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A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON CORNELIUS NEPOS'

LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

Cornelius Nepos (c. 110-24 BC), who is generally considered as the father of Roman 'political biography', wrote several works, including a major collection of biographies, the *De Viris Illustribus*. Within this book of a pair of generals: the *Liber De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium*, which discusses non-Roman commanders, including the Athenian general and statesman, Themistocles (c. 525/4-560/59 BC).

In writing a biography on Themistocles, Nepos consulted Greek sources, mainly consulted Thucydides. Nepos often paraphrases and quotes Thucydides, while also expressing his opinion on the death of Themistocles. When he departs from Thucydides' account, he uses Ephorus. The other extant, ancient sources on Themistocles are predominantly Greek, namely Plutarch, Herodotus, and Diodorus. Justin's Latin epitome of Trogus also covers this period.

When writing a commentary on Nepos' *Themistocles*, the most detailed extant source is Plutarch's biography in the *Parallel Lives*. Plutarch may have been inspired to write his own work based on the implicitly comparative structure of Nepos' *De Viris Illustribus*, but the scale and scope of Plutarch's work differs considerably from that of Nepos. He used a wide range of sources, including Neanthes and Phantias. Plutarch is our main source of information for Themistocles' life and career. Diodorus Siculus is considered to have used Ephorus as his main source. Much of Diodorus' account may be considered as being part of the 'Themistoclean Romance Fiction'. Cicero only refers to Themistocles in an occasional *exemplum* within his philosophical works. Nepos is therefore the only definitive Latin author on Themistocles.

He succinctly captures the nuances of political biography in his *Liber De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium*, and his *Themistocles* is a notable example of this genre. Hence, the *De Viris Illustribus* as a whole is testament to the limited genius of Nepos. It celebrates the achievements of the famous men whose lives he presented to his Roman audience, and fits well within the Roman tradition of historiography as a means of teaching moral lessons. This was the precursor of the biographical genre that flourished in the imperial period.

Nepos' most famous extant biographies are the *Atticus* and the *Cicero*. Nepos' *Themistocles* is often ignored as being an insignificant work in itself. This perception is wrong. While Nepos was a poor writer from the point of Latin style, and his biography on Themistocles adds little to our knowledge of Themistocles, it is still a valuable source of evidence for the transferral of Greek knowledge into the Roman world. It is an excellent example of a panegyric work to Themistocles, which offers a balanced contrast to Thucydides, Plutarch and especially to Herodotus, who was extremely biased against Themistocles. Plutarch provides a detailed account of the negative aspects of Themistocles' character and contains most of the contemporary allegations levelled against him. Nepos portrays Themistocles as the classic heroic figure from Greek tragedy.

A historical commentary is the best method to adopt, since a more thorough interpretation of the sources is required, when evaluating the ancient literary traditions, as well as commenting on the vast quantity of modern scholarship on Themistocles, which was written from the late 19th century.

PREFACE

I wish to express my gratitude to the following:

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Most importantly, my parents, for all their encouragement, support, dedication and understanding.

I have used the following versions of the original Latin and Greek texts and translations respectively:

F. W. Cornish, *Catullus, Tibullus, and Pervigilium Veneris* (London, 1976).

C. Hude, *Herodoti: Historiae* (Oxford, 1927).

H. S. Jones, *Thucydidis: Historiae* (Oxford, 1900).

J. Marr, *Plutarch: Themistocles* (Warminster, 1998).

R. Meiggs & D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford, 1971).

K. Nipperdey, *Cornelius Nepos* (Berlin, 1879).*

G. Norlin, *Isocrates* Vol. 1, (London, 1978).

C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus* Vol. 4, (London, 1970).

B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives* Vol. 2, (London, 1919).

G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus* Vol. 2, (London, Reprinted, 1937).

P. J. Rhodes, *Aristotle: The Athenian Constitution* (Oxford, 1984).

J. C. Rolfe, *Cornelius Nepos*, Loeb Edition (London, 1929).

F. Rühl, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum* (Stuttgart, 1886).

A. F. Schofield, *Aelian's Natura Animalium*, Loeb Edition, Volume 3, (London, 1959).

A. Sidgwick, *Aeschylus Persae* (Oxford, 1902).

R. Warner, *Thucydides: History of the Peloponnesian War* (Harmondsworth, 1954).

J. S. Watson, *Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius* (London, 1876).

N. G. Wilson, *Aelian's Historical Miscellany* (London, 1997).

M. Winterbottom, *The Elder Seneca: Controversiae I-VI* (London, 1974).

* The Rolfe text was preferred to the Nipperday text of Nepos' *Themistocles*.

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INTRODUCTION

i) A brief biography of Nepos.

Cornelius Nepos is well known for his *De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium*, which was his only major contribution to Roman and Greek biographies on military leaders and political leaders. Apart from this historical work, which identifies him as a Roman historian, Nepos is also identified as being a minor expert on poetry. His poems are largely unknown, as are the rest of his works. As far as is known, Nepos was the first Roman to compose historical biography. Nepos' *praenomen* remains unknown. In fact there is scant information available today concerning Nepos' life and opinions. What insufficient evidence there is, indicates that Nepos was born either somewhere in the vicinity of the Transpadana or Cisalpine regions in Gaul (Plin. *NH* 3.127). Rolfe suggests that Nepos was born in Ticinum.¹ Nepos belonged to the equestrian order (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 5.3.6), and around 65 BC he relocated to Rome in order to further his career. From the letters of Nepos and Cicero, we know that Nepos was indeed a friend of Marcus Tullius Cicero and Titus Pomponius Atticus. Further evidence suggests that Catullus even dedicated verses to Nepos.² From his correspondence, the evidence suggests that Nepos, although able to sustain himself on his income, was not wealthy enough to advance to the Senatorial rank. Mere speculation raises the question whether Nepos even had this goal as his intention. Rather, Nepos' fame arose from his literature, including lost love poems (Plin. *Ep.* 5.3.6).

ii) The Place of the *De Viris Illustribus* in Nepos' works.

Nepos composed the *De Viris Illustribus* which included sections devoted to historians,

1. J. C. Rolfe, Cornelius Nepos, Loeb Edition, (London, 1929), 355.

2. Catullus 1.6

statesmen, kings and of course generals. The *De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium* is part of the *De Viris Illustribus*, including the *Life of Themistocles*. Horsfall³ argues that the *De Viris Illustribus* could have been arranged into eighteen books, containing at least four hundred lives. The books were paired together, whereby Romans were preceded by Greeks and barbarians in every category. Two sections pertain to historians and generals. Horsfall also argues that Nepos did not include a section on kings. Hence the need for *De Regibus*. Toher⁴ contradicts Horsfall and asserts that *De Viris Illustribus* consisted of sixteen books. However, *De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium*, differs slightly in that it also contains three barbarian, i.e. non-Greek, lives. This has led to the suggestion that Nepos later produced a second revised edition, wherein he included the three non-Greek lives of the barbarians. Furthermore, evidence from the *Life of Atticus* suggests that Nepos originally wrote an initial eighteen chapters on Atticus, before revising his work in general to include the extra chapters, i.e. chapters nineteen to twenty-two. Horsfall⁵ admits that the other categories induce more speculation without any concrete evidence, since only fragments have survived. Nonetheless, Toher⁶ affirms that the *Atticus* is part of the *De Viris Illustribus* and this signifies that Nepos produced a second updated version of his work; this requires that the *Cato* and the selected material from the letters of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, belongs to the *Latini historici*. It is plausible that Nepos did extend the scope of his work by including extra sections on the *Life of Atticus* and the *De Viris Illustribus*.

Nepos wrote about lessons to be learnt from famous figures or individuals, such as politicians and generals (to borrow an example from one part of *De Viris Illustribus*) in the Greco-Roman world, with an emphasis on the most influential Romans and their

3. N. Horsfall, 1989: 11.

4. M. Toher, 2002: 147.

5. Horsfall, 1989: 12.

6. Toher, 2002: 147.

Greek counterparts. *De Viris Illustribus* itself emphasises moral lessons and codes, which Nepos hoped his Roman audience would realise and adopt when reading the comparative literature on the Romans and Greeks. These norms and values were the traditional patriarchal underpinnings of Roman society and law.

The evidence that Nepos wrote on a range of books comes from other Roman writers who explicitly refer to Nepos' other works.⁷ The evidence is as follows:

Love poetry, as mentioned by Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 5.3.6).

The *Chronica*, a three-volume work which gave an account of world history until the first century BC. Catullus dedicated a poem to Nepos' three-volume work. Catullus 1.1: *Cui dono lepidum novum libellum arida modo pumice expolitur? Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas meas esse aliquid putare nugas, iam tum cum ausus es unus Italorum omne aevum tribus explicare chartis doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.*⁸

The *Exempla*, consisting of Greek and Roman anecdotes, written after 44 BC. Gellius mentioned a fifth book (Gellius 24.3.5).

The *Life of Cato*, which was part of the *De Viris Illustribus*. Only three extant chapters were discovered on the *Cato*.⁹

The *Life of Cicero*, written and published after Cicero's murder. This book was an important component of the multi-volume work that is the *De Viris Illustribus*¹⁰. The *Life of Cato* is often compared with the *Life of Cicero*. However, the *Atticus* is Nepos' best work in a historical context and as a biographical account.

A work on *Geography* (Pliny *NH* 5.4; Mela *Chor.* 3.45).

7. Rolfe, 1929: 356-7.

8. F. W. Cornish, *Catullus, Tibullus, and Perigilium*, London, 1976: 2

9. Toher, 2002: 149.

10. Toher, 2002: 149.

Nepos was the first author to compare and contrast systematically the *illustres* of the Greek and Roman worlds. Plutarch produced a better work when he wrote his *Parallel Lives*. Nepos' writing changed Roman historical literature. From the extant evidence, Nepos was among the first writers to usher in a new way of writing in Roman literature. It is generally presumed that Nepos was inspired by Varro's *Imagines* when he wrote the *Lives*, although Nepos does not refer to Varro or his work. Lastly, it is known that Nepos composed the *De Viris Illustribus* when he was in his eighth decade.

iii) The *Vitae* as a vehicle for presenting Greeks to a Roman audience.

The Romans considered themselves as being part of a centralised and stable empire, as opposed to the decentralised and bickering Greek city-states. In his preface to the *De Viris Illustribus*, Nepos specifically discusses certain cultural differences between the Romans and the Greeks. Nepos has attempted to present Greek culture to his Roman audience through the medium of the *De Viris Illustribus* with his selection of prominent Greek commanders. He maintains that only Romans who were unable to read Greek would have been unable to appreciate the differences between the Greeks and the Romans. Nepos also takes the opportunity to attack his critics here and goes so far as to compare them to the unlearned Roman aristocrat. *Sed hi erunt fere qui expertes litterarum Graecarum nihil rectum, nisi quod ipsorum moribus conveniat, putabunt. Hi si didicerint non eadem omnibus esse honesta atque turpia, sed omnia maiorum institutis iudicari, non admirabuntur nos in Graiorum virtutibus exponendis mores eorum secutos* (Praefatio 1.2-3). Furthermore, Nepos examines the differences between the Greek and Roman cultures, whereby the Romans disapproved of certain Greek customs which were not reciprocated in Rome since they were considered shameful. *Contra ea pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora quae apud illos turpia putantur* (Praefatio 1.6).

Nepos frequently uses Latin terms from his *Lives* to explain the equivalent position or

relationship in the Greek world to his Roman audience. As an example, he will use the varying and derivative forms of *imperator* (general) in order to explain the Greek word *strategos* (στρατηγός). The very idea of *De Viris Illustribus* exposed the Romans to the Greek ideas concerning Greek, particularly Athenian and Spartan, politics, religion, and societal values. General examples from the extant ancient sources, such as Thucydides and Herodotus, include how the Greeks could make a common treaty between themselves until the Persian threat had lapsed. They then resumed their traditional hostilities with each other instead of cementing a common peace. Athenian exiles inevitably sought refuge in the court of the ruling Persian monarch, while Sparta even made an alliance with Persia during the Peloponnesian War. Differences and similarities between Romans and Greeks are explored in Nepos' work. Nepos' attempts to explain or equate Greek terms and positions to his Roman audience are proof enough of this fact. These examples were selected in order to highlight why the Greek political mindset differed so drastically from that of the Romans.

Nepos has a tendency to project aspects of Roman mentality onto the Greek subjects he writes about in his literature. Cf. *Miltiades* 6.2; *Eumenes* 1.5. This is illustrated in the manner [and linguistic style] in which Nepos categorically states Themistocles' faux pas in his early youth, (e.g. squandering his inheritance), until his dramatic and sudden redemption (Themistocles defends various prominent figures, such as Miltiades the Younger), culminating in Themistocles' rise to prominence as a far-sighted, political and military strategist (Themistocles has his naval bill accepted and implemented in 483/2). Nepos goes so far as to impose Roman terminology, as well as ideas, in his examination of Themistocles, as he does in fact throughout his literary work on *De Viris Illustribus*. Key words and concepts are thus transliterated for the necessary comparison. Such examples have been highlighted in this dissertation. Be that as it may, the *Vitae*, most

importantly, are biographies and not histories, which Nepos stresses in *Pelopidas* (1.1).

It appears that Nepos is attempting to present a broad perspective of the achievements of the Greek (and the Barbarian) figures in order to create a better Roman society by using the moral function of historiography to achieve his aim. With his selected examples of flaws, Nepos has attempted to demonstrate how Themistocles' promiscuous and trouble-filled youth nearly resulted in his personal ruin as a member of a semi-aristocratic family in Athens. The premise behind Nepos' inclusion of these details supports the idea that he desired that his fellow Romans would recognise these faults in Themistocles and thereby contemplate their own lives, with the realisation of any similarities enabling them to change their own sordid, parallel behaviour, in comparison with that of Themistocles in his youth, for the better. Nepos should be commended for his effort and diligence.

While the average Roman aristocrat was as highly educated as his Greek counterpart, the Romans persisted in sending their sons to study further at the Greek philosophical schools. Greek literature, philosophy, art and culture were generally perceived as being vastly superior to those of the Romans. Nepos attempted to bridge this gap somewhat by offering a "comparison" of famous Romans with their natural Greek counterparts. Nepos presented his *Vitae* in a fashion whereby his Roman audience could understand and appreciate the Greeks and their achievements. Nepos did not intend his work for the literary scholars in Rome but for ordinary (wealthy) Romans who possessed a basic education.¹¹

iv) The sources of *Themistocles* that Nepos used.

Nepos uses Thucydides' work on the Peloponnesian War as his main source for the

11. Horsfall, 1989: 12.

Themistocles as his quotations and summaries of Thucydides' narrative show.¹² Nepos' mention of morality is clearly seen in the *Themistocles*. Perhaps Nepos used Aristotle's *Athenian Politics*, but without any acknowledgement. Nepos only used sources well-known (to himself and his contemporaries) when he wrote. He does not discuss his sources in detail.¹³ Geiger¹⁴ notes that Thucydides and Ephorus were Nepos' main sources for the *Themistocles* (and *Pausanias*). Nevertheless, Nepos makes partial changes to Thucydides. Although Geiger omits the point, there appears to be an error in Nepos when he translated the Greek text. (Cf. Nepos *Them.* 8.3-5 and Thuc. 1.136, 1.137.1, unless Nepos also used another unmentioned source here.) Nepos' own explanation of events accompanies the Latin for his Roman audience at times within the text and departs from the Thucydides text and explanations.

Nepos must have had some knowledge and understanding of Greek, since he also consulted the Greek sources available to him. A view among modern scholars is that Nepos also used historical monographs throughout his writings. Nepos consulted Greek sources when he compiled his *Chronica*.

When Nepos' work on Themistocles is examined, it is usually less informative than Plutarch's *Themistocles*: for example Nepos uses far fewer sources than Plutarch. Of the Greek sources Thucydides is regarded as the oldest, the most accurate and the most influential writer. Nepos has primarily used two sources. Any mistakes which occur in his text are attributed to Nepos himself, Neanthes, and Phanias. However, Nepos' depiction of Themistocles is a useful and more accurate account which can be contrasted

12. Nepos quoted from or referred to Thucydides text as follows: Nepos *Them.* 1.3 = Thuc. 1.138.4; *Them.* 1.4 = Thuc. 1.138.3; *Them.* 8.1 = Thuc. 1.135.3; *Them.* 6.1 = Thuc. 1.93.3; *Them.* 4.5 = Thuc. 1.174.1; *Them.* 6.1 = Thuc. 1.93.7; *Them.* 6.2 = Thuc. 1.90.1-2, 92.1; *Them.* 6.4 = Thuc. 1.190.1; *Them.* 6.5 = Thuc. 1.90.3; *Them.* 7.1 = Thuc. 1.90.4-5; *Them.* 7.2 = Thuc. 1.190.1-2; *Them.* 7.4 = Thuc. 1.90.4-7; *Them.* 7.5 = Thuc. 1.90.2; *Them.* 7.6 = Thuc. 1.91.2; *Them.* 8.1 = Thuc. 1.135.3; *Them.* 8.2 = Thuc. 1.135.2; *Them.* 8.3 = Thuc. 1.136.1, 136.2; *Them.* 8.4 = Thuc. 1.136.3, 137.1; *Them.* 8.5 = Thuc. 1.137.1; *Them.* 8.6 = Thuc. 1.137.2; *Them.* 8.7 = Thuc. 1.137.3; *Them.* 9.1 = Thuc. 1.137.3; *Them.* 9.2-4 = Thuc. 1.137.2-3; *Them.* 9.3 = Thuc. 1.137.3; *Them.* 9.4 = Thuc. 1.137.3-4; *Them.* 10.1 = Thuc. 1.138.1; *Them.* 10.2 = Thuc. 1.138.5; *Them.* 10.3 = Thuc. 1.138.3, 138.5; *Them.* 10.4 = Thuc. 1.138.5, 138.4; *Them.* 10.5 = Thuc. 1.138.6.

13. Horsfall: 1989: 12.

14. J. Geiger, 'Cornelius Nepos and Ancient Political Biography', *Historia* 47 (Stuttgart, 1985), 56.

particularly with the more anti-Themistoclean account which appears in Herodotus.

Diodorus fills his account with the Themistoclean romance fiction at times, while the only other source that comes close to celebrating the achievements of Themistocles after Nepos' account is that of Plutarch.

Apart from placing Themistocles as one of the few worthy heroic Greek figures, Nepos also classifies Alcibiades (7.1) and Thrasybulus (8.1) as the only two other heroes worthy of such praise. In his biographical portraits, Nepos constantly attempts to capture the essence of the man under scrutiny (cf. *Agessilaus* 4.2, 8.1; *Alcibiades* 4.2; *Thrasybulus* 3.2-2, 4.1; *Conon* 5.5; *Phocion* 1.1-2, 2.3; *Timoleon* 3.4-6; and *Iphicrates* 3.2).

Consequently, Nepos will often imply more than what he actually writes within the limited space that he awards to each subject.

Furthermore, Geiger¹⁵ mentions that arguments have been made concerning a precedent of Greek biographical works which Nepos had knowledge of and copied. There is no evidence to suggest that such works actually existed before Nepos commenced writing his historical biographies. It is too great a coincidence that the surviving Greek writers bear no mention of any such works prior to Plutarch.

As for his other Greek sources, Nepos had already written the *Chronica*, which signified that he was familiar with Greek historiographical work in order to incorporate this material in his composition of the *Chronica*.

v) The virtue and usefulness of the *Life of Themistocles*.

Nepos composed the *De Viris Illustribus*, although credit for this work was attributed to Aemilius Probus. Geiger¹⁶ provides *prima facie* evidence that the work concerned was

15. *Ibid.* 57.

16. J. Geiger, 'Cornelius Nepos and the authorship of the book on foreign generals', *LCMT* (1982), 134.

indeed written by Nepos beyond any doubt.

Nepos' *Life of Themistocles* is a valuable source, although this work adds very little in itself to our knowledge concerning the life and career of Themistocles. This is the only account in Latin that is available on Themistocles. It is also the only extant Latin biography dedicated to Themistocles. This in itself is what contributes towards the uniqueness of Nepos' work from a Roman or Latin perspective. Nepos made several notable mistakes in the *Life of Themistocles*, such as when he stated that pre-Persian War Athens was fighting Corcyra instead of Aegina. Herodotus is strongly biased against Themistocles, while Nepos defends Themistocles and commends him for his actions. Thucydides was a strong supporter of Themistocles as he constantly made references and comparisons between Themistocles and other characters in his *History* who displayed the type of cunning and foresight which made Themistocles so famous (cf Hunter, 1973: 56, 74-75, 80, 98-99, 105). Nepos then followed Thucydides' overall attitude towards Themistocles. Hammond believes that Nepos is useful, despite certain factual errors in Nepos' account, such as the Corcyra-Aegina debacle. Modern scholars remain uninformed how this work was received in Rome. With Nepos, it is possible to redress Herodotus. For Hammond, this is a necessary step to adopt.¹⁷ Therefore, Nepos' ordering of events in 480 BC is plausible and preferable to that of Herodotus.

Furthermore, Nepos' composition of the *De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium* affords classical historians a deeper insight into his *De Viris Illustribus*. The *Life of Themistocles* is important as it also allows scholars to learn more about Nepos' historical biographies in general, since Nepos is the Roman father of historical biographies, as well as the methods he employed and his artistic style when composing the *Life of Themistocles*. Nepos' *Themistocles* provides concise information on Themistocles, the

17. J. Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos and Ancient Political Biography* (Stuttgart, 1985), 75-93.

most that a Roman historian actually recorded concerning Themistocles' life and death. For the most part, Nepos refers to Thucydides' text whereby he presents, summarises and quotes on Themistocles. However, Nepos also offers his own opinion on occasion, in addition to diverging from Thucydides' account when he discusses Themistocles' death. Nepos is not a slavish translator of Thucydides. Nepos explains to his readers why he follows Thucydides' arguments. Thucydides' account on Themistocles was not overly full of details.

Usually, the Roman prefaces discuss the good morals to follow, e.g. Livy (*praefatio* 1.10-1.12) states which morals were considered good and which were bad. Although modern scholars know the original function of the preface, this is what is expected from Nepos' lost preface. While Nepos has recorded the biographical history of Themistocles' life, he has also depicted Themistocles as a great and visionary Athenian general whose life paralleled and epitomised the classical figure in a Greek tragedy, and who will forever be remembered for his actions. Nepos' comparison of Themistocles to a classic figure in Greek tragedy is visible in the vices of his early youth, whereby he recognises his judgement error and immoral behaviour and then endeavours to rectify this situation by saving Athens in her greatest hour of need, and by extension the rest of the Greek world. Themistocles there undergoes a paradigm shift in his character from bad to good. However, just as in the tragedies, Themistocles is driven from his homeland by his enemies as well as his ungrateful and short-sighted fellow citizens, whereby he is compelled to flee out of necessity to Persia, while avoiding being captured by his Athenian and Spartan pursuers, until he dies a natural death in old age.

COMMENTARY

1.1. Themistocles, Neocli filius, Atheniensis. Of the eleven Athenians mentioned in the *Liber de excellentibus ducibus*, seven are introduced with their filiation and city association (Miltiades, the son of Cimon, Themistocles, the son of Neocles, Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, Cimon, the son of Miltiades, Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, Thrasybulus, the son of Lycus, and Timotheus, the son of Conon); the other four are presented without filiation (Conon, Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Phocion). Of the other nine non-Athenian Greeks, only Dion and Epaminondas have both filiation and nationality, while both Carthaginians have both filiation and nationality.

Huius vitia ineuntis adulescentiae magnis sunt emendata virtutibus, adeo ut anteferatur huic nemo, pauci pares putentur. The introduction to *Themistocles* is quite striking since it commences with the bold statement which contrasts the opposite extremes of Themistocles' life. Nepos presents Themistocles as the greatest general, far beyond anyone else in the Greek world. This is, however, pure rhetorical flourish, as other *Lives* begin with similar statements which are logically incompatible, e.g. Alcibiades (1.1: *nihil illo fuisse excellentius vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus*), Thrasybulus (1.1: *dubito an hunc primum omnium ponam*) and Iphicrates (1.1: *ne de maioribus natu quidem quisquam anteponeretur*). The rhetorical flourish is also indicated above with the noticeable alliteration of the words *pauci pares putentur, vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus, primum ... ponam, and quidem quisquam*. Nepos creates a deliberate juxtaposition with the dramatic reversal in Themistocles' fortunes. Only Alcibiades and Thrasybulus are considered worthy enough to be mentioned in the same calibre as Themistocles, who is the quintessential hero. This is evident (from Nepos' opening remarks for each life) in how many similarities these three *Lives* share. Nepos categorically confines Themistocles' vices specifically to his early youth, while unqualified virtues characterise

Themistocles' adulthood to show the man's greatness. Nepos' extreme antithesis is unique in ancient presentations of Themistocles and is suspiciously neat.

Plutarch presents a more detailed view of Themistocles' virtues and vices in comparison to Nepos. For example, he explains (*Them.* 21.1; 25.2-3) how Themistocles blackmailed and bullied people prior to and during his exile, while Nepos (*Them.* 8.1; 8.6-7) omits these undesirable facts. Again, Nepos (8.4-5) moulds the Admetus episode in order to evoke pity and sympathy for Themistocles, whereas Plutarch (*Them.* 24.2-3) plausibly records a calculated act of blackmail. Herodotus appears to be biased against Themistocles and consequently attacks Themistocles' achievements by presenting the worst account possible. (Ancient writers, such as Plutarch, had a penchant for presenting their subjects as flawed or imperfect characters.)

1.2. Sed ab initio est ordiendus. This authorial assertion by Nepos is necessary because this is the first *Life* in the *Liber* that presents a full biography: the *Miltiades* begins *in medias res*. Only in the longer *Lives*, of characters in whom Nepos was particularly interested do we get anything approaching a full biographical sketch (cf. *Alc.* 1.2f, *Dion.* 1.1; *Epam.* 2.1f). For such individuals the natural rhythm of a biography requires some treatment of their origins and early career. Nepos' *Themistocles* is among the longer biographies within the *Liber*. In the *Loeb* edition, translated by J.C. Rolfe, the length of the *Themistocles* comprises an approximate 256 lines. In comparison, the *Alc.* comprises of an approximate 303 lines, the *Dion.* comprises of an approximate 223 lines, the *Dat.* comprises of an approximate 267 lines, and the *Epam.* comprises of an approximate 252 lines.

Pater eius Neocles generosus fuit. Cf. Hdt. 7.143.1: Θεμιστοκλῆς, πατρὶς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο. Plut. *Them.* 1.1: πατρὸς γὰρ ἦν Νεοκλέους οὐ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν

ἸΑθήνησι. *Arist. & Cato*: 1.4. Θεμιστοκλεῖ μήτ' ἀπὸ γένους λαμπρῶ καὶ κεκτημένῳ μέτρια. *Ael. VH* 10.17: λέγει Κριτίας Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους πρὶν ἢ ἄρξασθαι πολιτεύεσθαι τρία τάλαντα ἔχειν τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν πατρῶαν. In addition to these literary attestations, the patronymic Neocles is confirmed by several *ostraka* cast against Themistocles in the 480's and 470's.¹⁸ Neocles was a member of one of the aristocratic families in Athens (cf. Davies: 1971: 212-3). Nepos' use of *generosus* (meaning of high-born or noble) highlights his social status (cf. *Cim.* 1.3).

Themistocles' restoration of the initiation-shrine of the Lycomidae in 480 (*Plut. Them.* 1.4; cf. Bicknell 1983: 161-3) reveals his family connections. By downplaying Neocles' status, Plutarch portrays Themistocles as the example of the 'successful self-made man, who can overcome all odds'. For Nepos, however, it was not necessary to present Themistocles as the Athenian equivalent of a *novus homo* to appreciate his excellence. The extent of his wealth is not discussed. Nepos presents a synopsis of Themistocles' early youth and an even shorter discussion concerning Neocles' origins. However, the brief reference to Neocles is meant to praise Themistocles' origins, even though he was the son of one who appears to be a minor Athenian aristocrat.

Not much can be written about Neocles in general. His name can also mean 'Young Fame', indicating the aspirations of his own father. It is unclear whether this had any political significance. It may refer to the sudden prominence of his family or have been aspirational (cf. Harvey 1980: 110-1; Lenardon: 1978: 224). A similar claim can be made for Neocles' own goals and ambitions. Bicknell has three arguments that link Neocles to Miltiades. Firstly, Neocles accompanied Miltiades the Elder to the Thracian Chersonese after 546. Secondly, Neocles made the return journey to Athens with Miltiades the Younger in 524/3. Finally, Themistocles was definitely born in Athens

18. Lang, 1990: 188.

circa 523. Neocles was associated with Miltiades the Elder, while his association with Miltiades the Younger is suggested primarily by Themistocles' defence of Miltiades the Younger when the latter was put on trial in 492 (cf. Bicknell, 1983: 162-3). However, the fact that Nepos does not directly state that Themistocles defended Miltiades the Younger, although he does allude to this fact (*Miltiades* 7.6), can be attributed to Nepos' cross-referencing of the *Lives* of *Miltiades* and *Themistocles*. Themistocles would only have defended Miltiades if he were an old friend and trusted ally of the family, or if such a move would be to his advantage by bolstering his career. Such a move on Themistocles' part was not for sensationalism. Rather, Themistocles relied on the powerful support of Miltiades as he intended to make his first forays into the Athenian political scene in the future. For without the support of a powerful political figure with a proven record, Themistocles would, and did, experience great hardships in attaining the foremost ranks of the Athenian political hierarchy. He attained the then unimportant political office of the *Eponymous Archon* in 493/2, and only became a prominent political figure a decade later in 483/2. Based on these facts, Themistocles would have defended Miltiades while his own fledgling political career was just commencing or possibly even before this occurrence. Podlecki (1975: 7) underplays Themistocles' defence of Miltiades, almost to the point of rejecting it outright. While not too much information remains, Nepos' *Miltiades* 7.6 clearly states that Themistocles did defend Miltiades. This action on the part of Themistocles is beyond any doubt.

1.2. Is uxorem Acarnanam civem duxit, ex qua natus est Themistocles. Cf. Plut.

Them. 1.1-1.2: νόθος δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ὡς λέγουσιν· Ἀβρότονον Θρήσσα γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι τὸν μέγαν Ἑλλήσιν φημι θεμιστοκλέα. Φανίας μέντοι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ θεμιστοκλέους οὐ Θρατταν, ἀλλὰ Καρίνην, οὐδ' Ἀβρότονον ὄνομα, ἀλλ' Εὐτέρπην ἀναγράφει. Νεάνθησ δὲ καὶ πόλιν αὐτῇ τῆς Καρίας Ἀλικαρνασσὸν προστίθησι; *Mor.*

753d: ἄρ' οὖν κράτιστον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς Ἀβρότονόν τινα Θρήσσαν; Ael. *VH* 12.43:
 Θεμιστοκλῆς ... Θράττης υἱὸς ἦν, καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Ἀβρότονον; Ath.
 13.37: οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξ ἑταίρας ἦν γεγενημένος ὄνομα Ἀβροτόνον ὡς
 Ἀμφικράτης ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἐνδόξων Ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματι· Ἀβρότονον
 Θρήσσαι γυνὴ γένος; ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι τὸν μέγαν Ἕλλησιν φασι Θεμιστοκλέα.
 Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Ἱστοριῶν
 Εὐτέρπης αὐτὸν εἶναι φησιν υἱόν. Herodotus makes no mention of any tradition about
 the mother of Themistocles (cf. Hdt. 7.143.1).

A short summary on Themistocles' mother is necessary in order to clarify this often-confusing section in Nepos:

- i. Nepos and Plutarch clash over the name of Themistocles' mother and the name of her original home city. Each author used different sources, which were biased either in favour of or against Themistocles.
- ii. Frost and Marr provide interesting commentaries in an attempt to clarify this contentious issue, although Bicknell provides a much stronger argument and his work has therefore been incorporated into this section instead.
- iii. It is submitted that Bicknell presents the best explanation concerning Euterpe, the real name of Themistocles' mother. The most logical explanation appears to be that Euterpe was herself the daughter of an Athenian colonist at Miltiades' base in the Thracian Chersonese where she met and married another Athenian colonist Neocles, the father of Themistocles. The young couple returned to Athens with a young Themistocles, unless new evidence is discovered which states that Themistocles was born in Athens. (Perhaps Euterpe's mother was a Thracian woman, although no extant ancient source has anything to say on this point.) The propaganda war extended to the sources and this has caused a problem not only for modern historians but also for the ancient historians. To further

complicate matters, Nepos also mistranslates the Greek name Καρδία into Acarnanian. A brief history on Miltiades is also included to understand the unfolding events in full.

Nepos claims that Themistocles' mother came from Acarnania. This is the only account that Nepos presents on the topic concerning the birthplace of Themistocles' mother. Plutarch presents two alternate explanations himself. Marr attributes this question to a political slur directed against Themistocles. The issue of women having political rights is a moot point, as women did not have any political rights in Ancient Greece (cf. Marr: 1998, 71). The term relates to the origin and status of individuals or citizens in Athens. Nepos omits precise details about Themistocles' mother and only offers the version that she came from Acarnania. Two explanations are presented to explain why Nepos adopts this hypothesis. Firstly, Nepos has condensed the controversy over the true name of Themistocles' mother. Secondly, it is plausible that, since there was much propaganda and slander surrounding Themistocles and his mother, Nepos did not possess any accurate information concerning the woman's actual name and place of origin.

Civem is a curious word for Nepos to use here. It means that Themistocles' mother received Athenian citizenship rights. If Nepos' *civis* reflects a term used in his source, then we might seek its significance in Pericles' Athenian citizenship law and thus date this emphasis after 451 BC. *Civem* can also be referred back to Pericles' law when *citizenship was only conferred if both of the child's parents were Athenian citizens themselves*. This gives rise to two questions. Did the political slurs against Themistocles originate mainly after his condemnation and exile from Athens, or commence against his descendants after 451/450 BC? It is most likely that such propaganda originated once Themistocles was exiled from Athens, when the Spartans demanded that the Athenians

exile Themistocles. The maternal slur would have increased in ferocity against his family after Themistocles' exile and death, as well as after Pericles' citizenship law had been passed.

Plutarch lists two theories concerning Themistocles' mother: she was either a foreigner in Athens or she was the child of Greek colonists. What does Plutarch mean precisely?

These theories should be connected with the anti-Themistoclean tradition (cf. Marr 1998: 70-71; Frost 1980: 61-63). The words ὡς λέγουσιν indicate that Plutarch is quoting the opinions of other sources. In this way, Plutarch has already distanced himself from these versions of the status of Themistocles's mother.

As mentioned above, there are two pertinent points to consider here. Firstly, Nepos has not recounted the full details of Themistocles' life. This does not mean that Nepos did not know all the historical details of Themistocles' life. He abbreviated sections of his work to suit the chosen scope of the *Liber*. Notwithstanding the condensed sections, he has a tendency to omit the unpleasant or controversial parts, while Plutarch in comparison mentions such details. Secondly, the question of Nepos' sources arises. Did Nepos copy the information down correctly, did he alter the facts, or was there an earlier corruption or doctoring of the original facts? All three alternatives are quite conceivable and cannot be dismissed summarily. This is a plausible explanation as to why Nepos remains silent on this occasion with the name (as well as throughout the text at certain points). Nepos usually states his opinion on a matter under discussion.

