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 Φίλιππος, ὁ Δημητρίου μὲν υἱός, Περσέως δὲ πατήρ, ἔδωκε δὲ Προυσίᾳ τῷ Ζήλᾳ, συγκατασκάψαντι καὶ ταύτην καὶ Μύρλειαν ἀστυγείτονα πόλιν, πλησίον δὲ καὶ Προῦσης οὖσαν· ἀναλαβὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῶν ἑρειπίων αὐτὰς ἐπωνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν Προυσιάδα πόλιν τὴν Κίον, τὴν δὲ Μύρλειαν Ἀπάμειαν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ('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 τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ ἱδρύεται τῷ Μυσίῳ, πόλις εὐνομουμένη, τοῖς τε Φρυξίν ὁμορος καὶ τοῖς Μυσσίς, κτίσμα Προῦσιου τοῦ πρὸς Κροίσον πολέμησαντος ('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 *oreibasias* 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,

6 Str. 12.4.3.564C: καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι ἑορτὴ τις ἄγεται παρὰ τοῖς Προυσιεύσιν καὶ ὀρειβασία θιασευόντων καὶ καλοῦντων "Υλαν, ὡς ἂν κατὰ ζήτησιν τὴν ἐκείνου πεποιημένων τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ὕλας 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 δὲ πρότερον Ἀγκώρη, εἶτα Ἀντιγόνηα, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Λυσιμάχου γυναικὸς Νίκαια μετεκλήθη ... ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰσίγονος καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης καὶ Παρθένιος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδης καὶ Ἐπιθέρης γραμματικὸς γράψας περὶ λέξεων ἄττικῶν 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 Isigonus and Asclepiades and Parthenius and Apollonides and Epitherses 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 Ἐλικώρη should be preferred to Ἀγκώρη.

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 Sardis. From Tiberius' reign we know the *grammaticus*⁹ 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 Antigonos 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 mathematics 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.¹⁰ The prosopography of Nicaean cultural figures presented here merely registers

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.¹¹ 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,¹² and an elegant epigram of unknown authorship praises Prusan springs on Mt Olympus with an enthusiasm that suggests its poet's visit.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

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

11 Ath. 1.1d. 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 αὐτὰι | κρέσσονες ἡμεῖων χαίρετε Πυθιάδες· | αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πάσαι μετὰ Πύθια καὶ μετὰ Προύσαν | ἡμετέραις Νύμφαις εἴξατε Νηιάδες ('We yield to the Nymphs of Prusa, but hail, you Pythian 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: Οὐλίπιον Τίτιον Καλπουρνιανόν | Φάδον | ἥρωα | υἱόν Τ. Στατειλίου Καλπουρνιανοῦ | Φάδου, | ἔκγονον Βειθυνιάρχου καὶ λογιστῶν, | συγγενή συνκλητικῶν καὶ ὑπατικῶν, | ἱππῶ δημοσίῳ τετετημημένον | ἐξ ἱνοκυσιτινῶς, παιδεία καὶ ἀρετῇ | τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν πρωτεύσαντα, | Οὐλπία Τίτια Φαδιλλιανῇ | Ἀρτεμωνίς | [. . .] ΝΗ τὸν γλυκύτατον υἱόν ('Ulpia Titia Fadilliana Artemonis [----] in honour of her sweetest son Ulpus 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 *equus publicus ex inquisitione*, who achieved primacy in his generation in *paideia* and excellence').

15 Suda ι 34.8: Ἱμέριος, Ἀμεινίου ῥήτορος, 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

Philosophers¹⁶

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

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·
ποιητὴν ἔστησαν | Ἀπαμέα Μάξιμον ἄστοι |
ἄράμενον δοιῶν | στέμματα Ὀλυμπιάδων

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 Cleochaes 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 = *IGRom.* 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 διαλεκτικός καὶ Ἱππαρχος καὶ Θεοδόσιος καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ μαθηματικοὶ Κλεοφάνης τε ῥήτωρ ὁ Μυρλεανὸς Ἀσκληπιάδης τε ἱατρός ὁ Προυσιεύς ('Men notable for their *paideia* from Bithynia have been the philosopher Xenocrates, the *dialectic* 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 Turditanian (Spain), of which he published a *periegesis*.²² His writings included historical work on Bithynia, an Atticist *περὶ 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 Merkelbach and Stauber supplement to

from Myrleia and the doctor Asclepiades from Prusias'). I print the text of Radt 2002-2011, vol. 4, 490.19-22, which deletes the manuscripts' γραμματικός after Ἀσκληπιάδης, probably correctly. Ruhnken emended Κλεοφάνης to Κλεοχάρης, comparing Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 176, 121b9-15, where Henri's 1960 edition prints the manuscript reading Σμυρλεανός: Κλεοχάρης δὲ ὁ Σμυρλεανός, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰσοκρατικῶν ἀπάντων, οἶμαι, λέγων ... φησὶ τοὺς μὲν δημοσθενικοὺς λόγους τοῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰκέναι μάλιστα σώμασι, τοὺς δὲ ἰσοκρατικοὺς τοῖς τῶν ἀθλητῶν ('Cleochares of Smyrleia, speaking, I think, on behalf of all Isocrateans ... says that the speeches of Demosthenes most resemble the bodies of soldiers, but those of Isocrates the bodies of athletes').

