

PHAIDROS AND HIS ROMAN PUPILS

(PLATE 3)

CICERO's hostility towards Epicurean philosophy did not extend to the representatives and champions of this school both in Rome and in Athens. In fact, many of his most intimate friends were Epicureans.¹ Among these were the three men in charge of the Epicurean school in Athens during Cicero's life time, Zenon, Phaidros, and Patron. Little is known about Zenon and even less about Patron, but our knowledge of Phaidros can be considerably augmented by the study of certain Attic inscriptions.² It has not been known, until now, whether Phaidros was an Athenian by birth, but his son Lysiades, was an Athenian citizen since he was a member of the Areopagus in 43 B.C.³ J. Sundwall in fact rightly suggested that Phaidros' son was the Athenian archon Lysiades who held office in 51/0 B.C.⁴ It has not been noted, however, that Lysiades, son of Phaidros, was also *πυθόχρηστος ἐξηγητής* before the last quarter of the first century.⁵ The inscription honoring him in this capacity (*I.G.*, II², 3513) contains not only his demotic (*Βερενικίδης*), but also the name of his sister Chrysothemis. It is now possible to recognize in Phaidros son of Lysiades from Berenikidai (*I.G.*, II², 3897-3899) the Epicurean philosopher Phaidros.⁶ Moreover, it becomes evident that Phaidros belonged to a distinguished Athenian family which can be traced back to the end of the third century before Christ.⁷

¹ See C. M. Hall, *Class. Weekly*, XXVIII, 1935, pp. 113-115; H. M. Poteat, *Class. Weekly*, XXXVIII, 1945, p. 155; N. W. DeWitt, *Transact. Royal Soc. of Canada*, XXXIX, 1945, Sect. II, pp. 34-35.

² For Zenon, see E. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, 3rd edition, III, 1, pp. 373-374, note 2. The literary evidence concerning Phaidros has been conveniently assembled by K. Philippson (I suspect that the author is Robert Philippson), *R.E.*, s. v. Phaedrus no. 8; see also R. Philippson, *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIX, 1939, p. 15. I wish to thank Professors J. F. Gilliam and H. M. Hubbell for their kind help and advice in the preparation of this article.

³ Cicero, *Philippica*, V, 5, 13-14; see also VIII, 27.

⁴ *Klio*, VI, 1906, pp. 330-331; J. Kirchner and F. Münzer, *R.E.*, s. v. Lysiades nos. 3 and 5; see also *I.G.*, II², 1046, line 25; 1713, line 21.

⁵ See *I.G.*, II², 3513, lines 8-11; the date of this document can be determined from the restoration of lines 1-7 proposed below, and from the fact that Lysiades' successor as *πυθόχρηστος ἐξηγητής*, Polykritos, held office as early as ca. 30 B.C.; see *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 59, note 134.

⁶ New restorations of *I.G.*, II², 3897 and 3899 will be given below.

⁷ Since the deme Berenikidai to which the family belonged was created at the same time as the tribe Ptolemais (see W. K. Pritchett, *The Five Attic Tribes After Kleisthenes*, pp. 13-23), ca. 225/4 B.C., one cannot recognize earlier members of the family unless their previous deme affiliation is

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Λυσιάρχου Βερενικί[δ]ης, epimeletes in 186/5 (*I.G.*, II², 896, lines 42-43)

Λυσιάρχης, archon in 148/7 (*I.G.*, II², 1938, line 1; *Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 1505, line 34) Λυ[σι]άρχης Βερε[νικίδης], dedicator ca. 140 B.C. in Delos (*I. de Délos*, no. 1445A, line 8) Λυσ[ι]άρχ[δ]ης [Ἀγα]θοκλέους Βερενικ[ί]δης, epimeletes in Delos in 136/5 (*I. de Délos*, no. 1922, lines 2-3)

Καλλίθεος Λυσιάρχου Βερενικίδης
epimeletes ca. 130 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1939, line 52) Καλλίθεος Λυσιάρχου, victor in δίαυλον at Delphi in 128/7 B.C. (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, no. 38) Καλλίθεος (Πτολεμαῖδος), hippereus in 128/7 B.C. (*F. de Delphes*, III, 2, no. 27, line 39) [Κα]λλίθ[εος] Λυσιάρχου Βερενικίδης, in list ca. 125/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 2452, line 20)

