

A FAMILY OF MARATHON AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN ATHENS OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

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TWO STATUE BASES FROM THE EXCAVATIONS in the Athenian Agora cite members of a family of Marathon of the first century before Christ which used the names Zenon and Pammenes regularly.¹ Previous attempts to sketch the stemma of the family have not been completely satisfactory. J. Sundwall² in his basic study confused the various branches of the family. A number of more recent works by A. Wilhelm, B. D. Meritt, and J. H. Oliver³ have added new material or re-edited or improved the texts which are already known. Although the family fills the criteria described by Christian Habicht (178–179) for membership among “Führende Familien,” its growth to elite status and its rise through lesser elites into the governing elite⁴ can be documented. Before the stemma of the family and a description of its

Because the following works are cited more than once in the text, full references are given below, and shortened citations will be used subsequently: K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Philadelphia 1974, TAPS 64.3); W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911, reprinted New York 1969); R. S. Fisher, *From Polis to Province: An Analysis of the Athenian Governing Class from 167/6 B.C. to A.D. 13/4* (diss., McMaster University, Hamilton 1986); D. J. Geagan, “Greek Inscriptions from The Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 155–172; C. Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit* (Göttingen 1982, Hypomnemata 73); C. Mossé, *Athens in Decline, 404–86 B.C.* (London 1973); J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore 1950); J. H. Oliver, *The Civic Tradition and Roman Athens* (Baltimore 1983); P. Roussel, *Délos colonie Athénienne* (Paris 1916, BEFAR 111) 114–118; S. V. Tracy, *I.G. II² 2336: Contributors of First Fruits for the Pythais* (Meisenheim am Glan 1982, Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 139).

Prof. Christian Habicht has offered a number of helpful comments which have improved this text; the author is responsible for any flaws which remain.

¹B. D. Meritt, “Greek Inscriptions,” *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 233–283, at 255, no. 37 and “Greek Inscriptions,” *Hesperia* 30 (1961) 205–295, at 247–248, no. 45. This study arises from the preparation of these bases for inclusion in *The Athenian Agora* 18. *Inscriptions: Dedicatory Monuments and Correspondence with Roman Officials*. Continuing work on the project has been possible because of the support of the Canada Council (1975), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (1979–80, 1985–88). The discussion is influenced by ancillary quantitative analysis of Athenian dedicatory monuments, supported also by the last of these grants. Tracy’s important monograph and Fisher’s dissertation have influenced the interpretation which is advanced here.

²J. Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica* (Helsinki 1910) 85 for the stemma.

³A. Wilhelm, “Zu griechischen Inschriften,” *AnzWien* 61 (1924) 118–127; B. D. Meritt, “Greek Inscriptions,” *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 53–96, at 86–95; Oliver, *Athenian Expounders* 44, 75, 92, and 152–153, nos. I29 and I30.

⁴V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society* (London 1935, Eng. tr. of *Trattato di sociologia generale* [Florence 1915–19]) 3.1423–24, 1429–30, distinguished the governing elite from

rise are presented, however, a brief sketch of the historical circumstances surrounding its rise is needed.

The middle of the second century before Christ and a point in the reign of the emperor Augustus delimit the beginning and end of the period of the family's prominence. This was a turbulent period for Athens. It began with the Second Macedonian War and ended with the Roman civil wars. In 200 B.C. Athens had become an ally of Pergamon, Rhodes, and Rome.⁵ A group of men who were sympathetic to Rome and Roman political concepts rose to dominance. W. S. Ferguson characterized the period with the phrase "Tory democracy." In 166 B.C. an Athenian cleruchy was settled on Delos. These cleruchs prospered and in shortly over a generation their wealth was reflected back in Athens. In preserved documentation institutions symbolic of democracy tended to give way to those resembling Roman oligarchy.⁶ Mossé saw this as a gradual process. According to Ferguson, however, in 103/2 B.C. a narrow oligarchy of businessmen with close ties to Rome engineered a revolution which replaced democracy. Both Ernst Badian⁷ and Tracy (169–174) have rejected the existence of this revolution on the basis of continuity of institutions and of the prominence of various families. The latter points to the numbers of preserved names of office-holders and to indications of the continued operation of "sortition, tribal rotation, the limitation on repeated tenure of Archonships, the prohibition against simultaneous office holding" (171) as evidence of the continued normal operation of the constitutional process. The regularity was shattered with the rise of Mithridates of Pontos. At Athens this was accompanied by irregularities in the patterns of office-holding, the Athenian declaration for Mithridates, and finally the crushing siege and sack of the city by Sulla. Mossé (147–151) interpreted the support for Mithridates as a revolutionary movement against the pro-Roman oligarchy which led to a brief restoration of democracy before it was crushed by Sulla. Tracy⁸ on the other hand sees a harmonious Athenian citizenry driven into Mithridates' camp after an oppressive Roman hand had forced it to accept the repeated archonships of Medeios to maintain stability.

the "military, religious, and commercial aristocracies and plutocracies." See also T. B. Bottomore, *Elites and Society* (Harmondsworth 1966) 7–10 and Fisher 5–8.

⁵Ferguson 268–277; Mossé 138. For the date see Habicht 142–150.