- 20 Suda α 4173: Ἀσκληπιάδης, Διοτίμου, Μυρλεανός (πόλις δὲ ἐστὶ Βιθυνίας, ἡ νῦν Ἀπάμεια καλουμένη), τὸ δὲ ἄνωθεν γένος ἦν Νικαεύς· γραμματικός, μαθητὴς Ἀπολλωνίου. γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ Εὐμενοῦς τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ βασιλέων. ἔγραψε φιλοσόφων βιβλίων διορθωτικά· ἐπαίδευσε δὲ καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ τετάρτου Πτολεμαίου νέος διέτριψεν. ἔγραψε πολλὰ ('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 περιήγησίν τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκδεδωκώς τῶν ταύτῃ ('a man who taught in Turditanian 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 Sakolowski 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. 2.50d-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 F11 is specified as ἐν τῷ ια' περὶ γραμματικῶν, 'in book 11 of the work *On matters grammatical*'). See also Suda ο 657 (Orpheus of Croton), π 1888 (Polemo of Ilium).

describe him as a lawyer (νομικός): Γάιος καὶ Κλεοπάτρα Νωνίῳ | [νομι]κῷ τέκνῳ ἰδίῳ μνήμης | χάριν ('Gaius and Cleopatra for their own son Nonius ... to commemorate him').²⁴ At eighteen, he could have progressed no further than *study* of law, and other supplements are possible (e.g. a second part of his name): this text does not establish the teaching or practice of law at Apamea.

Bithynion-Claudiopolis

Doctors

11 and 12. The professions of Acilius Theodorus and of his relative Theodorus who (with Acilius' son, also called Theodorus) built his tomb are identified in his epitaph, inscribed on a column. His relative's self-description as *archiatros* marks him as one of the city's official doctors who enjoyed immunity, as seen by Kaibel. That may also be indicated by Theodorus' own non-technical characterisation as 'foremost of doctors':

Ἀκείλιον Θεόδωρον | ἱατρῶν πρόμον |
 σπουδαῖον εὐγενῆ τε | καὶ εὐσχήμονα |
 υἱὸς Θεόδωρος θάψεν | ἡδ' ὁ {σ}συγγενῆς |
 Θεόδωρος ἀρχίατρος | ἐπιλείβων δάκρυ· |
 γυνὴ δὲ Φιλοκράτ[εια] | ἐν δόμοις μ[ένει] |
 τρέφουσα παῖδα | καὶ ποθοῦσα [χ]ατθανεῖν²⁵

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 ἡπιόχε[ιρ](α) (line 3); a gap in the readable text conceals his πατρὶς 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".

πάνσοφον, εὐγενέ' [άνέρ'] | Ἀθηνοκλέην κλυ[τοτέχνην] |
 τύμβῳ καὶ στήλῃ [υῖ] | ὃς κτερ(έ)ιζε θανόντα |
 εὖσεβῇ, ἡπιόχε[ιρ]' | [. .]σίου πατρίδος γεγάωτα²⁶

An all-skilful, noble [man], Athenocles, famed for his [craft]
 was given the burial honour on his death of a tomb and *stèle* 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 Νεικῇ | τὴν φιλόσο|φον φιλοκαί|σαρα καὶ φιλό|
 πατριν φυλῇ[ι] Σεβαστῇ[ι] ἐκ τῶν ιδίων²⁷

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:

26 *IK* 31 no. 80 cf. *SEG* 28.983, Şahin 1978, 52 no. 3, Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 09/09/06 (date "unbestimmt").

27 *IK* 31 no. 67.

28 *Bibl.* 100a33-37: ἀνεγνώσθη Φρυνίχου Ἀραβίου σοφιστικῆς παρασκευῆς λόγοι λς'. ἔστι δὲ τὸ βιβλίον λέξεων τε συναγωγὴ καὶ λόγων κομματικῶν, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ εἰς κῶλα παρατετινομένων 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: ... ἤχμασε δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Μάρκου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Κομμόδου, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ συντάγματος ποιεῖται ἐπιγράφων· 'Κομμόδῳ Καίσαρι 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"').

Φρύνιχος, Βιθυνός, σοφιστής. Ἀττικιστής· [ὕπ'] Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων βιβλία β', Τιθεμένων συναγωγῇ, Σοφιστικῆς παρασκευῆς βιβλία μζ', οἱ δὲ οδ'.²⁹

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 Βιθυνός is accepted, not Photius' 'Arabian',³⁰ 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 Βιθυνιεύς, 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 Βιθυνοὶ τε καὶ Ἀσιανοὶ Γάλλον καλοῦσιν. λέγε οὖν βλάξ καὶ βλακικόν 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 βλακικόν [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.³¹

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*,³² came to Claudopolis to study rhetoric with a teacher we cannot identify.³³ Thus, despite the absence hitherto of the terms ῥήτωρ (*rhetor*) or σοφιστής (sophist) from Bithynion-Claudiopolis'

29 Suda φ 764: the manuscripts' puzzling accusative Ἀττικιστήν should be emended to Ἀττικιστής, as required by Heath's 1999 translation which I adapt (<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/classics/heath/sudabits.html>).

30 Schamp 1987, 210 (following *RE*) takes Ἀράβιος to be a nickname; so too Janiszewski, Stebnicka and Szabat 2015, no. 846.

31 I am grateful to Dr Claudia Strobel for discussing this issue with me. For further discussion of Phrynichus see Strobel 2011.

32 Θεόδωρος Ἀττάλου Ἀγριππεύς, *IK* 31 no. 70, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 5.149: perhaps the city that became Crateia-Flaviopolis.

33 *IK* 31 no. 70, I 1-5: [στρα]τηγῶν προθέν | [τω]ν· Μητροδόωρος Φιλ[λί]ππου εἶπεν· ἐπεὶ Θεόδωρος Ἀττάλου Ἀγριππεύς ἔνεκεν σχολῆς ἀφιγμένος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ... (The *strategoí* made the proposal, Metrodorus, son of Philippus, spoke: 'Since Theodorus, son of Attalus, an Agrippensian, came to the city for his studies ...'); *IK* 31 no. 70, I 34-37: τοῦ θαίμονος | χαρισαμένου ἐντός | τῇ πόλει τελευτᾶν ἥς [ἐ]||ράσθη μὲν δειλαῖος [εἰς ἡ]||χῇ τὸν λόγων τῶν πε[ρι] ἐπ[ι]αίνου ἢ καὶ ἡθῶν κα[ι] κλαυθ[μ]ῶν μαθητῆς τ[ῶν] περὶ | ἑτέρων ἀφικόμενος μὴ ἄ... ('since god has done him the favour of dying in the city with which he had fallen in love, poor youth, who came here to study as a pupil the ringing speeches addressing praise or

scant epigraphy, some rhetorical education was apparently available. Little further support comes from an epitaph beginning 'Ιουλιανὸς Ἀλεξάνδροιο | 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 *dialectic* 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

character and lamentation that were about others....'), cf. Merkelbach 1984, 137-140, Puech 2002, no. 278.

