Greece & Rome, 62.2 129–139 © The Classical Association (2015)
doi:10.1017/S0017383515000017

THEMISTOCLES' TWO AFTERLIVES*

'All political lives…end in failure', as Enoch Powell said;[1] and Themistocles son of Neocles died twice. His first life ended with his ostracism in the late 470 s, after which he was dead to an Athens enthralled by Cimon; but he would not lie down. This article considers his two afterlives: one which ended about 459 in Magnesia on the Maeander, and the other which commenced in the fifth century but continues to resonate today. The examination, however, will be in reverse order, considering first the Themistocles who at Athens was written into what Tim Whitmarsh would call 'the archive', then drawing inferences from that literary afterlife to comment on Athenian politics in Themistocles' years of ostracism, then exile.

Thucydides, resolute demythologizer, insisted that 'a sickness put an end to [Themistocles'] life',[2] aiming to counter the legend (which Aristophanes enshrines) of Themistocles meeting a heroic death by drinking the blood of a bull.[3] In Aristophanes' play, Demosthenes (in 424) deplores his and Nicias' helplessness in the face of Cleon's colossal ascendancy:

> …none can escape the Paphlagonian, his eye is everywhere. And what a stride! He has one leg on Pylos and the other in the Assembly; his arse gapes exactly over the land of the Chaonians, his hands are with the Aetolians and his mind with the Clopidians.
>
> (Ar. *Eq.* 74–9)[4]

* This article originated as a paper at the 'Classical Owls: the Political Economy of Ancient Athens' conference at Macquarie University on 1 September 2014. I wish to thank my colleague Ken Sheedy for the invitation to speak, and those present on that occasion for questions and discussion. I owe several valuable points to an anonymous referee. None of the above should be blamed for the faults of this article.

[1] J. E. Powell, *Joseph Chamberlain* (London, 1977), 151, a sentiment echoed in the *Telegraph* obituary of Powell himself (9 February 1998).

[2] Thuc. 1.138.4, translation from B. Jowett (ed. and trans.), *Thucydides* (Oxford, 1881).

[3] Ar. *Eq.* 84. As supposedly Midas and Hannibal also did: Plut. *Vit. Flam.* 20.9. A. Keaveney, *The Life and Journey of Athenian Statesman Themistocles (524–460 B.C.?) as a Refugee in Persia* (Lewiston, NY, 2003), 95–7, points out that bull's blood is unlikely to kill the drinker.

[4] Translation from E. O'Neill and W. J. Oates, *The Complete Greek Drama* (New York, 1938).

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Nicias' answer brings in Themistocles' heroic death. In thirty-five-year hindsight (and on the comic stage) it seemed an honourable end. Confronted by a demand from 'the fiery lord of populous Asia',[5] Themistocles, or so Plutarch was to say five hundred years later, killed himself to avoid helping Artaxerxes I address his Hellenic problem.[6]

Themistocles never had been a man to speak plainly;[7] he was not even the kind of person to tell the truth if something else were more likely to get him what he wanted. But if some impulse towards candour had taken hold of him, some urge to unroll his Persian carpet,[8] during the last years of his life, when he was ruler of the city of Magnesia on the river Maeander,[9] he might have been justified in claiming to have made a lasting difference in Athenian politics – to have created, as the word is today, a *legacy*. Not so much because he tricked the Persians into attacking the Greek fleet in the narrows at Salamis,[10] since battles are here today, gone tomorrow; but because he was behind making the Piraeus into Athens' principal harbour,[11] he was behind using Athens' silver from Laurium to build a fleet,[12] and he was behind fortifying Athens with walls after Xerxes' invasion.[13]

In addition to infrastructure, Themistocles' legacy included a meme. In between Solon and Pericles, he was one of the lawgivers 'our ancestors chose', as Lysias wrote for a client in *Against Nicomachus*, in 399;[14] and the Athenians 'made the fullest and fairest contribution in aid of the freedom of the Greeks by providing Themistocles as commander', as Lysias or someone else later wrote in the *Epitaphios*, perhaps in 392.[15]

[5] Aesch. *Pers.* 73–4, translation from H W. Smith (ed. and trans.), *Aeschylus* (London and New York, 1926).

