He lived in the reigns of the Pergamene kings Attalus and Eumenes; he wrote works correcting the text of philosophical books. He also went to Rome to teach in the time of Pompey the Great and as a young man spent time in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy IV. He wrote many books'). For other testimonia, and fragments, see FGrH 697.

On his historiography, see Slater 1972.

21 Perhaps Ptolemy XII Auletes: the Suda text's specification of Ptolemy IV (see previous note) must be wrong, though apparently accepted by Corsten 1987, 11-12.

22 Str. 3.4.3.157C: ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ Τουρδιτανίᾳ παιδεύσας τὰ γραμματικά καὶ περιήγησιν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκδεδωκὼς τῶν ταύτῃ ('a man who taught in Turditania and wrote a guide to the peoples of that area'), cf. 12.4.9.566C.

23 In Parth. Narr. 36, giving Asclepiades FGrH 697 F2 (the manchette assigning Narr. 35 to Asclepiades was seen by Sokolowski in his 1896 edition of Parthenius to belong to Narr. 36, cf. Lightfoot 1999, 548). He was also used by Str. (see the preceding note); Ath. 2.504d-e (giving FGrH 697 F4, on the Bithynian bush-cherry); the scholia on A.R. (1.623-626a, giving FGrH 697 F5; 2.722, giving F6; 2.789-791a, giving FGrH 697 F3); the Vita Arati (giving F 11-13, where at p. 76.4 Maass the source of F1 is specified as en τῷ α' peri γραμματικῶν, ‘in book 11 of the work On matters grammatical’). See also Suda σ 657 (Orpheus of Croton), π 1888 (Polemo of Ilium).
Acilius Theodorus, foremost of doctors, committed and noble and honourable was buried by his son Theodorus and his kinsman Theodorus, chief-doctor, who shed a tear over him:
But his wife Philocrateia remains in their home bringing up their son and longing to die

13. An epitaph records a ‘craftsman’ Athenocles whose skills are almost certainly medical, indicated by the epithet ἠπιόχε[ιρ](α) (line 3); a gap in the readable text conceals his πατρίς but the letters ]σίου exclude Bithynion itself:

24 *IK* 32 no. 28 = *GVI* 971 = Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 09/02/01: the date is suggested to be first or second century AD by Peek, "unbestimmt" by Merkelbach-Stauber.

25 *IK* 31 no. 72 = *IGRom.* iii 77 = *Epigr.Gr.* 352 = *GVI* 686 = Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 09/09/03, cf. Fernoux 2004, 491-492. For archiatroi see Nutton 1977, where the archiatros Theodorus is p. 223 no. 62 and is dated around AD 200 (but wrongly taken to be the deceased’s son): Peek dated the inscription to the first or second century, Merkelbach-Stauber simply to the “Kaiserzeit.”
An all-skilful, noble [man], Athenocles, famed for his [craft] was given the burial honour on his death of a tomb and stele by his son: he was pious, and had a healing hand, and was born in the city of ...

Philosophers
14. The base for a possibly Hadrianic honorific statue describes Iulius Nicetes as φιλόσοφον, but the adjacent epithets φιλοκαίσαρα and φιλόπατριν suggest that mind-set, not profession, is being commended:

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι | Ἰούλιον Νεική | την φιλόσοφον φιλοκαίσαρα καὶ φιλόπατριν φυλῆι Σεβαστῆι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων27

with good fortune Iulius Nicetes, wisdom-lover, Caesar-lover, and country-lover, (was honoured by) the tribe Sebaste using its own funds

Rhetors
15. The lexicographer Phrynichus may be from Bithynion. Summarising Phrynichus’ Praeparatio Sophistica, Photius (Bibl. cod. 158) assigns him to the reigns of Marcus and Commodus and describes him as Arabian.28 The Suda, on the other hand, makes him Bithynian:

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27 IK 31 no. 67.
28 Bibl. 100a33-37: ἀνεγνώσθη Φρυνίχου Ἀραβίου σοφιστικῆς παρασκευῆς λόγοι λϛʹ. ἔστι δὲ τὸ βιβλίον λέξεων τε συναγωγή καὶ λόγων κομματικῶν, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ εἰς κῶλα παρατεινομένων τῶν χαριέντως τε καὶ καινοπρεπῶς εἰρημένων τε καὶ συντεταγμένων (‘Phrynichus the Arabian’s Preparation to be a sophist in 36 Books was read. The work is a collection of words and short phrases, some actually extending to sentences that have been expressed and arranged with charm and novelty’); Bibl. 100b5-7: … ἤκμασὲ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Μάρκου βασιλέως ἔστι δὲ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ καλύτερουὑποταγμένον πρὸς τὸν παιδὸν τοῦ Κομμόδου, πρὸς ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀπαρχήν τοῦ συντάγματος ποιεῖται ἐπιγράφους τὸν Κομμόδον Καίσαρα Φρύνιχος χαίρειν (‘and the man flourished in the time of the Roman emperor Marcus and his son Commodus, to whom in fact he dedicates the opening of the composition, with the preface “Phrynichus sends greetings to Commodus Caesar”’).
Phrynichus, of Bithynia, sophist, (called) the Atticist: 2 books of Attic words, a Collection of accepted usages, Preparation to be a sophist in 46 books (but some say 74).

If the Suda's Bithynós is accepted, not Photius 'Arabian', a refinement may be proposed. The Suda usually allocates individuals to cities, not to ethnic groups: might the Suda's text (or that of its source) originally have read Bithyniētus, assigning Phrynichus to Bithynion-Claudiopolis? Some support for a Bithynian origin may be found in Phrynichus, Ecl. 238 s.v. βλακός· σημαίνει γὰρ ὁ βάκηλος τὸν ἀποτετμημένον τὰ αἰδοῖα, ὃν Βιθυνοί τε καὶ Ἀσιανοὶ Γάλλον καλοῦσιν. λέγε οὖν βλάξ καὶ βλακικὸν ὡς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ('βλακός [blakós]: for the term refers to the man whose genitals have been cut off, whom Bithynians and Asians call a Γάλλος [Gallos]. So say βλάξ [bláx, 'fool'] and βλακικὸν [blakikón, 'foolish'] like the ancients'). Many Greek writers might have enough knowledge of provincia Asia to point out the use of the Γάλλος there, but fewer had first-hand knowledge of Bithynia.

16. Unknown: Two tablets, dated to the first century AD, preserve 40 and 32 lines respectively of a long consolatory decree: the phraseology of the first (15 and 34-37) demonstrates that their subject, Theodorus, son of Attalus, from the community Pliny calls Agrippenses, came to Claudiopolis to study rhetoric with a teacher we cannot identify. Thus, despite the absence hitherto of the terms ρήτωρ (rhetor) or σοφιστής (sophist) from Bithynion-Claudiopolis'...
scant epigraphy, some rhetorical education was apparently available. Little further support comes from an epitaph beginning 'Ἰουλιανὸς Ἀλεξάνδροι | ἀνὴρ σοφὸς ἐνθάδε μίμνω ('I, Iulianus, son of Alexander, a wise man, lie here'): the term σοφός may simply claim enthusiasm for culture (a culture that did not extend to ensuring that his heirs inscribed verses that were properly metrical).34

Students
17. Theodorus son of Attalus went to Bithynion to study rhetoric, see above no. 16.