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.

37 See von Staden 1989.

38 Str. 12.4.9.566C (printed above, n. 19), D.L. 2.106, Arist. *Top.* 148a26-31.

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. Thrasyarchus, 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:

39 E.g. D.L. 3.46, 4.6.

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, *PIR*² A 929.

42 See Kennedy 1963, 68-80.

43 See Marcus' letter cited n. 41.

44 Ps.-Gal., *Introduction to medicine* 14.683 Kühn (Βιθυνὸς Κιανός, ὃς καὶ Προσιεύς), where incorrectly Προσιάς is printed (but see Rawson 1982, 359-360); Str. 12.4.9.566C (printed above n. 19); Plin. *Nat.* 7.124.

45 Plin. *Nat.* 26.12-20.

46 Two cases he treated in Parium are documented, Cael. Aurel. *Acut.* 2.129 and Oribas. *CMG* VI 2.1, 256 R, cf. Rawson 1982, 365.

47 Cic. *De orat.* 1.62, cf. Rawson 1982, 360-363.

Γάιος Ἰούλιος | Βεττιανὸς | ζῶν ἑαυτῷ | καὶ Ἐμπεiriά | ἰατρὶνῃ | ἑαυτοῦ γυ|
ναικὶ ζῆσάσῃ ἔτη μθ' κατε|σχεύασεν⁴⁸

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' (σοφίης 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 Hephæstion of Thebes, who cites his *Collections* (Συναγωγαί),⁵³ is presumably Diogenes Laertius' astrologer (ἄστρο-λόγος) 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

48 IK 29 no. 52 = CIG 3736.

49 Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 09/10/04 (venturing no date).

50 Heph.Astr. 2.18.21-66 (vol. 1, p. 157.28 ed. Pingree, Leipzig 1973); Cramer 1954, 165; Birley 1997, 355 n. 26.

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.

53 Heph.Astr. vol. 1, p. 285.10 ed. Pingree, Leipzig 1973: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Νικαεὺς Πρωταγόρας ('and that is what is said by the Nicaean Protagoras'), cf. ibid. p. 323.6: ἐκ τῶν Συναγωγῶν τοῦ Νικαεῶς Πρωταγόρου ('from the *Collections* of the Nicaean Protagoras').

54 D.L. 9.56.

to Hipparchus may indicate Nicaean origin.⁵⁵ He is probably the Theodosius named by Vitruvius as the inventor of a universal sundial.⁵⁶ Of his writings listed in the Suda three survive: Σφαιρικά,⁵⁷ Περί οικήσεων, and Περί ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν.⁵⁸

Doctors

55. Antigonos.⁵⁹

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' ὅστέα ἐνθάδ' ἔνεστιν, |
 Ἴδύος ἱατροῦ πολλὴν | γαίαν κατιδόντος |
 (5) ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς | καὶ τέρματα ἡπείροιο |
 Εὐρώπης Λιβύης τ' | ἢ δ' Ἀσίας μεγάλης· |
 καὶ τὰ μὲν οὕ(τ)ω πάντα | (10) ταλαιπῶρος τετέλεσται, |
 τέκνα δὲ οὐκ ἐγένονθ' | Ἴδύος [οὐδ] ἀμόθι. |
 Ἴδὺς πρεσ(βύτερος) | ἐτ(ῶν) νε' Δικαιοσύνη | (15) ἐτ(ῶν) ν'.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.

55 Suda θ 142: Θεοδόσιος, φιλόσοφος. ἔγραψε Σφαιρικά ἐν βιβλίοις γ', Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰ Θεωδᾶ κεφάλαια, Περί ἡμερῶν καὶ νυκτῶν δύο, Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸ Ἀρχιμήδους Ἐφόδιον, Διαγραφὰς οἰκιῶν ἐν βιβλίοις τρισί, Σκεπτικά κεφάλαια, Ἀστρολογικά, Περί οικήσεων ('Theodosius: a philosopher. He wrote *Spherics* in 3 books, a commentary on the *Summaries* of Theudas, *On Days and Nights*, 2 books, a commentary on the *Method* of Archimedes, *Specifications of Houses* in 3 books, *Research summaries*, *Astrologics*, *On Habitations*'); cf. Str. 12.4.9.566C, cited above, n. 19.

56 Vit. 9.8.1.

57 Ed. J.L. Heiberg, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Kl. N.F.* 19.3. Berlin: Weidmann, 1927, pp. 1-164.

58 Ed. R. Fecht, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Kl. N.F.* 19.4. Berlin: Weidmann, 1927, pp. 1-154.

59 *Cod. Vatican.* 299, cf. Rohde 1873.

60 *IK* 9 no. 175 = *GVI* 1749 = Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 09/05/12, taking πρεσ(βύτερος) in line 14 to indicate Hedys was a Jewish or Christian presbyter: but it may simply distinguish him from a younger family member, e.g. a homonymous cousin.

