

returning home to the city'.<sup>20</sup> Plutarch's account in *Thes.* 36 contains a discussion of the sacrifice to Theseus at the annual *Theseia* on the eighth day of Pyanepsion,<sup>21</sup> and mentions his sanctuary 'in the heart of the city near the present gymnasium', which the Agora excavators believe may lie to the south-east of the classical Agora. It was probably a building of generous proportions which will have been decorated by the leading artists of the day;<sup>22</sup> it was to become a favourite asylum of the oppressed.<sup>23</sup> It would be satisfying to be able to determine how much of the circumstantial detail surrounding Theseus' exile may have arisen from stories told at this time, as embellishments of the material in the traditional *Theseid*;<sup>24</sup> Theseus was said to have been 'falsely accused of (aiming at) tyranny and ostracized',<sup>25</sup> an anachronism which would have been peculiarly appropriate if supporters of the exiled and disgraced Themistocles had wished to turn Cimon's Theseian propaganda back against himself.

Cimon's motive in establishing and fostering a cult of Theseus is easily discerned. Plutarch mentions the story of the apparition of Theseus at the battle of Marathon 'in armour and leading on against the barbarians'.<sup>26</sup> Marathon was Miltiades' victory, as Salamis was Themistocles'.<sup>27</sup> Themistocles had solved the riddle of the 'wooden walls'; Cimon, σοφία χρησάμενος καὶ οὐτος,<sup>28</sup> had divined the Pythia's reference to 'Theseus' bones'. Marathon replaced Salamis as the victory against the Medes *par excellence* and Theseus (who, men said, had special links to the Philaids) was presented to the people as their substitute hero, whose political achievements were celebrated in the *Synoikia* and who was now being honoured by a new, more personal, festival of his

<sup>20</sup> Plut. *Thes.* 36.3.

<sup>21</sup> Jacoby gives a good deal of miscellaneous information, along with some speculation, about the festival at *FGrH* iii b. Suppl. i 207–209 (on Demon 327 F 6). I suggest that some of the material which Plutarch gives at *Thes.* 36.4–5 may also come from Demon (whom Plutarch mentions at *Thes.* 19.1 and to whom Jacoby assigns *Thes.* 23), along with Diodorus the Periegete, whom Plutarch cites (probably for the building).

<sup>22</sup> The paintings in the Theseion might have been by Polygnotus; see C. Robert, *Die Marathon schlacht in der Poikile* (Halle 1895) 46 ff.; A. Rumpf in *EAA* vi 294–95.

<sup>23</sup> Pherecrates, *Doulodidaskalos fr.* 49; Aristoph. *Eq.* 1312, *fr.* 567 (from *Hōrai*); cf. *frs.* 458, 459.

<sup>24</sup> On the epic *Theseid*, see now G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* (London 1969) chap. ix.

<sup>25</sup> The scholia on Aelius Aristides and Aristophanes mentioned above (note 9) are in practically *verbatim* agreement. <sup>26</sup> *Thes.* 35.8.

<sup>27</sup> See, in general, P. Amandry in *Θεωπία—Festschrift Schuchhardt* (Baden-Baden 1960) 6–8; W. G. Forrest, *CQ* n.s. x (1960) 237 n. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Paus. iii 3.7 (though the reference is not specifically to the oracle).

own.<sup>29</sup> Salamis and Themistocles, whose star had been for some time on the wane, were finally and firmly eclipsed.

The Skyros chapter in Cimon's career is not quite closed. If anything can be made of the garbled scholion on Aelius Aristides,<sup>30</sup> part of which reads, κατηγορηθείς δὲ ὁ Κίμων ὑπὸ Περικλέους ἐπὶ Λανικῇ [Ἐλπωρικῇ?] τῇ ἀδελφῇ καὶ ἐπὶ Σκύρω τῇ νήσῳ, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προδομένου, ἐξεβλήθη—if, that is, Σκύρω is not merely a slip for Θάσῳ—Cimon's part in the capture of Skyros was turned against him (whether in 463 or 461 it seems impossible to be sure from the Scholiast's abbreviated reference) by Pericles.<sup>31</sup>

It is somewhat ironical that both Themistocles and Cimon were later to become Theseus-like heroes (how much truth there may be to these traditions is another matter). A Scholiast on Aristophanes tells the strange story of the Magnesians' refusal to surrender the bones of Themistocles, at the request of an Athenian embassy which had come 'when the Athenians were suffering from a plague, [since] the God (*sc.* of Delphi) had told them to "restore the bones of Themistocles"'.<sup>32</sup> At the end of his *Life of Cimon* Plutarch tells a matching story from Nausicrates of Kition: 'the people of Kition honour a certain "tomb" of Cimon . . . because in a time of *plague and famine*,<sup>33</sup> the God enjoined them "not to neglect Cimon, but to worship and reverence him as superhuman"'.<sup>34</sup> Neither of these stories is, I imagine, true, although, if a plausible context were to be suggested for the first, it might be the Great Plague of 430–29. Had the rehabilitation of Themistocles' memory (and we should recall here the eulogy of Thucydides' anonymous Athenian at i 74) already begun?

A. J. PODLECKI

*Pennsylvania State University/Wolfson College, Oxford*

<sup>29</sup> It may be significant that there appears to be some confusion in the scholion on Aristoph. *Plut.* 627 between the *Theseia* and *Synoikia*.

<sup>30</sup> Σ Ael. Arist. ὑπ. τ. τεττ. (iii p. 446 Dind.).

<sup>31</sup> Thuc. ii 15.

<sup>32</sup> Arist. *Eq.* 84 b (II) (Koster, *et al.*, *Scholia in Aristoph.* i 2, p. 31), tentatively ascribed by Jacoby to Possis of Magnesia (*FGrH* 480 F 1).

<sup>33</sup> This may be nothing more than an embellishment of the λιμός which followed Cimon's death at Kition (Thuc. i 112.4).

<sup>34</sup> Plut. *Cim.* 19 fin. (Nausicrates of Kition has generally, although not very plausibly, been identified with the fourth century rhetorician and pupil of Isocrates, Naucrates of Erythrae.)

#### Note on a Note

In *JHS* xc (1970) 196 f., Professor G. L. Huxley writes a column criticising what he takes to be a belief of mine, that seven-stringed lyres came in later than the seventh century B.C.; he says 'I hope that I do not misunderstand Dr West's contention'. I am sorry to say that I meant the opposite of what he supposes.

M. L. WEST