_Caesarea Germanica_

Although we now know of one successful athlete from this small city which took its name from Germanicus,35 presumably during his eastern tour that began in AD 17, and although, despite its size, Caesarea sent _theoroi_ to Claros,36 nothing yet attests any intellectual activity there.

_Chalcedon_

Doctors
21. Herophilus, doctor and medical writer, ca. 330/320–260/250 BC. Given a Hippocratic training by Praxagoras of Cos, he spent most of his career in Alexandria under Ptolemy I and II. Of eleven works attributed to him eight may be genuine.37

Philosophers
22. Dionysius, the _dialecticus_ noted by Strabo, is the same as the Dionysius of Chalcedon assigned to the Megarian school by Diogenes Laertius, and perhaps the Dionysius criticised by Aristotle in the _Topics_: he flourished in the mid-fourth century BC.38

34 _IK_ 31 no.77 = Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 09/09/12 (who venture no date).
35 For the location of Caesarea Germanica, see Magie 1950, 497 with n. 18 (on p. 1357), superseded by Corsten 1990, publishing an inscription honouring its _dolichos_ runner Tatianus son of Metrophanes; cf. Mitchell 1993, vol. 1, 212 with n. 84.
36 See Ferrary 2005, 758 (no earlier than AD 206/207); for the full Claros dossier see Ferrary 2014; for _theoria_ Rutherford 2013.
23. Xenocrates son of Agathenor, the Academy’s second head (339 to 312 BC) was from Chalcedon.39

24. The Stoic Apollonius, a teacher of Marcus Aurelius, assigned to Chalcedon by the *Historia Augusta*,40 is called ‘Nicomedian’ by Cassius Dio, himself from Nicaea.41 Perhaps Apollonius moved from Chalcedon to Nicomedia, as others apparently moved from smaller cities to Nicaea.

Rhetors

25. Thrasymachus, the fifth-century BC sophist who contributed significantly to the development of rhetorical theory, was from Chalcedon, though much of his activity seems to have been in Athens.42

Students

26. Themistocles, pupil of Apollonius (no. 24 above).43

*Cius-Prusias ad mare*

Doctors

31. The great Asclepiades is assigned to Prusias by Pseudo-Galen, Strabo and the elder Pliny.44 According to Pliny he became a doctor after failure as a *rhetor*.45 He practised in Rome with great success, perhaps after a period working in the Greek world,46 and was immensely influential on later medicine. He apparently died before the dramatic date of Cicero’s *De oratore*, i.e. 91 BC.47

32. A woman doctor Empeiria (‘Experience’) who died at 49, probably in the early empire, was buried by her husband C. Iulius Vettianus:

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40  SHA *Vit. Marci* 2.7.
41  D.C. 71.35.1-2. He is the Apollonius *magistro meo philosophiae* of M. Aurelius’ letter to Fronto 5.36 (= vol. 1, 234-237 Haines) (and presumably also of *ad se ipsum* 1.8 and 17); a son (also called Apollonius), in Rome when Marcus’ letter was written (AD 153-154?), has commended to Marcus a pupil of his father called Themistocles. For Apollonius’ role as tutor to Marcus cf. Luc. *Demon*. 31, SHA *Vit. Pii* 10.4, *Vit. Marci* 2.7, 3.1, PIR² A 929.
42  See Kennedy 1963, 68-80.
43  See Marcus’ letter cited n. 41.
44  Ps.-Gal., *Introduction to medicine* 14.683 Kühn (Βιοσφάς Καυνός, ὃς καὶ Προυσιέως), where incorrectly Προυσίας is printed (but see Rawson 1982, 359-360); Str. 12.4.9.566C (printed above n. 19); Plin. *Nat.* 7.124.
C. Iulius Vettianus built (this tomb) for himself during his lifetime and for the doctor Empeiria, his wife, who lived 49 years

Crateia-Flaviopolis

Philosophers (?)
41. A man whose name is lost is commended as a ‘teacher of wisdom’ (σοφίς διδάσκαλε).49

Nicaea

Astrologers/Astronomers/Mathematicians
51. Antigonus cast the horoscope of Hadrian and two other prominent contemporaries.50
52. Hipparchus’ recorded observations range between 147 and 127 BC. Only his commentary on Aratus’ Phaenomena survives,51 but imperial readers will have had access to much more, as is clear from Ptolemy’s use of Hipparchus: in the reign of Alexander Severus Nicaean coins commemorate him, named and seated. His achievements in astronomy and mathematics would have been impossible without good knowledge of Babylonian work in these fields.52
53. Protagoras, often mentioned by Hephaestion of Thebes, who cites his Collections (Συναγωγαί),53 is presumably Diogenes Laertius’ astrologer (ἀστρολόγος) Protagoras, on whom Euphorion composed an epicedion: this dates him no later than Euphorion (born 275 BC).54
54. Theodosius, whom the Suda calls a philosopher but credits with mathematical works, is secured for Bithynia by Strabo, whose listing of him next

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48 IK 29 no. 52 = CIG 3736.
49 Merkelbach-Stauber 2003, 09/10/04 (venturing no date).
51 For discussion and earlier literature see Lightfoot 2017. Bowie 2014, 36 wrongly describes Hipparchus’ work on Aratus as a monograph, and erroneously (n. 3) attributes to the reign of Pius the Nicaean coins that represent Hipparchus.
52 Cf. Toomer and Jones 2012; for a fuller discussion of Hipparchus’ achievements, Neugebauer 1975, 274-278; for the coins, RPC VI, nos 3194, 3244 5898, 5899.
54 D.L. 9:56.
to Hipparchus may indicate Nicaean origin. He is probably the Theodosius named by Vitruvius as the inventor of a universal sundial. Of his writings listed in the Suda three survive: Σφαιρικά, Περὶ οἰκήσεων, and Περὶ ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν.

Doctors

55. Antigonus.

56. Hedys is commemorated in a verse epitaph, probably of the second or third century AD, as having travelled as far as the ocean, visiting Europe, Africa and Asia:

πῦρ μὲν σάρκας ἔκαυσε, | τὰ δ’ ὄστεα ἐνθάδ’ ἐνεστὶν, |
Ἡδύος ἰατρὸς πολλὴν | γαίαν κατιδότος |
(5) ὄκεανον τε ρώξ | καὶ τέρματα ἡπείροιο |
Εὐρύτης Λιβύης τ’ | ἡδ’ Ἀσίας μεγάλης |
καὶ τὰ μὲν οὔ(τ)ω πάντα | (10) ταλαιπώρως τετέλεσται, |
tέκνα δὲ οὐκ ἐγένονθ’ | Ἡδύος [οὖδ]αμόθι.