57. A Paulus wrote *περὶ διαγνώσεως καὶ θεραπείας διαφόρων νοσημάτων* ('On the diagnosis and treatment of various diseases').⁶¹

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

Πεισίστρατος Πεισιστράτου | τοῦ Βιτεύου εἰατρὸς | ζήσας ἔτη νε'. χαίρει b 1-3
Ἀπολλόδοτος | Πεισιστράτου | εἰατρὸς ζήσας ἔτη κς' | χαίρει c 5-9⁶²

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

Apollodotus, son of Peisistratus, a doctor, who lived 27 years. Farewell.

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

Θ(εοῖς) Κ(αταχθονίοις). | ιατρὸν μ' ἐσορᾶς, | φίλε, Βιθυνὸν | πόλεως Νικαίας | (5)
πολ(λ)ήν θάλασσαν | καὶ γαίαν περι[νο]στήσας τὸ π[ε]ρω||μένον ὦδ[ε]
ἀπέ||τεια, ἐξ[ηκοστὸν] | (10) καὶ πρῶ[τον] ζήσας | λυκά[βαντα].⁶³

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;⁶⁴ in AD 214/215 he wintered with Caracalla in Nicomedia.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ He was *consul ordinarius* (with Severus Alexander as his colleague) in AD 229, then returned to Bithynia.⁶⁷ For his 80-book history of Rome he spent ten years collecting materials down to the

61 Diller, *RE* XVIII col. 2397, no. 25.

62 *IK* 9 no. 275; the family includes (b4-5) an Antiochis ἡ 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.⁶⁸ His other works included a *Life* of his fellow Bithynian Arrian.

62. A Menecrates wrote (earlier than Plutarch) a history of Nicaea: it mentioned Antiope, Theseus, and his foundation of Pythopolis on the southern shore of Lake Nicaea.⁶⁹ Its mention of Heracleia was also known to Tzetzes.⁷⁰

63. Philippus, termed συγγραφεύς ('historian') by Plutarch in his *On the decline of oracles*, claims Epitherses as his fellow-citizen.⁷¹ He should thus be from Nicaea 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 Augustus⁷² and called *ridiculus* ('jocular') by Martial,⁷³ 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.⁷⁴ He may have started life in Prusa and moved to Nicaea, as apparently did Parthenius from Myrleia.

Philosophers

65. Apollos 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.⁷⁵

68 D.C. 72.23, 74.3.

69 Plu. *Thes.* 26.3 (= *FGrH* 701 F1): Μενεκράτης δέ τις ἱστορίαν περὶ Νικαίας ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ πόλει ἐκδεδωκώς ('A certain Menecrates who published a history of Nicaea 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, Προυσαεύς, ἢ ὡς Φίλων Σαρδιανός, κωμικός. τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐπὶ Σωκράτους. ὃς ἔγραψε κωμωδίας βιολογικάς. τελευτᾷ δὲ ὑπὸ γέλωτος ἀπείρου. δράματα δὲ αὐτοῦ Μιμοψηφισταί. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γράψας τὸν Φιλόγελων, ἥγουν τὸ βιβλίον τὸ φερόμενον εἰς τὸν Κουρέα. Νικαεύς δὲ μᾶλλον παρὰ πᾶσιν ἄδεται, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· ὁ τὸν πολυστένακτον ἀνθρώπων βίον γέλῳτι κεράσας Νικαεύς 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 Coureus. But he is famed by everybody as rather from Nicaea, as the epigram testifies: "Philistion of Nicaea, 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 ταύτης (sc. Nicaea) ὁ Στωϊκὸς φιλόσοφος Ἀπολλῶ(ς), Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ μετὰ Δάρδανον γινώριμος· Λύκων καὶ Λύκανδρος, ὁμοίως Στωϊκοὶ φιλόσοφοι· Ἰέραξ, Ἡλιόδωρος δόκιμοι γραμματικοί ('from this city came the Stoic philosopher Apollos, a pupil of the Apollonius who succeeded Dardanus;

66. Asclepiodotus, son of Asclepiodotus and pupil of Panaetius, is known from the *Index Stoicorum Herculanensis*.⁷⁶ 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 τακτική* ('Manual on tactics').⁷⁷

67. M. Atinianus φιλόσοφος ('philosopher') is epigraphically attested.⁷⁸

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*.⁷⁹

69 and 70. Lycander and Lycon are Stoic philosophers known from the *Index Stoicorum Herculanensis* and George of Cyprus.⁸⁰

71. Mentor is registered as a pupil of Carneades in the *Index Herculanensis*.⁸¹

72. A Nicias is cited by Athenaeus for his claim that Alexamenus wrote dialogues before Plato.⁸²

73. Sedatus Theophilus, *praetorius*, fellow incubant with Aristides at the Pergamene Asclepieion in the 140s,⁸³ 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

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*.

76 *Index Stoicorum Herculanensis*, ed. Traversa, Genoa 1952, col. 53 p. 73.3, cf. *DPhA* A 455, *IK* 10.3 p. 83.

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

78 *IK* 10.3 p. 100, cf. *Bull.* 1958, no. 84.

79 *Index Academicorum Herculanensis*, ed. S. Mekler, Berlin 1902, 85, 105.

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

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

82 *Ath.* 11.505b-c: αὐτὸς (Plato) δὲ τοὺς διαλόγους μιμητικῶς γράψας, ὧν τῆς ιδέας οὐδ' αὐτὸς εὗρετής ἐστιν. πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦθ' εὗρε τὸ εἶδος τῶν λόγων ὁ Τῆριος Ἀλεξαμενός, ὡς Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς 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.

