

TWO NOTES ON CIMON

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I. CIMON'S SONS AND WIVES

υἱοὺς δὲ ἔσχεν ἕξ, ὧν τοὺς μὲν τρεῖς ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν ὧν προϋξένισεν (προϋξένησεν B) ὠνόμασε, Λακεδαιμόνιον, Ἑλλείον, Θετταλόν, τοὺς δὲ τρεῖς ἀπὸ ὀνομάτων τῆς συγγενείας, Μιλτιάδην, Κίμωνα, καὶ Πεισιάνακτα.

He had six sons, three of whom he named after the nations of which he was *proxenos*—Lacedaemonius, Elius, Thessalus; the other three from the names of the family—Miltiades, Cimon, and Peisianax.

—Scholiast on Aelius Aristides:

Hypothesis to Cimon in *On the Four* (Dindorf 3.515)

The scholiast claims to know of three children of Cimon not otherwise attested, Miltiades, Cimon, and Peisianax.¹ Kirchner and others have understandably been dubious about the report and have denied the three a place in their tables. Such caution is admirable, but, I think, excessive. The argument from silence—if these children existed, we would independently have heard of them—carries little force here, for our knowledge of the family of Cimon, and of other contemporary

¹ The other three boys are known to Plutarch (*Cimon* 16). Tzetzes *Chiliades* 1.582 ff. mentions yet another son Callias; but see below, note 19. Elius is also a problem. The name occurs in Attica (J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* [hereafter *PA*] 6400–2), but Oulios is more satisfactory for the family of Cimon, since the Philaids claimed an ancestor of this name (see Marcellinus' *Life of Thucydides* 3, "Οῤιος, or better Οὐῤιος; cf. *PA* 11496), and the inventories of the Hecatompedon in the early fourth century make mention of a Cleito, whose husband Aristocrates, was the son of Oulios, the son of Cimon (*IG* II² 1388 lines 81/2; 1400 line 66; 1447 line 16; 1451 line 16). He was probably a grandson of our Cimon. Cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *RE* 18.1999–2000, s.v. "Oulios." The Oulios (emended from Ioulios by Bothe; cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 37 [1902] 314) in Aristophanes, *Knights* 407, is perhaps a relative but not the same man, for he is called a *gerôn* in this passage.

politicians, is not abundant.² We cannot be sure that we will hear of sons who die young or who fail to win distinction in their own right. The scholiasts on Aristeides, moreover, are often well informed and not lightly to be rejected.³ The hypothesis to this section of the speech, indeed, though not correct in all details, cites several authorities: Demosthenes, Eupolis, Ephorus, and more directly perhaps, Didymus.

One further detail inspires some confidence in the list. The names Cimon and Miltiades would be easy fabrications for a scholiast anxious to elaborate his material and create a specious appearance of great learning. But "Peisianax" is impressive. The name is rather uncommon and one of its fifth century bearers was related, not to Cimon, but to his wife, Isodice.⁴ The scholiast who set down this name was at least well informed. I am willing to believe he was also accurate.⁵

² Plutarch and Aelius Aristeides agree in apparent error that one son was named Elius. Compare note 1, above. The likely explanation of this convergence is a common source, and the likely source is Diodorus the Periegete, mentioned in Plutarch, *Cimon* 16. He was probably a principal source of information about the family in antiquity (note also Heliodorus, *FGrH* 373 F5). Although I believe he was sometimes mistaken, without his researches we would probably know very little indeed about Cimon's family.

³ It is a scholiast on Aristeides, for example, who supplies the list of generals for the year 441/40. See Dindorf's edition, 3.485, and F. W. Lenz, *TAPA* 72 (1941) 226-32 and V. Ehrenberg, *AJP* 66 (1945) 113-34.