60

Fire burned his flesh, but here lie the bones of the doctor Hedys, who beheld many a land and the streams of the Ocean and the limits of the continent of Europe, and of Africa, and of mighty Asia: and all these things were thus achieved with toil, but children of Hedys are to be found nowhere. Hedys the elder, 45 years; Dicaeosyne, 40 years.
57. A Paulus wrote περὶ διαγνώσεως καὶ θεραπείας διαφόρων νοσημάτων (‘On the diagnosis and treatment of various diseases’).

58 and 59. Pisistratus, son of Pisistratus, grandson of Biteuas, and Apollodotus, son of Pisistratus, are commemorated in a family tomb:

Πεισίστρατος Πεισιστράτου | τοῦ Βιτεύου εἰατρὸς | ζήσας ἔτη νε’ | χαὶρε b 1-3
Ἀπολλόδοτος | Πεισιστράτου | εἰατρὸς ζήσας ἔτη κς’ | χαὶρε c 5-9

Pisistratus, son of Pisistratus, son of Biteuas, a doctor, who lived 45 years. Farewell.
Apollodotus, son of Pisistratus, a doctor, who lived 27 years. Farewell.

60. A doctor whose name is not given was buried, aged 61, at Python in Perrhaebia:

Θ(εοῖς) Κ(αταχθονίοις). | ιατρόν μ’ ἐσορᾶς, | φίλε, Βιθυνὸν | πόλεως Νικαίας | (5)

To the gods beneath the earth. You see me, friend, a Bithynian doctor from the city of Nicaea, who travelled around much land and sea and paid his fated due here, having lived his sixty-first year.

Historians

61. L. Cassius Dio (Cocceianus?), born c. AD 164 and of Nicaean origin, was praetor in AD 194 under Pertinax and cos. suff., probably c. AD 204, under Septimius Severus; in AD 214/215 he wintered with Caracalla in Nicomedia. Macrinus appointed him curator of Pergamum and Smyrna in AD 217/218. At the start of Severus Alexander’s reign he was proconsul of Africa, then governed Dalmatia and Upper Pannonia. He was consul ordinarius (with Severus Alexander as his colleague) in AD 229, then returned to Bithynia. For his 80-book history of Rome he spent ten years collecting materials down to the

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61 Diller, RE XVIII col. 2397, no. 25.
62 IK 9 no. 275: the family includes (b4-5) an Antiochis καὶ Ἀντωνία (‘who was also Antonia’), which shows the date to be late republican or imperial.
63 IG ix 2.1276 (‘undated’): for the site see Lucas 1992, 93-137.
64 D.C. 75.15.3, 73.12.2, 76.16.4, cf. 60.2.3. On Dio Millar 1964 remains important: see also Manuwald 1979; Fechner 1986; Gowing 1992; Madsen 2019.
65 D.C. 77.12.2-3, 18.4, 78.8.4-5.
66 D.C. 49.36.4, 80.1.2-3.
67 D.C. 80.4.2-80.5.3.
year 211 and twelve more writing up. His other works included a *Life* of his fellow Bithynian Arrian.

62. A Menecrates wrote (earlier than Plutarch) a history of Nicæa: it mentioned Antiope, Theseus, and his foundation of Pythopolis on the southern shore of Lake Nicæa. Its mention of Heracleia was also known to Tzetzes. 63. Philippus, termed συγγραφεύς (‘historian’) by Plutarch in his *On the decline of oracles*, claims Epitherses as his fellow-citizen. He should thus be from Nicæa if, as seems likely, that was Epitherses’ origin (see below nos. 75 and 83) and should probably be distinguished from the Philippus presented as a Stoic from Prusias in *Quaestiones convivales* (below no. 131).

**Mime Writers and Performers**

64. The *biologos* Philistion, active under Augustus and called *ridiculus* (‘jocular’) by Martial, is termed Nicaean by an epigram in the *Anthology* of unknown authorship, quoted also by the Suda, which initially allocates him to Prusa or (following Philo) to Sardis. He may have started life in Prusa and moved to Nicæa, as apparently did Parthenius from Myrlea.

**Philosophers**

65. Apollon is described by George of Cyprus as a Stoic, and a pupil of Apollonius who succeeded Dardanus, putting him later than the mid-first century BC.

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68 D.C. 72.23, 74.3.
69 Plu. *Thes.* 26.3 (= *FGrH* 701 F1): Μενεκράτης δὲ τις ἱστορίαν περὶ Νικαίας ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ πόλεως ἐκδεδωκώς (‘A certain Menecrates who published a history of Nicæa the city in Bithynia’).
70 On Lycophron 663 (= Menecrates *FGrH* 701 F2).
71 Plu. *De def. orac.* 17 = *Mor.* 419b; 15 = *Mor.* 418a for his being a historian.
72 Jerome, based on Eusebius, puts him in the second year of the 196th Olympiad, i.e. AD 5.
73 Mart. 2.41.15. That he invented the mime (Cassiod. *Var.* 4.51) probably confuses him with Philemon.
74 Suda φ 364: Φιλιστίων, Προνοσεύς, ἢ ὡς Φίλων Σαρδιανός, κωμικός. τελευτά δὲ ἐπὶ Σωκράτους, ὃς ἐγραψε κωμῳδιακάς θεωρημάτων. τελευτά δὲ ἐπὶ γέλως ἀναπείρου. γεγραμμένος δὲ οὗτος Μυσαρκισταῖ. ὅτι τὸ γεγραμμένον τὸ φερόμενον εἰς τὸν Κούρεα. Νικαίες δὲ μᾶλλον παρὰ πᾶσιν ἤκουσε, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· ὁ τὸν πολυστένα-κτον ἀνθρώπων βίον γέλωτι κεράσας Νικαεὺς Φιλιστίων (‘Philistion: of Prusa, or, according to Philo of Sardis, a comedian. He died at the time of Socrates. He wrote comedies drawn from life. He died of laughter that would not stop. His plays included *Mime-voters*. This is the man who wrote the *Philogelos*, i.e. the book presented to Cœreus. But he is famed by everybody as rather from Nicæa, as the epigram testifies: “Philistion of Nicæa, who blended the miserable life of mankind with laughter”); the epigram is also *AP* 7.155.
75 Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio orbis Romani*, ed. H. Gelzer, Leipzig 1890, 12: ἐκ τεύχης (sc. Nicæa) ὁ Στωϊκὸς φιλόσοφος Απολλωνί, ὃς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ μετὰ Δάρδανον γνώριμος· Λύκων καὶ Λύκανθος, διάφοροι Στωϊκοὶ φιλόσοφοι· Ἱέρας, Ἡλιόδωρος δόκιμοι γραμματικοὶ (‘from this city came the Stoic philosopher Apollon, a pupil of the Apollonius who succeeded Dardanus;
66. Asclepiodotus, son of Asclepiodotus and pupil of Panaetius, is known from the *Index Stoicorum Herculanensis*. He may be different from the Asclepiodotus who was a pupil of Posidonius (*auditor Posidonii*) and is also taken to be the writer of the τεχνὴ τακτικὴ (*Manual on tactics*).