83 *Aristid. Sacred Tale* 4 (= *Or.* 50).16 and 43 Keil: ἐγὼ τε καὶ Νικαεὺς, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων Ῥωμαίοις, Σηδᾶτος ὄνομα, τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον 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.⁸⁴ Macrobius says he was Vergil's teacher in Naples,⁸⁵ his poetry was liked and imitated by the emperor Tiberius,⁸⁶ and he figures along with Callimachus in an epigram by the early second-century scoptic poet active in Smyrna, Pollianus.⁸⁷

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 83/84.⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹
76. A rhetor Arche[polis] or Arche[moros] was buried at Thessalonice:

Βειθυνὸς τὸ γένος ῥήτωρ σοφὸς ἐνθάδε κεῖται
 Ἀρχέ[πολις], γενέτη ταῦτ' ὀνομα.
 ἦν δ' αὐτῷ Νείκαια πάτρη, μήκος δ' ἐνιαυτῶν
 οὐ μακρόν, ἐν τρισσαῖς κάτθανε γὰρ δεκάσιν.
 τῷ δε Κυήτος τύμβον ἐδείματο, καὶ καθύπερθεν
 στήλῃν λαινέην, ἣ τάδε πᾶσι λέγω⁹⁰

84 Suda π 664. Full discussion in Lightfoot 1999.

85 Macr. Sat. 5.17.18.

86 Suet. Tib. 70: *fecit et Graeca poemata imitatus Euphionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus scripta omnium et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores dedicauit; et ob hoc plerique eruditorum certatim ad eum multa de his ediderunt* ('He also composed poems in the manner of Euphion, 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').

87 AP 11.130. On Pollianus see Nisbet 2003, 182-194.

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 *PIR*² A318: corroboration 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. Catillius 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, ἧ γλώσσας, ἄκρα 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, *grammatikoi*, *philologoi*

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

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀρχε|λάου Βειθυνὸς | Νεικαιεὺς φιλόλο|γος ζήσας ἔτη κ', | χαῖρε. ὁ
 τοῦτο κα|ταλύσας δώσει | τῇ πόλει * φ'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

91 *Delph.* 3(2), 102 = *Syll.*³ 836, cf. Bowie 2014, 43-44.

92 *AP* 15.5.6. On these 5 poems and Chrestus' identity see Merkelbach 1987; Merkelbach-Stauber 2001; Bowie 2014, 40-43; Janiszewski, Stebnicka and Szabat 2015, no. 917. Another Nicaean Cassius, P. Cassius Epigenes, honoured a priest at the Pergamene Asclepieion late in the 2nd or early in the 3rd c., *Inscr.Perg.* iii 47.

93 *IK* 10 no. 1136 = Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 09/05/02 (offering no date); Janiszewski, Stebnicka and Szabat 2015, no. 326.

94 *IGRom.* iv 1446 = *IK* 23 no. 439 (undated).

probable, albeit unprovable.⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁶

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').⁹⁷

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.⁹⁸

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'),⁹⁹ and who is cited by Erotianus,¹⁰⁰ is probably the Epitherses mentioned as his countryman and teacher of

95 For the commentary (τῶν εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους ὑπομνημάτων, ἃ προσφωνεῖ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, 'the *Commentaries on the Silloi* which he dedicates to Tiberius Caesar') see D.L. 9.109. In favour of identifying the two see Gow-Page 1968, vol. 2, 147-148; Bowie 2012, 229-230.

96 On Apollonides see further Bowie 2012, 239, and 2014, 37. Later, under the Severi, conceivably from the same family, note T. Aur. Calpurnianus Apollonides, whose procuratorial followed a military career, *IK* 29 no. 58, *ILS* 8850, Madsen 2009, 74 with n. 98.

97 D.L. 9.109, cf. Mejer 1978.

98 Plin. *Nat.* 1.36: *Diophane Nicaeense ... Dionysio qui Magonem transtulit. Diophane qui ex Dionysio epitomas fecit.* For Pollio see Suda π 2165: Πωλίων, ὁ Ἀσίνιος χρηματίσας, Τραλλιανός, σοφιστὴς καὶ φιλόσοφος· σοφιστεύσας ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ διαδεξάμενος τὴν σχολὴν Τιμαγένους· ἔγραψεν ἐπιτομὴν τῆς Φιλοχόρου Ἀτθίδος, Ἀπομνημονεύματα Μουσωνίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, ἐπιτομὴν τῶν Διοφάνους Γεωργικῶν ἐν βιβλίοις β', πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην περὶ ζώων βιβλία ι', περὶ τοῦ ἐμφυλίου τῆς Ῥώμης πολέμου, ὃν ἐπολέμησαν Καῖσάρ τε καὶ Πομπηΐος ('Pollio, who had the name Asinius; of Tralles, a sophist and philosopher. He practised as a sophist in Rome in the time of Pompey the Great, and succeeded Timagenes as the head of his school. He wrote an epitome of Philochorus' *Atthis*, *Memoirs* of the philosopher Musonius, an epitome of Diophanes' *Georgics* in 2 books, *Against Aristotle* 'On Animals' (10 books), *On the Roman civil war fought between Caesar and Pompey*). The entry confuses the late republican and Augustan C. Asinius Pollio (to whom belong the Pompeian date and the work on the civil war) and the later sophist and philosopher whose work on Musonius should post-date his death (late 1st c. AD but before 100/101); cf. Schmid-Stählin⁶ vii.2.1 (1920) 291, Jacoby on *FGrH* 193.

99 St.Byz. s.v. Νίκαα. Cf. the Epitherses from Nicaea *IK* 9 no. 101, but also two, father and son, from Prusa, *IK* 39 no. 115 = *SEG* 49.1796.

100 Erot. s.v. ἄμβλην 53.10-12 Klein: Ἐπιθέρησης δ' ἐν β' τῶν Λέξεων ἄμβωνά φησι χεῖλος εἶναι σκεύους ('Epitherses says in Book 2 of *Expressions* that the *ambon* is the lip of a vessel').

grammatica (ἐμός 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 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 9.756 (= Gow-Page 1968, Aemilianus ii and iii), the latter a poem on Praxiteles' marble *Sileni*, 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 ἐμός 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:

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 εὐκαιρον εὐρεθήσεται μέμψιν ἐπάγων Ἀρχιμήδει ... ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς Κηρίοις φησὶν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ διδάσκαλον, Φίλωνα λέγων ἀπὸ Γαδάρων ... ('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.