⁶Ferguson 428–429, Mossé 142–143. For the transformation of the Areopagus see now D. J. Geagan, "Ordo Areopagitarum Atheniensium," in D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor (eds.), *Φόρος: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt* (Locust Valley, N.Y. 1974) 51–56, although his date (on 56) for the beginning of the process should probably be earlier; see Tracy 1168–72.

⁷E. Badian, "Rome, Athens and Mithridates," *AJAH* 1 (1979) 105–128, especially 105–106.

⁸Tracy 179–180. See also the comments of D. J. Geagan, *JHS* 103 (1983) 205.

In the years following Sulla's departure the Roman civil wars were fought out militarily in Greece and it would be naive to expect that the Athenians, individually or collectively, remained free of alliance with one camp or another,⁹ just as it would seem naive to expect unity in political loyalties among the elites which dominated Athens in the period leading up to the invasion by Sulla.¹⁰

As Badian noted, the history of the period must be written from epigraphical and numismatic evidence. Both bring their own problems. Coins are the result of a decision to strike them and to issue them. The chronology of issues in the years before Sulla appears now to be relatively secure. The sequence for the years following Sulla appears secure, but there is no guarantee of regular annual issues.¹¹ Epigraphic evidence is not random, but exists as the result of a conscious choice to inscribe and display particular documents or types of document.¹² I believe that the choice is influenced by political ideology.

The period between the acquisition of Delos in 166 B.C. and Sulla's invasion of Athens in 86 B.C. is marked by its own peculiar types of epigraphic documentation. It is particularly striking for the variety of catalogues of names, all unique to this era. The Athenian elites recorded the names of their daughters who wove the peplos presented to Athena at the Panathenaia on two occasions,¹³ and who served as *kanephoroi* in the great processions of the Pythais to Delphi. The names of their sons are recorded in ephebic decrees and catalogues which occur with the greatest frequency and elaboration of any period before Roman imperial times.¹⁴ Within the same period these same young men are catalogued among the victors in the

⁹On such alliances see D. J. Geagan, "Roman Athens: Some Aspects of Life and Culture I. 86 B.C.–A.D. 267," *ANRW* II 7.1 (1979) 375–377, nos. V and VI.

¹⁰Pareto's concept of elite circulation (*The Rise and Fall of the Elites* [Eng. edn., Totowa, N.J. 1968] 36), which presumes the inevitability of elite domination, describes a process in which rising elites champion the cause of the mass of the population until they reach actual power.

¹¹M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, (New York 1961, Numismatic Studies 10) 578. The chronology proposed by D. M. Lewis, *CR* ns 12 (1962) 290–292, is accepted here. For a list of pertinent references see J. H. Kroll, "Two Hoards of First-Century B.C. Athenian Bronze Coins," *ArchDelt* 1972, 86–120, at 89. The dates given below are the earliest possible for each issue on the presumption of regular annual issues. If the coins were issued at irregular intervals, later dates are possible.

¹²See the observations of R. MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire," *AJP* 103 (1982) 233–246 and M. I. Finley, *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (London 1985, New York 1986) 37–46.

¹³*IG* II² 1036 [SEG 28, 90] of 108/7 B.C. and 1034 [S. V. Tracy, *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1990) 217–219] of 103/2.

¹⁴C. Pelekidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris 1962) 183–209.

Greater Theseia,¹⁵ and as participants in the processions of the Pythaīds to Delphi. The period is particularly rich in the number of preserved catalogues of boards of religious functionaries.¹⁶ The catalogues of the four great Pythaīdes sent to Delphi at irregular intervals during the later second and early first centuries B.C. have no equivalents, and they appear to document a unique series of events. Particularly important is the great list of subscribers to the last of these Delphic Pythaīds, which has been placed in its proper frame of reference by Tracy's important edition and analysis. Because of the massive documentation from these catalogues of names Tracy's observation may well be correct that this may be the best documented period of Athenian history for the number of preserved names (173 and note 11). Numerous other documents from Delos,¹⁷ Delphi, and Athens supplement the documentation. During this same period the most characteristic of Athenian catalogues of names, those of the annual boards of *prytaneis*, are noticeable for their paucity. This is a sharp contrast to the opening decade of the second century, when prytany documents peak in numbers far above those of any other period in Athenian history. But their frequency falls off sharply until the 160s, after which they almost vanish, except for a minor flurry around 120. Habicht (179) has noted that members of the five "Führende Familien" were "in allgemeinen nicht darauf erpicht, als einer unter 500 Ratsherren . . . zu dienen," although almost invariably they served as members of the college of archons, most notably as eponymous, and thereby gained entry to the Council of the Areopagus.

The family under study used the names Zenon or Pammenes for males in the principal line of descent. Sons might be homonymous with their father or their grandfather.¹⁸ This family may be related to a number of others which include either Zenon or Pammenes as either name or patronymic

¹⁵Founded probably upon the return to Athens of Lemnos, Imbros, Delos, and Skyros and first celebrated probably in 164/5 B.C. according to G. R. Bugh, "The Theseia in Late Hellenistic Athens," *ZPE* 83 (1990) 20–37.

¹⁶*JG II*² 1937–43, covering the period from 157/6 to ca 100 B.C.

¹⁷E.g., A. Stewart, *Attika: Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (London 1979, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Supplementary Paper 14) 65–69, has documented the acceleration in the number of portrait statues on Delos during this period and the sharp stylistic division between the Delian resident sculptors and Athenian sculptors.