67. M. Atinianus φιλόσοφος (*philosopher*) is epigraphically attested.

68. Bataces is registered as a pupil of Carneades (and so should be active in the mid or later second century BC) in the *Index Academicorum Herculanensis*.

69 and 70. Lycander and Lycon are Stoic philosophers known from the *Index Stoicorum Herculanensis* and George of Cyprus.

71. Mentor is registered as a pupil of Carneades in the *Index Herculanensis*.

72. A Nicias is cited by Athenaeus for his claim that Alexamenus wrote dialogues before Plato.

73. Sedatus Theophilus, *praetorius*, fellow incubant with Aristides at the Pergamene Asclepieion in the 140s, was suggested by Fernoux 2004 to have been a philosopher, but this is not implied by Aristides' text.

Poets

74. Parthenius, born in Myrleia, is more often associated with the city of Nicaea, to which he moved, presumably before being captured and taken to Rome in

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Lycon and Lycander, likewise Stoic philosophers; Hierax and Heliodorus, famous *grammatici*. Fernoux 2004, 493 (though misunderstanding the common use of γνώριμος to mean ‘pupil’) suggests, following Merkelbach 1985, 1-3, that the detail derived from Arr. Bithyni(a)ca.


*Sen. Nat.* 2.26.6, 6.17.3 (suggesting a title *quaestionum naturalium causae*, i.e. αἰτίαι φυσικά, ‘Physical causes’); he is also cited *ibid.* at 2.30.1, 5.15.1, 6.22.1-2.


*Index Stoicorum Herculanensis*, ed. Traversa, Genoa 1952, cols. 75 (p. 95) and 76 (p. 97), cf. *IK* 10.3 p. 100.

*Index Academicorum Herculanensis*, ed. S. Mekler, Berlin 1902, 86. For the relevant passage of George of Cyprus see above n. 75.

*Ath.* 11.505-b-c: αὐτὸς (Plato) δὲ τοὺς διαλόγους μυμητικῶς γράφας, οὖν τῆς ἰδέας οὐδ’ αὐτός εὑρετὴς εἶστιν. πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦθ’ εὑρεῖ τὸ εἶδος τῶν λόγων ὁ Τήιος Ἀλεξαμενός, ὡς Νικίας ὁ Νικαεύς ἱστορεῖ καὶ Σωτίων (*and he himself wrote dialogues in a dramatic form, whose genre he did not in fact invent himself. For before him this form of prose writing was invented by Alexamenus of Teos, as is recounted by Nicias of Nicaea and by Sotion*).

Cf. *IK* 10.3 p. 86, suggesting Nicias' date might be Neronian.

*Aristid. Sacred Tale* 4 (= *Or.* 50),16 and 43 Keil: ἐγώ τε καὶ Νικαεύς, ᾿ανήρ τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶν Ῥωμαίωνος, Σφάδτος ἰδιομα, τὸ δ’ ἀρχαίον Θεόφιλος (*I and a Nicaean, a man who had held the Roman praetorship, called Sedatus, but previously Theophilus*), cf. *Sacred Tale 2* (= *Or.* 48).48 Keil.
the third Mithridatic war. Macrobius says he was Vergil’s teacher in Naples, his poetry was liked and imitated by the emperor Tiberius, and he figures along with Callimachus in an epigram by the early second-century sciptic poet active in Smyrna, Pollianus.

Rhetors

75. Aemilianus, son of the Nicaean Epitherses of Plutarch’s On the decline of oracles (below no. 84) is said by the character Philippus to have been a rhetor heard by some of those present; the dialogue may be set in AD 83/84. That he was the rhetor Aemilianus mentioned by the elder Seneca was convincingly questioned by Bowersock, proposing that Plutarch’s ‘old man Aemilianus’ (Αἰμιλιανοῦ τοῦ γέροντος) heard by some of Philippus’ interlocutors (who corroborate his anecdote about a voice proclaiming ‘Pan is dead’) is in fact Aemilianus’ father, whose name will have been Epitherses Aemilianus. A rhetor Arche[polis] or Arche[moros] was buried at Thessalonice:

Βειθυνὸς τὸ γένος ρήτωρ σοφὸς ἐνθάδε κεῖται
’Αρχέ[πολις], γενέτη ταύτο λαχών ἄνωμα.
 ἤν δ’ αὐτῷ Νείκαια πάτρη, μήκος δ’ ἐνιαυτῶν
οὐ μακρόν, ἐν τρίσσαις κάτθανε γὰρ δεκάσιν.
τῷ δὲ Κυήτου τύμβον ἐδείματο, καὶ καθύπερθεν
στήλλην λαινέην, ἣ τάδε πάσι λέγω.

84 Suda π 664. Full discussion in Lightfoot 1999.
85 Macr. Sat. 5.17.18.
86 Suet. Tib. 70: fecit et Graeca poemata imitatus Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus scripta omnium et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores dedicavit; et ob hoc plerique eruditum certatim ad eum multa de his ediderunt (‘He also composed poems in the manner of Euphorion, Rhianus and Parthenius, poets whom he very much liked: he had the writings and busts of all of them set out in public libraries among the old, canonical writers; and for this reason several of the scholarly community competed with each other in publishing many works about these poets for him’).
88 Plu. De def. orac. 17 = Mor. 419b, and for the date 1 = Mor. 410a; cf. Janiszewski, Stebnicka and Szabat 2015, no. 27.
89 Sen. Con. 10.5.25. Bowersock 1965a, 268-269, rejecting the tentative identification of PIR² Α318: corroborations by interlocutors, Plu. De def. orac. 17 = Mor. 419e.
90 IG x 2.512 = GVI 717, probably second century AD, cf. Puech 2002, no. 34, noting that Arche[polis] or Arche[moros] are possible. Janiszewski, Stebnicka and Szabat 2015, no. 139, following Peek, favour Arche[polis].
Bithynian by birth, a wise *rhetor* lies here,
Arche[polis?], who got the same name as his father.
Nicaea was his home country, and the length of his years
was not long, for he died in three decades.
For him Quietus built a tomb, and above it
a stone *stele*, me, who tell everybody these things

77 (?) and 78 (?). Rhetorical activity may be behind the commendations of P. Catilius Macer, ‘outstanding in character and *paideia*, made citizen and *bouleutes* at Delphi in AD 129,91 and (C. Cassius?) Sacerdos, praised in one of the poems on his tomb-obelisk at Nicaea some time after AD 120 as τὸν φρενός, ἣ γλώσσας, ἀξρα λαχόντα γέρα (‘who got highest honours for his mind as for his tongue’).92 But in each case general cultural eminence may be meant.