Νικαίης προλιπών | Βιθυνίδος ὦν ἔτι κοῦρος |
 ἄστῳ κλυτὸν γαίην | ἦλθον ἐς Αὐσονίων· |
 (5) Ῥώμῃ δ' ἐν ζαθέῃ ψήφο[υς] | καὶ μέτρα διδάξα[ς] |
 μνήμ' ἔλαχον Βασιλεύ[ς], | ἔργον ἐμῆς πραπίδο[ς]¹⁰⁷

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*):

Τι. Κλ. Ὀκλάτιος | Διονύσιος μα | θηματικὸς ζ[ή]||σας ἔτη μ'. χ[αί]||ρετε¹⁰⁹

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

¹⁰⁷ IGUR iii 1176 = IG xiv 1500 = GVI 1042.

¹⁰⁸ AP 7.701 = GVI 664 = Gow-Page 1968, Diodorus x = Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 09/05/09; Str. 13.4.9, 627-628C. For the problem of dividing poems between him and his father Diodorus Zonas see Gow-Page 1968, vol. 2, 263-264, and for brief discussion of his poetry Bowie 2012, 235, 247. For another imposing tomb whose inscriptions reached the *Anthology* see above no. 78 Sacerdos.

¹⁰⁹ TAM iv 200, cf. Fernoux 2004, 493.

¹¹⁰ IG xiv 2019 = IGUR 299.

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.¹¹¹

103. Flavius Atticus is known from his tombstone:

τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ μου | συνβίῳ Φλαβίῳ Ἀττικῷ | ἱατρῷ καὶ ἐμαυτῇ¹¹²

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 *ad Lycum*, and teacher of Sextus Empiricus' teacher, Herodotus of Tarsus.¹¹³ This sequence sets him near the mid second century AD.

Philosophers

105. L. Flavius Arrianus, known to contemporaries as a philosopher as well as historian,¹¹⁴ 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'.¹¹⁵ His senatorial career perhaps included participation in Trajan's Parthian campaign (one subject of his seventeen-book *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

111 D.H. *Th.* 1 and 55; for Strabo's possible links with the Aelii see Bowersock 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).

112 Şahin (1973-1974) no. 13.3-5, *TAM* iv 220.3-5, *Bull.* 1974, no. 573.

113 D.L. 9.116: Εὐφράντορος δὲ διήκουσεν Εὐβουλος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, οὗ Πτολεμαῖος, οὗ Σαρπηδῶν καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, Ἡρακλείδου δ' Αἰνείδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πυρρωνείων λόγων ὀκτὼ συνέγραψε βιβλία· οὗ Ζεῦξιππος ὁ πολίτης, οὗ Ζεῦξις ὁ Γωνιόπουλος, οὗ Ἀντίοχος Λαοδικεὺς ἀπὸ Λύκου· τούτου δὲ Μηνόδοτος ὁ Νικομηθεύς, ἱατρὸς ἐμπειρικός, καὶ Θειωδᾶς Λαοδικεὺς· Μηνόδοτον δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Ἀριέως Ταρσεύς· Ἡροδότου δὲ διήκουσε Σέξτος ὁ ἐμπειρικός, οὗ καὶ τὰ δέκα τῶν Σκεπτικῶν καὶ ἄλλα κάλλιστα ... ('Euphranor's lectures were attended by Eubulus of Alexandria, and his by Ptolemy, and his by Sarpedon and Heraclides, and Heraclides' by Aenesidemus of Cnossus, who also wrote 8 books of *Pyrrhonian arguments*, and his by his fellow-citizen Zeuxippus, and his by Zeuxis the bent-footed, and his by Antiochus from Laodicea on the Lycus; and his were heard by Menodotus of Nicomedia, the empiricist doctor, and Theiodas of Laodicea; and Menodotus' were heard by Herodotus the son of Areus from Tarsus; and Herodotus' by Sextus the empiricist, who wrote the 10 books of *Sceptical enquiries* and other excellent works ...'), cf. Fernoux 2004, 490.

114 For good accounts see Stadter 1980; Tonnet 1988; Bosworth 1988; Lalanne and Hostein 2014; Liotsakis 2019; Strazdins forthcoming.

115 Cf. Millar 1966.

'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:

Ζηνὶ τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου | πατρὶ Αὐρ. Δημήτριος | φιλόσοφος καὶ βουλευτῆς¹¹⁷

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:

θ(εοῖς) κ(αταχθονίοις) | Π. Αἴλιος Σάμιος | Ἴσοκράτης | Νικομηδεὺς καὶ Ἐφέ |
σιος σοφιστῆς ἐνθάδε κεῖται. Αἴλιος Μουσικὸς τῷ πάτρωνι | καὶ θρέψαντι |
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.

¹¹⁶ See Merkelbach 1985.

¹¹⁷ Şahin and Sayer 1982, 43 no. 1, Fernoux 2004, 492.

¹¹⁸ *Ed.pr.* Paribeni, *NSc* 5/6 1944/5, 79-80, cf. *Bull.* 1949, no. 233, Puech 2002, no. 236. For the correct reading Αἴλιος Μουσικὸς see *SEG* 30.1178, cited by Janiszewski, Stebnicka and Szabat 2015, no. 920, who nevertheless print Paribeni's original reading Ἄρατος μουσικός, as did Fernoux 2004, 492.

108. Basilicus, called a sophist by the Suda, registering technical works of rhetoric,¹¹⁹ taught Apsines in Nicomedia,¹²⁰ presumably late in the second c. Patillon argues that part of Ps.-Aristides *Rhetorica* is by Basilicus.¹²¹

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.¹²²

110. Quirinus is the only Bithynian given a *Life* by Philostratus.¹²³ His teachers included Hadrianus of Tyre, who may have taught in Ephesus,¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵

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 ῥητορικῆς παρασκευῆς ἥτοι περὶ ἀσκήσεως, Περὶ μεταποιήσεως καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ('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 1997, no. 5a.