Nepos states that Neocles married an Acarnanian woman, although he omits any reference to the woman's name, anecdotal or factual, or her birthplace. Although the use of the term birthplace is used as a substitution for the name *Acarnanam*. Plutarch, on the other hand, states that the wife of Neocles was known as Abrotonon, before citing

Phanias, who claimed that her name was Euterpe. Furthermore, Plutarch cites the same unknown source, which states that Themistocles' mother came from Thrace, while Phanias insists that she was a Carian. Plutarch then cites Neanthes, who supposedly substantiated Phanias' claim and specifies that the woman in question came from the city of Halicarnassus in Caria.

Plutarch suggests that Phanias denied that Habrotonon was the name of Themistocles' mother. The name Habrotonon, as listed on the epitaph of Themistocles' mother's grave, was commonly given to a slave girl and a *hetaira*. It is improbable that Themistocles' mother would have been given a name commonly used by slave girls. Plutarch's evidence shows what strongly appears to be a contrived form of propaganda by Themistocles' enemies to discredit him. The issue concerning the anachronism in Plutarch 1.1 pertains to the simple fact that Themistocles was born in the late sixth century. Pericles' citizenship law was only promulgated in 451. Hence, there is no possible way that Themistocles could have been classified as an illegitimate child. Rather, this confusion must be attributed to the anti-Themistoclean tradition (See Marr 1998: 70-2).

Phanias wrote in the 330's BC. Plutarch, however, was not always convinced that Phanias was a reliable source, e.g. the story about Themistocles sacrificing a human sacrifice before the battle of Salamis is untrue (Plut. *Them.* 13.2-5. See Marr, 1998: 105-106). The slander created by calling Themistocles' mother Habrotonon is the unpleasant connotation and association of being a slave girl. This is clearly part of the vast anti-Themistoclean propaganda. This false and vitriolic information is clearly evident in the faux epitaph, which was attributed to the origins of Themistocles' mother, since this slander was quite prevalent in the fourth century (See Marr, 1998: 70-71).

Neanthes is thought to have followed Phantias' version of Themistocles' trials and tribulations. Euterpe cannot be obviously connected with the name of a slave woman, while Halicarnassus had a large Greek population. This appears to be counter propaganda in order to set the record straight that Themistocles' mother was either a regular Greek, an Athenian woman or a noble woman of high birth. It would have been a disaster for Themistocles' career if his mother had actually been a slave girl or a prostitute, or if such information had been made public. Hence, it was necessary to re-establish the credibility of Themistocles' mother, even if this occurred two centuries later. Plutarch also lists examples of other famous Greek politicians and generals, such as Cleisthenes and Cimon, while also listing some names of famous Athenian generals or politicians who did not have the names of their respective mothers recorded (Plut. *Alcibiades* 1.3). In Athens, though, the actual question with reference to such comments was directed at the status of the politician or general being targeted by such slanderous accusations. Such men included Demosthenes, Nicias, Phormio, Lamachus, Thrasybulus, and Theramenes. Euterpe as the name of Themistocles' mother appears to be a pro-Themistoclean tradition. This is the reason why Plutarch includes both versions of the purported names attributed to Themistocles' mother.

Plutarch secured his information on Themistocles' mother from the 'third and fourth books of Neanthes' (cf. Ath. 13.37). The usual questions concerning authenticity arise with regard to sources such as Neanthes. It is perfectly conceivable that Phantias used a readily available source on Themistocles' mother in his own era, while Neanthes, who wrote later, discovered the same source. It is also possible that Nepos also discovered the same source, or version of the source, as used by both Phantias and Neanthes. However, it is far more likely that he takes his material from one of his major sources, e.g. Ephorus. (This is confirmed by the frequent similarities between Nepos and Diodorus as

will be appropriately reflected in this commentary.)

Bicknell¹⁹ presents a completely new solution concerning the issue of the origins of Themistocles' mother. He attempts to reconstruct the original text of Ephorus and Nepos, and therefore understand how we come to have the name *Acarmanam* in Nepos. Bicknell re-examines the versions discussed by Phantias, Neanthes, Athenaios, Nepos and Plutarch in a new light. His argument deserves a more through examination.

The problems which have commonly occurred arise from the usage of the words *Καρίνην*, *ἐκ Καρίας* and *Acharmanam*. Bicknell²⁰ rather cleverly suggests that the word *Θρησσα* was the 'most likely' original place name that lies behind our extant versions. He proceeds to claim that Phantias changed the name *Καρδία* into *Karia*.²¹ He also maintains that Nepos uses Ephorus, who wrote about a decade earlier than Phantias did, with the result that *Καρδιάνην* had been changed to *'Αχαρνανα* or *'Αχαρνανιν*. So two possible sources each changed the name of the original place of origin of Themistocles' mother into a different name. Bicknell maintains that Nepos drew substantially on the accounts of Ephorus by comparing what each author wrote concerning the Parian expedition of the younger Miltiades. (The text from Ephorus comes from the surviving fragment of *FGH 70 F 63*, while Nepos recorded the event in *Miltiades 7.1-4*.) Hence Nepos uses possibly Ephorus here as his main source, while also drawing on other sources. Nepos then changed or copied the *Cardianam* into *Acarmanam*. Bicknell therefore provides convincing evidence that Davies did not consider the fact that all three names suggested have all been corrupted over time. It remains unclear whether the change of name was through error, or if Themistocles' enemies were involved in the distortion of the facts.

19. P. Bicknell, 'Themistokles' Father and Mother', *Historia* 31, (1982), 161-173.

20. *Ibid.*, 167.

21. *Ibid.*, 167.

Bicknell attempts to demystify the saga and propaganda surrounding Themistocles' mother. The mention of Caria and Nepos's *Acharnanam* are all rejected by Bicknell and attributed to inventions by Phantias, and corruption by later writers.²² Nepos himself is the main culprit here. Bicknell finds that a basically truthful version resonates behind the epitaph of Themistocles' mother, as mentioned by Plutarch, and Athenaeus, does exist, and according to Bicknell, it was derived from a source used by Amphikrates. This information in both sources is essentially the same. A simple yet valid question must be asked: Where did Amphikrates find this information and who was his source? This question has to remain unanswered unless new evidence is discovered that can shed some new light on this topic.

The changing of the place name and the actual name of Themistocles' mother is linked with the topic of sexual slander in sixth, fifth and fourth century Athens. The practice of sexual slander is acknowledged as being common in Athenian politics. This slander was reflected in the Attic comedies with their attacks on Athenian politicians and generals, particularly Themistocles. The wife or mother of the politician (or general) in question, e.g. Pericles, was degraded and maliciously misrepresented, even though the actual facts of the people in question were known during the fourth century BC. Hence, this reason explains why Themistocles' mother was also referred to as Abrotonon, since the name was synonymous with that of the *hetairai* (prostitutes) in Athenian comedy during the fifth century. Bicknell asserts that Euterpe and Abrotonon are always linked to sexual innuendo.

Bicknell's whole argument revolves around the issue that Themistocles' mother was a Thracian. Why would Bicknell posit her origins as being particularly Thracian? The

22. *Ibid.* 167.

answer is simply that Neocles lived in the Athenian colony founded by Miltiades the Elder in the Thracian Chersonese for the last quarter of the sixth century. Bicknell supports Davies' argument (1971, 213) in so far as Themistocles was born in 524/3 BC (1983: 166, 169). His father Neocles was one of the Athenian settlers who accompanied Miltiades the Elder to the Chersonese (the Chersonese in question refers to the Thracian Chersonese). Bicknell pursues his theory that Neocles married a daughter of a Greek citizen there (either from Athens or some other city-state in Greece), who was living in Kardia, and not a Thracian woman, as the above-mentioned Athenian plays proclaimed (1983: 169). Furthermore, it is supposed that Kardia was the base of power for Miltiades. Themistocles' mother was a Thracian Greek initially. Themistocles was recognised as being an Athenian citizen. This law was adhered to strictly and obsessively. A brief digression is now necessary in order to explain Bicknell's rationale. The elder Miltiades travelled to the Thracian Chersonese after 545 in order to escape the victorious Peisistratos after the battle of Pallene. Miltiades was succeeded by his nephew, Stesagoras, after 528/7. Stesagoras was assassinated around 516/5. His younger brother, Miltiades (known as Miltiades the Younger), then succeeded him as the ruler of the Thracian Chersonese. Bicknell connects the history of Miltiades and his younger nephew of the same name in the Thracian Chersonese with the history of Themistocles and his mother. The crux of the matter lies in the fact that Neocles, the father of Themistocles, accompanied Miltiades the Elder to the Thracian Chersonese. Neocles then married a woman from this area. The woman was likely to have been a daughter of one of the Athenian colonists who accompanied Miltiades. The Athenian plays inverted the truth and consequently slandered Neocles' wife by accusing her of being a native Thracian woman and hence a barbarian, since any man or woman who was not a Greek was classified as being a barbarian.

Miltiades had a power base in Kardia. Suddenly events and names begin to fall into place. This is why Bicknell argues that Καρδία is the correct place name behind Καρία, which he refers to as a Greek *apoikia*. The adjectival form of Καρδία is Καρδιανή. Nepos changed or copied an already altered text to read as *Acarmana*. Bicknell also contends this is why Phantias changed Καρδία into Καρία, whereupon Neanthes copied this information while contending that Halikarnassos was the city at the heart of the controversy. Either Ephorus or Nepos corrupted the text even more from Καρδιανήν to Ἀχαρνανα or Ἀχαρνανιν. Nepos then changed or copied *Cardianam* into *Acarmanam* (1983: 169). This is how Bicknell presents his evidence by pointing the names back to one original place name and the association of political slander used to mock Themistocles' mother. Bicknell stresses that his work is based on supposition, as there is no definite evidence to corroborate his theory, albeit an extremely convincing one.

Bicknell raises a further question as to whether Themistocles was born in Athens or the Thracian Chersonese. The specified answer was that Neocles and his bride returned to Athens around 525/4 (1983: 169). During this same time, Peisistratus's two sons approved the appointment of Miltiades the Younger to the position of the *Eponymous Archon*. Miltiades assumed office in 524/3. This was purely a political move on the part of the Peisistratids since they were accused of being complicit in the assassination of Kimon Koalemos, a half-brother of Miltiades the Elder. Kimon Koalemos was Miltiades the Younger's and Stesagoras's father. The younger Miltiades was residing in Athens at the time of his father's murder, whereupon he sailed to the Thracian Chersonese. In the Thracian Chersonese, he somehow came into contact with Neocles. Bicknell speculates that Neocles accompanied Miltiades back to Athens at this point. Neocles made a calculated move in order to gain the limited goodwill of the tyrannical Peisistratid family.

When Neocles returned to Athens, his association with the Lycomidae, his native Athenian clan, was strained presumably owing to his prolonged absence in the Thracian Chersonese. Bicknell presents this as a possible reason why Themistocles was not connected to the deme (or *demotes*) of Phlya. Phlya was regarded as the traditional home of the Lycomidae. Neocles proceeded to acquire property in the deme of the Phrearrhia. The property was strategically situated near the Laureion silver mines. Furthermore, the deme of Phrearrhia, in south-eastern Attika, is far away from Phyla, as Bicknell also stresses.

After Stesagoras was assassinated in 516/5, the Peisistratids sent Miltiades to rule the Thracian Chersonese. However, the Persians attacked the Thracian Chersonese, forcing Miltiades to flee back to Athens (1983: 170). Miltiades returned in 493/2, when, coincidentally, Themistocles was the *Eponymous Archon*. In typical Athenian fashion, Miltiades' opponents accused him of being a tyrant and placed him on trial. However, Themistocles successfully defended Miltiades. Bicknell concludes that Miltiades had been a regular guest of Neocles after the two returned to Athens in 525/4 until Miltiades' departure for the Thracian Chersonese in 516/5. Themistocles would have grown accustomed to seeing Miltiades visit his parents when he was growing up in Athens, in addition to when he was a young man.

Bicknell also presents three contentious pieces of evidence to reinforce his arguments concerning the origins of Euterpe, Themistocles' mother. Bicknell adopts the view of Phanias of Eresus, that Euterpe was the name of Themistocles' mother (1983: 163).

Bicknell bases his first theory on a sherd, which was used in an *ostrakon* from Kerameikos, which contained the inscribed name of Menon Neokleous (1983: 171-172).

D. M. Lewis dated the sherd to 471/0, while Bicknell suggests that it could hail from an

ostrakon in the 480's. Bicknell bases this speculation on the fact that a single name was recorded, or occurred most often, when the *ostrakon* was held. Nevertheless, Bicknell associates this find with the Athenian practice of naming the younger sons after the mother's kin. Younger sons were usually named after the maternal grandfather. Consequently, he submits that the name Menon could have been the name given to Euterpe's father. If this is correct, this information would then refute the claims (and subsequent slander) that Themistocles' mother was a barbarian, instead of being a Greek woman.

Bicknell also speculates why three *ostraka* found at Kerameikos bear the name of Xanthias (1983: 172). The dates for the sherds are once again placed at either 472/1 or in the 480's. The significance of these sherds is that they could be slanderous references to Themistocles' Thracian (Greek colonist) ancestry. Bicknell proposes that his theory would make sense if Themistocles had been a redhead.

Conclusion:

It is thus conceivable that Themistocles' mother was a foreigner. A feasible solution is that Themistocles' mother was a non-Athenian citizen from the Greek colony in the Thracian Chersonese. The details surrounding the origins of Themistocles' mother have been distorted and changed to suit both the purposes of Themistocles and that of his enemies respectively. The evidence shows that the Athenians considered a 'true' Athenian citizen to be one who was born and bred in the city of Athens itself.

It is quite plausible that politics has played an important part in altering both the name of Themistocles' mother, as well as the city or town from which she came. The evidence from the ancient biographers and historians suggests that Themistocles' mother was the daughter of an Athenian colonist to the Thracian Chersonese, while modern scholarship

has proven that Nepos either corrupted his source or used a corrupted source. Hence, it is quite conceivable that Themistocles was the son of the daughter of a Greek colonist called Euterpe. His parentage is Greek on both sides. Bicknell's arguments prove that Nepos' account concerning the authentic Athenian and Greek parentage of Themistocles was correct in the first place. Nepos' mistake is a corruption of *Acharnanam*. Therefore, his mistake lies with himself or with Ephorus, instead of resulting from political bias, which arose from Themistocles' enemies.

1.2: Qui cum minus esset probatus parentibus, quod et liberius vivebat et rem

familiarem neglegebat. Cf. Athenaeus 533d: Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ οὐπω Ἀθηναίων μεθυσκομένων οὐδ' ἐταίραις χρωμένων ἐκφανῶς τέθριππον ζεύξας ἐταιρίδων διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πληθύνοντος ἐωθινὸς ἤλασεν. ἀμφιβόλως δ' αὐτὸ εἶρηκεν ὁ Ἴδομενεύς, εἴτε ἐταίρας τέτταρας συνυπέξευξεν ὡς ἵππους εἴτ' ἀνεβίβασεν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τέθριππον and 576c: Θεμιστοκλῆς τε, ὡς φησὶν Ἴδομενεύς, οὐχ ἄρμα ζευξάμενος ἐταιρῶν πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς εἰσήλασεν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ; ἦσαν δ' αὐταὶ Λάμια καὶ Σκιώνη καὶ Σατύρα καὶ Νάννιον; Plut. *Mor.* 552b: Θεμιστοκλέους, ἐφ' οἷς ἀσελγαίνων ἐκώμαζε καὶ ὕβριζε δι' ἀγορᾶς, 795c: Θεμιστοκλέα, δυσχεραينوμένους καὶ κακῶς ἀκούοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ πρῶτον ὡς ἰταμοὺς καὶ ἀκόλαστους and 800b: ἀκούεις γάρ, ὅτι καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄπτεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας διανοούμενος ἀπέστησε τῶν πότων καὶ τῶν κώμων ἑαυτόν; Ach. *Tat.* 8.17: κάμῃ οὖν ὑπεισῆει τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὅτι κακεῖνος τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν σφόδρα δόξας ἀκόλαστος εἶναι.

Nepos initially presents the worst possible account of Themistocles. He records how Themistocles was disinherited and publicly humiliated. Nepos contrasts this extremely negative view of Themistocles by showing how it apparently galvanized him to respond. Disinheritance was a serious issue. Themistocles suddenly changed his entire lifestyle, thereby gaining new friends and public support. Nepos has thus drawn a sharp contrast

between Themistocles' youth and later career without specifically commenting any further on his [Themistocles'] youth.

Among Greek rhetoricians, the early moral degeneracy of Themistocles was a commonplace example (e.g. frag. 4.690, 5.334, 7.1 14, 7.1 585 Walz), but they do not provide specific examples. Indeed, the whole tradition, apart from the story of the four prostitutes told by Idomeneus, a writer of the early third century, whose penchant for juicy anecdotes suggests that his evidence be treated with some caution, is suspiciously vague. Nepos' suggestion that Themistocles exhibited a lack of restraint (*liberius*) and was financially extravagant (*rem familiarem neglegebat*) cannot then be confirmed, but the charges are typical of those brought against the behaviour of young members of the elite (See Frost 1980: 22).

Plutarch, after summarizing Themistocles' youthful character-failings, claims that in later life he admitted the fault (2.7: ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις τῆς νεότητος ὁρμαῖς ἀνώματος ἦν καὶ ἀστάθμητος, ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος, ἄνευ λόγου καὶ πολλακίς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα μεγάλας ποιουμένη μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδυμάτων, καὶ πολλακίς ἐξισταμένη πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, ὡς ὕστερον αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους πάλους ἀρίστους ἵππους γίγνεσθαι φάσκων, ὅταν ἦς προσήκει τύχῳσι παιδείας καὶ καταρτίσεως).

a patre exheredatus est. Aeschines Socraticus Frag I sub-frag. A: [ἐκεῖ] νο, ἦ δ' ὅς, ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ὤμη[ν] τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ὑπ[ὸ] τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποκηρυχθῆ[ναι] φαύλου γὰρ καὶ πόρρω ἀνοίας ἦκοντα τά γε τοιαῦτα· ὅστις εἰς διαφορὰς τοιαύτας καὶ ἔχθρας τὰς μεγίστας | πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονέας κατέστη. Sub fragment D: καλῶς δὲ κα[ὶ] ὁ Ἀπολλό-] || δωρος ὑπέπ τοῦ φαύλου] || ἀπολογεῖσθαι". "ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ-] || νο, ἦ δ' ὅς, ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ὤμη[ν] || τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ὑπ[ὸ] || τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποκηρυχθῆ-] || ναι· φαύλου γὰρ καὶ πόρ- || πω ἀνοίας ἦκοντα τά || γε τοιαῦτα· ὅστις εἰς δι- ||

αφοράς τοιαύτας καὶ ἔ- || χθρας τὰς μεγίστας || πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονέ- || ας κατέστη ὁ καὶ παι- || δάριον εὐλαβηθῆναι || [3]ροι”. “οὕτω δὴ μικρὸν; Val. Max. 6.9. ext. 2: *piget Themistoclis adulescentiam attingere, sive patrem aspiciam abdicationis iniungentem notam, sive matrem suspendio finire vitam propter filii turpitudinem coactam*; Sen. Contr. 1.8.6: *Athenienses abdicato vicerunt duce: quantum inter me et illum interest ille abdicationem virtute delevit, ego merui*; Plut. Them. 2.8: ἃ δὲ τούτων ἐξαρτῶσιν ἔνιοι διηγήματα πλάττοντες, ἀποκήρυξιν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμία περιλύπου γενομένης, δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι, καὶ τούναντίον εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες, ὅτι τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπεδείκνυε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τὰς παλαιὰς τριήρεις ἐπιμμένας καὶ παρορωμένας, ὡς δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι γένωνται, τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοίως ἐχόντων; Cf. Aelian: *VH* 2.12: Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦ Νεοκλέους οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἐπαινεῖν χρή τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀσωτίας ἐπαύσατο Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποκηρυχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ὑπῆρξατό πως τοῦ σωφρονεῖν. Alexander of Aphrodisias in a commentary on Aristotle's *Topica* p. 179: Θεμιστοκλέα γοῦν ἀποκήρυκτον μὲν φασιν γενέσθαι, οὐ μὴν φαῦλος ἦν; Libanius *Declamationes* 9.33: εἰς ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀποκηρύξεως, ᾧ Θεμιστόκλεις, φέρει, τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀποθέσθαι τὸν νέον καὶ γενέσθαι καλὸν κάγαθόν. Stobaeus *Anth.* 4.50(95): τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον νέον μὲν ὄντα ὁ πατὴρ ἀπεκήρυξεν [οὐκ ἐθέλων υἱὸν ἔχειν] διὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ νεότητι ἀμαρτιάδας; Suda: Ἀνεῖλεν [Adler 1: 212]: ταῦτα ἐξηγήσατο Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους, ὃς δι' ἐλευθεριότητα ἀπεκηρύχθη and ἀποκήρυκτον [Adler 1: 299]: Θεμιστοκλέα γοῦν ἀποκλέους φασὶ γενέσθαι· οὐ μὴν φαῦλος ἦν.

The extant sources clearly demonstrate the Themistoclean disinheritance tradition. This tradition can be traced back to the mid-fourth century BC. As such, this tradition was incorporated into both the historical and rhetorical traditions, and was even well known

among the Romans. Nepos also adopted this tradition. Plutarch, however, rejects this tradition quite strongly (*Them.* 2.8: δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι), by basing his argument on an anachronism (cf. Frost 1980: 69-70, Marr 1998: 75). Marr correctly explains that Themistocles ordered the construction of the first Athenian triremes, which were only subsequently built in 483, long after he had entered his political career. Frost argues the same point and refers to Labarbe to substantiate his view. Aeschines' character, Alcibiades, in the dialogue apparently suggests that this tradition is unhistorical. We can therefore trace the disagreement back to the beginning of the extant tradition.

In contrast to Valerius Maximus and Seneca, Nepos translates the Greek term ἀποκήρυξις as *exhereditio* rather than *abducatio*. Nepos faced the challenge whereby he needed to represent the Latin translation and explanation of an Athenian legal practice which had important differences from the concept of disinheritance in Roman law. The Athenians did not permit a father to prevent a son from inheriting except by the procedure of renouncing him during his lifetime, *apokeryxis*. In contrast, the Roman equivalent of renunciation, i.e. *abducatio*, did not prevent a son from inheriting. Under Roman law, the father made an explicit exclusion of his son by name in his (i.e. the father's) will (*exhereditio*). *Exhereditio* is probably a stronger term to employ and may better reflect the extremity of *apokeryxis*.²³

In Roman law, the *exhereditio* or disinheritance law stated that sons were disinherited by name. If this procedure was not followed, then the father's will was 'completely ineffective' when the time came to leave out the disinherited sons. If the correct form of disinheritance was adhered to, then the disinheritance of the sons was automatic.²⁴ The Athenian law of disinheritance was called *apokeryxis* or ἀποκήρυξις. Under this law, the

23. See M. Wurm, *Apokeryxis, Abducatio und Exhereditio* (Munich, 1972), 11-2, 75-6; E. Champlin, *Final Judgments* (Berkeley, 1991), 107-8.

24. Brill's New Pauly Vol. 5, 2004, 266-267.

legal rights of legitimate heirs were 'compulsory' when the issue of an inheritance was concerned, since the heir(s) could not be disinherited. However, a father could renounce his son during his [i.e. the father's] lifetime and thereby prevent the son from receiving the inheritance.²⁵ MacDowell argues that it was possible for a father to renounce the acknowledgement of his son after he had initially acknowledged the paternity. This drastic action was achieved by a formal rejection or *apokeryxis*. *Apokeryxis* was usually performed whenever a father had reason to believe that the child in question was not his own. A father could also disinherit a legal son.²⁶

It is impossible on the basis of the surviving accounts to determine for certain the historicity of this tradition, as it was clearly contested by at least the mid-fourth century. Most modern scholars reject this view (e.g. Lenardon 1978: 22, Frost 1980: 69) as propaganda spread by of Themistocles' political enemies during his lifetime. The fact that Themistocles is referred to by his patronymic and demotic name on the *ostraka* cast against him, indicates that none of the associated consequences of being expelled from the *genos* and *deme* which should have followed as a direct consequence from the *apokeryxis*, ever did materialise. This therefore casts severe doubts on the tradition, particularly since there is no mention of any political or legal mechanism for reversing *apokeryxis*.²⁷ However, some level of disagreement, between Neocles and Themistocles can inevitably be divined, but it falls quite short of any legal break.²⁸

There is a similar anecdote which Nepos does not use. It concerns the alleged suicide of Themistocles' mother, which Plutarch soundly rejects (*Them.* 2.8). Indeed, Themistocles is praised on the epitaph of his mother's grave, and his birth is also hailed, since he is regarded as the saviour of Greece (Plut. *Them.* 1.1). This serves as a counter to the

25. Brill's New Pauly Vol. 1, 2002, 848-849.

26. D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens*, 1978: 91.

27. L. Piccirilli, 'L' "apokeryxis" di Temistocle', in *Studi in onore di Arnaldo Biscardi* (Milan, 1982), i. 343-55.

28. L. Piccirilli, 'Artemide e la metis di Temistocle', *QS7* (1981), 149-166.

propaganda story of his mother's suicide; as in fact, she celebrates his greatness. The epitaph itself is the same evidence that Plutarch uses to demonstrate that a stark contradiction exists concerning Themistocles' mother's suicide.

1.3: Quae contumelia non fregit eum, sed erexit; nam cum iudicasset sine summa industria non posse eam exstingui, totum se dedit rei publicae, diligentius amicis famaeque serviens. The idea that Themistocles' character underwent a major change for the better is first found allusively, given the state of the extant papyrus, in Aesch. Socr. (fr. 1a. [περὶ τοὺς] σεαυτοῦ γονέας γεγενησθαι, οἷός περ [ὁ Θε]μιστοκλῆς λέγεται [περὶ τοὺς] ἑαυτοῦ; "εὐφήμει, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες". "πρότερον δὲ δοκεῖ σοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκαιόν εἶναι ἀμού[sου]ς πρότερον ἢ μουσικοῦς γίνεσθαι; καὶ πότερον ἀφίππους" ἢ ἱππικοῦς; "ἀναγκαιόν μοι δοκεῖ ἀμού[sου]ς πρότερον καὶ ἀφίππους".²⁹ It becomes commonplace later.³⁰

The last seven to eight lines in Nepos' rubric are interesting, as Nepos mentions information concerning Themistocles that is not found anywhere else, including in Plutarch. Nepos mentions that Themistocles became involved in civil suits. This implies that Themistocles was prosecuted and was forced to defend himself or a friend, such as in the case of Miltiades the Younger; or that he was prosecuting someone else.

Themistocles also used his oratorical skills when he spoke in public. When Themistocles speaks in public in Nepos' text, Nepos is referring to the occasions when Themistocles spoke before the General Assembly or the *Boule*. Nepos (1.3) specifically mentions that Themistocles would frequently speak in the public assembly. In the Greek context, there was no such occupation as a lawyer as there was in Rome. In Athens, a person delivered the speech himself in the court system. It was permitted for the prosecutor or the defendant to receive assistance or advice in the composition of the speech by an orator or

29. See R. Hammon, *IJCT* 9 (2003), 358-60.

30. See Frost 1980: 69.

a person experienced in these matters. Witnesses could also be called upon to testify for either the prosecutor or the defendant. Plutarch only mentions that Themistocles spoke to politicians and military leaders. Nepos points out that Themistocles was always involved in any important affair after he became involved in Athenian politics. By becoming an orator and speaking before the General Assembly, Themistocles cleverly gained public attention.

Nepos has left large gaps in Themistocles' youth unexplained, while Plutarch provides this missing information, thus giving a deeper insight into Themistocles' character. On the one hand, it appears that Nepos was not interested in examining Themistocles' youth in any great detail. On the other hand, Nepos appears not to have understood the Athenian laws governing disinheritance and elected not to analyze Greek law as it was beyond his scope. Nepos has written his biography on Themistocles the way he has for two reasons. Firstly, Nepos wishes to portray Themistocles in a good light as a saviour figure who had to redeem himself owing to his nefarious past. Secondly, Nepos has a limited amount of space to work with. Consequently, he has to decide what parts of Themistocles' life he wants to synthesize and what he desires to leave out.

1.3: Multum in iudiciis privatis versabatur, saepe in contionem populi prodibat;

nulla res maior sine eo gerebatur; celeriter quae opus erant reperiēbat, facile eadem

oratione explicabat. Cf. Thuc. 1.138.4: ἃ μὲν μετὰ χειρᾶς ἔχοι, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι

οἷός τε, ὧν δ' ἄπειρος εἶη, κρίναι ἰκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο· τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον

ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι προεώρα μάλιστα. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει,

μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο; Plut.

Them. 5.6: τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνήμοττε . . . κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια παρέχων

ἑαυτόν, *Mor.* 185d: πρὸς δὲ Σιμωνίδην ἐξαιτούμενόν τινα κρίσιν οὐ δικαίαν ἔφη

μήτ' ἂν ἐκείνον γενέσθαι ποιητὴν ἀγαθὸν ἄδοντα παρὰ μέλος, μήτ' αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα

χρηστὸν δικάζοντα παρὰ τὸν νόμον (cf. *Mor.* 534e and 807b).

Here Nepos mentions information concerning Themistocles that is not found anywhere else. Themistocles embroiled himself involvement in civil suits as a means of furthering his political career by defending potential allies and may even have conducted prosecutions. Nepos draws a deliberate contrast between the private and public (*populi*) prosecutions in order to underline the ubiquity of Themistocles' oratorical skills and activity. His *contio populi* must refer to the Athenian *ekklesia*, whereby any Athenian (male) citizen had the prerogative to engage in a public debate, but where in practice only a small number of skilled speakers actually practised their craft.³¹

The third component of Themistocles' activity that Nepos highlights is his involvement in all matters of (political) importance, an unprovable generalisation, which must stretch over several years of his life. The plausibility of this theory, however, must be seen in the subsequent election of Themistocles as the *Archon Eponymous* and as a general.³²

Themistocles' strength lay in his ability to sum up any situation quickly and state his own prudent opinion. Here Nepos seems to draw on Thucydides' concisely written description of Themistocles, however, he does not adopt the same closeness that he uses in the next section.

1.4: neque minus in rebus gerendis promptus quam excogitandis erat. Nepos' antithesis between doing and thinking is not Thucydidean. There are many examples of "forced" antitheses in Nepos.

quod et de instantibus, ut ait Thucydides, verissime iudicabat et de futuris callidissime coniciebat. Thucydides Cf. Thuc. 1.138.3: τῶν τε παραχρῆμα δι'

31. See M. H. Hansen, *The Athenian democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* (Oxford, 1991), 142-5.

32. See Nepos 2.2 and Frost 1980, 73-5.

ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστις γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής. Nepos' version of Thucydides' famous character summary (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ep. Amm.* 16) is not essentially a translation since it omits the aspect of speed (δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς) and the range of Themistocles' prognostications (ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου; see Gomme, ad hoc.); although it does well to pick up the antithesis between the present and future. However, *coniciebat* is an excellent translation for εἰκαστής, since both words derive respectively from artificial divination, in addition to aptly emphasizing the implementation of the human intellect to interpret 'signs', which required special interpretation. Thucydides brings this out explicitly (οἰκεία . . . ξυνέσει), while this point is easily inferred from Nepos.

Nepos quotes Thucydides indirectly regarding what Thucydides actually said about Themistocles's actions in the political arena: Themistocles was able to judge a situation accurately while also divining the future. Thucydides claims that Themistocles was remarkable as his acute judgement enabled him to reach an immediate decision in addition to having an opinion on any matter (Thucydides 1.138). Thucydides supports the view that Themistocles was able to forecast the future better than other people who had this ability. Thucydides also argues that Themistocles could see the benefits or pitfalls in any course of action which he suggested, while other politicians and generals did not have this ability. Thucydides attributes these talents or abilities to Themistocles' natural intelligence. Nepos uses this information from Thucydides to show how Themistocles was able to advance his later military and political careers although Thucydides stops short of actually stating this fact to his readers, but rather implies this fact instead. Nepos uses innuendoes to explain how and why Themistocles acted and portrayed himself as he did throughout his political and military career.

Themistocles could not have been able to divine the future, although it is possible that he

possessed the foresight to see where potential future problems could arise. It was enough for the Athenians to believe that Themistocles was capable of “divining the future”.

Furthermore, Themistocles claimed or implied that he was able to predict the future. This is plausible as most people living in antiquity were prone to superstition. Themistocles would ensure that every person heard what he had to say, since he spoke in the Public Assembly and anywhere else where people would listen to him. Naturally, such information was spread by the pro-Themistoclean propaganda after his death.

Themistocles had the reputation for *euboulia*, i.e. the “uncanny cleverness at predicting what would happen and devising the most appropriate response”³³, which was a self-proclaimed skill that he himself promoted, for example, when he orchestrated the construction of a shrine to Artemis with the provocative epithet of *Aristoboule* (Plut. *Them.* 22.2). His political supporters later publicized this auspicious event. The primary employment of this talent, of course, was his prediction of the inevitable conflict with the Persians and his unceasing advocacy of a sound naval strategy as the only means to defeat them. Frost also agrees that the myths surrounding Themistocles obscured the truth regarding this ability which Themistocles possessed. By *euboulia* Frost is referring to this ability which was one of Themistocles’ special talents. Themistocles was known as a strategist during and after the second Persian invasion in 480. This is an image which he cultivated from this point on throughout his career.

Plutarch insists that Themistocles knew that the Persians would interfere in Greece since they were defeated at Marathon in 490. It is hard to believe that this is the only reason why Themistocles started to prepare for the eventuality of the second Persian invasion under Xerxes in 480 by means of his Naval Bill in 483. The new ship building programme only commenced in 483/2, when the General Assembly accepted

33. Frost 1980: 9.

Themistocles' Naval Bill.

Quo factum est ut brevi tempore illustraretur. Nepos uses Thucydides' summary to illustrate how Themistocles was able to advance his political and military career so rapidly without sacrificing any agenda in either career path. As will soon become abundantly clear, Nepos attempts to highlight or compacting Themistocles' career, from his first public office, a sign of some prominence, occurred approximately ten years prior to what Nepos argues was Themistocles' first (minor) public achievement. Themistocles' actions quickly ensured that his ideas were constantly being made known to the public, while he also informed everyone about his plans and also constantly reminded everyone about his achievements. Nepos implies, however, that Themistocles became famous overnight. This is not true, since Themistocles worked hard to receive or assume the position of the *Eponymous Archon* in 493/92. He served in the Athenian army when the Persians under Darius were defeated at Marathon, whereupon he expressed the wish that he wanted to become an Athenian of note, especially when Miltiades received all the acclaim after the battle. Between 489-483/2, Themistocles solidified his support with the Council of the *Areopagus* during this time, since he automatically became a member when he held the office of *Eponymous Archon*. Notwithstanding this accomplishment, Themistocles successfully campaigned to be recognized as a prominent politician and general. He attained this objective in 483/2 when he was publicly acknowledged as being a person of note in the upper echelons of the Athenian political hierarchy. In addition to this newly gained popularity, Themistocles was also appointed as one of the ten Athenian generals or *strategoï* in 483/2. He was re-appointed as *strategos* in the following years until 480/79. Thereafter, as Develin³⁴ attests, the rest of the positions which he held in the sphere of Athenian

34. Develin: 1989, 55, 60-68.

public administration are unverified. Burn (1962: 225) follows Thucydides 1.93.3 and argues that Themistocles did indeed commence the planning phase of the Piraeus harbour when he was elected *archon* in 493/92. Furthermore, he also states that it was probable that Themistocles used his powers as *Archon* to end Miltiades' trial (Burn, 1962: 226). Burn comments that when Themistocles first proposed his idea of building a huge, new, modern fleet, even the poorer classes were not initially interested in his idea (Burn, 1962: 275-76).