⁴ Plutarch (*Cimon* 4, 16) refers to Isodice as the daughter of Euryptolemus, the son of Megacles. Which Megacles? Kirchner (*PA* 9688-93) presumes a son of the Megacles (II) of Peisistratus' days. This is plausible, but it is also possible that Isodice's grandfather was Megacles (V) Hippokratous (*PA* 9695), who was ostracised in 486. If this is her lineage, Isodice would have been comparatively young at the time suggested for her marriage to Cimon in this paper. Whatever her age and genealogy, she is almost surely an Alcmaeonid, for all the known men named Megacles of the fifth century seem connected with this house.

Thus Isodice was in some fashion related to the Euryptolemus (*PA* 5985) son of Peisianax whom Xenophon, *Hellenica* 1.4.19, describes as an *anepsios* of Alcibiades, and also to the Euryptolemus whose wedding feast Pericles is said (Plutarch, *Pericles* 7) to have attended. "Peisianax" is a significant name.

The stemma connecting the individuals called Peisianax and Euryptolemus in the fifth century is not entirely clear. I follow Kirchner in assuming that Peisianax, the father of the late fifth century Euryptolemus (*PA* 5895), was a brother of Isodice, but the connection may have been more remote. Whether the Euryptolemus mentioned in Xenophon, *Hellenica* 1.3.12 and 13, as ambassador to Persia should have a place on the stemma is obscure, as is almost all else about this shadowy figure. See also Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, Vol. 3.1, p. 363 note 5.

⁵ It is just barely possible that "Thessalus," "Lacedaemonius," and "Oulios" were nicknames for the other three children, just as "Thessalus" was apparently a nickname

We may count six boys, then, in Cimon's family. Can we also provide them with a mother? There are two possibilities—Isodice, and the anonymous woman from Cleitor in Arcadia who is sometimes mentioned in the sources. Peisianax' case is easy; his name is testimony to his genealogy. Among the others, Lacedaemonius and Elius (i.e. Oulios) provide a tantalizing problem which even in antiquity was under dispute. According to Plutarch, *Cimon* 16, Stesimbrotus reported (*FGrH* 107 F6) that they were the children of a foreign mother, the Arcadian of whom we have just heard. Diodorus the Periegete, who perhaps lived around 300 B.C., said that these boys and Thessalus as well were sons of Isodice (*FGrH* 372 F37). The ancient dispute has engendered its modern sequel, which has gone so far as to deny the existence of the poor lady of Cleitor—quite gratuitously, I believe.⁶

Lectio difficilior, potior. By analogy, despite his occasional chronological errors (Fr) and slanderous disposition, Stesimbrotus' account ought to be preferred to that later version—the conjecture of an age that had already forgotten an obscure wife from an obscure town, but still remembered the granddaughter of Megacles.⁷ A further argument supports the view that Oulios and Lacedaemonius were children of the woman of Cleitor. For this the form of Stesimbrotus' attack is important. To make up an otherwise unknown marriage is easy enough, and political pamphleteers of all ages have indulged themselves in this facile form of slander. But to put that slander in the mouth of another prominent politician and to assert that he often attacked the sons of the man as aliens and foreigners is a more daring, and more brazen undertaking. Yet we are asked to believe that Stesimbrotus did exactly that, and did so at a time when sons of both politicians

for one of Peisistratus' sons Hegesistratus (*PA* 7207). There are numerous difficulties in this proposal, however, especially if the correction "Oulios" is accepted for "Elius"; see above, note 1.

⁶ The best introduction to the modern scholarship is in Jacoby's discussion of fr. 37 of Diodorus the Periegete (*FGrH* 372). Cf. Swoboda in *RE* 11.452–53, s.v. "Kimon," who denies the existence of the woman of Cleitor. The objection is that only Stesimbrotus speaks of her and he was a scurrilous man. But, as can be seen from examination of the passage, Stesimbrotus claims to be reporting a speech of Pericles, not making his own report on Cimon's marriages. He could still be lying, of course, but would he waste time on such a tame attack when more delectable gossip—whispers about Cimon and his half sister Elpinice—was available? See also A. E. Raubitschek (above, note 1) 1999–2000.

