

GREEK GRAMMARIANS IN THE LIGHT OF EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE*

by

KRYSTYNA STEBNICKA

ABSTRACT: This article offers the most complete and up-to-date catalogue of Greek inscriptions attesting grammarians (“Annex”). It includes several inscriptions more than the otherwise excellent collection by S. AGUSTA-BOULAROT. The first part of this contribution consists of a commentary on the collected sources: epigraphic evidence confirms the picture of grammarians as experts on poetry and teachers at different levels of education in gymnasia and schools. The inscriptions depict grammarians as people of low social status and their virtual absence from the public life of the *poleis* (none of them held any important municipal or Imperial office), in contrast to rhetors and sophists.

The Greek grammatical art as practiced by scholars and teachers known under the name of grammarians (*grammatikoi*) is an intellectual discipline that included both grammar and philology as it concerned itself with the study of both language and literature¹. The scholarly discipline was born in Alexandria in the third century BCE. Eratosthenes of Kyrene, who headed the Library under Ptolemy III Eurgetes (after arriving in Alexandria c. 245) and authored the lost treatise *Ta Grammatika*, was the first to give a definition of the field, surviving in the scholia to the treatise by Dionysios Thrax (2nd cent. BCE): Γραμματική ἐστὶν ἕξις παντελής ἐν γράμμασι (“Grammar is a system of study based on written texts”, with *grammata* according to Eratosthenes being synonymous with *syngrammata*). According to the definition of the famous Dionysios Thrax, on the other hand, grammar is the empirical study (*empeireia*) of what poets and writers are used to saying. This would include reading texts out loud to students (*anagnosis*), the exegesis of poetical texts (*poetikoï tropoi*), *glossai* – that is the explanation of difficult words, *historiai* – the study of the context and historical realities of the text, as well as the etymology of the words, of analogies and

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¹ On detailed aspects of grammar, see MATTHAIOS, MONTANARI, RENGAKOS 2011; MONTANARI, PAGANI 2011; MATTHAIOS 2009; articles collected in MATTHAIOS, MONTANARI, RENGAKOS 2015.

of repetition in its linguistic system². In Dionysios Thrax's textbook it is primarily poetry that comes under the critical scrutiny of grammarians. The term *grammatikos* replaces *kritikos* (Eratosthenes of Kyrene would still have called himself a critic), while *philologos* took on the meaning of a "learned person" and was not identical in meaning to *grammatikos*³. Sextus Empiricus (2nd cent. CE), the author of partially preserved treatises against rhetors, grammarians, geometricians, mathematicians, astrologers and musicians (that is the teachers of *enkyklios paideia*) wrote that the famous grammarian Krates of Mallos, active in Pergamon in the second century BCE, differentiated between "grammarian" and "critic" with the reservation that the critic should have a greater philosophical knowledge of language, while the grammarian should explain words and prosody: the critic would thus be the architect (*architekton*) and the grammarian – the labourer (*hyperetes*)⁴.

A systematic theory of language developed over the following centuries with orthography as an important part of grammarian studies starting from the second century BCE⁵. In Rome, *ars grammatica* made its debut in the second century BCE. According to Suetonius its beginnings are associated with Krates of Mallos, sent to Rome by Attalos II, who was forced to extend his stay in the Eternal City after breaking his leg in a Palatine gutter and ended up giving a series of lectures⁶. The first theoretical treatise in Latin was written, however, only in the first century BCE – by Quintilian's master, Remmius Palaemon, under Emperor Claudius. It was this work that served Quintilian when he set out his ideal for the teaching of grammar⁷, which had become part of the Roman educational system in the late Republican period. Just as in the Greek system, it was the second stage of education (after elementary education conducted by teachers known in Greek as *grammatistai* or *grammatodidaskaloi*), before rhetorical or specialist training. The study included Greek language and grammar (e.g. the classification and definitions of parts of speech, morphology and also punctuation) as well as the critical analysis of poetry⁸.

The intellectual milieu of grammarians is well known from texts in the field of *Techne grammatike* which have survived to this day or were quoted by later

² On the ancient definition of grammar, see MATTHAIOS 2011; LALLOT 2012: 1–20; WOUTERS, SWIGGERS 2015.

³ See MONTANA 2015: 149.

⁴ *Adv. math.* I 79.

⁵ VALENTE 2015.

⁶ Suet. *De gramm.* 2, 1 f.

⁷ See AX 2011: 340 f.

⁸ On the teaching of grammar in the Graeco-Roman world, see MARROU 1956: 160–175; BONNER 1977: 189–249; KASTER 1988: 12–14; VILJAMAA 1993; CRIBIORE 1996: 52–53; VÖSSING 1997: 563–574 (on the three stages of education); WOUTERS 1999: 51–68; CRIBIORE 2001a: 53–56 and 185–188; STRUBBE, LAES 2014: 70–72; CRIBIORE 2001b.

authors. The grammarians included ancient scholiasts, authors of commentaries on poetry, of lexicons and textbooks on the Greek sentence, on parts of speech, inflection (among surviving treatises are e.g. those on *personalium dualis*, adverbs, cases and the declension of nouns). The field of ancient philology has been well studied (see below). The edition of Greek theoretical treatises on grammar, published at the end of the 19th century, remains fundamental in this field⁹. Alfons WOUTERS in turn edited all the theoretical grammatical treatises preserved on papyri (dating from the early Empire to late antiquity)¹⁰, and in 2007 published a new papyrus fragment containing parts of a treatise on conjunctions¹¹. Robert KASTER's widely-known *Guardians of Language. The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* analyses Latin and Greek grammatical art from the mid-third to the sixth century CE, looking at the practitioners of *ars grammatica* from a socio-cultural perspective, while the second part of the book (pp. 236–440) contains a prosopography of late ancient grammarians. Raffaella CRIBIORE produced a brief list of grammarians known from papyri¹², but most (aside from Hermione who lived in the first century CE and Asklepiades active in the following century) remain known to KASTER's prosopography. The Brill publishing house has made available on the internet the *Lessico dei Grammatici Greci Antichi / Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity (LGG)*, a source database created and maintained by Franco MONTANARI, with more than two hundred names of ancient grammarians¹³ known from literary sources: it provides biographical information on each Greek scholar in alphabetical order, a bibliography with any editions of works and literature on the subject as well as a set of sources: testimonia and surviving fragments.

It must be emphasised that the *LGG* database does not include grammarians known exclusively from epigraphic evidence. This information has been partially compiled by Johannes CHRISTES, who collected mentions of Greek grammarians active in the West¹⁴. A separate article on Latin and Greek grammarians known from inscriptions has been published by Sandrine AGUSTA-BOULAROT¹⁵, although her catalogue contains the names of only 18 Greek grammarians, a mere half of the number collected in the Annex below.

The catalogue of Greek grammarians known from Greek epigraphic sources presented below includes 38 names (two of whom were students) from 40

⁹ G. UHLIG *et al.* (edd.), *Grammatici Graeci recogniti et apparatu critico instructi*, vols. I–IV, Lipsiae 1867–1910 (reprint Hildesheim 1965).

¹⁰ WOUTERS 1979.

¹¹ SWIGGERS, WOUTERS 2007.

¹² See CRIBIORE 1996: 167–169.

¹³ The state of the database on 3 July 2018.

¹⁴ CHRISTES 1979: 141–160.

¹⁵ AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: 653–746; see also PAZ DE HOZ 2007.

inscriptions (two texts talk of one Euarestos of Oinoanda). Most of the preserved texts are funerary inscriptions (20 examples), with only three honorific inscriptions awarded by municipal institutions and six public honorific inscriptions (one erected *post mortem*). The other inscriptions are of a different type: three are graffiti found in the pharaonic graves of Egyptian Thebes, made by grammarians on tourist trips; grammarians' names are also mentioned on the Ephesian list of *neopoioi*, in ephobic texts and in funerary inscriptions for other individuals.

Two inscriptions come from the second century BCE (**12**; **20**)¹⁶. One text alone (from Syria) invokes Christianity (**32**; KASTER's prosopography does not include this character), which allows for a dating to late antiquity. The largest number of texts dates of course to the early Empire. The table below sets out the geographical and chronological distribution of the inscriptions:

Territory	Total	2 nd cent. BCE or earlier	1 st cent. BCE	Roman period (1 st –3 rd cent. CE)	Later than 3 rd cent. CE	Undated
Central Greece	6	-	1	5	-	-
Macedon	2	-	-	2	-	-
Thrace	2	-	-	1	-	1
Islands	5	1	2	2	-	-
West	5	-	-	5	-	-
Asia Minor	12	1	1	8	-	2
Syria	1	-	-	-	1?	-
Egypt and Kyrenaika	5	-	-	2	-	3
Total	38	2	4	25	1	6

Even this small number of preserved inscriptions serves to demonstrate that grammarians (in contrast to rhetors and sophists of the Roman period) were not among the official elites of Greek cities or among the *euergetai*, who would spend their own money on various good deeds for their *poleis*, claiming special honours in return – most often statues erected in the public space, public honorific inscriptions or funerals at the municipal expense – as signs of civic gratitude. None of the grammarians known to us was a priest of the imperial cult, headed the *koinon* of a province or held any important municipal office. Among those mentioned on the collected inscriptions, only Isidoros Nikon (**21**) was in the second or third century CE a member of the Ephesian council and

¹⁶ Numbers in parentheses refer to entries in the catalogue of the inscriptions (see Annex).

belonged to the prestigious collegium of the *neopoioi*, who looked after the sanctuary of Artemis. At Oinoanda, Lucius Iulius Pilius Euarestos (24), referred to as φιλόπατρις, funded a sporting agon for all Lycians, *Severeia Euaresteia*, at the beginning of the third century CE, presumably in fully conscious imitation of his forerunner Demosthenes, who in the days of Hadrian also funded an agon at Oinoanda, albeit with artistic disciplines alone¹⁷. Euarestos, an agonotheite for life, added non-sporting competitions (*agon thymelikos*) only when the agon was held for the fifth time (most likely in 242 CE), that is when the games had been held for 16 years. The winner of the Euaresteia received a monetary prize and was honoured with a statue (unfortunately, surviving inscriptions only talk of the winners in sports).

The most important field of grammarian activity as seen in the cities was not then their political and financial engagement in the life of the *poleis*. In decrees and honorific inscriptions (see 1, 4, 12, 27) it is their teaching and lecturing that is emphasised¹⁸. The grammarian Serapion (31) taught at Tyana in Cappadocia (ll. 1 f.: παιδευτῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος). The funerary inscription in memory of Magnus of Miletoupolis (28) says he was “the first to give our children a taste of literature”. Hermes (38) “explained the letters” – elements of reading and writing – in Thugga in Africa. Some funerary inscriptions show a close relationship between a grammarian and his students. The deceased Myrsinion (10) is called the beloved student of Chrestos (ll. 3 f.: θρέμμα ποθεινότατον), presumably a famous teacher at Philippopolis. Dioskourides (12) sent his student, the poet Myrinos to Knossos (l. 7: τὸν αὐτοσαυτῶ μαθητᾶν) to perform a poem by Dioskourides. The grammarian Lysandros who died at Ios (15), is called “the grammarian and teacher of Agis” (διδάσκαλος). It may have been Agis who erected the inscription, or it may be that Agis was so well known and respected that teaching him would have brought honour.

The mobility of this circle, clearly visible in the inscriptions and comparable to the mobility of rhetors and sophists of the Second Sophistic, is worthy of close attention. The grammarian Naevianus came to lecture at Delphi all the way from Anazarbos (6); it is also at Delphi that we encounter grammarians from Macedon (5), Athens (4) and Acarnania (1). Theodoros of Bithynia (11) was educated at Athens but spent his working life teaching at Byzantion, where he died. Magnus of Miletoupolis (28) probably travelled to other cities, since his funerary inscription points out that he was admired both by aliens and in the city (l. 4: θαῦμα μέγα ξείνων, θαῦμα μέγα πτόλιος). Publius Tattius Rufus of Tarsos taught in the early Empire in the mountainous region of Zela in the Pontos (29). Hermes of Laodikeia (probably in Syria) taught in Africa

¹⁷ WÖRRLE 1988; see also reviews: MITCHELL 1990; JONES 1990.

¹⁸ I disagree with the opinion expressed by PAZ DE HOZ (2007: 315): “La inscripción de Labraunda [see 27] es una de las pocas [my emphasis] en las que se habla de la labor educativa”.

(38). Asklepiodotos of Nikomedia visited the pharaonic tombs at Thebes and may have lectured somewhere in Egypt. The same picture emerges from literary sources – the Alexandrian grammarian Apion (1st cent. CE), known for his anti-Jewish prejudice, took his lectures on Homer all over the Greek East¹⁹.