123 Philostr. *VS* 2.29, cf. Suda κ 2765; Fernoux 2004, 425-426; Janiszewski, Stebnicka and Szabat 2015, no. 601.

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 Κυρίν(ι)ωι and Κυρίνος (found twice in the manuscripts) to Κυρίν(ι)ος, thus giving the *nomen* Quirinius, for which he compared *IGRom.* iii 810, honouring at Pamphylian Side Quirinia 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 Quirinia Patra belonged (cf. *PIR* ² Q52-54) and nothing so far corroborates any connection with the Bithynian sophist.

εἶδον Ἀσκληπιόδοτος | Νικομηδεύς, γραμμα|τικός, καὶ ἐθαύμασα¹²⁶

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*.¹²⁷ 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 τ[ραγικῆς ἐν]ρύθμου κινήσεως ὑποκριτῇ[ν] ('performer of tragic rhythmic movement', i.e. pantomime): presumably he had performed impressively on a visit.¹²⁸

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)¹²⁹ 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 *virī 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

¹²⁶ Baillet 1920-1926, no. 1739.

¹²⁷ *AP* 7.627 = *GVI* 1472 = Gow-Page 1968, Diodorus vi.

¹²⁸ *Delph.* 3(1), 551, cf. Robert 1930, 654-664.

¹²⁹ *ILS* 7789 = *CIL* xi 3943: C. Calpurnius Asclepiades, *Prusa ad Olympum, medicus | parentibus et sibi et fratribus civitates VII a Traiano divo | 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, adsedet magistratibus populi Romani ita ut in aliis et in Asia provincia, custodiar (um) | [tabellar:?] in urna iudicium. 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:

ὁ δῆμος | Μάρκον Ὀκταίου ἰατρὸν ἐ|τῶν με¹³¹

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

130 This is not the only Asclepiades known from Prusa: cf. the *magistratus* (πρώτος 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 Polyaeus (Στωϊκὸς φιλόσοφος) and his friends Avianius Apollonius (*IK* 39 no. 18) and P. Avianius Valerius Lysimachi 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.

133 Good general accounts are von Arnim 1898; Desideri 1978 and 1991; Jones 1978; Swain (ed.) 2000; a review of scholarship to date by Harris 1991. On Dio’s ‘conversion’ see especially Moles 1982; contra Sidebottom 2009; on the kingship orations especially Moles 1983 and Sidebottom 1991; good commentary on *Orations* 7, 12 and 36 by Russell 1992. On Dio’s exploitation of Greek myth see Gangloff 2006; for recent work Nesselrath and Amato 2009; Amato *et al.* 2016, and for new evidence on Dio as a landowner Ma 2019.

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 110/111.¹³⁵ Others, not all certainly Trajanic, address problems in other cities of the Greek East—Celaenae, Tarsus,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 79/80.¹³⁷

Rhetors

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

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

ἀγαθὴ τύχη | θρεπτῆρα | Μουσῶν καὶ λόγων | κοσμήτορα | v. |
Κορνοῦτον | οὗτω Φίρμος | ἀντημείψατο¹⁴²

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:

¹³⁵ Plin. *Ep.* 10.81-82.

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.

¹³⁷ Plin. *Ep.* 10.58-60, *PIR*² F216, cf. Fernoux 2004, 494.

¹³⁸ *IG* ii² 4217.

¹³⁹ *IK* 23 no. 635.

¹⁴⁰ *IK* 39 no. 12.

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.

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.

Τι. Κλαύδιος | Ὀνήσιμος | σημείων διδάσκαλος¹⁴³

Tiberius Claudius Onesimus, a teacher of signs

A Teacher of Unnamed Discipline

128. ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμῃσεν Σουσάν | Σουσα παιδευτὴν | ἐξοχώτατον ζήσαντα κοσμίως¹⁴⁴

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.¹⁴⁵

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:

[εἰπέ, τίνο]ς πάτρης ἐκφύς θάνες] | ἢ τίς αὐτός folium |
 [ἔπλεο] | καὶ τίς σοὶ κλήζ[εθ'] ὁ [γεινόμενος]; |
 [οὖν]ομά μοι Κορνο[ύτος ἔην], | πατρὶς ἔνθεν ἵκα[νον] |
 [Προ]υσιás, ὅς δ' ἔτεκεν – – – | με πατὴρ folium |
 [ζ]ωῆς δ' ἐς πόσον ἦλθ[ες; – – – –] | λυκάβαντα, |
 δοιοὺς τῷδ' ἐπιθεῖς – – – – – |
 ποῦ; παρὰ Κεκροπί[δαις. ἔμαθες δὲ τίς;] | [καὶ] τόδε λέξ[ον]· |
 [τέχνην] ῥητορικὴ[ν – – – –]. | vac¹⁴⁶

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

144 IK 39 no. 1009 (first or second century AD).

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

146 IK 27 T15 = IG ii² 10118 = 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 [– ∞ –].’
‘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 παρ ποταμῷ γενόμην, Πώλιττα δὲ μήτηρ
Κυιντιανὸς δὲ πατήρ, Προυσιάδος δὲ πάτρης,
Καλπουρνιανὸς δ' οὖνομα, ἔτη δ' ἐπὶ πέντε λόγοισιν
ἰν' Ἐφέσῳ σχολάσας εἰκοσιέτης ἔθανον¹⁴⁷

Above the epitaph: Λ. Καλπουρνίῳ | Καλπουρνιανῷ | Τ. Καλπούρνιος 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 Quintia-
nus 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 κθ', μηνῶν γ'. |
ῖσθμος Κορίνθιος, | (5) τραγῳδός, ἀνεναιωσά|μην {ἀνενεωσάμην}¹⁴⁸

147 IK 27 T14 = IK 15 no. 1627 = IBM 627 = GVI 1081, cf. Robert 1980, 79 n. 488; Puech 2002, no. 273.

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 *tragœdus* 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 [Βιθυ]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).