Nepos omits any reference to the anecdotes which discuss how Themistocles began to show an interest in oratory from an early age, and by implication politics. Yet this type of information is discussed by Plutarch. Nepos also ignores the details concerning Themistocles' boredom with formal Greek schooling. Nepos completely ignores the anecdote of Neocles and the triremes rotting on the beach, which Plutarch (2.6) uses to show that Neocles did not disinherit Themistocles. Perhaps Nepos rejects this particular story because it could be demonstrably unhistorical, or perhaps it did not fit in with his portrayal of Themistocles.

The reason that Nepos structures his information as he does is that he is writing a quarter of the amount of information that Plutarch wrote on Themistocles' entire history. Nepos is very economical in his detail due to his spatial constrictions (*Praefatio* 1.8). A similar statement by Nepos to refute such stories would have clearly shown his Roman audience that most of the dramatic stories were in fact elaborate fabrications. Furthermore, Nepos also omits any reference to Themistocles' philosophical and oratory tutor, Mnesiphilus. Nepos presents a single psychological explanation of Themistocles' career to his readers. A young man is disinherited and instead of being broken, he is spurred on to greatness. After presenting his psychological explanation of Themistocles, Nepos discusses

Themistocles' determination to restore his own name and his initial entrance into public affairs. Nepos clearly shows that Themistocles had not yet commenced his political career. Themistocles held banquets at his house to entertain specific guests, as well as the general public at times. He enlisted the aid of the great poet Simonides in his bid to attain political renown. It is worth noting that Simonides was said to have been one of Themistocles' best friends (See Marr, 1998: 72).

Plutarch gives an interesting account of Themistocles' childhood: *Them.* 2.1-2: "Ἐτι δὲ παῖς ὧν ὁμολογεῖται φορᾶς μεστὸς εἶναι καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει συνετός τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ πολιτικός, ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γινόμενος οὐκ ἔπαιζεν οὐδ' ἔρραθύμει, καθάπερ οἱ λοιποὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' εὐρίσκετο λόγους τινὰς μελετῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ λόγοι κατηγορία τινὸς ἢ συνηγορία τῶν παιδῶν. ὅθεν εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὡς "Οὐδὲν ἔση, παῖ, σὺ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μέγα πάντως ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν." ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύσεων τὰς μὲν ἠθοποιούς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τινα καὶ χάριν ἐλευθέριον σπουδαζόμενας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἐξεμάνθανε, τῶν δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἢ πράξιν λεγομένων δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὡς τῇ φύσει πιστεύων. The term ὑπερορῶν appears to be the more suitable term to adopt here in this context.

When discussing Themistocles' youth, Plutarch makes several clear value judgements:

(*Them.* 2.5) Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις τῆς νεότητος ὁρμαῖς ἀνώμαλος ἦν καὶ ἀστάθμητος, ἅτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος ἄνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα μεγάλας ποιουμένη μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πολλάκις ἐξισταμένη πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, ὡς ὕστερον αὐτὸς ὁμολόγει, καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους πῶλους ἀρίστους ἵππους γίνεσθαι φάσκων, ὅταν ἦς προσήκει τύχῃσι παιδείας καὶ καταρτίσεως. Plutarch further comments that Themistocles was unstable [ἀνώμαλος] and impulsive [ἀστάθμητος] as a youth. Plutarch attributes this

impulsiveness to a distinct lack of self-restraint and proper training. This lack of self-restraint is mentioned by Plutarch in Chapter 1. Plutarch's third piece of evidence concerns Themistocles' political objectives and the genesis of the clashes with Aristides: (*Them.* 3.1) Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἔοικεν ἄψασθαι τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα καὶ σφόδρα ἢ πρὸς δόξαν ὀρμὴ κρατῆσαι. δι' ἣν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐφιέμενος, ἰταμῶς ὑφίστατο τὰς πρὸς τοὺς δυναμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρωτεύοντας ἀπεχθείας, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀριστείδην τὸν Λυσιμάχου, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀεὶ πορευόμενον αὐτῷ.

In passage 3.1, Plutarch does not mention how Themistocles rose to power. This is in stark contrast to Nepos, who mentions briefly in *Themistocles* 2.1.3-4 how Themistocles attempted to gain power, influence and fame. Plutarch implies that the stories were complete lies either to discredit Themistocles or facts which had become distorted over time. It can be seen that Themistocles wished to appear to change his behaviour and so behave in the manner expected of him. Plutarch states clearly that Themistocles' impulsive behaviour and quest for political renown made him many enemies, including Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who became Themistocles' arch political rival. Plutarch insinuates that Themistocles laid the foundation of his power base with the ordinary people by always appearing to speak on behalf of the lower classes, while including them in his plans for his Naval Bill.

Aelian (*VH*3.21) mentions the anecdote that a young Themistocles refused to step to one side of a road in order to allow Peisistratos to cross the road. Bicknell rejects this story as being demonstrably false, since Peisistratos had already died when Themistocles was born (1983: 172). This story clearly originates from the pro-Themistoclean faction, perhaps even from Themistocles himself. Bicknell speculates that Themistocles came into contact with the son of Hippias, the Peisistratid, who held the office of *Archon* in

522/1, which further implies that Themistocles spent a portion of his youth in Athens.

Plutarch rejects the statements which claim that Themistocles' behaviour caused his mother's suicide and that he was disinherited by his father. He maintains through his intuitive counter arguments that these statements are intrinsically contradictory and therefore false. Plutarch even states: "...this I think is false." [δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι] (Plut. 2.3) This is a clear example of when Plutarch directly states his personal view on a topic, instead of commentating indirectly by providing evidence from and the opinions of other writers (such as Thucydides). Plutarch also directly rejects the disinheritance, and correctly so (Plut. 2.6), by informing his readers in this passage that Neocles would never have advised Themistocles to abstain from politics if he [Neocles] had truly disowned his own son. Furthermore, Plutarch also rejects the notion that Themistocles' mother committed suicide (as mentioned in Plut. 2.3), for in passage 1.1 he mentions the epitaph of Themistocles' mother. The epitaph itself is the evidence that Plutarch uses to show that a contradiction exists concerning Themistocles' mother's suicide. The propaganda concerning the alleged suicide of his mother, Euterpe, and the disinheritance of his father, Neocles, is incorrect, as it was spread by Themistocles' enemies and detractors, especially after his exile from Athens and his eventual death in Persia.

It can be argued, as Frost does, that what Plutarch claims in this section on Themistocles' youth is anachronistic, i.e. some of the information is correct but is misplaced chronologically. He therefore dismisses Plutarch's trireme anecdote in the same manner, as this anecdote is considered to be anachronistic since Themistocles himself ordered the first construction of Athenian triremes when he passed his Navy Bill (1980: 69-70).

Lenardon believes that the story in Plutarch concerning the triremes can be attributed to the fanciful stories about Themistocles. Lenardon concludes that Themistocles was

ambitious (and sly); the evidence for this lies in the fact that Themistocles associated himself with the playwrights and poets in order to gain political attention and fame (1978: 22-23). This association seems to have started when Themistocles decided to reinvent his image and pursue a career in Athenian politics. It would not be surprising if Themistocles had courted the renowned playwrights and poets throughout his career in Greece.

It is obvious that Themistocles had a colourful youth. However, there is insufficient evidence to separate what he actually did in his youth from the myths surrounding his childhood and adolescence. The connecting factor linking Plutarch and Nepos was that each man attempts to establish a particular view of such a controversial historical figure, in this case Themistocles, before showing how that person's personality changed later on in life, either for that person's benefit or to his detriment.

2.1. Primus autem gradus fuit capessendae rei publicae. Hdt. 7.143: ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριών, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετ; Thuc. 1.93.3: ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν (ὑπῆρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε). Nepos and Herodotus state unambiguously that Themistocles' first step in his directing of the Athenian state occurred in the late 480s (see below). This tradition is at odds with Themistocles' tenure of the office of *Archon Eponymous*, which is most plausibly dated to 493/2. On firm grounds, with impressive synchronisation (cf. Frost 1980: 70-1), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (6.34.1) reports that Themistocles was *archon eponymous* 260 years after the foundation of Rome, i.e. 493.

The meaning of Thucydides' information is hotly disputed: Lewis (1973: 757) convincingly argues that the combination of ἀρχεῖν and Ἀθηναίος is the regular way to

refer to the *eponymous archon*. Others (e.g. M.H. Chambers, 'Themistocles and the Piraeus' in K. J Rigsby (ed.), *Studies presented to S. Dow on his eightieth Birthday* (Durham, NC, 1984). 43-50 *GRBS* 10, 1984: 43-50), however, suggest that an extraordinary repeatedly held office is meant and should be connected with his role in fortifying the Piraeus. In the context of Themistocles, this term can only refer to the office of the *Archon*.

As construction on the fortifications of the Piraeus commenced in 493, this presupposes that Themistocles held a special magistracy for at least a decade after his Archonship expired in 492. This theory is implausible, since Thucydides 1.93.3 does not refer to a special office for Themistocles after his term as *eponymous archon* had expired.

Whatever office he held, Themistocles was nominated as a candidate for ostracism in the early 480's (based on the *ostraca* found with Themistocles' name inscribed on a number of the pieces), along with his political rivals Aristides and Xanthippus (Rhodes, 1984: 112).

Herodotus (7.144), Plutarch (4.1), and Nepos (2.2) constitute the literary tradition which credits Themistocles as the only person to propose the construction of a new navy. Is this tradition plausible? Herodotus credits Themistocles with this idea, despite the fact that he is hostile towards Themistocles. Plutarch acts as a defender of Themistocles and usually praises him. Nepos points out Themistocles' misdeeds and portrays Themistocles as changing his life around for the better. The logical conclusion is that Themistocles was at least the main driving force behind the proposed naval bill. It seems possible, though perhaps not plausible, that Themistocles conceived the idea of building a new navy in or prior to 493/2, when he held the office of Archon. Our sources do not offer any further insight on this point.

The questions that remain are the following: How long would Themistocles have required to gather such support? When did he win over the support of the *Boule*, before, during or after the year 483? Themistocles' standing with the *Areopagus* would have increased after he automatically became a member once he held the position of the *eponymous archon* in 493/2. It took Themistocles a decade, i.e. from 493/2-483, when Herodotus announces that he had officially become a leading politician, to gain the requisite prominence to enter the elite political Athenian hierarchy.

Not even the tradition hostile to Themistocles (i.e. Herodotus) denies him credit for the enlargement of Athens' navy. This we know took place in 483/2 (Ath. Pol. 23.1-2). The *Archonship* may have been relatively unimportant in terms of the power its holder could exercise, as the Archonship had by then become largely a ceremonial office with limited powers, since the real power lay with the Assembly, and the *Boule* to a lesser extent. Only minor nobles were attracted to the office of *Archon*. Since Herodotus informs us that Themistocles had recently become prominent (Hdt. 7.143) in 483, his evidence would seem to confirm this piece of information as a fact. Although *ostraca* cast against Themistocles dating from the period before 483 may reveal the tendentiousness of Herodotus' view of a newly prominent Themistocles (Rhodes, 1984: 1), it is not clear *how* prominent Themistocles was.

Mosshammer supports the view that Themistocles only became prominent in 483, when Themistocles proposed his naval bill.³⁵ In 493/2 when he was Archon, Themistocles quite possibly foresaw that the Piraeus needed to be fortified. The order was given to Themistocles, probably by the *Boule*'s naval committee with the consent of the Popular Assembly, to begin the fortification of the Piraeus.

35. Mosshammer, *Hermes* 103: 1975.

Mosshammer argues that construction could have started in 493/2, while Themistocles only fortified the Piraeus in 483/2 when he became a prominent politician. Mosshammer examines the sources from various Hellenistic writers and chronicles. All are based on fact, yet the information and dating for the *Archonship*, exile, and death of Themistocles varies considerably. Mosshammer presents another view that Themistocles held a special magistracy in 493/2, which he rejects. Fornara³⁶ argues, with his evidence from Forbes, that Themistocles held the *Eponymous Archonship* in 493/92 for that year only, when he began the fortification of the Piraeus, but that a factual error occurred when Thucydides 1.93.3 was copied erroneously and thereby placed the explanation out of context that Themistocles held a renewable office. Fornara³⁷ concedes that it is plausible, from the myriad traditions surrounding Themistocles, that he did order the construction of the Piraeus harbour in 493/92. Lewis³⁸ contends that Themistocles held the *Eponymous Archonship* in 493/92 when the construction of the Piraeus commenced, however, he disagrees with Fornara's view that Themistocles thought of fortifying the Piraeus. Rather, the raids by the Aeginetans eventually convinced the Athenians to fortify the Piraeus. For Lewis, these raids occurred in 493/92, when Themistocles happened to hold the office of the *Eponymous Archon*, and therefore the idea of such forethought cannot be attributed to Themistocles in this instance. Dickie³⁹ contends that Themistocles held the office of the *Eponymous Archonship* in 493/92, when the Piraeus was fortified, but rejects the notion that Themistocles held an annually repeating office though. Dickie bases his hypothesis on the fact that Thucydides uses the terms and variations of the words ἄρχωντος Ἀθηναίους when he specifically refers to the office of the *Eponymous Archon* (1973: 757).

36. *Ibid.*, 536.

36. *Ibid.*, 536.

37. *Ibid.*, 540.

38. Lewis, *Historia* 22, 1973: 757-758.

39. Dickie, *Historia* 23, 1973: 758.

Themistocles made the proposal for the construction of the new fleet of triremes in 483/2, as he correctly foresaw that war with the Persians was inevitable because of the current tensions which prevailed between Persia and the Greek mainland. This view, as held by Nepos, is wrong since Athens was engaged in a war against Aegina in 483. The new fleet of triremes was constructed in a bid to modernize the old Athenian fleet. Nepos is confused with the facts here, since Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to build an additional number of triremes in 481/0 for the war against Persia. At that point in time, Athens and Aegina were temporary allies against Persia. It so happened that his naval policy enabled Athens and the rest of the Greeks to fight the Persians at sea, as the Athenians had the most powerful fleet of all the Greek city-states when the battle of Salamis was fought in 480. Nepos does not mention that Themistocles popularized his idea until the people believed him and voted to implement his Navy Bill in 483/2, and then again in 481/480. Themistocles constantly endeavored to convince the masses that he was a suitable politician and general. This ploy was used to great effect to win over popular support.

bello Corcyraeo, Although Nepos records that the first action of Themistocles' new fleet was against Corcyra, Plutarch (*Them.* 4.2-3: *χρή τὴν διανομὴν ἐάσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πόλεμον. ἤκμαζε γὰρ οὗτος <τότ'> ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μάλιστα, καὶ κατεῖχον οἱ νησιῶται πλήθει νεῶν τὴν θάλατταν. τῇ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας ὀργῇ καὶ φιλονικία τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρησάμενος*), Herodotus (7.144: *τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσάμενους νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι δικησίας ἐς τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων*) and Thucydides (1.14.3: *ὄψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπεισεν Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι αἵσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν*) indicate that the Aeginetans were the enemy. Their version is corroborated by Herodotus' references

to a long-standing, bitter war between Athens and Aegina from the late 6th c. until shortly before the invasion of Darius (Hdt. 5.81-9, 6.87-93; cf. Frost, 1980: 82-84 and Figueira, 1981: 31), although Herodotus does not explicitly refer to a renewal of the war between the Persian invasions. The most plausible date for the war against Aegina mentioned by Plutarch and Thucydides is 483/2, soon after the new Athenian fleet was built (cf. Thuc. ὄψε; *Ath. Pol.* 22.7).

The two most convincing explanations for the discrepancy between Nepos and the majority tradition are that Nepos has recorded inaccurate information from his source here or that the war against Corcyra predates the Aeginetan war. The consequence of following the second alternative is that Thucydides, an author who is consistently fairer towards Themistocles than Herodotus (cf. Hornblower 1991: 48), would have to have erred. It is also difficult to find a plausible chronological context or explanation for a war against Corcyra, a colony of the Corinthians, with whom the Athenians shared a common antipathy towards the Aeginetans and from whom they received material assistance. It is impossible to salvage Nepos' Corcyrean War, e.g. by posting a conflict in the 490s, without breaking the link between it and Athens' new fleet, on which Nepos is insistent.

ad quod gerendum praetor a populo captus. Nepos' use of the Latin term *praetor* is ostensibly open to two interpretations: the office of archon or general (*strategos*). His use of *praetor* throughout his biographies of other Athenians suggests overwhelmingly that this is his translation of *strategos*. In his *Miltiades* (4.4, 6.3) *praetor* unambiguously refers to the ten *strategoí* who led the Athenian forces at Marathon. Nepos uses several terms to describe military commands in his *Alcibiades*, e.g. *imperator* (1.2), *praetor* (5.3-4, 8.1) and *praeesse* (5.4, 6.3); *praetorque* or general and *praefictur* (Nepos: *Alcibiades* 5.4). Comparison with Thucydides and Xenophon's accounts of the Peloponnesian War

reveal that *strategos* is meant. Nepos's description of Conon as *praetor pedestribus* and *praefectus classis* (1.1) refers to his tenure of the generalship on land and sea. Finally, Menestheus' election as *praetor* (*Timotheus* 3.2) indisputably refers to the office of *strategos*.

Nepos' translation is very apt for his Roman audience, as the primary role of the *praetor*, as seen from the etymology of the term, was military command. The greatest difference between the praetorship and its Athenian equivalent was that there was no restriction on how frequently an individual could be re-elected as *strategos*. Develin (1989: 58-63) suggests that Themistocles was elected as one of the *stratego*i in 483/2, as well as in 481/0, and 480/79.

non solum praesenti bello, sed etiam reliquo tempore ferociorem reddidit civitatem.

Nepos' words here can be construed as being positive whereby Themistocles was in fact slowly steering Athens along a new imperial path under his guidance. Nepos, as a Roman, would not have been hostile to the notion of imperialism, since that is how Rome built its great wealth and power base.

It is more than conceivable that one or more of Nepos's sources were biased against Themistocles that he was thus represented as being an imperialistic warmonger, rather than as a saviour figure. Although this is not necessarily an indication of disapproval and criticism by a source. Herodotus and Plutarch are careful when they refer to the imperialist aspirations of Themistocles. Aegina is not mentioned in this context. Herodotus remains silent on this issue possibly because, when he was writing, Athens was proud of her imperial status. Nepos' comments suggest that one of his sources might have been biased against Themistocles due to anti-democratic sentiments, i.e. tracing back to Themistocles, a democratic hero, responsibility for the imperial disasters of the

late 5th century. These imperial disasters were the famous political and military setbacks which Athens suffered during and after the latter stages of the Peloponnesian War at the end of the 5th century.

2.2. *Nam cum pecunia publica, quae ex metallis redibat, largitione magistratuum*

quotannis interiret. Hdt. 7.144.1: ἐτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλεί γνώμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἤρίστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων σφι προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὄρχηδὸν ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμάς· τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσάμενους νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Ἀιγινήτας λέγων; Plut. *Them.* 4.1: Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἔχόντων Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς χρὴ τὴν διανομὴν ἔασαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀιγινήτας πόλεμον; *Ath. Pol.* 22.7: The Laureum silver mines were owned publicly. However, private contractors, including miners and captured slaves, worked the mines. The discovery of the new strike in Maronea occurred in 483/2 (*Ath. Pol.* 22.7). The Athenians mined one hundred talents and debated how to distribute this newfound wealth. Themistocles persuaded the Athenians in the Assembly to give ('lend' *Ath. Pol.* 22.7) one talent to the hundred wealthiest citizens in Athens for the construction of one hundred triremes.

ille persuasit populo. Hdt. 7.144: ἐτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλεί γνώμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἤρίστευσε. The word *populo* would naturally refer to Themistocles addressing the Assembly as indeed Plutarch's version makes clear (*Them.* 4.1: παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον). Like Nepos, he omits any mention of the *Boule* and *Areopagus*. Herodotus' remark is vague enough to encompass the Assembly, as well as the *Boule* and the *Areopagus*.

Owing to the seriousness of the issue, it is highly unlikely that Themistocles did not involve the *Boule* of 500 in formulating his proposal, even though no trace of this emerges in the sources. The *Boule* was responsible for both foreign policy and public finances (Hansen 1987: 260, 263). It would have been quite difficult for Themistocles in 483 to have motions passed through the Council and presented to the Assembly if he did not have sufficient support within the Council. There is no mention of a specific body that supported Themistocles *per se*, although Themistocles could not have achieved as much as he did without the support of all or most of the members of the Areopagus.

ut ea pecunia classis centum navium aedificaretur. Cf. Hdt. 7.144 quotation above.

Plutarch (*Them.* 4.2: ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν τριήρεις, αἷς καὶ πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχησαν.) and Nepos both state that one hundred ships were built. Plutarch specifically mentions that the ships were triremes, while Nepos omits any reference to the type of ships constructed. Herodotus (7.144) doubles the number of ships, yet he also does not specify what types of ships were constructed. The *Athenian Politics* lists 100 triremes (*Ath. Pol.* 22.7). Thucydides (14.2), in his introduction to the Peloponnesian War, does not specify how many triremes the Athenians constructed.

Thucydides (1.14) states that no Greek city-state had any significant navy before the Second Persian War. Athens' first navy mostly consisted of 'fifty-oared boats' (Thucydides 1.14). Athens lagged behind other states in transforming to a trireme based fleet. During the Ionian Revolt of 498 against Persia, Athens sent twenty ships to aid the Ionians. Herodotus (5.99) notes that of the twenty vessels that Athens assembled, five of the ships were triremes from the Eretrians. This implies that the Athenian ships were older ships. Haas suggests that these ships were pentekonters, since the Athenians relied on their hoplite army to win their battles (1985: 45).

The building of even 100 triremes entailed a massive commitment by the Athenians to a new form of warfare: full crews of rowers, marines and sailors would amount to between 17 000 to 20 000 – a large proportion of Athens' male population (Jameson 1963: 388-391, 394-403).

2.3. Qua celeriter effecta, primum Corcyraeos fregit. Hdt. 7.144.2: αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν, οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. Herodotus suggests that the Athenians never employed their new fleet of triremes against Aegina, although he does not elaborate any further on this statement. It appears to be another one of his attacks on Themistocles. The Athenian fleet was constructed quickly. This new fleet defeated the Aeginetans. Therefore, the fleet of triremes was constructed over two seasons in 483-2 and 482-1. None of the sources (including the listed modern authors) mention how long it took to construct a fleet of triremes, but we can estimate a period of at least two years.

deinde maritimos praedones consecrando mare tutum reddidit. Plutarch offers no comment on the Athenian efforts to rid the Aegean of pirates. Herodotus (7.144) makes a brief reference to the Athenians gaining naval warfare experience when he states that the fleet was not used for its original purpose. Herodotus implies that the new fleet was first used against Persia at Salamis, since he records no war before 480 with Aegina.

in quo cum divitiis ornavit, tum etiam peritissimos belli navalis fecit Athenienses.

What Nepos and the writers hint at is fact that this wealth was accumulated from plunder and new trade routes for the Athenian merchants once the Aeginetans were beaten during the Athenian offensive, as well as by opening up unsafe trade routes or safeguarding existing ones by defeating the pirates. It makes sense that new trade routes would become available to the Athenians once the Aeginetans no longer had sufficient strength

to patrol the sea lanes to these markets. For Nepos, Themistocles' two naval exercises against the Aeginetans and the pirates enabled the Athenians to gain more maritime combat experience, while also exposing the new Athenian naval recruits to naval warfare. Burn (1962: 295) speculates that Athens did conduct a sweep against pirates when Themistocles brokered a treaty between Corinth and Corcyra, whereby the Corcyreans aided the new Athenian navy with this crucial training exercise for the Athenians.

2.4. *Id quantae saluti fuerit universae Graeciae bello cognitum est Persico.* Cf. Plut.

Them. 4.5: ὅτι ἡ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπῆρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὐθις ἀνέστησαν αἱ τρίηρεις ἐκεῖναι, Both Nepos and Plutarch here indicate that Themistocles' policies saved Greece, not just Athens. Even Herodotus (8.123.3) reveals that after the war the Greeks gave the greatest credit to Themistocles.

Nam cum Xerxes et mari et terra bellum universae inferret Europae cum tantis copiis quantas neque ante nec postea habuit quisquam Nepos presents the war as a titanic struggle between the East and West for the freedom of the West against Eastern tyranny and culture. Plutarch never makes such a claim in his works on Themistocles. Herodotus' whole work is premised as a clash between Asia and Europe.

2.5. *classis mille et ducentarum navium longarum fuit, quam duo mille onerariarum*

sequebantur; Aeschylus Pers. (lines 341-343): Ἐέρξη δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν || ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέρκοποι τάχει || ἑκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἑπτὰ θ'. ὦδ' ἔχει λόγος. Aeschylus is the earliest of the ancient sources to comment on the strength of the Greeks. Hdt. 7.184.1. ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, εὐσέων ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ χιλιέων, Plut. *Them.* 14.1: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν βαρβαρικῶν νεῶν Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητῆς ὡς ἂν εἰδὼς καὶ διαβεβαιούμενος ἐν τραγωδίᾳ λέγει τοῦτα: Ἐέρξη δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέρκοποι τάχει ἑκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἑπτὰ θ'. ὦδ' ἔχει λόγος.

Diod.11.3.7: ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπάσης· ἠριθμήθησαν δὲ τῆς πεζῆς δυνάμεως μυριάδες πλείους τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα, νῆες δὲ αἰ σύμπασαι μακρὰι πλείους τῶν ξιλίων καὶ διακοσίων. Nepos states that there were 1 200 ships in the Persian fleet, while Herodotus (7.89) also records that the Persian fleet, excluding the support vessels, amounted to 1 207 ships. Modern scholars, such as Marr (1998: 107) and Frost (1980: 151-152), point out that a normal Persian fleet consisted of six hundred warships. This figure supplied by Aeschylus for the battle at Salamis appears to be unrealistic, as the medizing Greeks would not have been able to supply a sufficient number of sailors and ships to double the strength of the diminished Persian fleet.

terrestres autem exercitus DCC peditum, equitum CCCC fuerunt. Hdt. 7.184.1:

τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκάστων τῶν ἐθνέων ἔοντα ὄμιλον τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὡς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζομένοισι ἐν ἐκάστη νηί. Herodotus (7.60) states that the Persian army, which consisted of many other Asian and African nations under Persian rule, amounted to one million seven hundred thousand men. This is quite an extraordinary force, if Herodotus' figures and sources are accurate.

2.6. cuius de adventu cum fama in Graeciam esset perlata et maxime Athenienses

peti dicerentur propter Marathoniam. Nepos does not include the important part played by Athens in encouraging the Ionians to revolt by sending warships to Ionia as an element in Xerxes' motives for targeting Athens. On the issue of the date, see below.

miserunt Delphos consultum quidnam facerent de rebus suis. Hdt. 7.140.1:

Πέμπαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς Θεοπρόπους. According to Herodotus, the Athenians consulted the oracle at Delphi on two occasions concerning the imminent Persian invasion. Nepos makes a simple reference to Delphi, even though he had access

to Herodotus' extensive accounts on Delphi. Nepos has employed his compression technique to state the outline of the consultation at Delphi while avoiding discussing any of the specifics again. Aelian 12.35: μετοικιζομένων γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὰς ναῦς, ἡνίκα τοῦ χρόνου ὁ Πέρσης τὸν μέγαν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξῆψε, καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ χρησμοὶ λῶον εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν μὲν πατρίδα ἀπολιπεῖν, In Plutarch (10.2) we see how Themistocles manipulated the interview with the Delphic oracle to promote his ideas of abandoning Athens and engaging the Persians at Salamis. Themistocles convinced the Athenians that his interpretation of the oracle was correct, since the oracle was referring to the fleet of triremes which had been constructed owing to the passing of his Naval Bill. Furthermore, the oracle also vindicated his strategy to engage the Persian navy at Salamis, since Themistocles emphasized the Olympian gods' positive association with Salamis, which the oracle had stated expressly. Nonetheless, the reason for the journey to Delphi was to receive the permission of the gods to abandon the holy shrines and temples in Athens if the Persians were poised to take the city. From the comments by the ancient authors on Delphi, it is clear that it was an offence for the Greeks to abandon or neglect the shrines and temples.

Athens traditionally consulted Delphi whenever the city-state faced a major crisis and sought the requisite approval of the gods before undertaking a difficult choice. From the evidence supplied by Fontenrose (1978: 234-238) and Bowden (2005: 110, 132-133), it would seem that Athens sent an official delegation to Delphi only on matters of utmost urgency.

Fontenrose has catalogued several Athenian questions asked at Delphi. The ones listed below were asked before or during the Second Persian War. Fontenrose argues that the majority of the questions were not genuine.⁴⁰ A number of the questions which the

40. Fontenrose, 1981: 268-354.

Athenians inquired of the Delphic oracle have not survived, although the replies indicate that the questions were quite varied. The questions, which all relate to Athens, are listed below and date from circa 630-479. The questions after 479 are not considered here. In short, Athens consulted Delphi on issues primarily pertaining to its own constitution, the decision to wage war, how to stop disease from ravaging the city, and plagues.⁴¹

The consequence of the actual request made at Delphi points to the Troizen decree of 480, whereby a general announcement was made to the Athenians to abandon the city of Athens, in addition to calling up the men of military age to prepare for battle.

Hammond⁴² postulates the idea that a partial evacuation had commenced before summer 480. Therefore, the original Troizen decree was publicly announced prior to the evacuation in 480, after a tentative evacuation policy would have been discussed by Themistocles and his political allies/supporters.

2.7. *Deliberantibus Pythia respondit ut moenibus ligneis se munirent.* Hdt. 7.141.3:

τείχος Τριτογενεὶ ξύλινον διδοί εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς μόνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σέ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει; 7.142.2-3: οἱ μὲν δὴ [κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν] συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι, οἱ δ' αἱ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τᾶλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὧν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης, ᾧ θείῃ Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολείς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης. κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ἐλάμβανον, ὥς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμῖνα δεῖ σφραῖς ἐσσωθῆναι ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους.

41. The first, second, third and fourth questions are not stated. The fifth question pertaining to Solon in circa 570 concerned the war against Megara over Salamis. This question was attributed as being possibly true. The sixth question relates to the leadership for the Thracian Chersonese in circa 590. The seventh question relates to Kleisthenes' attempts to reorganise the Athenian politics and society in 510/9. The eighth question pertaining to the war against Aegina, asked in circa 505, is not stated. The ninth question relating to a plague or a crop failure in circa 500 by the murder of Metragyrtes is not stated. The tenth question pertains to the Athenians seeking the advice of the oracle in 481/80 in connection with the Persian invasion. No question is recorded. (Herodotus 7.140 states that the Athenians did not have time to ask their question before the Pythia suddenly spoke to the delegation.) The eleventh question is also in 481/80, when the Athenians appealed to the Pythia to give them a better oracle or else they would wait until the *adyton* and die there. The twelfth question pertains to Athenians in 479, requesting guidance on where to fight a land battle against the remaining Persian infantry and cavalry in Greece. The actual question is not stated.

42. Hammond: *JHS* 1982, 85.

Herodotus' detailed narrative (Hdt. 7.140-142) reveals that the Athenians had one protracted meeting with the Pythia. The first part of the oracle was all pessimistic, whereupon the Athenians were encouraged by Timon to appeal as supplicants to the Pythia. The Athenians followed this advice and received a more optimistic response. Bowden maintains that the Athenians had one long meeting with the Pythia, and that Herodotus separated the single meeting into two for the sake of literary entertainment (2005:101). Perhaps it is conceivable that the Pythia required a respite during the interview, when the Athenians spoke to Timon. No-one has as yet brought up this possibility. Herodotus supplies the name of the Pythia who was on duty when the Athenian delegation arrived at Delphi. It is odd, though, that she addressed the Athenians before they could complete the remainder of the mandatory rituals inside the temple. Until this point, they had followed and performed the normal procedure at Delphi.

Herodotus' account of the Delphic oracle is credible, although he changed certain parts of the events which unfolded into a thrilling tale rather than relating the precise historical fact. Robertson suggests that the possibility exists that there was a long interval between the two consultations of the oracle (1987: 1).

There first issue is whether there were one or two oracles. Bowden is a proponent of the single consultation theory, and he essentially supports Herodotus' account of the Athenian delegation's meeting with the Pythia at the Delphic oracle (2005: 100-103). Notwithstanding Herodotus' nature to expand on certain matters for literary enhancement, Bowden does point out that there are a few discrepancies in the account. Two questions arise. Firstly, how did Herodotus divide up the oracle in his work? Secondly, why did Herodotus present the details of the Persian invasion until the climactic battle at Salamis as he did? Herodotus separated the oracle into two halves for

literary and political effect.⁴³ The answer to the former question can only be attributed to Herodotus' literary style, as there is insufficient evidence to suggest another alternative. Herodotus' version of these historical events was arranged so that the information concurs with the sanctioned historical events with Athens. The Athenians consulted with the Delphic oracle in August/September 481, as soon as they heard about the planned invasion. Bowden concurs with this point but not this date. As per normal, the Athenians would have first debated among themselves on what course of action to adopt under these trying circumstances. Bowden asserts that the Athenians would only once have sent one delegation to Delphi, and only after a plan of action had been agreed upon. The view expressed by Bowden is the correct one to adopt as it makes the most sense..

The replies of the Pythia were stated in prose form and were later changed into verse in the official publication of responses from Delphi at some later stage. This ensured that the replies were cloaked in mystery and uncertainty in order to allow Delphi to claim that its advice was always correct. The simplicity of Delphi's response lies in ambiguity, since the Delphians could point to the cryptic responses and say in their defence that the answer to the question was in the Pythia's reply. All the supplicants had to do was to think about the correct course of action to follow. Hence, Delphi maintained its credibility while simultaneously avoiding accusations of Medizing or of supplying a false answer.

The question remains as to whether the Pythia, an uneducated and cloistered priestess, was able to deliver a reply in hexameter verse in addition to the occasional reply in prose form. Bowden is unable to offer a definitive solution to this particular quandary. The Pythia's responses were translated from prose into verse form. These prose anthologies were later published en masse with the included addendum of the outcome of actual

43. *Ibid.* 106.

historical events.⁴⁴

Delphi has been accused of Medizing by some modern scholars. When the news had reached Greece that Persia was to launch a full-scale invasion of the Greek homeland, Delphi had already adopted a pessimistic attitude. It was obvious to the priests and other people who administered Delphi that the Persians would occupy Delphi. What the Delphians could not possibly have known was whether the Persians would simply capture or destroy Delphi. Even the Delphians abandoned Delphi before the Persians arrived at the city and the oracle. Bowden (2005: 103) takes the evidence in Herodotus that the Delphians sought permission from the oracle to abandon the oracle and the city before the invasion, as proof that Delphi had not Medized – why would the Delphians flee their homes and shrines if they were allied with the Persians? It is plausible that the Delphians were lying though. Furthermore, the Delphians also left a token force behind in order to defend the oracle and the shrines. The truth of the matter is that Delphi had reason to fear the Persian invasion, since it was the pre-eminent Greek oracle. This explains the pessimistic response which the Athenian delegation received in 481 for their sole consultation with the oracle.