[6] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 31.3, translation from B. Perrin (ed. and trans.), *Plutarch's Lives* (London and New York, 1914–26).

[7] As for example at Hdt. 8.110.1: 'Thus spoke Themistocles with intent to deceive, and the Athenians obeyed him; since he had always been esteemed wise and now had shown himself to be both wise and prudent, they were ready to obey whatever he said' (translation from A. D. Godley [ed. and trans.], *Herodotus* [London and New York, 1924]).

[8] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 29.3.

[9] Thuc. 1.138; Plut. *Vit. Them.* 29.7.

[10] Hdt. 8.75.1–2 and 8.110.2–3.

[11] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 19.2–3; Nep. *Them.* 6; Paus. 1.2; Thuc. 1.93: both starting the job when he was Archon (493/492) and completing it a decade later.

[12] Hdt. 7.144.1–2.

[13] Thuc. 1.90–1; Nep. *Them.* 6–7; Isoc. 15 (*Antid.*).307. See also A. J. Podlecki, *The Life of Themistocles* (Montreal and London, 1975), 173–83.

[14] Lys. 30 (*Nicomachus*).28. Strange to call him a lawgiver, as Podlecki (n. 13), 82, notes.

[15] Lys. 2 (*Epitaphios*).42, translation from W. R. M. Lamb (ed. and trans.), *Lysias* (London and New York, 1930).

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In the *Meno*, written perhaps in the 380 s, Plato's Socrates gets Anytus to agree that Themistocles was a good man – but one who did not pass on his goodness to his son Cleophantus, although he did teach him to 'keep his balance standing upright on horseback, and hurl the javelin while so standing, and perform many other wonderful feats'.[16]

Xenophon's Socrates, in the *Symposium* (written after 378[17]), tells Callias that if he wants to win Autolycus' affections, he must 'find out what sort of knowledge it was that made Themistocles able to give Greece liberty'. Then a little later, probably after 371, Xenophon in the *Memorabilia* has Critobulus ask Socrates how Themistocles made the city of Athens love him: not by casting a spell with the power of rhetoric, Socrates says, but περιάψας τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτῇ, 'by hanging some good amulet about her' (as E. C. Marchant translates it).[18]

Lawgiver, commander, good man, man of knowledge, charmer: all these qualities in retrospect. In documenting the failure of Greek generals to give Themistocles the prize of excellence (ἀριστήια) at the end of the war against Xerxes, Herodotus had reported that Themistocles was at any rate thought much the wisest man of all the Greeks.[19] But time marched on. By the fifth decade of the fourth century, Isocrates could cite his name as a cipher in a rhetorically colourless proof that the former days were better than these: 'Aristides and Themistocles and Miltiades were better men than Hyperbolus and Cleophon.'[20]

[16] Pl. *Meno*, 93d, translation from W. R. M. Lamb (ed. and trans.), *Plato. Laches. Protagoras. Meno. Euthydemus* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1967). See also A. V. Zadorojnyi, 'Plutarch's Themistocles and the Poets', *AJPh* 127 (2006), 262–3.

[17] Since the practice of placing lovers side by side in the line of battle, as the Thebans did in their Sacred Band, is reflected at Xen. *Symp.* 8.34. The evidence for the formation of the Sacred Band in 378 is summed up by K. J. Dover, 'The Date of Plato's *Symposium*', *Phronesis* 10 (1965), 12–13. Xenophon's *Symposium*, then, would have been written after 378, and Plato's *Symposium* before (see ibid., 15).

[18] Xen. *Mem.* 2.6.13, translation from E. C. Marchant (ed. and trans.), *Xenophon. Memorabilia. Oeconomicus. Symposium. Apology* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1968); Podlecki (n. 13), 77, glosses this: 'that is, by providing useful appendages like the walls and the harbour'.

