

## Abstract

This dissertation has as its aim to better understand the historical reliability of the ancient biographical genre. In order to accomplish this aim I examine four works commonly thought to belong to said genre using a methodology that is a mixture of both classical and biblical scholarship. The primary goal of the methodology is to uncover the exact portions of the biographies that can be verified by other primary sources. This author believes that the identification of material verified by sources literarily independent of the biographies being surveyed brings us in contact with the bedrock of historically reliable material in those particular biographies and on the most solid footing upon which we can eventually make claims about the genre as a whole. The four biographies surveyed here include Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, Cornelius Nepos's *Atticus*, Tacitus's *Agricola*, and *The Gospel According to John*. The sample size is smaller than what I had previously envisioned, but the evaluation of each one of these biographies is extensive and actually exceeds the institutionally prescribed space limitations. The hope is that the findings herein will move forward the conversation about the historical reliability of the ancient biographical genre and that the methodology will be a tool that can be utilized by others interested in this same topic.

ON THE HISTORICAL RELIABILITY OF ANCIENT BIOGRAPHIES:  
A THOROUGH EXAMINATION OF XENOPHON'S *AGESILAUS*,  
CORNELIUS NEPOS'S *ATTICUS*, TACITUS'S *AGRICOLA*,  
AND *THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN*

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To my Mom and Dad,  
If I spent every hour for the rest of my days  
saying thank you for all that you  
have done for me, even that would not be an  
appropriate expression of gratitude.  
I love you and could not have done this without you.  
From the bottom of my heart,  
Thank you.

# Chapter 1

## Introductory Matters: The Nature of Ancient Biographies and a Proposed Methodology

Richard Burridge's *What Are the Gospels?* has proven to be an invaluable resource for those interested in the Gospels' genre, one that has swung the pendulum back to a thesis of old,<sup>1</sup> but that now rests on much more substantial evidence.<sup>2</sup> In it he argues that the four canonical Gospels most closely resemble ancient biographies or *Lives* (Gk. *bioi*; Lat. *vitae*). This is primarily demonstrated through the following: Burridge analyzes ten ancient biographies noting a large number of their more significant features;<sup>3</sup> he then evaluates Matthew, Mark, Luke and John in a similar fashion; through this he demonstrates that these fourteen works are congruous enough in the features they both possess and ways in which they display them to conclude that they belong to the same genre. His work has been invaluable for understanding the nature and flexibility of ancient biographies and the extent to which the Gospels overlap with works of this type. It is one of, if not the, definitive works in the debate surrounding the Gospels' genre and

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<sup>1</sup> Renan (1863) and Votaw (1915) were two individuals who wrote works about the Gospels under the assumption that they were a type of biography.

<sup>2</sup> Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 2d ed., The Biblical Resource Series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004). All references to Burridge's work will be to the second edition unless noted otherwise. A third edition of the work came out during the production of this dissertation, yet the pagination did not change; see Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 25th Anniversary ed. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2018).

<sup>3</sup> The biographies he surveys outside of the canonical Gospels include Isocrates's *Evagoras*, Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, Satyrus's *Euripides*, Cornelius Nepos's *Atticus*, Philo's *Moses*, Tacitus's *Agricola*, Plutarch's *Cato Minor*, Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars* (a work comprised of twelve *bioi*; *Julius Caesar* and *Augustus* are his primary focus, though he does interact with the other individual *Lives* in Suetonius's work on occasion), Lucian's *Demonax*, and Philostratus's *Apollonius of Tyana*.

has helped to establish a growing consensus that they are in fact ancient biographies.<sup>4</sup> It spurred me to study the Gospels in an entirely different way and ultimately set the course for this dissertation.

What is not found in Burrridge's work is an extensive discussion on the historical reliability of the genre. One might have hoped to find more on the matter given his conclusion that the Gospels are in fact a type of ancient biography and the degree to which concerns of historical reliability occupy the minds of a large number of NT scholars. The lack of discussion on the historical reliability of ancient biographies was not an oversight on Burrridge's part, but simply an aspect of *Lives* that he chose not to explore fully.<sup>5</sup> The reality is that, as you will see in the chapters that follow, the issue itself is simply too complex to handle in a few passing paragraphs about each biography. Having said that, it was due to the lacuna in Burrridge's work regarding the reliability of the genre that I have chosen to explore the aspect here.

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<sup>4</sup> The following is a selection of some of the more prominent voices in NT scholarship to have landed on ancient biography as the most likely genre for the Gospels, in chronological order: Charles Talbert, *What Is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) passim; Vernon K. Robbins, *Jesus the Teacher: A Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), passim; David E. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, LEC 8 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 46; Richard A. Burrridge, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, SNTSMS 70 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), passim; Graham Stanton, *Gospel Truth? New Light on Jesus & the Gospels* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 138; Bart D. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 52; Dirk Frickenschmidt, *Evangelium als Biographie: Die vier Evangelien im Rahmen antiker Erzählkunst*, TANZ 22 (Tübingen: Francke, 1997), passim; Ben Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 6; James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, vol. 1 of *Christianity in the Making* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 184–85; Dale C. Allison Jr., *Studies in Matthew: Interpretation Past and Present* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005), 142; Craig S. Keener, *The Historical Jesus of the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 78.

<sup>5</sup> He does offer a few comments on the matter, see Burrridge, *Gospels?*, 259–60, 278, 281.



Ideally, in the pages that follow, I would be able to explore all fourteen of the works that Burridge has surveyed, as this would provide the reader with a more thorough assessment of the reliability of the works belonging to this genre.<sup>6</sup> Space constraints prohibit an endeavor of this length and because of this I have chosen to apply a filter to Burridge's original sample size. The filter being that only those ancient biographies in Burridge's work that were written by individuals who were contemporaries with their subject will be considered.<sup>7</sup> When applied, this reduces Burridge's original sample size to the following four ancient biographies (outside of the Gospels): Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, Cornelius Nepos's *Atticus*, Tacitus's *Agricola*, and Lucian's *Demonax*. Lucian's *Demonax* was eliminated from consideration due to the fact that there were too few additional sources which treated the life of the subject. These three plus *The Gospel According to John*, which I believe was most likely written by an individual who was a contemporary of his subject, will be the foci of this study.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Although, even if we could survey all fourteen there would remain a rather large number of works still needing attention. For a helpful list see Klaus Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen in Neuen Testament," *ANRW* II.25.2:1031–1432, chart begins on p. 1232; also, Dirk Frickenschmidt, *Biographie*, 79–80. Frickenschmidt's list includes 142 ancient biographies, although it is questionable as to whether some of those listed actually belong to the genre.

<sup>7</sup> One would expect to find a greater degree of historically reliable material in those works that were written by individuals who were living at the same time as their subject. I thought it would be interesting to see just how reliable these works are and in which areas they exhibit the most/least reliable information.

<sup>8</sup> Authorship of the Fourth Gospel has been discussed *ad nauseum* in recent decades but, given the nature of this study and the questions I will ask of each ancient biography (see methodology section of this chapter), it will need to be addressed yet again. Even though arguing for traditional Johannine authorship is a rather unpopular position at the moment, I still feel that the evidence points to his involvement in a significant capacity. I do not make this claim without some hesitation and find some of the arguments for the other options to be rather intriguing and even convincing to some degree. Regardless, it is the position that I hold, and it will factor into the discussion on the historical reliability of the work, as does authorship of the other biographies factor into the discussions in those chapters. Furthermore, an additional reason for choosing the Fourth Gospel (rather than one of the Synoptics) stems from a personal interest in the reliability of this particular work given its traditional exclusion from the historical Jesus discussion (though there has been an increased appreciation of its historical contents in more recent scholarly

Throughout the remainder of this initial chapter I will survey some introductory matters relevant to the discussion of the reliability of ancient biographies. First, I will discuss to some extent the nature of ancient biographies. This will include a brief discussion on things such as the inception of the genre, unique features of the genre, and the reliability of the genre as perceived by those who are considered specialists in this area. Second, I will introduce the methodology that I will be using in my assessment of the reliability of the individual biographies. One of the aims of this project, outside of an initial exploration of the historical reliability of the genre, is to put forth a methodology that can be both duplicated and/or refined by others who share my interests. Admittedly, the methodology has its shortcomings, but it is clearly stated and closely followed throughout. This should allow for those that come behind me to add to and/or subtract from it so that it will become even more serviceable to others in the future.

### **The Nature of Ancient Biographies**

There are a handful of works in the secondary literature on ancient biographies that are of incredible value to those interested in a general treatment of the subject.<sup>9</sup> The brief survey here is an attempt to bring out the thoughts and opinions of those who have done extensive work in this area and have produced insights that go far beyond mine in both quantity and quality. Those

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literature; see Paul N. Anderson et al., eds., *John, Jesus, and History*, 3 vols., SBL Symposium Series 44, Early Christianity and its Literature 2, 18 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007–2016).

<sup>9</sup> Those worth mentioning here include: Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, Expanded Edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Duane Reed Stuart, *Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography* (repr., New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1967); T. A. Dorrey, ed., *Latin Biography*, Studies in Latin Literature and Its Influence (New York: Basic Books, 1967); Thomas Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Patricia Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity: A Quest for the Holy Man*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 5 (University of California Press, 1983); Brian McGing and Judith Mossman, eds., *The Limits of Ancient Biography* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2006).

areas of interest to us here include, as already mentioned, the inception of the genre, unique features of the genre, and the reliability of the genre.

### **The Beginning of Ancient Biography**

As with so many other issues in scholarship there is also considerable debate among specialists about the inception of the biographical genre, and for good reason. To illustrate the point, in his work *The Art of Biography in Antiquity* (2012), the late Thomas Hägg provides the views of a select number of noteworthy scholars, all of which have a different opinion about the when and whom from which the genre emerged. According to Hägg, Friedrich Leo thought Thucydides's (ca. 425–405 BCE) account of Themistocles's final years of his life, along with its description of his intellectual prowess, was the first biographical work in Greek literature.<sup>10</sup> Helene Homeyer claims that Herodotus (ca. 450–430 BCE) is the father of biography much like he is considered by some to be the father of history, and his accounts of Cyrus and Cambyses in his historical narrative were forerunners of the political biographies written later. Arnaldo Momigliano suggested that Skylax of Caryanda's *Heraclides of Mylasa* (ca. 480 BCE) was the first biography written. *Heraclides* also has the privilege of being a stand-alone work, as opposed to the two previously mentioned works, both of which were biographical treatments encased in a much longer work of an entirely different genre. Klaus Meister (Stesimbrotus's *On Themistocles, Thucydides and Pericles* – ca. 420 BCE), Tilman Krischer (Panyassis of Halicarnassus's *Heraclea*), and Italo Gallo (Theagenes of Rhegium *On Homer* – ca. 525 BCE) also all bring

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<sup>10</sup> Though D.R. Stuart claims something to the contrary when he states that Leo assigned the title “Father of literary biography” to Aristoxenus, not Thucydides, because of his work on Socrates; see Stuart, *Epochs*, 130. Because Aristoxenus's work only exists in fragments, I am not sure one can pronounce such a judgment.

different opinions to the discussion.<sup>11</sup> D. R. Stuart, whom Hägg does not mention, lumps Phaenias, Theophrastus, Dicaearchus of Messene, and Aristonexus together (all ca. 320 BCE), and claims that one cannot pinpoint the individual responsible for the initial creation of the ancient biographical genre, but that these men were all writing and flourishing at the same time and in some way all were responsible for its inception.<sup>12</sup>

Hägg himself goes to great length to show the early biographical interest of Ion of Chios (ca. 480–422/21 BCE) in his *Epidemiai*. Ion's description of the poet Sophocles features both scenic and authorial characterization, a marked difference between the "pseudo-biographical information" that had been found in the works of poets prior to Ion's writing.<sup>13</sup> However, Ion cannot, at least according to Hägg, be credited with producing the first biographical work in Greek literature, but his influence upon those who came after him should not be dismissed.<sup>14</sup> Hägg points to Xenophon and Socrates as those who played the most important role in the inception and subsequent development of the biographical genre, although for two separate reasons. Xenophon (ca. 430–354 BCE), who wrote *Memorabilia*, *Cyrus*, *Agesilaus*, et al. was the *author* most responsible for the development of the genre. He "provides three different literary models for future life-writers to merge and develop" and was the "creative mind to whom Greek biography owes most."<sup>15</sup> Socrates (ca. 470–399 BCE) was the *subject* whose life produced enough interest that the biographical genre really took hold and ultimately flourished in the years to come. Hägg, following Dihle, pins the emergence of biography on Plato's *Apology* and the

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<sup>11</sup> Hägg, *Biography*, 15–16.

<sup>12</sup> Stuart, *Epochs*, 133.

<sup>13</sup> Hägg, *Biography*, 11–13. What is meant by "scenic" characterization is that the author provides insight into the character of the individual through various episodes or scenes where he is the primary character in focus.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 14–15.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

other works on the figure of Socrates produced at that time.<sup>16</sup> He writes, “The *Apology* ... is just one of the numerous Socratic works written and circulated in the first decades of the fourth century. It is rather through the accumulated sum of such works than through any single one, however masterly in conception, that Socrates’ charismatic personality makes its impact – and that the claim can be made that this is the true beginning of biography in Greek literature.”<sup>17</sup>

Why all the uncertainty? It seems that uncertainty pervades primarily because there is no standard definition regarding what constitutes an ancient biography. This lack of a clearly defined notion of what an ancient biography was/is has resulted in modern scholars approaching the problem with different definitions which, in turn, ultimately produces a number of different conclusions as to whence it all began. Also, it would seem that some are content with locating when biographical *interest* began while others are more interested in determining who wrote the first full-fledged biography, both of which are important, but entirely different concerns. In regard to the former, this began incredibly early. Hurley writes, “Biography emerges from a natural interest in persons that predates any formulation of a genre. The *Odyssey* focused on a single individual, characters inhabited histories, and encomiums praised important men before “lives,” as they were called, were recognized as a literary type of their own.”<sup>18</sup> It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine when biographical *interest* began.