⁷ Compare E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* (Halle 1899) 2.48–50.

were still alive, and when the memories of Pericles' oratory were still fresh. I find this more incredible than the notion that Cimon, in a fashion long familiar to his and to other distinguished Athenian families, took a non-Athenian as his wife and that she was the mother of at least two of his sons.

Three of the six boys, then, are thus far accounted for. Peisianax is Isodice's child; Lacedaemonius and Oulios the woman of Cleitor's. Thessalus, as I hope to show in the second of these notes, was Peisianax' brother. The maternity of the other two boys, Miltiades and Cimon, is as obscure as the rest of their biography.⁸

A final question remains: Which of the two marriages came first?⁹ A definitive answer is impossible, but the following approach leads to a plausible conclusion. Lacedaemonius and Oulios were twins.¹⁰ Lacedaemonius was general in 433 and hipparch around 446.¹¹ Under the common and plausible assumption that a hipparch was at least thirty years old, the marriage to the woman of Cleitor must be placed before around 476. Since Cimon was born between 509 and 506,¹²

⁸ There may have been a tendency to name the first son, or at least an early one, after the grandfather. Thus Pericles' son, Xanthippus, was a product of his first marriage, not of his later liaison with Aspasia. But Cimon himself was named after his grandfather and was younger than his half brother Metiochus (Herodotus 6.41).

It seems more likely that Thucydides the son of Melesias (*PA* 7268) married a sister of Cimon, than a daughter, as has sometimes been held. See E. Cavaignac, "Miltiade et Thucydide," *RPh* 55 (1929) 281-85, and H. T. Wade-Gery, "Thucydides the Son of Melesias," *JHS* 52 (1932) 210.

⁹ Some evidence points to the possibility of a third marriage. Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F64) says Cimon got the fifty talents needed to pay the fine imposed at his trial by marrying a wealthy woman. Compare Diodorus Siculus 10, fr. 31 (Loeb), and below, note 19. This was presumably in the late 460's, at least a decade after the birth of Lacedaemonius. The fuller version given by Diodorus Siculus raises some questions about the credibility of this tradition. According to him, Cimon was in prison when a rich father asked Themistocles' advice about arranging a marriage for his daughter. Themistocles told him to seek a real man who needed money, not money that needed a man. The father took the advice, paid Cimon's fine, and married his daughter to him. The story is suspicious: not only had Themistocles almost certainly left Athens well before Cimon's trial, but the similarity of the anecdote to the stories concerning Miltiades' trial discussed in note 19, below, suggest that this story may have been invented in imitation of some episode in, or story about, Miltiades' life.

¹⁰ Plutarch, *Cimon* 16.

¹¹ Lacedaemonius' generalship: Thucydides 1.45.2; Plutarch, *Pericles* 29; *IG* 1² 295 (*SEG* x 222). His hipparchy: *IG* 1² 400; A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* no. 135. A *kalos* inscription: *Arch. Eph.* 1955, 202 (4).

¹² H. T. Wade-Gery, *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 221, note 20.

he is not likely to have married much before 490, and perhaps a good deal later. Had he married twice before 476? Since we know Isodice died before him, this must be admitted as a possibility.¹³ But it is far less plausible than another view, proposed by Wade-Gery.¹⁴ The central fact is clear: Isodice was a member of the same family as Pericles' mother, the Alcmaeonids. In a marriage her "choice was circumscribed unto the voice and yielding of that body whereof" she was a member. That she married Cimon means that she was married at a time of cooperation between the two families, and the best attested period of cooperation is after Cimon's return from ostracism, after Elpinice's reconciliation of him with Pericles, after the "compact" described in Plutarch, *Pericles* 10 and *Cimon* 17. Whatever the exact date, it must fall in the 450's, and cannot be before 457.¹⁵

