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Cicero's contacts in Athens¹

Abstract: The focus of this article is Cicero's contacts in Athens. Marcus Tullius Cicero studied in Athens for six months in his mid-twenties and visited the city several times more. In his letters, speeches, and treaties, he mentions several important Athenians. Cicero corresponded with and wrote about famous philosophers like Antiochus of Ascalon, Phaedrus of Athens, and leading Athenian politicians like Herodes and Leonides. These men in Athens show a complex web of networks connecting them to the Roman world and among themselves. Herodes oversaw the education of Cicero's son in Athens, regularly writing to elder Cicero about it; at the same time, he managed the building of the Roman Market, paid for by Julius Caesar. Phaedrus and his son Lysiades show even more complex connections. Phaedrus taught both Cicero and his close friend Titus Pomponius Atticus. His son Lysiades was a close associate of Cicero's sworn enemy Marc Antony, while at the same time, he was a brother-in-law of Leonides, who was the teacher of Cicero's son in Athens. Closely looking at these connections helps us see how the Athenian elite navigated the complex world of late Republican Rome.

Key words: Cicero, social network theory, Athens, connections, Brutus, Atticus

Introduction

Cicero's connection to Athens is well known. He briefly studied there in his mid-twenties and visited the city twice more: on his way to Cilicia in 51 BCE and a

¹ The article owes a debt to the excellent research of Elisabeth Rawson, "Cicero and the Areopagus", *Athenaeum* 63 (1985): 44–67. The author's hope is to expand on Rawson's findings.

year later, on his way to Rome.² The famous orator respected Athens for its glorious past; he visited famous places with his friends and often wrote about Athens' past, evoking the grandeur of both the city and its citizens.³ Cicero wanted to be initiated into the famous Eleusinian Mysteries and even pondered erecting a gate in Academia, but nothing came of it eventually.⁴ Later in his life Cicero sent his son to study in Athens.⁵ Young Marcus connected with Brutus and eventually joined his army.⁶

Cicero, in his numerous writings, mentions many Athenians. Some of them, like Demosthenes, were already celebrities in Cicero's time. Others were his contemporaries, and Cicero thus emerges as a valuable source for Athenians of his time.

This article will look at Cicero's Greek contacts in Athens through the lens of social network theory.⁷ The purpose is to research and establish not just who Cicero's contacts were, but the strength of their relation to him and to see if there were any connections among themselves. Furthermore, this article will trace the prosopographic lines of the aforementioned contacts through their respective generations.

² Cic. *Brut.* 315, *Fin.* 1.5.16; Plut. *Cic.* 4.1, 36.7; [Aur. Vict.] *De vir. ill.* 81.2 says that Cicero fled to Athens from Sulla's followers; cf. Ian Worthington, *Athens after Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 219; Christian Habicht, "Roman Citizens in Athens (228-31 B.C.)", in: *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, eds. Michael C. Hoff, Susan I. Rotroff, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 9–11.

³ Cic. *Fin.* 1.1.1-1.2.5.

⁴ Cic. *De or.* 3.75 (initiation); *Att.* 6.1.26, 6.6.2 (gate); cf. Makayla Benavides, "The Romanization of Attic Ritual Space in the Age of Augustus", (Master diss., University of Arizona, 2019), 82.

⁵ Cic. *Att.* 5.9.

⁶ Cic. *Fam.* 14.12.8; Plut. *Cic.* 45.3. Soon after the assassination of Caesar, Cicero joined his son in Athens, Cass. Dio 45.15.4, 46.3.2.

⁷ See Wim Broekaert, Elena Köstner, Christian Rollinger, "Introducing the Ties that Bind", *Journal of Historical Network Research* 4 (2020): ii-vii; Christian Rollinger, "Prolegomena. Problems and perspectives of historical network research and ancient history", *Journal of Historical Network Research* 4 (2020): 1–35.

Cicero's philosophical connections

The earliest attested Greek contact of Cicero is philosopher Antiochus of Ascalon. Cicero had attended to Antiochus's lectures in Athens for six months with his friend and correspondent at another time, Titus Pomponius Atticus.⁸ Philodemus states that Antiochus served as Athenian envoy both to Rome and provincial governors.⁹ The same author says that Aristus, Antiochus' brother, succeeded as the leader of the Academy.¹⁰ Cicero already knew Aristus from his student days, but he stayed with him when he returned from his provincial post in Cilicia, in mid-October 50 BCE.¹¹ Aristus, though not as famous as his brother, still had one famous student: Marcus Junius Brutus.¹² An interesting social connection emerges: Cicero was a student of Antiochus of Ascalon and a friend of his brother Aristus. Aristus was a teacher of Brutus, who was also a friend of Cicero. Finally, Cicero's son, the younger Cicero was eventually recruited into Brutus' army.

Another connection between Cicero and Brutus was the philosopher Cratippus. That relationship could be extended to Pompey the Great. Fleeing after Pharsalus, he briefly stopped at Mytilene and debated with Cratippus.¹³ Around the same time, Cicero was in Pompey's camp.¹⁴

⁸ Cicero often mentioned Antiochus as his teacher: Cic. *Brut.* 315, *Acad.* 1.4.13-14, 2.30.98, *Nat. D.* 1.3.6. That fact was a well-known in antiquity, as witnessed by Plutarch's biography of the great Roman orator, cf. Plut. *Cic.* 4.1–3; cf. David R. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Letters*, (Stuttgart/Leipzig: BG Teubner, 1995), 15; David R. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Treatises*, (Stuttgart/Leipzig: BG Teubner, 1996), 85.

⁹ Phld. 34.22-40. Philodemus does not specify which provincial governors Antiochus visited on Athenian behalf, but the Roman governor in Macedonia (who also oversaw Greece) was the closest. Another possibility is the governor of Asia, cf. Valerius Maximus writes about a murder case which P. Dolabela, proconsul of Asia sent in Athens to be tried (Val. Max. 8.1a.2)

¹⁰ Phld. 35.1–5.