¹⁸Two patterns of name-giving prevailed at Athens. Most frequently the first son would be named for the paternal grandfather, and the second son for the father. Some families however named the first son after the father and the second son after the paternal grandfather. For a parallel see J. Pouilloux, "Glaucón, fils d'Étéoclès, d'Athènes," in J. Bingen et al. (eds.), *Le Monde grec: Pensée, littérature, histoire, documents. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels 1975) 377–378. In at least one case the family of Marathon can be shown to have named the elder son after the father, and in the appended schematic representation of the stemma, this practise is assumed as a regular practise.

in the onomastic formulae of their members, but never as both. Presumably many of these families are related.¹⁹ The name Zenon is found also in other demes, and the combinations of names and patronymics suggest the likelihood of common ancestry, although the autonomy of each family appears to have been established before the beginning of the first century. For the sake of clarity relationships outside of the principal male line will not be examined, unless there is good evidence of the relationship. This is particularly important in the case of documents from Delphi where demotics are missing. Protection of the patriarchal onomastic formula (i.e., a particular combination of name, patronymic and demotic) is assumed,²⁰ as well as avoidance of its duplication within a family.²¹ When the demotic is missing, sequential listing in a catalogue provides additional evidence of fraternal relationships.²² Sometimes the patronymic is shared in catalogues of this sort.

The schematised stemma (34–35) offers estimated dates of birth. These are derived in three ways. The most secure is based upon the date of ephebic service. Traditionally this began when a young man was reckoned to be eighteen years old (*Ath. Pol.* 42.1), presumably during his eighteenth year. There is evidence, however, that in the first century wealthy families were able to advance the year of ephebic service,²³ particularly when circumstances may have made this desirable. Such circumstances might include the occurrence of a cyclical festival, like the Pythaïs to Delphi, when participation as an ephebe would enhance the status of a participant and of

¹⁹Two families which use the name Zenon are found among the [*paides*] *pythaïstai* of 106 B.C. (*FdD* 3.2 pp. 22–23, no. 15): Zenon and Diokles, sons of Dionysios (II, lines 11–12); Zenon (II) and Pammenes (I), sons of Zenon (I, lines 5–6); in each case the patronymic is shared between the members named in successive lines. The Pythaïs of the year of the archon Argeios (97 B.C.) records three families in which at least one of the elements appears among the *pythaïstai paides* (*FdD* 3.2 p. 23, no. 17): Pammenes (I) and Ammonios, the sons of Zenon (I, lines 11–12); Pammenes, Zenion, and Herodotos, the sons of Demetrios (lines 13–15); Zenon and Diokles, sons of Dionysios (lines 16–17); probably also [Pamm]enes, son of Diotimos; the sons of Dionysios share a patronymic while the sons of Zenon and Demetrios are listed in consecutive lines with the patronymic repeated for each.

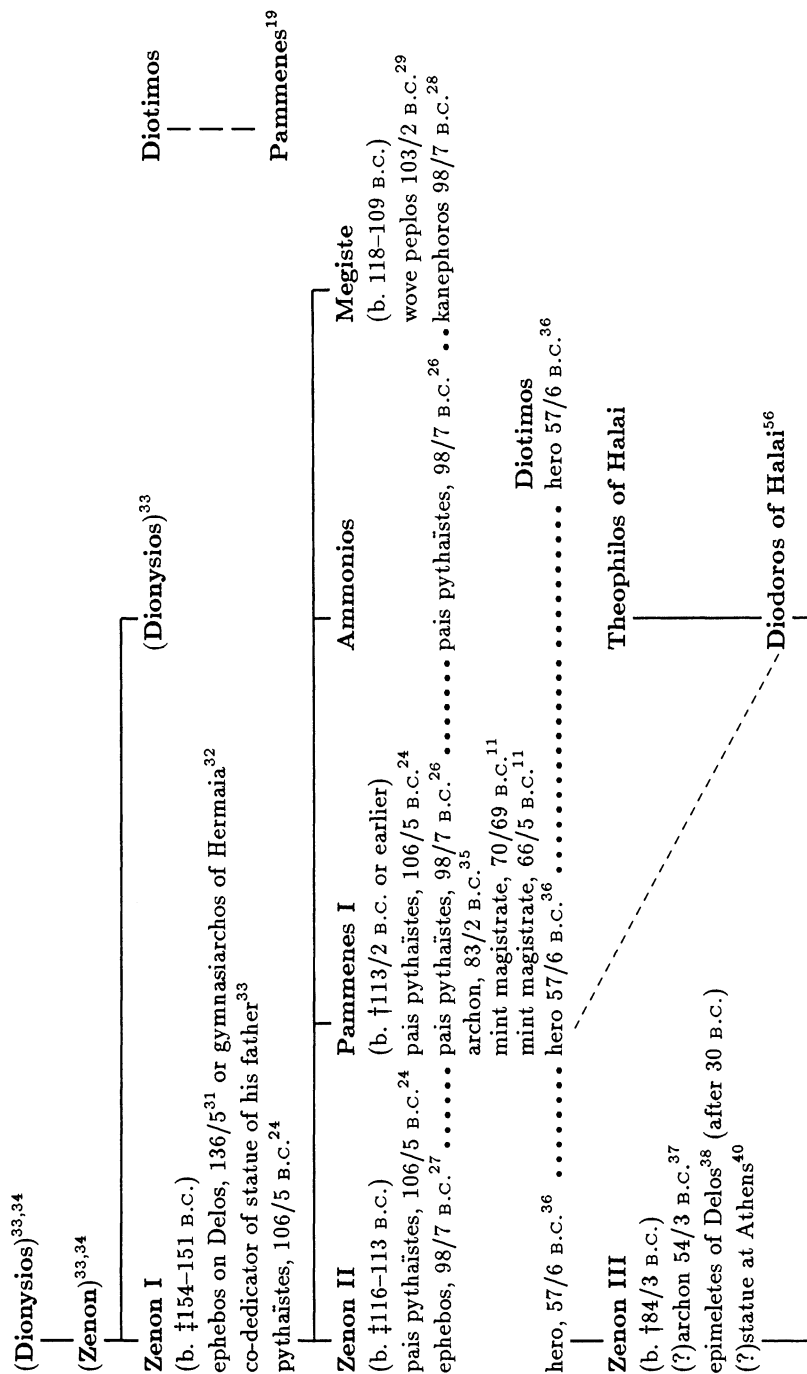
²⁰The first oration against Boiotos (39) in the Demosthenic corpus illustrates the importance of maintaining a patriarchal name.