Epigraphic material also attests to the teaching of grammar spreading across all of the Greek East in the early Empire, as grammar schools were also found outside the major urban centres (see the geographical catalogue in the Annex). Grammar teachers were to be found in small places such as in the region of Zela (29), in Thugga (38), and in the Cappadocian Tyana (31), where Serapion was active in the second-third century CE (his name is suggestive of his Egyptian origins). Of course, starting with the first century CE, the greatest centres of Greek grammarian art were located at Alexandria (which remained the main centre all the way through to the sixth century) and in Rome, which strengthened its position in CE 135 with the foundation by Emperor Hadrian of Athenaeum in imitation of the Alexandrian Museion. In the first century CE we may talk of a great Alexandrian school of grammar, whose leaders at the Museion were, in chronological order, Theon, Apion, Chairemon, Dionysios, Pamphilos and Vestinus. Rhodes was another important centre of the teaching of Greek grammar (inscriptions attest to just two grammarians [13; 14], see for commentary on other famous grammarians of the early Empire). Grammar schools were also known at Athens, but their reputation was overshadowed by the splendour of the local schools of rhetoric and philosophy.

In the East of the early Empire there were also Latin grammarians, *grammatikoi Rhomaikoi*, who in practice simply taught Latin. The only epigraphic text to confirm such teaching is the bilingual funerary inscription from Thyateira – Valerius, son of Valerius (25), perhaps an arrival from Italy, was a teacher of Latin grammar. In the Roman system of education, the teacher of Greek operated at the same time as the teacher of Latin (*grammatici Latini / grammatici Graeci* are also attested in numerous inscriptions from the West²⁰). The teaching of Latin was not, however, very common in the East and did not, in the early imperial period, enter the *curriculum*. Valerius was probably a private teacher (he was buried in a grave with two boys, possibly his students, see commentary). In the West, on the other hand, Greek grammarians tended to be Hellenophonic slaves or freedmen²¹. Five Greek inscriptions document the activities of Greek grammarians in the West (see 15–18; 38): in Rome, Massalia, Nuceria (near Salerno) and in Thugga. The grammarian Athenades, son of Dioskourides (both father and son bearing Greek names) taught Latin grammar at Massalia (19: γραμματικὸς Ῥωμαϊκός), the others being teachers of Greek grammar. Didius Taxiarches (17;

¹⁹ Sen. *Epist.* 88, 40 = *FGrHist* 616 T 7. On Apion, see VAN DER HORST 2002.

²⁰ See inscriptions collected in AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: 661–690.

²¹ See CHRISTES 1979 and AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994.

latter half of the first century) was a freedman (possibly of Aulus Didius Gallus), who taught in the home of his students (he taught παῖδες εὐγενεῖς, or “well-born” children of his master). A citizen of Laodikeia served as a Greek teacher for the local community in Thugga (38).

It is well known that starting with the Hellenistic period gymnasias would host lectures/ performances (*akroaseis*) by invited guests – musicians, poets, doctors, astronomers and philosophers – frequently held in *akroateria* (auditoria), that is special lecture rooms in gymnasias (such lecture rooms are well known from archaeology e.g. at Pergamon, where a semicircular auditorium with 14 rows was built, or at Ephesos)²². Literary and musical education is very well attested in the epigraphic evidence from the Hellenistic period²³, though it is perhaps least illuminating in the case of the education of ephebes²⁴. Although in the imperial period intellectual education at the gymnasium is less and less evident from the epigraphic material²⁵, this fact does not necessarily imply that it was less frequent²⁶. The pride of place in the gymnasium of the era was taken by sports, as

²² ROBERT 1938: 13–16 and 76; ROBERT 1937: 79–81.

²³ On education in gymnasias, see NILSSON 1955; SCHOLZ 2004: 103–128; DEL CORSO 2006: 249–280; DEL CORSO 2015; LAES, STRUBBE 2014: 74 f.; D’AMORE 2007: 171–173.

²⁴ HIN (2007: 155–158) demonstrated that we have few sources attesting to the intellectual formation of this category of youths.

²⁵ In the epigraphic material from the Roman period, the number of attestations of cultural education at gymnasias drops drastically. Many cities show signs of the continued activity of *paidonomoi*: at Oinoanda in the second century CE, see WÖRRLE 1988: 4–14; at Mylasa (*paidonomos* Tiberius Tullus, *I. Mylasa* 418); at Termessos, where athletic agons were held (*TAM* III 1, 204); *paidonomos* Dokimos at Iasos (*I. Iasos* 100), c. CE 16?; *paidonomos* Gaius Iulius Capito (*I. Iasos* 99); *paidonomoi* at Miletos: *I. Did.* 94 in the early Roman period; *I. Did.* 296; *I. Did.* 258; *I. Did.* 263; *Milet* I 7, 204; *Milet* I 7, 265; at Ephesos: *SEG* XXXIV 1103. Other attestations of cultural education at gymnasias: at Delphi the Latin rhetor Decimus Iunius performed at the gymnasium, *BCH* LXIII 1939, 168, 696; at Arykanda in the first and second centuries there were the agons of *Hermaia* and *Herakleia* (on the connections of Hermes and Heracles to the gymnasium, see ANEZIRI, DAMASKOS 2004: 248–251; the existing literature places too little emphasis on the role of Hermes as the patron of *logoi*, speeches and literature); on Chios in the first century a gymnasium bore the name of *Homereion* (*SEG* XXVI 1021, l. 10: ἐν Ὀμηρείῳ γυμνασίῳ), which contained a lecture room, *akroaterion* (McCABE, Chios 15, l. 14: τοῦ ἀκροατηρίου τόπων); at Knidos in the late Hellenistic period we find the teaching of calligraphy, drawing and singing (*SEG* XLIV 902, ll. 7–9); at Dionysopolis in Moesia *hymnodoi neoteroi* honoured Emperor Caracalla (*IGBulg* I 17); at Tabai the *didaskalos* Titus Flavius Sotas taught in the gymnasium under the Empire (J. ROBERT, L. ROBERT, *La Carie*, no. 192, l. 15–160); at Herakleia Salbake in the first and second centuries there were boy *hymnodoi*, οἱ ὑμνήσαντες παῖδες (J. ROBERT, L. ROBERT, *La Carie*, no. 132, l. 7; no. 135–138, also 143–146 and 194–196); at Laodikeia on the Lykos there were boy *hymnodoi* (*IGR* IV 1587); there was a priest of the Muses at the Kos gymnasium (SEGRE, *Iscrizioni di Cos* 178, ll. 2–4: Σῶσος Ἀπολλοθέμιος ἱερατεύσας [Μ]οισᾶν); at Tokra in the first century encomiastic, possibly poetic agons took place at the gymnasium (REYNOLDS 1996, no. 4, pp. 41 f. – a winner list). See also the catalogue of gymnasium-related terms: KENNEL 2006.

²⁶ On non-athletic education at gymnasias, see Plut. *Qaest. conv.* IX 1, 736 D (geometry, music, rhetoric) and Xen. *Ephes.* I 1, 1 (music); grammar schools were active at the gymnasium of Athens,

confirmed by thousands of Greek inscriptions found all over the East that talk of the athletic training of the young (outside of Athens we have very few epigraphic sources for the military training of ephebes, which does not, however, mean that Greek cities of the Roman period gave up on it²⁷). The architecture of the Greek gymnasium in this period also serves to confirm the continuation of its traditional role in education and culture, as seen from the continued existence of lecture rooms – the biggest modification tended to be the modernisation of bathing installations²⁸.

The activity of grammarians at municipal gymnasia is well attested in the epigraphy²⁹. The best-known inscription from Ephesos (20) from the second century BCE shows a grammarian teaching at the local gymnasium – Alexandros won a competition for teachers of grammar (see commentary *ad loc.*). Menandros (1) came to Delphi from Akarnania to give lectures at the gymnasium in the first century BCE (l. 6: διατιθέμενος σχολάς). An anonymous grammarian was employed by the gymnasiarch Zosimos to teach ephebes (23) at Priene in the first century BCE.

The situation in the Roman period was no different: in the first/second century CE the Athenian Lucius Licinius Eukleides taught at the gymnasium at Delphi (4). In the first half of the second century CE, a grammarian from Macedon gave lectures at the Delphic gymnasium (5), though his name has been lost. Tiberius Claudius Anteros (27) taught a group of second-century *neoi* at the gymnasium in Labraunda, and his lectures were also attended by arrivals from other cities. Myrsilos taught grammar at the gymnasium in Tokra in the second/third century CE (37), while Demokritos was a musically gifted student of grammar (9) at the Lychnidos gymnasium in Macedon in the second century CE.

Grammatical education at gymnasium consisted primarily of the study of Greek poetry and the learning of the Greek language³⁰. Inscriptions show that grammarians also taught at the elementary level (*grammatodidaskaloi*) and lectured in other fields. Eukleides (4) initially taught a group of *paidēs* before taking over the education of the *neoi*: “Lucius Licinius Eukleides [---], also Athenian, a grammarian, while residing in our city, previously taught so well and so enthu-

see e.g. inscriptions of CE 155–268 mentioning *didaskaloi*: *IG* II² 2068, 2097, 2113, 2130, 2193, 2203, 2207, 2208, 2223, 2237, 2239, 2243, 2245, 3751.

²⁷ KENNEL 2010: 184–186.

²⁸ See CHANIOTIS 2015; TRÜMPER 2015: 167–221.

²⁹ The annex does not include the decree of Oropos (*I.Oropos* no. 218; *SEG* XLVII 496), dated to 150–100 BCE, which grants *proxenia* to an intellectual active in the city (the state of the inscription does not allow us to say whether he was a poet, grammarian or philosopher) who was a wonderful teacher of the young; ll. 3–9 indicate that his instruction at the gymnasium applied to both ephebes and *neoteroi*.

³⁰ It is worth bearing in mind the interpretation of the grafitto of Kyrene by KASTER (1984): the words ζήτημα: τῶν Πριάμου παίδων τίς πατήρ; are interpreted by him as a parody by the students of a grammarian's questions on Homer (e.g. τίς ἦν ὁ τοῦ Ἑκτορος πατήρ;).

siastically the children of the local citizens and in all circumstances showed similar goodwill, taking over the helm of teaching of young boys (*neoi*)". Tiberius Claudius Anteros (27) educated a group of *neoi* "in many different branches of knowledge" (l. 7: ποικίλαι ἐπιστῆμαι): perhaps he conducted preliminary rhetorical instruction (*progymnasmata*), although he may have taught subjects unconnected to the art of a grammarian, e.g. sciences.

An example of the wide intellectual horizons of some grammarians is Mnaseas (7) of Korkyra, included among grammarians as an expert on Homer. Mnaseas was also a scholar of astronomy and geometry, his funerary inscription stating that he won great fame (he certainly authored some commentaries and scientific works) without mentioning him as a teacher.

Sometimes it seems to have been up to the gymnasiarch whether he would invite and finance teachers. The aforementioned gymnasiarch Zosimos at Priene paid for a (probably foreign) teacher out of his own coffers (23). It is, however, worth noting that the lectures at the gymnasium by Menandros (1) were to be financed by the *polis* before he declined his fee (l. 7: διδομένου τε αὐτῶι καὶ ἐράνου ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος οὐκ ἐδέξατο). It is worth recalling the petition to the emperors Valerian and Galien (253–260 CE) from the grammarian Lollianos *alias* Homoiios, found at Oxyrhynchos³¹. Lollianos, who refers to himself as a "public grammarian", *demosios grammatikos* (A ll. 5 f.: δημοσίου [γρ]αμ/ματικοῦ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως), sent his elegant and exceedingly literary complaint – using the optative, no less – (A ll. 8 f.: the emperors are familiar with the Muses and Paideia sits alongside them on the throne), because although he had been appointed to his post by the city council (B ll. 28 f.: πεφισθεις γ(άρ) ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τ(ῆς) βουλ(ῆς) / δημόσιος γραμματικός), he did not receive any money, only cheap wine and bad grain (A l. 30), leaving him unable to support his family. The grammarian asked for the city to gift him a walled-in grove (B 31, C 61–63), which would apparently give him some income³². In parallel to this, PARSONS, who first edited the text, invokes *Speech 31* by Libanios, in which the best-known of the fourth-century rhetors speaks of the financial troubles of his assistants who receive an insufficient stipend from the city and collect only small fees from their students³³. Libanios asks the council of Antiochia to give them land to help them support themselves.

It is not known whether Lollianos was a teacher at the gymnasium of Oxyrhynchos or at a separate municipal school supported by the city. The former seems more likely, as Lollianos makes no mention of any fees collected from his students as a possible supplement to his (obviously unsatisfactory) income.

³¹ PARSONS 1976 = *P. Oxy.* XLVII 3366.

³² PARSONS (1976: 412 f.) assumes Lollianos's stipend would have been 2,000 drachmas *per annum* and the grove would have brought in c. 2,400 drachmas.

³³ PARSONS 1976: 413.