¹¹ Cic. *Tusc.* 5.8.22. For the date see Cicero's letter to Atticus, saying that Cicero arrived in Athens on 14th of October and sent the letter two days later, Cic. *Att.* 7.1.1. For earlier contacts between Cicero and Aristus see Cic. *Acad.* 2.4.12; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Letters*, 19; Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Treatises*, 86.

¹² Cic. *Brut.* 332, *Acad.* 1.3.12; Plut. *Brut.* 2.3.

¹³ Plut. *Pomp.* 75.3–4.

¹⁴ Plut. *Cic.* 38.1.

Cicero admired Cratippus the Peripatetic so much that he obtained Roman citizenship for the philosopher from Caesar. Furthermore, he persuaded Areopagus to let Cratippus teach in Athens and implored his son to listen to his teachings.¹⁵ In the tumultuous year of 44 BCE, Cratippus found Marcus Brutus and Marcus Cicero the younger among his pupils.¹⁶

In one of his letters, the younger Cicero mentions that a certain Gorgias helped him in his declamation practice.¹⁷ But his father thought that Gorgias had a bad influence on his son and banished him from his son's company.¹⁸ The only other known fact about Gorgias is that he wrote a book on prostitutes.¹⁹ It should be noted that both he and Cratippus are otherwise unattested in Athens.

Cicero engaged with three successive heads of the Epicurean school. He repeatedly mentions that he listened to the philosophers Zeno and Phaedrus in Athens during his study abroad.²⁰ Phaedrus succeeded Zeno as the Epicurean leader in around 75 BCE and, in turn, was succeeded by Patro in 70 BCE.²¹ Patro asked Cicero's help in preserving the ruined house of Epicurus. Cicero wrote in a letter to Memmius that he disagrees philosophically with Patro, but still asks Memmius not to disturb the ruins of Epicurus' house. Furthermore, Atticus liked Patro.²² Zeno of Sidon and Patro did not leave epigraphic evidence in Athens, and apart from what

¹⁵ Plut. *Cic.* 24.7–8. Cicero considered Cratippus his intimate friend and the greatest of Peripatetics (*Cic. Div.* 1.3.5); Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Treatises*, 87.

¹⁶ Brutus: *Cic. Off.* 1.1.1 Plut. *Brut.* 24. Cicero: *Cic. Fam.* 12.6.2, 16.21.3; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Letters*, 43.

¹⁷ *Cic. Fam.* 16.21.6.

¹⁸ *Cic. Fam.* 16.21.7; Plut. *Cic.* 24.9.

¹⁹ *Athen.* 13.567A.

²⁰ *Cic. Fin.* 1.5.16, 5.1.3, *Nat. D.* 1.21.59, 1.33.93, *Tusc.* 3.17.38; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Treatises*, 91, 95.

²¹ *FGrHist* 257 (Phlegon) Fr 12 (= *Phot. Bibl.* 97).

²² *Cic. Fam.* 13.1.2, 13.1.4; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's letters*, 76. The background of the entire affair was that Memmius acquired Arepagus' consent to build his own villa over the ruins of Epicurus' house. Epicureans implored Cicero to intercede on their behalf, which Cicero did and asked Memmius not to proceed with his building program. Memmius said yes and the august ruins were preserved.

Cicero writes, their lives are mostly unknown. Phaedrus was a member of a prominent Athenian family.²³

Concerning the house of Epicurus, one other man appears in Cicero's letter: Xeno. Cicero first mentioned Xeno during his visit to Athens on June 27, 51 BCE, saying that his brother Quintus was Xeno's guest and that Xeno lived near Aristus.²⁴ Soon after, Cicero said that Patro and Xeno had asked him to write to Memmius regarding the ruins of Epicurus' house and that Xeno said the Areopagus would not revoke its permit without Memmius' acceptance.²⁵ A year later, upon his return from Cilicia, Cicero met once again with Xeno in Athens, who gave him Atticus' letter. In this instance, Cicero calls Xeno "an excellent man".²⁶ The next batch of information comes from the period 45–44 BCE when the younger Cicero studied in Athens. It would seem that Xeno owed money to Atticus and that he was to give some money to the younger Cicero to cover his study costs.²⁷ Cicero criticised Xeno's stinginess.²⁸

Xeno is sometimes called the Epicurean philosopher, but Cicero never explicitly mentions him as such.²⁹ The identification probably comes from his association with the affair concerning Epicurus' house. Xeno was probably a mid-level politician whose family could be traced back to the middle of the second century BCE.³⁰ The earliest traces of the family are found on a list of donors to an unknown cause. Certain Dios (I) from the deme of Melite gave the unrecorded sum of money on his behalf, as well as on behalf of his wife, his son Epigenes, and his daughter Aristomene.³¹ The son, Epigenes (I), reached prominence in the late 2nd

²³ For him, see below.

²⁴ Cic. *Att.* 5.10.5; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Letters*, 108.

²⁵ Cic. *Att.* 5.11.6. More about the entire affair with Epicurus' house: Paul Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, (Le Caire: Université égyptienne, 1927), 218; Worthington, *Athens after Empire*, 229–230.

²⁶ Cic. *Att.* 7.1.1.

²⁷ Cic. *Att.* 13.37.1 (debt), 14.16.4. Cicero asked Atticus several times to help the boy's education in Athens, cf. Cic. *Att.* 12.32.2, 14.7.2, 14.17.5, 15.15.4,

²⁸ Cic. *Att.* 16.1.5, 16.3.2.

²⁹ See *RE* Xenon (9).

³⁰ Rawson, "Cicero and the Areopagus", 51–52, calls him rich and powerful, but not an Epicurean.

