

MENON, SON OF MENEKLEIDES

THE notice in Hesychius (*s.v.* Μενωνίδαί) that Menon was ostracized received full attention only recently¹ when a large number of ostraka with the name of Menon were discovered.² The following reading of the text has been kindly confirmed by K. Latte who is preparing a new edition of Hesychius, the first volume of which has already appeared.³

Hesychius, *s.v.* Μενωνίδαί τῶν εὐφήμων ἐκ Μένων ιδίων
τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὸν Μένωνα ἐξωστρακίσθη.

Meineke emended ἐκ Μένων ιδίων to ἐκ Μενωνιδῶν, but this does not explain the crucial word Menonidai; moreover, the second sentence evidently refers to Menon who must have been mentioned before. Using an emendation which has already appeared in C. Schrevel's edition of 1668, the text may be restored as follows: Μενωνίδαί <ὄνομα> τῶν εὐφήμων ἐκ Μένων<ος> ιδίων τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὸν Μένωνα ἐξωστρακίσθ(αι). The insertion of a word such as ὄνομα is necessary and I think permitted. One may translate: Menonidai: (name) of the εὐφημοί belonging to Menon; some say that Menon has been ostracized.

While it does not seem possible to understand the meaning of εὐφημοί in this context, it is clear that the Menonidai were not the descendants but the ἴδιοι of Menon. This brings to mind the story told by Demosthenes (XXIII, 199) about Menon of Pharsalos (see Obst, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Menon, no. 3): ἐκεῖνοι Μένωνι τῷ Φαρσαλίῳ δώδεκα μὲν τάλαντ' ἀργυρίου δόντι πρὸς τὸν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι τῇ πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει πόλεμον, τριακοσίοις δ' ἱππεύσι πενέσταις ἰδίους βοηθήσαντι, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντ', αὐτὸν ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ ἀγώγιμον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν καὶ ταύτην ἱκανὴν ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν.⁴ Evidently, Menon of Pharsalos came to the aid of the Athenians who besieged Eion in 477 B.C.,⁵

¹ See, however, A. Meineke, *F.C.G.*, IV, p. 645, no. 161; Obst, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Menon, no. 5.

² See J. Kirchner, *Imagines*, nos. 28/29; *Imagines*², nos. 30/31; W. Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, pp. 75-76 (with notes 1 and 2 on p. 76); W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, pp. 161-162 (with note 347 on p. 161).

³ The text does not seem to have been examined since Meineke (*op. cit.*) suggested that the word Menonidai stood originally in an Old Comedy; Th. Bergk (*Op. Phil.*, II, pp. 289-290) and Th. Kock (*C.A.F.*, III, p. 413, no. 72) accepted Meineke's emendation and interpretation.

⁴ The same story is told in another speech attributed to Demosthenes (XIII, 23), where the variations (ἀτέλεια for πολιτεία and διακόσιοι for τριακόσιοι) do not seem to be historical corrections. It is just possible that the mention of Menon's *ateleia* (rather than citizenship) should be connected with the story of another Menon who did receive *ateleia* (see Plutarch, *Pericles*, XXXI, 5; W. Kroll, *s.v.* Menon, no. 7). See L. Volpis, *Demostene, L'orazione contro Aristocrate*, note on pp. 188-189 (with earlier bibliography); I have not seen F. Levy, *De Dem. περὶ συντάξεως oratione*, Diss. Berlin 1919.

⁵ See B. D. Meritt *et al.*, *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 158-159. A. G. Woodhead has shown (*Proc. Cambr.*

returned with them to Athens, and received there the Athenian citizenship.⁶ Some of his Penestai came with him, and the name Menonidai was applied to them, probably in a comedy. The link between the notice in Hesychius and the story told by Demosthenes consists in the mention in both passages of the ἴδιοι of Menon.⁷ Since we know that Didymos wrote a commentary on Demosthenes' speech against Aristokrates (XXIII), this may be the ultimate source of Hesychius' note on Menonidai.⁸

From the ostraka cast against Menon we learn that his father was Menekleides, and that he belonged to the Attic deme Gargettos. This association of the name Menon and the demotic Gargettios suggests a connection between Menon of Gargettos, who was a native of Pharsalos, and Thucydides, the son of Menon, an Athenian of Pharsalian origin, who may have belonged to the deme Gargettos. The two lists of the four Athenians who bore the name Thucydides (Marcellinus, *Life of Thucydides*, 28; Schol. Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 947; see also Schol. Aristophanes, *Acharnenses*, 703) have three names in common: Thucydides, the son of Oloros; Thucydides, the son of Melesias; Thucydides the Thessalian (Schol.) of whom Marcellinus says τρίτος δὲ γένει Φαρσάλιος, οὗ μέμνηται Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἀκροπόλεως, φάσκων αὐτὸν εἶναι πατρὸς Μένωνος.⁹ The fourth in Marcellinus' list, the poet Thucydides, son of Ariston, from the deme Acherdous,¹⁰ cannot be identical with the fourth of the Scholiast's list,