As for who produced the first full-fledged biography, this too has obviously proven difficult to determine. As Momigliano pointed out, the term *biographia* was not even used in

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<sup>16</sup> Albrecht Dihle, *Studien zur griechischen Biographie*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge 37 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), 20.

<sup>17</sup> Hägg, *Biography*, 20.

<sup>18</sup> Donna R. Hurley, “Biography,” *OEAGR* 2:3–6.

reference to a specific work until the fifth century CE.<sup>19</sup> Up until then a work that had as its sole purpose to explore the life of a single subject was labeled *bios* (*bioi* pl.), or *vita* (*vitae* pl.) if the work was in Latin.<sup>20</sup> Searching for works that have this word in their titles, or feature a title with the name of a single individual, would appear to be the most plausible solution to our problem. However, when doing so we run into the difficulty of there being multiple works that fit this description but are either no longer extant or only exist in fragmentary form. For instance, the modern scholar mentioned above, Italo Gallo, claimed that Theagenes of Rhegium's *On Homer* (ca. 525 BCE) was the first biography written, yet the work is not extant, making it entirely impossible to judge as to whether or not it was even a biography at all. The same can be said for other works no longer extant that have also been put forth as the first ancient biography, mainly Skylax of Caryanda's *Heraclides* (ca. 480 BCE), Xanthus of Lydia's *Empedocles* (ca. 420 BCE), or Clearchus's *Encomium on Plato* (ca. 340 BCE). Fragmentary works that have been labeled as the first full-fledged ancient biographies include Stesimbrotus's *Concerning Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles* (ca. 420 BCE) and a number of works by Aristoxenus (*Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, Lives of Men*, all ca. 320 BCE). The difficulty with fragmentary works is that while you have access to a portion of the work which does in fact appear to be primarily concerned with the life of a single individual, you also have no idea as to what the remainder of the work consists of and if it too maintains a singular focus on that same individual.

Trying to pinpoint the exact moment in time when ancient biography emerged as an actual genre is just not possible. There was considerable biographical interest very early on and there is a real possibility that there was a full-fledged biography written sometime in the sixth or

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<sup>19</sup> Momigliano, *Greek Biography*, 12.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

even seventh century BCE of which we are now no longer aware.<sup>21</sup> We start to see works devoted to individuals surface as early as ca. 525 BCE, but given the limited access we have to the past, it would appear that the first fully extant works that we have that come close to resembling other, more established, works of the genre are Isocrates's *Evagoras* and Xenophon's *Agésilas*, both written ca. 370–350 BCE. Even these are highly encomiastic, but they possess enough shared features with other ancient biographical works that they should be considered part of the genre, even if only considered to be fringe members.

Of equal, if not greater, importance than determining the inception of the genre is determining which features those works self-labeled as *Lives* possess. The following section will discuss what actually constitutes an ancient biography. The focus will be on the research done by Burridge in this area, but will be further supplemented by scholars who have also done considerable work in the field.

### **Features of Ancient Biography**

The difficulty with determining who wrote the first ancient biography was in part due to *definition*. Previous attempts at defining the genre have been both minimalistic and often influenced by modern notions of biography. For instance, Momigliano defined it as “An account of the life of a man from birth to death.”<sup>22</sup> This definition can be considered both minimalistic (defines it strictly according to content) and influenced by modern notions of biography (“from

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<sup>21</sup> While an argument from silence, given that such a vast quantity of what was written in antiquity is no longer available to us this is not difficult to imagine.

<sup>22</sup> Momigliano, *Greek Biography*, 11. Stuart, “as a separate history in prose of a whole life of a man,” *Epochs*, 6.; On expectations of biography, Cox writes, a “systematic ordering of the events in [one’s] life from birth to death,” *Holy Man*, 7.

birth to death”). Definitions vary among scholars and ultimately, as already mentioned, scholars arrive at different conclusions as to who wrote the first ancient biography.

A standardized definition would go a long way in solving this dilemma, but given the large number of scholars working in the field and the fact that interests in the subject span both classical and biblical studies this is not likely. Furthermore, what Burridge’s work has done in actuality is show that a standardized definition may not be possible at all, at least an overly simplistic one. He has clearly demonstrated just how flexible this genre is and also has shown that throughout the development of the genre other genres were consistently impinging upon it and altering it in a variety of ways. The following quote from Burridge illustrates this point:

Thus, *βίος* is a genre capable of flexibility, adaptation and growth, and we should avoid facile and simplistic definitions. Furthermore, *βίος* nestles among neighbouring genres such as historiography, rhetoric, encomium, moral philosophy, polemic and the novel or story, with some examples tending towards overlap with one or more neighbouring borders and yet still remaining recognizably within the genre of *βίος*. Subgenres within *βίος* literature may be defined in terms of content (political v. philosophical-literary *βίοι*) or structure (chronological v. topical) or the influence of neighbouring genres (historical v. encomiastic).<sup>23</sup>

Given the malleable nature of the genre, how then is one supposed to go about determining which works are or are not a part of it? Only by looking at several works labeled *Lives* (or that are clearly aimed at covering the life of a single individual) with the intent to determine the features each one possesses and the ways in which they display those features can we really arrive at a full description of the genre, and ultimately, be able to determine if a work does or does not belong to that genre. Burridge provides this type of assessment in his work when he looks at a sample of ancient biographies with an eye towards the following features:

- Opening Features: The title, opening words, prologue or preface.
- Subject: Aspects of the subject analyzed include analysis of verb subjects and allocation of space.

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<sup>23</sup> Burridge, *Gospels?*, 77, emphasis his.



- External Features: The mode of representation, metre, size or length, the structure or sequence, scale, use of literary units, sources, and methods of characterization.
- Internal Features: The setting, topics, style, tone, mood, attitude, values, quality of characterization, occasion of writing, author's intention or purpose.

In the course of his examination he found the following features to be continuously present and thereby characteristic of the ancient biographical genre:

1. In ancient biographies, the subject's name is listed at the very beginning of the text or immediately following the prologue.
2. Authors of ancient biographies could present the subject's words either chronologically or topically. They could also highlight one-time period of the subject's life over and above others (e.g., a particular battle, time in office, death, etc.).
3. Authors of ancient biographies maintained a singular focus on the subject (unlike ancient historiographers, who could offer treatments of several key characters). The individual focused on in the biography was the subject of the verb more than any other character.
4. Ancient biographies were typically written in narrative form and typically ranged from 10,000–25,000 words.
5. Ancient biographies were often framed by the birth and death of the individual (although some could start at adulthood) and then filled out with various stories, speeches, or actions from the life of the subject.
6. Authors of ancient biographies predominantly highlighted specific character traits of their subjects through the inclusion of a subject's words and deeds, rather than direct analysis or commentary.
7. Authors of ancient biographies often used a wide variety of both oral and written sources and had greater freedom than historiographers in deciding which information to include or exclude.
8. The settings within ancient biographies were often determined by whatever filled the background in each of the stories told about the subject.
9. Ancient biographies typically include the topics of ancestry, birth, boyhood and education, great deeds, virtues, and death.
10. The authors of ancient biographies deployed a range of styles in their writing—from formal to more popular literature—and wrote in both serious and light tones.
11. Most ancient biographies cast their subject in a positive light. In some cases, the portrayals seem too positive, which makes the characterization seem contrived or stereotypical.
12. Authors of ancient biographies varied in their motivation for writing from simply trying to preserve a memory of an individual to didactic to apologetic.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> BurrIDGE, *Gospels?*, 124–84; This list is a summation of what BurrIDGE provides in the page range cited and has been reproduced from an article I wrote for *The Lexham Bible Dictionary*; see Edward T. Wright, "Ancient Biography," in *The Lexham Bible Dictionary*, ed. John D. Barry et al. (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), no page nos.

While this list of features is extremely valuable for understanding the nature of ancient biographies, one might argue that BurrIDGE's sample size is too small given the number of extant works that have legitimate biographical interest. If one were to evaluate a much larger number of works that show biographical interest there enters the possibility that the above list of features common to those works would either shrink or expand considerably (of course, it also could remain the same). One work that does this and has received far too little attention in the debate surrounding the Gospels' genre, is that by Dirk Frickenschmidt (cited above). Frickenschmidt looks at a significantly larger number of works, 142 to be exact, though some are certainly on the fringes of the genre. The majority are, however, and his findings bear repeating. He finds the following features to be consistently present in ancient works with a high degree of biographical interest:<sup>25</sup>

1. The importance of the tripartite structure (i.e., middle, beginning, and end, with each section covering various topics) in the more extensive biographies.<sup>26</sup>
2. The information provided in the proem and epilogue consistently serves the two-fold purpose of ancient biographies; 1) to grasp the essence of the individual, and 2) to establish a significant or imposing presence of the subject in the mind of those who heard the biography.<sup>27</sup>
3. Although they vary in terms of content, there are a significant number of examples where "origin topics" (Herkunftstopik) are featured at the beginning of ancient biographies

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<sup>25</sup> Important to note that Frickenschmidt's methodology was considerably different than BurrIDGE's; see Frickenschmidt, *Biographie*, 81–92 for an overview. As for the German translations in the bullet points, these are fairly loose and often include my attempts at smoothing out what would have been some very awkward sentences if brought directly over without having done so. I have provided the German text as a footnote to each bullet point for those interested.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 505: "die Wichtigkeit der Dreigliedrigkeit als grundlegende Erzählstruktur im Aufbau verschieden umfangreicher Biographien." The part in parentheses is not part of the original German text.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.: "die aus Äußerungen in Proömien und Epilogen erschließbare doppelte biographische Funktion, einerseits das Wesentliche und Exemplarische an maßgebenden Menschen zu erfassen, andererseits eine sehr weitgehende Präsenz dieser maßgebenden Menschen im Leben der Leser bzw. Hörer der Biographie zu ermöglichen."

(including the meaning of the keywords “beginning/to begin” in the first part of the biography).<sup>28</sup>

4. Among the different important functions of the Synkrisis (e.g. the advanced Synkrisis) in ancient biographies, there is the occurrence of the Autosynkrisis, a special form of self-comparison where the one who is to be looked upon favorably is the one the individual is comparing himself to (as with John the Baptist comparing himself to Jesus in the Gospels).<sup>29</sup>
5. Genealogies play an important role in ancient biographies, even those of non-Jewish variety.<sup>30</sup>
6. Birth stories are infrequent and relatively un-important.<sup>31</sup>
7. The subject’s first major public appearance plays an important role and is typically featured at the beginning of the second part of an ancient biography.<sup>32</sup>
8. Chronological and thematic aspects are frequently linked together in the middle section (there is also some freedom to rearrange the narrative so that it is not in chronological order).<sup>33</sup>
9. Characterization differed based on whether it was a Roman or Jewish biography (depicted through subject’s deeds) or Greek (depicted through subject’s following of Peripatetic ethical norms).<sup>34</sup>
10. Deeds and *chreiai* are combined in action-oriented biographies.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.: “die bei aller Variabilität beachtliche Konstanz in der ausführlich belegten Herkunftstopik zu Beginn antiker Biographien (samt der Bedeutung des Stichwortes “Anfang/anfangen” für den ersten Teil der Biographie).”

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.: “unter den verschiedenen in antiken Biographien wichtigen Funktionen der Synkrisis (z.B. der Voraus-Synkrisis) das Vorkommen auch der Autosynkrisis, sogar in der speziellen Form des Selbst-Vergleichs zugunsten des Verglichenen (wie beim Täufer in den Evangelien).”

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.: “die Bedeutung von Genealogien auch in nichtjüdischen antiken Biographien.”

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.: “die relative geringe Verbreitung und Bedeutung von Geburtsgeschichten.”

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.: “die Bedeutung des ersten großen öffentlichen Auftretens für den Übergang vom Anfangsteil zum Mittelteil der Biographie.”

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.: “die häufige Verknüpfung chronologischer und thematischer Gliederungs-Aspekte im Mittelteil (samt der Möglichkeit der erzählerischen Freiheit zur chronologischen Dislozierung).”

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.: “die neben den (aus der peripatetischen Ethik entwickelten) Formen der griechischen Charakterdarstellung aufweisbaren, seinerzeit alternative verwendbaren genuine römischen und jüdischen Arten der erzählerischen Entfaltung des verborgenen Wesens der Hauptperson (in den Taten).”

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.: “die Verknüpfung von Taten und Chrien in einem Teil vorwiegend handlungsorientierter Biographien.” For those unfamiliar with the term, a *chreia* (pl. *chreiai*) is best described as “a saying or action that is expressed concisely, attributed to a character [i.e., a person], and regarded as useful for living.” This definition is from Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O’Neil, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric. Volume 1: The Progymnasmata*, 3 vols., SBL Texts and Translations 27; SBL Greco-Roman Religion Series 9 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 26. *Chreiai* saturated the literary, social, and educational milieu in antiquity and can be found all throughout ancient biographical literature.