Nepos' account differs in that he has the Athenian delegation travel to Delphi in 480, consult with the oracle, return to Athens, and hold extensive meetings until Themistocles' naval policy is adopted. As events unfold in favour of Persia in 480, the Spartan defeat at Thermopylae and the stalemate at Artemisium ensure the immediate evacuation of all the Athenian citizens and their movable property to Salamis or Troizen. Straight after the evacuation is complete, the battle of Salamis is fought and the Persian navy is soundly defeated. Nepos has condensed the chronological sequence of events over four years into a season or a year. Nepos does not state whether the Athenians sent one or two

44. *Ibid.*, 36-37.

delegations to Delphi. He only mentions one, while he also does not specify what the Athenians were really going to inquire from the oracle. Instead, he presents a summary of what occurred and condenses the events into one lemma.

There are three problems with the Delphi tradition prior to the Persian invasion. The first problem is the dating of the delegation to the oracle. Did the Athenians consult the oracle in 480, or earlier? The second problem is the response on each occasion. The actual reply as recorded by Herodotus (7.140-141) on each occasion consisted of twelve hexameter verses, which was extremely long for a reply from Delphi. Since Fontenrose advocates two oracles and not one extended meeting, a third problem for him concerns the length of time which the delegation waited before approaching the Pythia for a second interview. Normally this would have taken another month, or at worst, another whole year. Finally, to compound the problem of the first consultation, Fontenrose questions whether the Athenians even asked a question of the oracle before being given their first response. Herodotus clearly says 'no'. The usual procedure was to put a question to the priests before consulting with the Pythia on duty. (There were three women who served as the Pythia simultaneously. They would take turns when Delphi was open for consultation by special invitation only.) Fontenrose's third question should be ignored, since only one consultation occurred.

Delphi's pertinent response is clearly indicative of a negative attitude. This point is quite striking since it has two important ramifications. The first possibility is that Delphi had Medized, and so the oracle attempted to persuade the supplicants to surrender to the Persians. The second possibility is that the oracle reflected a genuine defeatist attitude in the face of impending slaughter and destruction. Either view is feasible.

With this information in mind, Fontenrose's arguments lend credence to the arguments

which present Themistocles as manipulating Delphi. Three alternatives present themselves. Firstly, Themistocles invented the entire consultation episode. This argument is too absurd and implausible even for Themistocles to have attempted and therefore, is rejected outright. Secondly, Themistocles bribed the Pythia and the priests to inform the Athenians to follow Themistocles' naval policy, whereby Themistocles would have the only solution to the cryptic response. However, the ancient sources all indicate that the Pythia did not mention any information concerning Themistocles. Nor is there any indication that the priests said anything to this effect either. The Pythia instructed the Athenian delegation to flee, in addition to informing them that Athens would fight the inevitable battle(s) with the Persians. Delphi was merely covering itself so that it could later claim to have predicted the outcome of the Persian invasion under Xerxes without losing any credibility in the Greek world. Thirdly, Themistocles heard the response, whereupon he manipulated and campaigned for his interpretation of the "wooden wall" to reflect his naval policy. Fontenrose (1981: 126) supports the first view, and even suggests that Themistocles spread false rumours that the Athenians had sent a delegation to Delphi even though this was impossible as Delphi had been captured by the Persians. Needless to say, it would have been impossible for Athens to have sent a delegation to Delphi under those conditions. Mikalson (2003: 52-60) supports Herodotus' view that the Athenians questioned the Delphic oracle's original reply before proceeding to debate the matter in Athens in order to decide what course of action they should adopt. The oracle initially gave no answer to the Athenians. Subsequently, the oracle issued a response which Themistocles turned into reality. Mikalson suggests that these responses in Herodotus indicate that the oracle did not always reply in the traditional metrical version. What is unusual regarding the second part of the meeting is that the Athenian envoys wrote down the favourable answer before they left. Mikalson points out that

Herodotus does not discuss the usual methods and procedures associated with seeing the Pythia and the priests who attended to her. Herodotus has either given a condensed version of the events which occurred, or else he is describing exactly what happened.

Why then did the Athenians consult the oracle for a second time? Mikalson suggests that the Athenians avoided bringing a disaster upon themselves by questioning the oracle for a second time, in addition to the fact that the Athenians proceeded to debate and analyze the best strategy to adopt in light of the Pythia's response. Robertson⁴⁵ alleges that the oracle could not have been consulted twice owing to the ceremonial procedures which had to be followed at the same time. The Pythia saw many people on 7 Bysius when people were allowed to use the oracle. It would have been unusual to delay the normal practice of giving one interview before seeing other suppliants. Herodotus states that the Athenians ignored the pomp and ceremonial procedures and asked their questions directly on each occasion.

The Persians invaded the Greek mainland in 480 BC, although Nepos, in his usual fashion, does not mention the actual date, just the event. Nepos (2.4) mentions that Xerxes invaded Greece. He does not state how or when the Athenians first heard of Xerxes' intentions. Plutarch first mentions the actual invasion of Greece at *Them.* 6.1. If Plutarch's course of events in 7.1 places the date in 481, since the new fleet of triremes was built at least within a year, then the date must be 481. This in turn means that the oracle would have been visited in 481, as it would have taken time to travel from Athens to Delphi, see the oracle twice or have one long session divided into two parts, and then return to Athens. Plutarch recounts how Xerxes also sent messengers demanding that the Greeks yield to Persia. The journey Susa to Greece would have taken three or four

45. Robertson, *CP* 82, 1987: 4.

months. Persian messengers visited each Greek city-state on the mainland, in addition to the Greek islands. The messengers were sent out in 481. Frost⁴⁶ concludes that a precise chronological date can be gleaned from the information contained in Plutarch and Herodotus. Therefore, the Athenians consulted with the Delphic oracle in 481 and also began tentative negotiations to evacuate Athens in the likely event that the Persians would overrun Athens.

Plutarch (10.1-2) adds to Herodotus' information that Themistocles used three steps to win over the popular Assembly, apart from making an eloquent speech before the Assembly, as any good orator and statesman would have done. Firstly, Themistocles bribed the Athenian priests to say that Athena had abandoned Athens. This would have encouraged the people to leave Athens and follow the goddess' example. Secondly, Themistocles convinced the people that the oracle had referred to Salamis as being "blessed" and not "dreadful". Thirdly, Themistocles played upon the superstitions and hatred of the Athenians for the Persians, just as he had done with the Aeginetans (see Plutarch 4.2), to have his view accepted by the Assembly.

According to Hammond, the Athenian delegation reached Delphi in August or September 481 (1981: 81). Holladay⁴⁷ in turn argues that the evidence in Herodotus 7.220.3, 239.1 implies that the Athenians consulted Delphi in the late summer of 481. Holladay rejects the idea that Themistocles bribed the oracle to support his naval policy and evacuation plans. Holladay supports Hammond when he argues that Delphi had already adopted a defeatist attitude. This view is quite plausible, though it is debatable whether Delphi had Medized or was simply despondent.⁴⁸

46. Frost, 1980: 100-103.

47. Holladay, JHS 107, 1987: 182.

48. *Ibid.*, 183.

Robertson disagrees with Hammond and places the consultation in 480. He provides a disjointed account of when the Pythia was consulted. The consultations occurred annually on 7 Bysius or Anthesterion.⁴⁹ An alternative consultation time is given as occurring once every month on the seventh, while the three winter months leading up to Bysius are considered as non-consultation months. Robertson places the consultation in 480. A consultation in 480 would have left it rather late for the Athenians to have a debate and increase the size of their new fleet of triremes, notwithstanding the point that the evacuation of the Athenian citizen body did not occur overnight. Robertson questions the historical authenticity of Herodotus' account of the oracle and dismisses the second consultation. From his arguments it can be inferred that Herodotus is lying about the consultations and the reaction in Athens to the oracular response.

Even Bowden agrees with the ubiquitous (and correct) view that the first part of the oracle was extremely defeatist. This perspective is clearly evident in Herodotus, and appears to be the overwhelming feeling of despondency emanating from the Delphic Oracle. This implies that Delphi was in the process of Medizing. Nevertheless, he disagrees with the view which advocates that Delphi had Medized. He points out that this is a recent modern view and dismisses it entirely. "The episode which was taken most clearly to prove that Delphi acted in a partisan fashion was the behaviour of the oracle during the Persian invasion under Xerxes in 480-479. ... However, this is entirely a modern fabrication: there is no scrap of evidence that any individual or state in antiquity thought that Delphi was acting for the Persians ...".⁵⁰

It would have been advantageous for Delphi to have adopted the same tactics with regard to Themistocles, although an unanswerable question is how far did Themistocles use the

49. Robertson, CP 82, 1987: 4.

50. Bowden, 2005: 26-27.

“corrected” version of history from Delphi. The replies from Delphi were generally ambiguous, thereby ensuring that the oracle could not be blamed if the person or delegation acted incorrectly. This method absolved Delphi of any blame or wrongdoing if a piece of advice resulted in terrible consequences for the supplicant. Bowden essentially agrees with this view.⁵¹ The oracle replied ambiguously in order for the suppliants to reconsider the question posed to the oracle, with the net result that the oracle would ultimately be praised for informing the supplicant on what course of action to adopt.

Id responsum quo valeret cum intellegeret nemo, Themistocles persuasit consilium esse Apollinis, ut in naves se suaque conferrent: cum enim a deo significari murum ligneum. Hdt. 7.143.1-3: [Θεμιστοκλέης] οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε, εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρηνένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέεν ἠπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε ἾΩ σχετλίε Σαλαμίς, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἾΩ θεΐη Σαλαμίς, εἴ πέρ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ’ αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρήσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους. παρασκευάζεσθαι ὧν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχήσοντας συμβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἐόντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτη Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα σφίσι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων οἱ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι οὐδὲ χεῖρους ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντα χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν.

See Hdt. 7.144.1-3 above. Nepos (2.7) reinforces the notion that Themistocles is the saviour figure by mentioning that only Themistocles could interpret the oracle’s cryptic reference to the “wooden walls”. Nepos omits any reference to other rival interpretations, particularly the proposal to fortify the Acropolis.

Herodotus comments that one group interpreted “wooden walls” as defending the

51. *Ibid.*, 51.

Acropolis, while another group argued that it referred to the new fleet. Themistocles argued that the Athenians were meant to fight the Persians at Salamis, since the oracle had predicted their victory if they used their fleet.

The men in Athens who interpreted the response of the oracles were called *chresmologoi*.⁵² Themistocles disagreed with the *chresmologoi* over their defeatist interpretation of the second oracle. It was at this point in the aftermath of the consultations at Athens that he persuasively advocated his naval engagement strategy, as Plutarch presents it: (*Them.* 10.3) τῷ δὲ χρησμῷ πάλιν ἐδημαγῶγει, λέγων μηδὲν ἄλλο δηλοῦσθαι ξύλινον τεῖχος ἢ τὰς ναῦς· διὸ καὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα θεῖαν, οὐχὶ δεινὴν οὐδὲ σχετλίαν καλεῖν τὸν θεὸν, ὡς εὐτυχήματος μεγάλου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπώνυμον ἔσομένην.

Nepos, by contrast, provides a different chronological timeline. Nepos (2.1-4) states that Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to build a new fleet of triremes for the war against Aegina. The year is 483, which Nepos does not mention. Nepos (2.5) jumps to the year 480 and gives a description of Xerxes' huge army and navy. He maintains in 2.6 that the Athenians sent a delegation to Delphi in 481/0, when Xerxes was attacking mainland Greece. Nepos (2.8) places the Troizen decree in 480. Nepos (2.8) also maintains that the evacuation of the Athenians to Salamis and Troizen all occurred in 480. Burn (1962: 355-359) adds that the Athenian delegation or *theopropoi* sent to Delphi would have been in trouble in Athens if they had not asked the official Athenian question. He implies that the *theopropoi* would have been tried before an *Ekklesia* (Burn: 1962: 356). Furthermore, Salamis would have been a natural target for the Persian army and navy to besiege, since many Athenian refugees would have fled to Salamis in any case (Burn, 1962: 357). Such a strike would have crippled Athens and forced her capitulation to

52. *Ibid.* 11.

Persia. Finally, Herodotus' mention of Themistocles' persuasive arguments now, in addition to being his first appearance in Herodotus, was a spectacular entry on the part of Herodotus, since Themistocles finally convinced most of the Athenians to adopt his naval strategy, which the oracle "endorses" (Burn, 1962: 359). He adds that Herodotus only mentions Themistocles now because of his hostile sources towards Themistocles. This was the "most momentous debate ever held on the Athenian Parliament Hill; the Pnyx ..." (Burn, 1962: 359).

Munro refutes Herodotus' arguments here since they are blatantly biased against Themistocles in the extreme. Munro cites the example of the second meeting of the naval commanders to discuss the strategy for Salamis. He insists that the discussion concerned the intended duplicity of Xerxes whereby the Persian fleet would be weakened. Munro cites how Herodotus discusses the sending of Sikinnus, before suddenly switches to the dramatic account of how the Persians surrounded the Greek navy, and then ends this account with the sudden recall and immediate arrival of the exiled Aristides. He incorporates Munro's view that Aristides had already been recalled and was in fact one of the στρατηγοί at Salamis to refute Herodotus' biased account against Themistocles here.

2.8. Tali consilio probato, addunt ad superiores totidem naves triremes

The Athenians doubled their fleet by 100 triremes. This is the first time that Nepos mentions that the Athenians built a new fleet of triremes. Plutarch does not mention that the Athenians built more triremes. Herodotus (7.144) mentions that the Athenians built 200 triremes for the war against Persia. Nepos in fact describes two building periods for the new Athenian fleet. Herodotus (7.141) also mentions that 200 triremes were built. However, Herodotus (8.14) mentions that the Athenians sent 53 triremes to reinforce the Greek fleet at Salamis. This statement by Herodotus appears to support Nepos' claim

that the Athenian fleet was constructed in two phases. Herodotus (7.144.1) states that the initial 200 triremes were built during the first construction phase while the remaining fifty-three triremes were in fact constructed during the second construction phase.

suaque omnia quae moveri poterant partim Salamina, partim Troezena deportant.

Hdt. 8.41: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποίησαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῆ τις δύναται σώζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροίζηνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγινα, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα; Plut. *Them.* 10.3: κυρωθεντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπεξέθεντο γενεὰς καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροίζηνα. Plutarch (*Them.* 10.3) comments that the Troizenans made special provisions for the Athenians.

After reading Plutarch and Herodotus, in addition to examining Bowden, it is clear that the decision to evacuate Athens, should the need arise, had already been decided upon in 481. This is confirmed by the fact that the Athenians sent a delegation to Delphi to receive permission from the gods to abandon Athens, the holy shrines, and the temples. The Troizen decree was passed in 481, a year before Salamis. Themistocles would have required time to negotiate with the islands of Salamis and Troizen in order to move the Athenian families and furniture to each island respectively. The Troizen Decree was only *implemented* after the Spartan defeat at Thermopylae and the stalemate at Artemisium, upon the return of the Athenian fleet. Athens was subsequently evacuated.

Extract from the Troizen Decree, lines 6-11: Ἀθηναίου- [ς δ' ἀπ]κ[ν]τας καὶ τοὺς ξένο]ς τοὺς οἰκοῦντας Ἀθήνησι [τὰ τέκ]μα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκ]ας εἰς] Τροίζηνα καταθέσθαι π[.....20.....] τοῦ ἀρχηγέτου τῆς χώρας· τ-[οὺς δὲ πρεσβύ]τας καὶ τὰ] κτήματα εἰς Σαλαμῖνα καταθ-έ[σ]θ[αι].⁵³

53. R. Meiggs & D. Lewis 2.3, Revised Ed. 1971: 48-49.

Since the discovery of a copy in 1983 debate has raged on whether this find was the Troizen Decree. The extant decree is at best a third century copy of the real fifth century decree proposed by Themistocles. The copy contains enough vocabulary to identify it as emanating from the fifth century. However, there are some questionable words which have cast doubt on its authenticity: *μεθίστημι* was used instead of *ὄστρακίζω* (see line 45), *ξένοι* was used instead of *μέτοικοι* (see lines 7, 13 and 30). Some historians believe that Jameson faked the decree in order to make a name for himself. Why would Jameson have forged the decree in third century grammar and vocabulary instead of the correct grammar and vocabulary from the fifth century? Kennelly dismissed the idea of the Troizen Decree being a fake. However, other scholars have also questioned whether the decree is an ancient Greek forgery. In light of what is known about the era in which the decree was promulgated and officially announced, it seems rather harsh to suggest that it is a forgery. The decree itself contains the instruction from Themistocles to evacuate the city of Athens before the Persians reach the city. The detail in the document is too detailed to have been invented by a creative forger. The most likely answer is that the decree was copied from the original in the third century when the Macedonians controlled Greece. The decree served two purposes. Firstly, it recorded the saga of the Persian invasion under Xerxes and what steps Themistocles took to aid Athens and the Greeks against the Persians. Secondly, the decree was a political act of defiance on the part of the Athenians against the Macedonians – it showed how the Athenians under Themistocles helped to liberate Greece, while the Macedonians were oppressing the Greeks with their harsh political and military control over the Greek mainland.

However, many scholars, such as Kennelly, have questioned whether the third century inscription of Themistocles' Troizen Decree is genuine. The accusation has been implied that Jameson somehow forged or fabricated the evidence in order to produce a

magnificent discovery. Kennelly focuses on the authenticity of the inscription, since there are discrepancies with regard to archaisms and anachronisms in the body of the text (1990: 539). The appearance of lines 44–47 in the text concerning the recall of the ostracized Athenian citizens just before the text breaks off troubled Kennelly and D. M. Lewis, since Lewis concluded that this expression was only discovered in official Athenian documents and was not found anywhere else. The point was made that the words used in the text possibly did not exist in the fifth century. The term from the fourth century, which was the officially used word, was τὸς μεθεστηκότας.⁵⁴ It was presumed that τὸς μεθεστηκότας was the fourth century expression used for an ostracized person.

Kennelly further used Lewis to identify that a fourth century forger would have used the term ξένος instead of μέτοικος, μεθίστημι –in place of ὀστρακίζω. The term ξένος was not an archaic term from the fifth century. Rather, it derives from the fourth century. Lewis maintains that this is a clear sign of forgery, since the Athenians used the term ξένος to distinguish between Athenian citizens and Metics, or non-Athenian citizens residing in Athens. Kennelly concludes that Lewis is wrong on the latter fact and dismisses the terms ξένος and μεθίστημι as being ‘alleged archaisms’.⁵⁵ He stresses that these two words were used in a similar capacity in the fifth century as they were in the fourth century.

Kennelly ends his argument with a paradox though. He quotes B. D. Meritt, who argued that discrepancies can occur over time owing to changes in the grammatical structure of a language, in addition to general corruption of the text. The paradox arises when Kennelly warns that the text Jameson discovered does not contain any archaisms. From the

54. *Ibid.*, [quoting Lewis] 539-540.

55. *Ibid.*, 541.

arguments touched on by both Kennelly and Lewis, it is apparent that Kennelly actually considers that this work was not written by a fourth century Greek forger, but rather by a twentieth century classical scholar. Readers will have to draw their own conclusions on this matter.

arcem sacerdotibus paucisque maioribus natu ad sacra procuranda tradunt, reliquum oppidum reliquunt. Extract from the Meiggs and Lewis text of the Troizen Decree, lines 11-12: τοὺς δὲ ταμίας καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει μένειν φυλάττοντας τὰ τῶν θεῶν· and lines 41-44: ταῖς μὲν ἑκατὸν αὐτῶν βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρτεμις-[ιον τὸ Εὐβοικόν, ταῖς δὲ ἑκατὸν αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν ναυλοχεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν τὴν χώραν.⁵⁶ According to Nepos, the priests and a percentage of the citizens remained in Athens. Plutarch (10.5) comments that the Athenians felt sorry for the elderly citizens, who were left behind in Athens due to their old age when the city was abandoned; they also felt sympathy for the dog who swam beside its master's (i.e. Pericles' father, Xanthippus) trireme until they both reached Salamis before the dog died of exhaustion. From Herodotus (7.142) we can infer that some of those who remained did so because they interpreted the "wooden wall" of the oracle as the ancient thorn hedge that had surrounded the Acropolis. Nepos mentions that all movable property was transported to Salamis and Troizen, without commenting on where the non-combatants were transported to once they were evacuated from Athens. Only the priests were left behind to guard or attend to the holy shrines and temples in Athens itself.

Nepos (2.8), curiously, is the only author to mention any information concerning the moving of property to Salamis or Troizen. If Nepos is correct about the movable property, then this would imply that the Athenians used at least half of their new fleet of

56. R. Meiggs & D. Lewis 2.3, Revised, 1971: 48-49.

triremes to transport the evacuees to Salamis or Troizen, while the transport or support ships accompanied the people with their movable possessions as well. When Nepos mentions "movable property", however, it is debatable whether he is referring to furniture, Greek religious instruments and statues, or some other form of property.

Jameson places the decree before mid-summer of 480.⁵⁷ The decree was made after the Athenian delegation returned from Delphi. If time is allowed for the lengthy debates which followed in the wake of the consultation, then it is feasible to date the decree in 480. The contentious issue surrounding the date lies in whether the decree was passed prior to or after Artemisium. Modern scholars cannot agree on this issue. There are convincing arguments for each case. Jameson concluded that there were no discrepancies in the date, and based this premise on the fact that the triremes which returned to Athens actually transported the Athenian evacuees to Salamis after the stalemate at Artemisium (and the Persian victory at Thermopylae).⁵⁸

Frost proposes that the Troizen Decree could have been recorded as one decree, even though it actually consisted of several decrees.⁵⁹ He submits that the date for the (final) decree was in the late summer of 480, since Tempe and Thermopylae only occurred in 480. Frost supports the view that the decree discovered by Jameson was an authentic copy of Themistocles' original decree.

Conclusion on the Troizen Decree:

There is no substantial reason to believe that the Troizen Decree is a forgery. Rather, it is a third century copy of a fifth century decree.

3.1. Huius consilium plerisque civitatibus displicebat et in terra dimicari magis

57. Jameson: *Hesperia*, 1960: 203 .

58. *Ibid.*, 205.

59. Frost, 1980: 101-104.

placebat. Hdt. 7.173.1-4: οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τοῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν φυλάξοντα τὴν ἐσβολήν. Nepos does not mention whether the other Greeks disagreed with Themistocles simply because of his audacious naval strategy, or whether they despised being given orders by an Athenian.

The Greek policy for defending Greece was formulated at the First Congress of the Hellenes in autumn 481. Forces from Sparta and Thebes established an advanced position at Tempe in May 480, but on Macedonian advice.

Plut. *Them.* 7.2: ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκεῖθεν ἄπρακτοι καὶ Θετταλῶν βασιλεῖ προσγενομένων ἐμήδιζε τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτίας, μᾶλλον ἤδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ πέμπεται μετὰ νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τὰ στενὰ φυλάξων. Herodotus (7.172-176) comments that the Thessalians informed the Greeks of the real danger they faced from the superior numbers of the Persians. They requested that the other Greeks send a powerful force to reinforce Thessaly, or else the Thessalians would be forced to join the Persians in order to survive. The Greeks sent an army of 10 000 hoplites. Themistocles was one of the commanders. The (Athenian) fleet was also sent to Artemisium to offer support to the army in Thessaly (only after the army reached Thermopylae). Herodotus reports that the Greeks withdrew their army from Tempe on the advice of Alexander of Macedon. To avoid their position being overrun by the increased numbers of the Persian army and navy, the Greeks elected to decamp and make a strategic defence at the Isthmus by constructing fortifications. Nepos' brief account omits any reference to Themistocles' role in formulating Greek policy here, and in serving as a general in 481.

Themistocles' proposal to meet the Persians at Salamis was first met with disagreement after the stalemate at Artemisium from the other Greek commanders in the combined

Greek fleet. Nepos (3.1) states that a large majority of the other Greeks disapproved of his plan to wage a naval battle instead of a land battle after Athens had been evacuated in 480, following Thermopylae and Artemisium. Herodotus (8.59-64) states that the opposition to Themistocles' plan occurred after the evacuation of Athens in 479.

Plutarch's *Themistocles* (11.2-5) provides an anecdote of the opposition which Themistocles faced. He also agrees with Nepos that the disagreement arose after the enactment of the Troizen Decree in 479. Diodorus (11.15.2-4) echoes Nepos' argument that the disagreement occurred after the Athenians evacuated Athens in 479.

Munro thus maintains that it was Themistocles' original idea to face the Persians in Thessaly.⁶⁰ The advice of the oracle to the Athenians, after Timon's intervention, implies that Salamis was mentioned to ensure that the Delphians would not land in trouble with the Athenians. Themistocles, therefore, presented this part of the oracle to the Athenians and advocated that the god Bakis support his strategy.⁶¹ Munro criticizes Herodotus and compares his account of the defence of Thermopylae to a poem and not a historical work.⁶² Furthermore, Munro criticizes Herodotus for using "external sources" when Herodotus discusses the strategy meetings which the Greek commanders held. Munro contends that the second meeting, before Themistocles' first message to Xerxes, was for the joint Greek command to decide upon the appropriate ruse to incorporate in the message.⁶³

Itaque missi sunt delecti cum Leonida, Lacedaemoniorum rege, qui Thermopylas occuparent longiusque barbaros progredi non paterentur. Hi vim hostium non sustinuerunt eoque loco omnes interierunt. Hdt. 1.175: Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνας ἐπέειπε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν ἴσθμόν, ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆ τε

60. Munro, *JHS* 22, 1902: 305.

61. *Ibid.*, 306.

62. *Ibid.*, 323.

63. *Ibid.*, 325.

στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἴοισι χώροισι. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο τὴν ἐν
Θερμοπύησι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· στεινότερη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην
καὶ μία ἀγχότερη τε τῆς ἐωντῶν. ... ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν
ἐσβολὴν μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν πλέωιν γῆς
τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ ὥστε
πυθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρους ἐόντα, οἳ τε χώροι οὕτως ἔχουσι. *Itaque shows*
that Nepos regards the dispatch of Leonidas as a direct consequence of the Second
Hellenic Congress. The Greek city-states, who were all allied in the war against Persia,
held what is know as the Second Hellenic Congress to decide on a further joint course of
action to adopt against the invading Persians. On each occasion when the Congress of
the Hellenes convened, each Greek city-state on mainland Greece pledged to set aside its
hostility to the other city-states in order to work together in the defence of Greece and
thereby to repel the Persian invaders under Xerxes. Herodotus (7.175) makes it clear that
the Greek strategy involved a close interaction between the Greek army and the Greek
navy. While the army engaged the Persians at Thermopylae, the navy engaged the
Persian fleet simultaneously at Artemisium. At Thermopylae, the Spartans under
Leonidas all perished in their attempt to hold the pass against the Persians. Nepos omits
any further details of this heroic Spartan stand as it would have detracted from
Themistocles' own accomplishments. Furthermore, the Spartans play a pivotal factor in
Themistocles' eventual exile from Athens. Another reason for the omission could be
Nepos' need to be brief and concise.

Herodotus (7.214-232) recounts how the Persians used another path to attack the Spartans
from the rear at Thermopylae. The force of 300 Spartans fell before the Persians; only
two or three Spartans survived, but they had been sent away by Leonidas. Nepos
demonstrates the folly of the other Greeks, particularly the Spartans, in not adhering to
Themistocles' advice, when they suffered defeat by the Persians at Thermopylae.

3.2. At classis communis Graeciae trecentarum navium, in qua ducentae erant

Atheniensium. Meiggs and Lewis text, lines 12-14: τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ξέηνους τοὺς ἠβῶντας εἰσβαί-νειν εἰς τὰς ἐτοιμασθείσας διακοσίας ναῦς.⁶⁴ Hdt. 8.1-2: Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἶδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιέες, ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐόντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρές δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ, Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἑπτὰ. Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο καὶ Κήιοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκόντερος δύο. Λοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθειον πεντηκόντερος ἔχοντες ἑπτὰ. (Hdt. 8.14) The Athenians sent reinforcements to bolster their initial forces: τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ἐπεβοήθειον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πενήκοντα Ἀττικάι. Plut. *Them.* 14.1: τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα τὸ πλῆθος οὐσῶν. Diod. 11.12.4: Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἄρμουν μὲν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας, εἶχον δὲ τὰς πάσας τριήρεις διακοσίας καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα· καὶ τούτων ἦσαν τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἑκατὸν καὶ τετταράκοντα, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων.

Nepos cites the numbers to emphasize that the small combined Greek fleet was prepared to engage the vastly numerically superior Persian fleet and that the majority of the ships in the Greek fleet belonged to Athens. Thus he reminds his readers that Themistocles' naval policy was crucial to the Greek victory.

Nepos' figure of two hundred (triremes) is comprised of one hundred and eighty triremes manned by Athenians and an additional twenty Athenian ships manned by Chalcidian sailors.

64. R. Meiggs & D. Lewis 2.3, Revised, 1971: 48-49.

primum apud Artemisium inter Euboeam continentemque terram cum classiariis regis conflictit. Angustias enim Themistocles quaerebat, ne multitudine circumiretur.

Plut. 8.3: Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἐστίασαν αἰγιαλὸς εἰς βαρέαν ἀναπεπταμένος, ἀντιτείνει δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῆς ὑπὸ Φιλοκτῆτη γενομένης χώρας Ὀλιζών. Hdt. 7.176.1-3: τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν ἐόντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μετοξὺ νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἠπείρου Μαγνησίας· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεينوῦ τῆς Εὐβοίης ἦδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἰρόν. ἡ δὲ αὖθις διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ τῆς στεινοτάτης ἡμίπλευρον. οὐ μὲντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γε ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθε κατὰ τὴν Ἀλπηνούς, ὅπισθε ἐόντας, ἐοῦσα ἀναξίτος μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθήλης πόλιος, ἄλλη ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρας ὄρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλόν, ἀνατείνον ἐς τὴν Οἶτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τῆς ὁδοῦθάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεια. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρον καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἵδρυται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι.

Nepos explains that Themistocles chose to engage the Persians at Artemisium, where the Persian numerical superiority could not be employed, but also so that the flank of the Spartan position at Thermopylae could not be turned by the Persians' landing troops to the south of their position. The Greek joint army and navy policy dictated this strategy to undermine the Persian numerical supremacy.

On the first day of the battle, the Greeks caught the Persians by surprise by sailing directly towards and engaging them in battle. Although the fighting was indecisive, from what Herodotus says, the Greeks gained a slight advantage over the Persians, who had considerably underestimated the resolve of the Greek sailors and their commanders.

Herodotus (8.13) mentions that a stroke of luck aided the Greeks during the battle. The

200 Persian ships which sailed around Euboea were all destroyed in a sudden storm, by the Hollows of Euboea. Herodotus (8.14) mentions that the Athenians sent 53 triremes to reinforce the Greek fleet. The Athenian reinforcements, which Herodotus mentions, indicates, according to his calculations, that the Athenians built 226 Triremes. This shows that Themistocles naval policy was a success.

On the third and final day of the battle, the Persians attacked the Greeks. The fighting which ensued involved the triremes and the marine hoplite boarding parties. Herodotus (8.16) mentions that the superior Persian numbers caused many casualties among the Greeks, both in terms of manpower and ships. Herodotus stresses that the Athenians were the only Greeks to distinguish themselves in the battle. Herodotus (8.21) relates that a messenger, Abronichus, an Athenian, (one of two scouts waiting for news from the Spartans at Tempe) informed the Greeks that the Spartans had been massacred. The Greeks decided to withdraw from Artemisium before the Persians could bring reinforcements to crush them. Herodotus stresses that the Corinthians were the first to flee, while the Athenians bravely performed a rearguard action to delay any pursuing Persian vessels. Nepos points out that Artemisium turned into a stalemate.

3.3: Hic etsi pari proelio discesserant, tamen eodem loco non sunt ausi manere, quod erat periculum ne, si pars navium adversariorum Euboeam superasset, ancipiti premerentur periculo. As a result, the Greeks decided to retreat before the Persians could cut off their only means of escape. Herodotus (8.18) states that the Greeks had suffered heavy casualties during the third day of the battle in particular. Half the Athenian triremes had been damaged in the fighting. The overall strategic position after the Spartan defeat at Thermopylae made the Greek position at Artemisium untenable. Nepos presents a positive strategic explanation of Themistocles' choice but Herodotus

recounts that the Euboeans paid Themistocles a bribe of thirty talents to fight a battle in defence of Euboea, since they were unable to persuade Eurybiades. Themistocles bribed Eurybiades in turn with five talents to keep the fleet in Euboea. Nepos is generally silent on the frequent allegations of financial corruption made against Themistocles. Hdt. 8.5: ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ᾧδε ποιέει· Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε τάλαντα ὡς παρ', ἐωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὡς δὲ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο (Ἀδεϊμάντος γὰρ ὁ Ὀκύτων <ὁ> Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἤσπαιρε μόνος, φάμενος ἀποπλεύσεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμένειν), πρὸς δὴ τούτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπομόσας· Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ πέμπειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδεϊμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πληγέντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο, τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐκερδηνε· ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ [τὰ χρήματα]. Diod. 11.13.3: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀκούσαντες τὰ περὶ Θερμοπύλας γενόμενα, πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας περὶ προάγειν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἠθύμησαν· διόπερ ἀποπλεύσαντες εἰς Σαλαμίνα διέτριβον ἐνταῦθα. *Isocr. Paneg.* 92: Ἴσας δὲ τὰς τόλμας παρασχόντες οὐκ ὁμοίαις ἐχρήσαντο ταῖς τύχαις, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν διεφθάρησαν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς νικῶντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπέϊπον (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε θέμις εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἠτήθησαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν φυγεῖν ἠξίωσεν), οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι τὰς μὲν πρόπλους ἐνίκησαν, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἤκουσαν τῆς παρόδου τοὺς πολεμίους κρατοῦντας, οἴκαδε καταπλεύσαντες οὕτως ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὥστε πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν αὐτοῖς προειργασμένων ἐν τοῖς τελευταίοις τῶν κινδύνων ἔτι πλέον διήνεγκαν. Podlecki (1975: 17) dismisses the claim by Herodotus (8.4-5) that Themistocles, after receiving the bribe by the Euboeans to fight at Artemisium, in turn bribed Eurybiades and Adeimantus, the Corinthian admiral. His argument is clearly wrong as both Herodotus and Plutarch agree Themistocles accepted bribes at times

throughout his career. The fact that Plutarch also makes the bribery allegations against Themistocles is proof enough that this claim is correct.

3.4: Quo factum est ut ab Artemisio discederent et exadversum Athenas apud

Salamina classem suam constituerent. Hdt. 8.40: Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικός στρατός ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ βουλευόμενοι τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὐρον οὐδὲν ἔόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἴσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, ὡς τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησαν σφέων πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα. Salamis was the next strategic position in which the superior numbers of the Persian force could be countered. By delaying the Persian advance at Artemisium, there was sufficient time for the evacuation of Athens to be completed, thus saving the population from being besieged by the Persians. The overall strategy for the Athenians after Thermopylae forced the Greeks to abandon Artemisium for Salamis.

According to Plutarch, Themistocles began to despair when he learned that the other Greek city-states who were being pressed by the Persians decided not to join the Athenians after having reached an agreement to offer their support to the Athenians prior to the Persian invasion (Plut. *Them.* 9.3-4). Herodotus' account does not clash with those of Nepos and Plutarch, who state that Themistocles desired to engage the Persians at Salamis. Podlecki (1975: 139) criticises Plutarch for being "unsystematic" as Plutarch selected his information from his available sources. While Podlecki is wrong, Plutarch always arranges his arguments constructively and gathers his information from a variety

of sources. He works according to his own methodology, even if his information is inaccurate occasionally and his arguments might wander off the original topic.