³¹ *IG II² 2335 = I.Eleus. 224*, lines 10–13.

century BCE. In the early 120s BCE, he was the epimeletes of Delos, and three statues were erected in his honour: by Athenians and Romans, by Athenians and foreigners, and by merchants and ship-owners.³² Several years later, he appears on a prytany inscription as the proposer.³³ This Epigenes had a son named Dios (II), who is only known through his sons: Epigenes (II) and Xeno. The brothers appear together as ephebes in 79/8 BCE.³⁴ The elder one, Epigenes, was a thesmothete in 56/5 BCE.³⁵ A couple of years later, in 53/2 BCE, Epigenes is attested as some unknown magistrate.³⁶ The brothers are found once again as mint magistrates in the latter years of the New Style.³⁷ Ironically, the Ciceronian Xeno is barely attested in inscriptions. Nonetheless, Xeno had some strong connections to Cicero and his family and friends. He was a host to Quintus Cicero in 51 and sufficiently reliable for Atticus to give him a letter for Cicero in 50 BCE. Xeno was closely related to Areopagus and advised Cicero regarding Epicurus and his house. He was probably an Areopagite himself, meaning that he was one of the nine archons, but the date of his archonship remains unknown. Furthermore, Atticus and Xeno had some financial dealings, probably because Xeno borrowed some money from Atticus. Finally, Xeno helped Atticus finance the costs of studying for the younger Cicero.

Another Brutus' teacher was a certain Pammenes, the most eloquent man of Greece, according to Cicero.³⁸ Cicero mentioned him twice in his letters to Atticus. The first time was in 51 BCE: while in Cilicia, Cicero wrote to Atticus regarding the house of Pammenes, urging his friend to help the boy.³⁹ Preparing to leave Cilicia in 50 BCE, Cicero once again writes to Atticus, stating that he intends to visit Athens,

³² *ID* 1643, 1644, 1703.

³³ *Agora* XV 251, line 5, dated 124/3 BCE.

³⁴ *IG* II² 1039 + *SEG* 22:110, col. II, lines 87–88.

³⁵ *IG* II² 1717, line 12.

³⁶ *IG* II² 1716, line 28, republished in Sterling Dow, "Archons of the Period after Sulla" *Hesperia Supplement* 8 (1949), p. 117, col. II, line 140.

³⁷ Christian Habicht, "Zu den Münzmagistraten der Silberprägung des Neues Stils", *Chiron* 21 (1991): 14.

³⁸ *Cic. Orat.* 30.105, *Brut.* 97.332; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Treatises*, 78.

³⁹ *Cic. Att.* 5.20.10; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Letters*, 74. The boy is, presumably, Pammenes' heir.

and that he doesn't like what he heard about Pammenes.⁴⁰ Cicero does not give any further details about Pammenes. Antony Spawforth argued for the following series of events: upon Pammenes' death, his heir, the boy in Cicero's letter, had trouble inheriting the house. With the help of Atticus, the heir, also called Pammenes, acquired the house. This younger Pammenes later had prominent political and priestly careers. He was also a member of the influential family Pammenes/Zenon from Marathon.⁴¹ The family had strong attachments to Delos, and gained prominence in the Augustan age.⁴²

The only Pammenes who could fit Spawforth's hypothesis could be Pammenes (I). His namesake heir was Pammenes (II) who served as the hoplite general and the priest of the goddess Roma and Augustus on Acropolis, thus being the first priest of the imperial cult in Athens.⁴³ He was also the priest of Apollo.⁴⁴ Pammenes had two sons, Zeno and Pammenes, who succeeded him as priests.⁴⁵ Later generations of the family are unknown.⁴⁶

Although this theory sounds interesting, there are some problems. First, Pammenes (I) died shortly before 57/6 BCE, because at that time he had a hero cult dedicated to him.⁴⁷ Cicero's Pammenes died in 51 BCE or a bit before. Spawforth further argues that the boy from Cicero's letter was actually Pammenes' namesake grandson, the future imperial priest and general.⁴⁸ But, what about the boy's parents? Pammenes (I) had a son Zeno (III), who was around 30-something years of age when this affair happened. This Zeno was the eponymous archon in 54/3 BCE and the

⁴⁰ Cic. *Att.* 6.2.10.

⁴¹ Antony J. S. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 72.

⁴² The discussion and family stemma can be found in Daniel J. Geagan, "A Family of Marathon and Social Mobility in Athens of the First Century B. C.", *Phoenix* 46/1 (1992): 29–44, stemma pp. 34–35.

⁴³ *IG II³* 4 10 line 2.

⁴⁴ A number of inscriptions from Delos are dated by his priesthood: *ID* 1592–1594, 1605, 1626.

⁴⁵ Zenon (V) was the priest of Apollo: *ID* 1624bis, 1637; Pammenes (III) was an Eumolpid exegete: *IG II²* 3523 = *I.Eleus.* 324; *IG II²* 3524 = *I.Eleus.* 336.

⁴⁶ Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, p. 317.

⁴⁷ *IG II²* 1339.

⁴⁸ Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution*, 72.

epimelete of Delos after 30 BCE.⁴⁹ He was perfectly able to protect his son's inheritance, unless for some reason he wasn't.⁵⁰ Finally, Pammenes (II) had a brother Zeno, who is not mentioned by Cicero, but it may well be that Zeno was born after these troubles were sorted.⁵¹ Of course, it is equally possible that Brutus' teacher was some other Athenian, or even a foreigner who came to Athens to teach.⁵²

But, if Spawforths identification of the two Pammenes is correct, it is yet another example of how Cicero, Atticus and Brutus were connected to the same people in Athens: Pammenes (I) taught Brutus, while Cicero and Atticus took care of the grandson, Pammenes (II), who later became the first priest of the Imperial cult in Athens.