79. A man named Euandros is attested as a ῥή[τωρ?] in a verse inscription from Nicaea accompanying a dedication to Zeus.93

Scholars, grammaticoi, philologoi

80. Agathocles, described as φιλόλογος, died at Smyrna at twenty, at this age more probably a student than a teacher of *logoi*:

’Αγαθοκλῆς Ἀρχε|λάου Βειθυνὸς | Νεικαιεὐς φιλόλο|γος ζήσας ἔτη κʹ, | χαῖρε. ὁ τοῦτο κα|ταλύσας δώσει | τῇ πόλει 94

Agathocles, son of Archelaus, a Bithynian from Nicaea, lover of *logoi*, who lived 20 years. Farewell. Anyone who destroys this will pay the city 500 drachmas

81. That the poet Apollonides whose epigrams were included in his *Garland* by Philip of Thessalonice around AD 60 is identical with the scholar who dedicated a commentary on Timon of Phlius’ *Silloi* to the emperor Tiberius is
probable, albeit unprovable. It is uncertain where he was chiefly active—the dedication to Tiberius might suggest Rome, or Rhodes, but requires neither. Many of Philip's poets have north Aegean links, and Apollonides may simply have stayed in Nicaea.

82. Diogenes Laertius was probably Nicaean. In mentioning Apollonides (see n. 93) he calls him ὁ Νικαιεὺς ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν ('our fellow-citizen from Nicaea').

83. A Diophanes from Nicaea is among 'foreign sources' (externi auctores) cited by Pliny in his first book as a source for Book 10 of Natural History (on birds). This may be the Diophanes who wrote a six-book epitome of Cassius Dionysius of Utica's Greek abridgement of Mago's agricultural work, addressed to king Deiotarus of Galatia (who died in 40 BC), which was in turn further abridged by Asinius Pollio of Tralles around AD 100; but Pliny lists them separately, as if they were different.

84. The Epitherses noted by Stephanus as a γραμματικός (grammaticus) from Nicaea who wrote περὶ λέξεων Ἀττικῶν καὶ κωμικῶν καὶ τραγικῶν ('On Attic expressions in comedy and tragedy'), and who is cited by Erotianus, is probably the Epitherses mentioned as his countryman and teacher of...
grammatica (ἐμὸς πολίτης καὶ διδάσκαλος γραμματικῶν: ‘my fellow-citizen and a teacher of things grammatical’) by the character Philippus in Plutarch’s dialogue On the decline of oracles in an anecdote anchoring Epitherses in Tiberius’ reign,101 and the Aemilianus known as a rhetor to the the elder Seneca.102 His name will have been Epitherses Aemilianus;103 his son mentioned by Plutarch, the rhetor Aemilianus, is registered above no. 75. Either father or son might be the Aemilianus of Nicaea to whom the Palatine Anthology credits AP 9.218 = Gow-Page 1968, Aemilianus i, an 8-line epigram spoken by a ship whose passengers have drowned in a storm, and presumably the Aemilianus there credited with AP 7.623 and 9.736 (= Gow-Page 1968, Aemilianus ii and iii), the latter a poem on Praxiteles’ marble Silent, a sculpture once owned by Asinius Pollio and to be seen in Rome.104 If the Philippus of Plutarch’s On the decline of oracles who calls Epitherses ἐμὸς πολίτης is identical with the Philippus of Prusias in his Sympotic questions (QC 7.7.1 = Mor. 710b) it is possible that Epitherses’ origin was Prusias, but that he moved to the intellectually more stimulating Nicaea (as did Parthenius from Myrleia, see above no. 74). But see above on no. 63.

85 and 86. Heliodorus and Hierax are mentioned as δόκιμοι γραμματικοί (‘famous grammatici’) by George of Cyprus (above n. 75).

87. The Isigonus picked out by Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Νίκαια (above n. 8) is the Nicaean Isigonus referred to three times by Pliny:105 he wrote περὶ ἀπίστων (‘On incredible things’) and περὶ Ἰταλικῶν θεῶν (‘On Italian gods’).

88. Sporus, who edited and commented on Aratus in the third century AD, wrote a miscellanistic work entitled κηρία (‘Honeycombs’).106 In choosing to comment on Aratus he was following the famous Hellenistic Nicaean astronomer Hipparchus (above no. 52), who wrote a commentary on the Phaenomena.

Teachers

89. Basileus, a teacher of mathematics, died in Rome in the late second or early third century AD:

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101 Plu. De def. orac. 17 = Mor. 419b.
102 Sen. Con. 10.5.25.
103 As argued by Bowersock 1965a.
104 See Bowie 2012, 224.
105 Plin. Nat. 7.12, 16, 27.
106 Archim. vol. 3, p. 258.22 ed. Heiberg = vol. 4, p. 162 ed. Mugler (Paris 1972); οὐδὲ Σπόρος ὁ Νικαεὺς εὐκακεῖον εἰρεθήσεται μέμψιν ἔπαγγελ αἱρεμίδει αἰτίας ἅν αὐτός ἐν τοῖς Κηρίοις φησίν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ διδάσκαλον, Φιλωνιά ἐν γένει ἀπὸ Ιαδάρων … (‘nor will Sporus of Nicaea be found to be levelling timely criticism against Archimedes…. on the basis of which in The Honeycombs he says that his own teacher, meaning Philo of Gadara, …’), cf. also p. 76.1. For Philo of Gadara see Geiger 2014, 32.
When I was still a youth I left Bithynian Nicaea’s renowned city, and came to the land of the Ausonians: in holy Rome I taught arithmetic and geometry and I, Basileus, got this memorial, the work of my mind

Visitors
90. An elegant sepulchral epigram for inscription upon an imposing tomb was composed for the Nicaean Achaeus, son of Diomedes, by a Diodorus—probably the younger Diodorus of Sardis, poet and historian, and a friend of Strabo.108 This does not prove a visit by Diodorus to Nicaea, but his eastern Aegean links render it not improbable.

Nicomedia

Astrologers/Astronomers/Mathematicians
101. Ti. Claudius Oclatius Dionysius (perhaps first century AD) is represented on his tombstone in the posture of an intellectual, seated, with a book-roll on a table between him and his wife, and identified as an astrologer (mathematicus):

Tiberius Claudius Oclatius Dionysius, astrologer, who lived 40 years. Farewell

Doctors
102. Q. Aelius Archelaus was buried in Rome by his συντρόφος (‘foster-brother’), Q. Aelius Tertianus, having died after much travel to attend his patients.110 His usual dating to the second century AD on the basis of his nomen might
be wrong. The praenomen Quintus points rather to the family of the consul of 11 BC, Q. Aelius Tubero, whose father was the patron of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a family with which Strabo, too, may have had links; but the lettering strongly favours, though does not prove, the later date.\footnote{D.H. Th. 1 and 55; for Strabo’s possible links with the Aelii see Bowserocks 1965b, 128-131. I am very grateful to Michael Crawford for giving me his expert opinion on the letter forms (visible in the drawing in Ferrua 1966, 29 fig. 4b).}