The date of the recall of the ostracized Athenians before Salamis is dated during the Archonship of Hypsichides (*Ath. Pol.* 22.8). However, a chronological problem exists with the date. The date mentioned in the *Ath. Pol.* implies that the exiles returned immediately when they heard that they had been recalled to fight at Salamis, (as well as to prevent any treasonous actions against Greece). It would be more accurate to believe that the exiles only arrived back just in time before the battle of Salamis, as Aristides did (See Frost, 1980: 92 and Labarbe, 1957: 88-93). Burn (1962: 360) argues that the Athenian exiles would surely have been recalled at the start of this crisis and not when Athens was being evacuated. Furthermore, as far as the Troizen Decree is concerned, Burn (1962: 377) hypothesizes that the copy is a third-century manuscript from a fourth century text, which actually consists of several decrees preserved all in one collection. According to Burn (1962: 401) half of the Athenian fleet at Artemisium sustained damage during the fighting. Furthermore, Burn (1962: 407) cites the battle of Thermopylae in Herodotus as a fictional tale, since Xerxes is depicted as being childish and the Persians inept in mountain warfare, e.g. there is no mention of any Persian reconnaissance or strategic planning. Burn is clearly wrong here and hypocritical, since he defends Herodotus for using biased sources against Themistocles. It is ironical that Burn does not consider these same sources as being hostile against the Persians.

4.1. At Xerxes, Thermopylis expugnatis, protinus accessit astu idque nullis defendentibus, interfectis sacerdotibus quos in arce invenerat, incendio delevit.

Hdt. 8.51-3: οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροισι μῆσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίσι. καὶ αἰρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τινας ὀλίγους εὕρισκousι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἐόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ

φραζάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησι τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήων τὸ ἢ Πυθίῃ σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήιον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυπτεῖον περὶ τοὺς οἴστους περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἡμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος. οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμηχανῶντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίησι ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυάμενόν, σφεας ἐλεῖν. χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἔσοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπειρῷ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὦν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὲ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἶρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίπερ ἀποκρήμιου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι [ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν], οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφενγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐφόνευον· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἶρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Diod. 11.14.5: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐυβαλόντες τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐδήκωσαν, τὰς δὲ Ἀθήνας κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ναοὺς ἐνέπρησαν.

Xerxes' army probably took no more than ten days before arriving at Athens from Thermopylae in mid September 480. Marr (1998: 92) contends that the Thebans' defection to the Persians ensured that the Greeks were unable to withstand the Persian army at any location on the Greek mainland. Plutarch implies that a considerable amount

of time elapsed between the Persian victory at Thermopylae and their occupation of Athens. Herodotus (8.50-1) states that only a week elapsed. Since the evacuation of the population to Salamis and Troizen, there was no official defence of Athens. Bury argues that Themistocles was the ἡγέμων στρατηγός from 480-79 BC during the battles fought at Artemisium and Salamis.⁶⁵ In the spring of 479, Themistocles was replaced by Xanthippus as the ἡγεμὼν στρατηγός. There is insufficient evidence to explain why this change in military leadership occurred, however, it is possible that Themistocles' enemies successfully removed him from the office of στρατηγός.

Nevertheless, those who remained in Athens made a stand in the Acropolis by fortifying the citadel on the hill. Some believed that the wooden planks which they used in the process of fortification were the 'wooden walls' referred to by the Pythia. The Persians proceeded to massacre the priests (and anyone else who elected to remain behind) and then burnt Athens. This was an act of revenge since one of their temples was accidentally destroyed by fire by the Athenian expeditionary force during the Ionian Revolt. Nepos maintains that the Persians immediately approached Athens.

4.2. Cuius flamma perterriti classarii cum manere non auderent et plurimi hortarentur, ut domos suas discederent moenibusque se defenderent, Themistocles unus restitit et universos pares esse posse aiebat, dispersos testabatur perituros, idque Eurybiadi, regi Lacedaemoniorum, qui tum summae imperii praeerat, fore adfirmabat. Hdt. 8.56-7: Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνας, ὡς σφί ἐξαγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο ὥστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία ἀείροντο ὡς ἀποθευσόμενοι· τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ναυμαχεῖν. νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ

65. Bury, CR 10, 1896: 14.

συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἶρετο Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ὃ τι σφι εἶη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε· Οὐ τοι ἄρα, ἦν ἀπάρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, οὐδὲ περὶ μιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέπονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆσιν τὴν στρατιήν· ἀπολέεται τε ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἔστι μηχανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνη ἀναγνῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μένειν.

Herodotus (8.49-50) states that Eurybiades had asked the officers and generals for their advice on a sound military strategy to adopt against the Persians. Most of the officers spoke in favour of fighting a battle near the Isthmus, whereby they could escape to their home cities if they were beaten there, instead of being beaten at Salamis and then be trapped on the island under siege. During the meeting, an Athenian messenger arrived and informed the gathering that the Persians were destroying Athens, after burning Thespieae and Plataea, two of the cities which had refused to submit to the Persians.

In Nepos' account, the Athenians appear to be uncertain whether or not they should return to Athens when they see the destruction of their city, while Themistocles counseled against this proposal, since it was the precise reaction that the Persians desired, namely the weakening of the Greek fleet. Herodotus (8.56-63) records that the Greeks panicked upon hearing this catastrophic news. Some wanted to flee immediately while others desired to fight the Persians at the Isthmus. Meanwhile, Themistocles was approached by Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, who convinced Themistocles of the need to fight at Salamis; a divided Greek army or navy would never have been able to withstand the Persian invasion. Herodotus characteristically denigrates Themistocles, alleging that he was not the mastermind behind the Greek strategy. Nepos, however, rightly ignores

this slur.

Themistocles approached Eurybiades and attempted to persuade him to fight the Persians in a decisive encounter at Salamis. Themistocles pointed out that a battle fought at the Isthmus under current conditions favoured the Persians, while he emphasized how the terrain around Salamis favoured the Greeks and placed the Persians at a numerical disadvantage, since they could not use their entire fleet at once against the Greeks.

Adeimantus, the Corinthian general, attacked Themistocles, only to have Themistocles threaten to withdraw the Athenian fleet from the Greek navy. Herodotus stresses that Eurybiades acquiesced to Themistocles' threats since the withdrawal of the Athenian fleet would have seriously weakened the Greek fleet.

4.3. *Quem cum minus quam vellet moveret, noctu de servis suis quem habuit*

fidelissimum ad regem misit, ut ei nuntiaret suis verbis adversarios eius in fuga esse:

Aesch. *Pers.* 355-60: ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἑλλήν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων στρατοῦ || ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε παιδὶ
σῶ Ξέρξῃ τάδε, || ὡς εἰ μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἴξεται κνέφας, || Ἑλλήνες οὐ μενοῖεν,
ἀλλὰ σέλμασιν || ναῶν ἐπενθορόντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσε || δρασμῶ κρυφαίῳ βίοντον
ἐκσωσοῖατο. Cf. Hdt. 8.74.1-76.3: αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστάς σιγῇ λόγον
ἐποίεετο, θῶμα ποιούμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω ἀβουλίην· τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ
μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐς
τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὸν εἶν ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸ
χώρης δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήται καὶ Μεγαρέες
αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι. ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ
τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ
στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοῖω, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ οὐνομα
μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὲ
ὑστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπία τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο
οἱ Θεσπιάες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον. ὃς τότε πλοῖω ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς

στρατηγούς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε· Ἐπεμψέ με στρατηγός ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γάρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλευόνται καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἦν μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι οὔτ' ἔτι ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑαυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας, τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ. ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι συμῆνας ἐκποδῶν ἀπαλλάσσετε· Diod. 11.17.1: Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὄρων τὸν μὲν ναύαρχον Εὐρυβιάδην μὴ δυνάμενον περιγενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ὀρμῆς, τὰς δὲ περὶ Σαλαμίνα δυσχωρίας δύνασθαι πολλὰ συμβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην αὐτομολῆσαι καὶ διαβεβαιώσασθαι, διότι μέλλουσιν αἱ κατὰ Σαλαμίνα νῆες ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐκ τῶν τόπων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀθροίζεσθαι. Plut. Them. 12.3-5: ἔνθα δὴ βαρέως φέρων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, εἰ τὴν ἀπ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν προέμενοι βοήθειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διαλυθήσονται κατὰ πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο καὶ συνετίθει τὴν περὶ τοῦ Σίκιννον πραγματείαν. Ἦν δὲ τῷ μὲν γένει Πέρσης ὁ Σίκιννος, αἰχμάλωτος, εὐνοῦς δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ παιδαγωγός. ὃν ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην κρύφα, κελεύσας λέγειν, ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός αἰρούμενος τὰ βασιλέως ἐξαγγέλλει πρῶτος αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποδιδράσκοντας.

Nepos (4.3) concurs with Herodotus (8.75) concerning the details of the slave, but without mentioning his name. In Aeschylus' *Persians*, Sicinnus is referred to as the "Greek from the Athenian camp", while Diodorus is simply vague concerning the details. There would not have been sufficient time to have allocated captured Persians to individual Greeks following the battle at Salamis. Marr (1998: 100-1) proposes that Sicinnus was actually a Phrygian slave. Arrian claimed that Sicinnus was a nymph of the Phrygian goddess Cybele. Frost asks why Sicinnus was not questioned further by Xerxes

and his Greek advisors or tortured to confirm what he had said was true.⁶⁶ Apparently the message was delivered and Sicinnus quickly retreated back towards the Greek fleet in all the panoply of war. Podlecki (1975: 23) accuses Herodotus of embellishing the anecdote concerning Themistocles' first message to Xerxes, in order to place Themistocles in a better light. This view is completely incorrect, since Herodotus either used sources who were themselves hostile towards Themistocles, or perhaps he himself was hostile towards Themistocles. The last thing the enemies of Themistocles would have done was to praise Themistocles for any positive action.

4.4. qui si discessissent, maiore cum labore et longinquo tempore bellum confecturum, cum singulos consecretari cogere; quos si statim aggrederetur, brevi universos oppressurum. Plut. *Them.* 12.5: καὶ διακελεύεται μὴ παρῆναι φυγεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ταραττονται τῶν πεζῶν χωρὶς ὄντες ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν. Justin 2.12.19: Qui cum deserto bello ad sua tuenda dilabivellent, timens Themistocles, ne discessu sociorum vires minuerentur, per servum fidum Xerxi nuntiat, uno in loco eum contractum Graeciam capere facillime posse.

Hoc eo valebat, ut ingratis ad depugnandum omnes cogere. Plut. *Them.* 12.5: ταῦτα δ' ὁ Ξερξῆς ὡς ἀπ' εὐνοίας λελεγμένα δεξάμενος ἦσθη, καὶ τέλος εὐθὺς ἐξέφερε πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν νεῶν, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πληροῦν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, διακοσίαις δ' ἀναχθέντας ἤδη περιβαλέσθαι τὸν πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ διαζῶσαι τὰς νήσους, ὅπως ἐκφύγοι μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων. Nepos continues by stating that Themistocles was determined that the combined Greek navy should fight a decisive battle with the Persians in favourable conditions, for the Greeks, at any cost. Nepos insinuates that Themistocles preyed upon Xerxes' desire to crush the Greeks, hoping the Persian king would thereby ignore common sense and military strategy in a

66. Frost, 1980: 143-6.

bid to defeat the fleeing Greeks. This was the perfect setup and resulted in the second greatest Greek trap, the first of course being the Trojan horse. Podlecki (1975: 24) rejects the strength of the Persian fleet as being 1207 ships strong at Artemisium, despite the figures supplied by Herodotus, Plutarch, and Nepos.

4.5. Hac re audita, barbarus, nihil doli subesse credens, postridie alienissimo sibi loco, contra opportunissimo hostibus, adeo angusto mari confligit, ut eius multitudo navium explicari non potuerit. Aesch. *Pers.* 361-73: ὁ δ' εὐθύς ὡς ἤκουσεν, οὐ ξυνεῖς δόλον || Ἕλληνας ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ τὸν θεῶν φθόνον, || πᾶσιν προφωνεῖ τόνδε ναυάρχους λόγον, || εὖτ' ἂν φλέγων ἀκτίσιν ἥλιος χθόνα || λήξει, κνέφας δὲ τέμενος αἰθέρος λάβη, || τάξαι νεῶν μὲν στῖφος ἐν στοίχοις τρισὶν || ἔκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἀλιρρόθους, || ἄλλας δὲ κύκλω νῆσον Αἴαντος πέριξ· || ὡς εἰ μόρον φευξοῖσθ' Ἕλληνας κακόν, || ναυσὶν κρυφαίως δρασμὸν εὐρόντες τινά, || πᾶσιν στέρεσθαι κρατὸς ἦν προκείμενον. || τοσαῦτ' ἔλεξε κάρθ' ὑπ' εὐθύμου φρενός· || οὐ γὰρ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ θεῶν ἠπίστατο. Plut. *Them.* 14.3: ὁ τὰς μὲν Ἑλληνικὰς οὐκ βλαπτέ ναῦς ἀλιτενεῖς οὔσας καὶ ταπεινοτέρας, τὰς δὲ βαρβαρικὰς ταῖς τε πρύμναις ἀνεστώσας καὶ τοῖς καταστρώμασιν ὑπορόφους καὶ βαρείας ἐπιφερομένας ἔσφαλλε προσπίπτον καὶ παρεδίδου πλαγίας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀξέως προσφερομένοις καὶ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέχουσιν, ὡς ὀρώντι μάλιστα τὸ συμφέρον. *Them.* 15.4: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τοῖς βαρβόροις ἐξισούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν στενωῷ κατὰ μέρος προσφερομένους καὶ περιπίπτουσας ἀλλήλοις ἐτρέψαντο, μέχρι δειλῆς ἀντισχόντας,

Justin 2.15.1-8 : *Igitur Athenienses aucti et praemiis belli et gloria urbem integro condere moliuntor. Cum moenia maiora complexi fuissent, suspecti esse Lacedaemoniis coepere reputantibus, quibus ruina urbis tantum incrementi dedisset, quantum sit datura munita civitas. Mittunt ergo legatos, qui monerent, ne munimenta hostibus et receptacula futuri belli extruant. Themistocles ut vidit spei urbis invideri, non*

existimans abrupte agendum, respondit legatis, ituros Lacedaemonem, qui de ea re pariter cum illis consulant. Sic dismissis Spartanis hortatur suos, opus maturent. Dein ipse interiecto tempore in legationem proficiscitur, et nunc in itinere infirmitate simulata, nunc tarditatem collegarum accusans, sine quibus agi iure nihil posset, diem de die proferendo spatium consummando operi quaerebat; cum interim nuntiatur Spartanis opus Athenienses maturare, propter quod denuo legatos mittunt ad inspiciendam rem. Tum Themistocles per servum magistratibus scribit Atheniensium, legatos vinciant pignusque teneant, ne in se gravius consulatur.

Salamis is an island situated to the south of Athens. (See maps for further details.)

Topographically it is easy to defend and hard to attack since the natural straits prevent the deployment of a huge fleet en masse. Several smaller islands also dot the surrounding area. The heavy Greek triremes were ideally suited to fight in the confined space, as the Persians were unable to attack the Greek navy en masse with their vastly numerically superior fleet. The Greeks used their heavy triremes to ram the lighter Persian vessels while also affording the Greeks the opportunity to board the Persian vessels and fight on the decks of the vessels as a land battle would be conducted. The way the battle of Salamis unfolded is how Themistocles intended his strategy to work. Burn (1962: 461-462) comments that Themistocles specifically elected to engage the Persians at Salamis when the prevailing wind directions would hamper the Persian ships and favour the Greek defenders instead. Burn's observation is based on Plutarch (*Them.* 14.2).

Victus ergo est magis etiam consilio Themistocli quam armis Graeciae. Thuc.

1.74.1: τοιοῦτο μέντοι τούτου ξυμβάντος, καὶ σαφῶς δηλωθέντος ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, τρία τὰ ὠφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα, ἀριθμὸν τε νεῶν πλείστον καὶ ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνετώτατον καὶ προθυμίαν ἀοκνοτάτην· ναῦς μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγω ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν,

Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἄρχοντα, ὃς αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο, ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο ὑμεῖς ἐτίμησατε δὴ ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων; Plut. *Them.* 14.3: ὡς εἶρηκε Σιμωνίδης, τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ περιβόητον ἀράμενοι νίκην, ἧς οὐθ' Ἑλλῆσιν οὔτε βαρβάροις ἐνάλιον ἔργον εἶργασται λαμπρότερον, ἀνδρεία μὲν καὶ δεινότητι τῇ Θεμιστοκλέους; Diod. 11.27.3: τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων βαρέως φερόντων τὴν ἄδικον ἦτιαν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φοβηθέντες μήποτε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι κακὸν μέγα βουλευσῆται κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν διπλασίῳσι δωρεαῖς τῶν τὰ ἀριστεία εἰληφότων.

Nepos is painting Themistocles in a particularly good light here as the saviour of Greece. Nepos' focus on Themistocles' intelligence and cunning goes back to the contemporary view. Even Herodotus, so overtly hostile to Themistocles, records (8.123-4), that all the Greek contingents acknowledged Themistocles' contribution; including the Spartans. Burn (1962: 444-446) argues that the Corinthians and their admiral, Adeimantos, were not awarded their due share of credit for the role they played at Salamis (and the entire war in general). Themistocles is credited with the main tactical strategies employed at Salamis, while Herodotus downplays the tactics which Themistocles, Adeimantos and the other admirals decided to adopt during the battle itself. He says that this negativity resulted from the bitter hatred (Burn, 1962: 444) which Herodotus' sources felt towards Corinth and Sparta (and were especially hostile towards Themistocles).

Did Themistocles Send A Second Message To Xerxes?

5.1. Hic etsi male rem gesserat, tamen tantas habebat reliquias copiarum, ut etiam tum his opprimere posset hostes. Iterum ab eodem gradu depulsus est. Diod.

11.19.6: ὧν ὁ σύμπασις ἀριθμὸς ὑπῆρξεν οὐκ ἐλάττων τῶν τετταράκοντα μυριάδων. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὐκ δυσι στρατηγήμασι ξησάμενος μεγάλων προτερημάτων αἴτιος ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἑλλῆσι.

Herodotus (8.130.2) states that the Persian navy comprised 300 ships after Salamis, while Diodorus (11.27.1) lists the figure at over 400. Hdt. 8.130.2: ἄτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήισαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, οὐδ' ἐπενάγκαζε οὐδὲ εἷς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι ἐφύλασσαν τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῆ, νέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῆσι Ἰάσι τριηκοσίας. Plut. 16.1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν Ξέρξης μὲν ἔτι θυμομαχῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπότηξιν ἐπεχείρει διὰ χωμάτων ἐπάγειν τὸ πεζὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐμφράξας τὸν διὰ μέσου πόρον·

Nam Themistocles, verens ne bellare perseveraret, certiozem eum fecit id agi, ut pons quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat dissolveretur ac reditu in Asiam excluderetur, idque ei persuasit. Hdt. 8.97.1: Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δεῖσας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἕλλησποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κινδινεύσει ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε· θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαύλους τε Φοινικίους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίης ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. Hdt. 8.110: Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπέιθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθέως σοφὸς τε καὶ εὐβουλος, πάντως ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾶν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικμοένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεῖ φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτίς ἐγένετο· οἱ ἐπίτε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ. Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἐπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων, ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑποργεῖν ἔσχε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰς νέας βουλόμενος διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἕλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο. Μαρτ

discusses the parallel versions and the plausibility of the story.⁶⁷

Plut. *Them.* 16.4-5: Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, πέμπει τινὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν εὐνούχων ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνευρών, Ἀρνάκην ὄνομα, φράζειν βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλησι δέδοκται τῷ ναυτικῷ κεκρατηκότας ἀναπλεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπὶ τὸ ζεῦγμα καὶ λύειν τὴν γέφυραν, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ κηδόμενος βασιλέως παραινεῖ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θάλατταν καὶ περαιοῦσθαι, μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐμποιεῖ τινὰς διατριβὰς τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ μελλήσεις πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. ταῦθ' ὁ βάρβαρος ἀκούσας καὶ γενόμενος περίφοβος διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ πείραν ἢ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδου φρόνησις ἐν Μαρδονίῳ παρέσθεν, εἴγε πολλοστημορίῳ τῆς Ξέρξου δυνάμεως ὅλων κίνδυνον κατέστησαν.

Herodotus is hostile towards Themistocles and claims that he acted out of selfish motives.

Herodotus evokes suspicion when he adds that Themistocles desired a place of refuge.

By contrast, Diodorus claims that Themistocles was extremely patriotic. Nepos echoes

Diodorus' sentiments. In Plutarch's *Themistocles*, Themistocles and Aristides collude to

deceive Xerxes, while in Plutarch's *Aristides*, Themistocles is concerned with his own

interests. Thucydides presents a plausible explanation for each message sent to Xerxes.

Nepos follows Thucydides' tradition. cf. *Thuc.* 137.4: καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται

(γράψας τὴν τε ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν

γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν). Marr doubts that

the second message was sent. The sources vary over the location from where, when and

by whom the message was sent. Thucydides' comment on the second message was that

Themistocles informed Xerxes to leave Greece while the Hellespont Bridge was still

intact. Only Thucydides presents the most plausible account. As for the story,

Themistocles' followers and his enemies spread many rumours either defending or

attacking his name after his death. Hence, the story of a second message is less than

67. Marr, 1995: 57-69.

credible, apart from Thucydides' account. Nepos has Themistocles deceive Xerxes, forcing a sufficient Persian withdrawal from Greece in order to weaken the remaining Persian forces left behind. Marr (1998: 111-2) disbelieves the anecdotes concerning Xerxes' construction of moles before or after the Persian defeat at Salamis. Without a strong fleet, Xerxes would have found it impossible to construct a mole to Athens. Why would Xerxes build a mole as a ruse, which is a time-consuming task, if the Persians were retreating? They would not have done so. Xerxes would also not have constructed a mole prior to Salamis since he believed that his huge army and navy would easily subjugate the Greeks. However, any evidence of such a construction has been destroyed by subsequent constructions over the area. Podlecki (1975: 23) doubts Herodotus (8.79) when he says that Aristides fought at Salamis. This view is incorrect, for even Plutarch (9.1) comments that Aristides was recalled with the rest of the Athenian exiles, before Salamis.

Nepos concurs with Thucydides that Themistocles sent a second message to Xerxes after the Battle of Salamis in 480, while the Greek fleet was still anchored at Salamis. Plutarch records that Themistocles informed Artaxerxes when they met in person that he had prevented the Greeks from pursuing Xerxes after Salamis. Herodotus, with his strong anti-Themistoclean sentiment, records at 8.109.3 that Themistocles was establishing an escape plan if he landed in trouble in Athens. Herodotus adds that the trouble that Themistocles envisaged did occur. This statement is highly suspicious. Another point to note is that each account has a different messenger with a different name and ethnicity relaying Themistocles' second message to Xerxes after the Greek naval victory at Salamis.

Marr⁶⁸ contends that no second message was sent by Themistocles to Xerxes. Rather, the anecdote of the second message was created sometime during the 450's in Athens by the detractors of Themistocles in order to blacken his name even more. The passage in Herodotus (8.109.3) looks rather damning, even though it is highly suspicious to the modern reader in light of this argument. Marr points out that there is no mention of a second message in Aeschylus' *Persians*, which was performed in 472. Herodotus, it is believed by scholars, wrote his history in the 430's or 420's. His account concerning the message, 8.108-110, is strongly biased against Themistocles.⁶⁹ Marr implies that Herodotus had access to both of the rival traditions concerning the second purported message to Xerxes and that Herodotus elected to use the anti-Themistoclean tradition, since he too was biased against Themistocles. Herodotus claims the messenger was the same Sicinnus, who delivered the first message to Xerxes prior to Salamis.

Diodorus (11.19.5-6), in a pro-Themistoclean account, declares that Themistocles attempted to reduce the number of Persian infantry and cavalry which the Greeks would have had to face in further land battles before driving the Persians out of Greece. According to Diodorus (11.17.2), Xerxes believed that the Greeks could destroy the bridge which he had had constructed. Marr also refers to Diodorus (11.59.2), whereby Diodorus comments that Themistocles' stratagem worked and the Persian forces were reduced by half by the ruse. Furthermore, Diodorus mentions the same anecdote from Herodotus concerning the messenger Sicinnus, although he omits the name of the man.

In Nepos' *Themistocles* 5.1, it is learnt that Themistocles sent the same messenger to warn Xerxes of the supposed impending destruction of his bridge over the Hellespont. Nepos omits all pertinent details concerning the messenger's name and from where the

68. Marr, *AClass* 18, 1995: 57-69.

69. *Ibid.*, 57.

message was sent. In Plutarch's *Themistocles* 16.2-6, Themistocles informed Aristides, while still at Salamis, of his idea to destroy the bridge over the Hellespont. The idea was rejected and an alternative plan was called for to rid Greece of the Persians. Aristides and Themistocles jointly devised a plan. Themistocles then sent the message to Xerxes, whereby he pretended that the idea was his own. In this pro-Themistoclean account, Xerxes followed the advice of Themistocles, which was brought to him by the captured eunuch, Arnaces, and the Greeks later defeated the weakened Persian forces at Platea.

Marr,⁷⁰ also points to Plutarch's *Aristides* 9.5-6, citing that Aristides rejected Themistocles' proposal, whereupon Themistocles still sent the message through with Arnaces, who was an ordinary prisoner. Themistocles thus acted selfishly. Marr stresses that this passage is reminiscent of Herodotus' account. Thucydides (1.137.4), tells that Themistocles travelled to Ephesus, whereupon he wrote to Artaxerxes of the favour which he had performed for the king. Diodorus (11.56.5-8) asserts that Themistocles spoke in person with Artaxerxes. Artaxerxes absolved Themistocles of any wrongdoing against Persia. Nepos' *Themistocles* 9.1-4 follows Thucydides' account. Plutarch's *Themistocles* 18.1-5 also follows Thucydides, informing the reader that Themistocles was forced to trick the Persian king, although he changed the letter to a speech.

Marr,⁷¹ argues that in Aeschylus' *Persians* the first message to Xerxes is an established historical fact. He refers to Thucydides (1.134.1-4) and argues that Nepos or Plutarch did generally follow Thucydides' text absolutely until 1.134.3-4. For example, he argues that Nepos is suspicious of the anti-Themistoclean claims. In addition to this, the second message as mentioned by Thucydides, was, as Marr calls it, "an intelligence tip-off",⁷² which is also found in Nepos and Diodorus. Themistocles lied to Artaxerxes, claiming

70. *Ibid.*, 60.

71. *Ibid.*, 62.

72. *Ibid.*, 64.

that he had prevented the Hellespont bridge from being destroyed. Artaxerxes would then offer Themistocles “political asylum”.

Marr concludes that Themistocles never sent a second message to Xerxes after the Persian naval defeat at Salamis. Aeschylus, who is the earliest literary source concerning Salamis (Marr, 1995: 57), never refers to any second message. It is debatable whether Aeschylus was a personal friend or supporter of Themistocles. For in the *Persians*, he praises Themistocles’ williness. Instead, Marr adds that after Platea and Mycale, the Greek generals would have claimed that the idea to destroy the Hellespont bridge was their own. When he appeared before Artaxerxes while he was in exile, Themistocles never mentioned his first message, since it would have defeated his purpose of pleading for asylum. He did not mention the more favourable second message either. Marr credits the reason for this as being so since there was no second message to mention.

In Thucydides, which is a later report, a reference appears to the purported second message. Themistocles’ enemies claimed, when his family was permitted to return to Athens in the 450’s, that Themistocles had sided with the Persians with the help of Pausanias, after Salamis, when he sent the second letter to Xerxes. Other supporters of Themistocles defended this accusation by claiming that Themistocles had decided on his own prerogative to trick Xerxes into leaving Greece with as many soldiers as would flee with him, thereby leaving behind a considerably weakened Persian force, which the Greeks could engage with better odds, even though they would still be outnumbered. Therefore, both the proponents and the detractors of Themistocles claimed that there was a second message, albeit for completely opposite reasons. However, over time, the reasons behind the propaganda from both sides were forgotten, and the second message, as Marr claims, became part of the historically accepted fact.

Milton argues that Themistocles did send a second message to Xerxes.⁷³ Milton maintains that the Greeks did indeed sail to the Hellespont from Salamis with the intention of destroying the bridge. Apart from Herodotus, the three [main] other accounts were all derived from the same source.⁷⁴ The motivation behind the second message was patriotism, while the accounts included different messengers delivering the message, since the original was corrupted over time. Milton comments how similar Herodotus (8.111.1) and Plutarch's *Aristides* 9.3-10.1 are to each other. Diodorus' account differs from Plutarch's *Themistocles* in two ways. Firstly, Themistocles conceived the idea himself. Secondly, Themistocles sent his sons' tutor to deliver the message to Xerxes. Therefore, Ephorus, whom Diodorus and Plutarch (*Themistocles*) used, according to Milton, is to be preferred to Herodotus and Plutarch (*Aristides*), which were taken from a different source.

Milton dismisses the idea that the second message was invented.⁷⁵ Rather, Themistocles performed a second and even greater patriotic act when he sent his second message to Xerxes. In the pro-Themistoclean⁷⁶ accounts, the name of the messenger has been changed, while Aristides' name was substituted for Eurybiades, or vice versa. The Greeks were turning their attention to land battles now, as were the Persians. Milton⁷⁷ argues that the Greek *strategoi* would have debated destroying the Hellespont bridge, but rejected the idea as the Persians would have attacked and plundered Greece even more savagely if their only means of escape had been cut off. However, the sailors in the navy were not informed of this decision immediately.

The location of the Greek fleet is important, since it shows that the decision of the

73. Milton, *The Second Message to Xerxes and Themistocles' Views on Strategy*, 1983: 22.

74. *Ibid.*, 26.

75. *Ibid.*, 29.

76. *Ibid.*, 22.

77. *Ibid.*, 31.

stratego was taken at Salamis. If the fleet had sailed to Andros, which was geographically nearer to the Hellespont, then the decision would have been made to destroy the bridge over the Hellespont. The fleet, however, remained at Salamis and the decision was taken to allow the Persians to flee Greece if they could be persuaded to do so. Themistocles' proposal to destroy the bridge was rejected. By not informing the sailors of this decision, Themistocles was able to tell Xerxes a white lie in his message that he had delayed the destruction of the Hellespont bridge. Xerxes therefore "owed" Themistocles a favour in return for his service to the king. This was thus an act of patriotism disguised as aiding Xerxes, while in reality many Persians fled Greece with Xerxes. The two later land battles were postponed for strategic reasons in order to benefit the Greeks.⁷⁸ Milton questions whether Themistocles wanted to lead an Athenian push to free the Greeks in Asia Minor, and concludes in his argument that there must have been further political reasons why Themistocles was not re-elected as a *strategos*, perhaps relating to the change in Athenian politics in favour of his enemies.

5.2. Itaque qua sex mensibus iter fecerat, eadem minus diebus triginta in Asiam reversus est seque a Themistocle non superatum, sed conservatum iudicavit. Hdt.

8.115.1: ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαλλάσσειτο, Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς εἰπεῖν. Plut. *Them.* 16.5: ταῦθ' ὁ βάρβαρος ἀκούσας καὶ γενόμενος περίφοβος διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. Nepos notes that Xerxes retreated faster from Greece than the time it had taken him to march his army across to Greece. Neither Plutarch nor Diodorus state how long Xerxes took to flee back to Persia. Burn (1962: 471) argues that Xerxes would not have taken so short a time to flee back to Persia as indicated by Herodotus. Rather, he argues that the tale was

78. *Ibid.*, 38.

embellished, although Xerxes would have required less time for the return journey since his army did not construct any siege equipment, or face any enemies. Burn (1962: 474-475) also questions the reliability of Plutarch's sources when discussing Salamis. He insists that Plutarch's sources (e.g. in *Plut. Them.* 14) were essentially inferior sources to use, and cites the example of the name of the deceased Persian admiral was Ariamenes, whom Herodotus calls Ariabignes as an example of using poor sources. However, Burn does not consider the issue that Plutarch might not have had access to Herodotus' sources in his own time, or any reliable copy of such information, such as Justin's epitome of Trogus. Podlecki (1975: 25) rejects the various accounts concerning the strength of Mardonius' depleted army as being 300 000 strong after Xerxes retreated back to Persia, although he does not specify any other figure. It is quite plausible that this figure is correct or close enough to the actual figure.

5.3. Sic unius viri prudentia Graecia liberata est Europaeque succubuit Asia. Nepos stresses that Greece was ultimately saved by Themistocles alone, without the aid of the other Greeks. Cf. *Miltiades* 3.6; *Thracybulus* 1.2; *Conon* 4.5; *Epaminondas* 10.3; *Pelopidas* 3.3; and *Agesilaus* 6.1. He omits any reference to the decisive battle waged at Plataea in 479 between the Greeks and the remaining Persians under the command of Mardonius.

Haec altera victoria, quae cum Marathonio possit comparari tropaeo. Nam pari modo apud Salamina parvo numero navium maxima post hominum memoriam classis est deviata. Nepos compares Themistocles' victory at Salamis over the Persians to the Athenians' victory over the Persians at Marathon, during the first Persian invasion of Greece. He re-emphasizes how a smaller Greek force defeated a numerically superior Persian force, which was still the "super power" of the ancient world during this period of

history. Nepos has two objectives in making this comparison. Firstly, he attributes all of the Greeks' success to Themistocles' guidance and forethought. Secondly, he recounts the biggest sea battle in antiquity whereby a smaller force defeated the largest force imaginable. Furthermore, this is the second time that Nepos acknowledges with such pride that the Athenians were victorious over the Persians, the first occasion being at Marathon in 490 (*Miltiades* 5.5). Even after the rise of Roman imperialism, Nepos accredits Salamis as still being the definitive and greatest naval battle in the ancient world.

6.1. Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit neque minor in pace. Themistocles demonstrated his leadership and ability. His resourcefulness went from strength to strength. Nepos has just given a synopsis of how capable Themistocles was against his enemies. Nepos uses the Latin antithesis of *bellum* and *pax* to demonstrate how insightful and effective Themistocles was in his decision-making during the pre- and post-war periods.

Cum enim Phalerico portu neque magno neque bono Athenienses uterentur. Hdt.