Phil. Soc., I, 1950-51, pp. 9-12) that Kimon was in Byzantion during the winter of 478/7, and it was from there that he sailed to Eion, as Diodorus (XI, 60, 2), following Ephorus (*F.Gr.Hist.*, 70 F 191, fr. 6), reported. It is, therefore, not necessary to assume (as does A. W. Gomme, *A Hist. Comm. on Thucydides*, I, pp. 399-400) that Pausanias was expelled from Byzantion before the expedition against Eion got under way; on the contrary, Pausanias returned to Byzantion early in 477 B.C., after Kimon and the allies had left the city for Eion; see H. Schaefer, *R.E.*, s.v. Pausanias, cols. 2572-2573.

⁶ His coming to Athens and his staying there are assured by the grant of citizenship which is meaningful only for a resident alien.

⁷ Concerning the status of the Penestai, see F. Miltner, *R.E.*, s.v. Penesten, no. 1, to which should be added references to Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 1271, and to the Scholion on this line.

⁸ See H. Diels and W. Schubart, *Didymi de Dem. comm. cum anonymi in Aristocrateam lexico*. J. Th. M. F. Pieters, *Cratinus*, p. 6, note 14, called attention to the fact that a fragment from Kratinos' *Archilochoi* in which Menon may have been mentioned (*C.A.F.*, I, no. 13; see Th. Bergk's comments, *op. cit.*) can be attributed to Didymos (also *via* Hesychius).

⁹ There can be no doubt that this Thucydides was an Athenian. The Scholiast who called him simply the Thessalian introduced his list with the words τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσι Θουκυδίδαι Ἀθηναῖοι, while Marcellinus calls him significantly γένει Φαρσάλιος.

¹⁰ See Fiehn, *R.E.*, s.v. Thukydidēs, no. 3. The poet has been identified with Thucydides from Acherdous who was treasurer in 424/3 (*I.G.*, I², 242, line 112; 324, lines 25, 34, 35 = *S.E.G.*, X, 227), but this identification is doubtful since the poet's prime belongs to the end of the fifth century (see Marcellinus, *op. cit.*, 29-30; F. Jacoby, in the commentary on Androtion, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 324 F 57). It is better to assume that the treasurer was the grandfather of the poet, and that he was a man of advanced age when he held office in 424/3; he has been identified by A. B. West (*A.J.P.*, LVI, 1935, p. 74; see also H. T. Wade-Gery, *H.S.C.P.*, *Suppl.* I, 1940, p. 130) with the proposer of an amendment to an honorary decree which was passed in the same year (*I.G.*, II², 9, line 8 = *S.E.G.*, X, 83). It may be assumed that he was also one of the generals in the war against Samos

Thucydides from Gargettos.¹¹ If the Acherdousian belonged to the original list of four, the Gargettian must be identical with one of the other three. Since the demotics of two of them are known (the son of Oloros was from Halimous, the son of Melesias from Alopeke), it may be assumed that Thucydides, the son of Menon, of Pharsalian ancestry, belonged as an Athenian citizen to the deme Gargettos. In this case he was the son of Menon from Gargettos whose name and demotic are known from the ostraka.¹²

The date of Menon's ostracism can be determined with precision.¹³ The text of one of the ostraka provides a clue to the circumstances of Menon's ostracism, for there he is called Μένον ἐκκ[ρο] [δορ] ὠ[v] (Peek, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72, no. 121; G. A. Stamires and E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 379, note 13). This means that at least one Athenian thought that Menon was a traitor. It so happens that the Thessalians

(Thucydides, I, 117; see G. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, p. 442, note 1). His tribe, Hippothontis (VIII), is not represented among the other generals of this year (440/39); see V. Ehrenberg, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, p. 133; *id.*, *Sophocles and Pericles*, pp. 80, 82, 117, note 1.

¹¹ This Thucydides from Gargettos has been identified by J. Kirchner (*P.A.*, no. 7272; see also Fiehn, *R.E.*, s.v. Thukydidēs, no. 4) with Thucydides the son of Pantainos of whom Theopompus says (Schol. Aristophanes, *Vespae*, 947; F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 115 F 91 and in the commentary on 324 F 37 and 57, and on 328 F 120; see also V. Ehrenberg, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, p. 119, note 21; D. Kienast, *Gymnasium*, LX, 1954, p. 219) that he was an opponent of Perikles. Jacoby pointed out that Theopompus was not likely to confuse the well known son of Melesias with the otherwise unknown son of Pantainos (for this name, see W. Wallace, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 144, note 91). He probably meant the son of Melesias but called him τὸν Πανταίνου; see V. Ehrenberg, *Sophocles and Pericles*, p. 82, note 2. This name may owe its existence to a corruption or to an emendation of the text of Theopompus who wrote τὸν παλαιστοῦ ('the son of the wrestler'), for Thucydides' father Melesias 'was in his day the greatest wrestling master in Greece' as H. T. Wade-Gery has shown, *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 208-211.