103. Flavius Atticus is known from his tombstone:

\[
\text{τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ μου | συνβίῳ Φλαβίῳ Ἀττικῷ | ἱατρῷ καὶ ἐμαύτη} \footnote{Şahin (1973-1974) no. 13.3-5, TAM iv 220.3-5, Bull. 1974, no. 573.}
\]

For my sweetest husband Flavius Atticus, a doctor, and for myself

104. Menodotus is known from Diogenes Laertius as a medical doctor and an empiricist philosopher, a pupil of Antiochus from Laodicea \textit{ad Lycum}, and teacher of Sextus Empiricus’ teacher, Herodotus of Tarsus.\footnote{D.L. 9.116: Εὐφράνορος δὲ διήκουσεν Εὔβουλος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, ὁυ Πτολεμαῖος, ὁυ Σαρπηδὼν καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, Ἡρακλείδου· Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον οὔτως ὁ Πολήσιος ἢ Ἡρακλείδου Βερεάς, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Σταῦρος δέ ὁ Μηνόδοτος ὁ Νικομηδεύς, ἰατρὸς ἐμπειρικός, καὶ Θειωδᾶς Λαοδικεύς· Μηνοδότου δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Μηνόδοτος δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Ἀριέως Ταρσεύς, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Μηνόδοτος δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Μηνόδοτος δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Μηνόδοτος δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Μηνόδοτος δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Μηνόδοτος δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Μηνόδοτος δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Μηνόδοτος δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Μηνόδοτος δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Μηνόδοτος δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πορρυνεων λόγων δύον πονείτα πασίν γάρ, Τιττίττον. Μηνόδοτος δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Αἰ

Philosophers

105. L. Flavius Arrianus, known to contemporaries as a philosopher as well as historian,\footnote{For good accounts see Stadter 1980; Tonnet 1988; Bosworth 1988; Lalanne and Hostein 2014; Liotsakis 2019; Strazdins forthcoming.} attended the lectures of the Stoic Epictetus at Nicopolis, probably c. AD 108, later (perhaps c. 120) writing them up in what became a classic Stoic text ‘Lectures of Epictetus’.\footnote{Cf. Millar 1966.} His senatorial career perhaps included participation in Trajan’s Parthian campaign (one subject of his seventeen-book \textit{Parthica}) and the proconsulate of Baetica; certainly a suffect consulate (c. AD 129) and 6 years governing the military province of Cappadocia (AD 131-137). Like his
‘Lectures of Epictetus’, much of his writing emulated that of Xenophon, e.g. his *Cynegeticus* and the work for which he is now best known, the *Anabasis of Alexander*. In his later years, partly spent in Athens where he was a citizen and held the archonship in AD 145/146, he wrote a history of Bithynia, still known to Photius and probably the source of some of our knowledge of Bithynian intellectuals.\(^{116}\)

106. Aurelius Demetrius, a member of the βουλή (‘Council’) of Nicomedia and a φιλόσοφος dedicated a statuette of Zeus, probably after AD 212:

\[
\text{Ζηνὶ τούδε τοῦ κόσμου | πατρὶ Αὐρ. Δημήτριος | φιλόσοφος καὶ βουλευτής}^{117}
\]

To Zeus, father of this universe, Aurelius Demetrius, philosopher and councillor (dedicated this)

Rhetors and Sophists

107. P. Aelius Samius Isocrates was buried at Ostia by his freedman Aelius Musicus:

\[
\text{θ(εοῖς) κ(αταχθονίοις) | Π. Αἴλιος Σάμιος | Ἰσοκράτης | Νικομηδεὺς καὶ Ἐφέ | σιος σοφιστής ἐνθάδε κεῖται. Αἴλιος Μου|σικὸς тώ πάτρων | καὶ βρέψαντι | μνήμης χάριν.}^{118}
\]

To the underworld gods. Publius Aelius Samius Isocrates, citizen of Nicomedia and Ephesus, sophist, lies here. Aelius Musicus (erected this) for his *patronus* who reared him, to commemorate him.

This seems to be a man called Samius, born in Nicomedia, but then acquiring citizenship at Ephesus, perhaps because he was active there as a sophist, and also Roman citizenship from Hadrian. The name Isocrates may have been taken or given as a compliment to his oratorical skills. Like Aristides in AD 144 Samius may have set off to Rome to climb higher on the sophistic ladder, but instead died in mid-career at Ostia.

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\(^{116}\) See Merkelbach 1985.

\(^{117}\) Şahin and Sayer 1982, 43 no. 1, Fernoux 2004, 492.

108. Basilicus, called a sophist by the Suda, registering technical works of rhetoric, taught Apsines in Nicomedia, presumably late in the second c. Patillon argues that part of Ps.-Aristides Rhetorica is by Basilicus.

109. P. Aelius Cleisthenes, who died aged 28 in Athens at some date in the second century after AD 117, is termed rhetor in his brief epitaph.

110. Quirinus is the only Bithynian given a Life by Philostratus. His teachers included Hadrianus of Tyre, who may have taught in Ephesus, and certainly held the imperial chair of rhetoric in Athens (from around AD 176) followed by that in Rome. Quirinus could have been Hadrianus’ pupil in Ephesus or Athens, perhaps in the early or late 170s; less probably in Rome, but as P. Aelius Samius Isocrates (above no. 107) and other cases show, travel to Rome for cultural advancement was not unusual. Quirinus was appointed to the important post of advocatus fisci, probably, given his place in Philostratus’ sequence of sophists, by Septimius Severus. Philostratus commends his restraint and probity, insisting that after eschewing exploitation of his powerful office he returned home poor, like the fifth-century Athenian Aristides, and was buried in Nicomedia.

Scholars, grammatikoi, philologoi

111. The grammaticus Asclepiodotus visited Egypt and recorded his awe at the Syringes in Egyptian Thebes:

119 Suda β 159: Βασιλικός, σοφιστής. Περὶ τῶν διὰ τῶν λέξεων σχημάτων, Περὶ ρητορικῆς παρασκευῆς ἢτοι περὶ ἀσκήσεως, Περὶ μεταποίησεως καὶ ἄλλα τινά (‘Basilicus, sophist: On the figures of diction; On rhetorical preparation or On Practising; On paraphrase; and some other works’). Syrianus also knows a Περὶ τόπων (On commonplaces), a commentary on Demosthenes, and a Περὶ ἰδεῶν (On ideas): see In Hermog. 1.13.1-2, 6-13; 57.6-10.

120 Suda s.v. Apsines α 4735.

121 Patillon 2002, xii-xv.

122 IG ii² 10007, inscribed on a funerary urn; surely different from the P. Aelius Cleisthenes commemorated in the stone epitaph published by Reynolds 2000, no. 5a.