[19] Hdt. 8.123–4. A young Ion of Chios, at Laomedon's house in Athens, was once told he was cleverer (δεξιώτερον) than Themistocles (Plut. *Vit. Cim.* 9.1), who could not play a musical instrument (but who claimed that what he was good at was 'taking in hand a city that was small and inglorious and making it glorious and great' [Plut. *Vit. Them.* 2.3]). If the anecdote is based on a real incident, it would show Themistocles being cited as a paradigm of cleverness, probably before 470 (assuming a date of birth for Ion *c.*490) – which would corroborate Herodotus' report of his being thought the wisest (σοφώτατον).

[20] Isoc. 8 (*Peace*).65, translation from G. Norlin (ed. and trans.), *Isocrates* (London and New York, 1928–9).

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Still, memory did not disappear: Aristotle, more sensitive to social nuance, observed in the *Eudemian Ethics* that 'people thought...the mission...Themistocles conducted to Olympia was not fitting for him, because of his former low station, but would have been for Cimon'.[21] Thus reminiscence of Themistocles a century after his death had both absorbed him into routine nostalgia for past Athenian greatness and preserved awareness of him as a man who succeeded, although he was not out of the top drawer. The latter observation, centuries later, was to be the first point that Plutarch made in his biography: 'his family was too obscure to further his reputation';[22] Plutarch later added that 'Themistocles did not possess the worth of three talents before he entered political life.'[23]

There was occasional Themistocles-scepticism, at least in the philosophical tradition, taking its rise presumably from how, in a canonical text (the *Meno*), he exemplified a man who failed to teach goodness to his son.[24] Plato himself, in the course of praising Aristides (his kind of politician), said that 'Themistocles...and Cimon, and Pericles, filled the city with porches and moneys and no end of nonsense'.[25] And people said that back in the fifth century, Cleophantus son of Themistocles used to claim that the people of Athens wanted anything he wanted.[26] His explanation was that anything he himself wanted, his mother wanted; anything she wanted, Themistocles wanted; anything Themistocles wanted, all the Athenians wanted. Yet even philosophers might be kind: Phanias of Lesbos portrayed Themistocles as 'terrified, feeling that the word of the seer was monstrous and shocking' when advised that the gods wanted the three sons of Sandauce and Artaÿctus sacrificed to them – and whitewashed him by writing that 'the multitude...dragged the prisoners to the altar' at the ceremony beside the admiral's trireme before the Battle of Salamis.[27] Phanias was a philosopher (with experience of historical literature),[28] as Plutarch underlines – the kind of witness whose testimony would suffice to acquit Themistocles of active complicity in human sacrifice.

[21] Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 3.1233b, translation from H. Rackham (ed. and trans.), *Aristotle. Athenian Constitution. Eudemian Ethics. Virtus and Vices* (London and Cambridge, MA, 1981).
[22] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 1.1.
[23] Ibid., 25.3.
[24] Pl. *Meno*, 93c–93e.
[25] Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 25.6.
[26] Plut. *De liberis educandis* 1c.
[27] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 13.3; see also Plut. *Vit. Pel.* 21.3 and Plut. *Vit. Alc.* 9.1.
[28] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 13.5.

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Dennis D. Hughes found the human sacrifice story not to be credible.[29] His arguments are, first, that the deity sacrificed to – Dionysus Omestes – was 'a stranger to Athens' but had a received cult at Lesbos, home of Phanias;[30] and secondly, that the three Persian youths were brought from Psyttaleia,[31] which was not captured by the Greeks until after the Battle of Salamis – and when it was, all the Persians who were there were killed.[32] Hughes documents a more or less evenly split jury of modern scholars: most historians without special interest in religion (whom he calls 'historians proper') rejecting the account, most historians of religion accepting it.[33]

It was easy, at Plutarch's remove from events, to blame the shocking incident on the common people and absolve the elite biographical subject; but Plutarch goes a good deal further in his *Themistocles* in the direction of creating a Themistocles who would fit the philosophical mould as Plutarch, middle Platonist that he was, understood it. He says that Stesimbrotus says Themistocles was taught by Anaxagoras – the same Anaxagoras whom people called Mind (Νοῦς)[34] because, to him, Mind was the organizing principle of the universe – and also by Melissus, the Samian admiral and Eleatic philosopher.[35] Then Plutarch takes a step back and says that Stesimbrotus (whose book was called *On the Statesmen*[36]) has got the chronology wrong: in reality, Anaxagoras gave a pre-Socratic upbringing of world-leading sophistication to *Pericles*,[37] a generation younger than Themistocles, while Melissus, so far from teaching Pericles, actually fought against him during the Samian revolt.[38]