6.116: οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῆσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρον (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων). Plut. *Them.* 19.3: Ἐκ δὲ ταύτου τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατασκεύαζε, τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφυίαν κατανοήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἀρμοττόμενος πρὸς θάλατταν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος. The Athenians were still using the Phaleron harbour as the Piraeus was still under construction. Its construction had commenced in 493/2, when Themistocles was the *Eponymous Archon*. Herodotus (6.116) comments that the Persians anchored their fleet near the Phaleron harbour after the battle of Marathon. The Athenians used the Phaleron harbour as their main harbour during and before the first Persian invasion of Greece. Phaleron was not a proper harbour, but a beach which the

Athenians used to beach their ships during winter, as well as when not out at sea. The Piraeus was an enclosed harbour where cargo ships could be loaded and unloaded, while lighter ships, such as triremes, had to be stored and maintained in special sheds. Lighter ships were physically hauled onto the beach, while heavier ships were anchored in shallow water there. Unlike the Piraeus, it could not be defended since it was open to attack.

huius consilio triplex Piraei portus constitutus est iisque moenibus circumdatus ut

ipsam urbem dignitate aequiperaret, utilitate superaret. Thuc. 1.93.7: τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ ὠφελιμώτερον ἐνόμιζε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει, ἦν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτειχίσθησαν καὶ τᾶλλα κατεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν. Plut. 19.3-4: Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατεσκεύαζε, τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφυίαν κατανοήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὄλην ἀρμοττόμενος πρὸς θάλατταν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος. Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' οὐχ, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς λέγει, τῇ πόλει τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαζεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξῆψε τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης.

Nepos does not present the possibility that Themistocles, as *eponymous archon*, had been charged to oversee the start of the construction on the Piraeus. Marr elaborates that Themistocles strengthened his support with the Thetes, who formed the majority of the sailors in the new fleet, by increasing their political power.⁷⁹ Marr rejects the notion that Themistocles created the foundations for the Athenian empire. He also contends that Plutarch misunderstood Aristophanes' *Knights*, wherein Themistocles was praised and defended for his construction of the Piraeus. Aristophanes was praising Themistocles for his "most famous post-war achievements" (Marr, 1998:122). This is why he says that

79. Marr, 1998: 120-122.

Plutarch misunderstood Aristophanes' reference to Themistocles.

6.2. Idem muros Atheniensium restituit praecipuo suo periculo. Plut. *Them.* 19.1:

Γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ τειχίζειν. Nepos emphasises the risk, i.e. political attacks and physical harm, to which Themistocles subjected himself when he ordered or oversaw the construction of the Piraeus. The walls around Athens prior to Salamis were a sign of the city's strength. The new walls built after Salamis displayed Athens' new-found strength and development into a Greek "super-power" along with Sparta.

Namque Lacedaemonii, causam idoneam nacti propter barbarorum excursiones qua negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem muros habere, ne essent loca munita, quae hostes possiderent, Athenienses aedificantes prohibere sunt

conati. Thuc. 1.90.1-2: Λακεδαμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἦλθον πρεσβεία, τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦδιον ἂν ὀρώντες μῆτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τείχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλείν τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐξοτρυνόντων καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ πρὶν οὐκ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην. ἤξιουν τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσον μᾶλλον ὅσοις εἰστήκει ξυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους, τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποπτον τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου, εἰ αὐθις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος ἀπὸ ἐχυροῦ ποθέν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ὀρμάθαι· τὴν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἀναχώρησίν τε καὶ ἀφορμὴν ἰκανὴν εἶναι. The Spartans used the pretext of not desiring any Greek strongholds falling into the hands of Persians should they invade Greece again as an excuse to prevent the Athenians from fortifying their defences. They considered the Athenians as a real threat to their political and military hegemony over the other Greeks.

The Spartans feared that they would lose their supremacy over the Greeks to Athens.

From all the allied Greek states, Athens emerged as the big winner after Salamis. The Spartans realised that Athens had become a maritime power, and saw how many states were brought under Athenian control with the new Athenian fleet. This caused a change in the balance of power in the Peloponnese and in Greece itself. The Spartan aim was to diminish Athens' new power. Thucydides implies that the Spartans slowly began to plot against the Athenians. Thuc. 1.92.1. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούσαντες ὀργὴν μὲν φανεράν οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, ἀλλὰ γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν κοινῶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν ἐς Μῆδον προθυμίαν τὰ μάλιστ' αὐτοῖς ἐτύχχανον), τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο. Diodorus echoes similar sentiments.

(11.43.1.) Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς λαβὼν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πράττειν, καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπουργίαν ἔχων ἐτοίμην τοῖς ἐγχειρουμένοις, πάλιν ἐπενόησε καταστρατηγῆσαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· ἦδει γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλεως τειχισμοῦ διεκώλυσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ λιμένος ἐγχειρήσουσι διακόπτειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς ἐπιβολὰς.

Hoc longe alio spectabat atque videri volebant. While the Persian threat had not yet receded, the Spartans were already planning to undermine their former allies.

6.3. Athenienses enim duabus victoriis, Marathonis et Salaminiae, tantum gloriam apud omnes gentis erant consecuti, ut intellegerent Lacedaemonii de principatu sibi cum iis certamen fore. Diod. 11.39.2: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ὁρῶντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν ταῖς ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσι περιπεποιημένους δόξαν μεγάλην, ὑπώπτευσαν αὐτῶν τὴν αὐξήσιν, καὶ διέγνωσαν κωλύειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνοικοδομεῖν τὰ τεῖχη. The Athenian victories at Marathon and Salamis forced the Spartans to realize that Athens could challenge Sparta for the hegemony over Greece, since Athens had gained new glory at Salamis. According to Nipperday⁸⁰ and Lupus, Nepos here departs from his

80. Nipperday, Cornelius Nepos, Berlin, 1879: 34.

main source, which is Thucydides, and uses Ephorus, who was also used as a source by Diodorus Siculus.

6.4. Qua re eos quam infirmissimos esse volebant. Nepos stresses that the Spartans suddenly realized their hegemony over Greece was being challenged by the Athenians.

Postquam autem audierunt muros instrui, legatos Athenas miserunt, qui id fieri vetarent. See Thuc. 1.90.1 quoted above. Diod. 11.39.3. Plutarch (*Them.* 19.1 [See below]) records the allegation of Theopompus that Themistocles bribed the Spartan Ephors to allow the Athens to rebuild her walls.

6.5. His praesentibus desierunt ac se de ea re legatos ad eos missuros dixerunt.

Thuc. 1.90.3: οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι Θεμιστοκλέους γνώμη τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτ' εἰπόντας ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι πέμψουσιν ὡς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν εὐθὺς ἀπήλλαξαν· Themistocles set off to face the Spartans without any initial assistance.

Hanc legationem suscepit Themistocles et solus primo profectus est; reliqui legati ut tum exirent, cum satis alti tuendo muri exstructi videretur, praecepit. Thuc. 1.90.3:

ἑαυτὸν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀποστέλλειν ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις μὴ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν ἄρῳσιν ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὕψους; Diod. 11.39.5: ἐν ἀπορρήτοις δὲ τῇ βουλῇ προεῖπεν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν μετὰ τινῶν ἄλλων πορεύσεται πρεσβευτῆς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα διδάξων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ τοῦ τειχισμοῦ. Diod. 11.40.1: Ὑπακουσάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα πρέσβεις προῆγον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην. Plut. *Them.* 19.1. ἦκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σπάρτην ὄνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραψάμενος·

Themistocles tricked the Spartans by ordering the continuation of the building of the

walls while stalling the Spartans. The Spartans would not be able to tear down the walls or attack Athens so readily, if the fortifications were complete or nearly complete. Nepos maintains that Themistocles went ahead of the rest of the Athenian delegation.

Thucydides (1.191.3) lists the names of the other Athenian members of the delegation, namely: Abronichus, the son of Lysicles, as well as Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who was Themistocles' main pre-war political rival.

interim omnes, servi atque liberi, opus facerent neque ulli loco parcerent, sive sacer sive privatus esset sive publicus, et undique quod idoneum ad muniendum putarent congererent. Quo factum est ut Atheniensium muri ex sacellis sepulcrisque

constarent. Thuc. 1.90.3: τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημει τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει [καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας], φειδομένους μήτε ἰδίου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὠφελία ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιροῦντας πάντα; Diod. 11.40.1: οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ μεγάλης σπουδῆς ἄκοδόμουν τὰ τείχη, οὔτ' οἰκίας οὔτε τάφου φειδόμενοι. It is interesting that Nepos includes the note that the material for the walls came from public buildings and private houses, as well as religious structures. Thucydides includes this information to demonstrate how earnest

Themistocles was to rebuild the fortified walls as quickly as possible. What was intriguing to the Romans was whether Themistocles alone possessed the ability and leadership skills to persuade the Athenians to rebuild their defences so quickly. The Romans were more renowned for their military ingenuity. The Romans would never have committed such a sacrilegious act in order to build a defensive wall.

7.1. Themistocles autem ut Lacedaemonem venit, adire ad magistratus noluit et dedit operam ut quam longissime tempus duceret, causam interponens se collegas exspectare. Thuc. 1.90.4-5: καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθὼν οὐ προσήει πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ διῆγε καὶ προυφασίζετο. καὶ ὁπότε τις αὐτὸν ἔροιτο τῶν ἐν τέλει

όντων ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, ἔφη τοὺς ξυμπρέσβεις ἀναμένειν, ἀσχολίας δὲ τινος οὔσης αὐτοὺς ὑπολειφθῆναι, προσδέχεσθαι ἐν τάχει ἦξειν καὶ θαυμάζειν ὡς οὔπω πάρεσιν. All the sources agree that Themistocles tricked the Spartans into allowing Athens to rebuild her walls. The magistrates whom Themistocles refused to speak to were the *Ephors*. It is unlikely that Themistocles was permitted to address the (Spartan) Assembly, since the Assembly was restricted to all adult male Spartan citizens from twenty years old. Sparta did not want any of its soldiers or politicians to be influenced by foreign orators. Debate was allowed in the Spartan Assembly but to what extent remains unknown (Jones, 1968: 20-25).

7.2. Cum Lacedaemonii quererentur opus nihilo minus fieri eumque in ea re conari fallere, interim reliqui legati sunt consecuti. A quibus cum audisset non multum superesse munitionis, ad ephoros Lacedaemoniorum accessit, penes quos summum erat imperium, atque apud eos contendit falsa iis esse delata: qua re aequum esse illos viros bonos nobilesque mittere quibus fides haberetur, qui rem explorarent; interea se obsidem retinerent. Thuc. 1.91.1-2: οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες τῷ μὲν Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπεΐθοντο διὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγορούντων ὅτι τειχίζεται τε καὶ ἤδη ὕψος λαμβάνει, οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρῆ ἀπιστῆσαι. γνοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖνος κελεύει αὐτοὺς μὴ λόγοις μᾶλλον παράγεσθαι ἢ πέμψαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας οἵτινες χρηστοὶ καὶ πιστῶς ἀναγγελοῦσι σκεψάμενοι; Plut. 19.1-2: ἦκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σπάρτην ὄνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραφάμενος· ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅτι τειχίζουσι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ Πολυάρχου κατηγοροῦντος ἐπίτηδες ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἀποσταλέντος, ἠρνεῖτο καὶ πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν εἰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς κατοψομένους, ἅμα μὲν ἐμβάλλων τῷ τειχισμῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεμπομένους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὃ καὶ συνέβη; Diod. 11.40.2: ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνακληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐπιτιμηθεὶς περὶ τῆς τειχοποιίας ἠρνήσατο τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, καὶ παρεκάλεσε τοὺς ἄρχοντας μὴ πιστεύειν κεναῖς

φήμαις, ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλειν πρέσβεις ἀξιπίστους εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας· διὰ γὰρ τούτων εἴσεσθαι τάληθές· καὶ τούτων ἐγγυητὴν ἑαυτὸν παρεδίδου καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἑαυτοῦ συμπρεσβεύοντας. Like Diodorus (and perhaps his source Ephorus) Nepos puts emphasis on the fact that Themistocles presented himself as a hostage while the Spartan delegation travelled to Athens [cf. Plutarch (19.2-3) and Thucydides (1.90-92)]. Nepos' use of the term *nobilesque* refers to the Spartan *ephors*, who acted as special magistrates with far-reaching powers. This is how he explains the Spartan terminology for their governing structures to his Roman readers.

The Spartan *ephors* were a special board consisting of five *ephors* who were elected annually. The *Ephors* could not stand for office more than once. One of the *ephors* was elected as the *Eponymous Ephor*. His name was given to the year in which he was elected to the above-mentioned position. The *ephors* usually agreed upon the laws to enact and the legislation to follow. However, when they disagreed and reached an impasse, a majority of one vote was sufficient to resolve the matter. The *ephors* monitored the actions of the Spartan kings, and could even arrest, impeach or fine the kings if they believed that the kings had not acted legally or correctly according to Spartan law. Every year the new board of *ephors* declared war on the unfortunate Helots, and could even have them executed without a trial. The *ephors* had the power to discipline and fine the other Spartan magistrates. The power of the *ephors* extended to the ordinary Spartan citizens. The *ephors* adjudicated over all civil cases. However, the *ephors* conducted each case separately instead of with the full board. The *ephors* usually decided on a particular foreign policy. They gathered in an Assembly, as well as presiding in a Council. The *ephors* exchanged monthly oaths with the kings, and acted in theory as the representatives of the ordinary Spartan citizens (Jones, 1968: 26-30).

Plutarch (19.1) reports the allegation found in Theopompus that Themistocles bribed the

Spartan *Ephors*. Nepos does not employ the bribery tradition; he attributes Themistocles' outwitting of the Spartans to Themistocles' natural cleverness. Thucydides' account concurs with Plutarch's account concerning Themistocles' stratagem against Sparta. Thucydides adds that Themistocles secretly warned the Athenians of his intentions to hold the second Spartan delegation as hostages.

In antiquity, there were two basic rules governing diplomats. Firstly, diplomats or envoys were treated as guests by a foreign city or state, and were not to be harmed when carrying out a diplomatic mission. Secondly, diplomats were immune from any sanctions from the foreign city or state that hosted them during the duration of the diplomatic visit (Bederman, 2001: 93). Only senior politicians and high-ranking officials were sent on diplomatic missions (Adcock and Mosley, 1975: 157).

Diplomats were protected by the rules of hospitality. However, the Greek city-states did not have concrete laws pertaining to diplomatic immunity until the Romans invaded Greece.⁸¹ Rather, a general political understanding concerning the treatment of envoys was enforced. The notion that prohibited the violation of diplomatic envoys dated back to the Homeric age of Greece, and perhaps even earlier. Diplomats could not be bribed, arrested, detained, murdered or threatened. Themistocles had the Athenians detain the traditional three-man Spartan delegation while upholding most of the rules governing the protection of diplomatic envoys. However, Athens and Sparta ignored these rules when Xerxes sent his envoys to Greece in 491 BC, and killed them.⁸²

7.3. Gestus est ei mos, tresque legati functi summis honoribus Athenas missi sunt.

Cum his collegas suos Themistocles iussit proficisci iisque praedixit ut ne prius

Lacedaemoniorum legatos dimitterent quam ipse esset remissus. Thuc. 1.91.3-4:

81. D. J. Bederman, 2001:109.

82. *Ibid.*, 93-113.

ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει
κελεύων ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὶ πάλιν
κομισθῶσιν ... ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς, ὅποτε σαφῶς ἀκούσειαν,
οὐκέτι ἀφῶσιν. οἱ τε οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πρέσβεις, ὥσπερ ἐπεστάλη, κατεῖχον;
Diod. 11.40.3: τοῦ δὲ χρόνου διεξελθόντος, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ τεῖχος ἔφθασαν
ἐφ' ἱκανὸν κατεσκευακοτες, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις ἐλθόντας εἰς
τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ μετ' ἀνατάσεων καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἐπιτιμῶντας παρέδωκαν εἰς
φυλακὴν, φήσαντες τότε ἀφήσειν, ὅταν κάκεῖνοι τοὺς περὶ Θεμιστοκλέα πρέσβεις
ἀπολύσωσι; Plut. Them. 19.2: ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεμπομένους
ὑπάρχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Here, Themistocles ensures that his fellow delegates are able
to return to Athens after the three-man Spartan delegation has been secured in Athens.
Themistocles manipulated the Spartans by using a delaying tactic, while he actually held
the Spartan diplomats as prisoners without their initial knowledge of this fact.

**7.4. Hos postquam Athenas pervenisse ratus est, ad magistratum senatumque
Lacedaemoniorum adiit et apud eos liberrime professus est Athenienses suo consilio,
quod communi iure gentium facere possent, deos publicos suosque patrios ac**

Penates, quo facilius ab hoste possent defendere. Thuc. 1.91.4-7: καὶ ὁ
Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπελθὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα δὴ φανερώς εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν
πόλις σφῶν τετείχισται ἤδη ὥστε ἱκανὴ εἶναι σφᾶς τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰ δὲ τι
βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἢ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πρεσβεύεσθαι παρὰ σφᾶς, ὡς πρὸς
διαγιγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν ἰέναι τάτε σφίσι αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά.
δοκεῖν οὖν σφίσι καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν τεῖχος ἔχειν, καὶ ἰδίᾳ
τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν
τ' εἶναι μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς ὁμοίον τι ἢ ἴσον ἐς τὸ κοινὸν
βουλεύεσθαι. Justin 2.15.9-12: *Adit deinde contionem Lacedaemoniorum, indicat
permunitas Athenas esse et posse iam inlatum bellum non armis tantum, sed etiam muris
sustinere; si quid ob eam rem de se crudelius statuerent, legatos eorum in hoc pignus*

Athenis retentos. Graviter deinde castigat eos, quod non virtute, sed inbecillitate sociorum potentiam quarerent. Sic dismissus veluti triumphatis Spartanis a civibus excipitur. Themistocles revealed the truth only to the Spartan Ephors (hence the reference to *magistratum*) and the Gerusia. After this conference, Themistocles approached the Spartan *Ephors* and suggested that a Spartan delegation be sent to Athens to verify the situation. Themistocles immediately offered himself as a hostage even before the three-man Spartan delegation was sent to Athens, where they were secretly held as hostages without their knowledge. Nepos stresses the fact that Themistocles admitted that the idea to rebuild the Athenian fortifications was his own. He has portrayed Themistocles as a brave and heroic figure who is willing to defy the Spartans and face their wrath. Nepos explains the Spartan tiers of government in terms to which his Roman readers can relate.

By *senatum*, Nepos means Sparta's *Gerusia* or council, which was comprised of twenty-eight members. The two Spartan kings were also part of the *Gerusia*, bringing the total number of members to thirty. There were no property or birth restrictions or qualifications. The *Gerusia* was in charge of all criminal courts and judged all cases pertaining to exile from Sparta and death. The council could impeach the kings. The council guided the Assembly and introduced all motions in the Assembly. The council wielded great power when the kings or another military leader was placed on trial.⁸³

7.5. muris saepsisse neque in eo quod inutile esset Graeciae fecisse. Nam illorum urbem ut propugnaculum oppositum esse barbaris, apud quam iam bis classes regias fecisse naufragium. Thuc. 1.90.2: ἤξιουν τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὅσοις εἰστήκει ξυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους, τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποτον τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες ἐς τοὺς

83. A. H. M. Jones, *Sparta*, Reprinted 1968: 17-19.

Ἀθηναίους, ὡς δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου, εἰ αὐτοῖς ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος ἀπὸ ἐχυροῦ ποθέν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ὀρμάσθαι τὴν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἀναχώρησιν τε καὶ ἀφορμὴν ἰκανὴν εἶναι. Themistocles attempts, on the basis of common Greek ideals, to appeal to the Spartans in order to reach an agreement of sorts with them. Themistocles argues that the fortification was necessary in order to defend Greece against the enemy. The word *barbaris* refers to the Persians.

7.6. Lacedaemonios autem male et iniuste facere, qui id potius intuerentur quod ipsorum dominationi quam quod universae Graeciae utile esset. Qua re, si suos legatos recipere vellent quos Athenas miserant, se remitterent; aliter illos numquam in patriam essent recepturi.

Thuc. 1.92.1: οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούσαντες ὀργὴν μὲν φανεράν οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, ἀλλὰ γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν ἐς Μῆδον προθυμίαν τὰ μάλιστ' αὐτοῖς ἐτυγχανον), τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθοντο. οἱ τε πρέσβεις ἐκατέρων ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεπικλήτως; Diod. 11.40.4. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ καταστρατηγηθέντες οἱ Λάκωνες ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀπολύσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἵνα τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπολάβωσιν. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοιοῦτῳ στρατηγήματι τειχίσας τὴν πατρίδα συντόμως καὶ ἀκινδύνως, μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις. Plut.

Them. 19.2: ὁ καὶ συνέβη γνόντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀληθές οὐκ ἠδίκησαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀδήλως χαλεπαίνοντες ἀπέπεμψαν. Themistocles blackmailed the Spartans. He was to be freed and allowed to return safely to Athens, whereupon the Spartan delegates would also be released and sent back to Sparta unharmed. Nepos shows that the Spartans would have lost much credibility if their diplomats had been killed. This tactic underscores the deviousness of Themistocles, who nearly ruined the Spartans' reputation as a political power. Thucydides (1.92) implies that the Spartans did not react immediately since the Athenians were holding their own delegates as hostages.

Upon the Athenians' arrival at Athens, the Spartans were allowed to return home. Furthermore, Athens under Themistocles was directly challenging Spartan hegemony for the political and naval leadership over the Greeks. This challenge would ultimately result in two "Peloponnesian Wars" between Athens and Sparta. Themistocles had deftly changed the status quo in Greece from the Spartan perspective. Henceforth, Athens would look to challenge and thwart Sparta at every opportunity whenever each city-state did not share a common policy or threat. Westlake (1968: 215) adds that Thucydides (1.90-3) approved of Themistocles' stratagem of holding the Spartan delegation hostage in exchange for his own freedom. However, he stipulates that Thucydides is making an exception by writing about a person long dead, as when he discusses Themistocles and Pausanias (1968: 212). Likewise, Thucydides also praised Themistocles (1.138.3) for his military skills (Westlake, 1968: 98).

8.1. Tamen non effugit civium suorum invidiam. Plut. *Them.* 22.4: κόλασις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐξοστρακισμός, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία φθόνου καὶ κουφισμὸς ἡδομένου τῷ ταπεινοῦν τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀποπνέοντος. Firstly, Nepos refers to the Spartan efforts to remove Themistocles from Athens in light of the strategic and political victories which Themistocles had recently gained over Sparta. Secondly, Nepos clearly indicates that Themistocles was censured owing to the jealousy of the Athenian populace at large. When combined, these two factors are guaranteed to sabotage a successful politician's career. Herodotus (8.109.5) attacks Themistocles and vaguely refers to his ostracism and exile: ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσῃν, ἵνα ἦν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφὴν τὰ περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο. Plutarch (*Them.* 22.4) who provides evidence that Themistocles' conduct was the cause of his hatred in Athens, confirms that the underlying cause was envy. The recurring success of Cimon

was the catalyst of Themistocles' downfall; (cf. Plut. *Them.* 27.6 and Plut. *Cimon* 18.6).

Namque ob eundem timorem quo damnatus erat Miltiades. Nepos is drawing a parallel between Themistocles and Miltiades by this cross-reference to his previous *Life*. Nepos cross references certain pairings in his *Lives*, such as *Miltiades* with *Themistocles*, *Agesilaus* 4.4 with *Themistocles* 5.2, and *Agesilaus* 6.1 with *Epaminondas* 8.5. It is conceivable that Nepos is tacitly referring to the question of tyranny. Was Themistocles regarded by the ordinary Athenians as a tyrant while he was the pre-eminent politician in Athens? His enemies would have painted him in such a light. Miltiades was exiled to the Thracian Chersonese where he acted as a tyrant until his recall to Athens. When Miltiades was tried in 492, he was accused of being a tyrant in addition to abusing his political power. The opinion in Athens, as mentioned by Nepos (Milt. 8.1-2) was that Miltiades would not have been satisfied with his reduced power in Athens, after he had administered sole authority in the Greek colony in the Thracian Chersonese.

testularum suffragiis e civitate eiectus, Themistocles was ejected from Athens by the legal process of ostracism. Nepos mentions only three ostracisms in his Greek *Lives*: Themistocles (8.1), Aristides (1.2), and Cimon (3.1). Phocion was outlawed, although Nepos' silence implies that the shard vote was not employed in this instance. Did Nepos (and the other non-Greek writers) translate the Greek text correctly into Latin? Ostracism was first introduced into Athens by Cleisthenes and was first enacted in 488/7. The idea was to prevent powerful politicians from becoming tyrants (For further details see Lewis, *Cleisthenes and Attica*, *Historia* 12, 1963: 22-40). From 485/4 onwards, the Athenians decided to use ostracism to remove powerful men who threatened their democracy, including the friends and family members of the former tyrant, Pisistratus.⁸⁴ The details at best are sketchy or have been omitted. Themistocles was punished not because he was

84. Rhodes, *Ath. Pol.* 22.2-6.

negligent in his duty towards Athens, but because of his accomplishments and his desperation to boast about his old achievements in order to stay in the public limelight after he was supplanted in the political field by Cimon, his new political rival. Plutarch (22.4) confirms this view (see above). The Spartans intended to punish Themistocles still further after he was exiled, although this additional act of vengeance did not materialise immediately. Instead, further Spartan action occurred only after Themistocles attempted to organise political opposition against Sparta while in exile. His exile was not because of a valid charge of tyranny, rather maliciousness on the part of his enemies.

Rejecting the ancient views of suspicion and jealousy, modern scholars focus on the anti-Spartan theme as a pertinent reason for Themistocles' ostracism. For some modern views on ostracism and Themistocles' ostracism, see Doenges (*Historia* 45, 1996: 387-464), Robertson Jr. (*AJA* 56, 1952: 25-26), Hands (*JHS* 79, 1959: 69-71), Kagan (*Hesperia* 30, 1961: 393-401), Raubitschek (*AJA* 55, 1957: 221-229), and Stanton (*JHS* 90, 1970: 180-183) for a start. Herodotus does not mention Themistocles' ostracism and exile.

Themistocles was ostracised and exiled sometime between 475-470. It is difficult to determine the precise date. The archaeological shards discovered do not supply a date. Diodorus (11.54.1) lists a date in the archonship of Praxiergus in 471/0, corresponding to March/April 470 in our terms. There was a focused but clear two-stage procedure when holding an ostracism vote during the Athenian civil year, i.e. mainly in April or May. Frost (1980: 188-91), concurring with Lenardon (1959: 23-48), suggests the date is in 472. However, Diodorus' account is preferable (cf. Marr 1998: 130-1). Diodorus presents the most plausible account of Themistocles' ostracism, as it corresponds with the high chronology dating system of his life, in addition to his subsequent exile and attempts at orchestrating an anti-Spartan league in northern Greece.

Argos habitatum concessit. Thuc. 1.135.3: (ἔτυχε γὰρ ὠστρακισμένος καὶ ἔχων δίαιταν μὲν ἐν Ἄργει, ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον); Plut. *Them.* 23.1: "Ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἄργει; Diod. 11.55.3: ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἐξοστρακισθεὶς ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος εἰς Ἄργος· Gomme⁸⁵ stipulates that an Athenian law dated from 480 required that the ostracized were required to dwell beyond a specified line which was drawn from C. Geraitos in Euboea to Skyllaion in the Argolid.

8.2. Hic cum propter multas eius virtutes magna cum dignitate viveret. Thuc.

1.135.2: Τοῦ δὲ μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Πausανίου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπητιῶντο καὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς ἠύρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Πausανίαν ἐλέγχων, ἠξίουσαν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτόν.

Themistocles aided the Argives in their dispute with Corinth. This explains why Themistocles elected to travel to Argos after his ostracism. Firstly, he was the mediator between Argos and Corinth over a disputed colony, and he ruled that Corinth should govern and maintain the colony (on behalf of both city-states), in addition to treating both Corinthian and Argos colonists/citizens with equal rights. Secondly, a political reason for honouring Themistocles is attributed to the aftermath of the Persian War when Sparta, at the *Amphictyon* [a special tribunal held after the Persians were driven out of Greece by the Greek allies to decide the fate of those Greek city-states who had Medized], (and possibly her allied members of the Greek League of city-states) had accused Argos of having Medized during the Second Persian Invasion in 480/79 (cf. Hdt. 8.148-52). Plutarch (20.3-4) relates how Themistocles defended Argos from the Spartan accusations after the war. Themistocles therefore established strong ties with the Argives (See Forrest, 1960: 227). Hence, the Argives were grateful towards Themistocles for his services in favour of their city. Plutarch (23.1) indicates that it was only after

85. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary ON Thucydides*, 1945, reprinted 1950: 437.

Themistocles had been residing in exile in Argos that the Spartans brought the treason charges against him to the Athenians. Furthermore, Themistocles helped to support the new democratic government in Argos, which had supplemented the pro-Spartan rulers of Argos. Themistocles established an anti-Spartan League in the northern Peloponnese from his base in Argos. The League was guided by democratic principles.⁸⁶

Themistocles' political interference with Sparta's post-war political ambitions made the Spartans more irate with him, since Themistocles had now managed to gain the upper hand on both political and diplomatic levels over the Spartans on three occasions.

Themistocles' victories were the rebuilding of Athens' defensive walls, successfully defending Argos from being censured by the Greek political alliance, and the ousting of the pro-Spartan faction in Argos.

Lacedaemonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem accusarent, quod

societatem cum rege Perse ad Graeciam opprimendam fecisset. Thuc. 1.135.2: Τοῦ

δὲ μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Πausανίου οἱ λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπητιῶντο καὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, ὡς ἠῦρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ

Πausανίαν ἐλέγχων, ἠξίουν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζεσθαι αὐτόν. Plut. *Them.* 23.4: οὐ

μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν κατηγορούντων ὁ δῆμος ἔπεμψεν ἄνδρας, οἷς

εἴρητο συλλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀνάγειν αὐτὸν κριθησόμενον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. Also

from Plut. *Them.* 23.1: ἅμα συνεπαιτιωμένων τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. Nepos, Plutarch,

Thucydides, and Diodorus do not discuss the legal implications of a Pan-Hellenic trial (to

be held presumably in Athens). Herodotus glosses over this incident and briefly alludes

to Themistocles' ostracism and banishment from Athens (see 8.109.5 above). The

theoretical complications of such a trial are not even considered or contemplated. Nepos

does not mention any particular court trying Themistocles for treason. Such a vote would

86. *Ibid.* 232.

have been discussed and made in the General Assembly (in Athens). Marr also notes Nepos' silence on the matter of the court conducting the trial.⁸⁷ Concerning the evidence for the trial, Plutarch uses Ephorus for the trial information, while Diodorus (11.55.4-5) mentions a Pan-Hellenic *synhedrion*, which was the what court that actually condemned Themistocles.

The date of his ostracism is highly debatable since there is no concrete evidence to record Themistocles' precise movements after the Olympics in 476. The made-up charge was that Themistocles was planning to betray Athens and the rest of Greece to the Persians. Nepos presents this episode as if the Spartans only sent their special embassy (to Athens) after Themistocles was exiled from Athens in order to ensure that he could not refute the charges against himself in person. Plutarch (23.1-2) states that Pausanias (the former Spartan king and friend of Themistocles) had invited Themistocles to support Persia after his ostracism. It is important to note that Themistocles rejected the idea. His only fault was that he did not report this incident to the Athenians. It would seem that Themistocles hoped that Pausanias would come to his senses and desist from following this treasonous course of action. The Spartans subsequently 'discovered' evidence in the form of letters after Pausanias' death and Themistocles' exile to Argos (Plut. *Them.* 23.3): Οὕτω δὴ τοῦ Παυσανίου θανατωθέντος ἐπιστολαὶ τινες ἀνευρεθεῖσαι καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐνέβαλον τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα. It is debatable whether the Spartans actually found any physical evidence of Pausanias' treason.

Nevertheless, it seems implausible that Themistocles would have betrayed Athens or Greece to the Persians. It would have been rather convenient for the Spartans to have claimed that the evidence which they 'discovered' was real. This accusation was completely unfounded, since it was against Themistocles' very nature to destroy his

87. Marr, 1998: 137-8.

fatherland. The Spartans were determined to drive Themistocles out of Greece since he had defied and further humiliated them in the *Amphictyony* in 479. They were still smarting over the fact that he had held their second embassy hostage while the Athenian defensive walls were rebuilt (also in 479), in addition to organising an anti-Spartan League in northern Greece from his new base in Argos after 471. These were potent reasons for attempting to rid themselves of Themistocles. The Spartans were the main driving force behind this newfound action against Themistocles, but his accuser was Leobotes from the Agraulé deme, a member of the pro-Spartan faction in Athens, which was headed by Cimon.

Hoc crimine absens proditiōnis damnatus est. Plut. *Them.* 23.1: προδοσίας Λεωβόωντος ἦν ὁ Ἀλκμοίωνος Ἀγραυλῆθεν, ἅμα συνεπαιτιωμένων τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν; Diod. 11.55.4-5: οἱ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς πυθόμενοι περὶ τούτων καὶ νομίσαντες παρὰ τῆς τύχης εἰληφέναι καιρὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ, πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαπέστειλαν πρέσβεις κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὅτι τῷ Πausanias κεκοινώνηκε τῆς προδοσίας, καὶ δεῖν ἔφασαν, τῶν κοινῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀδικημάτων, εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν οὐκ ἰδίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅπερ εἰώθει συνεδρεῦειν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον. Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὄρων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους σπεύδοντας διαβαλεῖν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ταπεινῶσαι, τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους βουλομένους ἀπολογήσασθαι περὶ τῆς ἐπιφερομένης αἰτίας, ὑπέλαβεν ἑαυτὸν παραδοθήσεσθαι τῷ κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ.

Plutarch (24.4) mentions that Themistocles was to be tried before a Congress of Hellenes. It seems incredible that two separate trials were held to condemn Themistocles. A single trial would have been more plausible. Marr (Marr, 1998: 138) suggests that there was only a single trial and therefore rejects the notion of two treason trials, and rather attributes the confusion in Diodorus' account to the original account in Ephorus. However, the only judicial body in Athens, which had the requisite legal authority to try

and to condemn Themistocles, was the *Areopagus*. If Marr's theory concerning only one trial is valid, the solution to this confusion is that a genuine hostility had already developed between Themistocles and the *Areopagus* prior to his condemnation for alleged treason. The *Areopagus* was therefore the only official body that tried and condemned Themistocles.

It is a fact that Themistocles was prosecuted under the *eisangelia*. *Eisangelia* was the term used to describe the entire procedure relating to the event when an informer notified the Athenian *Ekklesia* or *Boule* that an act of treason, or a similar crime of such a magnitude, had been committed, and a subsequent trial was conducted to try and punish the guilty party.⁸⁸ When an *eisangelia* was conducted, the *Boule* or an ordinary court usually tried the case. When the *Boule* conducted *eisangelia* cases it had the authority to impose a maximum fine of 500 drachmas. If the crime was more serious and therefore required a harsher fine or punishment, the *Boule* would initially hear the case before transferring the case to a court which could provide harsher punishment, or even the *Ekklesia*.⁸⁹ It was also possible for the *Ekklesia* itself to try the case when the accusation concerned treason or a similar crime. A normal decree or *psephisma* was made by the *Boule* or the *Ekklesia* and could even specify what type of penalties the accused faced if convicted of treason.⁹⁰ Furthermore, Themistocles was condemned for high treason in a trial in Athens, which was conducted in his absence. Nepos' account suggests that he understands the prosecution as the Spartans' revenge on Themistocles, but only because of his duplicity against the Spartans when he rebuilt the Athenian fortifications and held their second delegation to Athens as hostages for his own safe return to Athens. Nepos does not include Themistocles' defence of Argos or the adoption of democratic

88. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens*, 1978: 183.

89. *Ibid.*, 183.