Cicero's political contacts

Cicero had some important contacts among Athens' leading politicians. He tasked two Athenians with overseeing his son's education, Herodes and Leonides.

Cicero first mentions Herodes in a letter to Atticus from 60 BCE.⁵³ According to Cicero, Herodes wrote a not-quite-successful work about Cicero's consulate of 63 BCE. A decade later, Cicero mentions Herodes once again, as a man who extracted 50 talents from Caesar with Atticus' help.⁵⁴ Finally, Cicero mentions Herodes for the last time in a series of letters ranging from May to July 44 BCE.⁵⁵ Herodes emerges as an overseer of Cicero's son, who is quite satisfied with the young Roman's education.

⁴⁹ Archon: *IG II²* 1713, col. III, line 17; epimeletes: *ID* 1663. The dates provided by Geagan, "A Family of Marathon and Social Mobility in Athens of the First Century B. C.", 34.

⁵⁰ He could've been out of Athens for example or otherwise indisposed.

⁵¹ Geagan, "A Family of Marathon and Social Mobility in Athens of the First Century B. C.", 34 gives two possible years for his birth: 53/2 based on a 30 year cycle for a generation and 43/2 based on an assumption that Zenon was 30 years old when he became archon in 13/12 BCE. So, it is possible that Zenon was born after the whole affair.

⁵² As acknowledged by Spawforth himself, cf. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution*, 72.

⁵³ *Cic. Att.* 2.2.2; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Letters*, 55.

⁵⁴ *Cic. Att.* 6.1.24, dated February 50 BCE.

⁵⁵ *Cic. Att.* 14.16.3, 14.18.4, 15.16, 15.27.3, 16.3.2.

This Ciceronian Herodes should be identified as Herodes (II), son of Eucles (III), from Marathon.⁵⁶ Herodes was one of the most prominent Athenians of his period. He was the eponymous archon in 60/59 BCE.⁵⁷ He was attested as the hoplite general four times.⁵⁸ While he held this post, he dealt with some unknown problem between Athenian cleruchies on Lemnos.⁵⁹ Herodes' role as the man responsible for providing 50 talents from Caesar was already mentioned. Additionally, when the Roman Agora was finally completed, the Athenians inscribed the architrave above the gate dedicated to Athena Archegetis. This inscription clearly states that Herodes passed on the project to his son Eucles.⁶⁰

Herodes' family was one of the most powerful and most well-known families from Roman Athens. Since the history of that family is already covered elsewhere, we will give just a brief overview.⁶¹ The family first appears in Delos, in the late second century BCE. On an inscription enumerating (probably) influential Athenians, a certain Eucles, son of Eucles, of Marathon appears.⁶² This Eucles (II) had a son named Herodes (I), whose son Eucles (III) appears as philarchus, i.e. a cavalry commander of his tribe, Aiantis.⁶³ Ciceronian Herodes was a son of Eucles (II).

⁵⁶ AO s.v. Ἡρώδης #13, LGPN s.v. Ἡρώδης #13; cf. Rawson, "Cicero and the Areopagus", 49; Daniel J. Geagan, "The Athenian Elite: Romanization, Resistance, and the Exercise of Power", in: *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, eds. Michael C. Hoff, Susan I. Rotroff, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 20.

⁵⁷ His archonship is mentioned in an ephebic dedication IG II² 2992 (= IG II³ 4 377), and in a honorific list of archons and officials IG II² 1716, for edition and commentary of that inscription see Dow, "Archons of the Period after Sulla", 116–125. Diodorus mentions Herodes' archonship as well: his term coincided with Caesar's campaign in Gaul, see Diod. 1.4.7.

⁵⁸ Explicitly mentioned in *Agora XV 267*, lines 29–36. *Agora* dates this list of magistrates just before 60 BCE, meaning that Herodes was four times *strategos* before he became the eponymous archon.

⁵⁹ IG II² 1051. The inscription is fragmentary and gives too little information regarding this issue. It probably was a land dispute, see Geoffrey C. R. Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens: New Epigraphy and Prosopography*, (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), #4–5, pp. 13–14.

⁶⁰ IG II² 3175 (= IG II³ 4 12), see also Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, #102.

⁶¹ Walter Ameling, *Herodes Atticus*, 2 vols, (Georg Olms: Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, 1983).

⁶² *ID 2630*, line 13.

⁶³ *FD (III) 2: 28*, lines 12–13.

Herodes' descendants were also the leading men of Athens. Since the family's history is detailed elsewhere in literature, we will here give just a brief overview.⁶⁴ Herodes' son Eucles (IV) was most famous as the person responsible for completion of the Roman Agora.⁶⁵ Furthermore, he held both political and religious offices.⁶⁶ The family members continued to hold offices in subsequent generations. In Nero's period, the family received Roman citizenship, as the name of Tiberius Claudius Eucles testifies.⁶⁷ A generation later, Tiberius Claudius Hipparchus, famously wealthy Athenian, saw his wealth stripped away by the emperor Domitian.⁶⁸ Hipparchus' son Atticus renewed the family's fortune in the time of Nerva, through a stroke of exceptionally good luck: he found a prodigious treasure in one of his houses.⁶⁹ Atticus used his wealth to become one of the most prominent men not just in Athens, but in the entire Roman Empire. Finally, the family reached its apex with his son Herodes, usually known as Herodes Atticus. He is not only the most well known member of the family, but the most well known Athenian in the entire Roman imperial period. His prominence comes from his consulship, held in 143 AD, but, more importantly, from his teaching experience. He was one of the teachers of the future emperor Marcus Aurelius, and one of the most outstanding sophists of his time. Aulus Gellius and Philostratus left significant written evidence about Herodes

⁶⁴ See Paul Graindor, *Un milliardaire antique: Hérode Atticus et sa famille*, (Le Caire: Université égyptienne 1930); Ameling, *Herodes Atticus*; Jennifer Tobin, *Herodes Attikos and the city of Athens: patronage and conflict under the Antonines*, (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1997).