2. CIMON'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THESSALY

The passage in the Aristeides scholia quoted above asserts that Cimon was *proxenos* of Thessaly. The statement may be conjecture,¹⁶ though, as we have seen, the scholia on Aristeides are to be dismissed only with great caution. In any event it is surprising, for Plutarch (*Cimon* 14) tells us that at his trial in the late 460's Cimon said:

οὐκ Ἰώνων . . . προξενεῖν οὐδὲ Θεσσαλῶν πλουσίων ὄντων ὥσπερ ἑτέρους, ἵνα θεραπεύωνται καὶ λαμβάνωσιν, ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμονίων. . . .

¹³ Plutarch, *Cimon* 4. Jacoby claims this passage is a strong argument against dating the marriage with Isodice late in Cimon's life rather than early. The objection is insubstantial. Indeed, if the *consolatio* addressed to Cimon on the occasion of Isodice's death was by the naturalist Archelaus, as was thought in antiquity, then a date nearer the middle of the century would seem the most probable time of composition. We are not well informed about Archelaus, but he is said to have been a pupil of Anaxagoras and a teacher of Socrates, and both of these point to a date near the middle of the century rather than to the earlier parts. For the evidence on Archelaus see G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge 1962) 395.

¹⁴ H. T. Wade-Gery (above, note 12) 221, note 20.

¹⁵ The battle of Tanagra was in 457, at which time Cimon was still in exile. I follow the chronology of A. W. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides* 1, p. 395. The chronology, however, is in dispute; see e.g. A. E. Raubitschek, "Kimons Zurückberufung," *Historia* 3 (1955) 379-80. E. Meyer, *Forschungen* 2.48, note 1, posits an earlier but far less adequately documented period of cooperation.

¹⁶ If the argument in note 1, above, is correct, then the statement that Elius was named after the region Elis is a mistake, based on false analogy from the case of Lacedaemonius

I am not a *proxenos* of Ionians nor of Thessalians, rich though they be, like some people who want to receive attention and gifts, but rather of Lacedaemonians

Is the scholiast's statement that Cimon was Thessalian *proxenos* then to be rejected? Although he is probably wrong in thinking Cimon was *proxenos* of Elis, the Thessalian proxeny is more secure. As has been seen, the existence of a son named Thessalus is adequately documented;¹⁷ his name is an eloquent one. It attests that at some point Cimon was not reluctant to have a son of his bear the name of that rich region of Greece.¹⁸ But when was that point? If Plutarch's account of the speech has any validity, the period before the trial may be excluded, and the period immediately after it as well. A man who speaks as Cimon is said to have, is not likely to have a son at home bearing the name of the land he has alluded to in such unfriendly terms, nor is he likely in the space of just a few years to give a new child that name.

If Cimon was ever Thessalian *proxenos*, then, it must be well after his trial, quite likely after his return from the ostracism which followed not long after the trial.¹⁹ For the days of growing opposition to

¹⁷ Here Plutarch confirms the scholiast. See *Alcibiades* 19, 22; *Cimon* 16; *Pericles* 29.

¹⁸ There is some reason to suspect that it was sometimes the practice for *proxenoi* to name one of their sons after the country they represented. The Peisistratid nicknamed Thessalus (*PA* 7207) is perhaps a portent of the practice. Our Thessalus may be another example, but his brother Lacedaemonius is a more secure instance. Was the politician Syracosius (*PA* 13041) also named in this fashion?

Since proxenies were often hereditary (e.g. *IG* II² 237), it is no surprise to hear of *proxenoi* who share the name of the country they represent, e.g. the Spartan representative at Plataea, Lacon (Thuc. 3.52.5), or Gellias at Acragas (Diodorus Siculus 13.23; cf. Niese, *RE* 7.990-91, s.v. "Gellias") or Athenaeus at Thespiea (*IG* I² 36). See the table in P. Monceaux, *Les Proxénies Grecques* (Paris 1886) 321-23. Perhaps Athenaeus, son of Perecleidas, in Thuc. 4.119.2 is another example.