90. *Ibid.*, 183.

principles in Argos as additional reasons for Sparta's political attack against Themistocles. Some Athenians fled before the *eisangelia* and received an even greater punishment than if the accused had been present when they were tried. This is probably why Themistocles fled Athens, in order to avoid the *eisangelia* (cf. Frost, 1980: 196-198). However, no source mentions a death sentence as punishment [which was Pausanias' fate in Sparta], although all of Themistocles' property was confiscated and his family were banished from Athens.

Nepos, Plutarch, and Diodorus all claim that the actual charge levied against Themistocles was for his (purported) betrayal of Greece. Thucydides does not mention what the charge was though. The evidence against Themistocles suggested that he had been deeply involved with Pausanias' schemes. It is always questionable whether the documentation was real or contrived since the Spartans produced the 'evidence'.

According to Plutarch (23.3), Themistocles wrote that he was not a traitor to Athens or Greece. Nepos maintains that Themistocles only heard about his condemnation *in absentia* without writing any letter(s) to protest his innocence. Nonetheless, the Spartans and his political enemies (in Athens) successfully denounced Themistocles as a traitor. The result was that the Athenians sent people together with Spartan representatives to arrest Themistocles and return him to Athens for additional punishment. What this additional punishment was precisely remains unclear, since ostracism and exile were terrible punishments, the most severe being, of course, execution.

8.3. *Id ut audivit, quod non satis tutum se Argis videbat, Corcyram demigravit.*

Themistocles fled to Corcyra when he learnt of his planned arrest. He no longer considered Argos as a friendly city of refuge. Thuc. 136.1: ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς προαισθόμενος φεύγει ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὧν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης. Plut.

Them. 24.1: Προαισθόμενος δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς Κέπκυραν διεπέρασεν, οὔσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐεργεσίας.

Modern scholarship generally believes that during his sojourn in Argos and the north, Themistocles seized the opportunity to drum up support for an anti-Spartan league (e.g. O'Neil, 1981: 355). However, O'Neil remains non-committal and stresses that there is no evidence to substantiate his hypothesis, apart from the fact that the Spartans were overeager in their attempts to re-arrest and detain Themistocles after his banishment and exile from Athens. Nonetheless, Argos was one of Themistocles' target cities since he specifically elected to stay there after he was exiled. What O'Neil does not mention is that Argos was also the starting point of the *synoecism* in the city-states of Elis and Mantinea. Themistocles attempted to find support to overthrow the oligarchic rulers in favour of pro-democratic, anti-Spartan rulers.

Inter-city-state politics and feuding enabled Themistocles to form an anti-Spartan League. Nepos implies that the Corcyreans would have surrendered Themistocles to the Spartans and/or the Athenians once the false charge of treason was levied against him.

Themistocles took advantage of the volatile political situation in the northern Peloponnese between Elis, the Arkadian League led by Tegea, Mantinea, and Argos.⁹¹ It should be noted that these four factions had been involved in inter-city-state wars and alliances between themselves and Sparta from 491 until 465/4. Elis and Mantinea in the 480's were hotspots for Sparta and her allies in the region as rival political groups; they espoused some form of democratic principles and challenged the pro-Spartan oligarchs for supremacy in these city-states. Argos was also hostile towards Sparta, while Tegea was a stout Spartan ally, as was the Arkadian League. Sparta's two allies in the northern Peloponnese abandoned her in the late 470's. The Argives, Tegeans, and the Arkadians

91. Forrest, 1960: 229.

were also involved in wars against two other Spartan allies, namely Mykenai and Tiryns. The Spartans did not expect Themistocles to become embroiled with these city-states and attempt to disrupt the status quo in the region.

Forrest comments on the probable date and proposes that with Themistocles' help, an anti-Spartan league was formed circa 470 between Argos, Kleonai (another city-state), Arkadia, Tegea, Mantinea, and Elis. Since Forrest places the date circa 470, then it was not until 469 that the anti-Spartan League attacked Mykenai, and the battle of Tegea was fought. In 468, Sparta succeeded in aiding her political allies to regain control of Argos and Mantinea. This led to the revolt by Tiryns, who was backed by Arkadia, against the now pro-Spartan Argos. However, in 465/4, the Helots again revolted against Sparta, while the battle of Dipaia was fought against the anti-Spartan League, which had been weakened by the withdrawal of Argos, Mantinea and some of the other Arkadian city-states. Mykenai fell to the League, while Argos captured Tiryns. Themistocles had certainly stirred up a proverbial hornets nest in the region. His political battles against the Spartans had quickly escalated into outright bloodshed and engulfed other city-states with their own allegiances in the conflict between Athens and Sparta (the earliest evidence of a conflict stems from 508 BC), although it was highly ironic that most of Athens had sided with Sparta against Themistocles. Forrest also contends that Themistocles' flight from Argos was directly associated with the swing against his anti-Spartan league⁹² and thus indicates that Themistocles' departure from Argos can be reasonably dated to 468.

O'Neil disagrees with Forrest.⁹³ O'Neil essentially maintains that Themistocles had abandoned his democratic principles when he was exiled to Argos. Mantinea, Elis, and

92. *Ibid.*, 230.

93. O'Neil, 1981: 345-6.

Argos became democratic, their political decisions to adopt democratic principles being independent of Themistocles' actions. Furthermore, the dates supplied for each city's adoption or re-adoption of democracy do not concur with those supplied by Forrest.

O'Neil maintains that the democrats were allied with Sparta in Elis when Themistocles travelled to the city, and that they subsequently ignored his proposals to cut all ties with Sparta. Hence, the Athenians regarded Themistocles' actions as being anti-democratic. If O'Neil's arguments are cogent, the implication is that Themistocles' actions had no impact on the rest of the democratic development in the Peloponnese. However, these arguments must be rejected since Themistocles had a particular habit of embroiling himself in politics, even if he chose to remain out of the spotlight while pulling the proverbial strings from the sidelines.

The accusations brought by Sparta against Themistocles were a sign of freshly awakened malice on the part of the Spartans. Having Themistocles ostracized and banished from Athens would surely have been a sufficient victory for the Spartans. This was not the case since the Spartans retaliated more savagely by orchestrating a manhunt for Themistocles after he attempted to disrupt and negate Sparta's alliances with her allies in northern Peloponnese. The anti-Spartan League was thus created and instigated by Themistocles. This explains why Themistocles was condemned in his absence from Athens and hounded so viciously from Argos to Corcyra, to King Admetus, and eventually to Persia. All of the Spartan allies united in a concentrated effort to remove Themistocles from the Greek mainland, islands, and tributary states. With this act of vengeance in mind, it is easy to comprehend why Athens and Sparta threatened Corcyra with war if Themistocles was not handed over to them for an additional trial and punishment, despite his having been already condemned and exiled.

Themistocles was therefore forced to flee Argos, as he was unsure whether the Argives would co-operate with Sparta when they demanded his surrender from Argos, although he suspected that the Argives would eventually co-operate. Themistocles' purpose in fleeing to Corcyra can be explained in two ways. Firstly, Corcyra was strategically located in northern Greece so that Themistocles could continue building an anti-Spartan league in the north with the hope that such a league would spread to central Greece, thereby undermining Sparta's political influence and military support in the region. Secondly, he was venerated in that city-state for acting as an arbitrator between Corcyra and Corinth. As mentioned above, these two city-states had had a dispute over Leucas, a jointly founded colony (see Plut. *Them.* 24.1). Themistocles ruled that Corinth would administer the colony on condition that all Corcyrean and Corinthian colonists would be treated equally before the law. Marr, however, doubts that the Corcyreans would have used an arbitrator who had attacked their naval commander.⁹⁴ He concludes that Plutarch has made a mistake, or that this anecdote is an elaborate invention.

Ibi cum cives principes animadvertisset timere ne propter se bellum iis

Lacedaemonii et Athenienses indicerent, ad Admetum, Molossum regem, cum quo ei hospitium erat, confugit. Thuc. 1.136.2: ἀναγκάζεται κατά τι ἄπορον παρὰ

Ἄδμητον τὸν Μολοσσῶν βασιλέα ὄντα αὐτῷ οὐ φίλον καταλῦσαι. Plut. *Them.*

24.2: ἐν δὲ τῇ τότε τύχῃ μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς φοβηθεὶς συγγενῆ καὶ πρόσφατον φθόνον ὀργῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ βασιλικῆς, ταύτῃ φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτὸν, ἰκέτης τοῦ Ἄδμήτου καταστάς ἴδιόν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον. The rulers of Corcyra were genuinely afraid that the threats of war made by Sparta and the Athenians were all completely in earnest. Themistocles was now so desperate that he was forced to flee as a last resort to Admetus, who was the king of the Molossians. Nepos maintains that

⁹⁴ Marr, 1998: 139.

Themistocles had a guest-friendship with Admetus.

The principle of guest-friendship was regarded quite seriously in Greece, since Admetus could easily have handed Themistocles over to his pursuers. The Roman equivalent was *hospitium*. The Romans had conceptual differences between the *hospes / hospita* and a stranger or *hostis*, which is Latin for an enemy. The offer of hospitality created a long-lasting relationship, whereby special rituals were enacted, and commemorative gifts were exchanged which were associated with different levels of symbolism. A stranger would thus be accepted into a local community where the *hospitium* occurred. A stranger, who did not have any relationship with Rome, be it diplomatic or formal, was a *conlibertus*, and did not have the rights or protection as a *cliens* or as a *hospes*.⁹⁵ The stranger in early Rome was therefore forced to form a *cliens* relationship, or become a slave. By Varro's time, a *hostis* was afforded immunity from Roman laws including the right of hospitality, the *ius hospitii*. *Hospitium* was granted to a foreigner or *peregrinus*, who had established diplomatic or personal relations with Rome, a Roman community, or a prominent Roman citizen.⁹⁶

Hospitium enabled political and economic interests to be achieved. There was a further distinction of *hospitium* in Rome. *Hospitium privatum* entailed a patronage relationship involving individuals, while the *hospitium publicum* was jointly granted between the Senate and the people of Rome and conferred on cities. *Hospitium privatum* was classified as being both a contractual contract and hereditary. It was concluded by a handshake or exchanging tokens (*tessera/tabula hospitalis* [1978: 57]), although these formalities were not always requisite. The *hospitium privatum* allowed the *hospes* to request an unusual favour (1978; 58), although such an unusual request would be made

95. Bolchazy, 1978: 47.

96. *Ibid.*, 49.

infrequently without violating the *hospitium privatum* or *publicum* relationship. Furthermore, under the *hospitium privatum*, the Roman host could provide legal assistance to his guest-friend (1978: 60). *Hospitium* between individuals had the potential to develop into a military and political alliance between communities and foreign powers. Furthermore, Romans who enjoyed guest-friendships with foreign rulers became official ambassadors for Rome (Brill's New Pauly, 2005: 529-532). The Romans viewed the *ius hospitii* from a religious and ethical prospective. From a religious perspective, it was considered a sin to offend the Roman gods and goddesses of hospitality, particularly Jupiter, by contravening the laws of hospitality. In contractual terms, *hospitium privatum* was governed by *foedus* (the concept of private agreement), and *fides* (mutual trust).

Plutarch (24.2) maintains that the basis of Themistocles' appeal of supplication to King Admetus was the rejected request which Admetus had made to Athens either when Themistocles was the *eponymous archon* in 493/2 or when he was a prominent politician. Whatever the reason for the rejection of the request, Admetus was mortally affronted by the denial as he considered it was an insult. Themistocles begged Admetus not to take revenge on a lonely refugee without a state, since he was now a powerless figure and a fugitive. It is debatable whether this act of supplication was an extreme move by Themistocles or a threat. Judging by his actions and desperate circumstances, Themistocles' supplication was an arranged action as Admetus' wife, Phthia, had advised Themistocles on procedural matters.

Diodorus 11.56.1-4, states that Themistocles fled straight from Argos to King Admetus. Diodorus bypasses Themistocles' journey to Corcyra altogether. Furthermore, Diodorus does not actually mention why Themistocles fled from Argos. He only discusses why

Themistocles distrusted the General Congress (of the Hellenes).

8.4. Huc cum venisset et in praesentia rex abesset, quo maiore religione se receptum tueretur, filiam eius parvulam adripuit et cum ea se in sacrarium quod summa colebatur caerimonia coniecit. Thuc. 1.136.3: καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐπιδημῶν, ὁ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἰκέτης γενόμενος διδάσκεται ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὸν παῖδα σφῶν λαβῶν καθέζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν. Plut. *Them.* 24.3: ἔχων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν ὄντα παῖδα πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν προσέτεσε, ταύτην μεγίστην καὶ μόνην σχεδὸν ἀναντίρρητον ἡγουμένων ἰκεσίαν τῶν Μολοσσῶν. Plutarch also includes the anecdote concerning Admetus' own wife, Phthia and alleged that Phthia rehearsed the scene with Themistocles. Thucydides (1.136) also refers to Phthia aiding Themistocles although he does not mention her name. Diodorus omits any reference to Admetus' wife aiding Themistocles, in addition to any mention of Themistocles grabbing hold of Admetus' youngest child, and whether it was a son or a daughter. He only states that Themistocles became Admetus' suppliant when he waited for the king on the hearth. The act of supplication played an important role in Greek religion. It was a common practice for people to seek help from the Olympian gods by seeking sanctuary in a particular god's temple. It was forbidden to remove a suppliant physically from the temple or to harm the suppliant in any way. The same laws applied to human supplication, as the example with Themistocles and King Admetus demonstrates. Admetus was bound by religious convention to grant Themistocles' supplication request. While the main details of this anecdote differ slightly, Themistocles abused this guest-friendship by using an insurance policy in the form of Admetus' young child to ensure that his request as a suppliant would not be rejected, since he threatened otherwise to kill the child. In his version, Nepos implies that Themistocles abused the guest-friendship obligation.

Only Nepos maintains that Admetus' child was a daughter (cf. Thuc. 1.136; 1.137.1 and

Plut. *Them.* 24.2), perhaps for pathetic effect. *Parvulam* is a diminutive word for small and powerfully adds to the effect. He also conceals the assistance Themistocles received from Admetus' wife, Phthia (cf. Thuc. 1.136.3, Plut. *Them.* 24.5), perhaps to present Themistocles as ever resourceful (cf. 1.4). After examining the accounts in Plutarch and Thucydides, it is most likely that Nepos has omitted the aid of Phthia in order to place Themistocles once again in a favourable, heroic light. (Often in Nepos the main character seems to be operating on his own.)

Inde non prius egressus est, quam rex eum data dextra in fidem reciperet, quam praestitit. In Nepos' terms, Themistocles exploited the guest-friendship obligation.

Themistocles only released the girl when Admetus promised him his personal protection. Apparently, anyone who prostrated himself or herself on the sacred hearth made a formal act of supplication. Such a supplication request could not easily be refused, although Plutarch implies that there were rare circumstances when a supplication could be rejected.

8.5. Nam cum ab Atheniensibus et Lacedaemoniis exposceretur publice, supplicem non prodidit monuitque ut consuleret sibi: difficile enim esse in tam propinquo loco tuto eum versari. The effect of the supplication was such that Admetus felt obligated not to surrender Themistocles to his Athenian and Spartan pursuers. It is interesting that the Spartan hatred for Themistocles transcended international boundaries. Ordinarily, an exile was banished from his city-state in Greece and then either stayed at another city-state or fled to Persia.

Diodorus also maintains that Admetus treated Themistocles well until the Spartan embassy demanded Themistocles' surrender. The Spartans accused Themistocles of Medizing and threatened to invade Admetus' kingdom if he refused to hand over Themistocles. Admetus implored Themistocles to escape, since he pitied Themistocles,

in addition to fearing for the safety of his kingdom. Diodorus (11.56.2) maintains that Admetus gave Themistocles an undisclosed amount of gold to facilitate his escape from the Spartans. It is worth noting that Diodorus differs from Thucydides and Plutarch over how Themistocles acquired funds for his voyage to Asia Minor. Diodorus argues that only the Spartans were pursuing Themistocles without the aid of the Athenians.

Itaque Pydnam eum deduci iussit et quod satis esset praesidii dedit. Thuc. 1.137.1: ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλει βουλόμενον ὡς βασιλέα πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν περὶ ἑς Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου; Plut. *Them.* 25.2: Θουκυδίδης δὲ φησι καὶ πλεῦσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν καταβάντα θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Πύδνης. King Admetus protected Themistocles from the Spartans and the Athenians by not surrendering him when an official demand for Themistocles' surrender was made. Only Nepos maintains that Admetus ensured that Themistocles left his kingdom with a guard of honour or an escort to oversee his departure.

Diodorus (11.56.3) adds that Themistocles fled the Molossian territory during the night. He also implies that Admetus hampered the Spartan chase by delaying them. Diodorus includes an anecdote whereby Themistocles enlisted the aid of two Lyncestian traders, who were also brothers, to aid him in escaping the pursuing Spartans. Diodorus is vague once more, and only says that the brothers helped Themistocles reach Asia. All other information pertaining to Themistocles' escape to Asia Minor, as found in Plutarch and Thucydides, is conspicuously absent from Diodorus' account.

8.6. Hic in navem omnibus ignotus nautis escendit. Quae cum tempestate maxima Naxum ferretur, ubi tum Atheniensium erat exercitus, sensit Themistocles, si eo pervenisset, sibi esse pereundum. Thuc. 1.137.2: τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι μηδένα ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τῆς νεῶς μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται πειθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ χάριν

ἀπομνήσεσθαι ἀξίαν. ὁ δὲ ναύκληρος ποιεῖ τε ταῦτα καὶ ἀποσαλεύσας
ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἔφεσον. Plut.
Them. 25.2: μέχρι οὐ πνεύματι τῆς ὀλκάδος, τὰ δ' ἀπειλῶν καὶ λέγων, ὅτι
κατηγορήσοι καὶ καταψεύσοιτο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ἀλλὰ
χρήμασι πεισθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀναλάβοιεν αὐτόν, οὕτως ἀναγκάσειε παραπλεῦσαι
καὶ λαβέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας. Plutarch explicitly relies on Thucydides here for his
information. Nepos insists that Themistocles was blown off course to the island of
Naxos. This detail presents two problems. Firstly, how could the ship which
Themistocles boarded be blown so far off course from Pydna to Naxos? Some modern
scholars, e.g. Milton (1979: 257-275), argue that Thucydides is wrong in this instance,
and that Themistocles travelled to Thasos and not Naxos. Secondly, when did the
Athenians actually besiege the island of Naxos? Nepos and Plutarch refer to the
Athenian siege of the island of Naxos, which occurred in 469. The Athenians in
particular besieged those city-state members who had withdrawn and disengaged from
the Athenian League in 473. Athens subdued these rogue states between 473-467,
although the end of the revolt is also in dispute, since some scholarly opinions place the
conclusion of hostilities in 469 and not 467.

The problem with the latter dating of the events in Themistocles' life arises with the dates
for his ostracism, condemnation, exile, and his flight to Persia, as well as his eventual
death. In light of these problems, Hornblower⁹⁷ follows the view that Themistocles'
ostracism, condemnation, and exile occurred between the late 470's and the early 460's.
This is the reason why Themistocles was exiled to Argos. Rhodes⁹⁸ suggests that it is
plausible that Themistocles crossed the Aegean without passing Naxos or Thasos.

Hac necessitate coactus domino navis quis sit aperit, multa pollicens, si se

97. Hornblower, *A Commentary On Thucydides*, Volume I, 1991: 220.

98. Rhodes, *Historia* 19, 1970: 394.

conservasset. Nepos portrays Themistocles positively when he negotiated with the captain of the ship in accordance with his heroic depiction of Themistocles. Plutarch mentions the bribery in his account, while Thucydides mentions the bribery and threats. A fact in Plutarch (24.4) which Nepos does not mention, is that Themistocles' wife and children were smuggled out of Athens. Epicrates from the deme Acharnae assisted in their escape. Plutarch states that Stesimbrotus records that Cimon later had Epicrates executed for aiding Themistocles. Then Stesimbrotus contradicts himself and claims that Themistocles sailed to Sicily and demanded to marry the daughter of the tyrant of Sicily, Hiero, in exchange for helping Hiero to conquer Greece. Hiero rejected this offer and Themistocles sailed to Asia. However, Plutarch (25.1) rejects this story as being false. He quotes Theophrastus' work *On Royalty*, wherein the author alleges that Hiero once sent his horses to compete at the Olympia and erected a booth to display his wealth, whereupon Themistocles urged that the structure be torn down and the horses be disqualified from the race.

8.7. At ille clarissimi viri captus misericordia, diem noctemque procul ab insula in salo navem tenuit in ancoris neque quemquam ex ea exire passus est. Thuc. 1.137.3:
 καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐθεράπευσε χρημάτων δόσει (ἦλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἔκ τε Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐξ Ἄργους ἃ ὑπεξέκειτο). Nepos follows Thucydides (1.137.2) in presenting a period of delay (i.e. a day and a night) off Naxos. The captain acquiesces to Themistocles' wishes. Only Nepos maintains that the captain helped Themistocles out of pity. Plutarch and Thucydides maintain that the captain was threatened and bribed by Themistocles. Nepos presents the positive tradition, while Plutarch and Thucydides present the negative tradition.

Inde Ephesum pervenit ibique Themistoclen exponit. Cui ille pro meritis postea gratiam rettulit. Nepos also maintains that Themistocles paid the captain for his help.

He deliberately stresses that the payment was not a bribe. Themistocles repaid the captain for aiding his escape. Nepos has Themistocles repay his debt to the captain, while Plutarch and Thucydides maintain that Themistocles bribed the captain. This is further evidence of the two competing Themistoclean traditions.

The captain left Themistocles at Ephesus, whereupon Themistocles paid the captain an undisclosed amount of money for his aid. [Thucydides (1.137.3) maintains that Themistocles' money was removed from Athens in two ways. Firstly, Themistocles' friends in Athens secretly sent him part of his money. Secondly, Themistocles had also deposited money in Argos, although Thucydides does not elaborate further on this contentious issue.] It is unclear whether Themistocles took this money [deposited in Argos] when he fled Argos, or if the money was secretly transferred at a later stage to Persia.

Plutarch (25.3) includes a brief discussion on Themistocles' fortune. Most of Themistocles' property, i.e. finances, was covertly sent to him by his friends still residing in Athens. Plutarch again quotes Theopompus, who lists Themistocles' wealth, which was discovered and seized by his opponents in Athens, as being worth one hundred talents. Plutarch also quoted Theophrastus, who quotes the figure at eighty talents. Nonetheless, Plutarch highlights the issue of Themistocles' considerable wealth with the fact that Themistocles did not even possess three talents before he entered the Athenian political arena. Plutarch refers to Themistocles' amassing of wealth owing to bribes during his political career, in addition to the money he extorted from the Athenian allies after the conclusion of the Second Persian War until his own exile from Athens and flight from the Greek mainland. The inference is that most of Themistocles' wealth came from bribery and extortion, something that Nepos shies away from discussing.

Xerxes or Artaxerxes?

9.1. Scio plerosque ita scripsisse, Themistoclen Xerxe regnante in Asiam transisse.

Thuc. 1.137.3: καὶ μετὰ τῶν κάτω Περσῶν τινὸς πορευθεὶς ἄνω ἐσπέμπει γράμματα πρὸς βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα; Plutarch *Them.* 27.1: τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συνταπτομένοις; Diodorus 11.56.6: ἀξιοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην. Nepos follows Thucydides' account that Themistocles went to see Artaxerxes once he was in Persia. Nepos (9.2) says Artaxerxes was the king of Persia, since he acknowledges that he follows Thucydides' account, and hence chronological dating of events, thus the date of Themistocles' arrival in Asia can be fixed to 466 or 463.

It is necessary to look briefly at the chronological dates to understand how and why Themistocles sought refuge in Persia after Artaxerxes had ascended the throne. Themistocles adopted a clever ruse to ensure that he might stay in Persia, despite the fact that he had been the proverbial thorn in the Persian flesh for many years, particularly harkening back to the days of the Second Persian Invasion of Greece and the battle of Salamis. The Greek fleet defeated the Persians at Salamis in 479. Themistocles was exiled from Athens around 475, and was condemned circa 471/0. Themistocles fled to Argos, from where he travelled around the northern Peloponnese, before he was forced to flee to Corcyra, and then to King Admetus. Admetus helped Themistocles to reach Pydna. After some further travelling, of which our ancient sources give us a rather condensed version, Themistocles finally arrived in Asia Minor. Themistocles' exile and flight, therefore, occurred over a period of nine to eleven years. This period of flight then brings Themistocles to Artaxerxes, as mentioned by Thucydides.

According to Plutarch (27.1), Themistocles spoke to Xerxes. Plutarch (26.1-29.3) has

quite a different anecdote concerning Themistocles' sojourn in Persia. Plutarch's account not only differs from Nepos and Thucydides, it also supplies additional information not present in the other accounts. In Plutarch (26.1), Themistocles lands at Cymé, whereupon he learns that there is a price on his head in Persia. Plutarch names Ergoteles and Pythodorus, two bounty hunters who were also pursuing Themistocles. Plutarch elaborates that the current king of Persia had placed a bounty of two hundred talents on Themistocles' head. Marr⁹⁹ rejects this view as it forms part of the Themistoclean romance, since no other source mentions bounty hunters.

Sed ergo potissimum Thucydidi credo, quod aetate proximus de iis qui illorum temporum historiam reliquerunt, et eiusdem civitatis fuit. Nepos support Thucydides' account since he believes that Thucydides wrote a balanced account (Thucydides 1.137.3) on Themistocles for two reasons. Firstly, Nepos classifies Thucydides as being 'nearly contemporary with Themistocles'. Secondly, Thucydides would give a more honest account of Themistocles as he also came from Athens. This passage in *Themistocles* 9.1 is unique, since this unprecedented praise for Thucydides does not occur in any other of Nepos' *Lives*. He also refers to Thucydides as one of his (primary) sources in *Themistocles* 1.4. Nepos is being rather naive when he states that Thucydides would not be biased against Themistocles for the simple reason that both men hailed from Athens. Nepos meant that an Athenian source should not theoretically give a biased account, unlike the blatantly biased and anti-Themistoclean, Spartan account. While Thucydides had access to better sources on Themistocles, it is unsound for Nepos to praise Thucydides simply because he was also an Athenian. Thucydides could have been just as biased. Modern scholars are not aware of Thucydides' political loyalties. Besides, it was embarrassing politically for Athens when Themistocles was forced to flee

99. Marr, Plutarch's *Lives: Themistocles*, 1998. 147.

to Persia. It would have made little difference whether Themistocles went to Persia in 466 or 463. The chronological date is important to modern scholars though.

Plutarch (27.1) argues that Themistocles did not correspond with the Persian king. Rather, Themistocles met with the king in person. Plutarch is the only source who contends that there is a debate concerning the identity of the Persian monarch with whom Themistocles met. Consequently, Plutarch states the first view that Xerxes had died and had been succeeded by his son, Artaxerxes. He cites both Thucydides (1.137.3) and Charon of Lampsacus to substantiate this view. He contrasts this view with the opinions held by Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, and Heracleides that Xerxes was still alive. Plutarch admits that Thucydides' chronology on Themistocles could be erroneous. However, he acknowledges that there was not enough evidence when he wrote to agree conclusively with Thucydides' dates.

Diodorus Siculus (11.56.4) says that Themistocles fled to Asia and stayed with a personal friend called Lysitheides. Diodorus (11.56.6) notes that Themistocles requested to see Xerxes. Diodorus (11.56.8) adds that Lysitheides received assurances from Xerxes that Themistocles would not be harmed before he brought him [Themistocles] before the Persian king.

The Letter or the Speech?

9.2. *Is autem ait ad Artaxerxen eum venisse atque his verbis epistulam misisse:*

Thuc. 1.137.3-4: ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφή ὅτι ἠθεμιστοκλῆς ἦκω παρὰ σέ, ὃς κακὰ μὲν πλείστα Ἑλλήνων εἴργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἡμυνόμεν, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθὰ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἡ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγένετο. καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται (γράψας τήν τε ἐκ Σαλαμίνας προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ

διάλυσιν), καὶ νῦν ἔχων σε μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ δράσαι πάρεμι διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν. Plut. *Them.* 28.1-2: Ἦκω σοι, βασιλεῦ, Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐγὼ φυγὰς ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων διωχθεὶς, ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν ὀφείλουσι Πέρσαι κακά, πλείω δὲ ἀγαθὰ κωλύσαντι τὴν δίωξιν, ὅτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενομένης παρέσχε τὰ οἴκοι σωζόμενα χαρίσασθαι τε καὶ ὑμῖν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν πάντα πρέποντα ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς ἐστὶ, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος ἀφίγμαι δέξασθαι τε χάριν εὐμενῶς διαλλαττομένου καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι μησικακοῦντος ὀργῆν· σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐχθροὺς μάρτυρας θέμενος ὧν εὐεργέτησα Πέρσας, νῦν ἀπόχρησαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὀργῆς. σώσεις μὲν γὰρ ἰκέτην σόν, ἀπολείς δ' Ἑλλένων πολέμιον γενόμενον.

Diod. 11.56.8: εἰσαγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, κάκεινου δόντος τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ λόγον καὶ μαθόντος ὡς οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν, ἀπελύθη τῆς τιμωρίας.

Nepos quotes Thucydides, who says that Themistocles wrote a letter to Artaxerxes.

Themistocles veni ad te, qui plurima mala omnium Graiorum in domum tuam

intuli, quam diu mihi necesse fuit adversum patrem tuum bellare patriamque meam defendere. Nepos quotes Thucydides (1.137.3) who mentions that Themistocles sent a

letter to Artaxerxes begging the king to overlook the part which he had played in the defence of Greece, albeit a minor role during the first Persian War, when Xerxes and his father before him, both invaded Greece respectively, i.e. in 490 and 480. Nepos agrees with Thucydides that the current Persian king is Artaxerxes. Nepos has quoted this section of Thucydides accurately.

Comparing Nepos' *Themistocles* 9.2-4 with Thucydides 1.137.2-3.

In *Themistocles* 9.2, Nepos claims that Thucydides says that Themistocles wrote a letter to Artaxerxes wherein Themistocles claimed that he had caused the most harm to Xerxes. This is a reference to the Battle of Salamis in 479. Themistocles immediately claims that he performed several favours for Xerxes. Apparently, this was one tactic to adopt when

requesting a favour from the King of Persia. Nepos does not elaborate on the other favours. Nepos mentions the second message which Themistocles sent to Xerxes after the Persian defeat at Salamis. Themistocles then proceeded to explain his problem and beseeched Artaxerxes to grant him political asylum in Persia. In Nepos, the letters conclude when Themistocles requested a year to learn Persian before he would personally come and meet Artaxerxes.

Thucydides (1.137.2-3) records that Themistocles wrote to Artaxerxes. In his letter Themistocles acknowledged that he caused the most harm to Xerxes, which is a reference to the Battle of Salamis. Themistocles stressed that he saved Xerxes' life and suggested that Artaxerxes owed him a favour. Thucydides now proceeds to give a synopsis of Themistocles' second message to Xerxes, and even adds that Themistocles falsely pretended to take sole credit for thinking up the ruse, which was the second letter itself, to force most of the Persian army to flee Greece with Xerxes. The letter concluded when Themistocles requested a year to learn Persian in order to speak to Artaxerxes in person, implying that Themistocles did not wish to use a translator to speak to Artaxerxes.

Does Nepos provide an accurate translation of Thucydides' Greek text on Themistocles? Well, to an extent, Nepos does, although he has left out Thucydides' synopsis concerning Salamis, as well as the fact that Themistocles and Aristides thought of the scheme to force most of the Persians in the army to flee with Xerxes back to Persia. Furthermore, in Nepos' quotation of Thucydides, Nepos claims that Themistocles performed several favours for Xerxes without elaborating on the rest, besides the reference to Salamis. Thucydides does not mention any additional favours in his text. The possibility exists that Nepos used a corrupted copy of Thucydides, or alternatively, Nepos has mistranslated Thucydides (1.137.2-3), or even relied on his meaning.

Thucydides and Nepos provide sufficient evidence to validate the view that Themistocles did indeed write a letter to Artaxerxes requesting political asylum. Plutarch and Diodorus present the Themistoclean romance version, which seems to be fantastic, whereby Themistocles endured a tense and dangerous meeting with Artaxerxes.

Nepos uses here the word *Graiorum*, an archaic term for a Greek, on three occasions in his *Liber* (Praefatio 1.3, here, and in *Alci.* 7.5), Themistocles (8.2), and in Alcibiades (7.5). Perhaps Nepos uses this term to create a special effect which ties in with his heroic depiction of Themistocles, since he compares Themistocles' greatness with that of Alcibiades, although no other author consulted has anything to comment on the usage of this term.

Plutarch *Them.* 27.2-27.5 chronicles Themistocles' meeting with Artabanus, the Chiliarch or Grand Vizier, i.e. an equivalent of a prime minister in antiquity.

Themistocles was informed, after requesting to see Artaxerxes, that he would not be granted an audience unless he performed obeisance or *proskynesis* before the king. In *Them.* 27.5, Themistocles replied that his message was only for the king, whereupon an interview was granted to Themistocles to see Artaxerxes. However, in the same chapter, Plutarch includes the anecdote, with evidence from Phanias, as well as Eratosthenes' *On Wealth*, that Artabanus' wife from Eretria, helped to arrange the interview between Artabanus and Themistocles.

Frost¹⁰⁰ insists that Nepos was aware of the chronological problem concerning Xerxes in *Themistocles* 9.1. Nepos therefore quotes Thucydides to lend weight to his own version of events. Marr¹⁰¹ uses the Persian records to date Artaxerxes' succession to the throne in either 465/4. He approves of Plutarch's two fifth century sources, i.e. Thucydides and

100. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles*, 1980: 214 .

101. Marr, *Plutarch's Lives: Themistocles*, 1998: 149.

Charon, who mention Xerxes' death, while Nepos supports Thucydides' account only.

Lenardon¹⁰² confirms that Xerxes died in 465, whereupon Artaxerxes became king. The idea that Themistocles met Xerxes can be attributed to the romantic fiction or propaganda spread by Themistocles' enemies. Themistocles would have written the letter to Artaxerxes in 465/4 before being granted an audience in 464/3.

9.3. Idem multo plura bona feci, postquam in tuto ipse et ille in periculo esse coepit; nam cum in Asiam reverti vellet, proelio apud Salamina facto, litteris eum certiozem feci id agi, ut pons quem in Hellesponto fecerat dissolveretur atque ab hostibus circumiretur; quo nuntio ille periculo est liberatus. See Thuc. 1.137.3 quoted earlier. Thucydides (1.137.3) specifically mentions that Themistocles falsely took the credit for the scheme to trick Xerxes into fleeing from Greece without mentioning Aristides, a fact which Nepos omits since it would not agree with his heroic image of Themistocles.

Nepos' *Themistocles* 9.3 is a cross reference to his work in *Themistocles* 5.1-3, where he discusses how Themistocles tricked Xerxes into fleeing from Greece with the majority of his army, although a sizable Persian force still remained in Greece.

Plutarch (28.1) questions the validity of this anecdote concerning the Chiliarch's wife. Plutarch raises the question of how Themistocles could have performed *prokynesis* before Artaxerxes, an act which was a despicable sign of subservience in the eyes of the Greeks. The authors who follow the letter tradition, such as Nepos and Thucydides, do not refer to Themistocles performing *prokynesis* before Artaxerxes.