[Φαῖδρ]ος Λυσιάρχου Βερ<ε>νικίδ[ης]
ephebe in 119/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1008, line 125) Φαῖδρος [Λυ]σιάρχ[δ]ου Βε[ρενικίδης], honored by statue ca. 78 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3897) [Φαῖ]δρος Λυ[σιάρχου] Βερενικί[δης], honored by statue ca. 78 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3899) Φαῖδρος Λυσιάρχου Βερενικίδης, dedicator of statue ca. 78 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3898)

Λυσιάρχης Φαῖδρου Βερενικίδης
exegetes ca. 55 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3513, line 9) Λυσιάρχης, archon in 51/0 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1046, line 25; 1713, line 21)

Χρυσόθεμις Φαῖδρου Βε[ρενικίδου]
honored by statue ca. 55 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3513, line 13) [Χρυσόθεμις Φαῖδρου Βερ]ενικίδου, dedicator of statue ca. 55 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3513, line 2)

Phaidros was born ca. 138 B.C. since he was an ephebe in 119/8 B.C. This information is gained from a new restoration of *I.G.*, II², 1008, line 125; as seen from the restored tracing (Fig. 1), the old restoration [Καλλίθ]εος is impossible.⁸ It appears, therefore, that Phaidros was an Athenian by birth, and that he was less

known. F. O. Bates (*The Five Post-Kleisthenean Tribes*, p. 43) suggested that "some preëxisting deme was re-named, for it seems hardly reasonable to suppose that a new deme was created outright." Neither Bates, however, nor Pritchett (*op. cit.*, p. 30) examined the evidence in order to find members of Berenikidai families, who belong to the period prior to the creation of the deme. One such family may have been that of the herald Eukles; see *Hesperia Index*, p. 61.

The first to draw up a stemma of the family to which Phaidros belonged was J. Kirchner (*P.A.*, no. 7910; he accepted a wrong date for *I.G.*, II², 1939, and a wrong restoration for *I.G.*, II², 1008, line 125); he was followed by P. Roussel who made a few additions and improvements (*B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 347, no. 377; but he retained the wrong restoration for *I.G.*, II², 1008, line 125). J. Sundwall (*Nachträge*, p. 121) accepted Roussel's scheme with one small addition, and Roussel himself, finally, enlarged the stemma in his book *Délos colonie Athénienne*, pp. 103-104.

⁸ One may now restore also line 124 of *I.G.*, II², 1008 to [Πλούταρ]χος Σωσιβίου Θημ[α]κ[εύς]; see *I.G.*, II², 6207, 6208.