124 Cf. Hadrianus’ poem honouring Claudius Severus, IK 15 no. 1539, on which see Keil 1953 and Jones 2002, 111-114. Page 1981, 566-568, following Groag, mistakenly took the poet to be the emperor Hadrian. For an important discussion of Hadrianus see Puech 2002, no. 128.

125 Bowersock 1969, 22 n. 1 proposed to emend Κυρίνωι (found once in Philostratus’ manuscripts) to Κυρίναι (found twice in the manuscripts) to Κυρίνος, thus giving the nomen Quirinius, for which he compared IGRom. iii 810, honouring at Pamphylian Side Quiniria Patra, wife of Bryonianus Lollianus (for whom see IGRom. iii 811). We now know more about the nexus of families in southern Anatolia to which Quiniria Patra belonged (cf. PIR² Q52-54) and nothing so far corroborates any connection with the Bithynian sophist.
I, Asclepiodotus of Nicomedia, a *grammaticus*, beheld and felt wonder

Visitors

112. As from Nicaea (above no. 90), so too from Nicomedia an epigram by Diodorus of Sardis (for a bridegroom, Hipparchus, who died at 24) passed into the *Anthology*. Like Diodorus’ epigram for Achaeus it does not prove a visit, but Diodorus’ links with Asia Minor make it not unlikely.

113. Late in the second century Nicomedia gave the status of *bouleutes* (‘councillor’) to Ti. Iulius Apolaustus, a τραγικῆς ἐν ρυθμοῦ κινήσεως ὑποκριτήν (‘performer of tragic rhythmic movement’, i.e. pantomime): presumably he had performed impressively on a visit.

*Prusa*

Doctors

121. C. Calpurnius Asclepiades’ career is outlined by his grave inscription near Capua. Born on 13 March AD 87, the same day as his wife (whose *nomen* is inscribed as Veronia, but Verania is a possible correction) he obtained Roman citizenship for his parents, himself and his four brothers; he lived for 51 years with his wife until his death, aged 70, in AD 157; and his professional skill and general integrity led to his approval by *viri clarissimi* and (it is implied) his appointment as an *assessor* to Roman magistrates, both in Asia and in other provinces, and as a supervisor of votes cast by jurors. His citizenship was

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126 Baillet 1920-1926, no. 1739.
127 *AP* 7.627 = *GVI* 1472 = Gow-Page 1968, Diodorus vi.
129 *ILS* 7789 = *CIL* xi 3943: C. Calpurnius Asclepiades, *Prusa ad Olympum, medicus* | parentibus et sibi et fratribus civitates VII a Traiano dvo | impetravit, natus III non. Mart. Domitiano XIII cos, eadem die quo uxor eius Veronia Chelidon, cum qua vixit annis LI | studiorum et morum causa probatus a viris clarissimis, adseicit magistratibus populi Romani | ita ut in aliis et in Asia provincia, custodiar (um) | [tabellar.?] in urna iudicum. Vixit annis LXX (‘C. Calpurnius Asclepiades, from Prusa by Olympus, a doctor, who successfully requested seven Roman citizenships from the divine Trajan for his parents, for himself and for his brothers; born 5th March in the 13th consulate of Domitian, on the same day as his wife Veronia Chelidon, with whom he lived for 51 years; and thanks to his education and character he received the approval of the most eminent men, and sat as an adviser to magistrates of the Roman people both in Asia and in other provinces; he was supervisor of the votes of jurors and lived 70 years’). For the attractions of correcting to Verania see Bowie 2014, 40 with n. 31.
presumably obtained thanks to the intervention of a Calpurnius, perhaps after he had married a woman who was already a citizen.130

122. Marcus, son of Octavius, honoured by the *demos* of Prusa, was a doctor who stayed at home and died much younger than Asclepiades:

\[ \text{o δήμος | Μάρκον Ὀκταί|ου ιατρὸν ἔ|των με'}^{131} \]

The people (honoured) Marcus, son of Octavius, a doctor, who lived 45 years

Mime Writers and Performers

122a. Philistion is allocated to Prusa (as well as to Nicaea or Sardes), see above no. 73.

Philosophers132

123. (T. Flavius?) Dio Cocceianus (known since late antiquity as ‘Dio Chrysostom’), probably owed his *cognomen* Cocceianus to the acquisition of Roman citizenship with Nerva’s support in his consulate of AD 71. He is represented by 78 surviving prose ‘orations’—sophistic, political and philosophical.133 Whether or not he was initially a sophist who was ‘converted’ to philosophy (Synesius’ pattern, accepted by many moderns), perhaps by the Stoic Musonius, he seems certainly to have been banished from Bithynia and Italy by Domitian, and to owe his return in AD 96/97 to Nerva’s friendship. Four orations on kingship purport to be for the benefit of Trajan, but whether any of these was delivered in his presence, or whether Dio (as Philostratus has it)134

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130 This is not the only Asclepiades known from Prusa: cf. the *magistratus* (πρῶτος ἄρχων, see Sherwin-White *ad loc.*) at Prusa in AD 110-111, Plin. *Ep.* 10.81.1 (thought by Sherwin-White to be older than our C. Calpurnius, probably rightly; but a member of the elite might perhaps be ἄρχων at 23 or 24, despite the rules, for which see Ameling 1984).

131 *IK* 39 no. 29 (first or second century AD).

132 The philosophers T. Avianius Bassus Polyaenus (Στωϊκὸς φιλόσοφος) and his friends Avianius Apollonius (*IK* 39 no. 18) and P. Avianius Valerius Lysimachus f. (*IK* 39 no. 17), attested by inscriptions found in the wall at Prusa, are from nearby Mysian Hadriani *ad Olympum*, Şahin 1977, 257-258.


134 Philostr. *VS* 1.7.488.
rode in his carriage in a triumph in Rome, can be questioned. Several speeches show Dio seeking to mitigate rivalry between Bithynian cities and embattled in the local politics of Prusa, as he is also found in Pliny’s *Letters* of AD 110/111.\textsuperscript{135} Others, not all certainly Trajanic, address problems in other cities of the Greek East—Celaenae, Tarsus,\textsuperscript{136} Rhodes and Alexandria.