As for Themistocles, his education consisted of physical exercise[39] and (according to Plutarch) a preparation for practical politics delivered

[29] D. D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (London and New York, 1991), 111–15.
[30] Ibid., 112.
[31] Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 9.1–2.
[32] Hughes (n. 29), 113; cf. Herodotus 8.95.
[33] Hughes (n. 29), 114, n. 133. Hughes thinks that Herodotus' story of the sacrifice of Leon of Troezen by the Persians who captured the Troezenian ship (Hdt. 7.180) was a 'possible influence on the genesis of the story' (Hughes [n. 29], 114, n. 135).
[34] Plut. *Vit. Per.* 4.4; Diog. Laert. 2.6 (citing Timon of Phlius).
[35] As admiral, see Plut. *Vit. Per.* 26.3; as Eleatic, see [Arist.] *De Melisso, de Xenophane, De Gorgia*.
[36] E. M. Carawan, 'Thucydides and Stesimbrotus on the Exile of Themistocles', *Historia* 38 (1989), 144; see also Ath. 13.56: 'his book entitled *A Treatise on Themistocles, and Thucydides, and Pericles*'.
[37] Plut, *Vit. Per.* 4.4–6.4.
[38] Ibid., 26.2–3.
[39] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 1.2.

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by Mnesiphilus of Phrearii – a teacher local to the deme where Themistocles lived. Plutarch says that Mnesiphilus 'was neither a rhetorician nor one of the so-called physical philosophers', but he then explains with care what kind of quality, what kind of σοφία (literally, 'wisdom'), Mnesiphilus imparted – to wit, 'cleverness in politics and practical sagacity'.[40] Mnesiphilus appears in Herodotus as 'an Athenian' who tells Themistocles what to say to Eurybiades, and then Themistocles tells Eurybiades 'all he heard from Mnesiphilus, pretending it [is] his own idea and adding many other things'.[41] This pericope in Herodotus may be the data from which the inference was drawn (by Plutarch's time) that Mnesiphilus was Themistocles' teacher.

All this is to say that Themistocles had the kind of education that an elite Athenian citizen might be expected to receive in the late sixth century: sport and practical politics. Alexei V. Zadorojnyi seems to go too far when he writes that, in Plutarch, Themistocles is disadvantaged by 'absence of true, philosophical μουσική',[42] and that, 'unguided by paideutic reason, Themistocles' psyche gradually slips downhill'.[43] It would be fairer to observe that, after a calculated advance and withdrawal over the question of Anaxagoras, Plutarch does what he can to make Themistocles' education look as if it fitted a philosophical mould, writing that Mnesiphilus had received his σοφία ('wisdom') 'and handed it down as though it were the doctrine of a sect, in unbroken tradition from Solon'.[44]

Plutarch's manoeuvre is about presenting Themistocles in terms familiar to educated readers in the early second century AD, as if an educated gentleman *ought* to be committed to a philosophical sect (whereas in Themistocles' day those sects which existed – the

[40] Ibid., 2.4.

[41] Hdt. 8.57.1–58.2.

[42] 'Music' would not be the correct translation in this instance. A better version is something along the lines of 'the philosophical quality imparted by the Muses'.

[43] Zadorojnyi (n. 16), 284. Similarly, T. E. Duff, 'Plutarch's *Themistocles and Camillus*', in N. Humble (ed.), *Plutarch's Lives. Parallelism and Purpose* (Swansea, 2010), 48, writes that Themistocles' ambition in his youth 'leads him to reject what Plutarch calls "character-forming studies"', citing Plut. *Vit. Them.* 2.3; but he seems to draw too hard a line between the kinds of studies in the phrase that Plutarch uses: τῶν παιδεύσεων τὰς μὲν ἠθοποιοὺς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονήν τινα καὶ χάριν ἐλευθέριον σπουδαζομένας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἐξεμάνθανε ('those branches [of learning] which aimed at the formation of character, or ministered to any gratification or grace of a liberal sort, he would learn reluctantly and sluggishly'). In this hendiadys, Plutarch is writing about music and polite accomplishments rather than about moral teaching.