It is certain that grammarians – in common with rhetors and sophists – would have their own schools³⁴. In the tax privileges granted by emperors to intellectuals, grammarians would feature alongside rhetors. The teachers of both rhetoric and grammar were relieved of municipal liturgies, additional duties or levies. Vespasian was the first to issue a decree to that effect, and he was also the first emperor to create chairs financed by the state³⁵ (Quintilian was the head of the imperial chair of Latin rhetoric created by Vespasian). The privileges for philosophers, rhetors, grammarians and doctors were confirmed by Emperor Hadrian, while Antoninus Pius sent a letter to the provincial *koinon* of Asia limiting the numbers of these professionals entitled to such relief: five doctors, three rhetors and three grammarians in small cities; seven doctors, four rhetors and four grammarians in midsized ones and ten doctors, five rhetors and five grammarians in larger cities (philosophers had apparently dropped from the ranks of the privileged)³⁶. In Hadrian's time the Alexandrian Museion and the Athenaeum of Rome had publicly financed chairs in grammar. Marcus Aurelius created four chairs in philosophy at Athens (for Platonists, Peripatetics, Stoics and Epicureans) and a chair in rhetoric, but there is no mention of an imperial chair in grammarian studies in the city.

Two grammarians known solely from the epigraphic record enjoyed a release from municipal liturgies. The Ephesian grammarian and council member, Isidoros Nikon (21), is referred to as ἀλειτούργητος in the inscription on his swithing of phylai. Similarly relieved from liturgies is the sponsor of an agon, Euarestos of Oinoanda (24), γραμματικός ἀλειτούργητος.

Inscriptions thus show the grammarians as teachers at gymnasia, guest lecturers and doubtless as school proprietors, just as was the case with rhetors and sophists. It is, however, worth pointing out that these texts also demonstrate the intimate relationship of grammarians with poetry, the branch of literature recognised by grammarians as their special field of study from the Hellenistic period. Rhetors of the period were interested in classical prose, Attic orators and historians in particular, leaving poetry to grammarians. Thus, both for the great theorist

³⁴ Grammarians would work at private schools of rhetoric as assistants to the rhetor or to the teachers of introductory material. CRIBORE (2007: 32–36) rightly questioned the seasoned opinion by PETIT that Libanios employed grammarians (referred to by him as *grammatistai*) at his famous school of rhetoric at Antiochia.

³⁵ See Suet. *Vesp.* 18: only rhetors are mentioned: “primus e fisco Latinis Graecisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit”; see regulation of 75 CE (an inscription found at Pergamon, see McCrum, Woodhead, no. 458), in which Vespasian gave privileges to grammarians, rhetors and doctors (no mention of philosophers) in the cities where they were professionally active: τὸ μὲν τῶν γραμματικῶν καὶ ῥητόρων, / οἱ τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχὰς πρὸς ἡμερότητα καὶ πολιτικὴν / ἀρετὴν παιδεύουσιν, Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Μουσῶν, κελεύω μήτε ἐπισταθμεύεσθαι / [αὐτοὺς μήτε εἰ]σορὰς ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ; a breach of these privileges was to be punished by a fine of 40,000 sesterces.

³⁶ *Dig.* L 4, 18, 30; *Dig.* XXVII 1, 6, 1 and 8; on the subject, see also HERZOG 1935; PARSONS 1976: 441–446 (Appendix II: “Imperial Policy and Municipal Education”).

Quintilian and for Damaskios the grammarian's proper field of study is language and the explication of poetry³⁷.

As is known from literary sources, the great grammarians of the early Empire wrote commentaries on poets, not just on Homer and the classical authors, but also on later, Hellenistic poets. To name only the best known of these, Theon of Alexandria authored commentaries on the *Odyssey*, Pindar and Sophocles³⁸; and Ptolemaios, active in Augustan Rome, wrote a commentary on Homer³⁹. The best known among the grammarians of the period was the aforementioned Apion, the writer of the partially preserved *Homeric Glosses*, who also worked on the poetry of Alkaios⁴⁰. Heraklides the Younger of Pontos (active under Claudius and Nero) wrote Sapphic and Alcaic stanzas of academic dialogues entitled *Λέσχαι*, as well as a number of epic poems⁴¹. Soteridas of Epidauros (1st cent. CE) authored commentaries on Menander and Euripides and composed the *Homeric Questions*⁴². Herakleon, active in the Augustan period, wrote commentaries on every book of the Homeric poems as well as a treatise on Homer's use of the imperative⁴³. Epaphroditos was a commentator on Homer, also on the *Shield* by Pseudo-Hesiod and on Kallimachos⁴⁴; Lucillus commented on the work of Apollonios of Rhodes⁴⁵; Telephos, the biographer of tragic and comic writers, composed a piece on the rhetoric in Homer and many others⁴⁶. Also worth mentioning is Palamedes, the second-century commentator on Pindar⁴⁷; his contemporary Sophokleios (Sophokles), who wrote on Apollonios of Rhodes⁴⁸; Sporos of Nikaia (c. 200 CE) with his commentary on the *Phainomena* by Aratos⁴⁹; or the commentators on Kallimachos and tragedians, the grammarians Archibios⁵⁰

³⁷ Quint. I 4, 2: "recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum enarrationem"; Phot. 60 (*V. Isid.*) = *Vitae Isidori*, ed. C. ZINTZEN, Hildesheim 1967, fr. 111: ἡ ἐπὶ ποητῶν ἐξηγήσις καὶ διορθῶσις τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λέξεως καθημένη τέχνη.

³⁸ MATTHAIOS 2015: 213–215; C. MELIADÒ, *Theon* [1], in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018).

³⁹ MATTHAIOS 2015: 220; A. BOATTI, *Ptolemaeus* [3] *Aristonici pater* (?), in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018).

⁴⁰ MATTHAIOS 2015: 221–223.

⁴¹ MATTHAIOS 2015: 224 f.

⁴² MATTHAIOS 2015: 226 f.; A. IPPOLITO, *Soteridas* (*Soteris*), in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018).

⁴³ MATTHAIOS 2015: 229; A. IPPOLITO, *Heracleon* [1], in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018).

⁴⁴ MATTHAIOS 2015: 230.

⁴⁵ MATTHAIOS 2015: 232 f.

⁴⁶ MATTHAIOS 2015: 237; L. PAGANI, *Telephus*, in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018).

⁴⁷ MATTHAIOS 2015: 241.

⁴⁸ L. PAGANI, *Sophocleus* (*Sophocles*), in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018).

⁴⁹ A. GUDEMAN, *Sporos*, *RE* III A, 2 (1929), coll. 1879–1881.

⁵⁰ A. IPPOLITO, *Archibios* [1], in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018).

and Salustios⁵¹; and Proteas, a commentator on Homer, originating from the Syrian city of Zeugma (c. 2nd cent. CE)⁵².

The epigraphic material thus chimes in with the literary portrayal of the grammarians as poetry cognoscenti. The grammarian's relationship to poetry is underlined by constant references to the Muses. In the student Myrtilos' funerary inscription (37), he is named as the "worshipper of the Muses" and a "companion of Herakles", corresponding to grammatical studies and athletic practice at the gymnasium. Serapion (31) at the Cappadocian Tyana "taught for the Muses" (παιδεύσας Μούσαις). Nereus (25) of Hadrianoi was another, being "the best among the Muses" (τὸν ἐν Μουσαῖσιν ἄριστον). Euarestos (24), when adding artistic competitions to the agon he had funded, said that since "he owed his life to the Muses, he should offer gifts to the Muses" (ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγ Μουσῶν σφέτερον βίον ἀθρύσαντα / ἐχρῆν καὶ Μούσαις δῶρα πορεῖν ἰδίαις), while calling the added non-athletic competitions (including, certainly, poetry) "pleasing to the Muses" (μουσοχαρεῖς). Theodoros (11), who died at Byzantium, was "once [*scil.* in life] famous thanks to the Muses" (l. 5: σὺ πάρος Μούσησιν ἐνιπρέψας).

Grammarians could be poets themselves: the grammarian Dioskourides (12) wrote an *enkomion* based on Homer (presumably Book XIX of the *Odyssey*), in praise of Knossos, while his disciple was also described as a poet. Naevianus (6) too was both a poet and a grammarian. Well-known poets and grammarians are of course also known from later antiquity⁵³.

Two people in the catalogue below have been recognised as grammarians (in the literature) on the basis of their knowledge of poetry. Magnus (28) of Miletoupolis was "great among the Muses" (τὸν μέγαν ἐν Μούσαισι), a "wonderful expert in the works of Homer" (ἔξοχα ὁμηρείων ἀπάμενον σελίδων) and a teacher – there can be no doubt about including him among grammarians. The inscription for the freedman, Didius Taxiarches, says that this preceptor of well-born children would in life "commune with the Muses" (ζῶδς ἐὼν [Μούσαισιν ὀ]μείλεον); hence his place in the catalogue of grammarians. It is likely that another grammarian (though his name is marked with an asterisk as a sign of uncertainty*) was Mnaseas (7) who had an exquisite knowledge of Homeric poetry and probably wrote commentaries on it, while also working in the fields of astronomy and geometry.

It is also worth noting that the relatively modest epigraphic material on grammarians includes many funerary inscriptions in verse (see 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 37, 38; also 6, the honorific inscription for Naevianus in Delphi). It is also in verse (albeit composed by his brother-in-law) that the grammarian

⁵¹ MATTHAIOS 2015: 243 f.; G. UCCIARDELLO, *Sal(l)ustius [2]*, in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018).

⁵² G. UCCIARDELLO, *Proteas*, in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018).

⁵³ See CRIBIORE 2001a: 55 f.

Euarestos speaks from the base of his bronze statue (24), announcing proudly his funding of the addition of artistic competitions to a pre-existing sporting agon.

An exceptionally interesting grammarian is Tiberius Claudius Anteros (27). The inscription implies that he had been honoured before (l. 16 mentions ψηφίσματα), by Athens among others. Anteros wrote the local history of his native city, most likely Mylasa (l. 22 f.: διὰ τῶν / ἐπιχωρίων ιστοριῶ[ν]). His activity is perhaps to be connected with the creation of the Panhellenion (the inscription was erected after 127 CE), though nothing attests Mylasa's membership of that league of Greek cities (if Louis ROBERT is right to take Mylasa for Anteros' native city, see commentary). Other grammarians acted only sporadically as local historians. Asklepiades of Myrlea (Apameia) in Bithynia (latter half of the second century – first half of the first century BCE) was not only the author of the works *On Nestor's Cup* and *On Grammarians*, but also of the local history of Bithynia (FGrHist 697). The aforementioned Apion of Alexandria won fame as the author of the *Aigyptiaka*, which presented the history and literature of Egypt while also telling the history of the Jews (FGrHist 616). Herennius Philo of Byblos wrote the *Phoinikika* (FGrHist 790 F 9–*11) and the work *On Cities and their Famous Citizens* (FGrHist 790 F 15–51), while Seleukos Homerikos – Σύμμικτα, or *Miscellanea* (FGrHist 341).

At the end it is fitting to mention the single woman to merit the designation of *grammatikos*: it is unclear whether Hermione (35) of Arsinoe (1st cent. CE) was merely an educated woman with a knowledge of literature or actually practiced the art of grammar, e.g. giving lectures at the local gymnasium. The latter possibility cannot be ruled out as public performance by women is well attested elsewhere, e.g. an anonymous female poet adapted Old Comedy pieces and won prizes at agons in numerous cities⁵⁴ while Aufria (early 2nd cent. CE) was a rhetor performing at the Pythian games and honoured at Delphi⁵⁵.

ANNEX: GREEK GRAMMARIANS IN THE INSCRIPTIONS⁵⁶

Delphi

1. MENANDROS

1st CENT. BCE

FD III 3.338; ROBERT 1938: 42; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 31; *Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes*, no. 191.

⁵⁴ BOSNAKIS 2004: 99–108; SEG LIV 787; IG XII 4, 2, 845, l. 4–7: νεικάσασαν τὰ [--- Σε]/βαστὰ Ὀλύμπια καὶ τὸν ἐν [Περγά]/μῶι κοινὸν Ἀσίας καὶ ἄλλους ἰ[ε]/ροῦς ἀγῶνας.

⁵⁵ FD III 4, 79; see PGRS no. 199.

⁵⁶ The teachers called *kathegetai* or *didaskaloi* are excluded because of the broad meaning of these terms, including other professionals such as rhetors, philosophers or doctors, see L. ROBERT, *Collection Froehner*, vol. I: *Inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1936, pp. 56 f.

Honorific decree on the basis of the so-called “prince de Pergame”.

Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Μενάνδρῳ Δαιδάλου Ἀκαρνᾶνι ἀπὸ Θυρρείου, κατὰ δὲ χρηματισμὸν Κασσωπαίῳ, τῷ γραμματικῷ, αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνις προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν, προεδρίαν ἐν πάντοις {τοις} τοῖς ἀγώνοις οἷς ἂ πόλις τίθητι καὶ τᾶλλα τίμια πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾶς πόλιος ὑπάρχει· ἐπεὶ παραγενόμενος

5 ἐν Δελφοὺς ἀπαρχᾶν ἐποίησατο ἀπὸ τοῦ μαθήματος τῷ θεοῖ καὶ τῇ πόλει, ἀποκαθήμενος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ διατιθέμενος σχολὰς ἐν αἷς καὶ εὐδοκίμησε, διδομένου τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐράνου ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος οὐκ ἔδέξατο, φάμενος ἐπιδημαμήκειν ἐν Δελφοῦς τᾶς τε τοῦ θεοῦ τιμᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ τᾶς Δελφῶν καταλογᾶς, ὄν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντοις τούτοις ἔδοξε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν ἐστίαν καλέσαι· ἔδοθῃ τε αὐτῷ τὰ προ-

10 γεγραμμένα τίμια. ἄρχοντος Αἰακίδα τοῦ Βαβύλου, βουλευόντων Ὀρθαίου, Θεοξένου, Ἀντιγένεος, Φιλάγρου.

The Delphians granted to Menandros, the son of Daidalos, an Acarnanian of Thyreion, according to decree a citizen of Kassope, a grammarian, to himself and his descendants, *proxenia*, *promanteia*, *prodike*, *asylia*, *poedria* in all agons organised by the city and all the other honours enjoyed by the *proxenoi* and *euergetai* of our *polis*. Since having come to Delphi he sacrificed his knowledge to the god and the *polis*, settling down at the gymnasium and organising lectures that brought him recognition, and when the city offered him pay, he declined, saying that he had come to Delphi out of worship for the god and respect for the city – for all these reasons it was decided to invite him to the communal feast. He was also awarded the aforementioned honours. When the archon was Aiakides, son of Babylos, the council members were Orthaios, Theoxenos, Antigenes and Philagros.

On artists, rhetors and scholars at Delphi, see BOUVIER 1978 and VAN LIEFFERINGE 2000.

2. ANONYMOUS

1st CENT. CE

FD III 4.61; A. JACQUEMIN, D. LAROCHE, *Notes sur trois piliers delphiques*, BCH CVI 1982, p. 214; SEG XXXII 545.

Inscription on the column of Paulus Aemilius, CE 1–25.

γραμμ[ι]-
[κός], ἐπιδήμησας

Grammarians came to stay (here)...

The letters γραμμ visible in the first line may, the editors believe, be an abbreviation of γραμματικός. This abbreviation is not attested anywhere else, while the second line does not contain enough space to spell the word in full. Hence JACQUEMIN and LAROCHE propose the solution above, while noting the possibility of a reading of [προ]επιδήμησας in the second line. The word γραμμικός is, however, not only unattested, but is also impossible as a form of γραμματικός on linguistic grounds. Hence the best reading is:

γραμμα[α?]
[παρ]επιδήμησας

Grammarian sojourned (here)...

3. ANONYMOUS

2nd–3rd CENT. CE

FD III 2.115; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 32.

Honorific inscription on the architrave of the Treasury of the Athenians.

[---]γραμματ[ικόν, Αθηναῖον καὶ ---],
Δελφοὶ πολ[ίτην αὐτῶν καὶ βουλευτὴν]
[ἐποίησαντο].

The Delphians granted citizenship and council membership [---] to the grammarian, citizen of Athens and [----]

BOUVIER (1985:128) dates this inscription to the early centuries of the Roman Empire.

4. LUCIUS LICINIUS EUKLEIDES

1st–2nd CENT. CE

FD III 4.1, 61; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 33.

Honorific decree on the statue of Paulus Aemilius.

[ἔδοξ]ε τῆι Δελφῶ[ν πόλ]ει, ἐν [προσκλη]τῶι ἐ[κ]κλησίαι
[ἐπεὶ Λ]εύκιος Λικί[νιος Εὐ]κλειδ[ης,] ὁ καὶ Ἀθηναῖος, γραμμ[ατι]-
[κός, ἐπιδ]ημήσα[ς] <έν> τῆ[ι πόλει ἡ]μῶν, ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις τῶν ἐ[ν]-
[δ]ημο[ύ]ντων πο[λι]τικῶν τ[ού]ς [παῖδας γράμματα γ]νησίως καὶ προθύμως ἐδί-
5 [δ]αξεν, [καὶ ἐ]ν [πᾶσι και]ροῖς τῆν ὁμ[οίαν αἴ]ρεσιν ἀποδείκ[νυ]ται, προεστῶς
[τῆ]ς τε τῶ[ν υ]έων [προπ]αιδείας, ἄξιον τ[ῆ]ς πρ[ὸς] ἅπαντας καλοκάγαθίας
[παρέ]χεται [ἑαυτὸν καὶ] τῆ[ς πρὸς τὸ]ν θε[ὸν] εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τ[ῆν]
[πόλιν εὐνοίας· δ]εδό[σθαι] α[ὐτῶ]ι π[αρά] τῆς πόλεως]
[πολιτεῖαν, π]ροδικία[ν], πρ[οεδρι]αν, π[ρομα]ντε[ίαν],
10 [ἀτέ]λε[ίαν, ἔ]κ[τησιν] γῆς καὶ οἰκίας, ἀνδριάντο[ς ἀνάσ]-
[τα]σιν, κ[αὶ] τᾶλ[λα] τίμια πάντα ὅσα τοῖς καλ[οῖς ἀνδρά]-
[σι] ἔ[θ]ο[ς] ἐστὶ δίδοσθαι . ἀρχ[οντος] Ἀσ[τοξένου],
[β]ουλευ[όντων] καὶ Ἀριστοβ[ούλου].

The *polis* of the Delphians has voted at a special assembly. Lucius Licinius Eukleides [---], also Athenian, a grammarian, while residing in our city, he taught so well and so enthusiastically the children of the local citizens and in all circumstances showed similar goodwill, taking over the helm of teaching of young boys (*neoi*), showed the greatest goodness in relation to all, piety to the god, and goodwill to the city. It has been decreed by the city to grant him citizenship, *prodike*, *proedria*, *promanteia*, *ateleia*, the right to buy land and a house, the erection of a statue and all the other honours that are due to all good men. Under archon Astoxenos, the council members were [---] and Aristobulos.

Eukleides held the citizenship of an unidentified city and Athens (l. 2).

5. ANONYMOUS

EARLY 3rd CENT. CE

FD III 1.465; ROBERT 1938: 17; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 34.

Honorific inscription on a damaged block of stone, 0.36 m x 0.54 m x 0.65 m, the inscription is complete only on the right side, written c. 119 CE.

[-----Δελφοὶ]ὸν σεμνό[τα]-
 [τον -- Μακ]εδόνα γραμματικόν,
 [-- ποιή]σαντα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
 [δείξεις καλῶς] καὶ ἀμέμπτως πολεῖ-
 5 [την κα]ὶ βουλευτήν ἐποίησαν
 [καὶ αὐτὸν] καὶ ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ,
 [καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἄ]λλαις τιμαῖς ἐ[τίμη]-
 [σαν].

ROBERT I. 3 [ἐπιδημή]σαντα; II. 3–4: ἐπι/[εικῶς]

The Delphians granted citizenship and council membership to the distinguished [---] of Macedon, the grammarian, who gave them beautiful and unforgettable lectures (ROBERT: who came to live among them fairly, tolerably, moderately and irresistibly), a man of modesty and no flaws, to him and all his descendants all the honours are granted.

6. NAEVIANUS

EARLY 3rd CENT. CE

FD III 1.206; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 35.

Honorific inscription found near the eastern part of the Treasury of the Siphnians, 0.45 m x 0.82 m x 0.33 m.

[πο]ιητὴν καὶ γραμματικόν πολυ[γράμματον ὄντα]
 Ναιουιανὸν Δελφοὶ Δελφὸν ἔθεντο [νόμῳ],
 πατριδα Ἀναζαρβὸν δις νηοκόρον με ἔχοντα,
 σύμμαχον Αὔσονίων, μητρόπολιν Κιλικίων.

The Delphians made a citizen by law me, Naevianus, poet and learned grammarian; my fatherland is Anazarbos, the city twice awarded the title of *neokoros*, ally of the Romans, metropolis of Cilicia.

KASTER (1981) moved the proposed dating of this text from the second to the early third century CE: the city's titles in 199/200 include only νηοκόρος, not νηοκόρος β'; the permission to build the second temple of the imperial cult was granted only in the first decade of the third century.

See also KASTER 1988: 4–7.

Korkyra

7. *MNASEAS

2nd HALF OF I BCE?

IG IX 1, 880.

Funerary inscription in iambic trimeter found in Korkyra (no description).

- ὀδῖτα, βαιὸν σάματι σταθεῖς πάρα
 μάθοις κεν ἀτρέκειαν. ἴσθι δ' ὡς πατρὸς
 Ἀθηνίωνος οὖν ταφῆσι κληῖζεται
 καὶ Μνασέαν αὐδασον οὖνομ' ἄφθιτο[ν],
 5 καὶ γινώθι μύθους οἷς σοφῶς ἐτέρπετο
 αἱ μὲν τὰ κόσμου σεμνὰ καὶ δι' ἀστέρων
 δι[ῆ]λθε τὰν πυρωπὸν αἰθεροδρομῶ[ν]
 [κέλευθον, ἄ δὲ] καὶ γεωμόρον τέχνην
 γραμμαῖσιν ἰχνεύτειραν· εὖ [δ' ἀ]είν[α]οι
 10 κατεῖδ' Ὀμήρου δέλτον, ἅς ἐνὶ πτυχαῖς
 ὁ [τρ]ιπλανάτας ἐστὶ Λαρτίου γόνος
 καὶ μῆνις ἄ [β]αρ[ε]ῖα· τῶν ἐπ' ἀτρεκέες
 δα[εῖς] ἀπάντων ἐσθλὸν ἄρατο κλέος·
 νέ[ο]ν δ' ἐν ἀκμαῖ κοῦρον, ὧι πόρον τέχνην
 15 [σ]υνευν[έ]τιν τ' ἔλειψε. τε]τρώκοντα δὴ
 ὑπ' ἀλίωι πλειῶνας εἰσιδῶν φάος
 ποθεινὸς ἀστοῖς τάνδ' ὑπήλυθε χθόνα.

Passer-by, stop for a moment by my grave and learn the honest truth. Know that buried here is one known as the son of Athenion, address him by the immortal name of Mnaseas and learn the tales in which he had the wisdom to take pleasure. He contemplated on the one hand the august matters of the universe and on the fiery path that stars tread through the ether; on the other, the art of ground measurement using geometric figures. He knew perfectly the tablets of Homer whose verses contain the wondering Laertid and great anger. After gaining detailed knowledge of all this, he acquired great fame. He left a young son of a good age, whom he left with a great deal of knowledge and a wife. He saw sunlight for a full 40 years, then descended to the underworld mourned by the people of the city.

Mnases, as his poetic funerary inscription shows, worked on astronomy, geometry and commentaries to the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*; he certainly authored works in those fields. It seems he taught these subjects at a grammar school (thus MARROU 1956: 185). On the verb δαεῖς (l. 13) in the inscription, see PETRAIN 2014: 58 f. MARCOTTE (1988) identified the Mnaseas of this inscription with the geometrician of the latter half of the first century BCE, known to Varro and Columella as one of two followers of the Carthaginian Mago, the “father” of the Roman *agrimensores* (cf. Varro *Rust.* I 1, 10; Collum. I 1, 13; XII 4, 2).

Philippi

8. *A. PLATORIUS HEGEMONIKOS

1st–2nd CENT. CE

S. DOUKATA, *Ar. Deltion* LX 2005 [2013], B2, pp. 897 f.; *SEG* LXII 431.

Funerary inscription on a marble plaque, whose upper part was found at Krenides, the nekropolis of Philippi; lines 1 and 4 were written in bigger letters, with a height of 0.135 and 0.105 m.

A. Πλατώριος Ἡγεμονι-
 <κ>ός, Ἐφέσιος σοφιστῆς γραμματικῶν λ[ό]-
 γων νν. ἐτ(ῶν) νν. ΖΕ, νν. ἐνθ(άδε) κεῖτ(αι)
 A. Πλατώριος Μύρων ἰδίῳ
 πατρῶνι μνήμης χάριν

Here lies A(ulus) Platorius Hegemonikos of Ephesos, learned in literature (?) / a sophist to make speeches on literature (?). (Died aged) 65 years. A(ulus) Platorius Myron (erected the gravestone) in memory of his patron.

The expression σοφιστῆς γραμματικῶν λόγων could be compared to Sokrates Scholastikos' Ἑλληνικῶν/ Ῥωμαικῶν λόγων διδάσκαλος (*HE* II 46, 2; III 1, 10; IV 9, 4; V 25, 1; see KASTER 1988: 444, no. 116); it seems that the word *sophistes* does not denote a speaker here, but one learned in literature, a grammarian (*SEG*: “Epitaph of the sophist and grammarian”). The tombstone was erected by a freedman of Hegemonikos.