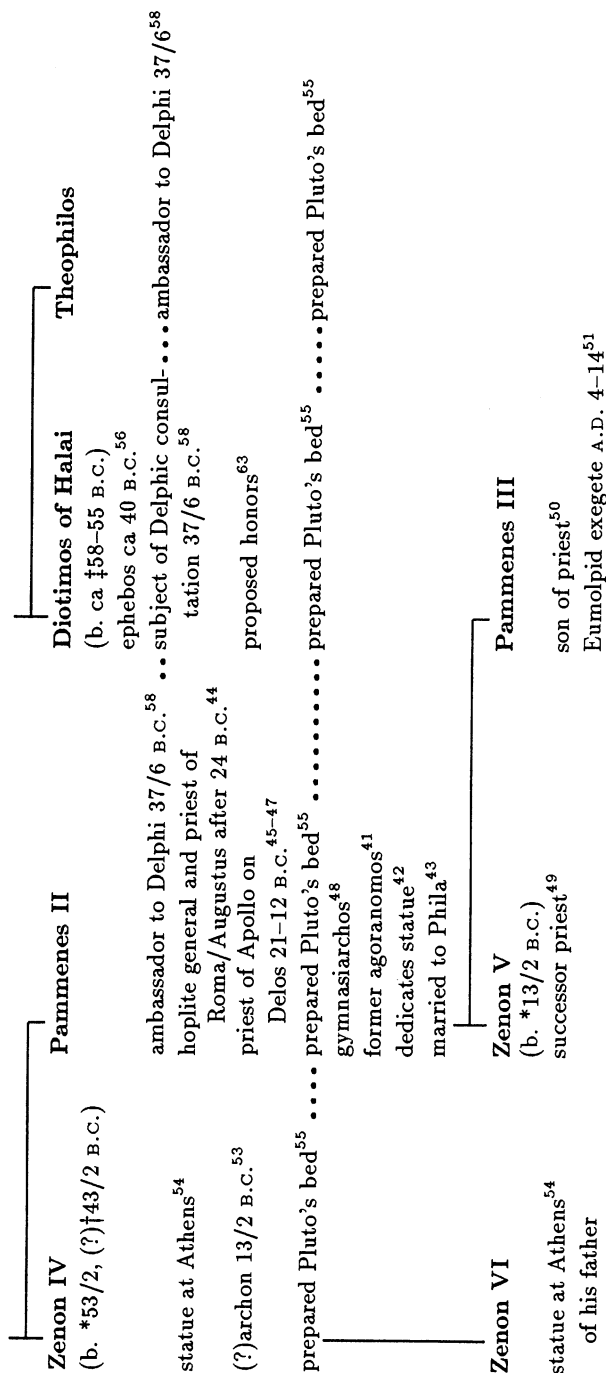
²¹Illustrated by the use of *neoteror* or *presbyteror* or by eponyms introduced by *ὁ* καὶ in the Roman period. The stemmata illustrated in Habicht 178–197 are instructive because at least one generation intervenes between a repetition of a name. If the interval between generations averages 30 years, then there is an average 60-year gap between the eligibility of homonymous individuals for equivalent office.

²²On this habit see E. Kapetanopoulos, "Relatives among Athenian Prytaneis," *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἡ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς Ἐπιγραφικῆς*, B' (Athens 1987) 305–307.

²³O. W. Reinmuth, "The Ephebate and Citizenship in Attica," *TAPA* 79 (1948) 211–231, at 221–222.

Stemma of the Zenon-Pammenes Family of Marathon During the First Century B.C.





* Date computed on the basis of 30 years to the generation.

† Date computed from date of archonship presumed at age 30.

‡ Date computed from ephebic service in fifteenth-eighteenth year

.. Linkages by documentation.

-- Natural parentage of an adopted person.

Superscript numbers indicate the footnote which contains documentation.

his family. Archonships are the second indicator of age. A man became eligible for one of the archonships at the age of thirty and an ambitious family would wish to advance its members, for this office brought membership in the prestigious council of the Areopagus. Because mechanisms continued to function which assured distribution of the archonships among the tribes (Tracy 134–135; Fisher 67), access to the most senior, and therefore the most prestigious, archonship, that of the eponymous, may have required some delay on occasion. The final, and least secure, way is the traditional rule of thirty years to the generation. In this case it will be calculated from probable date of birth to probable date of birth of the next generation.