[44] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 2.4.

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Pythagoreans, for example – had not begun to make the impact in the educational world which the sophists and their successors were eventually to have). Themistocles himself was old school, by comparison with politicians who came after him in Athens. He was one of the famous orators of his time, but he spoke with his arm inside his cloak.[45]

Plutarch does not, however, drag the scent of sophistic education across the trail for lack of some other story to tell. He cites twenty-one authors by name in the *Themistocles*,[46] as well as here and there crediting 'some who tell stories' (ἔνιοι διηγήματα πλάττοντες),[47] or simply resorting to 'it is said' (λέγεται).[48] There was an abundance of sources available – so that Diodorus Siculus perhaps did not merit citation, as Plutarch saw it. Athenaeus of Naucratis, in the third century, throws more names into the mix of writers about Themistocles: Idomeneus, who told stories of Themistocles' liking for courtesans (being himself the son of a courtesan, if Amphicrates was right in his *On Illustrious Men*);[49] Neanthes of Cyzicus, who in his Ἑλληνικαὶ ἱστορίαι (*Histories of Greece*) disagreed with Amphicrates on Themistocles' mother's name;[50] Possis, whose book about Magnesia on the Maeander rejoiced in the title of Μαγνητικά (*Magnetic Matters*), and who had some things to say about Themistocles; and Clearchus of Soli, who in the generation after Alexander the Great wrote a book *On Friendship* in which he described Themistocles' dining room.[51]

To the learned, then, and especially to Athenian patriots in the Hellenistic age and beyond, the archived past presented Themistocles in a positive light, as a figure around whom cultural memory gelled.[52]

[45] Aeschin. 1 (*In Tim.*).25.

[46] Not all, however, are cited as sources for Themistocles' own activities. The twenty-one authorities are Stesimbrotus (2.3), Herodotus (8.5, 17.1, 21.1), Pindar (8.2), Aristotle (10.4), Cleidemus (10.4), Phanias of Lesbos (13.3, 27.5, 29.7), Aeschylus (14.1), Timocreon of Rhodes (21.2–5), Theophrastus (25.1, 25.3), Thucydides (27.1), Charon of Lampsacus (27.1), Ephorus (27.1), Deinon (27.1), Cleitarchus (27.1), Heraclides (27.1), Eratosthenes (27.5), Neanthes of Cyzicus (29.7), Andocides (32.3), Phylarchus (32.3), Diodorus the Topographer (32.4), and Plato Comicus (32.5). Overall, Plutarch quotes 'two hundred and fifty Greek authors, eighty of whom are known to us only by name' (Podlecki [n. 13], 139; see also B. Perrin, *Plutarch's 'Cimon' and 'Pericles'* [New York, 1910], 10).

[47] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 2.8.

[48] Ibid., 3.4.

[49] For Idomeneus, see Ath. 12.45; Idomeneus and Amphicrates: ibid., 13.37: but this reflects 'Amphikrates'. . .completely naïve. . .debt to comic *diabole*' (P. Bicknell, 'Themistokles' Father and Mother', *Historia* 31 [1982], 166).

[50] For Neanthes, see Ath. 13.37.

[51] For Possis and Clearchus, see ibid., 12.45.

[52] See T. Whitmarsh, *Ancient Greek Literature* (Cambridge, 2004), 121: survival of the works of Greek historians as 'eloquent testimonies to the ongoing value attached by the ancient Greeks to

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This is the light in which the Themistocles decree from Troezen should be seen. Mikael Johansson has argued that the detail and sequence of events in the inscription from Troezen are possibly alluded to by Cornelius Nepos, but not before – and Nepos' general misunderstanding of the Persian wars makes the allusion uncertain; but later (Johansson continues) Plutarch and Aelius Aristides *were* 'familiar with the text in [the] decree, or at least some parts of it'.[53]