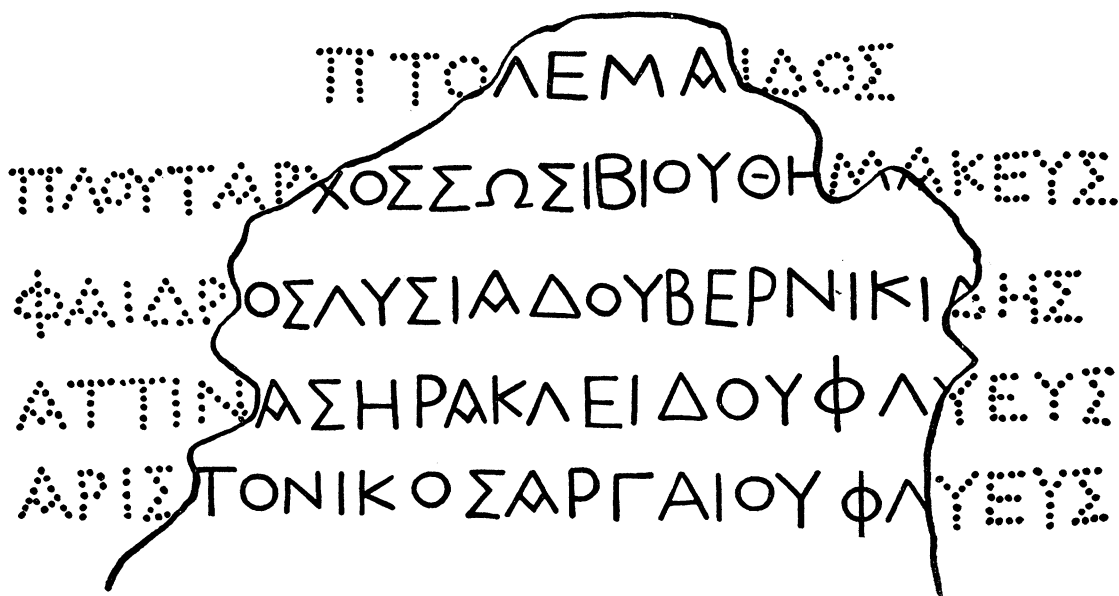


Fig. 1. *I.G.*, II², 1008, lines 123-127.
(tracing from squeeze)

than seventy years of age when he died as head of the Epicurean School at Athens in 70 B.C., being succeeded by Patron.⁹ It is likely that Phaidros stayed in Athens until shortly before 88 B.C. when most pro-Romans left the city in order to escape the new "democratic" regime.¹⁰ At that time, he may have gone to Rome as a teacher of philosophy, and Cicero made his acquaintance there.¹¹ We know that Phaidros was in Athens before he went to Rome, not only from the inscriptions but also from the report of Atticus (Cicero, *De legibus*, I, 53) that Phaidros remembered the visit at Athens of Gellius which must have taken place shortly after 94 B.C.¹² It is reasonable to assume that Phaidros returned to Athens soon after Sulla restored "peace and order." At any rate, Phaidros was active as a teacher of Epicurean philosophy when Cicero came to Athens in 79 B.C.¹³ Cicero probably did not see Phaidros again since the philosopher died in 70 B.C. (see note 9), but Cicero as well as Atticus retained a deep affection for the great teacher. It must have been during these years, while Phaidros was alive and active as head of the Epicurean school, that one of his Roman pupils erected the statue of Phaidros on the Akropolis. What is left of this monument (*I.G.*, II², 3899 = Plate 3) may be restored as follows:

⁹ See Phlegon of Tralles, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 606, frag. 12 = *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, p. 1164, no. 257, frag. 12, §8.

¹⁰ See W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 444-445.

¹¹ *Ad Familiares*, XIII, 1, 2.

¹² See E. Groag, *Röm. Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, p. 8, note 29.

¹³ Cicero, *De finibus*, I, 5, 16.

[Τίτος] Π[ομπών]
[ιος Τ]ίτον υ[ιὸς]
[Φαῖ]δρον Αν[σιά]
[δου] Βερενικί[δην]
[-----]

It is, of course, not certain that Titus Pomponius Atticus was the dedicator of this statue, but it is made likely by the great devotion of the Roman gentleman philosopher for his Athenian teacher.¹⁴ At about the same time a larger monument was erected on the Akropolis of which a considerable part remains. The monument consisted of three statues set up on a large base which was composed of two slabs of marble. The inscriptions on the right slab are almost completely preserved (*I.G.*, II², 3897, lines 1-6 = Plate 3) while only one fragment is left of the inscription on the left slab (*I.G.*, II², 3897, lines 7-9 = Plate 3). Yet the whole inscription can be restored with certainty:

Ὁ δ[ὲ] ἡμος]
[Λεύ]κιον Σωφ[ή]ιον υἱὸν Ἀπ[πίου] υἱὸν
[Ἄρ]ετ[ῆς] ἔνεκ[α] ἀνέθηκεν].
[ὁ δὲ] ἡμος]
5 [Ἀπ[πίου] Σωφ[ή]ιον υἱὸν Ἀπ[πίου] υἱὸν
[Ἄρ]ετ[ῆς] ἔνεκ[α] ἀνέθηκεν].
Λ[ε]ύκιος Σωφ[ή]ιος Ἀπ[πίου] υἱὸς]
Φαῖδρον [Αν]σιά[δ]ου Βε[ρενικίδην]
τὸν αὐτ[οῦ] κα[θ]ηγη[τὴν] ἀνέθηκεν].