⁶⁵ IG II² 3175 = IG II³ 4 12.

⁶⁶ Archon: IG II² 1719, line 2, also published in Paul Graindor, "Inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale. Textes inédits et corrections", *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 38 (1914): 437; general: ID 1627, also published in: Théophile Homolle, "Fouilles sur l'emplacement du temple d'Apollon à Délos" *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 2 (1878): 11; priest of Delian Apollo and the leader of dodecais: FD (III) 2: 57–64.

⁶⁷ IG II² 1989 + SEG 34:155, lines 3–4 mentions Claudius Eucles as cosmetes; for a fuller discussion, see RCA, 106–107.

⁶⁸ Philostr. *VS* 2.1 (547). For Hipparchus' wealth see Suet. *Vesp.* 13, who mentions an anecdote concerning Salvius Liberalis defending a rich client, maybe even Hipparchus himself. According to Suetonius, Hipparchus had a hundred millions.

⁶⁹ As told by Philostr. *VS* 2.1 (548).

Atticus.⁷⁰ Herodes Atticus' only surviving child was Braduas Atticus, who also became a consul in 185 CE, and is attested at the start of the third century CE.⁷¹

Before turning to Leonides, we will briefly examine the case of Polycharmus. Cicero does not mention Polycharmus as a connection, but dates the Areopagus decision to allow Memius to build his villa over the ruins of Epicurus' house to the praetorship of Polycharmus.⁷² This praetorship i.e. hoplite generalship is dated to 54/3 BCE. Polycharmus was attested as an archon a decade later.⁷³ Around the same time he was the epimelete of Delos.⁷⁴ His family is fairly well attested in inscriptions. There was a Polycharmus, son of Polycritus of Azenia, who proposed honours for ephebes in 127/6 BCE.⁷⁵ He was probably the grandfather of Cicero's Polycharmus. The Ciceronian general and archon had a son named Polycritus who took on a number of priestly roles. He was keyholder of the Apollo's temple on Delos.⁷⁶ He participated in dodecaids of the later first century BCE as *exegetes pytochrestos*.⁷⁷ He was second on the list, just after the priest of Apollo. His son Polycharmus was attested as the eponymous archon and the priest of Drusus consul sometime after 9/8 BCE, and had a statue raised in his honour by demos in Eleusis.⁷⁸ Finally, his son Polycritus was the first member of the family to receive Roman citizenship and took the name Gaius Silius.⁷⁹ Polycritus was the eponymous archon and the hoplite general in the Caligulan period.⁸⁰ But, more importantly, he was the man who

⁷⁰ Gell. 1.2.1 explicitly says that he was in the circle of Herodes Atticus, with other young Romans, while Philostratus wrote a significant biography of Herodes, see Philostr. *VS* 2.1. (545–567).

⁷¹ *RCA* 126–127; his final mention is in 209/10 CE as the herald of Boule and Demos, *Agora XV* 460, lines 89–90.

⁷² *Cic. Att.* 5.11.6; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's letters*, 79.

⁷³ *IG II²* 1041, lines 9, 27.

⁷⁴ *ID* 2509.

⁷⁵ *SEG* 15:104.

⁷⁶ *ID* 1876, a statue erected by his father. Polycritus had another statue on Delos, erected by his mother Sosipolis, *ID* 1988.

⁷⁷ *FD* (III) 2: 59, 61–64.

⁷⁸ *IG II²* 3120 = *IG II³* 4 556 (archon); *IG II²* 3904 = *I.Eleus.* 330 (statue).

⁷⁹ Probably through famous demesman and famous actor Gaius Silius Batthylus. There is a certain Σείλιος on his tombstone, *IG II²* 5302.

⁸⁰ *IG II²* 2992, line 3 (archon); *Agora XVIII* 737 (general).

instituted the cult of Drusilla, Caligula's sister in Athens.⁸¹ We briefly examined this family because there is a strong possibility that they were related to the Herodes/Eucles family of Marathon.⁸² Sean Byrne proposes a marriage relation between Eucles (IV) and Polycritus the exegete.⁸³ The marriage is not attested, but Eucles did have a son named Polycharmus. That name was not common in his family, but Polycritus' father and son both bore the same name. Furthermore, the two men must have worked closely during dodecaids: Eucles was the priest of Apollo, while Polycritus was exegetes.

The example of Herodes shows the connection between the Roman and Athenian elite through generations. Cicero and Herodes had a connection way back in the 60s BCE when Herodes wanted to write about Cicero's consulship. Later, Herodes nurtured contacts with Caesar and Cicero and his son. Herodes passed to his son the connection with Rome's first imperial family. In Athens, Herodes' family shows connections with other prominent Athenian families: there is a strong possibility that the families of Herodes, and Polycharmus, were intermarried.

Another tutor of young Cicero was Leonides, explicitly mentioned as younger Cicero's teacher. Leonides corresponded with Cicero at the same time as Herodes.⁸⁴ But, it would seem that he was dissatisfied with his charge: younger Cicero obviously neglected his education. Leonides' family can be followed through six centuries.⁸⁵ Cicero's letters provide almost all information about him.⁸⁶ Ciceronian Leonides is mostly known through his sons: another Leonides, archon, general and

⁸¹ IG II² 3266, see also Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, p. 304.

⁸² Rawson, "Cicero and the Areopagus", 53, alludes to the marital connection.

⁸³ RCA, Stemma V.

⁸⁴ Cic. *Att.* 14.16.3, 14.18.4, 15.16, 15.27.3, 16.3.2, cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's letters*, 60–61.

⁸⁵ Élias A. Kapetanopoulos, "Leonides VII of Melite and His Family", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 92/2 (1968): 497–518 enumerates a total of 151 members of the extended family.