There are also variations in this practice. An Athenian *proxenos* in Acarnania in 338/7 was called Phormio (*IG* II² 37), perhaps reflecting the long established feelings of the Acarnanians about the fifth century Athenian general of that name (Thuc. 3.7.1). Themistocles is said to have named his daughters Italia, Sybaris, and Asia, according to Plutarch, *Themistocles* 32. Although these names cannot all reflect proxenies, they may indicate Themistocles' interests in these far off places.

¹⁹ For the trial see Plutarch, *Cimon* 14 and 15, and the useful discussion by A. E. Raubitschek in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 19 (1958) 91, note 7. The trial is also alluded to in Demosthenes, *Against Aristocrates* 23.205; the scholia on Aelius Aristeides, *On the Four* 118.13 (Dindorf 3.446); Cyril, *Contra Iulianum* 6 (Migne Vol. 76, 785 ff.) where *Perikleous* should probably be restored for *Kleonos*; in Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 1.582 ff.; and in the hy-

Cimon within the city and the years of political exile would not be a favorable time for the Thessalians to invite him to become their *proxenos*. During that ostracism, however, an important event in Thessalian history took place. In 457, at the battle of Tanagra, the Thessalian cavalry, then supporting Athens, defected from the Athenian side. Shortly thereafter we learn of Athenian efforts to restore King Orestes to his throne in Thessaly.²⁰ The expedition was a failure and of Orestes no more is heard. Sometime after Tanagra, Cimon is recalled to Athens.²¹

Cimon's Thessalian proxeny, then, can only have been during the last years of his life. But in this period it makes very good sense. The hostility which Plutarch's account of his speech reveals cuts in two directions—in part against the Thessalians, or more precisely against their wealth and the uses to which it was put, and in part against the Athenian representatives of Thessaly. The words *ὥσπερ ἐτέρους* reveal the thrust of the attack. It is against his accusers, who were *proxenoi* of Thessalians and Ionians. The new regime that followed King Orestes' expulsion may well have shared Cimon's dislike, and, once their power was secure, recognized the importance both of improving relations with Athens and of finding a new representative there. Cimon was the perfect candidate. He had long proved himself a successful military leader, and the value of his political and diplomatic skill seemed now to be recognized by a formerly ungrateful city. There were few in Athens who could rival him in prestige, and of these the most eminent, a younger man named Pericles, was now on good

pothesis to the discussion of Cimon in Aelius Aristides' oration *On the Four* (Dindorf 3.515). This last is the hypothesis from which the passage quoted at the beginning of the article is drawn. The last two passages allude to a son of Cimon, called Callias, who pays his father's fine of fifty talents. The son is otherwise unattested, and the story would seem to be a doublet of the episode in which another Callias, the son of Hipponicus (PA 7825), pays Miltiades' fine and marries Elpinice. Miltiades' fine, like Cimon's, was fifty talents. Despite Tzetzes' assurance (*Chil.* 1.592–93) "*Ἔστι γὰρ πλῆθος ἀπειρον τῶν ταῦτα γεγραφότων· οἱ κωμικοὶ, καὶ ῥήτορες, Διόδωρος* (10 fr. 31) *καὶ ἄλλοι*, it seems unlikely that this version of the trial and this story of a son called Callias deserve any credence.

²⁰ Thucydides 1.111.1. See the stimulating discussion of the period in M. Sordi, *Rivista di Filologia* 86 (1958) 48–65.

²¹ The recall must be after Tanagra (457) and before the Five Years' Truce (ca. 451). Cimon's death is ca. 450–449. For the chronology see A. W. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides* 1, p. 395. But see R. Meiggs, *HSCP* 67 (1963) 10.

terms with him. If the new Thessalian rulers wished to restore amicable relations with Athens, they could do no better than seek out Cimon as their representative. And he, no longer *proxenos* of Sparta, no longer confronted with the old regime of Orestes, might now be willing to accept. A new son, born at just this time,²² would bear the name that would proclaim Cimon's new friendship, and serve as a pledge of his enduring cooperation.