Frost¹⁰³ also questions how Themistocles, a patriotic Greek, could have performed the despicable Persian custom of *proskynesis*.

102 Lenardon, *The Saga of Themistocles*, 1978: 137.

103. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles*, 1980: 215.

Lenardon¹⁰⁴ argues that Thucydides produces a romantic narrative when describing Themistocles' exile from Athens until he reaches Asia Minor, while Diodorus records a more serious account until Themistocles reaches Asia Minor. Lenardon questions the validity of the various accounts concerning Themistocles having a Persian or Greek friend in Asia Minor. Furthermore, he also questions what evidence Thucydides had access to which claimed that Themistocles wrote a letter to Artaxerxes. Lenardon¹⁰⁵ proposes that the story with Admetus was borrowed and used with Themistocles' mysterious "friend" in Asia Minor. Lenardon is implying that this anecdote is also part of the Themistoclean romance. Themistocles mentioned Dodona and the gods in order to win over Artaxerxes by flattering him. Lenardon states that Plutarch omits part of the speech from Thucydides in order to be more dramatic. This heightens the tension in Plutarch's account. Lenardon dismisses Diodorus' account altogether, while he concludes that of the three versions concerning the reason why Themistocles learnt Persian, only the account by Thucydides is the most plausible.

9.4. Nunc autem confugi ad te, exagitatus a cuncta Graecia, tuam petens amicitiam; quam si ero adeptus, non minus me bonum amicum habebis, quam fortem inimicum ille expertus est. Themistocles offered his friendship and allegiance to Artaxerxes after explaining his current predicament.

Te autem rogo, ut de iis rebus, quas tecum conloqui volo, annum mihi tempus des eoque transacto ad te venire patiaris." Thuc. 1.137.4: Βούλομαι δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχῶν αὐτός σοι περὶ ὧν ἤκω δηλώσαι.; Diod. 11.57.5: πάντων δὲ συνευδοκησάντων, καὶ δοθέντος ἱκανοῦ χρόνου εἰς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς κρίσεως, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς μαθὼν τὴν Περσίδα διάλεκτον. Themistocles requested an audience with the Persian King in a year's time in order that he might be able to learn

104. Lenardon, *The Saga of Themistocles*, 1978: 140.

105. *Ibid.*, 142.

Persian and thereby speak directly to the king. It is also feasible that Themistocles hoped he might be able to return to Greece or Athens during this period if the political scene in Greece should swing in his favour. Thucydides (1.137.3) concludes the anecdote at the point where Themistocles requested a year's grace before meeting with Artaxerxes.

Nepos has produced a rhetorically enhanced version of Themistocles' letter of appeal to Artaxerxes. Nepos embellishes Thucydides (1.137.3) when Themistocles requested a year to learn Persian. According to Thucydides, Themistocles required a year to learn as much Persian as possible in order to communicate directly with Artaxerxes without relying upon a translator. Would any Greek or Persian translator at Artaxerxes' court have ulterior motives and wish to harm Themistocles? The answer is an unequivocal yes.

Plutarch (29.1-2) continues that Themistocles was summoned to see the king the following day, although at first Themistocles was uncertain of his fate. Plutarch now mentions that a Chiliarch called Roxanes belittled him in front of Artaxerxes. It is possible that Plutarch made a mistake over the name of the Chiliarch, or if he did not, then the Persian king had several Chiliarchs who helped to administer his affairs.

Artaxerxes rewarded Themistocles with the two hundred talents on his head. This was bestowed as a gift in gratitude to Themistocles since the king believed that Themistocles would become one of his helpful and loyal advisors.

10.1. Huius rex animi magnitudinem admirans cupiensque talem virum sibi conciliari, veniam dedit. Nepos states that Artaxerxes granted the request since he perceived Themistocles as a potential advisor who would swear fealty to Persia. Nepos is the only author who praises Themistocles for his spirit and tenacity. This is a clever ploy to depict Themistocles' character in a good light before defending him against the charges of cowardice and suicide.

Ille omne illud tempus litteris sermonique Persarum se dedit; quibus adeo eruditus est, ut multo commodius dicatur apud regem verba fecisse quam ii poterant qui in Perside erant nati. Thucydides 1.138.1: ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἐπέσχε τῆς τε Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἐδύνατο κατενόησε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας; Plut. 29.4: τὴν Περσίδα γλῶτταν ἀποχρώντως ἐκμαθὼν ἐνετύγχανε βασιλεῖ δι' αὐτοῦ. Diod. 11.57.5: Θεμιστοκλῆς μαθὼν τὴν Περσίδα διάλεκτον, καὶ ταύτη χρησάμενος κατὰ τὴν ἀπολογία, ἀπελύθη τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. Nepos makes the general comment that Themistocles learnt Persian, but does not specify which dialect he actually studied. Marr suggests that Nepos misinterprets his source over how fluently and stylistically Themistocles was able to speak Persian (1998: 152).

Neither Thucydides nor Plutarch records that Themistocles spoke better Persian than the Persian nobility. Thucydides continues that Themistocles became the most important Greek at Artaxerxes' court for three reasons, namely his reputation, his promise to subdue Greece for Artaxerxes and, particularly, his intelligence and ability. Diodorus (11.57.1-6) has Themistocles learn Persian to face a trial, in which he defended himself successfully. Nepos does not believe that Artaxerxes put Themistocles on trial on this occasion. Nepos, who follows Thucydides' version, which has no trace of any trial, rejects the Ephoran tradition preserved in Diodorus.

10.2. Hic cum multa regi esset pollicitus gratissimumque illud, si suis uti consiliis vellet, illum Graeciam bello oppressurum, Nepos insists that Themistocles promised to conquer the Greeks for Artaxerxes. This was another stalling tactic by Themistocles.

In Plutarch (29.3), Artaxerxes invited Themistocles to inform him of the political, social, economic and military affairs of Greece. Themistocles declined this request eloquently. His motivations can be seen in two ways. Firstly, Themistocles still had unwavering

support for Athens (and the rest of the Greek mainland). Secondly, it is quite probable that Themistocles hoped that he would be allowed to return to Athens.

magnis muneribus ab Artaxerxe donatus, Nepos is deliberately vague on this point. Themistocles has used his intelligence in order to manipulate Artaxerxes into bestowing gifts on him. Diodorus (11.57.6) maintains that Xerxes was so pleased with the manner in which Themistocles had acquitted himself that he gave him a Persian woman as a bride, among other gifts. This is in stark contrast to Plutarch (24.4), who asserts that Themistocles' wife and children joined him while he was staying with King Admetus, after they had been smuggled out of Athens. Diodorus is continuing the Themistoclean romance fiction.

in Asiam rediit domiciliumque Magnesiae sibi constituit. Thuc.1.138.5: ταύτης γὰρ ἦρχε τῆς χώρας, δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον. Plut. *Them.* 31.2: ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ μὲν οἰκῶν, καρπούμενος δὲ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ τιμώμενος ὅμοια Περσῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀδεῶς διῆγεν. Diod. 11.58.1: ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατεβίωσε πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν εὐπορούμενος. Were these genuine gifts bestowed on Themistocles by Artaxerxes? Was Themistocles meant to rule Magnesia as a satrapy for Artaxerxes? Nepos disagrees with this point. Were there gifts other than cities given to Themistocles? Plutarch does not specify what the additional gifts were, while Diodorus echoes Plutarch, but also mentions the dubious story of a Persian bride.

10.3. Namque hanc urbem ei rex donarat, his quidem verbis, quae ei panem praeberet – ex qua regione quinquaginta talenta quotannis redibant – Lampsacum autem, unde vinum sumeret, Myunta, ex qua obsonium haberet. Plutarch *Them.*

29.11: Πόλεις δ' αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι δοθῆναι λέγουσιν εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον

καὶ ὄψον, Μαγνησίαν καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Μυοῦντα· δύο δ' ἄλλας προστίθησιν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης καὶ Φανίας, Περκώτην καὶ Παλαίσκησιν εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην; Diodorus 11.57.7: ἐδωρήσατο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πόλεις τρεῖς πρὸς διατροφήν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν εὐθέτους, Μαγνησίαν μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ, πλεῖστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεων ἔχουσαν σίτον, εἰς ἄρτους, Μυοῦντα δὲ εἰς ὄψον, ἔχουσαν θάλατταν εὐχθον, Λάμψακον δέ, ἀμπελόφυτον ἔχουσαν χώραν πολλήν, εἰς οἶνον. While Nepos (10.3), Plutarch (29.7), Thucydides (1.138.3) and Diodorus (11.57.7) all state that Themistocles received an income from Magnesia, Lampsacus and Myus, Nepos and Plutarch imply that Themistocles was the most influential person in Magnesia when he lived there. Thucydides agrees with this view. Thuc. 1.138.5: ταύτης γὰρ ἦρχε τῆς χώρας, δόντος βασιλέως αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄττον.

Marr contends that Magnesia was a real gift, while Artaxerxes exercised no control over Myus.¹⁰⁶ It is debatable whether Persia exercised control over Lampsacus, although Themistocles and his son Cleophantus were honoured by the city. They received a portion of its revenue in taxes, and might have visited the city on occasion. Frost proposes that Magnesia was a genuine gift, while Myus and Lampsacus, although not controlled by Persia, paid tribute to both Persia and Athens.¹⁰⁷ This explains how Themistocles was able to receive taxes and foodstuffs from these cities.

Thucydides (1.138.5) and Plutarch (29.7) agree that Themistocles received fifty talents a year in tribute from Magnesia. Plutarch speaks about honour and power for Themistocles in ruling the cities. In Nepos and Diodorus there is no mention concerning Themistocles ruling the cities as a Persian satrap or commissioner. Marr proves that Themistocles received a portion of the revenue from Magnesia, Myus initially, and Lampsacus (Cf. Thuc. 1.138).¹⁰⁸ Magnesia, in Asia Minor, was a real gift from Artaxerxes. There is

106. Marr, *Plutarch's Lives: Themistocles*, 1998: 154-5.

107. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles*, 1980: 219-223.

108. Marr, *Plutarch's Lives: Themistocles*, 1998: 154-5.

numismatic evidence that Themistocles and his family issued personal coins themselves from Magnesia. This explains that Themistocles acted as a king or satrap for Artaxerxes, a fact which would clash with Nepos' portrayal of Themistocles. Marr refers to a coin which depicted Themistocles' statue on a tomb.¹⁰⁹ Thibron, a Spartan general, relocated Magnesia in 400 BC to a safer location. Myus was a gift in name only, since it belonged to the Delian League and was also a target of the Athenian fleet. Lampsacus appears to have been a tributary territory. An inscription from circa 300 BC attests that games were held there in Themistocles' honour. Frost adds that Thucydides was the first author to mention the three cities given to Themistocles, as well as the fifty talents of income derived from Magnesia.¹¹⁰ Marr also argues that Myus was actually a member of the Delian League, meaning that the city paid tribute to the League, in 454/3.¹¹¹ Lampsacus was thus also a tribute-paying member of the Delian League by 454/3. The solution is that many cities in Asia Minor paid a dual tax to the Delian League and the Persians.

There is a consensus among the ancient authors on the cities and their names. There are two questions to consider. Firstly, were these real gifts or merely gestures on the part of Artaxerxes? Secondly, what was Themistocles' status? Magnesia was a real gift as opposed to the tributary cities of Myus and Lampsacus, which were not under Persian control. The minting of coins implies that Themistocles ruled Magnesia as a satrap for Artaxerxes. He would not have been allowed to mint coins if he had not possessed the relevant political powers to produce his own coinage. Lenardon mentions the fact that Themistocles issued coins in Magnesia which bore his name.¹¹² The coins were made to the Attic standard. Four types of coin bearing Themistocles' name have been discovered.

109. Marr, *Plutarch's Lives: Themistocles*, 1998: 164-5.

110. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles*, 1980: 220.

111. Marr, *Plutarch's Lives: Themistocles*, 1998: 154.

112. Lenardon, *The Saga of Themistocles*, 1978: 150.

These include a solid silver didrachm weighing 8.56 grams, a second solid silver didrachm weighing 5.59 grams, a silver-plated didrachm weighing 5.83 grams, as well as an unseen coin belonging to a collector in Turkey. The first three coins conform to the Attic standard of coin. Two other quarter-obol coins bearing Themistocles' name were also discovered.¹¹³ Podlecki (1975: 42) comments that Themistocles only issued his own coins in order to pay the troops under his command as a regional ruler for Artaxerxes. Why would Themistocles only issue coins to pay the troops in Magnesia and not issue any coins for the populace there as well? This does not make sense, as the coins would be issued to the town or city and just for the troops.

10.4. Huius ad nostram memoriam monumenta manserunt duo: sepulcrum prope oppidum, in quo est sepultus, statua in foro Magnesia. Thuc. 1.138.5: μνημεῖον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ; Plut. *Them.* 32.3: Καὶ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Μάγνητες ἔχουσι. According to Nepos, two monuments were built to honour Themistocles in Magnesia, where he was initially buried. The first monument was Themistocles' tomb, while the second was a statue which was placed in the Forum in Magnesia. Thucydides (1.138.3) differs from Nepos and says that only one monument was built in Magnesia for Themistocles. The monument was erected in the *agora* or market place in Magnesia.

Diodorus (11.58.1) refers to a magnificent funeral in Magnesia. Diodorus differs from Thucydides and Nepos in two aspects. Firstly, Diodorus only mentions that one monument was constructed in Magnesia after Themistocles' death. Secondly, Diodorus makes no mention of Themistocles' remains being reburied in Athens at a later date. Diodorus records a unique eulogy in honour of Themistocles from 11.58.4.1-59.4.2. He praises Themistocles as being the foremost patriot, general and politician in Greece

113. *Ibid.* 151-2.

whose achievements were never matched by any other politician or general. Lenardon argues that Conon might have erected the tomb in the harbour when he rebuilt the defensive walls of the Piraeus in 395.¹¹⁴ By Herodotus' time, everyone knew about the tomb in Athens. The tomb in the Piraeus was tolerated by the ruling elite, even if it was not officially sanctioned. Marr will not commit himself on this issue, although an unmarked grave was desecrated. Frost mentions how the Athenians secretly removed Themistocles' bones from Magnesia and brought them to Athens in order to end a plague in the city.¹¹⁵ Frost attributes the belief in an actual tomb in Athens to the opinions of the various writers who wrote on this topic. No definitive conclusion can be agreed upon, although most writers agree that Themistocles was reburied somewhere in or near the Piraeus.

De cuius morte multimodis apud plerosque scriptum est, sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, Nepos agrees with Thucydides that Themistocles died of old age and rejects any other cause of death.

qui illum ait Magnesiae morbo mortuum neque negat fuisse famam, venenum sua sponte sumpsisse, cum se quae regi de Graecia opprimenda pollicitus esset praestare posse desperaret. Thuc. 1.138.4: νοσήσας δὲ τελευτᾶ τὸν βίον; Plut. *Them.* 31.5: καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγαγὼν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος, ὡς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος, αἷμα ταύρειον πίων, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσενεγκάμενος, ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κατέστρεψε πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα βεβιωκῶς ἔτη καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις. Nepos has accurately translated Thucydides, and also believes that Themistocles died from natural causes.

Themistocles died in Magnesia in 460/59 BC. He was 65 years old, for he was born in

114. *Ibid.*, 206.

115. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles*, 1980: 232-6.

525/24. The high chronology represents the most plausible date since it concurs with the dates concerning Miltiades' activities in the Thracian Chersonese, his trial in Athens, the *Eponymous Archonship* of Themistocles in 493/92, the First Persian Invasion of 490-489, the construction of the Piraeus Harbour, the building of the new Athenian fleet consisting of triremes, the Second Persian Invasion of 480-479, the exile of Themistocles from Athens in 471/70, and the First Egyptian Revolt from Persia in 459.

Plut. *Them.* 31.3-5: Ὡς δ' Αἴγυπτός τε ἀφισταμένη βηθούτων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τριήρεις Ἑλληνικαὶ μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας ἀναπλέουσαι καὶ Κίμων θαλαττοκρατῶν ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ κωλυεῖν αὐξανομένους ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις ἐκινούντο καὶ στρατηγοὶ διεπέμποντο καὶ κατέβαινον ἀγγελίαι πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξάπτεσθαι κελεύοντος βασιλέως καὶ βεβαιὸν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, οὔτε δι' ὀργὴν τινα παροξυνθεὶς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ἐπαθεὶς τιμῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἴσως μὲν οὐδ' ἐφικτὸν ἠγούμενος τὸ ἔργον, ἄλλους τε μεγάλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχούσης στρατηγούς τότε καὶ Κίμωνος ὑπερφυῶς εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον αἰδοῖ τῆς τε δόξης τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τροπαίων ἐκείνων, ἄριστα βουλευσάμενος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ βίῳ τὴν τελευτήν πρέπουσαν, ἔθυσσε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγαγὼν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος, ὡς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος, αἷμα ταύρειον πίων, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσεαεγκάμενος, ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κατέστρεψε πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα βεβιωκῶς ἔτη καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὸν πρόπον πυθόμενον βασιλέα λέγουσιν ἔτι μάλλον θαυμάσαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκείοις χρώμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρώπως.

The crisis which culminated in Themistocles' death, as mentioned in Plutarch (31.3), was the revolt in Egypt against Persian rule. However, Plutarch has made a chronological error concerning the year in which Themistocles died, since Egypt revolted against Persian rule in 459 and 449. Plutarch also confuses the dates in his *Cimon*. Athens sent

aid to Egypt to assist with the revolt. Cimon, the head of the pro-Spartan faction in Athens, won important naval battles against the Persians. The Athenians reached Cyprus and Cilicia. Artaxerxes eventually responded to the new Athenian threat and mobilized the Persian army. Artaxerxes also pressed Themistocles to honour his pledge to fight his fellow Greeks. Cimon died soon after the first Egyptian revolt. The lower chronology proposes that Themistocles was born in 515/5 and therefore died in 450/49, especially if Plutarch's incorrect dates for the two Egyptian revolts are used.

The myth surrounding Themistocles' suicide was circulated when Themistocles' sons returned to Athens in the 450's. Themistocles' friends and family claimed that Themistocles had died honourably by stalling another Persian invasion of Greece. His enemies, the pro-Spartan faction, claimed that Themistocles committed suicide out of cowardice since he was petrified at the prospect of leading an army, hence he could not keep his promise to Artaxerxes of invading Greece at the head of a Persian army. Curiously enough, both stories survived throughout the ages, although in some cases, as in Diodorus, the stories were confused and the facts were merged.

Frost cannot believe that when Themistocles was an old man, Artaxerxes would have commanded him to lead an army into battle.¹¹⁶ Themistocles died in circa 460. Plutarch states Themistocles was sixty-five when he died. If 460 is the correct date of his death, then Themistocles would have been born in 525. Marr follows the higher chronology and places Themistocles' death in 460/59. The higher chronology is the correct chronology to follow. When the Egyptians revolted in 461, Cimon was living as an exile in Egypt. This reflects the chronological error in Plutarch (31.4), who uses the lower chronology.

Cimon was later recalled from exile and led the second Athenian expedition to Egypt,

116. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles*, 1980: 226.

where he died. Plutarch has indeed made a chronological error by confusing the dates and the events of the two Egyptian revolts. The Athenian assistance for Egypt and forays against Persia caused Themistocles' suicide. Rather, Plutarch has confused the Egyptian campaign with the Cilician campaign. Furthermore, in Plutarch's *Cimon*, Cimon captures Egypt and attains great military success, which causes Themistocles to commit suicide. Plutarch also omits any reference to Cimon's exile. It is unlikely that Themistocles would have made a promise to subdue Greece. The sources are making a claim for the Themistoclean romance fiction here. Lenardon supports Plutarch.

10.5. Idem ossa eius clam in Attica ab amicis sepulta, quoniam legibus non

concederetur, quod proditiōnis esset damnatus memoriae prodidit. Thuc. 1.138.6:

τὰ δὲ ὅσα φασι κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἴκαδε κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν θάπτειν ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντος.; Plut. *Them.* 37.4: Διόδωρος δ' ὁ περιγηγητῆς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μνημάτων εἶρηκεν ὡς ὑπονοῶν μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκων, ὅτι περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἄλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου πρόκειται τις οἶον ἀγκών, καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντός, ἢ τὸ ὑπέυδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπὶς ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν βωμοειδὲς τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. Nepos concurs with Thucydides on the fact that Themistocles' bones were secretly buried in Athens by his friends, since he had been (falsely) convicted of treason. The conviction was secured by the pro-Spartan Athenian political faction, which was headed by Cimon after Themistocles had been ostracized.

Plutarch (32.3-5) presents varying accounts of Themistocles' final resting place, including the honorary tomb built near the Piraeus harbour. Plutarch does not mention that Themistocles was secretly reburied in Athens. Thucydides and Nepos concur that Themistocles did not commit suicide. Instead, Themistocles died a natural death.

although he omits or summarises significant aspects of Themistocles' life, which he considers to be unsuitable for the heroic mould in which he places Themistocles. There is no mention in Nepos of the strong tradition whereby Themistocles both received and paid bribes. Such facts would have cast a dim light on Nepos' portrayal of Themistocles. However, these anecdotes are usually prevalent in Plutarch's *Themistocles*, in order to remind readers that Themistocles was a man, albeit an extraordinary one, who went above and beyond the call of duty, thereby contributing greatly to the defence of Athens, as well as the entire Greek mainland and culture, from Xerxes' invading Persians. Themistocles, perhaps unintentionally, laid the foundations for the founding of the later Athenian Empire. He was an advocate of Athenian democracy, which was a significant factor in his clashes with Sparta after the Persian threat had subsided. In the end, Nepos extols Themistocles on his death in exile in Persia for not betraying Greece (his homeland) or abandoning his own set of morals and values. The issue of patriotism is an important quality in Nepos' *Lives*, cf. *Miltiades* 6.2; *Themistocles* 2.3, 4.3-5, 6.2; *Epaminondas* 6.4; *Agesilaus* 6.1; and *Timoleon* 3.4-6. This was a fundamentally significant concept which the Romans would have comprehended. Nepos thus stresses this quality in his entire work.

Nepos succinctly captures the nuances of political biography, especially so in the *De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium*, the most notable example of which is contained within the *Themistocles*. The *De Viris Illustribus* as a whole is a testament to the limited genius of Nepos in as much as it celebrates the achievements of the famous men whose lives he vividly brought to life from a historical perspective with his military and political biographies on them. Although Nepos' work is flawed, as was the *Life of Themistocles*, it is a detailed study concerning a great Athenian politician and general, who was as famous for his flaws as he was for his virtues.

A CHRONOLOGY OF THEMISTOCLES' LIFE

Date	Nepos	Plutarch	Herodotus	Thucydides	Diodorus	Ath. Pol.
525/24 BC – Birth of Themistocles						
	Nepos 1.3 states that Themistocles participated in civil lawsuits and spoke before the Assembly.		In 7.143, Them. is introduced as having only recently become a prominent figure in the Athenian political scene.			
493/92	2.1 if <i>praetor</i> translates <i>strategos</i> , then Them. was over 30.			1.93, ἀρχῆς ἧς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε		At 25.3 Them. is mentioned as being a member of the <i>Areopagus</i> . As an Archon he would have become an automatic member. This supports Thucydides 1.93.2.
490 – Battle of Marathon		3.3: Them. was a young man when he fought in the Battle of Marathon in 490, νέος ὢν ἔτι. <i>Arist.</i> 5.4: Them. commanded his tribal regiment, thus older than 30.				Phaenippus was <i>Eponymous Archon</i> in 490/89; hence Them. did not hold this <i>Archon</i> office for ten consecutive years.

Date	Nepos	Plutarch	Herodotus	Thucydides	Diodorus	Ath. Pol.
488/7 – 485/4						Ostraka of people exiled in mid 480's found with Themistocles' name.
483/82	Naval Bill passed.	Naval Bill passed after Them. recently joined the ranks of the Athenian political elite.	In passage 7.143 Them. becomes a prominent politician shortly before 483/2.			22.7: Them. mentioned in Naval Bill of 483/82.
483-480 – War between Athens and Aegina	Nepos 2.3 mistakenly calls the Aeginetans Corcyreans. Them. chosen by the Athenians as their general.	Them. has his Naval Bill passed in Plut. 4.2 by manipulating the Athenian jealousy towards Aegina.	In Hdt. 7.144 war against Aegina.			
480 – Second Persian invasion of Greece		The Persians invade Greece				
480			The combined Greek army lands at Tempé			
480		Them. commands the Athenian force at Artemisium	The Greeks reach a stalemate with the Persians at Artemisium			
479/78	Them. rebuilds the defensive walls around Athens	Them. reconstructs Athens' defensive walls				

Date	Nepos	Plutarch	Herodotus	Thucydides	Diodorus	Ath. Pol.
479/78	Themistocles tricks the Spartans to waste time until the walls are built.	Them. travels to Sparta and arranges for a Spartan embassy to visit Athens, who are held hostage until Themistocles arrives back in Athens.				
471	Them. is ostracised and banished from Athens for ten years.	Them. is ostracised and banished from Athens.			Under Archon year 471/0 (Praxiergus) Diod. relates exile and rest of Them's life.	
471-465	Them. in exile at Argos, Corcyra, and among the Molossians.	Them. flees from Argos to Corcyra to Epirus.		Them. in exile in Argos, flees to Corcyra.	Admetus helps Them. travel to Asia.	
468 – The siege of Naxos / Thasos	Them. passes Naxos while the Athenians besiege the island.	25.2 quotes Thucydides who says that Them. was blown off course to Naxos in a storm in about 469.		A storm blows the ship to Naxos, which the Athenians are besieging.	Admetus gives Them. gold and sends guides to take Them. to Asia.	
465	Them. writes to Artaxerxes to request political asylum.	Them. writes to Artaxerxes, who grants him an interview.		Them. sends a letter to Artaxerxes, who has recently become king after Xerxes' death.	Them. speaks to Xerxes and requests asylum.	
	Them. learns Persian within a year	Them. asks for a year's leave and learns enough Persian to speak without the aid of an interpreter.		Them. learns as much Persian as he can.		

Date	Nepos	Plutarch	Herodotus	Thucydides	Diodorus	Ath. Pol.
465	Them. promises to subjugate Greece for Persia	Artaxerxes demands that Them. lead an army to conquer the Greeks		Them. commits suicide when he cannot keep his promises to Artaxerxes.		
	Them. rules Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus.	Them. receives the revenue and food from Magnesia, Lampsacus, Myus, Percoté, and Palaescepsis.		Them. rules Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myos.	Them. rules Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus.	
460/59	Them. dies a natural death in Magnesia	Plut. 31.3-5 does not believe the anecdote that Them. committed suicide, rather he died a natural death at the age of 65, "ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κατέσχευε πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἑξήκοντα βεβιωκῶς"		Them. actually dies because he fell ill.	Them. commits suicide by drinking the blood of a bull, since he does not actually intend to lead a Persian army into Greece, although this is what he has promised to do for Xerxes.	
	Them. is buried in a tomb near Magnesia and a statue is also built in the marketplace. Later his bones are secretly reburied in Athens.	A tomb is erected for Them. in the marketplace in Magnesia. According to a source, he is buried in a tomb at the Piraeus opposite the Alcimus in Athens.		A monument is built in the marketplace in Magnesia. Them. requested that his family secretly bury his remains in Athens.	Them. is given a magnificent funeral in Magnesia, where a monument is built to pay tribute to him.	

Several of the above dates are conjectural only, owing to a lack of precise chronology from the ancient authors.

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Above: Section of the city wall at Gate XIII (on Erechtheiou St.).

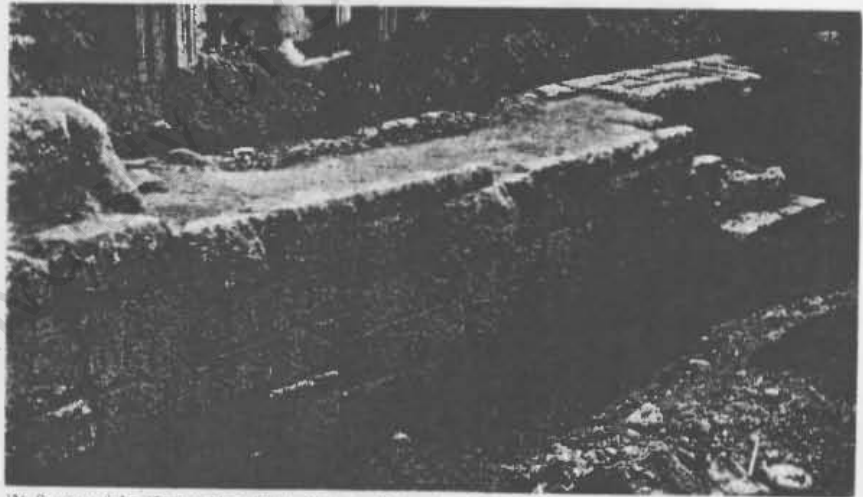
Below: Section of the Themistoklean Wall with 4th c. B.C. repair at Gate XIII (at no. 20 Erechtheiou St.).

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225 Section of the city wall at Gate XIII (on Erechtheiou St.).



226 Section of the Themistoklean Wall with 4th c. B.C. repair at Gate XIII (at no. 20 Erechtheiou St.).

Photographs reproduced from J. Traulos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971).

Above: Section of the Themistoklean Wall west of the Sacred Gate, with repairs done by Conon and Demosthenes.

Below: Section of the Themistoklean Wall west of the Sacred Gate. The lower part of the wall, 0.75 m. high, is of the Acropolis limestone, the upper part of poros.

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223 Section of the Themistoklean Wall west of the Sacred Gate, with repairs done by Conon and Demosthenes.



224 Section of the Themistoklean Wall near the Sacred Gate. The lower part of the wall, 0.75 m. high, is of Acropolis limestone, the upper part of poros.

Photographs reproduced from J. Traulos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971).

Below: Hippades Gate in the Themistoklean Wall at the north side of the Olympic precinct wall. View from the NE.

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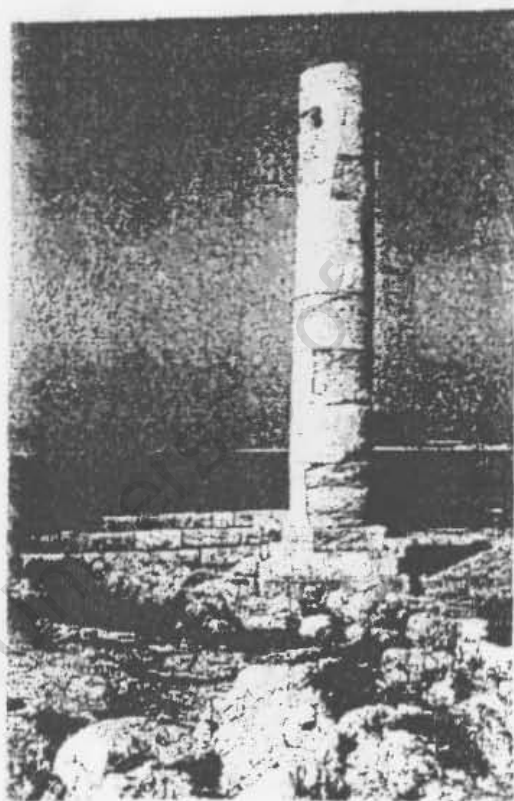


222 Hippades Gate in the Themistoklean Wall at the north side of the Olympic precinct wall. View from the NE.

Photograph reproduced from J. M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens* (London, 2001).

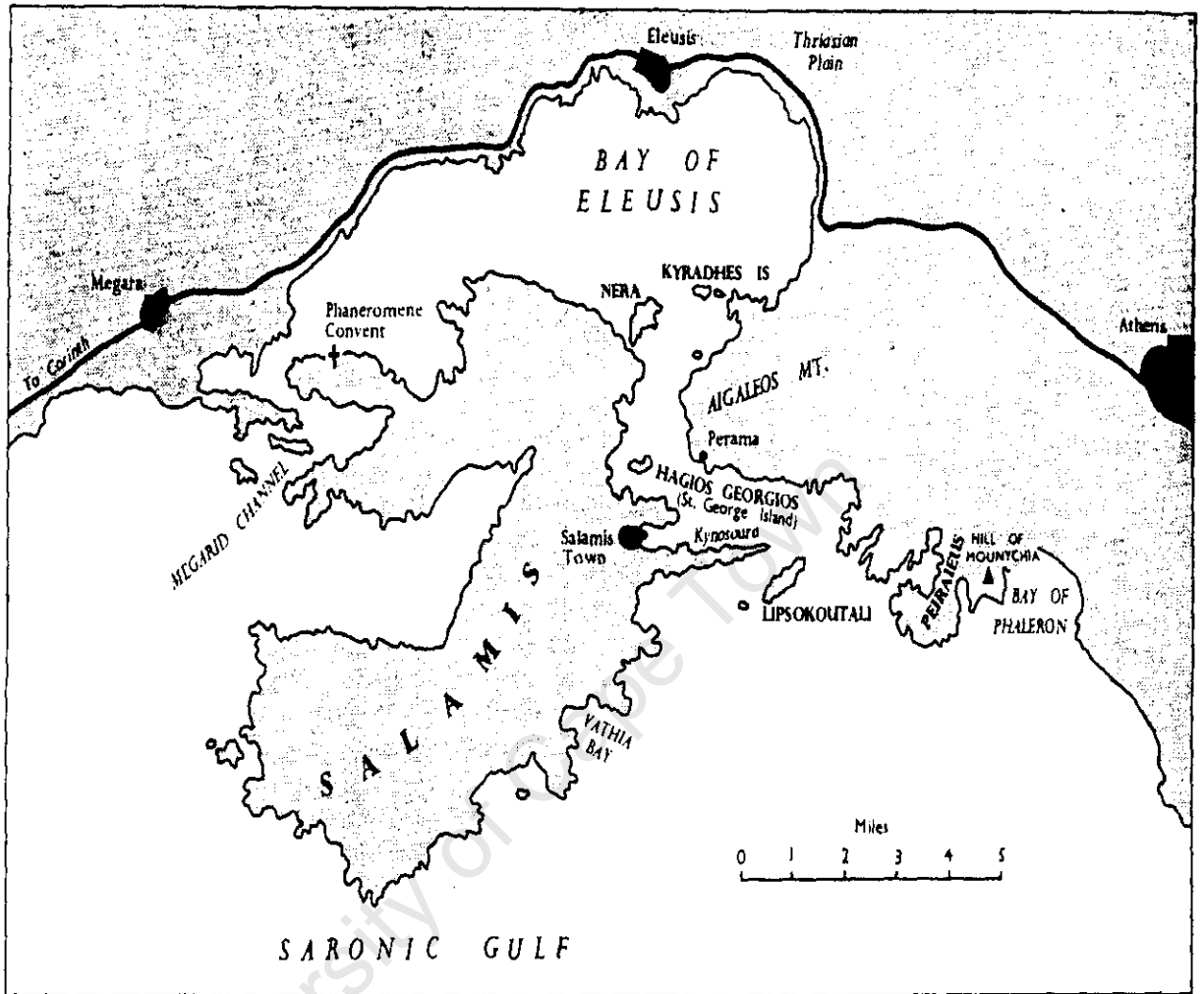
Photograph reproduced from J. Traulos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971).

Below: Column marking the tomb of Themistokles at the entrance to Piraeus harbor.



Photograph reproduced from J. M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens* (London, 2001).

Below: Map of Salamis and adjacent mainland.



MAP 6. Salamis and adjacent mainland

Map reproduced from C. Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford, 1963).