In the year of Agathokles' archonship (106/5 B.C.) the great Pythais to Delphi included Zenon and Pammenes, sons of Zenon, as *paides pythaistai*.²⁴ Presumably Zenon, son of Zenon, named in the same document (column I, line 14) is their father. The father can be identified as Zenon I and the sons as Zenon II and Pammenes I. Another Pythais was despatched eight years later in the archonship of Argeios (98/7 B.C.).²⁵ Two sons of Zenon are listed among the *paides pythaistai*, Pammenes and Ammonios.²⁶ Among the *epheboi* of that year appears the name of Zenon, son of Zenon.²⁷ A fourth child, Megiste, daughter probably of the same Zenon, served as *kanephoros*.²⁸ Megiste had been one of the maidens who assisted in the weaving of Athena's peplos at Athens five years earlier.²⁹ This group of documents offers not only dates, but some secure family links among siblings and the passage of the eldest from one age group into another, i.e., from childhood into the *ephebeia*.

If we can assume that the basket-bearer was a maiden "after the age of puberty, but before marriage,"³⁰ Megiste may be presumed to have reached the age of 12 at some point between the *pythaïdes*. She would have been born then between 118/7 B.C. and 109/8. Zeno's ephebic service suggests for his birth a date between 116 and 113 B.C. Pammenes then would have been born after a date in the period 115–113 (see below for his archonship, which suggests 113/2 or earlier) and Ammonios even later, for he was too young to participate in the earlier of the two Pythaidēs.

²⁴FdD 3.2 pp. 22–23, no. 15, lines 5–6. The editor G. Colin identifies the individuals catalogued as *pythaistai* and the *pythaistai* of the third column as *paides*.

²⁵See Tracy 146–147 for the date.

²⁶FdD 3.2 p. 23, no. 17, lines 11–12.

²⁷FdD 3.2 p. 33, no. 26, line II, 1 II, 16.

²⁸FdD 3.2 p. 38, line II, 5.

²⁹IG II² 1034, line II, 5, from the archonship of [Theok]les (103/2 B.C.).

³⁰B. M. Lavelle, "The Nature of Hipparchos' Insult to Harmodios," *AJP* 107 (1986) 313–331; see 326 for the *kanephoroi* of Athena. I am assuming that marriage before the age of 20 would limit most women to a single opportunity to serve. There is no evidence of her service in other Pythaidēs.

Zenon (I), the father of the participants in the Pythais, may be either the Delian ephebe of the archonship of Timarchides (136/5 B.C.)³¹ or the gymnasiarch in the archonship of Xenon (133/2) of the Hermaia whom his fellow *paides* honored.³² It is difficult to reconcile a place among the *paides* with ephebic service three years earlier, unless institutions on Delos were quite different from those at Athens. An undated statue base from Delos³³ records that [Di]onysios and Z[enon], sons of [Z]enon, Athenians, dedicated to Apollo a statue of their father Zenon, son of D[ionysios],³⁴ the Athenian. Dionysios is a name which survives in a collateral branch of the family (see above, note 19). If Zenon the dedicator had been born in the later 150s, as his ephebic service would indicate, his father, the man represented by the statue, would have been of an age to migrate to the island soon after it was given to Athens in 167/6 and the cleruchy established. The name Pammenes must have come into the family through marriage probably by Zenon the son and dedicator, that is Zenon (I). The introduction of the name Pammenes symbolizes the establishment of a new and independent branch of the family. Zenon's brother Dionysios is named first on the statue base and presumably is the elder. He assumes the name of the grandfather, following the tradition of alternating names which was inherited from his father.

From around 130 B.C. there is increasing evidence that the Athenian families which had settled on Delos were renewing their involvement in the mother city (Fisher 92). This would be the context of the participation in the two great Delphic Pythian processions of Zenon and his sons and daughter. The family, however, was not of a status or was not wealthy enough to be listed among the contributors to the last great procession. Nor does there seem to be evidence of political office among members of the generations which came before those of the participants in the Pythaïdes. The generation which participated would have come of age for major office soon after the departure of Sulla. The second son, Pammenes (I), became archon very soon after he became eligible. The Sullan purge probably had its effect upon the pool of potential office-holders. The eldest son Zenon (II) apparently did not become involved in office-holding. He may not have survived or possibly he tended family business on Delos.

³¹ *IDélos* 1922.

³² *IDélos* 1949

³³ *IDélos* 1982.

³⁴ Habicht has noted the possible reading by J. Bousquet, "Inscriptions de Delphes," *BCH* 66-67 (1942-43) 127-129, no. B, of the name of Ζῆ[νων Διονυσίου Μαραθώνιος] on a new fragment of a catalogue of ambassadors from the Marathonian tetrapolis (*FdD* 3.2, no. 21). A series of these catalogues is datable to the period before Delos was given to Athens.