¹² It is possible to understand why Thucydides the Thessalian and Thucydides the Gargettian appear as two different people in the lists given by the Scholiast (*Vespae*, 947; *Acharnenses*, 703). Knowledge of them came from two different sources which can still be identified; Thucydides the Thessalian, from Pharsalos, is mentioned by Thucydides (VIII, 92, 8) as an Athenian proxenos who happened to be in Athens during the revolution of the Four Hundred, while Thucydides, the son of Menon, of Pharsalian origin, is mentioned by Polemon in his book on the Akropolis (see K. Deichgräber, *R.E.*, s.v. Polemon, cols. 1293-1294; compare also my comments, *R.E.*, s.v. Oinobios). It may be presumed that Thucydides, the son of Menon, renewed his Athenian citizenship, which had been granted to his father Menon, and erected a monument on the Akropolis to which Polemon referred, giving Thucydides' name, father's name (Menon), and demotic (Gargettios), and mentioning his Pharsalian origin. It is not surprising that one and the same man should have been a proxenos and a citizen of Athens, for proxeny and citizenship could be granted simultaneously, though they could not be exercised at one and the same time; see Ad. Wilhelm, *Sb. Ak. Wien*, 220/5, 1942, pp. 45-50 (to the evidence assembled there may be added Harpokration, s.v. Ἀλκίμαχος = Hypereides, frag. 77).

¹³ Peek misunderstood K. Kübler when he dated (*op. cit.*, pp. 72 and 77, no. 125) the red-figured painting on one of the ostraka after 450 B.C. L. Talcott and E. Vanderpool suggest as date ca. 480 B.C., and Kübler, in a letter to Vanderpool, agrees with this date. The ostraka of Menon were found together with those of Kimon (Peek, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 and 76), and Peek dated them (*op. cit.*, pp. 76-77) on the basis of letter forms between 480 and 450 B.C. Menon's connection with

turned traitors on the Athenians during the battle of Tanagra (Thucydides, I, 107, 7; Diodorus, XI, 80; Pausanias, I, 29, 9), and the special hostility of the Pharsalians showed itself soon after (Diodorus, XI, 83, 3-4), when the Athenians were not admitted to the city (Thucydides, I, 111, 1). One can imagine that the anti-Athenian attitude of the Pharsalians was the result of Menon's ostracism; in any case, there is a connection between the two. Menon's ostracism can, therefore, be dated in the spring of 457 B.C., after the battle of Tanagra which is now dated in the summer of 458 B.C. (see *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 171-172; compare also *Historia*, III, 1955, pp. 379-380).

Menon must have returned to Pharsalos after he was ostracized, taking with him his young son Thucydides, but perhaps not the Penestai who had come with him to Athens almost twenty years earlier (see, above, note 7). He was at least forty but not more than fifty years of age when he left Athens, and this agrees well with the assumption that his son Thucydides was a mature man forty-five years later (see, above, note 12).¹⁴

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Kimon is indicated by his activity at Eion, and it is illustrated by the names which he and Kimon gave to their sons: Thucydides and Thessalos; see U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, I, p. 116, note 29.

¹⁴ It is, therefore, possible that Menon the Pharsalian who came to the aid of the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides, II, 22, 3; see Obst, *R.E.*, s.v. Menon, no. 3) was the same man who had fought at Eion in 477/6 and who was ostracized in 458 B.C. Thucydides' silence on Menon's previous associations with Athens (if he had any) do not speak against the identification. Peek has called attention (*op. cit.*, p. 75, note 1) to Menon of Gargettos (*I.G.*, II², 2389, line 8); he may have been a son of Thucydides.

J. S. Morrison suggested persuasively (*Cl.Qu.*, XXXVI, 1942, pp. 62, note 5, and 75, note 1) that Menon the son of Alexidemos from Pharsalos after whom the Platonic Dialogue *Meno* is called (see *R.E.*, s.v. Menon, no. 4) was a descendant of the Menon discussed here, and (p. 74, note 3) that Thucydides the son of Menon belonged to the same family. Morrison's general account of the relations between Athens and Thessaly during the fifth century B.C. (pp. 57-58) is supported by the identification of Menon the Pharsalian with Menon son of Menekleides of Gargettos; I would be inclined to think, however, that Menon II (p. 75, note 1) is identical with Menon I, and that Alexidemos was a brother of Thucydides and a son of Menon I.