11. The function of characterization comes after the climax of the middle section, not only in Plutarch, but also in other biographers.<sup>36</sup>
12. "Passion-stories" occur with relative frequency.<sup>37</sup>
13. The kind of biographical linking of the conclusion to the middle section, as well as the possibility to give advanced references to conflict and violent ends of the central figure in the Proem.<sup>38</sup>
14. The frequency of the accounts of schemes against the central figure and the narrative means of their representation.<sup>39</sup>
15. The linguistic signals in the biographical uses of pseudo-processes.<sup>40</sup>
16. The biographical function of the final words of the central figure.<sup>41</sup>
17. The narrative means of the time-lengthening for the description of the final days and hours.<sup>42</sup>
18. Recurring topoi during the description and evaluation of the death of the central figure.<sup>43</sup>

There is some overlap between the two lists (B2 and F8, F17; B5 and F12; B9 and F5), but there are also some noteworthy differences.<sup>44</sup> This is primarily due to the fact that Burrige and Frickenschmidt were approaching the problem from different methodological perspectives. Frickenschmidt's list clearly includes more of the *types of topics* covered in ancient biographies (he states this in his methodology – see n25 above), which, in effect, demonstrates how subjects of ancient biographies were commonly portrayed, or characterized. Overall, he has expanded the list of features one can expect in ancient biographies by a considerable number. Where Burrige

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<sup>36</sup> Frickenschmidt, *Biographie*, 505: "die Funktion der auf den Höhepunkt des Mittelteils folgenden Charakterisierung nicht nur bei Plutarch, sondern auch bei anderen antiken Biographen."

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.: "die relative große Häufigkeit von „Passionsgeschichten“."

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.: "die Art der biographischen Verknüpfung des Schlußteils mit dem Mittelteil sowie die Möglichkeit, vom Proömium an vorausblickende Hinweise auf Konflikte und das gewaltsame End der Hauptperson zu geben."

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.: "die Häufigkeit der Schilderung von Intrigen gegen die Hauptperson und die erzählerischen Mittel bei deren Darstellung."

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.: "die sprachlichen Signale bei der biographischen Verarbeitung von Pseudo-Prozessen."

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.: "die biographische Funktion von letzten Worten der Hauptperson."

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.: "das erzählerische Mittel der Zeitdehnung bei der Schilderung der letzten Tage und Stunden."

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.: "wiederkehrende Topoi bei der Schilderung und Bewertung des Todes der Hauptperson."

<sup>44</sup> B = Burrige; F = Frickenschmidt. This seemed to be the easiest way to distinguish the two lists.

focused on the structure or bones of the genre, Frickenschmidt has gone and fleshed it out, so to speak. Each work is valuable in its own right, but when combined they give us a more robust understanding of the genre and ultimately help us to determine which works belong and which do not.

### **The Historical Reliability of Ancient Biographies**

There is no shortage of secondary literature on this particular aspect of ancient biographies. A helpful starting point is Duane Stuart's essay "Authors' Lives in Their Works."<sup>45</sup> Stuart summarizes two very important nineteenth-century contributions, one by Karl Lehrs and the other by Friedrich Leo.<sup>46</sup> Lehrs' contribution resulted in a paradigmatic shift in the way classical scholars went about assessing the reliability of the ancient biographical tradition, specifically those elements that appear more unbelievable. Prior to Lehrs, scholars would approach anecdotes that appeared fanciful and go about stripping away all of the more marvelous elements until they arrived at a historical kernel. They would make use of other literary works, archaeology, and even numismatic evidence to support their conclusions that this or that aspect of the fanciful tale was actually historical in nature.<sup>47</sup> The primary assumption that undergirded their approach was that at the root of all of these types of anecdotes, no matter how marvelous,

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<sup>45</sup> Duane Reed Stuart, "Authors' Lives in Their Works," in *Classical Studies in Honor of John C. Rolfe*, ed. George Depue Hadzsits (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), 285–304.

<sup>46</sup> Karl Lehrs, "Ueber Wahrheit und Dichtung in der griechischen Literaturgeschichte," in *Populäre Aufsätze aus dem Alterthum: Vorzugsweise zur Ethik und Religion der Griechen*, 2d ed. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1875), 385–408; Friedrich Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der Komödie* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1895).

<sup>47</sup> Stuart, "Lives," 287–92.

there was a historical core and that core needed to be recovered.<sup>48</sup> Lehrs abandoned this method and employed instead what Stuart calls the “comparative” approach.

Lehrs argued that without the appropriate types of evidence it was simply a waste of time trying to figure out where myth ended and history began in the majority of these stories. He believed there to be a strong impulse in the human mind to invent and shape various traditions about individuals, especially when there was already an established folk idea that lent itself to such an undertaking. For instance, there was a belief in antiquity that the poets were considered sacrosanct by the gods.<sup>49</sup> This idea gave rise to actual biographical tradition about certain poets, lyric poets in particular, that in some way demonstrated this belief. Lehrs pointed to the tale of Arion being saved by a dolphin when he was struggling to keep from drowning in the midst of the ocean. The dolphin transported Arion back to dry land, rescuing him from his pending death. When Lehrs noticed that there were other episodes of poets being saved in rather miraculous ways, he pointed back to this predominant folk idea that was most likely the reason for their genesis, not necessarily that they actually happened, and deemed them ahistorical. He concluded that when similar stories were found in the ancient biographical tradition they too should be considered ahistorical. This approach allows for one to simply compare similar types of stories and ultimately dismiss these fanciful tales altogether without having to assess each one for its historical value.

Another contribution of Lehrs, and maybe even a more substantial one, was his suggestion that much of what was found in the *Lives* of ancient literary men was not based on separate literary evidence, but instead was based “solely on inferences derived from perusal of

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 289.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 290.

their writings.”<sup>50</sup> He noticed that poets would make statements that appeared to their later biographers as autobiographical but, in fact, it was fiction and was intended to serve a purpose specific to that piece of poetry. Later biographers were prone to extract these apparent autobiographical statements and include them in their biographies on these great literary figures with little inquiry into their historical accuracy. Lehrs concluded that these biographies of literary men contained far more fictional content than what was once thought and should be approached with a certain skepticism in any type of modern reconstruction of the lives of these individuals. Stuart, writing in 1931, pointed out just how widespread Lehrs’ view had become in classical scholarship when he noted, “Nowadays this point of view controls, as does no other hypothesis, reconstruction of the lives of ancient literary men.”<sup>51</sup>

In 1895 Friedrich Leo published an important book that expanded upon Lehrs’ work and demonstrated to the scholarly community “that Roman literary biographers took over the practices of their Greek predecessors.”<sup>52</sup> Stuart writes:

All the resources of profound scholarship and critical acuteness were brought into play by Leo with the aim of showing that certain items in the ancient lives of Plautus and Terence which, in spite of their suspicious picturesqueness, had never been seriously questioned, were in reality quite apocryphal, being simply deductions from matter found in the comedies of the two dramatists and transferred by ancient critics to the lives of the men who penned the lines in question.<sup>53</sup>

Leo’s inspection of Varro’s *Life of Plautus* revealed that where official records and other literary documents provided details about Plautus’s life, Varro made use of them, but, much like his Greek predecessors, Varro also made use of the apparent autobiographical material in Plautus’s

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 292.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. By “hypothesis” he means the view that ancient biographers of literary figures would often utilize information found in the author’s own writings, taking them at face value with limited scrutiny.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 293.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

own works with little hesitation. He backed this up with a number of other examples in his more well-known work *Die griechisch-römische Biographie*.<sup>54</sup> With the initial work of Lehrs and the follow-up contribution by Leo, Stuart was able to write this about the significance of their combined efforts, “the theory has become canonical and has furnished points of attack that no modern biographer of the literary men of Greece and Rome would dream of neglecting.”<sup>55</sup>

In regard to the theory that these ancient biographers were utilizing apparent autobiographical information with little hesitation or scrupulousness, Stuart points out that the faith in the reliability of this information was actually imbued in the ancient literary milieu. It was a widely held belief by these ancient biographers that no poet or author would write a piece without injecting it with his own views or experiences.<sup>56</sup> This is important to remember when we critique the methodological practices of these ancient writers; they were not making use of this material because of laziness or a lack of historical interest, they actually thought that this was a legitimate source from which to extract information about their subject.

Regardless, the impact of the work of Lehrs and Leo becomes apparent when we look at Janet Fairweather’s 1974 article. The piece, she claims, was intended to supplement Lehrs, Leo, and Stuart’s earlier discussion. What was lacking, in her opinion, was “a comprehensive survey of the *types* of fiction to be found in ancient biographies of writers,” or “literary men.”<sup>57</sup>

According to Fairweather there is a considerable amount of “doubtful historicity” in these types

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<sup>54</sup> Friedrich Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer litterarischen Form* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1901).

<sup>55</sup> Stuart, “Lives,” 294.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 301. Stuart writes, “Fundamental in the ancient doctrine was the assumption that the writings of an author were ... in a literal sense expressive of his individuality and his personal experience.”

<sup>57</sup> Janet Fairweather, “Fiction in the Biographies of Ancient Writers,” *Ancient Society* 5 (1974): 231–275. It is evident that Fairweather is employing many of the same techniques that Lehrs advocated for in his seminal essay from the nineteenth century; emphasis mine.



of *Lives*, a claim she thinks can be easily supported by observing how these works were typically written.<sup>58</sup>

In her survey of these types of ancient biographies she finds the following, all of which are problematic and raise concerns regarding the historicity of these works (one can easily see the influence of Lehrs and Leo):

- Biographers would unhesitatingly make use of apparent autobiographical information found in their subject's own works, regardless of the genre of said work. Fairweather notes examples of biographers relying on various types of poetry written by their subject for "precise information about the poet's personality and activities."<sup>59</sup>
- Biographers would make use of a variety of materials found in works authored by contemporaries of their subject that referred to their subject. This included things such as anecdotes, letters, poetry (comedic or satirical), invective (this she calls special attention to; any statement about low-birth or immorality needs to be called into question), rhetorical eulogies ("the technique of stringing together lists of anecdotes about a man, each one illustrating a different virtue with which he is supposed to have been endowed"<sup>60</sup>), etc. All of this was used without hesitation when in fact it could include severely biased information.
- Biographers would consult other non-primary sources (histories, inscriptions, epitaphs, spurious letters), in order to gain information about their subject. While these sources could include reliable information, just as any of the ones mentioned in this list, she claims that they were at times used with little scrutiny.
- Fairweather claims that the following often include information that is not likely historical: ancestral claims (spec. literary family tree); unusual or extraordinary actions by the greats in the field that are repeatedly ascribed to lesser authors/philosophers;

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 233. For example, Suetonius, in his *Horace*, writes, "It is said that he was immoderately lustful; for it is reported that in a room lined with mirrors he had harlots so arranged that whichever way he looked, he saw a reflection of venery" (Suetonius, *Horace* 471 [Rolfe, LCL]). Fairweather points out that Suetonius, or his source, makes this assertion based on the fact that Horace mentions several women in his *Odes*, when in fact many of them were figures taken from Greek lyric, not real women at all. In this instance, the over-interpretation of a traditionally non-historical genre such as poetry produced an ahistorical anecdote about the famed poet. Fairweather goes on to cite examples from a number of biographies that exhibit this same type of blind trust in their source material with little to no awareness of the genre to which the source belonged. Fairweather does provide two examples where the biographers show restraint, Proclus's *On Homer* and Apollonius's work on Aeschines. The former resorts to a more qualified assessment of his subject's travels by using language that is not so definitive in nature. The latter sets side-by-side two sources that contain conflicting reports and leaves it to his audience to decide which one is the more truthful of the two (238–9).

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 247.

chronological relationships (x philosopher/writer was the pupil of y); commonly used topoi (voyages in their youth, diets that were ascetic in nature, humble beginnings, amazing deaths).

Fairweather definitely points out some problematic areas in ancient biographies of literary men, specifically those found in the last point above. Also, according to Fairweather's assessment, it does appear that ancient biographers handled their sources haphazardly at times resulting in occasions where ahistorical information crept into their works. Having said that, I do take issue with a methodological practice of Fairweather's that she seems to advocate for others to make use of:

We must always be alert to the possibility that such processes may underlie *almost any anecdote in ancient biography*, even where we do not have the resources to prove it positively. Every time one is confronted with an anecdote that looks suspicious one ought to ask the question: could it possibly have arisen from an illogical deductions [*sic*] from the author's writings? If the answer is 'Yes', one has, if nothing else, a justification for assigning the story to the category of possible fiction. If the anecdote is for other reasons somewhat improbable, one has here an argument which may tip the balance in the weighing up of probabilities, and allow one to reject it more confidently.<sup>61</sup>

Here she is describing the process of an ancient biographer recklessly adopting any autobiographical information found in works by their subjects that were not historical in nature, i.e. poetry (see the first bullet point in the list directly above). The problem I have with this statement, while not rejecting it altogether, is threefold:

- It comes after presenting her reader with just fifteen examples from various ancient biographies, a sample size that is far too small. One could provide a handful of examples that demonstrated ancient biographers carefully handling their sources and the exact opposite of what she says here could be claimed.
- It is too subjective and will ultimately allow for those assessing the reliability of additional ancient biographies to both rule out *and* accept certain portions of said biographies as ahistorical/historical. Using phrases like "an anecdote that looks suspicious," "could it possibly have arisen," and "somewhat probable" give the individual assessor too much leeway and will result in both the casting aside and retention of similar portions of the tradition.