Pammenes (I) has left the greatest number of traces in the preserved documentation. He is probably the archon of 83/2.³⁵ He would have been a little over 30 years old. He may also be identified with the mint magistrate (see above, note 11) of 70/69 (or later) and of 66/5 (or later), when he would have been in his forties. Both Zenon (II) and Pammenes (I) must have died before the year 57/6 B.C., for in that year, along with Diotimos, they were honored in a hero cult.³⁶ The son of Diotimos of Marathon presided over the cult. Although we do not know certainly when Pammenes (I) died, we can estimate that he cannot have survived his 56th or 57th year by much. The inclusion of the three in the hero cult suggests the possibility that they died simultaneously and under unusual circumstances.

A man named Zenon was eponymous archon at Athens in 54/3 B.C.³⁷ The name is common at Athens and he need not have been a member of this family at all. If he is to be identified as a member, he would have been born around 84/3, just about thirty years after the proposed births of Zenon II and Pammenes I, or earlier. In this case he would be possibly Zenon (III) or possibly a descendant. Unfortunately the formula for eponymous dating in this period does not admit a patronymic or demotic. This is the last datable reference to possible political involvement of the family for the duration of the Roman civil wars.

It was the advent of Octavian (or Augustus) which brought the family back into prominence, as Oliver has shown (*Athenian Expounders* 92). Zenon III came to prominence as an *epimeletes* of Delos who was honored with a statue by the Romans, Athenians, and other Greeks who lived on the island of Delos and by the traders and shipowners who sailed there.³⁸ This *epimeleia* probably belongs to the period after Aktion.³⁹ This statue was set up on Delos. A base has been found also at Athens for a statue of Zenon son of Zenon of Marathon the elder,⁴⁰ and it may also refer to Zenon III, although the lettering probably requires that it be associated with a later generation.

Zenon IV and Pammenes II, the two sons of Zenon III, would have reached their proper age for office under Augustus. A single catalogue contains the names of both (see below, note 55), but the lines in which they are named are separated. Pammenes II, however, is named first, and, despite the violation of the family's tradition of namegiving, he will be presumed

³⁵S. Dow, "Archons of the Period after Sulla," *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (Baltimore 1949, *Hesperia* Supp. 8) 116-125, no. 1.9; J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte* (Paris 1954, BEFAR 179) 139-141, no. 24.6.

³⁶IG II² 1339, in the archonship of Diokles.

³⁷Dow (above, n. 35) lines 67 and 139; IG II² 1713.

³⁸IDelos 1663.

³⁹For a list of *epimeletai* of this period see Roussel 114-118.

⁴⁰Meritt *Hesperia* 23 (above, n. 1). See also below, n. 52.

the elder son. The preserved testimony certainly attests the more notable career for him. At the end of his term as *agoranomos* he, like his father, was honored by οἱ ἔμποροι.⁴¹ Pammenes is probably the dedicator of a statue of the son of Metrodoros of Sypalettos⁴² and the husband to Phyla, daughter of Menneas of Phlya.⁴³ At some time after 27 B.C. the small temple of Roma and Augustus on the Athenian Acropolis was dedicated when the hoplite general Pammenes, son of Zenon, of Marathon was priest of the goddess Roma and Augustus Saviour on the Acropolis.⁴⁴ Both of these last offices are evidence of imperial sponsorship.

Like Zenon III, Pammenes maintained close ties with the island of Delos. A great number of documents cite him for eponymity as lifelong priest of Apollo ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἐρυσιχθονιδῶν. One group of statues of members of the imperial house can be dated to between 21 and 12 B.C. and possibly were set up in 17 B.C.⁴⁵ Two others are datable to other periods during the reign of Augustus,⁴⁶ while most of the remainder will not bear precise dating.⁴⁷ Pammenes II also served as *gymnasiarchos*⁴⁸ on Delos for a torch race. If Pammenes II belongs to the generation following that of Zenon III, the public career of the former could be expected to begin about 30 years after the archonship of the former, or around 24/3 B.C. There can be little doubt that he belonged among the Augustan enthusiasts at Athens. His father may have preceded him. Both attained offices of real power, the *epimeleia* of Delos and the hoplite generalship. On the other hand little is heard of his brother Zenon IV, except for the honorific office of archon (see below).

Pammenes II had two attested sons, Zenon V and Pammenes III. The former actually succeeded to his father's priesthood.⁴⁹ The latter was honored by the Athenians resident on the island.⁵⁰ Although the patronymic

⁴¹ IG II² 3493. Around the same time the same merchants also honored Antipatros, son of Antipatros, of Phlya when he was hoplite general for the seventh time (*Hesperia* 17 [1948] 41, no. 29) for his foresight for the protection and safety of the traders. Antipatros also rose to prominence early in the reign of Augustus.

⁴² Meritt *Hesperia* 30 (above n. 1).

⁴³ IG II² 7712.

⁴⁴ IG II² 3173.

⁴⁵ *IDélos* 1592, honoring Julia, daughter of Caesar Augustus and wife of Marcus Agrippa; 1593, honoring M. Agrippa; 1594, honoring either Caius or Lucius Caesar. Oliver, *Athenian Expounders* 92, has proposed that the family was client to Agrippa.

⁴⁶ *IDélos* 1605 which honors L. Aemilius Paullus, consul of A.D. 1, who married Julia in 4 B.C. and who died as a result of conspiring against Augustus in A.D. 13 or 14 (E. Groag, *PIR*² A 91); 1626, honoring one of the L. Calpurnii Pisones (E. Groag, *PIR*² C 289, 290).

⁴⁷ *IDélos* 2515–2519; Meritt (above, n. 3) 91–93.