Everything from Themistocles' evacuation plans to the layout of his dining room, then, could be written affectionately into the archive during Themistocles' second afterlife. Even 'Themistocles addressing the Persian court' could one day become the theme of a painting described by Philostratus, who reads the image as of 'a Greek among barbarians, a true man among those who are not men, inasmuch as they are ruined and dissolute, surely an Athenian to judge by his coarse cloak'.[54] The smile which the long-term memory of Themistocles left on the Athenian face tells against Rachel M. McMullin's interpretation of his exile, which is that 'The charge of medism seems to have led to his actual medism.'[55] McMullin, whose article is about Timocreon of Rhodes (an actual medizer[56]), comes too close to rolling Themistocles' ostracism together with his condemnation to exile after a trial for medism, which happened later.[57] George Cawkwell is closer to the mark in arguing that 'Nowhere...is there a satisfactory explanation of why Themistocles fell.'[58] Later, and during Themistocles' sojourn at

the archiving of the past, which was seen in later times as a crucial repository for cultural memory, even for cultural identity.'

[53] M. Johansson, 'The Inscription from Troizen: A Decree of Themistocles?', *ZPE* 137 (2001), 75–8 (quotation from 78).

[54] Philostr. *Imag.* 2.31 [= 433], translation from A. Fairbanks (ed. and trans.), *Philostratus, Imagines. Callistratus, Descriptions* (London and New York, 1931). Improbably, Philostratus shoehorns the image which he has seen into a discourse of Greek simplicity versus eastern magnificence, continuing by saying that '[Themistocles] addresses some wise discourse to them, I think, trying to change their ways and make them give up their luxury'.

[55] R. M. McMullin, 'Aspects of Medizing: Themistocles, Simonides, and Timocreon of Rhodes',*CJ* 97 (2001), 62.

[56] He was not the only one, as he himself said: οὐκ ἄρα Τιμοκρέων μόνος / Μήδοισιν ὀρκιατομεῖ· ('Timocreon is not the only one swearing oaths to the Medes'; Timocreon Fragment 3 [Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*]).

[57] McMullin (n. 55), 62: 'It is...a great irony that Themistocles was himself ostracized and then condemned on charges of medizing'.

[58] G. L. Cawkwell, 'The Fall of Themistocles', in B. F. Harris (ed.), *Auckland Classical Essays Presented to E.M. Blaiklock (*Auckland, 1970), 39–40.

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Argos, 'the evidence which proved that Pausanias was in league with Persia implicated Themistocles', as Thucydides puts it.[59]

Timocreon wrote: 'I praise Aristeides, the one best man to come from holy Athens, since Leto conceived a hatred for Themistocles.'[60] C. M. Bowra argued that by saying that Leto (the mother of Apollo) hated Themistocles, Timocreon was referring to the formation of the Delian League, a political triumph for Aristides, as correspondingly a setback for Themistocles.[61] In the 470 s, Cawkwell argues, Themistocles advocated establishing Athenian power in Greece rather than campaigning to win compensation from the Persian Empire for the losses caused by Xerxes' invasion[62] – the latter being the professed programme of the Delian League. His priority, implicitly, was an anti-Spartan stance, even though he was supposedly friends with the magistrates, who fell for his delaying tactics when he went to Sparta to discuss the building of the walls of Athens.[63]

Themistocles grew unpopular with his fellow-citizens in the 470 s, as Plutarch tells the story,[64] though Thucydides omits all that and brings Themistocles back into his narrative when he is already living at Argos.[65] His escape, moving away from Persian territory not towards it, seems to show that any 'medizing' which could be laid to Themistocles' account in the early 460 s was (as Cawkwell says) a matter of 'policies of avoiding conflict with Persia' and no more.[66] Events in Corcyra and Molossia boxed him into a journey over land to Pydna, then on to Ionia and his courtship of Artaxerxes I,[67] who had ascended to the throne of Persia in 465. The happy outcome was the grant to Themistocles of Magnesia, and the revenues of Lampsacus and Myus.