Lychnidos

9. DEMOKRITOS

2nd CENT. CE

IG X 2, 2, 1, 386; PEEK, *GVI* 1901.

Funerary metric inscription on white marble 0.56 m x 0.57 m, written on three sides.

A

[---]ς τρῖς πεντάδας
 [---] ⚡ | πρόσθε φίλον
 [-----Δ]ημόκριτος ⚡
 [--- δό]μου Δημόκριτος ἐν-
 [θάδε κείται] Σ γραμματικῆς, ἐμπέ-
 [ραμος] δὲ λύρης ⚡ |
 [.....c.14.....]ΔΕ[.c.4.]ΙΛΛΛΙ[---]
 [.....c.14.....]Δ[.c.5.] Ἄννια[---]

B

Ἄννια ὀλβίστη τὸ [πά]-
 ρος, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔλεε[ινῆ] |
 μήτηρ Δημοκρίτου πρ[ό]-
 σθε καταφθιμένου

D

[ἐτ]ῶν ζ'(?).

[---] three five-year periods [---] before friend [---] Demokritos [---] of house, Demokritos here lies, [---] in grammar, talented in music [---]. Annia [---]

B. Once happy Annia, now deep in mourning, the mother of Demokritos, who died before her.

Demokritos, deceased at 15, was a student of the grammatical arts. The inscription was erected by his mother, Annia (the father of Demokritos may have been deceased at this point).

Philippopolis

10. CHRESTOS

?

IGBulg III 1, 1021; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 39; PEEK, *GVI* 614; N. SHARANKOV, *Notes on Greek Inscriptions from Bulgaria*, in: *Monuments and Texts in Antiquity and Beyond. Essays for the Centenary of Georgi Mihailov (1915–1991)*, Sofia 2016 (*Studia Classica Serdicensia* V), pp. 316 f.

Metric funerary inscription on a marble slab 0.53 m x 0.46 m, Thracian equestrian carved in anaglyph.

Μικκός Μυρσινίων παῖς
Μυρσίνου, Ἀστακίδου δὲ Ⲙ |
Χρηστοῦ γραμματικοῦ
ποθεινότατον. Ⲙ

Little Myrsinion, son of Myrsinos, mourned disciple of the grammarian Chrestos of Nikomedia.

AGUSTA-BOULAROT (1994: 697) perversely treated the word Μικκός as a name and παῖς as a “slave”, hence her translation: “Mikkos, esclave des Mursinioi, fils le plus désiré du dévoué γραμματικός Astakidès, (esclave?) du Mursinos”.

As demonstrated by SHARANKOV, Astakides in l. 2 is not a name but the synonym of Νικομεδεύς (Astakia = Nikomedia), since the latter *ethnikon* could not be used on metrical grounds; the grammarian’s name is Chrestos (as already noted by KASTER 1988: 20, n. 25).

The prematurely deceased boy was thus a student at the school of Chrestos of Nicomedia. See also SHARANKOV 2011: 141.

Byzantion

11. THEODOROS

II CE

I.Byzantion 120; PEEK, *GVI* 1479; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 47.

Funerary inscription on a marble stele, 1.12 m x 0.91 m, decorated with a relief of a bearded man in a cloak; in his left hand there is presumably a scroll, while in the right corner there is a small servant holding a diptychon.

Θεόδωρος Δομιτίου, φύσι
δὲ Ἐπικράτους, γραμμα-
τικός, ζήσας
ἔτη λς´

Relief

- 5 καὶ σὺ πάρος Μούσῃσιν ἐνιπρέψας, Θεόδωρε,
 τὴν κοινὴν πάντων ἤλθες ἀταρπ{ιτ}ὸν ἔπι,
 πατρη σοι γένεος Βειθύνιον, ἐν δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήναις
 γραμματικῆς τέχνης οὖνομ' ἔδεξο μέγα,
 Βύζαντος δὲ πόλει κλέος ἦραο, καὶ σε θανόντα
 10 μήτηρ ὡς λαγόσι θήκατο δεξαμένη.
 Λούκουλλος φιλίας τάδε σοι μνημῆι ἔγραψεν,
 Σῆς γλυκερῆς ψύχης κέντρον ἄπαυστον ἔχων.

Theodoros, son of Domitiusa, natural son of Epikrates, grammarian, lived 36 years. And you, Theodoros, once famous for the Muses, you walked the road common to all. Your native city was Bithynion, you acquired a great name thanks to the grammarian's art in Athens, you won fame in the city of Byzas, and the mother accepted you, as if holding you to her womb. Lucullus in memory of your friendship composed this (poem), holding (in his heart) forever the sweet sting of your soul.

Theodoros came from Klaudiopolis, was educated and perhaps also started his career at Athens, and was then active and headed a school at Byzantion.

Delos

12. DIOSKOURIDES

END OF 3rd CENT. BCE—2nd CENT. BCE

Inscriptions de Délos IV 1512; GUARDUCCI, *Inscriptiones Creticae* I 8, Cnossos 12*.

A honorific decree from Knossos found at the temple of the Delphic Apollo, carved on a stele of white marble, 0.6 m x 0.3 m.

- ἔδοξεν Κνωσίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τῆι πόλι. ἐπειδὴ
 Διοσκουρίδης Διοσκουρίδου, καθ' ὑθεσίαν δὲ Ἀσκλη-
 πιδοῶρου, Ταρσεύς, γραμματικός, διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἂν
 ἔχει πορτὶ τὰν ἀμὰν πόλιν συνταξάμενος ἐγκώ-
 5 μιον κατὰ τὸν ποιητὰν ὑπὲρ τῶ ἀμῶ ἔθνιος ἀπήστελ-
 κε Μυρῖνον Διονυσίου Ἀμισηνόν, ποιητὰν ἐπῶν καὶ με-
 λῶν, τὸν αὐτοσαυτῶ μαθητὰν, διαθησιόμενον τὰ
 πεπραγματευμένα ὑπ' αὐτῶ· ὑπὲρ ὧμ Μυρῖνος πα-
 ραγενόμενος παρ' ἀμὲ καὶ ἐπελθῶν ἐπὶ τε τὸς κόσμος
 10 καὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐμφανία κατέστασε διὰ τὰν ἀκρο-
 α[σίω]ν τὰν τῶ ἀνδρὸς φιλοπονίαν τὰν τε περὶ τὸ
 ἐπιτάδουμα εὐεξίαν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰν εὐνοίαν ἂν
 ἔχει πορτὶ τὰν πόλιν, ἀνανεώμενος αὐτ<ὸ>ς τὰν προγο-
 νικὰν ἀρετὰν, δι' ἐγγράφω ἐπ[έδει]ξε καὶ τοῦτο [πε-]
 15 δὰ πλίονος σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτ[ιμί]ας τὸν ἀπολογισ-
 μὸν πο[ι]ῶμενος καθὼς ἐπέβαλλ[ε] ὑπὲρ ἰδίω παιδε[υ]-
 τᾶ· ἐφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκούσαντεν
 τὰ πεπραγματευμένα καὶ τὰν [ὄ]λαν ἀίρεσιν τῶ ἀν-
 δρὸς ἂν ἔχων τυγχάνει εἰς τὰν ἀμὰν πόλιν ἀπεδέ-
 20 ξατο μεγάλως· *vacat* ὅπᾱ ὧν καὶ ἅ πόλις τῶν Κνωσίων
 φαίνεται εὐχάριστος ἴονσα καὶ τὸς καλὸς κάγα-

- θος τῶν ἀνδρῶν *vacat* ἀποδεχομένα καὶ τιμίονσα,
 τὰς τε καταξίανς χάριτανς ἀποδιδόνσα τοῖς
 εὐεργετῆν αὐτὰν προαιριομένοις καὶ φανεράν
 25 καθιστάνσα ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπος {ος} ἂν ἔχει διά-
 λαμψιν ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐνόως διακειμένωσ πορ
 τ' αὐτάν· δεδόχθαι τᾶι πόλει ἐπαινέσαι Διοσκουρί-
 δην Διοσκουρίδου, καθ' ὑθεσίαν δὲ Ἀσκληπι-
 οδώρου ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγματευμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶ
 30 καὶ τᾶι προαιρέσει ἂν ἔχων τυγχάνει ἐς τὰν
 ἀμὰν πόλιν· ἤμεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρόξενον
 καὶ πολίταν τὰς ἀμὰς πόλεος αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσγό-
 νος καὶ πεδέχεν θίνων *vacat* καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων
 πάντων ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ Κνωσῖοι πεδέχοντι·
 35 ἤμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔγκτησιν γᾶς καὶ ο<ι>κίας καὶ
 ἀσφάλειαν πολέμω καὶ εἰρήνας καὶ καταπλέου-
 σι ἐς τὸς Κνωσίων λιμένας καὶ ἐκπλέουσι αὐ-
 τοῖς καὶ χρήμασι τοῖς τούτων ἀσυλεῖ καὶ ἀσπον-
 δεῖ· ὅπᾶι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις αἰμίνας-
 40 τος ὑπάρχηι ἅ τὰς πόλεος ἐκτενῆς προαίρεισι
 καὶ φανερά ἦι ἅ εὐνοια τοῖς γνησίως καὶ ἐνδόξως
 τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιταδουμάτων προεστακόσι
 καὶ τ<ὰν> πορτ' αὐτὰν εὐνοια ἀὔξεν προαιριο-
 μένοις *vacat* ἀναγράψαι τὸδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐς στάλας
 45 λιθίνας καὶ ἀνθέμεν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τῷ Ἀπέλ-
 λωνος τῷ Δελφιδίω· *vacat* αἰτήσαθθαι δὲ καὶ τόπον
 Ἀθηναίων τὸς ἐν Δάλωι κατοικιόντας καὶ θέ-
 μεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ<ι> τῷ Ἀπέλλωνος λαβόντας τὸν
 ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον· γράψαι δὲ περὶ τούτων
 50 τὰμ πόλιν πορτὶ Ἀθηναίος τὸς ἐν Δάλωι κατοι-
 κιόντας καὶ πορτὶ τὸν Ταρσέ<ω>ν δᾶμον ὑποτά-
 ξάντας τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῷδε τῷ ψαφίσματος
 αἰρέθη ἐπὶ τὰς ἀναθέσις τὰς στάλας
 Μακκιάδων Θαρμαχῶ καὶ Λεόντιος Κλυμενίδα.

The officials and the *polis* of the Knossians have voted. Dioskourides, the son of Dioskourides, adopted son of Asklepiodoros, of Tarsos, a grammarian, thanks to his good attitude to our city, having composed an encomion after the Poet on our *ethnos* sent his disciple, Myrsinos, son of Dionysios, of Amisos, an epic and lyrical poet, to recite his compositions. For that reason Myrsinos on his arrival in our city went to the officials [10] and the assembly to demonstrate through his performance his diligence and the perfection of his conduct; similarly on restoring the inherited virtue he showed through writing a good attitude to the city with great assiduity and love for honour, thus demonstrating his teacher's achievements. When the people of the city heard of these deeds, they greatly approved of the man's attitude towards our city.

In order then for the city of the Knossians to show its gratitude by accepting and honouring beautiful and good men, granting them honours worthy of men distinguished as *euergetai* of the city, and making public [25] among all men its acceptance of the men who treat the city well, the *polis* voted to praise Dioskourides, son of Dioskourides, by adoption son of Asklepiodoros, for the works he has composed. He and his descendants shall be *proxenoi* and citizens of our *polis*,

and shall partake of all the human and divine matters pertaining to the citizens of Knossos. They shall have the right to buy land and a house, and shall have safe passage of entry and exit through the ports of Knossos in times of peace and of war; they and their property shall be untouchable without a formal treaty.

In order for the next generations [40] to preserve this friendly attitude of the city and to make clear its goodwill towards those who truly and permanently occupy themselves with beautiful things and to those who choose to increase their goodwill towards the city, this decree shall be written on a stone stele and displayed in the temple of the Delphic Apollo. Let the Athenians resident in Delos search for a place and display it in the temple of Apollo, and let it be the most splendid place. The city shall write on this matter to the Athenians resident in Delos and to the people of Tarsos; they shall receive copies of this decree. Makkiadon, son of Tharymachos and Leontios, son of Klymenidas were chosen to erect the stele.

The grammarian Dioskourides, a citizen of Tarsos, composed a poetic encomium on the *ethnos* of Knossos and the city's mythological past κατὰ τὸν ποιητάν (l. 5) – that is using and no doubt developing motifs known from Homer (*Od.* XIX 172 ff.). The epic encomium was performed by his disciple, the poet Myrinos. The text on the stele was displayed at Delos, in the most frequented temple. It cannot be excluded that Myrinos visited Delos.