⁴⁸ *IDélos* 1956.

⁴⁹ *IDélos* 1624bis, 1637; Meritt (above, n. 3) 91–93.

⁵⁰ *IDélos* 1625.

is restored, he is identified as the son of the priest. He is probably also identical with the *exegetes* ἐξ Ἑυμολπιδῶν who was honored with three statues at Eleusis.⁵¹ One of these can be dated within the period A.D. 4–14 by a reference to Tiberius and another roughly to the reign of Augustus by the spelling Ἀρήου.⁵² A great-grandson of Zenon II might be expected to have been born around 25 B.C. These dates would not seem to be out of line.

Zenon IV, the less illustrious brother of Pammenes II, is recalled by two circumstances. If the archon of 13/2 B.C. is a member of the family, he would probably be Zenon IV.⁵³ The name Zenon is common at Athens, and the archon lists cite neither demotic nor patronymic. The interval since the possible archonship of his father (see above) is forty years. Either he could have been born relatively late to his father or he would have attained the archonship only at a more advanced age than his predecessors. The latter does not seem strange in a family where the succession of names runs through sons named Zenon, but, except for Zenon III, the political achievers were named Pammenes. A single statue base⁵⁴ is significant in terms of the family customs. It bore a bronze statue of Zenon son of Zenon of Marathon the elder. The lettering, done by a slightly uncertain hand, seems more appropriate to the first century after Christ. Of the members of the family who have been identified, Zenon IV seems the most appropriate by reason of age to be so honored. The reference to him as the elder assures us that he in turn fathered a son named Zenon VI and that he survived into his son's majority. Thus the reign of Augustus and presumably imperial patronage marks the apogee of the political prominence of the family.

Two final documents mark out clearly the family's ultimate position among the Athenian religious elite. The first⁵⁵ is one of several catalogues of distinguished men "selected by the hierophant to make up Pluto's couch and decorate the table according to the oracle of the god." Two members of the family were named, Pammenes, son of Zenon, of Marathon (line 6) and Zenon, son of Zenon, of Marathon (line 11). In all probability these were Pammenes II and Zenon IV. The catalogue included also Diotimos, son of Diodoros, of Halai (line 3) and Theophilos, son of Diodoros, of Halai (line 4). These can only be the sons of Diodoros III in Geagan's stemma of the family (158–161). All four men would have been

⁵¹Oliver, *Athenian Expounders* 152–153, nos. I29–I31 (= *IG II²* 3523–3525); Clinton 92, *exegetes* no. 5.

⁵²L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 1. *Phonology* (Berlin 1980) 202–205.

⁵³*IG II²* 1713, line 29; 1963.

⁵⁴Meritt, *Hesperia* 23 (above, n. 1)

⁵⁵*IG II²* 2464. See Clinton 20 and n. 65.

born during the fifties of the first century before Christ. But the relationship is closer than that. The grave marker⁵⁶ of Diodoros III reveals that he was adopted into the family of Halai, and that his natural father was Pammenes of Marathon. Diodoros' son Diotimos served his *ephebeia* around 40 B.C.⁵⁷ His birth therefore would have occurred around 58 B.C. and, if the rule of 30 years to the generation is applied, his father Diodoros would have been born around 88 B.C. An additional 30 years for Diodoros' father would come to 118 B.C. This is not out of line with the projected age of Pammenes I.

Diotimos appears to be the elder son of Diodoros III, for he is better attested in surviving documentation than his step-brother Theophilos. Theophilos, however, bears his paternal grandfather's name, which would normally have been the right of the elder son in the family of Halai. Diotimos is not derived from among the names customary in the family of Halai. Among the documents reviewed above in preparing this history of the family from Marathon the name Diotimos already has been encountered. [Pamm]enes, son of Diotimos was included among the *paides pythaistai* of 97 B.C. (*FdD* 3.2 p. 23, no. 17, line 20). Pammenes, [Zenon], and Diotimos were cultivated as heroes in 57/6, and the son of Diotimos of Marathon presided over the cult.

The second document records an embassy to Delphi during the archonship of Theopeithes (37/6 B.C.).⁵⁸ Two ambassadors were sent by the *genos* of the Gephyraioi to renew the ancient *philia* and to sacrifice and pose as a question to the oracle καθώς ἐστιν τῷ γένει πάτριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βουζύγον καὶ Ἱερῶς Διὸς ἐμ Παλλαδίῳ Διοτ[ίμου] τοῦ Διοδώρου Ἀλαιοῦς.⁵⁹ Unfortunately the response of the oracle is not preserved, but the names of the two ambassadors are. They were [Θέοφιλος] Διοδώρου Ἀλαιοῦς [καὶ] Παμμένης Ζήνωνος Μα[ραθώνιος],⁶⁰ They represent both of the families who were party to the adoption. Theophilos of Halai is probably Diotimos' brother, unless he is his adoptive grandfather.⁶¹ Pammenes II son of Zenon of Marathon would be of the same generation and of about the same age as Diotimos and Theophilos. He would be the other member of the delegation, unless the ambassador represents a hitherto unattested generation within the family. Diotimos had been *ephebos* around 40 B.C. The embassy therefore occurred at about the time he came of

⁵⁶ *IG* II² 5477.

⁵⁷ *IG* II² 1961, line 3.

⁵⁸ Most recently reproduced and commented upon by Oliver, *Civic Tradition* 10-13.