Although Themistocles was tried and found guilty *in absentia* at Athens (as Alcibiades would later be), matters in Athens moved ahead. Aristides, who had the world at his feet in 478, faded out of Athenian politics after the Delian League was formed, and Cimon's pro-Spartan voice became paramount. Victories at the River Eurymedon and at Naxos maintained Cimon's momentum. And yet

[59] Thuc. 1.135.
[60] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 21.3.
[61] C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, 1936), 375–6, endorsed by McMullin (n. 55), 57.
[62] Cawkwell (n. 58), 45.
[63] Thuc. 1.90–1.
[64] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 22.1–3.
[65] Thuc. 1.135.
[66] Cawkwell (n. 58), 45.
[67] Thuc. 1.137.

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the confidence he reposed in Athens' yoke-fellow was misplaced: he talked the assembly into two expeditions to help the Spartans after the earthquake of 464,[68] not knowing that the Spartans had already secretly agreed with the Thasians to invade Attica in support of their revolt.[69] The career-ending humiliation of his army's dismissal from Ithome by Athens' so-called allies was a trap that Cimon could hardly avoid. Thucydides, his great-nephew, was too young to warn him of τῆς πολιτείας...τὸ κρυπτόν ('the secretive character of the political system').[70]

According to Plutarch, Themistocles' building of a shrine of Artemis Aristoboule near his house in the deme of Melite had been an unpopular move because he seemed to be using the cult title to boast that he himself had been the giver of the best advice during Xerxes' invasion.[71] The shrine, excavated in 1958, appears to have been abandoned and destroyed in the years of Themistocles' exile.[72] It was rebuilt in due course, however, although it remains unclear when: a *deme* inscription set up in the shrine *c.*330, honouring Neoptolemus, son of Anticles, was reused as its threshold at some later date.[73] The fifth-century abandonment of the shrine is easy to link to Themistocles' disgrace in the days of Cimon's ascendancy. Any suspicion, furthermore, that restoration of the shrine was done only on the general principle that temples ought to be kept in good order is dispelled by Plutarch's observation that, down to his own time, there was a statue of Themistocles in the shrine.[74] The link was not forgotten.

Events only six or seven years after Themistocles' ostracism (and the destruction of his shrine to Artemis Aristoboule) seemed to vindicate the anti-Spartan stance that he had taken, and this may be why he was well treated in Athenian and broader Greek hindsight. Return home continued to be impossible (his sentence of exile was never lifted, so that his family had to act in secret when they buried him in Attica),[75]

[68] Plut. *Vit. Cim.* 16.8–17.2; Thuc. 1.102.
[69] Thuc. 1.101.
[70] Ibid., 5.68.2.
[71] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 22.1–2.
[72] J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971), 121.
[73] *SEG* 22.116, with A. G. Woodhead's notes at *SEG* xxii.43 (*in usum liminis refectam*; 'reused as a doorstep').
[74] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 22.2.
[75] Thuc. 1.138.6; but Pausanias writes (1.1.2) that 'near the largest harbour [i.e. at the Piraeus] is the grave of Themistocles. For it is said that the Athenians repented of their treatment of Themistocles, and that his relations took up his bones and brought them from Magnesia' (translation from W. H. S. Jones [ed. and trans.], *Pausanias. Description of Greece. Books I and II* [London

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383515000017 Published online by Cambridge University Press

but this was normal: there is little evidence of the great Athenian politicians of Themistocles' generation having ended their lives comfortably. Cleisthenes' life after he changed everything at Athens is unattested; Miltiades died in jail, his fine of fifty talents as yet unpaid;[76] Aristides left too little money to meet the cost of his own burial.[77] Themistocles, by contrast, was on easy street at Magnesia during the last years of his political afterlife. As he said to his wife and children, 'We'd have been ruined, if we hadn't been ruined.'[78]

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and New York, 1918]). This is in some tension with Thucydides' version, and it is not clear when secrecy about commemorating Themistocles at Athens became redundant; but Pausanias goes on to say that Themistocles' children set up a painting of Themistocles in the Parthenon (ibid.).

[76] Hdt. 6.136.

[77] Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 27.1.

[78] Plut. *De exil.* 602a: ἀπωλόμεθ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα (my own translation).

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