See also: *FGrHist* 594 T 3; CHANIOTIS 1988, E 59; THOMPSON 2007: 124 f.; CLARKE 2008: 350–352, DEL CORSO 2012: 316 f.

Rhodes

13. ANONYMOUS

1st CENT. BCE

IG XII 1, 141; PEEK, *GVI* 1916.

Epigrammatic inscription on a base of black marble, 0.28 m x 0.475 m.

[γ]ράμματ' ἐδίδαξεν ἔτεα πεν[τήκ]ονθ' ὄδε]
 δύο τ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εὐσεβῶν [χ]ῶρός [σφ' ἔχει].
 Πλούτων γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ Κόρη κα[τ]ώικισ[αν],
 Ἑρμῆς τε καὶ δαιδούχος Ἐκάτη προσφ[ιλῆ]
 5 [ἄ]πασιν εἶναι μυστικῶν τε [ἐ]πιστά[την]
 ἔταξαν αὐτὸν πίστεως πά[σ]ης χά[ρι]ν.

vacat

αὐτὸς ἐσελθὼν ξεῖνε σαφῶς μάθε [πόσσα μαθητῶν]
 [πι]λήθη τοὺς πολιοὺς στέψαν ἐμού[ς] κ[ροτάφους].

He taught letters for fifty years and another two years, and the land of pious ones (now) holds him back. Pluto and Kore settled him there, Hermes and Hekate the torch-bearer made him – a man beloved by all people – the president of the mysteries due to his honesty in everything. Stranger, once you have visited, learn what a large crowd of students crowned my grey temples.

This anonymous teacher was a schoolmaster and probably taught basic education; his students erected this tombstone for him and composed an epigrammatic inscription. It may be safely assumed that he was a grammarian.

14. STASILAS1st CENT. BCE–1st CENT. CE*IG XII 1, 356; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 37.*

Round altar decorated with four bucrania, h. 0.57 m x dm 0.49 m.

Στασίλα Ἀφροδεισίου
 υἱο[ῦ]
 γραμματικοῦ ἀρίστου.

(Grave of) Stasilas, son of Aphrodeisios, the best grammarian.

B. MYGIND included both grammarians (**13; 14**) in the catalogue of Rhodian intellectuals (see MYGIND 1999: 265, no. 40; 1999: 266, no. 41). He also suggested that the poet Philonikos (PEEK, *GVI* 1001) might have been a grammarian (MYGIND 1999: 292, “Index of individuals”, p. 292), but this remains at least doubtful. Philonikos, in a poem from around 100 BCE, presents himself as a “trustworthy assessor of laws” selected by his native city (l. 5), a speaker before the people (l. 6), a scholar and worshipper of the Muses (ll. 7 f.). Most probably he was a rhetor.

The city of Rhodes has a long tradition of grammarian schools starting in the Hellenistic period. Dionysios Thrax taught here in the second century BCE (Strab. XIV 2, 13), in the following century it was Aristodemos, son of the grammarian Menekrates of Nysa in Caria, the disciple of Aristarchos of Samos; see P. ASCHERI, *Aristodemos* [3], in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018). His brother, Sostratos, was also a grammarian, the probable author of the poem on Teiresias’s sex changes. Their cousin, Aristodemos, yet another grammarian, was the master of Cn. Pompeius’ sons at Rome before returning in his old age to Nysa, where Strabo heard his lectures (XIV 1, 48), see P. ASCHERI, *Aristodemos* [2], in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018).

On grammarians by the name of Aristodemos see also HEATH 1998: 23–56, in particular pp. 23 f. and 33–36.

Strabo also speaks of his contemporary grammarian Aristokles, identified with Aristokles of Rhodes; see M. CORRADI, *Aristocles*, in: *LGGA* (consulted online on 3 July 2018).

The list of Rhodian grammarians includes Timachidas of Rhodes (2nd/1st cent. BCE), a commentator on Aristophanes and Menander, the author of *Deipna* and a collection of *Glossai* (on Timachidas, see F. MONTANA, *Timachidas*, in: *LGGA*, consulted online on 3 July 2018). He is to be identified with Timachidas, son of Agesitimos, known from the so-called *Chronicle of the Temple of Lindos* (*FGrHist* 532; HIGBIE 2003; col. I, l. 12). Timachidas and Tharsagoras were selected in 99 BCE “to inscribe from the letters and from the public records and from other evidence whatever may be fitting about the offerings and the visible presence of the goddess” (col. I, ll. 6–8; transl. by HIGBIE 2003: 19).

Ios**15. LYSANDROS**2nd/3rd CENT. CE*IG XII 5, 20*; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 36.

Funerary inscription (description of material missing).

Λύσανδρος
 Ξένωνος
 γραμματικός.
 διδάσκαλε
 Ἄγιδος
 χαῖρε.

Lysandros, son of Xenon, grammarian. Farewell, teacher of Agis!

At Naxos an inscription was found with a similar formula: Θεοδότη, Θαρρηλίδος διδάσκαλε, χαῖρε (*IG XII 5, 20*). It seems that Theodotos was a teacher at an elementary level.

Rome**16. LUPUS**2nd–3rd CENT. CE*IGUR III 1261*; CHRISTES 1979: 151; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 13.

Funerary inscription on a marble stele, 1.63 m x 0.81 m.

Λούπῳ γραμ-
 ματικῷ πατρί,
 Διονυσία μητρί,
 Βήρῳ υἱῷ.
 πατρί φίλῳ καὶ μητρί
 καὶ υἱεῖ χῶσατο τύμβον
 Ῥουφεῖνα στυγερῶ
 μεμψαμένη Θ[α]ν[ά]τῳ.

For father Lupus the grammarian, for mother Dionysia, for son Verus. For (her) beloved father, mother and son Rufina erected this grave, blaming hateful death.

The deceased grammarian's wife bore a Greek name, while the rest of the family had Latin names.

Lupus was presumably a teacher of Greek grammar (it is not said that he was a Latin grammarian), which is perhaps why his daughter decided on an inscription in Greek.

17. DIDIUS TAXIARCHES2nd HALF OF 1st CENT. CE*CIL VI 16843*; *IG XIV 1537*; *IGUR III 1189*; PEEK, *GVI 1326*; CHRISTES 1979: 154.

Funerary epitaph on a column found near Rome.

D(is) M(anibus).

Didio · Taxiarche · lib(erto) · fidelissimo

τυτθὸν ἐμὸν παρὰ τύμβον · ἐπεὶ · μόλες, ὧ ξένε, βαιὸν

στῆσον ἵχνος · παύροις γράμμασιν εἰσορόων ·

ζωὸς ἐὼν [Μούσαισιν ὀ]μείλειον, ἐν δέ τε παίδων

εὐγενέων ἱερῆς ἤρξα · διδασκαλίης ·

καὶ δὴ καλεῦμην Ταξιάρχης ἐν βροτοῖς ·

οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἐξαμέτροις {ιν} ἤρμοσε {ν} τοῦνομ' · ἐμὸν.

To Di Manes.

For Didius Taxiarches, the most loyal freedman.

Stranger, as you walk by my little grave, stop to look at the small letters: in life I communed with the Muses, I would start the divine education of well-born children.

Among mortals I was known as Taxiarches, my name does not fit the hexameter.

The teaching and stress on his relationship with the Muses indicated that he was a grammarian, a Greek freedman who worked as a private teacher at the house of the Didii rather than at a public school. It cannot be ruled out that Taxiarches was the preceptor at the house of Aulus Didius Gallus, the best known representative of the family, who in 45/46 attacked Mithridates, the king of the Pontos, fought under Claudius in Britain and served as the proconsul of Asia or Africa in 49–52 CE (*PIR*² III 70).

Nuceria (Italia)

18. [---]OMACHOS

2nd CENT. CE

M. KAJAVA, M. MAGALHAES, *Un' iscrizione greca inedita di Nuceria*, *Apollo* XX 2004, pp. 3–10; *SEG* LIV 960.

Funerary inscription on a damaged marble slab, c. 0.31 m x 0.3–0.37 m.

[---]όμαχος · γραμματ[ικός - (?) -]

[-- -]ωνι τῶι θε[ί]ῳι συνέζησεν [- (?) -]

[---] ἐν δὲ Νο[υκ]ερίαι θεοκτίστ[ῳι - (?) -]

[---]Ἡ ἐπαίδε[υε?] ἐπαίδε[υσε?]· νῦν δ' ἀπὸ βί[ου - (?) -]

5 [- οὐδὲ]ν ἐνθάδ' ὕ[στερ]ον ἀλλὰ γῆ κ[αὶ - (?) -]

[---]CEΩN ἴδρ[υτα]! γὰρ ὁ πρέσβ[υς - (?) -]

[---]. · χρηστή, χαίρε

[---]omachos grammarian, [---]lived with his uncle [---] in Nuceria founded by the god [---] taught, now [departed ---?] this life nothing here afterwards but the earth and [---]has his place an old man [---] farewell, good [man]!

The proposed reading γραμματ[ικός in line 1 (instead of γραμματ[εύς) seems certainly right on account of ἐπαίδε[υσε in line 4. Line 2 may be understood as “lived with his uncle” meaning he was adopted by his uncle (as suggested by *SEG*);

maybe, however, the lacuna after συνέζησεν contained the name of the deceased grammarian's wife. Lines 5 and 6 refer to human fate after death. The grammarian known solely from this inscription bore a Greek name and undoubtedly taught Greek grammar (as indicated by absence of the word Ῥωμαϊκός).

Massalia

19. ATHENADES

ROMAN PERIOD

IG XIV 2434; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 30, undated.

Funerary inscription on a marble slab, 0.18 m x 0.21 m.

Ἀθηνάδης
Διοσκουρίδου
γραμματικὸς
Ῥωμαϊκός.

Athenades, son of Dioskourides, Latin grammarian.

Marseille, a centre of culture and education which was also famous in the west for its Greek learning, had grammar schools (on Massalia as an educational centre, see Tac. *Agr.* 4, 2). It is interesting that Athenades, a Greek, taught Latin grammar.

Ephesos

20. ALEXANDROS

188–160 BCE

I.Ephesos 1101

Prefaced by a dedication to Hermes, Heracles and Eumenes II, then a list of winners of competitions at the gymnasium; a block of bluish marble, 0.25 m x 0.5 m, ll. 5–8.

[-----τοῖς]

5 [ν]εικήσασσι τῶν παιδευτῶν τεῖ ἀποδείξει καὶ τῶ[ν παίδων τοῖς]
[ἀθλ]ήμασιν· παιδοτρίβων Θεόδοτος Ἀπολλωνίδου, γραμματικῶν]
[Ἀλέ]ξανδρος Ἐπικράτου, ζωγράφων Σωτικὸς Ἱερο[---]
[μου]σικῶν Τιμόστρατος Μενεστράτου
(A list of winners in the group of *neoi* and *presbyteroi* in athletic competitions follows.)

To the winners in the performance of the teachers and the competition among the boys: among sport teachers Theodotos, son of Apollonides, among [grammarians] Alexandros, son of Epikrates, among painters Sotikos son of Hiero[---], among musicians Timostratos son of Menestratos.

The reading γραμματικῶν in line 6 seems certain, although it is impossible to completely rule out μαθηματικῶν. In my opinion *apodeixis ton paideuton*

refers to the employment of the teachers at the gymnasium: before being hired, the candidates would present their skills during a public performance, with the winner finding employment. Other texts make no mention of competitions among teachers.

21. ISIDOROS NIKON 2nd HALF OF 2nd CENT. CE—EARLY 3rd CENT. CE
I.Ephesos 956A; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 44.

A list of *neopoioi*, a marble slab with two inscriptions, found on the so-called Curetes Street.

Εισίδωρος Εισιδώρου τοῦ [---]
 μου Νείκων χι(λιαστύν) Ἰουλιεύς [γραμ]-
 ματικὸς ἀλειτούργητος [βουλευ]-
 τῆς· οὗτος ὦν ἐκ τῆς Εὐ[ωνύμων]
 φυλῆς εἰς ταύτην [μετέβη.]

Isidoros, son of Isidoros, grandson of [---], Nikon *chiliastys* Ioulieus, a grammarian with immunity from liturgies, a council member; he belonged to the *phyle* of the Euonymes and [switched] to this one.

The *phylai* of Ephesos (of the Bembianoι, Epheseis, Euonymoi, Karenaioi, Tekoi, and the *phylai* of the Sebaste, Hadriane and Antoniane) were further subdivided (see ENGELMAN 1996 with detailed tables of the division of *phylai* into smaller units). ENGELMAN (1996: 100) suggests that Isidoros may have belonged to the *phyle* of the Sebaste, then joined the *phyle* of the Euonymes, only to return to the former.

Neopoioi in the imperial period were a body elected by the assembly to look after the property of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos. *Neopoioi* also took part in the granting of citizenship of the city, see ROGERS 1997: 47.