⁵⁹ Lines 10-12 and 18-19, composite text.

⁶⁰ Lines 7-8 and 19-21, composite text.

⁶¹ At this point the generations of the family of Halai are younger than the corresponding generations of the family of Marathon.

age. Oliver has considered primary in the embassy's mission the renewal of regular consultation of the oracle (*Civic Tradition* 12). It may be equally likely that a question had arisen about the legitimacy of Diotimos' hereditary priesthood, possibly because his father's adoption had been considered an impediment. Renewal of traditional friendship may have been a device to obtain for a vital question accelerated access to the oracle.⁶²

This family has been used as evidence that membership in more than one *genos* was possible. Epigraphical records associate it with several. Pammenes II, and his son Zenon V held a priesthood belonging to the Erysichthonidai on Delos. Pammenes III was an *exegetes* from among the Eumolpidai. Diotimos, the son of a member, but adopted into another family, held a priesthood associated with the Bouzygai. The Eleusinian *gene* were the most prestigious at Athens, and the Eumolpids outranked the Kerykids. The members of the generation of Zenon IV, Pammenes II, and Diotimos of Halai had reached a level of prestige where they were chosen by the hierophant to strew the bed for Pluto. Although membership in the *genos* may not have been a prerequisite, the selection certainly indicates close relations with an Eleusinian family. Possibly Pammenes II married into such a family, for one of his sons inherited a priestly office, while the other succeeded to the father's Erysichthonid priesthood. Diotimos of Halai, for his part, not only belonged to the committee of twenty-four men which the *genos* of the Kerykes established to present the case to the *demos* to honor the *dadouchos* Themistokles, but he actually spoke the proposal.⁶³ The family into which Diotimos' father had been adopted could boast Eleusinian associations over several generations (Geagan 158-168), but never to the extent of holding a major priesthood. Like the Marathonian family of Zeno-Pammenes they were involved in the Pythaïdes to Delphi, although not as contributors to the final Pythaïs.

The family certainly belonged to a religious elite. Some members served as *epheboi*, but the family did not belong to the elite which dominated the ephebic institutions.⁶⁴ Several members served archonships and can be said to have participated in the political elite; one of these, Pammenes I,

⁶²This same argument was advanced in the discussion of the family of Halai. See Geagan 160, although the ambassadors were then identified as the natural and adoptive grandfathers of Diodoros.

⁶³Clinton 50-52, lines 7 and 20.

⁶⁴Fisher (5-8) identified five categories of elite at Athens in the three centuries before Christ: a political elite, which included a small governing oligarchy, a religious elite, a liturgical elite, a cultural-educational elite, and a military elite (those involved in the cavalry and *ephebeia*).

functioned as mint magistrate. Two members, Zenon III and Pammenes II, attained offices associated with the governing oligarchy. With the offices held by these members the family completes Habicht's (178-179) characteristics of five dominant families.

The family's climb is illustrative of some of the social and political developments of its times.⁶⁵ The family probably came from Athens to Delos as part of the cleruchy following 167 B.C. It was not among the office-holding elite on the island over the period when the Delian and Athenian communities remained distinct politically (Fisher 92, 99). By the time of the last two Delphic Pythaïdes of 106/5 and 98/7 B.C. the family had joined the Athenian religious elite (Fisher 118, 119), but it remained below the level of contributor to the final Pythaïs.⁶⁶ The unrest in the years 88 through 86 seems to have marked the point when there was a "temporary emergence of politically neutral families" (Fisher 164). Pammenes I represented the family from Marathon among them as archon in 83/2 B.C. and twice as mint magistrate later. The first office-holder for some reason was not the eldest, but the second son of the family. In the next generation prominence reverted to the descendant of the elder of the sons, while the scion of the second son was adopted into another family. Between the midpoint of the century and the triumph of Octavian the only civil office attested for the family was an archonship of Zenon in 54/3 B.C. This is a poorly documented period and the name Zenon was not confined to this one family. During the dominance of Augustus three members held office, a father and two sons. Fisher (213-219), following Oliver's⁶⁷ suggestion, includes the family among those from traditional *gene* which emerge under Augustus as members of a new political elite. The son presumed to be second led the most illustrious career and his descendants continued the line of the family. He became hoplite general, effectively the dominant political officer in the city, joining a small group of men who had appeared relatively recently on the political scene and some of whom held office repeatedly. His elder brother meanwhile held the ceremonially important office of eponymous archon. Thus, although the family may have preferred to remain clear of politics and to have asserted its status within the religious sphere, the political situation seems to have brought it forward on two separate occasions. This generation also entered the most prestigious of the religious hierar-

⁶⁵ Although the prosopographical portion of this study was prepared independently of Fisher's quantitative study, the family's history conforms to the patterns which Fisher found.

⁶⁶ Members of related families, however, do contribute. See Tracy 44, line 54: Diotimos of Marathon, *polemarchos* in 102/1 B.C.; Tracy 79, line 255: Zenon, son of Ariston, of Marathon, *thesmothetes* in 98/7.

⁶⁷ Oliver, *Civic Tradition* 1-33, but see especially 14-15.

chies of the city, that of the Eleusinian goddesses, although not in a priestly capacity.⁶⁸

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⁶⁸The history of the family can be reconstructed equally well by positing a separation into Delian and Athenian branches, but a unitary stemma appears desirable.