124. Flavius Archippus, whose *praenomen* was presumably Titus, secured the friendship of Domitian after AD 81, and emerges from Pliny’s letters as a philosopher teaching in Prusa and attempting to benefit from the immunities for teachers and other professionals introduced by Vespasian—this despite conviction for a serious offence (he was *damnatus ad metalla*, ‘condemned to the mines’) around AD 79/80.\textsuperscript{137}

Rhetors

125. L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, honoured as *rhetor* at Athens,\textsuperscript{138} as *proconsul* and *rhetor* at Smyrna,\textsuperscript{139} and as οἰκιστής (‘founder’) by his πατρίς Prusa between AD 225 and 242 when he was *legatus* of Bithynia-Pontus.\textsuperscript{140} He rose to be *proconsul Asiae* and *praefectus urbi*.\textsuperscript{141}

126. Cornutus was honoured by Firmus, apparently his pupil, to whom he probably taught rhetoric, but perhaps merely *grammatike*:

\begin{quote}
αγαθῇ τύχῃ | θρεπτῆρα | Μουσών καὶ λόγων | κοσμήτορα | v. |
Κορνοῦτον | οὕτω Φίρμος | ἀντημείψατο\textsuperscript{142}
\end{quote}

With good fortune. A nurse of the Muses and orderer of words Cornutus was requited with this (monument) by Firmus

A Teacher of Stenography

127. Ti. Claudius Onesimus:

\textsuperscript{135} Plin. *Ep.* 10.81-82.
\textsuperscript{136} Editions of *Orr.* 33-35 with commentary, Bost-Pouderon 2006 and (with *Or.* 36) 2011. For the enigmatic first Tarsian (*Or.* 33) see Hawkins 2014.
\textsuperscript{138} *IG* ii\textsuperscript{2} 4217.
\textsuperscript{139} *IK* 23 no. 635.
\textsuperscript{140} *IK* 39 no. 12.
\textsuperscript{141} For the many other inscriptions and references to discussions of his senatorial career see *PIR* 2 E36; Puech 2002, 330-336; Janiszewski, Stebnicka and Szabat 2015, no. 629.
\textsuperscript{142} *IK* 39 no. 53 (third or fourth century AD); Puech 2002, no. 70 (noting that lettering supports a late date); Janiszewski, Stebnicka, and Szabat 2015, no. 591.
T. Κλαύδιος | Ὀνήσιμος | σημεῖων διδάσκαλος

Tiberius Claudius Onesimus, a teacher of signs

A Teacher of Unnamed Discipline

128. ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Σουσαν | Σουσα παιδευτὴν | ἐξοχώτατον ζήσαντα κοσμίως

The people honoured Susas the son of Susas, a most outstanding teacher, who had lived decorously

Prusias ad Hypium

Philosophers

131. In Plutarch's *Quaestiones convivales* a Stoic Philippus is identified as from Prusias.

Rhetors

Epitherses Aemilianus, chiefly associated with Nicaea, may have started life in Prusias, see above no. 84.

Students of Rhetoric

132. Cornutus, who died in Athens:

143 *IK* 39 no. 1043 (first or early second century AD). For this sense of σημεῖα cf. LSJ II 5.

144 *IK* 39 no. 1099 (first or second century AD).

145 Plu. *QC* 7.7.1 = Mor. 710b: ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς παλαιστρᾶς (a Stoic has just been mentioned) Φιλίππος ὁ Προυσιεύς (‘from the same school Philip from Prusias’); cf. on no. 84.

146 *IK* 27 Ti5 = *IG* ii2 1018 = *GVI* 1872, cf. Robert 1980, 78 n. 480; Puech 2002, no. 274. This text seems to be from the second century, which excludes identification (suggested by an anonymous reviewer) of this Cornutus with no. 126, who seems to belong to the third or fourth century and is in any case from Prusa, not Prusias.
Tell me, from what country are you, who died, or who you were yourself, and what was the name of your father?"

‘My name was Cornutus, the country I came from was Prusias. And the father who begat me was [– ـ –].’

‘And how much life did you reach?’

‘The ... year, with two months more’.

‘[And you ended it] where?’

‘Among the descendants of Cecrops.’

‘And what did you study? Tell this too’.

‘[The art] of rhetoric ...’

133. Calpurnius Calpurnianus, who died in Ephesus (for his name cf. the Prusan Calpurnius Asclepiades no. 121):

᾿Ῥήνωι πὰρ ποταμῶι γενόμην, Πώλιττα δὲ μήτηρ
Κυντιανὸς δὲ πατήρ, Προυσιάδος δὲ πάτρης,
Καλπουρνιανὸς δ’ οὖνομα, ἐτη δ’ ἐπὶ πέντε λόγοισιν
ιν Ἐφέσωι σχολάσας εἰκοσίτης έθανον147

Above the epitaph: Λ. Καλπουρνίωι | Καλπουρνιανῶι | Τ. Καλπουρνίου Κυ | ιντιανὸς Ἀφρικανὸς | κατεσκεύασεν σὺν | τῆι ἐκβασμειδώσει | τὸν βωμόν

‘I was born by the river Rhine, Politta was my mother, Quintianus my father, and I was from the city of Prusias, and my name was Calpurnianus, and after five years studying oratory in Ephesus I died aged twenty’.

Above the epitaph: For L. Calpurnius Calpurnianus T. Calpurnius Quintianus Africanus built the altar with its steps

Visiting Performers

134. Ti. Claudius Philoxenus, an Athenian *tragoedus*, died in Prusias:

Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Φιλόξενος | Ἀθηναῖος, τραγῳδός, | ἐτῶν κθʹ, μηνῶν γʹ. |
Τὶμῆς Κορίνθιος, | (5) τραγῳδός, ἀνεναιωσάμην {ἀνενεωσάμην}148


148 IK 27 no. 97 = SEG 20.30, Stefanis 1988, no. 2540: first or second century AD.
Tiberius Claudius Philoxenus, citizen of Athens, tragic performer, 29 years 3 months.
I Isthmus, citizen of Corinth, tragic performer, restored (his tomb)

135. Philoxenus’ tomb was restored by another visiting tragoedus from Corinth, with the catchy name Isthmus,149 see no. 134 above.

_UNKNOWN CITY_

Sophistic Performer?

140. An Aufria honoured at Delphi is probably Bithynian: the decree honouring her for her paideia and rhetorical performances during the Pythia (of AD 119 or 123) describes her as Αὐφρίαν [...]νήν, most easily supplemented [Βιθύν]νήν,150 and the rare nomen appears in Greek epigraphy only in Bithynia: IK 32 no. 52 (Aufria, not in LGPN), IK 39 no. 98 (Aufrianus).

Write (?) Anthologist?

141. Damophilus of Bithynia, noted by the Suda as raised by Julianus, consul in Marcus’ reign,151 dedicated one of his many works to a Lollius Maximus.152 Julian Misopogon 29.18 = 358c-d mentions an anthology: Δαμόφιλῳ τῷ Βιθυνῷ πεποίηται συγγράμματα τοιαύτα, ἐν οἷς δρεπόμενος ἐκ βιβλίων πολλῶν εἰργάσατο λόγους ἡδίστους νέω φιληκόω ναι καὶ πρεσβυτέρω. The Doric form Damophilus suggests his origin to be the Megarian colony Chalcedon, where Doric forms are found at least as late as the Augustan period (IK 20 no. 19, cf. no. 11 = Sokolowski 1955, no. 5). Perhaps his entry to elevated circles in Rome was eased by Marcus’ philosophy teacher Apollonius of Chalcedon (above no. 24), though his ‘raising’ by Didius Iulianus could be as late as the latter’s proconsulate of Bithynia, i.e. post-175 (SHA Didius Iulianus 2.3).
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Dataset labels: Mnemosyne 75 (2022) 73-112

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