The new restoration of line 9 was made possible by the addition of a new fragment containing the letters ΘΗΓΗ and allowing as the only reasonable restoration some form of the noun *καθηγητής*. N. W. DeWitt has repeatedly called our attention to the fact that in the Epicurean school, and originally only there, the teachers were called *καθηγηταί*.¹⁵ To the scant literary evidence available to him may now be added the epigraphical evidence which is by no means plentiful. In addition to *I.G.*, II², 3897 (see above), and the Agora inscription published below, one may mention *I. de Délos*, no. 1801 honoring the *καθηγητής* Dionysios, perhaps the third head of the Epicurean school (*Diog. Laertius*, X, 25). Even more interesting is *I.G.*, II², 3793 honoring the *καθηγητής* Alexander, son of Maro, from Phaleron. One would not hesitate to identify this man with the Epicurean philosopher Alexander mentioned by Plutarch (*Quaest. conviv.*, II, 3, 1), were it not for the fact that another Attic

¹⁴ Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, XIII, 1, 4; see A. H. Byrne, *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁵ *Cl. Ph.*, XXXI, 1936, p. 206; *Cl. J.*, XLII, 1947, p. 197.

inscription honoring apparently the same man (*I.G.*, II², 3819) calls him διδάσκαλος and records that his statue was set up ἄλσει μέσσωι which has been understood as a reference to the Academy. Yet ἄλσος may have been used in the poem for κῆπος and the term διδάσκαλος (which fitted metrically better than καθηγητής) may have become more acceptable to the Epicureans by the time of Plutarch. Finally, one may consider the statue base of C. Sulpicius Galba (*I.G.*, II², 4157) as restored by J. H. Oliver, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 382; the perplexing word in the third line may be restored as καθ[ηγητήν] referring possibly to some philosophic teaching activity of the scholar which has otherwise remained unknown to us; see also *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, p. 149, note 10; *A.J.P.*, LXIX, 1948, p. 436.

The Romans mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 3897 were evidently two brothers Lucius and Appius, sons of Appius Saufeius. It is surprising that their identity has not been recognized before. Lucius Saufeius, son of Appius, is, of course, the Epicurean friend of Cicero and Atticus, mentioned so often in Cicero's correspondence.¹⁶ Lucius' brother Appius is mentioned in one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (VI, 1) written from Laodicea early in 50 B.C. Speaking of his daughter Tullia's suitors, Cicero wrote: Quare adiunges Saufeium nostrum, hominem semper amantem mei, nunc, credo, eo magis, quod debet etiam fratris Appi amorem erga me cum reliqua hereditate crevisse; qui declaravit, quanti me faceret, cum saepe tum in Bursa. From this one may deduce that *Saufeius noster* is Lucius Saufeius, and that Lucius had a brother Appius who had died not long before the letter was written, that is ca. 51 B.C. Appius Saufeius is said to have been particularly fond of Cicero on account of the Bursa affair. It seems reasonable to assume that Bursa was Titus Munatius Plancus Bursa who had been active in the Milo trial as one of the tribunes and who was shortly afterwards, early in 51 B.C., accused by Cicero (*de vi*) and convicted. In order to understand why Appius Saufeius should have been so delighted by Bursa's conviction and subsequent exile, one may make reference to a passage in Asconius (*In Milonianam*, 48-49 Clark) recording the trial and acquittal of one M. Saufeius M. f. qui dux fuerat in expugnanda taberna Bovillis et Clodio occidendo. Saufeius was defended by Cicero and by M. Caelius, and F. Münzer has called attention (*R.E.*, s.v. Saufeius no. 6) to an inscription from Tusculum, Caelius' home town (?) (*C.I.L.*, XIV, 2624) :

Caelia P. f. municipio suo
donum dedit imaginem
L. Saufei
Ap. f. ex se natei.