⁸⁶ AO s.v. Λεωνίδης #29 numbers him as Leonides (I), while Kapetanopoulos, "Leonides VII of Melite and His Family", 504, followed by Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, p. 276–277 names him as Leonides (IV); cf. Rawson, "Cicero and the Areopagus", 50.

gymnasiarch, Phaedrus, Timotheus and possibly, Zeno.⁸⁷ The family gained prominence in the next generation. Leonides' son Lysiades (IV) was an archon and herald of Areopagus in the period of Caligula. But, more importantly, he married into a famous family of Theophrastus/Themistocles from Hagnous, thus receiving the important religious position of *dadouchos*. Furthermore, he or his son Leonides (VII) received Roman citizenship. He was the first member of the Leonides/Lysiades family (as the family is conventionally known) to serve as the priest *dadouchos* in Eleusis. Several honorary inscriptions from the late 2nd and early 3rd century CE put Leonides as the founder.⁸⁸ The family was connected through marriages to other prominent families in both Hellenistic and Roman Athens.⁸⁹ The family even boasted such famous forefathers as Pericles, Conon and Alexander the Great.⁹⁰

The family of Leonides shows a similar complex web of connections. Leonides himself was closely connected to Cicero and his son, while Leonides' descendants forged marital ties with the family of Themistocles/Theophrastus of Hagnous and Phaedrus/Lysiades. The former had strong ties to the Eleusinian Mysteries and Augustus,⁹¹ while the latter was connected first with Cicero and Brutus, and later with Marc Antony.

We find in Cicero's letters a man called the leader of Athenians. His name is Epicrates, but Cicero himself does not mention him. Actually, he is mentioned by Cicero's son, in a letter to Tiro.⁹² Cicero the Younger says that he passes time with

⁸⁷ Leonides (V): *IG II² 1713*, line 30 (eponymous archon in 12/11 BCE); *IG II² 1722*, lines 15–16 (herald of Areopagus), *IG II² 2998 = IG II³ 4 396* (gymnasiarch); *Agora XV 300* (hoplite general). Leonides, Phaedrus and Timotheus are mentioned as members of the gene *Amyndridai IG II² 2338*, lines 59–61. On the existence of the third brother, see Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens*, p. 277.

⁸⁸ *IG II² 3609, 3610, 3612, 3614, 3615, 4084+4087*, see also *SEG 25:213, 42:164, 175, I.Eleus. 622, 472, 479, 493*.

⁸⁹ The fullest account of the family can be found in Kapetanopoulos, "Leonides VII of Melite and His Family", 493–518.

⁹⁰ *IG II² 3679*.

⁹¹ The most famous member of that family, Themistocles (II) of Hagnous was famous for reforming the Eleusinian mysteries (*I.Eleus. 300*) and probably was involved in the second initiation of Octavian Augustus (Cass. Dio 54.9.10; Strab. 15.1.4, 15.1.73).

⁹² *Cic. Fam. 16.21.5*; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's letters*, 48.

other Romans in the city, as well as Epicrates, *princeps Atheniensium*, as he calls him. This Epicrates is most likely the member of Epicrates/Callimachus family.⁹³ The earliest known member of the family is Epicrates (I), whose son Callimachus (II) was the *epimeletes* of Delos between 88 and 60 BCE.⁹⁴ The same Callimachus was the archon basileus in 100/99 BCE and as such participated in the Pythais.⁹⁵ His son was Epicrates, *princeps Atheniensium* in 44 BCE, according to younger Cicero. This Epicrates (II) was attested as the herald of Areopagus in 56/5 BCE.⁹⁶ One Epicrates, son of Callimachus appears as Pythais in a list dated in 106 BCE.⁹⁷ Rawson stipulates that this was Cicero's Epicrates, who partook as a child in Pythais and was 67 in 44 BCE, quite a probable age for a leading figure in Athens.⁹⁸ Furthermore, a pair Callimachus-Epicrates was attested as mint magistrates for the year 63/2. Epicrates was most certainly Epicrates (II), *princeps Atheniensium*, while Callimachus could be his father or his son.⁹⁹ Curiously, the letter to Tiro is the only proof of Epicrates after his heraldship. He is not mentioned as the eponymous archon or hoplite general, a prerequisite office for a man contending to be *princeps Atheniensium*.

As noted, Epicrates (II) had a son Callimachus (III) who may have been the mint magistrate with him. Otherwise, Callimachus is known only through his son Epicrates (IV). This Epicrates was certainly a good candidate for a leading man in the city. He was the eponymous archon in the early 20s BCE.¹⁰⁰ Around the same time, he is mentioned as the leader of the tribe Ceryces, in an honorary inscription to famous Themistocles of Hagnous.¹⁰¹ Epicrates served twice as the hoplite general and the

⁹³ Rawson, "Cicero and the Areopagus", 50–51.

⁹⁴ *ID* 1893, 2161, 2205.

⁹⁵ He was recorded on a long and fragmentary list of pythaists, *IG* II² 2336, line 149, republished in *SEG* 32:218, line 153.

⁹⁶ *IG* II² 1720, line 9.

⁹⁷ *FD* (III) 2: 15, col. III line 14.

⁹⁸ Rawson, "Cicero and Areopagus", 50–51.

⁹⁹ Rawson, "Cicero and Areopagus", 51 argues for the son, while Habicht, "Zu den Münzmagistraten der Silberprägung des Neues Stils", 16 thinks it was the father.

¹⁰⁰ *IG* II³ 4 1324.

¹⁰¹ *I.Eleus.* 300, lines 8–9, published also in *SEG* 30:93.

herald of Areopagus in 14/13 BCE.¹⁰² Finally, there is a cultic catalogue of the leading men of Athens, dedicated to Plutus.¹⁰³ Epicrates is the 8th on the list. Since the list contains only married Athenians, we know that Epicrates was married, but his wife and potential children remain unknown.