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 239. Emphasis mine.

- Finally, she initially set out to provide a comprehensive survey of ancient biographies of *literary figures only* but here she is willing to claim that because of these few examples she has provided one can now view with skepticism “almost any anecdote in ancient biography.” This level of skepticism is simply too great.

Again, while I do think that Fairweather has demonstrated that some types of ancient biographies certainly have areas where they exhibit historical deficiencies, I also feel that her suggested methodological practice for evaluating additional ancient biographies needs some adjusting.

What she is suggesting is far too skeptical of an approach and should not be applied to all types of *Lives*. For instance, *Lives* of poets and *Lives* of public figures are really quite different, the former being much shorter and widely thought (as is evidenced by the survey above) to contain little historical data, as has been demonstrated.<sup>62</sup> However, to suggest that one can approach the *Lives* of politicians, generals, emperors, etc., with skepticism because of what is found in the *Lives* of poets, which seems to be what Fairweather has suggested, is doing the former a disservice.<sup>63</sup> Those who wrote *Lives* of public figures had far more source material to work with than those writing *Lives* of ancient poets. Histories, of which there are many, primarily focused on war, political decisions, and those who were primary participants in both so when it came to writing biographies on the influential individuals featured in these works the material to base those on was much more extensive. If we are to evaluate these types of biographies for their reliability it will require a more rigorous approach than a thoroughgoing skepticism that results in the quick dismissal of large swaths of material. This dissertation aims to produce and employ

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<sup>62</sup> Christopher Pelling, *Plutarch and History: Eighteen Studies* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2011), 147–48.

<sup>63</sup> The differences between the *Lives* of poets and those of public figures was pointed out to me by my mentor Craig S. Keener. The argumentation I am following is his and can be found in a forthcoming publication on the ramifications of the Gospels being labeled ancient biography, particularly the implications it has regarding their historicity; see Craig S. Keener, *Christobiography* (forthcoming with Eerdmans).

a methodology that avoids that thoroughgoing skepticism and, in some ways, is a return to the way ancient biographies were evaluated for their historically reliable information prior to the contributions by Lehrs, Leo, Stuart, Fairweather, et al.

More recently, in 2016 Koen De Temmerman and Kristoffel Demoen published a co-edited volume titled *Writing Biography in Greece and Rome: Narrative Technique and Fictionalization*.<sup>64</sup> The work consists of a number of essays that explore the various ways ancient biographers have been shown to include fiction in their works.<sup>65</sup> Despite the difference in their

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<sup>64</sup> Koen De Temmerman and Kristoffel Demoen, eds., *Writing Biography in Greece and Rome: Narrative Technique and Fictionalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). De Temmerman is a significant voice among classicists working on ancient biographies; he is set to serve as the editor for Oxford's forthcoming handbook on the genre.

<sup>65</sup> It is important to note the distinction they make between "fiction" and "fictiveness," as an understanding of their terminology is crucial to understanding their overarching claim. When a particular account in an ancient biography is deemed "fictive" it simply means that it lacks "verifiable, historical, and factual accuracy." The author has either created an event, or taken an existing one, and supplemented it with lies, untruth, fabrication, etc. and has done so with the intent of it being believed. When Fairweather uses the term "fiction" above she is using it in a way that these authors use the word "fictive" or "fictiveness." "Fiction," as De Temmerman and Demoen are defining it, is more so a mode of writing of which the reader is aware of when employed. De Temmerman describes it as "untruth that is intended *not* to be believed as truth but rather to be acknowledged as untruth." D. H. Green, who supplies a definition which the authors adopt, writes that fiction "gives an account of events that could not conceivably have taken place and/or of events that, although possible, did not take place, and which, in doing so, invites the intended audience to be willing to *make-believe* what would otherwise be regarded as untrue." In order for this type of fictionalized material to accomplish its intended aim the author and reader must be on the same page, so to speak. De Temmerman underscores this when he writes, "Crucial to fiction, then, is the contractual relationship between its sender and recipient." The obvious question, then, is how does a reader know when an author has entered into this mode of writing, especially if reading a work understood to be *nonfiction*, as I would argue the vast majority of ancient biographies are? De Temmerman admits that episodes of fictionalization are difficult to pinpoint in ancient biographical literature, but that they can be recognized when an author employs certain "techniques of fictionalization." These techniques should signal to the reader that the author has entered the fictional mode and has done so most likely in an effort to achieve some other type of communicative aim (typically to provide some sort of moral, religious, or philosophical truth); Koen De Temmerman, "Ancient biography and formalities of fiction," in *Writing Biography in Greece and Rome: Narrative Technique and Fictionalization*, ed. Koen De Temmerman and Kristoffel Demoen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). 3–25, quotes mentioned here come from pp. 5–14.

terminology, it is worth noting that De Temmerman and Demoen look at a number of the same narrative areas as Fairweather in order to find fictional material.<sup>66</sup> De Temmerman summarizes the individual essays in the introductory chapter and lists the following areas as likely places where fictionalization occurs: birth/origin stories, childhood stories, *chriae*, insights into decision making or motivations for certain actions, mixed feelings, inner monologues, mental processes, emotions, fantastic elements or miracles, instances where the biographer has constructed episodes that create implicit or explicit associations with other figures – historical or ahistorical – often through intertextuality, death accounts, etc. The contributors to the volume labor to show that authors of ancient biographies were consistently subverting their historical aims to achieve some other type of communicative goal by including fictionalization in these narrative areas. While they argue that this does not exclude the possibility that large amounts of historical material are present in ancient biographies, the fact still remains that these authors believe that on numerous occasions ancient biographers departed from a historical depiction of their subject in order to communicate a different kind of truth (philosophical, moral, religious, etc.).

Admittedly the handful of works surveyed above is limited (primarily due to space constraints), but one can easily observe the progression towards viewing ancient biographies as less and less reliable over the past century plus. As has already been stated, some of the observations above about the reliability of the works included in this genre are extremely valuable and give us reason to approach said works with a healthy degree of skepticism when evaluating them for their reliability. Having said that, I do think that the comparative approach used by earlier classical scholars needs adjusting. The move to cast doubt on large swaths of the ancient biographical tradition because it appears similar in nature to other portions one thinks is

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. the fourth bulleted point in the paragraph that starts “In her survey”.

ahistorical is just as reckless as those ancient biographers who made use of their questionable source material with little hesitation. What is needed, methodologically speaking, is an approach that looks at the work on a micro level, evaluating the claims each biographer makes as thoroughly as possible with the intent of determining their veracity.

With that in mind, what follows is a proposed methodology that employs a range of techniques to arrive at a conclusion about any specific work. The aim is to incorporate insights from both classical and biblical scholarship in the construction of a rigorous method that can be easily duplicated by anyone who so chooses. The hope is that this methodology will help myself, and those who choose to utilize it, to arrive at balanced, well-supported conclusions about the reliability of a work and, ultimately, well-supported conclusions about the reliability of the genre as a whole.

## Methodology

In his recent work *The Resurrection of Jesus* Michael Licona writes the following, a pertinent observation to those interested in evaluating ancient sources in an effort to determine their historicity:

The past only survives in fragments preserved in texts, artifacts and the effects of past causes. The documents were written by biased authors, who had an agenda, who were shaped by the cultures in which they lived (and that are often foreign to us), who varied in both their personal integrity and the accuracy of their memories, who had access to a cache of incomplete information that varied in its accuracy, and who selected from that cache only information relevant to their purpose in writing. Accordingly, all sources must be viewed and employed with prudence.<sup>67</sup>

If Licona is right, and I would venture to say that most interested in evaluating ancient sources for their historical reliability would agree that he is, the question that needs answering is *how*?

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<sup>67</sup> Michael R. Licona, *The Resurrection of Jesus: A New Historiographical Approach* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press; Nottingham, U.K.: Apollos, 2010), 38.

How does one get behind the bias and agenda of the author, the cultural influences impinging upon the author, the human imperfections and the limited access the author had to the actual past to recover the historical content that a document holds? Is it even possible to know what took place in the past with the significant amount of ideological, political, philosophical, and/or religious overlay that can be found in all our sources? I believe that it is, to an extent, but it must be attempted with great care and conclusions must be held with measured confidence.

Simply because a document is incomplete or biased in what it reports does not mean that it is entirely inaccurate.<sup>68</sup> The historian's task then is to employ an effective methodology that will aid him or her in differentiating between the historical and the fictitious (erroneous, biased, or incomplete information) in what was recorded. For ancient biographies, this can be accomplished by doing the following two tasks: first, asking and answering the appropriate preliminary questions about the source under investigation (authorship, textual history, etc.); second, evaluating each individual claim made by the biographer. The latter step involves collecting all of the sources that cover the life of the subject outside of the biography under investigation, weighing them (i.e., determining which sources are most valuable/relevant), and then comparing the information contained within those sources to the biography under investigation. Once these two rather involved steps are completed one will then be in a position to assess all of the relevant data and make a decision about the reliability of the source.<sup>69</sup> The following methodology is an expanded description of these steps.

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<sup>68</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 42n4.

<sup>69</sup> Having said that, regardless of how effective the methodology is, modern historians stand at a much greater distance from the subject than the ancient author and are always at risk of deeming elements fictitious when the opposite is true. For example, various causes of events, including the supernatural, could very well be historical yet deemed fictitious by a historian who does not permit such causes as appropriate explanations given his or her own presuppositions/worldview.

1. Ask questions of the author and the source.<sup>70</sup>
  - a. What is the textual history of the source, i.e., when/where was it written and is there an original? If no original, how many copies exist and what are the major differences between the copies and how might those differences affect the document's overall historical value? Is there a critical edition, and, if so, which manuscript(s) is it based on and why?
  - b. Who wrote the source? Was it written by the author who it is commonly attributed to? If its authenticity is in question, how does that impact the historical value of the contents?
  - c. Once authorship/authenticity is settled<sup>71</sup>, what is the author's relationship to the subject?<sup>72</sup> What position is he in to know the events that he records? Was he an eyewitness? Was he even alive during the events he records?<sup>73</sup>
  - d. Are there any outstanding social or political influences that might limit or enhance his ability to report the truth?<sup>74</sup>

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The opposite is also true; a historian who allows supernatural causes as explanations for events can deem them historical, when, in fact, they are not.

<sup>70</sup> These questions are very similar to and rely upon what is found in David deSilva's NT introduction, who is relying on the work of Edgar Krentz. See David A. deSilva, *An Introduction to the New Testament: Context, Methods & Ministry Formation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press; Leicester, U.K.: Apollos, 2004), 372-3; also Edgar Krentz, *The Historical-Critical Method* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2002), 44. Krentz emphasizes the value of these types of questions in determining the accuracy of a source: "The writer's position as an observer, his internal consistency, his bias or prejudices, and his abilities as a writer all affect the accuracy of what he knows and the competence of the report." Also, see Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 60-8. Their work was also relied upon in the construction of this methodology.

<sup>71</sup> My use of the word "settled" here primarily means "settled in my mind." Authorship can be a very divisive subject and have some serious implications for one's assessment of a document's historical reliability. Obviously, this is a major issue in Johannine scholarship and will be treated at length in that chapter.

<sup>72</sup> This could cut both ways. In our case, the author could be so close to his subject that he provides too favorable of a portrait or he omits some of the more negative elements of his life, or, he could be so close to his subject that he can provide the most accurate depiction of what took place throughout his subject's life. I believe there are elements of both in each ancient biography treated here.

<sup>73</sup> The latter two questions come from Howell and Prevenier, *Reliable Sources*, 65. In our case the author was in fact alive during the life of the subject. This is a requirement for the document's inclusion in the study.

<sup>74</sup> What I have in mind here is trying to determine the impact that something like what is found in Tacitus's *Annals* might have had on an author's ability to report the truth. Tacitus writes, "The histories of Tiberius and Caligula, of Claudius and Nero, were falsified through cowardice while they flourished, and composed, when they fell, under the influence of still rankling hatreds" (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.1 [Jackson, LCL]). Also of relevance, as the reader will observe in the chapter on Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, are the larger social structures that might impact an author, i.e.,



- e. Has the author written about the subject in another source? If so, is there a major difference in the characterization of the subject in the two sources?<sup>75</sup>
2. Upon answering these questions, gather all the ancient sources that discuss the events of the individual's life which is under investigation. An obvious observation is that one cannot accurately assess the historicity of a source without exhaustively comparing it to other sources that cover the same subject(s). Simply comparing the sources to each other is insufficient, one must weigh the sources and decide which ones are most relevant for confirming or refuting the material contained in the ancient biography under investigation. This involves looking at the date, the author, the quality of the source, etc.
3. After answering these initial questions compare what is recorded in the source under investigation to what is recorded in all other ancient sources that are relevant to the investigation. Throughout this last step one will assign each of the individual data points a "result": V (verified); D (duplicated); CR (conflicting reports); I (inaccurate); NV-NH (non-verifiable, non-historical); NV-SA (non-verifiable, singularly attested).
4. Following the comparative analysis, one should compile the results and discuss the implications.