¹⁶ The evidence has been conveniently assembled by F. Münzer, *R.E.*, s.v. Saufeius no. 5; see also N. W. DeWitt, *loc. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 34-35. Some members of the family did business in Delos; see J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.*, XXXVI, 1912, pp. 74-75 (referring to *I. de Délos*, nos. 1754, lines 2 and 10; 1755, lines 8-9).

This Lucius Saufeius, whose statue was erected in Tusculum, was undoubtedly Cicero's friend and the distinguished Epicurean who wrote on the history of civilization.¹⁷ This is clearly shown by the name of Lucius' father, Appius, a praenomen which occurs in Republican times almost exclusively in the families of the Claudii and Saufeii.¹⁸ If it were possible to change in Asconius' text M. Saufeius M. f. to Ap. Saufeius Ap. f., one could assume that Cicero defended Appius Saufeius and secured his acquittal.

The statue base on the Akropolis (*I.G.*, II², 3897) accordingly supported three statues, one of Lucius Saufeius, erected by the people of Athens, one of Lucius' brother Appius, also erected by the people of Athens, and one of the philosopher Phaidros erected by his pupil Lucius Saufeius. It might be suspected that Appius Saufeius, too, erected a statue of Phaidros, and a substantial fragment of the base of this statue has been found in the Agora Excavations (Plate 3).

1. Inscribed base of Pentelic marble, found on June 1st, 1938, in late wall beneath the church, in Section II. Left side hacked off and reworked. On top, a rectangular cutting: Length, 0.27 m.; width, 0.22 m.; depth, 0.065 m. Front and right faces are smoothly dressed, back is carefully picked with a narrow smooth-dressed band at the top. On the front and right sides a shallow rebate along the bottom.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.46 m.; thickness, 0.44 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. no. I 5485.

[Ἀππίος Σωφῆιος Ἀπ]πίω[υ]

[υῖος Φαῖδρον Λυσιά]δου

[Βερεν]κίδην τὸν ἐαυτοῦ

[καθηγ]ητὴν ταῖν θεαῖν.

The text of this inscription and its lettering agree in every respect with those of *I.G.*, II², 3897, but the Agora monument was evidently set up in the Eleusinion located near the place of the discovery of the stone. The cutting on top of the base shows that it received a pillar, and this means that Appius Saufeius erected a herm of the Epicurean philosopher Phaidros.

The most remarkable aspect of this herm dedication found in the Agora is the fact that it was dedicated to the Eleusinian deities and that it was probably set up in their sanctuary which was located between the Agora and the Akropolis. To erect the statue or herm of an ordinary mortal in the sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddesses would have been unusual, and I have found no other example, but to erect the herm

¹⁷ See F. Münzer, *Rh. Mus.*, LXIX, 1914, pp. 625-629; compare also G. Vlastos, *A.J.P.*, LXVII, 1946, p. 55, note 20. The place of birth of Caelius is discussed by R. G. Austin, *Pro M. Caelio*, pp. 111-112.

¹⁸ It may be suggested, therefore, that the Appius Saufeius mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, VII, 183) was either the father or the brother of Lucius.

of an Epicurean philosopher in a sanctuary and to dedicate this herm to goddesses whose activity and perhaps very existence was questioned by the man thus honored, require some explanation.¹⁹ Yet not only Cicero, but also Atticus was initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries,²⁰ and Phaidros' own son (of whose philosophic beliefs we know nothing) was chosen *πυθόχρηστος ἐξηγητής* and his statue (or herm) and that of his sister Chrysothemis were erected in Eleusis and dedicated to the Eleusinian Goddesses (*I.G.*, II², 3513).²¹ Titus Pomponius Atticus was initiated in the Mysteries (see above, note 20), and his biographer reports that statues of him and of his wife Pilia were erected in the most sacred places.²² It is possible to identify one of these monuments, because lines 1-7 of *I.G.*, II², 3513 (Plate 3) may be restored as follows:

[Χρυσόθεμις Φαίδρου | Βε]ρενικίδου
 [θυγάτηρ Κόιντον Καί|κ]ίλιον Ποῦ
 [πωνιανὸν Ἀττικὸν τὸν | ἄ]κουστήν
 [τοῦ Φαίδρου τοῦ πατρ]|ὸς αὐτῆς
 [τὸν ἑαυτῆς φίλον καὶ ε]|ὕεργέτην
 [Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι ἀνέ]|θηκεν.