Curiously, even though Epicrates (II) was attested as the leading politician of Athens in 44 BCE, his connections seem rather feeble. He is mentioned only once, as a member of the circle including Cicero the younger, Leonides and Cratippus the Peripatetic. Brutus should also be included in this circle. Additionally, the only evidence of Epicrates' political activity is his heraldship of Areopagus a decade before.

Finally, we turn to Lysiades. Cicero mentions in his fifth *Philippic* a certain Lysiades, son of the philosopher Phaedrus, who was a juror in Rome, thanks to Marc Antony. According to Cicero, since Lysiades was also an Areopagite in Athens, he was ineligible to be a juror in Rome.¹⁰⁴ The family is worthy of consideration because it presents a nice example of interconnectedness between Athenians and Romans.¹⁰⁵ Lysiades' father Phaedrus was a well-known head of Epicurean school until his death in 70 BCE. During the First Mithridatic War, Phaedrus spent some years in Rome in the company of prominent Romans (88–86 BCE).¹⁰⁶ One of his students was Appius Saufeius, Cicero's client, who erected a herm, probably in the city Eleusinion, to honour his teacher.¹⁰⁷ Appius' brother Lucius, another pupil of Phaedrus, erected a

¹⁰² An inscription from Hephaestea on Lemnos, *IG XII 8 26B*, lines 4–6 mentions Epicrates as twice general, while the proof of his heraldship is in *IG II² 1721*, lines 14–15.

¹⁰³ *IG II² 2464*.

¹⁰⁴ Cic. *Phil.* 5.5.13–14; cf. David R. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Speeches*, (Stuttgart/Leipzig: BG Teubner, 1992), 64.

¹⁰⁵ Raubitschek found the earliest traces of the family in the early 2nd century BCE, when certain Agathocles, son of Lysiades, from Berenicidae was the *epimeletes* of the procession at the City Dionysia, see *IG II² 896* (= *IG II³ 1 1284*, line 42), for the family stemma, see Antony E. Raubitschek, "Phaidros and his Roman pupils", *Hesperia* 18/1 (1949): 97

¹⁰⁶ Raubitschek, "Phaidros and his Roman pupils", 98.

¹⁰⁷ *Agora XVIII 340*. The herm was not found *in situ*, but it was near the shrine. Appius Saufeius was involved in Clodius' murder and Cicero acquitted him, see Raubitschek, "Phaidros and his Roman pupils", 102.

statue of his teacher on the Acropolis. Furthermore, that same Lucius had a statue erected in his honour by the Athenian demos, near his teacher's statue.¹⁰⁸ Not far stood another statue of Phaedrus, erected, perhaps, by Titus Pomponius Atticus.¹⁰⁹ Another connection with Atticus is a group of statues, erected in Eleusis, that commemorate Phaedrus, his children and Atticus.¹¹⁰ Cicero himself mentioned Phaedrus several times.¹¹¹

Phaedrus had two children: the already mentioned Lysiades and a daughter Chrysothemis.¹¹² The daughter is of interest, because she probably was the wife of Leonides, the tutor of Cicero's son in Athens. Although nowhere directly mentioned, this marriage seems likely. Leonides' second son was named Phaedrus, maybe in honour of his famous grandfather.¹¹³ This Phaedrus had a daughter named Chrysothemis, maybe named after his own mother.¹¹⁴ The name Lysiades appears in Leonides' family at around this time. Finally, Leonides' family was well-known for its marriage alliances with other prominent Athenian families.¹¹⁵

Phaedrus' son Lysiades was the eponymous archon in 51/0 BCE.¹¹⁶ He is also attested as exegetes, thus proving a connection with Eleusinian Mysteries.¹¹⁷ He also shows strong connections with the Roman world. Cicero's invective is probably true regarding his jurist career in Rome. That meant he was in really good relations with

¹⁰⁸ IG II² 3897 = SEG 23:117.

¹⁰⁹ IG II² 3899, Raubitschek, "Phaidros and his Roman pupils", 99, restores the dedicator's name as Titus Pomponius, son of Titus. The inscription is too fragmentary to provide definitive reading.

¹¹⁰ IG II² 3513 = I.Eleus. 291. According to Raubitschek, "Phaidros and his Roman pupils", 102, a statue of Atticus' wife Pilia also stood there.

¹¹¹ Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.93, *Fin.* 1.5.16, 5.1.3, *Att.* 13.39.2; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Letters*, 76.

¹¹² Chrysothemis erected a statue of her father in Eleusis, and had a statue erected in her honour by Demos, IG II² 3513 = I.Eleus. 291.

¹¹³ IG II² 2338, line 60 (a list of members of the genos Amyndridae); IG II² 6872 (his funerary monument).

¹¹⁴ IG II² 6877 (a funerary monument for Chrysothemis, daughter of Phaedrus).

¹¹⁵ Kapetanopoulos, "Leonides VII of Melite and His Family", 493.

¹¹⁶ IG II² 1046, line 26, 1713, line 21, 3174 (= IG II³ 4 781 = SEG 39:212).

¹¹⁷ IG II² 3513 = I.Eleus. 291, a series of statues for Phaedrus, Lysiades and Chrysothemis. Lysiades was honoured as an exegete by Demos.