Before going further, more needs to be said regarding what I mean by reliability as well as what it means when something is marked NV-SA, D, CR, etc. The designations for the various types of results are fairly straightforward but a few explanatory notes may prove helpful. When something is marked "V" (verified) this means that it was found in another source, one that is *independent* of the biography under investigation. By marking a data point "V" I consider it to be reliable.<sup>76</sup> In my opinion, the accumulation of multiply attested material is the primary way we begin to view a work as historically reliable.<sup>77</sup> Once we move beyond multiply attested material and begin to evaluate singularly attested material we are reliant upon a number of other criteria that only allow us to achieve a lesser degree of certainty. When we find information that is multiply attested by sources independent of one another, we rest on historical bedrock, and that is what I am after here. I am aware of the fact that two independent sources can report the

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certain types of relationships in antiquity like patron-client, etc. See Howell and Prevenier, *Reliable Sources*, 66-7.

<sup>75</sup> For instance, in the case of Xenophon we find a depiction of Agesilaus in not only his biography of the individual, but in his history, the *Hellenica*, as well.

<sup>76</sup> The literary independence of the source cannot be stressed enough.

<sup>77</sup> Howell and Prevenier, *Reliable Sources*, 70.

same *incorrect* information, however, I am going to deem something as verified (i.e., reliable) if it is confirmed in an additional independent source and only express concern regarding its historicity if there is a legitimate reason to do so (i.e., if there are multiple other sources that point to it being false). “D” (duplicated) means that the particular data point under consideration is discussed in an additional source but that source is later and is most likely relying on the original or another earlier source. This does not confirm the event as historical, but it does signal to the modern reader that the author believed the event to be historical and thought it worthy to publish in his own work. “CR” (conflicting reports) is reserved for those instances where there are multiple accounts giving different information and there is not enough evidence to mark it “I” or “V”. In these situations, it is not possible to make an absolute judgment as sources appear to be split on the particular issue discussed in the data point. “I” (inaccurate) indicates that there is good reason to believe that the event as it is recorded in another source (or sources) is the more accurate version, i.e., what we have in the data point under consideration is not reliable. “NV” (non-verifiable) designations are places where the data point is either singularly attested (“NV-SA”) or has little to no historical interest (“NV-NH”) and it simply cannot be determined if it is historically reliable or not. A NV designation typically occurs when the “Type” of information in the data point has been deemed AI (authorial insertion) or AA (authorial assessment). While it may very well be accurate, or false, there is simply no way of knowing its actual truth value, similar to the CR designation.

The methodology laid out above will be carefully applied to the four ancient biographies mentioned earlier. It should be noted that there will be instances in the following chapters where a specific preliminary question, or questions, is/are not answered. The reason being that there is simply not enough data to adequately answer the question or it does not apply to the biography

under investigation. The hope, however, is that in the end we will be able to ascertain just how reliable these specific ancient biographies were and that the project in its entirety will serve as an initial exploration of this particular aspect of the genre. I recognize that the sample size is quite small in comparison to the number of extant ancient biographies but the amount of work that goes into each individual biography permits me from looking at a larger number; this will become quite evident in the chapters that follow.

## Chapter 2

### Xenophon's *Agesilaus*

The layout and contents of this chapter, as well as the others that treat the individual *Lives*, will mirror the questions listed in the methodology section. The aim is to work through the various questions on textual history, authorship, author-subject relationship, etc., to then be in a better position to make an ultimate judgment regarding the historical reliability of the source. The answers to these initial questions cannot necessarily be quantified or given a percentage amount as to how much they affect the reliability of the source, but they certainly play a role in the overall evaluation. Determining the degree to which they impact the overall evaluation is certainly a subjective exercise, but avoiding the discussion altogether simply because of an inherent subjectivity is not an option. My personal opinions regarding their impact on the reliability of the source will be withheld until the concluding remarks in each chapter.

#### Textual History (Questions from 1a)

Xenophon's *Agesilaus* was completed during the relatively short span that separates the death of the two men. Agesilaus is thought to have died ca. 359 BCE, while Xenophon is thought to have died ca. 353 BCE.<sup>1</sup> As for the location of the writing of the *Agesilaus* there is some debate, but the most likely location is in Corinth, where Xenophon is said to have spent his final

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<sup>1</sup> The *Agesilaus* was probably produced closer to 359 than 353; see Klaus Bringmann, "Xenophons Hellenika und Agesilaos: Zu ihrer Entstehungsweise und Datierung," *Gymnasium* 78 (1971), 224–41. The precise date of Xenophon's death is unknown, some put it as late as 350; see John W. I. Lee, "Xenophon and his Times," in *The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon*, ed. Michael A. Flower (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 15–36, see pp. 16–17, 34–35. As Lee points out, the date of Xenophon's death is recorded in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives* 2.56 Xenophon, but there is evidence that points to the contrary (Lee, 17).

years.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the earliest manuscript we have of the *Agesilaus* is from the tenth or eleventh century CE.<sup>3</sup> This manuscript, commonly referred to as Vaticanus gr. 1335 (A), is also considered to be the one that gave rise to all the others that are extant.<sup>4</sup>

There are four contemporary critical editions of the *Agesilaus*, the most recent one being a dissertation by Rosemary Wieczorke. Wieczorke has pointed out some deficiencies in the earlier critical editions while also producing a text that makes use of a greater number of the extant manuscripts, though the final payoff is seemingly minimal. The following table, reproduced from Wieczorke's work, shows her use of several relevant manuscripts that were ignored by Marchant, Thalheim, and Pierleoni, the three responsible for the other commonly used critical editions.<sup>5</sup>

Name of Manuscript	Marchant	Thalheim	Pierleoni	Wieczorke
Vaticanus gr. 1335	A	A	A	A
Harleianus 5724	Ha	Ha		D
Urbinas gr. 117				V

<sup>2</sup> Diogenes Laertius and Pausanias provide competing reports about the location of his death. Diogenes Laertius records that he died in Corinth (*Lives* 2.56); Pausanias that he was buried at Scillus (*Descr.* 5.6.6). Pausanias's seemingly offhanded remark, "The neighbors say that it is the tomb of Xenophon," does not elicit much confidence considering his source for said information are οἱ προσκοιῶντες "the ones living nearby," or "neighbors" as Jones has translated it (Pausanias, *Descr.* 5.6.6 [Jones, LCL]). Of course, being buried somewhere and dying somewhere are not the same thing, both *could* be right. Xenophon's subject, Agesilaus, died while off in Egypt and was buried once he returned home.

<sup>3</sup> Rosemary Wieczorke, "Xenophon's Agesilaus: A Collation, Stemma, and Critical Text" (PhD diss., The University of Iowa, 1975), 30. Wieczorke notes, "The exact age of the manuscript is open to dispute ... Comparison of A with other tenth century manuscripts suggests that it dates from the very early eleventh century at the latest, and that it probably was copied in the mid to late tenth century" (25n5). Schmoll and Diller also assign the manuscript to the tenth century, though Schmoll points out that there is some disagreement among scholars. Ollier, Marchant, and Schenkl all place it in the twelfth century, Pierleoni in the early eleventh. For a recap of these opinions see Edward A. Schmoll, "The Manuscript Tradition of Xenophon's *Apologia Socratis*," *Greek, Byzantine, and Roman Studies* 31 (1990): 313–21.

<sup>4</sup> Wieczorke, "Agesilaus," 30. She writes, "All the manuscripts of the *Agesilaus* ultimately have their source in the oldest of the extant manuscripts, the tenth century Vaticanus gr. 1335 (A)."

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 8. The letters in each of the columns are the different sigla used by the individuals responsible for the critical editions when referring to the manuscripts throughout their work.

Vaticanus gr. 1950	B	D	B	B
Ambrosianus E 11 inf.		M		S
Urbinas gr. 93		E		U
Parisinus gr. 1642		G		P
Marcianus gr. 511	M	N	M	M
Laurentianus 55.22				L
Marcianus gr. 369		Q		O
Guelpherbytanus 3616				G
Cantabrigiensis 4.16				C
Marcianus gr. 368				N
Palatinus gr. 93				Q

According to Wiecezorce, the other critical editions are “valueless.”<sup>6</sup> She goes on to say that “each one presents only a limited discussion of the manuscripts and their interrelationships with little substantiating evidence. Moreover, each fails to treat the *Agesilaus* as a separate work with a manuscript history of its own; instead each appears to be founded on the assumption that what holds true for its companion *opusculum*, the *Hiero*, also holds true for the *Agesilaus*.”<sup>7</sup> To illustrate her point, especially regarding her initial comments, Marchant’s 1968 Loeb edition dedicates a mere half of a page to the discussion of the manuscripts used for the *Agesilaus*. In comparison, Wiecezorce discusses the manuscripts for roughly twenty pages in her dissertation, providing incredibly valuable information for someone interested in the questions asked here. This is, in my opinion, the real strength of Wiecezorce’s work. Having said that, I think her claim that the other critical editions are “valueless” is drastically overstated. When comparing her edition word for word with Marchant’s work (1968), there were only fifty-five places where she differed. That is an incredibly small number in comparison to the actual number of words that are in the *Agesilaus* (roughly 7500).<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, when you look at Marchant’s earliest work in

<sup>6</sup> Schmoll also writes about the deficiencies in the earlier attempts at producing critical editions of Xenophon’s smaller works; see Schmoll, “Manuscript Tradition,” 313.

<sup>7</sup> Wiecezorce, “Agesilaus,” 5.

<sup>8</sup> Burridge, *Gospels?*, 134.

the Oxford Classical Text series (1920), there is only one place, out of the fifty-five, where Wieczorke departs from it. Wieczorke's work is closer to Marchant's than she may realize; both Marchant's and Wieczorke's texts are of value.

A concern that has been raised in NT scholarship is whether one should (and to what extent, if so) discount the reliability of a given text when there is a significant chronological gap between the original writing and the earliest copy. As noted above, there are over thirteen hundred years separating the original writing from the earliest extant manuscript and because of this some might question the reliability of the *Agesilaus* at the outset. How can we be sure that there were not significant emendations to the text throughout the intervening centuries resulting in a text far different than the original? The following is an excerpt from a debate between Bart Ehrman and Daniel Wallace where this same issue is brought up in connection to the reliability of the New Testament. Those who might question the reliability of the *Agesilaus* because of the significant amount of time between its initial composition and earliest surviving copy might argue along these lines:

The first copy of Mark that we have is called P45 ... [it] dates from the third century, around the year 220 CE Mark probably wrote his Gospel around 60 or 70 CE, so P45 dates to about 150 years later – but it is the earliest copy we have. By the time P45 was produced, people had been copying Mark year after year after year, making mistakes, reproducing mistakes, trying to correct mistakes, until we got our first copy. Our next copy doesn't come for years after that. Our first *complete* copy doesn't show up until around the year 350 CE, 300 years after Mark was originally written.<sup>9</sup>

So, in the case of the *Agesilaus*, if our earliest copy is *thirteen hundred years* younger than its original, should we be concerned about the reliability of the text, or at least assume that we are handling a text that has had several textual errors introduced throughout the transmission

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<sup>9</sup> These words of Bart Ehrman can be found in Robert B. Stewart, ed., *Bart D. Ehrman & Robert B. Wallace in Dialogue: The Reliability of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2011), 16–17 (emphasis editor's).

process? Following Ehrman, we could argue that there is just too much time between the original and its earliest copy to even consider the possibility of a stable transmission process. It would be naive to think that the original text of the *Agesilaus* has been reproduced exactly for thirteen hundred years and what we find in this tenth or eleventh century manuscript is the same as the original.

Of course, the real reason to assume corruption and the ensuing diminished reliability of any given text is not due solely to the chronological gap that separates the original composition and the earliest extant manuscript. The chronological gap is substantial, but considerable corruption of the original text could also have been achieved one year after its initial publication. The motivations to add or remove information from a document might even be greater *closer* to the time of the original composition. The individuals closest to those featured in the document would most likely have greater political or social motivations to alter its contents than people copying hundreds of years after the fact. The amount of time and the number of copies is not the issue; the issue is the quality of the copy and the expertise of the copyist. We know that the type of materials used, the system of writing (punctuation, spacing, accentuation, etc.), and the transmission process was dramatically different than what it is today.<sup>10</sup> One cannot deny that errors crept into the *Agesilaus* through the copying process.<sup>11</sup> Yet the exact number, and even

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<sup>10</sup> L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes & Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek & Latin Literature*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4–5.

<sup>11</sup> Wiecezorka tells us this much in her dissertation. She writes this about A, the earliest of the copies available, “Although it is seriously corrupt in three passages, 2.12, 3.2, and 11.14, and contains minor faults in many other places as well, it is still by far the best of the extant manuscripts” (“Agesilaus,” 49). She goes on to point out that the other manuscripts, those that derived from A, are also filled with errors, “While the latter manuscripts introduce some good readings, nevertheless, the general condition of their texts is worse than that of A, since each one, in turn, has added more errors to the text as transmitted” (Ibid.).



more important, the types of errors,<sup>12</sup> and the quality of subsequent copies is highly dependent upon the level of expertise of the scribes who were responsible for the various copies throughout the centuries. If the tenth-century scribe responsible for our earliest manuscript was doing his work in a well-respected scriptorium, or any other type of intellectual center, and was a highly-trained scribe, then we have less concern for corruption/significant emendations in his particular copy.<sup>13</sup> This goes for all those that came before him as well. Of course, the problem we have is not knowing the transmission history of the *Agesilaus* prior to the tenth or eleventh century CE. We have already shown that there were errors inserted into the text of the *Agesilaus* after the tenth/eleventh century (see n12). We should assume that the transmission process prior to our earliest copy was flawed to some degree and that emendations did occur, but we do not know to what extent, both in number and type. As mentioned in the introduction, it is difficult to determine to what degree this affects the reliability of the document, but it needs to be taken into consideration.