Writer (? 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: Δαμοφίλῳ τῷ Βιθυνῶ πεποίηται συγγράμματα τοιαῦτα, ἐν οἷς δρεπόμενος ἐκ βιβλίων πολλῶν εἰργάσατο λόγους ἡδίστους νέω φιλικῶς καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ. The Doric form Damophilus suggests his origin to be the Megarian colony Chaldedon, 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).

149 Stefanis 1988, no. 1290.

150 *Delph.* 3(4), 79; Puech 2002 no. 53; Janiszewski, Stebnicka and Szabat 2015, no. 199.

151 Probably Didius Iulianus, *cos.* 175, briefly emperor in AD 193.

152 *Suda* δ 52.1: Δαμόφιλος, φιλόσοφος, σοφιστής· ὃν ἀνεθρέψατο Ἰουλιανός, ὁ ἐπὶ Μάρκου τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπατος· γράψας ἀμύπολλα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτά μοι εὑρηται ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν βιβλίῳν θήκαις· Φιλόβιβλος πρῶτος περὶ ἀξιοκτῆτων βιβλίῳν πρὸς Λόλλιον Μάξιμον, Περὶ βίου ἀρχαίων, καὶ ἕτερα ἀμύπολλα ('Damophilus, philosopher, sophist, whom Iulianus brought up, the *consul* under the emperor Marcus. He wrote numerous works, of which I have found the following in libraries: *Philobiblos* (Book 1), on books worth acquiring, dedicated to Lollius Maximus; *On the lifestyle of the ancients*; and many other works'). For further references see Janiszewski, Stebnicka and Szabat 2015, 84 no. 246.

TABLE

	Apamea Myrleia	Bithynion-Claudiopolis	Chalcedon	Cius/Prusias ad mare
Astrologer				
Astronomer				
Doctor		Acilius Theodorus & a relative Theodorus (1/2c) Athenocles	Herophilus	Asclepiades (late 2c/very early 1c BC) Empeiria
Historian				
Philosopher	'Lasthenes' (c. 70)	Iulius Nicetes (Hadrianic)	Apollonius (mid 2c) Dionysius (<i>dialecticus</i>) (4c BC) Xenocrates (4c BC)	
Performer				
Poet	Maximus			

Crateia- Flaviopolis	Nicaea	Nicomedia	Prusa	Prusias ad Hypium
	Antigonus (Hadrianic) Protagoras early (2c BC)	Ti. Claudius Oclatius Dionysius (mid/late 1c?)		
	Hipparchus (mid/ late 2c BC) Theodosius and sons			
	Antigonus Paulus Pisistratus Hedys	Flavius Atticus (late 1c) Menodotus (mid 2c AD) Q. Aelius Archelaus d. Rome	C. Calpurnius Asclepiades (87-157)	
	Cassius Dio (c. 164 -post 229) Menecrates Philippus (Plu. <i>De def. or.</i>)	L. Flavius Arrianus (c.86-160)		
	Apollo(s) (1c BC) Asclepiodotus 1 (late 2c BC) Asclepiodotus 2 Marcus Atinianus Bataces (mid-2c BC) Lycander Lycon Mentor (mid-2c BC) Nicias	Aur. Demetrius (2/3c) L. Flavius Arrianus (c.86-c.150)	Dio Cocceianus (c.40/50-post 110) Flavius Archippus (c.40-c.110)	Philippus (Plu. <i>QC</i> 7.7 = <i>mor.</i> 710b)
	Philistion?		Philistion?	Ti. Cl. Philoxenus (Athenian)
	Apollonides (1c AD) Parthenius mid (1c BC)		Cornutus?	

TABLE (cont.)

	Apamea Myrleia	Bithynion-Claudiopolis	Chalcedon	Cius/Prusias ad mare
Rhetor	Cleochares/ Cleophanes (3c BC)	Theodorus Attali f.	Thrasymachus (late 5c BC)	
Scholar/ Grammaticus	Asclepiades s. of Diotimus (1c BC)	Phrynichus? (c.140-180)		
Student	Nonius?			
Teacher				
Visitors				

Crateia- Flaviopolis	Nicaea	Nicomedia	Prusa	Prusias ad Hypium
	Aemilianus s. of Epitherses Aemilianus Arche [polis] or Arche[moros] (2c) P. Catillius Macer (Hadrianic) Euandros s. of Demonis Longinus Sacerdos? (Hadrianic)	P. Aelius Samius Isocrates (post 117) P. Aelius Cleisthenes Basilicus Quirinus (c.150-210)	Dio Cocceianus (c.40/50-post 110) L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (3c) Cornutus	Epitherses Aemilianus (1c) (before moving to Nicaea)
	Apollonides early (1c) Diogenes Laertius (early 3c/late 2c) Diophanes (pre-Plin. <i>Nat.</i>) Heliodorus Hierax Isigonus (pre-Plin. <i>Nat.</i>) Parthenius (mid 1c BC) Sporus (3c)	Asclepiodotus		
	Agathocles φιλόλογος (d. Smyrna)			Cornutus d. Athens (2-3c) Calpurnius Calpurnianus (d. Ephesus? 1c)
<i>Ignotus</i>	Basileus [teacher of mathematics]		Ti. Cl. Onesimus (stenography) Asclepiodotus (<i>grammaticus</i>)	
	Diodorus of Sardis?	Diodorus of Sardis?	poet of <i>AP</i> 9.676	Isthmus (Corinth)

MAP 1 Greek cities in Bithynia, by Anna Kouremenos

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