All this is hypothesis, but an economical hypothesis which explains Thessalus' name and the traditions preserved in Aristeides and Plutarch. If it is correct, several further inferences follow. Cimon must have been a little under sixty when he sired Thessalus, perhaps his youngest son, and Thessalus would have been in his mid-thirties when in 415 he attacked his almost exact contemporary, Alcibiades. Thessalus' mother, from what has been said above in Part 1, was probably Isodice, and Peisianax his brother.

From the same line of argument there follows one final presumption—I do not say “proof.” If Cimon was ever Thessalian *proxenos*, he must have assumed this position relatively late in his life. But even his very last days followed rather soon after the defeat of the Athenian expedition in support of the deposed Orestes.²³ Thus, if the tradition is correct, it means that the Thessalians were willing in short order to forget the expedition and to seek better relations with Athens. The support which Thessaly gave Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war²⁴ may therefore have been the product of a reconciliation whose foundations were begun in the 450's and for which Cimon must be given some credit.²⁵

²² Diodorus the Periegete refers to Thessalus as the third of Cimon's sons (*apud* Plutarch, *Cimon* 16). This is probably not correct, I believe, but it is a reasonable inference if one knows only of the three boys Lacedaemonius, “Elius,” and Thessalus. Of these Thessalus was the third.

²³ The expedition to restore Orestes was probably ca. 454–453. The proxeny must have followed the collapse of this attempt and could thus not have lasted more than a few years. After Cimon's death, it was presumably transferred into another family, for Lacedaemonius and Oulios were probably too young to be effective representatives.

²⁴ See Thucydides 2.22.2–3 and Gomme *ad loc.*

²⁵ I am indebted to Prof. B. D. Meritt of the Institute for Advanced Study for the use of his prosopographical files in the writing of these notes, and to John J. Keaney who read an early draft of them. I also wish to thank the Association's referee for his helpful criticisms, and Peter S. Derow.

The genealogical conclusions which have been drawn above are summarized on the following stemma.

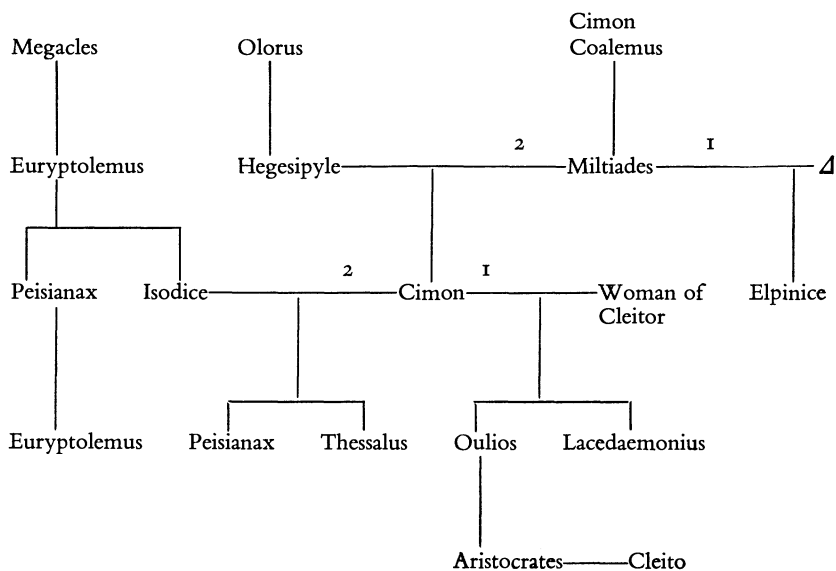


FIGURE 1. Genealogical table.