### **Authorship and Authenticity (Questions from 1b)**

Do we have any reason to believe that Xenophon did not write the *Agesilaus*? If there is considerable evidence that points to the contrary, then who are the other likely candidates? Unsurprisingly, scholars have spilled considerable ink debating the authorship of the *Agesilaus*, but few now believe that someone other than Xenophon was the author.<sup>14</sup> Paul Cartledge, as

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<sup>12</sup> Are the errors that have crept in of any significance? Did a scribe alter the contents of the story in any way that changed the way we understand/know the historical Agesilaus today?

<sup>13</sup> Much of the information regarding the insignificance of the chronological gap and the significance of the ability of the scribe was provided to me by Walter Prevenier in an email correspondence. I am extremely grateful for the time he and Dr. Powell took to answer my questions.

<sup>14</sup> A brief discussion on authorship, which explains a dissenting opinion, can be found in W. P. Henry, *Greek Historical Writing* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1966), 107–33.

recently as 1987, says as much: “Few if any now doubt that Xenophon was the author of the *Agésilas* (the opposite view prevailed in Herzberg’s day) or that it was written or at least published by him immediately after the death of Agesilaos in or about the winter of 360/359.

Would that the authenticity and compositional chronology of all the works ascribed to Xenophon were so clearcut.”<sup>15</sup> Other, more recent, works on Xenophon take his authorship of the *Agésilas* for granted, not even bothering to discuss it.<sup>16</sup> For these reasons, et al.,<sup>17</sup> it seems futile to rehash old debates, so I will be working with the assumption that Xenophon was the author and allowing this and all that it entails to factor into my evaluation concerning the reliability of the document.

### **Relationship of Author to Subject (Questions from 1c)**

What little we know of Xenophon’s life comes primarily from Diogenes Laertius’s (fl. ca. early-mid 3rd century CE<sup>18</sup>) brief sketch along with other self-disclosed details found throughout his own writings.<sup>19</sup> While certainly helpful, Diogenes provides some details that are

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<sup>15</sup> Paul Cartledge, *Agesilaos and the Crisis of Sparta* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 55. C. E. Sorum, writing shortly before Cartledge, does argue against Xenophon as the author, but it appears that her view is in the minority today; see C. E. Sorum, “The Authorship of the *Agésilas*,” *PP* 39 (1984): 264–75.

<sup>16</sup> John Dillery, “Xenophon: the Smaller Works,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon*, ed. Michael A. Flower (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 195–219, see pp. 202–06.

<sup>17</sup> Primarily space considerations as other (more contentious) issues will require considerably lengthier discussions.

<sup>18</sup> Herbert Strain Long and Robert Sharples, “Diogenes Laertius,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 457.

<sup>19</sup> Michael A. Flower, “Introduction,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon*, ed. Michael A. Flower (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1–12, see p. 9; Lee, “Xenophon and his Times,” 16; Noreen Humble, “The limits of biography: the case of Xenophon,” in *Pleiades Setting: Essays for Pat Cronin on his 65<sup>th</sup> birthday*, ed. Keith Sidwell (University College Cork: Department of Ancient Classics, 2002), 66–87, see p. 69. Humble notes that the *Anabasis* is “the richest source of direct personal detail.”

questionable, if not demonstrably false.<sup>20</sup> Of course, of greatest importance to us is his relationship with Agesilaus, i.e., how that relationship came to be, the nature of the relationship, and how that relationship might have provided Xenophon with access to details about Agesilaus's life that were later included in his biography of the Spartan king. Simply because the two were familiar with one another, even intimately familiar, does not ensure reliability.<sup>21</sup> The nature of their relationship could even work against the reliability of the biography if Xenophon allowed the bonds of friendship to bias his account. Having said that, even though we are all prone to hyperbole when remembering the lives of those we are closest to, that does not mean we cannot rehearse accurately the gist, or even much more than the gist, of the details surrounding their lives.

According to Diogenes, Xenophon (ca. 430–ca. 353 BCE) was “the son of Gryllus, was a citizen of Athens and belonged to the deme Erchia” (*Lives* 2.48 Xenophon [Hicks, LCL]).<sup>22</sup> Modern scholars claim that his family was of considerable wealth and possibly belonged to the *hippeis* (Knights).<sup>23</sup> Though some scholars dispute this aspect of his life, Diogenes highlights his relationship to Socrates (469–399 BCE) and makes the claim that Xenophon was “the first to

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<sup>20</sup> One such detail is the date for when Xenophon was at his peak (2.59). Humble points out several issues that one encounters when relying upon Diogenes Laertius's biographical writings; Humble, “Xenophon,” 69–70. Jørgen Mejer also discusses a variety of issues in Diogenes Laertius's writings; see Jørgen Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius and His Hellenistic Background*, Hermes-Einzelschriften 40 (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978), passim.

<sup>21</sup> The opposite is also true. A certain relational or even chronological distance from the subject does not mean that the information provided is inherently unreliable.

<sup>22</sup> Any future translations of Diogenes will come from Hicks's Loeb volumes.

<sup>23</sup> These conclusions are arrived at due to both the information Xenophon provides in the *Anabasis* and the works he authored on horsemanship and hunting; for specific references see Humble, “Xenophon,” 71–2. For helpful modern biographical sketches of Xenophon's life, see C. J. Tuplin, “Xenophon,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 1580–83; Susan Sorek, *Ancient Historians: A Student Handbook* (New York: Continuum, 2012), 37–8; Vivienne Gray, “Xenophon,” *OEAGR* 7:266–71; Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, “Xenophon,” *BNP* 15:824–33; Lee, “Xenophon and his Times,” 15–36.

take notes of, and to give to the world, the conversation of Socrates, under the title of *Memorabilia*” (*Lives* 2.48 Xenophon).<sup>24</sup>

Diogenes also discusses the relationship between Xenophon and Cyrus the Younger, which ultimately ends up connecting Xenophon to Agesilaus. The brief depiction of the inception of Cyrus and Xenophon’s relationship as found in Diogenes Laertius’s biography is given in more detail in Xenophon’s *Anabasis*. We read in both that Xenophon was urged by his friend Proxenus to join the two of them (Proxenus and Cyrus) in Sardis (Xenophon, *Anab.* 3.1.4–10; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives* 2.49–50 Xenophon). Upon his arrival, he joined Cyrus’s army and his quest to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes II. Cyrus’s plan unraveled at the battle of Cunaxa in 401 BCE when he was killed by his brother’s forces (*Anab.* 1.8.27–29). Shortly thereafter the generals of Cyrus’s army were captured and killed, leaving a vacuum in the ranks of the leadership. It is at this point that Xenophon is said (autobiographically) to have been appointed to a leadership role in the mercenary army that was once under the authority of Cyrus (*Anab.* 3.1.24–5). Humble’s brief recapitulation of books III–VII of the *Anabasis* is helpful:

After the deaths of Cyrus and the original generals he portrays himself as playing a pivotal role as the army retreats north through Armenia to Trapezus on the Black Sea during the winter of 401–400 (*An.* 3–4), continues along the Black Sea to Chrysopolis (*An.* 5–6), spends the winter of 400–399 in the service of Seuthes, and eventually, greatly reduced, returns to Asia Minor to be employed by Sparta, under Thibron, against Tissaphernes (*An.* 7).<sup>25</sup>

While the *Anabasis* records that it was Thibron who came and took over the army from Xenophon (*Anab.* 7.8.24), Diogenes states that Xenophon enlisted his troops in the service of Agesilaus (*Lives* 2.51 Xenophon). It is also at this point that Diogenes states, regarding

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<sup>24</sup> Humble, “Xenophon,” 73n27. Though disputed, Humble goes on to point out there are numerous reasons why the relationship between Xenophon and Socrates could actually have been as Diogenes portrays it.

<sup>25</sup> Humble, “Xenophon,” 77.

Xenophon's relationship with Agesilaus, that "he was devoted [to him] beyond measure." Of course, Diogenes's statement concerning the troops could be taken to mean that although Thibron was the direct recipient of Xenophon's troops, they still fell under the overarching command of Agesilaus, the then current king of Sparta and the one who was responsible for dispatching Thibron. Xenophon stayed on in a leadership role and served under Thibron until the latter was sent home (due to being a poor military strategist), and under his replacement, Dercylidas. Then, in an effort to strengthen and reinvigorate their Asiatic campaign, Sparta sent Agesilaus himself to take over the command and lead the remaining members of the army.<sup>26</sup>

Xenophon likely connected with Agesilaus in 396 and remained in a position of military leadership for roughly one year. In 395 Agesilaus gave Xenophon's post to a Spartan (*Hell.* 3.4.20)<sup>27</sup> and Xenophon is thought to have stayed on Agesilaus's staff in a lesser role.<sup>28</sup> In 394 Agesilaus was summoned back to Greece to "cope with the major threat to Spartan suzerainty posed by a grand coalition of important Greek states including Xenophon's native Athens."<sup>29</sup> Xenophon returned with him and was present in Boeotia at the Battle of Coronea. Whether Xenophon fought alongside of Agesilaus in this battle is up for debate. Plutarch (ca. 45–120 CE) clearly notes in his biography of Agesilaus: "Xenophon says that this battle was unlike any ever fought, and he was present himself and fought on the side of Agesilaus, having crossed over with him from Asia" (Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 18.2 [Perrin, LCL]).<sup>30</sup> Despite this piece of direct evidence

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<sup>26</sup> Helpful in understanding the numerous changes in Spartan leadership at this time and the reasons behind those changes is Cartledge's monograph noted above; see Cartledge, *Agesilaos*, 347–59.

<sup>27</sup> It also possible that Xenophon, given the fact that he was intimately familiar with horsemanship, was the "one other" who was assigned to command the cavalry (*Hell.* 3.4.20); see Humble, "Xenophon," 78.

<sup>28</sup> Cartledge, *Agesilaos*, 59.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> English translations of Plutarch's *Agesilaus* will come from Perrin unless otherwise noted.

some scholars still question Xenophon's involvement, mainly because Xenophon does not explicitly say that he fought in the battle and Plutarch might have just assumed as much due to Xenophon's incredibly detailed recollection of the event itself.<sup>31</sup> Regardless, his level of participation in the battle is not a major factor in determining the extent of his relationship with Agesilaus.

Ultimately Xenophon was banished from Athens for his involvement with Agesilaus's army. Cartledge helpfully points out:

Politically speaking, it was immaterial whether Xenophon had taken up arms against his fellow-countrymen (*Ages.* 2.6) at Koroneia or not. His mere presence with the army of Agesilaos was treasonable enough, and it was perhaps now [394] that he was formally exiled from Athens on a charge of Laconism (*Anab.* 7.7.57) if indeed he had not been exiled earlier—perhaps around 399, when Sokrates was executed—on a charge of Medism (cf. *Anab.* 3.1.5).<sup>32</sup>

The exile prevented him from returning to Athens and ultimately resulted in Xenophon taking up residence in Scillus (*Anab.* 5.3.7). He was provided the estate by the Spartans, most likely at the directive of Agesilaus.<sup>33</sup> The exact year in which he took up residence in Scillus is not known and it is possible that there was a period of roughly seven to eight years between the Battle of

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<sup>31</sup> Humble, "Xenophon," 79 (see also n53). The language Xenophon uses to describe the battle at Coronea certainly suggests that he was present and/or actively involved rather than just reproducing the testimony of a source. For one, he begins his description of the battle in a much different way: "I will describe the battle" (Xenophon, *Ages.* 2.9 [Marchant, LCL]). The previous battle reported is void of this introductory remark. In addition, he provides the reader with descriptions that, while they certainly could be from an outside source, do not give that impression, "There was no shouting, nor was there silence, but the strange noise that wrath and battle together will produce" (Xenophon, *Ages.* 2.12 [Marchant, LCL]). Furthermore, he writes, "Now that the fighting was at an end, a weird spectacle met the eye, as one surveyed the scene of the conflict" (Xenophon, *Ages.* 2.14 [Marchant, LCL]). Taken together, and when compared to the fact that the other battle accounts lack such language, they give the impression that Xenophon was present at Coronea. All future translations of Xenophon's *Ages.* will come from Merchant's work in the LCL unless otherwise noted.

<sup>32</sup> Cartledge, *Agesilaos*, 60.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

Coronea and him arriving at Scillus, during which he went on several campaigns with Agesilaus.<sup>34</sup> The reason why many think that Xenophon accompanied Agesilaus from ca. 395/94 to 387/86 BCE is due to the incredibly detailed descriptions of the wars in the *Hellenica* that took place during that time.<sup>35</sup> There is, however, no direct evidence to state definitively whether or not Xenophon was with Agesilaus during that intervening time. Detailed descriptions of events, while both informative and entertaining for the modern reader, are not necessarily an indication of eye-witness testimony.<sup>36</sup> Having said that, the detailed accounts do serve as very strong circumstantial evidence that Xenophon was present with Agesilaus during that time and should to be taken into consideration when trying to determine the extent of the relationship between the two.