Marc Antony, even before the latter proved himself as *philathenaios* following the Battle of Philippi.¹¹⁸ To become a juror in Rome, Lysiades had to be a Roman citizen. The citizenship grant must have come through Marc Antony. This citizenship grant would make Lysiades one of the first Athenians to receive Roman citizenship.¹¹⁹

The social connections around Phaedrus and Lysiades seem incredibly complex. The father was an esteemed philosopher, respected both in Athens and in Rome. Cicero mentioned him in his writings, saying that both he and Atticus listened to his teachings, while the Saufeii brothers, who had their own connections to Cicero, were his pupils. The son had a strong connection with Marc Antony, one of the two most powerful men in the entire Mediterranean, while at the same time arousing Cicero's ire. Furthermore, Cicero states that Lysiades was a well-known figure in Rome. Finally, Lysiades' sister Chrysothemis married Leonides, a man who tutored Cicero's son. Two brothers-in-law, Leonides and Lysiades were connected with close marital ties, while at the same time being connected to two bitter Roman adversaries. Furthermore, Cicero the Younger was in the circle of Marcus Junius Brutus, the current resident of Athens. During 44 and 43 BCE the situation in Athens certainly seemed quite interesting.

Conclusion

Cicero is one of the most important sources of the Late Republic. Through his letters to family and friends, historians can reconstruct the history of Rome and the Mediterranean world year after year, often day by day. Thanks to Cicero, researchers can glean details impossible for other periods of classical antiquity.

¹¹⁸ Antony showed his admiration for Athens in several ways: he visited the city several times (App. B. Civ. 5.7, 52, 75–76, 138), he gave the islands of Aegina, Ikos, Theos, Peparethos and Skiathos to the Athenians (App. B. Civ. 5.7; Cass. Dio 54.7.2 adds Eretria). Plutarch adds that he acted as gymnasiarch in Athens (Plut. Ant. 33.4), that he asked Octavian for permission to live in Athens as *privatus* following his defeat (Plut. Ant. 72.1) and that he liked to be addressed as Philathenian (Plut. Ant. 23.2).

¹¹⁹ The family is not known after Lysiades, cf. Rawson, "Cicero and the Areopagus", 55.

Cicero is a priceless source for the history of Athens in the Late Republican period. He studied there in his youth and later visited the city on at least three occasions. He mentioned Athens and Athenians in various letters as well, providing a window into the contemporary political climate in Athens.

Roughly speaking, Cicero had a connection with two kinds of Greeks in Athens. The first one was a "(foreign) teacher" and includes Zeno of Sidon, Antiochus of Ascalon and his brother Aristus, Cratippus the Peripatetic, and Phaedrus the Epicurean. Cicero's connections with them stem from his philosophical leanings and education. Most of them, with the important exception of Phaedrus, were foreigners and not permanent residents of Athens. They had other connections to the Roman world except for Cicero, as well. For example, Antiochus taught both Cicero and Atticus, and later he followed Lucullus during his eastern campaign.¹²⁰ His brother Aristus taught Brutus, who was Cicero's friend, and later Cicero's son ended up in Brutus' army. Another example could be Cratippus. His connections include Cicero, his son, Pompey the Great, and, through Cicero, Caesar. Another common denominator for these, broadly speaking, teachers, was their own recognition through the writings of Cicero and later authors; they did not leave an epigraphic mark on Athens. Again, the exception is Phaedrus.

The second kind of Cicero's connection in Athens is a "prominent politician". Herodes, son of Eucles, from Marathon, is a useful example. Cicero directly communicated with Herodes since the Athenian was his son's overseer. Herodes had a distinguished career in Athens and cultivated connections with Cicero, Atticus, and Caesar. He managed the building of the new market in Athens, paid for with Caesar's money. His son Eucles inherited both the project and the connection to the house of Caesar.

¹²⁰ Cic. *Acad.* 2.2.4, 2.4.10, *Ael. VH* 12.25; *Phld.* 34.39–42.

The second example of this kind of connection is Leonides, a tutor to young Marcus. His family can be traced through the centuries, even though Leonides himself is not very well known, apart from Cicero's letters. The family was extremely well connected through marital ties in Athens. One important connection was with Themistocles/Theophrastus of Hagnous, through whom Leonides' descendants gained the celebrated priestly post of *dadouchos* in Eleusis.¹²¹ The other connection was with Lysiades, son of Phaedrus.

Phaedrus the Epicurean and his son Lysiades are the finest examples of the interconnectedness of Athenians and Romans in the Late Republic. The father, Phaedrus, had "philosophic" ties with Cicero, Atticus, and the Saufeii, themselves connected to Cicero and Atticus. The son, Lysiades, was closely connected with Cicero's bitter enemy, Marc Antony. This connection brought him Roman citizenship and a prominent position in Rome, where he served as a juror. The twin world in which he operated is aptly shown by Cicero's words: Lysiades is "wearing now a Greek pallium and now a toga".¹²²

When looking at Cicero's Athenians, one other thing stands out. Most prominent families, whose members appear as Cicero's connections, had some connection to Delos. By the end of the second century BCE, new elite families emerged on the island. They made their riches in trade, and at the turn of the century, they started serving as magistrates in Athens. Their position at Delos enabled them to form strong connections with Romans living there. These connections become obvious in Cicero's letters. All of the families who appear in Cicero's letters survived at least to the time of Augustus, while some of them, for example, Herodes' family of Marathon, are found even in the third century CE. The families held their prominent position in the city by keeping their connection with the centre of power in Rome.

¹²¹ See footnote 88.

¹²² Cic. *Phil.* 5.5.14. Translated by Shackleton-Bailey.

But, Cicero's writings have another value. Too often, we know the leading Athenians of the Roman period only through inscriptions. The stones record names and titles or offices but do not say much about the character of the persons mentioned.

Cicero helps us see the leading Athenians as humans. Thanks to him, we know that the famous Herodes had literary aspirations, that Epicrates was the leading man in the city, that Lysiades liked to frequently exchange his pallium for a toga, and that Pammenes had a rough childhood.¹²³ These often scant remarks breathe life into what would otherwise be a group of names with titles and offices attached to them.

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¹²³ Pammenes' childhood could be compared to the famous Demosthenes. Of course, if Spawforth's identification is accepted.

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