The grammarian Isidoros ran a school and was thus released from liturgies.

Smyrna

22. GAIUS IULIUS MOUSONIOS 1st CENT. CE

I.Smyrna 652; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 40; Ph.A. HARLAND, *Greco-Roman Associations. Texts, Translations and Commentary*, vol. II: *North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor*, Berlin 2014, no. 137, pp. 302–308.

Honorific inscription on a marble base, 1.04 m x 0.34 m.

ἀγαθῆι τύχη[ι]
 ἡ ἱερὰ σύνδο[ς]
 τῶν Βρεισέω[ν]
 ἐτείμησεν
 5 Γ(άϊου) Ἰούλ(ιον)
 Χειρίσοφο[ν]

Γ(αίου) Ἰουλι(ίου) Μουσω[νίου]
 γραμματικ[οῦ]
 σίον,
 10 ἀγωνοθετή[σαντα]
 φιλοτείμ[ως.]

To good fortune! The sacred association of the Breisians [those who worship Dionysos Breisos] has honoured Gaius Iulius Cheirisophos, who had generously performed *agonothesia*, the son of the grammarian Gaius Iulius Mousonios.

The inscription is among the earliest sources for the existence of the association of Dionysos Breisos (also known as Breseus, Bresaios, Bresagenes) at Smyrna (on this epithet of Dionysos, see HARLAND).

S. AGUSTA-BOULAROT holds an unfounded view that the grammarian mentioned in the text was a freedman or a descendant of a freedman, but it is likely that an ancestor of Mousonios received Roman citizenship. The family held a significant fortune since the grammarian's son as *agonothetes* was able to cover the costs of a festival.

Priene

23. ANONYMOUS

1st CENT. BCE

I.Priene I 68.

Honorific inscription for gymnasiarch Aulus Aemilius Zosimos, after 84 BCE. Col. XXIV, ll. 74 f.:

ἔτι δὲ σφαίρας καὶ ὄπλα καὶ τὸν ἐπιστά[την τὸ]ν τῶν ἐφήβων
 τοῖς ἐκ φιλολογίας γραμματικόν

And (he provided) also boxing gloves and armour, and a grammarian, the overseer of the ephebes for studies (flowing) from philology.

Aulus Aemilius Zosimos (see eg. QUASS 1993: 294; SCHMITZ 1997: 108 f.) was honoured in three inscriptions for changes in the organisation of the gymnasium and numerous acts of his *euergesia*: he made bathing free, provided oil and hired teachers. He hired a grammarian at his own expense, presumably an outsider, to take care of the literary education of the ephebes, as well as organising literary agons (*I.Priene* 70, 27–29: ἔθηκεν δὲ καὶ ἀμίλλης ἀγῶνας τῶν τε ἐκ φιλολ[ο]γί/ας μαθημάτων καὶ γυμνικῆς ἐνεργείας).

Oinoanda (Lycia)

24. LUCIUS IULIUS PILIUS EUARESTOS

SEVERAN PERIOD

a) A. HALL, N. MILNER, *Education and Athletics. Documents Illustrating the Festivals of Oenoanda*, in: D. FRENCH (ed.), *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia in Memoriam A.S. Hall*, Ankara 1994, no. 18(a).

Honorific inscription on the base of a statue, 0.46 m x 0.65 m.

- Ἰούλιον Λούκιον Πείλιον Εὐάρεστον, φιλόπατριν γραμματικὸν ἀλειτούργητον καὶ μεγάλωφρονά ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ βίου ἰδίας δωρεᾶς ἦς
- 5 αὐτὸς συνεστήσατο ἐξ ἰδίων χρημάτων εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα, πανηγύρεως πέμπτης κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ διαταγὴν καὶ τὴν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου κρίσιν, ἡ πατρίς.

The fatherland (honoured) Iulius Pilius Euarestos, a patriotic grammarian with immunity from liturgies and generous *agonothetes* for life of his own foundation which he funded out of his own money forever, during the fifth festival, in accord with his instruction and by decree of the council and the people.

(b) HALL, MILNER, *op. cit.*, no. 10.

Post-mortem honorific inscription (epigram in ll. 16–19) on the base of a statue, 1.26 m x 0.68.

- [Λ. Πειλ]ίου Εὐαρέ[στου].
[Ἰού]λιον Λούκιον Πείλιον Εὐ-
[άρε]στον, γραμματικὸν ἀλει-
[τ]ούργητον, ἐπὶ ἦθει καὶ κοσ-
5 [μ]ιότητι βίου ἐπαινετόν, φιλό-
[πα]τριν, ἐξ ἰδίας δωρεᾶς καὶ φι-
[λ]οτιμίας πρῶτον τῶν ἐν
τῇ πατρίδι συνησάμενον
ἀγῶνα κοινὸν Λυκίων θέμι-
10 δος πενταετηρικῆς ἔκ τε ἀν-
δριάντων καὶ θεμάτων, ποιη-
σάμενον δὲ καὶ ἐπιδόσεις
χρημάτων εἰς τε νομὰς καὶ
τέρψεις πανηγυρικὰς ἡ πα-
15 τρίς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου κρίσει.
ὥς σὺ μὲν οὐδὲ θανῶν ἀπολεῖς
[[ΣΕΙΣ]] κλέος, ἀλλὰ μέγ' οἴσεις / ἄ-
φθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων
ὄνομα. /

(Statue) of Lucius Pilius Euarestos.

The fatherland by decree of the council and the people (honoured) Lucius Pilius Euarestos the grammarian with immunity from liturgies, praiseworthy on account of his habits and righteous life, loving his fatherland, who was the first in his native city to establish a pentaeteric agon for all Lycians out of his own generosity with the prize being money and statues; he also gave money for distribution at the agon and for the pleasures of the festival.

Your fame shall not pass even after death, your name shall forever be known among men.

Pilius Euarestos funded an agon at his native Oinoanda, *Severeia Euaresteia*, open to all Lycians, of which he was the agonothele for life. The first agon was probably held in 222, then in 226, 230, 234, 238 and 242. When the agon was held for the sixth time, Euarestos was dead. A long poem is preserved on the base of Euarestos's statue, written by his brother-in-law, Fronton, presumably the same person as P. Sthenius Fronton, the winner at pankration (HALL, MILNER, *op. cit.*, no. 18[b]; MERKELBACH, STAUBER, *SGO* IV 17/06/02). In the poem Euarestos proclaims that he "earned his living from the Muses" (l. 4: [ἀ]λλὰ τὸν ἐγ Μουσῶν σφέτερον βίον ἀθύρ<α>ντ[α], i.e. he was a professional grammarian who taught most probably in the local gymnasium) and that he added non-athletic competitions to his foundation because it was necessary "to give the presents for his own Muses" (l. 5: [ἐ]χρῆν καὶ Μούσαις δῶρα πορεῖν ἰδίαις). When the agon was held for the fifth time, it included both athletic (*gymnikos*) and artistic (*thymelikos*) competitions.

In addition to the inscriptions above, Euarestos is mentioned as the agonothele and founder of his agon in inscriptions erected by the winners of the athletic competitions, pankration and boxing, both boys and men (see HALL, MILNER, *op. cit.*, nos. 1, 2, 3, 5–7, 11–15).

See also VAN NIJF 2004: 203–208.

Hadrianoi

25. NEREUS

?

I. von Hadrianoi und Hadrianeia 173; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 41.

Funerary epigram on a stele 0.5 m x 0.4 m.

[γρ]μματικὸν Νη-
 [ρ]ῆα τὸν ἐν Μουσαῖ-
 [σ]ιν ἄριστον | Νηρηΐς
 θυγάτηρ καὶ Πασικρά-
 5 τεια σύνευνος | ἔθα-
 ψαν ἐνὶ πατρῆι πολ-
 λὰ ὀλοφυρόμεναι

The best in (the realm of) the Muses, the grammarian Nereus was buried in his fatherland by his daughter Nereis and wife Pasikrateia shedding tears and lamenting.

Thyateira

26. VALERIUS

?

TAM V 2, 1119; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 43; MERKELBACH, STAUBER, *SGO* I 04/05/08.

Bilingual funerary inscription, from l. 7 Latin hexameter, description of material missing.

Ζένωνι ἐτ(ῶν) [.]'
 καὶ Πρεΐμῳ ἐτ(ῶν) ε'
 τοῖς τέκνοις
 καὶ Οὐαλερίῳ Οὐα-
 5 λερίου γραμματικῶ
 Ῥωμαϊκῶ ἐτ(ῶν) κγ'.
 vota supervacua fletusque et numina divum
 naturae leges fatorumque ar<g>uit ordo.
 sprevisti patrem matremque, miserrime nate,
 Elysios campos habitans et prata veatum.

For Xenon, aged [--] and Primus, aged 5, the children, and Valerius, son of Valerius, the Latin grammarian, (who lived) 23 years.

(Lat.) The will of gods, the laws of nature and the course of fortune have overcome superfluous begging and laments. Miserable son, you have left behind your mother and father, you are now living in the Elysian fields and meadows of the blessed.

This bilingual inscription presents a difficulty in interpreting the familial connections of the people mentioned: the poem talks of a child who died leaving both parents alive, which rules Valerius out as the father of the deceased children, of whom one bears a Greek and the other a Latin name (AGUSTA-BOULAROT thinks that Valerius was the preceptor of the boys, *magister litterarum Romanarum*, brought up in a Romanised Greek family). It is worth adding that the poem may express a generalised reflection about death.

Valerius is the only teacher of Latin grammar in the east of the Roman empire known from Greek epigraphy.

Labraunda

27. TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS ANTEROS

2nd CENT. CE

J. CRAMPA, *Labraunda: Swedish Excavations and Researches*, vol. III: *The Greek Inscriptions*, Lund 1969, no. 66; *BE* 1973, 414; CHANIOTIS 1988: no. 25; AUGUST-BOULAROT 1994: no. 42.

Honorific inscription on a stele found to the north-east of the temple of Zeus Labruandos, 1.115 m x 0.35 m.

[...c.12.... δ]ῆμος κ[αὶ]
 ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγ]ου βουλή κ[αὶ]
 [ἡ βουλή τ]ῶν φ' καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος]
 ὁ τῶ]ν Ἀθηναίων Τι[βέριον] Κ[λ(αύδιον)]
 Ἀντέρωτα γραμματικὸν
 5 ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ παι-
 δεύσεως νέων ἐπὶ

- ποικίλας ἐπιστήμας
 εἰς μέγα τῶν πολλῶ[ν]
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προαχθέ[ν]-
 10 τῶν πολιτῶν [τε]
 καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
 ξένης πολλα[χό]-
 [[θ]]εν αὐτῶι σχο-
 λασάντων, ὡς
 15 καὶ τὰ παρ' ἕκαστ[α]
 ψηφίσματα κατὰ
 τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτῶ[ι]
 μεμαρτύρηκεν,
 καὶ ὅτι τὰ τῆς πα-
 20 τρίδος καλὰ εἰς μ[έ]-
 σους τοὺς Ἑλληνα[ς]
 προήγαγεν διὰ τῶν
 ἐπιχωρίων ἱστοριῶ[ν]
 [ἐ]νδοξότερα ε<τ>ναί

ROBERT I. 1: [Μυλασέων ὁ δ]ῆμος]

[---] the people and the Areopagos council and the council of 500 and the people of Athens have honoured Tiberius Claudius Anteros, the grammarian, on account of his virtue and education of the young (*neoi*) in many disciplines of knowledge, to a great extent because numerous citizens were taught by him and foreigners were coming from everywhere to listen to his lectures, and every decree for him brings testimony to his reputation. (He was also honoured) because he made the greatness of his fatherland known to the Greeks thanks to (his) local history, so that it became even more admirable.

The inscription was carved after CE 127 when Athens reinstated the Council of 500. Ti. Claudius Anteros was honoured multiple times by various cities in Asia Minor and by Athens. The preserved stele was most likely erected by Mylasa and it is the history of this *polis*, Hellenised from only the fourth century BCE, that the grammarian Anteros published. CHANIOTIS believes Anteros wrote his work in connection with the city's efforts to win admission to the Panhellenion (and thus possibly with an increase in interest in the city's history in the second century CE). Anteros is described as the man responsible for the formation of the local elite (προαχθέντων πολιτῶν), who was able to attract foreigners to the city with his lectures and who taught the youth at the gymnasium. It seems that in addition to grammar he may have taught the basics of rhetoric or of science since ποικίλαι ἐπιστῆμαι is referenced (I. 7).

Miletoupolis

28. MAGNUS

I.Kyzikos 515; PEEK, *GVI* 1182.

2nd CENT. CE

Funerary relief (0.61 m x 0.69 m) of two busts above a metric inscription, currently damaged. In the middle of the inscription there is a relief of the deceased man with a servant and a woman, his wife, sitting opposite.