The information available for the remaining thirty plus years of Xenophon's life is even more limited than the period just covered. Plutarch does provide the following: "Also, having Xenophon the philosopher in his following, and making much of him, he ordered him to send for his sons and rear them at Sparta, that they might learn that fairest of all lessons, how to obey and how to command" (Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 20.2). Cartledge also points out that by sending his sons to be trained in Sparta (what they referred to as *agôgê*), this would have qualified them "for membership of the class of *trophimoi xenoî* ('Spartan-raised foreigners'); some of these volunteered for service in the Spartan army at Olynthos in 381. This gives a particular poignancy to Xenophon's description of the *agôgê* in the *Lak. Pol.* (2–4)."<sup>37</sup> If what Plutarch has said is not invention it serves as another piece of evidence that demonstrates the nature/extent of the

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 61; Humble, "Xenophon," 82.

<sup>35</sup> Humble, "Xenophon," 82. Humble is discussing a point originally made by G. E. Underhill.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 75, also n38 on same page.

<sup>37</sup> Cartledge, *Agesilaos*, 60–1.

relationship between the two men. When it comes to the remainder of his life there is tremendous disagreement between scholars. There is little that can be said with any certainty other than that we know he spent these latter years writing a good deal. He lived out his life in Scillus, Corinth, and possibly Athens due to a reprieve of his exile.<sup>38</sup>

It is difficult to get away from the idea that Xenophon was familiar, if not intimately, with the words and deeds of Agesilaus. No one can say with any definitiveness what the exact nature of their relationship was, whether it was a mutual respect/love for one another, or more one-sided with Xenophon looking to Agesilaus as a hero of sorts. It appears more likely than not that the two spent a considerable amount of time together and that Xenophon writes his biography of Agesilaus from a place of legitimate familiarity with the social and political mores of the man. This, of course, does not mean that Xenophon writes his biography of Agesilaus without bias (probably the exact opposite) or free from invention, but it does mean that Xenophon was in a place to provide a wide range of information about him that could be true, even if some of it cannot be verified by external sources.

### **Social and/or Political Influences on the Author (Questions from 1d)**

Are there any outstanding social and/or political influences that might limit or enhance the author's ability to report the truth? While addressed in the last section, it is still worthwhile to explore certain aspects of the author/subject relationship more thoroughly that might have had an impact on the former's ability/willingness/desire to write the truth. One specific thing that stood out in the discussion surrounding the nature of their relationship was Xenophon's move to Scillus and the possible provision of an estate by Agesilaus. Cartledge goes as far to say that

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<sup>38</sup> Gray, "Xenophon," 7:266.



because of the provision of the estate Agesilaus may “fairly be described as Xenophon’s patron.”<sup>39</sup> If true, the nature of the patron-client relationship in antiquity was such that Xenophon could certainly have been influenced, or even felt obligated, to write an exceedingly biased account of his patron. What is difficult to determine (if not impossible) is whether their relationship was actually of that sort. We can look at whatever relevant evidence is available and draw inferences from it, but certainty is unattainable because there is no direct admission by either party that their relationship was of this nature.

The character of the patron-client relationship may be defined as follows:

Anthropologists understand patronage to be a relationship of reciprocity between two persons of unequal status, a relationship in which goods or services or both are exchanged to mutual advantage. The relationship is one entered into voluntarily and is not underwritten by any legal sanction; instead it is experienced as a morally binding connection in which each party has obligations to the other. Generally, the relationship is publicly acknowledged. Patron-client relations are often surrounded with a degree of ceremony and ritual.<sup>40</sup>

One might question whether these types of relationships were present at both the location and time of Xenophon and Agesilaus’s co-existence. Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* describes various types of friendships and one that is of specific interest to us is what he labels as “friendships of utility.”<sup>41</sup> He discusses this type of friendship at various places throughout the work. The following are snippets of his description of this type of relationship and what it entails or embodies:

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<sup>39</sup> Cartledge, *Agesilaos*, 60.

<sup>40</sup> Greg Woolf, “Patronage: Social,” *OEAGR* 5:181–83. If Aristotle’s discussion regarding friendships of “utility” is in any way discussing patron-client relationships in antiquity, then we would want to revise Woolf’s statement to include the detail that patron-client relationships did have a legally binding aspect on occasion (Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 8.13.5).

<sup>41</sup> Cartledge, in his *Agesilaos*, has arranged a portion of his work in a similar fashion. He discusses patron-client relationships in the context of Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* followed by a closer look at Spartan society. I am following his order of contents here.

Friends whose affection is based on utility do not love each other in themselves, but in so far as some benefit accrues to them from each other (Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 8.3.1 [Rackham, LCL]).<sup>42</sup>

Friendships of utility seem to occur most frequently between the old, as in old age men do not pursue pleasure but profit; and between those persons in the prime of life and young people whose object in life is gain. Friends of this kind do not indeed frequent each other's company much, for in some cases they are not even pleasing to each other and therefore have no use for friendly intercourse unless they are mutually profitable; since their pleasure in each other goes not further than their expectations of advantage (*Eth. nic.* 8.3.3-4).

A friendship based on utility dissolves as soon as its profit ceases; for the friends did not love each other, but what they got out of each other (*Eth. nic.* 8.4.2).

For two equally good men may be friends, or one better man and one worse; and similarly with pleasant friends and with those who are friends for the sake of utility, who may be equal or may differ in the amount of the benefits which they confer (*Eth. nic.* 8.13.1).

But a friendship whose motive is utility is liable to give rise to complaints. For here the friends associate with each other for profit, and so each always wants more, and thinks he is getting less than his due ... The recipient will say that what he received was only a trifle to his benefactor, or that he could have got it from someone else; he betas down the value. The other on the contrary will protest that it was the most valuable thing he had to give, or that it could not have been obtained from anybody else, or that it was bestowed at a time of danger or in some similar emergency. Perhaps then we may say that, when the friendship is one of utility, the measure of the service should be its value to the recipient, since it is he who wants it, and the other comes to his aid in the expectation of an equivalent return (*Eth. nic.* 8.13.4, 10-11).

The quotes above describe a relationship similar, at least in part, to the definition provided by Woolf.<sup>43</sup> Given that Aristotle was active in the middle of the fourth century, and he is certainly not exploring some new phenomenon here, this literary evidence serves as an indication that these friendships of utility, what we are labeling patron-client relationships, were actively pursued during the time of Xenophon and Agesilaus's relationship.

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<sup>42</sup> All English translations of Aristotle's *Eth. nic.* will be from this Loeb edition.

<sup>43</sup> What Aristotle describes here corresponds well with what Woolf states in his first sentence.

What about in Sparta, specifically? Would a Spartan king have engaged in a relationship of this nature with someone, an Athenian-born soldier at that? Cartledge helpfully points out that the role of patronage in Spartan society is widely debated within scholarship. Those invested in the topic are seemingly split on the issue.<sup>44</sup> He sides with those that find clear evidence for the practice. Regarding Agesilaus, what he finds most telling are Xenophon's statements regarding the nature of Agesilaus's relationships with his friends and the populace he oversaw. The following excerpts from Xenophon's biography of Agesilaus demonstrate, at least in this author's opinion, the existence of and Agesilaus's engagement in patron-client relationships:

Agesilaus held it wrong not only to repudiate a debt of gratitude, but, having greater means, not to render in return a much greater kindness (Xenophon, *Ages.* 4.2).

For had he been in the habit of selling his favors or taking payment for his benefactions [which he, according to Xenophon, was not in the habit of], no one would have felt that he owed him anything. It is the recipient of unbought, gratuitous benefits who is always glad to oblige his benefactor in return for the kindness he has received and in acknowledgement of the trust reposed in him as a worthy and faithful guardian of favor (Xenophon, *Ages.* 4.4).

The language seems to indicate that Agesilaus was a king who bestowed gifts upon those under his dominion and expected gratitude, in whatever form, in return. Xenophon records various times at which Agesilaus was generous in the gifts he gave (*Ages.* 1.17–19; 4.1, 3, 5; 5.1; 11.8) and his generosity was undoubtedly repaid in a show of support by the many different types of individuals he encountered as a king:

By his relatives he was described as “devoted to his family,” by his intimates as “an unfailing friend,” by those who served him as “unforgetful,” by the oppressed as “a champion,” by his comrades in danger as a “savior second to the gods” (Xenophon, *Ages.* 11.13).

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<sup>44</sup> Cartledge, *Agesilaos*, 140. He notes that, on the one hand, there are scholars who minimize its role and, on the other, those that tend to overstate its role without supplying enough of the relevant supporting evidence.

Given the supposed generosity which the Athenian-born Xenophon experienced at the hands of Agesilaus, especially at a time when he was not allowed to return to his homeland, the idea that Agesilaus served as Xenophon's patron and the latter felt the need to repay that debt in some form or fashion is not that far-fetched.

As noted above, Xenophon and Agesilaus were familiar with one another first through war. Agesilaus was Xenophon's superior officer and superior officers were known to take care of those that fought for them, long after the war was over. It is easy to envision that the gifting of the estate at Scillus to Xenophon was an act of a grateful superior officer providing for one of his high-level staffers, with an expected return of support for his political and/or military agenda moving forward. Further, one could also easily envision that this biography, with its incredibly generous language at times, was a final show of gratitude to a recently deceased patron, a way of saying thank you to someone who provided in a significant way in a time of great need.

### **Variations in Characterization (Questions from 1e)**

The questions listed under 1e in the methodology section are aimed at exploring instances of at least two different treatments of a single subject by a single author. The aim is to see if those treatments reveal similar or different depictions of the life of the individual under consideration. Xenophon covers the life of Agesilaus not only in his biography but in his history, the *Hellenica*, as well. This puts us in a unique position to see how Xenophon portrays Agesilaus in two different (though related) genres. If Xenophon provides a different depiction in either work then it immediately calls both into question. Determining which source is likely incorrect

in what it reports ultimately depends on the type of information under question.<sup>45</sup> For instance, if Xenophon says in the biography, “Agesilaus is the greatest military commander ever” and in his history, “Agesilaus failed his troops on multiple occasions by putting them into situations where they were outnumbered and ill-prepared to fight” then the former statement is more likely than not, false. Reason being is that the highly encomiastic nature of the information in the hypothetical biography example is easily proved false as it requires only a few examples (in some cases just one) to discredit it. In his biography of the Spartan, Xenophon is extremely praiseworthy, particularly in the latter half, and if he presents Agesilaus in a different light in his history then we know that those portions of his biography should probably be deemed unreliable. If, however, the differences are more informational in nature (time, place, people, etc.), then it becomes more difficult to tell which source is reporting accurate information unless there is an additional source (independent of both) that covers the topic under consideration.

We are first introduced to Agesilaus in the *Hellenica* much in the same way that we are introduced to him in Xenophon’s biography, i.e., through the retelling of his ascent to the throne. Xenophon’s account in his *Agesilaus* is encased in much more encomiastic language, but the details are fairly consistent.<sup>46</sup> The following table lists this episode and all of the others found in the *Hellenica* concerning the life of Agesilaus. It explores the differences between the two works in an effort to see the variations in characterization and/or information provided in both the history and the biography. When there are shared stories between the two works I will discuss any notable differences in the notes below.

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<sup>45</sup> I use the phrase “likely incorrect” because in many cases it is difficult to say with complete certainty that this or that source has it wrong, especially in the case of singularly attested material.

<sup>46</sup> There is an interesting note in the *Hellenica* regarding a physical limitation that Agesilaus had (lameness) that is nowhere mentioned in the biography (*Hell.* 3.3.3).

Episode	<i>Hellenica</i>	<i>Agesilaus</i>
Agesilaus's path to the throne <sup>47</sup>	3.3.1–4	1.2–5
Cinadon's planned and failed attempt to overthrow the Spartiate <sup>48</sup>	3.3.4–11	
Agesilaus learns of the Persian plot to attack Greece and sets out on his first campaign <sup>49</sup>	3.4.1–4	1.6–8
Agesilaus arrives at Ephesus and interacts with Tissaphernes <sup>50</sup>	3.4.5–13	1.10–16
Agesilaus and his troops are met with resistance by Pharnabazus and his cavalry <sup>51</sup>	3.4.13–15	
Agesilaus is praised for his humane and generous treatment of those non-soldiers (children, elderly, et al.) whom he conquered <sup>52</sup>		1.20–22
Agesilaus encourages rich men in the cities of Asia to raise and supply him with horses in order that his army be fit with a proper cavalry	3.4.15	1.23–24
Agesilaus collects his army at Ephesus and prepares them for battle	3.4.16–19	1.25–28
Agesilaus enters into battle against Tissaphernes and his army <sup>53</sup>	3.4.20–24	1.28–32

<sup>47</sup> In the biography Xenophon claims that Agesilaus was chosen as king over Leotychidas because he was “more eligible in point of birth and character alike” (1.5). In the history, it was the argument made by Lysander that Leotychidas was possibly not the true heir (descendant of Heracles) that appears to have persuaded the state to choose Agesilaus as the next king. While “point of birth” does seem to have been a deciding factor, Agesilaus's “character” playing a role in the decision is not mentioned in the *Hellenica*.

<sup>48</sup> In the course of this story Agesilaus is described as one who reveres the opinions of the gods, an aspect of him that we see in the biography as well. The exclusion of this episode from the biography appears to be an effort to maintain the encomiastic tone throughout. While “selectivity” is a natural part of any historical work, this borders on intentional distortion.

<sup>49</sup> There are a handful of notable differences between the two sources: Lysander played a large role in Agesilaus's decision to embark on the campaign (3.4.1–2), not so in the biography; there is no mention of Agesilaus's motives for going to war in the same way that they are outlined in the biography (cf. 3.4.2 // 1.8); the Boeotarchs interrupt Agesilaus's attempt to sacrifice to Zeus and Athena at the outset of the campaign (3.4.4).