The restoration of the name of Atticus as Quintus Caecilius Pomponianus Atticus shows that the document belongs to the period after 58 B.C., when Atticus had been adopted by his uncle who made this provision in his will.²³ Atticus married Pilia in 56 B.C., and if the monument to which *I.G.*, II², 3513 belongs contained also a statue of Pilia, it must belong to the years following 56 B.C.

In 51 B.C., Lysiades was chosen archon of Athens, and after that year he served as member of the Areopagus. It seems likely, therefore, that Lysiades should have been *πυθόχρηστος ἐξηγητής* before he became archon. In that case, *I.G.*, II², 3513 should be dated *ca.* 55 B.C. The term *ἀκουστής* for pupil corresponds exactly to the Latin *auditor* used by Cicero, *De officiis*, I, 26, 90.

The combination of literary and epigraphical evidence has once again produced satisfactory results. Several individuals known only from the writings of Cicero have become better known to us. Phaidros, the Epicurean philosopher, was an Athenian from a very distinguished family; he participated in the life of his city, and was beloved by his students. His son Lysiades well deserved to be put in a position of official responsibility by Marc Antony. He had been chosen as a religious interpreter and later as an archon; when Cicero attacked Antony for putting men like Lysiades

¹⁹ The only specific reference to Epicurus' attitude towards the Eleusinian deities which I was able to find is in Plutarch, *Adv. Coloten*, 22, p. 1119d = H. Usener, *Epicurea*, pp. 259-260, no. 392: cf. C. Jensen, *Ein neuer Brief Epikurs*, pp. 78-83.

²⁰ See P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 138, note 3.

²¹ Line 15 should be restored *Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι ἀν[έθηκεν]*.

²² Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*, 3, 2.

²³ See the address of Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, III, 20.

on the panel of Judges, Lysiades was nearly sixty years of age and must have been a distinguished member of the Areopagus.

Among the Romans with whom we have become better acquainted, one may mention in the first place the two brothers Appius and Lucius Saufeius, sons of Appius Saufeius. They must have played a role in Athens similar to that of Atticus, for the people of Athens erected statues (or herms) of them at public expense. The inscriptions provided us with their full names, and we are thus in a position to combine certain other evidence. Appius Saufeius seems to have been involved in the murder of Clodius and owed his acquittal to Cicero. Yet he died only a year after the trial and left his brother Lucius as his heir. Lucius was more of a philosopher, but his fortune was almost confiscated in 43 B.C. It was his friend Atticus who intervened on his behalf.

Finally, we have now two documents mentioning Titus Pomponius Atticus. One is the base of a herm of Phaidros, Atticus' teacher, the other is the pedestal of a statue of Atticus himself. These identifications give added significance to the Attic inscriptions of the first century before Christ. Renewed study of the documents of this period will undoubtedly produce identifications which will ultimately add to our knowledge of the period.

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CORRIGENDA

Hesperia, XVII, 1948, Number 3:

Page 181, note 67, and Plate LXI, 2 for T2455, 2437, 2436, 2339, 2337, 2427 read T2436, 2437, 2455, 2427, 2337, 2339.

Page 182, note 74, and Plate LXII, 2 for T2376 read T2367.

Page 157, Fig. 4 for C = B 780 read C = B 782 and for D = B 782 read D = B 780; and on Plate XXXIX, 3 for B 780 read B 782.

Plate XLIII, 1 for L 4370, L 4194, L 4195 read L 4195, L 4194, L 4370.

Plate XLVI, 3 for L 4355 read L 4335.



C. EDSON: THE TOMB OF OLYMPIAS



I. G., II², 3899



I. G., II², 3897, 1-3



I. G., II², 3897, 4-6



I. G., II², 3897, 7-9



Agora I 5485



I. G., II², 3513, 1-7

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