	τὸν μέγαν ἐν Μούσαισι, τὸν ἐν σοφίῃ κλυτὸν ἄνδρα	
	ἔξοχα ὀμηρείων ἀψάμενον σελίδων,	
	μηνύω παριοῦσι σοφῆ λίθος, εὐκλέα Μάγνον,	
	θαῦμα μέγα ξείνων, θαῦμα μέγα πτόλιος,	
5	εὐσεβίης μέγα	R ἀλλά, φίλοι
	τέκμαρ Ἰωνίδος	E μνήσασθε
	ἧ μ' ἐφ' ὀμεύνου	L καὶ ἐν φθιμέ-
	σήματι σὺν κού-	I ν[οι]σι γεραιοῦ,
	ρω θήκατο Μη-	E 15 πρῶτος ὃς ὑμε-
10	τροβίωι	F τέρους υἱας
		γεῦσε λόγων.

I, a wise stone, tell the passers-by of the famous Magnus, great in (the realm of) the Muses, a man known for wisdom, an exquisite expert on the works of Homer, greatly admired both by foreigners and in the city. [I am] a sign of the piety of Ionia, who erected me with her son Metrobios on the grave of her husband. But, friends, remember the old man even among the dead, as he was the first to give your sons a taste for literature (*logoi*).

Magnus was a teacher at Miletoupolis who led a school, perhaps the first in the city (see ll. 15–17). KASTER (1988: 445, 3a) notes that Magnus' expertise in poetry and the Homeric poems points to a grammarian.

Pontos: Zela

29. PUBLIUS TATTIUS RUFUS

IMPERIAL PERIOD

Studia Pontica III 276; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 45.

A stele of white marble, 0.75 m x 0.42 m.

Πόπλιος Τάττιος Ροῦφος
Ταρσεὺς γραμματικὸς
χαῖρε.

Publius Tattius Rufus, of Tarsos, grammarian. Farewell!

The inscription was found in the mountaineous area between Zel and Tokat. A grammarian of Tarsos probably had a school in this remote area and taught basic education.

Pontos: Sebastopolis

30. MAXIMUS

2nd–3rd CENT. CE

PEEK, *GVI* 1184; B. Le GUEN-POLLET, *Sébastopolis du Pont*, EA XIII 1989, no. 13; T.B. MITFORD, *Inscriptiones Ponticae – Sebastopolis*, ZPE LXXXVII 1991, no. 27; AGUSTA-BOULAROT 1994: no. 46.

Metric funerary inscription on a limestone stele, 1.40 m x 0.4 m.

γαῖά με τίκτεν ἄφω[ν]-
 ον ἐν οὔρεσιν παρθέν[ο]-
 ν ἀγνήν, / ἡσύχιον τ[ὸ π]-
 ἀροίθεν, νῦν αὖ λαλέ[ου]-
 5 σαν ἄπασιν, / σμιλιγλ[ύ]-
 [φ]οῖς τέχνησιν κῆρ' εἰ[ι]-
 [π]οῦσα θανόντος· /
 ἐνθάδε Μάξιμον γραμ-
 ματικῆς ἐπίστορα τέχν-
 10 ης, / ἀνέρα σεμνόν, γῆ [μ]-
 ἤτηρ ἐκάλυψε θανόντ[α] /
 [χαίρετε δ' ὧ πάροδοι],
 γνόντος δὴ τέμμα β[ί]οιο.

PEEK l. 13: γνόντες

I, an immaculate virgin, was born mute by the earth in the mountains, previously quiet, but now speaking to all, I pronounce by the art of the chisel the fate of the deceased: here mother earth has hidden the deceased Maximos, a venerable man practiced in the grammarian's art. [Farewell, passers-by], knowing the end of life.

MITFORD assumes that Maximus taught grammar at the local gymnasium.

Tyana

31. SERAPION

2nd–3rd CENT. CE

G. JACOPI, *Esplorazioni e studi in Paflagonia e Cappadocia. Relazione sulla seconda campagna esplorativa, Agosto–Ottobre 1936*, Roma 1937, no. 22 (*non vidi*); PEEK, *GVI* 381.

Funerary epigram.

παιδευτῶν
 ὄχ' ἄριστος Σε-
 ραπίων ἐνθά-
 δε κείμει, /
 παιδεύσας Μού-
 σαις τοὺς Τυα-
 νῶν λογίους. /

I rest here, Serapion, not the best of teachers; for the Muses I taught the learned Tyaneans.

Serapion was a teacher of grammar, as shown by the reference to the Muses (see J. ROBERT, L. ROBERT, *BE* 1939, 447; KASTER 1988: 445, 3b). He bore a name

popular in Egypt, and perhaps he came to Tyana with lectures on poetry. It is worth noting the expression παιδεύσας τοὺς Τυανῶν λογίους, meaning he did not teach at the gymnasium, but spoke to people described as *logioi*, that is people of a certain intellectual standing.

Syria: Murduk

32. ALEXANDROS

4th CENT. CE?

W. EWING, *Greek and Other Inscriptions Collected in the Hauran*, Palestine Exploration Quarterly XXVII 1895, p. 269, no. 129; SARTRE-FAURIAT (2001: II 162, n. 325) advertises the publication of the inscription in the forthcoming volume of *IGLS XVI* 1, no. 12.

“Cartouche à queues d’aronde”, found in the linteaux on the façade of the grave, metric inscription.

τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρ[ος Θεοδώρου τύμβον ἔτευξεν]
 γραμματικός τε μέγα[ς καὶ ---]
 οὐκ ἔθελων κεῖσθαι[χωρὶς πατρίδος τε φίλων τε]
 οἱ Χριστὸν σωτῆρ[α γενέσθαι -----]

Alexandros, son [of Theodoros, erected] this [grave], great grammarian [and ---],
 not wanting to rest [without his country and friends], who Christ the saviour [---]

EWING’S restorations seem problematic. It is certain the grammarian’s name was Alexandros and that he was a Christian scholar. KASTER makes no mention of Alexandros in his *proposopography* of late ancient grammarians.

SARTRE-FAURIAT (1998 and 2001: II 199–203) emphasises the attraction of the Hellenic culture at the Hauran (funerary texts feature strong reference to Homer, but also to Kallimachos and Pindar; there are also clear analogies to the poems of the Palatine Anthology). It is thus unsurprising to find a grammarian teaching Greek literature in this area.

Generally on Greek culture and grammar in Roman Syria, see REY-COQUAIS 1997.

Egypt

33. ASKLEPIODOTOS

?

BAILLET 1926: no. 1739, undated text.

Grafitto in the royal graves at Thebes, letters 1 cm high, text 23 cm wide.

εἶδον Ἀσκληπιόδοτος
 Νικομηδεὺς, γραμμα-
 τικός, καὶ ἐθαύμασα.

I saw (it), Asklepiodotos of Nikomedia, a grammarian, and I admired.

We know a six-verse epigram signed by Asklepiodotos, a poet and procurator (l. 1: Ἀσκληπιοδότου, l. 8: ποιητοῦ · ἐπιτρόπου), carved on the statue of Memnon (see A. BERNAND, E. BERNAND, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon*, Le Caire 1960, no. 62, text undated). The identification of the individuals is, however, uncertain.

34. DIOKLES

?

BAILLET 1926: no. 1187, undated text.

Grafitto in the royal graves at Thebes, letters 1.5 cm high, text 6 cm wide.

Διοκ[λή]ς
 γραμ|μα|τι|κός
 ἔ|θαύ|μα|σα

I, Diokles, grammarian, admired (it).

In other graffiti from the royal tombs at Thebes (nos. 1542, 1611, 1721, 1735) a Cynic philosopher by the same name appears (Διοκλῆς κύων); his identification with the grammarian is doubtful.

35. HERMIONE1st HALF OF 1st CENT. CE

SB I 5753; inscription by the face of the portrait on flax, wrapped around the mummy of a young woman, aged c. 25, found at Fayum at the cemetery at Hawar, currently at Girton College, Cambridge.

Ἑρμιόνη γραμματική

Hermione, she-grammarian.

Hermione probably lived at Arsinoe (given that the tomb was found in the Arsinoe nome). It is unknown whether γραμματική describes her profession as a teacher or her education; see e.g. MORGAN 1998: 155, n. 11; MONTSERRAT 1997: 223–226; CRIBIORE 2001a: 79 (see also her chapter on “Women Teachers”, pp. 78–82). Dated to the second–fourth century CE, a Latin inscription from Africa (see AGUSTA-BOULAROS, BOUSBAA 1994) erected for a “grammarian” Volusia Tertullina, who died aged 43 years, 3 months and 5 days (“Volusiae Tertullinae maritae castae et incomparabili grammat(icae)”) suggests women undertook the profession of grammarian. Editors of the inscription from Africa point out that the family included “Volusius Iunior gramaticus Latinus” (*CIL* VIII 21107).

36. PANISKOS

?

BAILLET 1926: no. 426, undated text.

Grafitto in the royal graves at Thebes, letters 3 cm high, text 23 cm wide.

Πανίσκος
 γραμματικός
 ἰστόρησεν

I, Paniskos, grammarian, saw (it).

The name of Paniskos was popular in Egypt, so the grammarian most likely came to admire the royal tombs from another part of Egypt.

Kyrenaika: Tocra

37. MYRTILOS

2nd/3rd CENT. CE

J.M. REYNOLDS, *Ephebic Inscriptions at Tocra and Tolmeita in Cyrenaica*, *Libya Antiqua* II 1996, no. 2, p. 40.

Funerary metric inscription on a limestone slab, found at the local gymnasium, 1.65 m x 0.45 m x 0.08 m.

Μουσάων θεράποντα καὶ Ἡρακλῆος ἑταῖρον
 Μυρτίλον ἠδ' εὐνή λαϊνὴ κατέχει
 ᾧ κανόνες τε πόδες τε διηνεκέως ἐμέλησαν
 πενταθέλων μελέτης γραμματικῆ[5---]

This stone bed conceals Myrtilos, a worshipper of the Muses and companion of Herakles, who ceaselessly occupied himself with the rules and feet of pentathlon, with grammar? [...]

CHAMOIX (2000) restores in l. 4 γράμ[μ]ατι κη[δομένω] instead of γραμματικῆ[5---] and translates ll. 3 and 4 as follows: “Il n’a pas cessé de donner tous ses soins aux règles et aux pieds en consacrant un poème à la pratique du pentathlon”. CHAMOIX assumed that Myrtilos was a gymnastic teacher who composed this refined epitaph. Since in l. 1 there is a clear reference to the Muses and Herakles corresponding to grammatical studies and athletic training in gymnasia, the interpretation that Myrtilos was a student is certainly more probable.

Africa: Thugga

38. Hermes

2nd–3rd cent. ce?

M. DE VOS, C. PEPE, *A New Funerary Epigram of a Syrian Migrant Near Thugga (Africa Proconsularis)*, *Tunisian Tell*, ZPE CXCIV 2015, pp. 73–79.

Funerary metric inscription on a limestone altar, 0.9 m x 0.34 m x 0.32 m, found near Thugga (Tokai/Toukka) 100 km to the south-east of Carthage.

Ἑρμῆς ἦα πάρος, ὅτ' ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἦα μετ' ἀνδρῶν.
 Λαοδικεὺς μὲν ἔφυν, Θουγγῆ δ' ἐνὶ γράμματ' ἔδειξα.

νῦν δέ με τεθνιώτα χυτὴ περὶ γαῖα ἐκάλυψεν.
 ἡμίσεας γενεᾶς πέντη' εἶδον φωτὸς ὑπ' αὐγαῖς.

I was Hermes when I was once on earth among the people. I was born at Laodicea, at Thugga I explained the letters. But now being dead the heaped-up earth has covered me. I saw five half generations under the rays of the sun.

(transl. by the editors)

The editors assume that Hermes probably came from Laodikeia in Syria because “the Syrian migrants in Northern Africa outnumber by far the Asian ones” (p. 76). As the editors emphasise, the language of this epigram echoes the Homeric tradition (l. 1: ἦα πάρος; l. 3 is reminiscent of *Il.* VI 464; l. 4: φωτὸς ὑπ' αὐγαῖς, is inspired by *Od.* XI 498; *Il.* XVIII 61; *Od.* IV 540). The epitaph could have been composed by the deceased in his lifetime. It is very probable that Hermes was a grammarian who in a small village in Africa “explained the letters” i.e. his teaching was limited to elementary reading and writing in Greek (cf. 13, l. 1: γράμματ' ἐδίδαξεν). However, maybe the expression γράμματ' ἔδειξα means “I explained the books (= literature)”?

One cannot exclude the possibility that public schools existed at Thugga, but it is also possible that Hermes instructed private students (on teaching activities in the city, see the commentary of the editors, pp. 76 f.; on teaching Greek in Africa, see VÖSSING 1997: 176–178).

University of Warsaw

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