<sup>50</sup> There is a story in the middle of this longer episode that is not in the biography and casts Agesilaus in a light other than what we read in the biography. Lysander is portrayed as upstaging Agesilaus while they are in Ephesus, the latter becomes enraged at the fact and ultimately embarrasses Lysander (3.4.8–9). Agesilaus appears petty/jealous and one particular comment portrays him as unwilling to cooperate with those that do not hold him in high regard (3.4.9); Agesilaus sends Lysander to the Hellespont and upon returning brings a revolting Spithridates (3.4.10).

<sup>51</sup> Agesilaus's cavalry suffers a minor defeat near Dascyleium (3.4.13).

<sup>52</sup> This is found much later in the *Hellenica* in a brief anecdote concerning Agesilaus's interaction with the elderly, women, and children of Mantinea; see *Hell.* 6.5.10–21 for a similar episode.

<sup>53</sup> In the *Hellenica*, he discusses Lysander's departure and Herippidas's arrival. This is possibly the time at which Xenophon was demoted to a lesser role.

Agesilaus utterly dominates Sardis and the surrounding area <sup>54</sup>		1.33-34
Agesilaus is seen by many nations as their leader and friend <sup>55</sup>		1.35
Agesilaus sets out for Phrygia at the behest of Tithraustes and the authorities at home give him the power to appoint whomsoever he wishes over the naval fleet <sup>56</sup>	3.4.26–29	1.36
Agesilaus's exploits prior to and during his time in the region of Phrygia <sup>57</sup>	3.5.1–4.1.41	
Agesilaus returns home to come to the aid of his fatherland <sup>58</sup>	4.2.1–8	1.36–38
Agesilaus orders Dercylidas to go tell the allies of a Lacedaemonian victory in order to keep their spirits high <sup>59</sup>	4.3.1–3	
Agesilaus engages the Thessalians in battle	4.3.3–9	2.1–5
Agesilaus engages the Boeotians et al. in battle <sup>60</sup>	4.3.10–23	2.6–16
Agesilaus engages the Argives in battle	4.4.19	2.17
Agesilaus makes an expedition to the territory of Corinth <sup>61</sup>	4.5.1–6	2.18–19
Agesilaus gets word that his regiment at Lechaeum has suffered a serious defeat	4.5.7–9	
Agesilaus interacts with the Boeotian ambassadors	4.5.9–10	
Agesilaus travels back towards home <sup>62</sup>	4.5.18–19	

<sup>54</sup> Interesting that this is nowhere to be found in the *Hellenica*, it comes sandwiched between two episodes that are in both the *Hellenica* and the *Agesilaus*. It offers glowing praise for Agesilaus's military might and ability to completely dominate his opponents.

<sup>55</sup> Again, another episode that is not in the *Hellenica* though it directly follows and comes before portions that are in both.

<sup>56</sup> In the biography Xenophon briefly mentions that Agesilaus was now in command of the naval fleet.

<sup>57</sup> This is a lengthy section that provides key information on how Agesilaus conducted himself as a powerful individual in a foreign land. This selection also provides important information that gives insight into what was going on back home and why Agesilaus felt the need to return when called upon. There are two episodes conveying his negotiating prowess that are only briefly touched upon later in the biography (cf. *Hell.* 4.1.3–14; 4.1.29–41 // *Ages.* 3.2–5).

<sup>58</sup> There is a peculiar note in this section of the biography about the cities under his control in Asia living in “unbroken harmony and prosperity” while he was there that is absent from the *Hellenica*. The reader does not get this impression when reading the parallel material in Xenophon's history.

<sup>59</sup> While brief, this episode does reveal some of Agesilaus's military/political acumen. It is surprising this was not included in the biography.

<sup>60</sup> What is left out of the biography is a story giving insight into how Agesilaus handles adversity while on the battlefield. He is given word that the Lacedaemonians suffered defeat and that Peisander, his brother-in-law and leader of the naval fleet, had died in battle. He lies to his troops and tells them that despite Peisander dying, the Lacedaemonians were victorious. He did not want to distribute devastating news right before they were to engage in war (4.3.10–14).

<sup>61</sup> What is found in the biography is an extremely truncated version of the events, though there is nothing unusual about this given the conventional differences between the two genres.

<sup>62</sup> In 4.5.18–19, we see an Agesilaus willing to protect a portion of his army from enduring ridicule after a defeat, something you would expect to be noted in a biography.

The Achaeans implore Agesilaus to join forces with them against the Acarnanians; Agesilaus does so and helps them to victory <sup>63</sup>	4.6.1–4.7.1	2.20
Agesilaus works to achieve peace with multiple enemies	5.1.29–34	2.21
Agesilaus suggests that Phoebidas's actions should be judged based on their expediency, not purely on whether they were lawful or not	5.2.32	
Agesilaus goes to war against the Phliasians <sup>64</sup>	5.3.13–17	
Agesilaus hears of Agesipolis's death and is deeply saddened <sup>65</sup>	5.3.20	
Agesilaus's interactions with the Phliasians escalates and then comes to an end <sup>66</sup>	5.3.21–25	
Agesilaus refuses to lead a campaign against the Thebans because of the way it would be received by the citizens	5.4.13	
Agesilaus appears to be instrumental in the pardoning of Sphodrias <sup>67</sup>	5.4.25–33	
Agesilaus leads two Lacedaemonian campaigns against the Thebans <sup>68</sup>	5.4.34–41, 47–54	
Agesilaus reconciles two splintered parties at Thespieae	5.4.55	
Agesilaus confined to his bed due to a ruptured vein, loses consciousness	5.4.58	
Agesilaus is angered by the Mantineans refusal to cease building a wall around their city	6.5.4–5	

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<sup>63</sup> The information provided in the *Hellenica* is more detailed in its recording of the events leading up to, during, and following the battle with the Acarnanians (most likely what you would expect to find in a history verses a biography). There are, however, a few elements that reveal Agesilaus's military strategy and how he went about engaging with the enemy (4.6.4–6, 11–12). The details in the *Hellenica* show an Agesilaus that was very much the aggressor and quite capable of total destruction of those who opposed him.

<sup>64</sup> Surprising that something like this is not in the biography. Agesilaus's military acumen is on full display. He is also portrayed as someone that was not swayed easily by the cunning of others.

<sup>65</sup> This brief episode shows a side of Agesilaus that is commendable as he mourns after hearing of his "rival's" death.

<sup>66</sup> Agesilaus gets angry with the Phliasians because they do not give him the respect he thinks he deserves. He ends up leaving a contingent there to govern the city, giving them power to decide who to kill and who to keep alive; his anger and cunning on display.

<sup>67</sup> Sphodrias is on trial because he allowed himself to be bribed into attacking Athens without the permission of the state. He caused a great deal of trouble for some officials who were actually in Athens at the time of the expected attack. He called upon his son, Cleonymus, to approach Archidamus (Agesilaus's son and lover of Cleonymus) to seek a pardon for his father. Archidamus approached Agesilaus and asked him and was in some way successful because Sphodrias was eventually pardoned. Agesilaus is portrayed in this episode as a man eager to preserve justice, but also one that understands that there needs to be flexibility in some instances. It is surprising that this episode was left out of the biography.

<sup>68</sup> Continued examples of Agesilaus's military acumen.



Agesilaus leads a campaign against the Mantineans <sup>69</sup>	6.5.10–21	
Epaminondas marches upon Sparta, Agesilaus is alerted to it and gets back in time to engage him in battle before the whole city is destroyed.	7.5.4–17	

When comparing the depiction of Agesilaus in the *Hellenica* to that in the *Agesilaus* one gets the impression that the former is a much more even-handed treatment of the individual's life. What you get in the *Hellenica* is both the good and the bad. In the *Agesilaus*, we are treated to a portrayal that at times inflates Agesilaus's role in certain outcomes (ascension to the throne; his impact on the peace of certain regions); represses negative information (Cinadon's attempt to overthrow the ruling elite; Agesilaus embarrassing Lysander while campaigning in Asia, appearing petty/jealous/angry); and limits the value of others' actions (Lysander's role in Agesilaus's first campaign). One cannot help but come to the conclusion that the differences between the two portrayals reflects poorly on the historical reliability of the *Agesilaus* in certain parts.

Of course, one should not minimize the similarities. Outside of those few places where the portrayal is different, one can see that Xenophon maintained that Agesilaus was a military man capable of conquering the toughest of foes and engendering great respect from those he was tasked with leading. He was also one who revered the gods, was a skilled negotiator, and did not take advantage of those who were without the means to defend themselves (the elderly, women, children, etc.). Where they cover the same events many of the details that are reproduced are almost identical in wording. Given the relationship the two had and the fact that they spent time together throughout Agesilaus's Asiatic campaign (and most likely beyond) I am of the opinion

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<sup>69</sup> A brief episode within the retelling of this campaign reveals that Agesilaus had mercy on some of the elderly, women, and children when he came to their city. These were individuals left behind by men who joined the assembly that was fighting against Agesilaus and his troops.

that these places where Xenophon is consistent in his depiction of Agesilaus are most likely his honest perceptions of the Spartan king, he just appears to over-inflate that at times in the biography.

## Compiling the Sources (Step 2)

This section will look at all of the various sources that cover the life of Agesilaus, whether it be a passing comment or a full treatment of his life. Chronologically, the sources range from early fourth century BCE through the end of the third century CE.<sup>70</sup> The goal here is twofold; to compile a list of sources as well as determine which ones are of most relevance to the process of evaluating Xenophon's *Agesilaus* for its reliability. The methodology section was clear about which sources would be given pride of place, i.e., those that are literarily independent of the biography under investigation. The table below lists the sources in chronological order from closest to the time of writing of Xenophon's *Agesilaus* to the furthest away. There will be brief comments about the sources below the table.

Year	Author	Title and Location(s) <sup>71</sup>
ca. 391 BCE <sup>72</sup>	Andocides	<i>On the Peace with Sparta</i> 18
ca. 391 BCE <sup>73</sup>	Lysias	<i>Before the Council: In Defence of Mantitheus at His Scrutiny</i> 16

<sup>70</sup> The reason for looking at such a wide chronological range is due to the possibility that there might be sources that, while written long after the event, are actually citing sources written much closer to the event. In some cases, these brief citations are all we have left of what would have been a rather significant work. In addition, I have chosen to cut off the search at the third century CE because it appears that once we reach that point in time we are getting only brief mentions of various stories that have already been repeated many times over, and we are ultimately belaboring the point that certain types of information were viewed as historical regarding the life of Agesilaus and continuously passed down for centuries.

<sup>71</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all of the textual addresses reflect where the text may be found in its respective Loeb volume.

<sup>72</sup> This is the date the speech is thought to have been delivered.

<sup>73</sup> W. R. M. Lamb, "General Introduction," in *Lysias*, trans. W. R. M. Lamb, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930) ix–xx, see p. xxv.

ca. 386–346 BCE <sup>74</sup>	Unknown <sup>75</sup>	<i>Hellenica Oxyrhynchia</i> passim <sup>76</sup>
ca. 380 BCE <sup>77</sup>	Isocrates	<i>Discourses</i> 4. <i>Panegyricus</i> 144, 153 <sup>78</sup>
ca. 380–350 BCE	Xenophon	<i>Anabasis</i> 5.3.6; <i>Hellenica</i> passim <sup>79</sup>
<b>ca. 359 BCE</b>	<b>Xenophon</b>	<b><i>Agésilas</i> passim</b>
ca. 356 BCE <sup>80</sup>	Isocrates	<i>Letters</i> 9. <i>To Archidamus</i> 11–14
ca. 346 BCE <sup>81</sup>	Isocrates	<i>Discourses</i> 5. <i>To Philip</i> 62–63, 86–88
ca. 340 BCE <sup>82</sup>	Ephorus	<i>FGrHist</i> 70 <sup>83</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Dating of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* is difficult, but it does appear that the range listed above has gained a consensus. See I. A. F. Bruce, *An Historical Commentary on the 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 4–5; P. R. McKechnie and S. J. Kern, eds., *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1987), 10–11; Egidia Occhipinti *The Hellenica Oxyrhynchia and Historiography: New Research Perspectives*, MnS 395 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 2, 32–33.

<sup>75</sup> Numerous names have been put forth as possibilities; see Occhipinti, *Historiography*, 2–5.

<sup>76</sup> The text and English translation of the *HellOxy* that I will be using is the one found in *FGrHist* 66. It mirrors the critical edition produced by Bartoletti; see Victorium Bartoletti, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1959). This work is widely thought to be independent of Xenophon's *Hellenica* (and by extension, the same material in the *Agésilas*) thereby giving us another source to compare the contents of Xenophon's work with. Some scholars think that the *HellOxy* is the more reliable source between it and Xenophon. There are portions that are illegible and, despite clearly dealing with the life/exploits of Agésilas, are of minimal value.

<sup>77</sup> George Norlin, "General Introduction," in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. 1 of *Isocrates*, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), ix–xlvi, see p. xxxvi.

<sup>78</sup> The information provided here will not be relied upon in the evaluation of Xenophon's *Agésilas*. In *Pan.* 144 Isocrates tells us that Agésilas "conquered almost all the territory this side of the Halys river" (Norlin, LCL); this is certainly an exaggeration. In *Pan.* 153 he mentions something that Xenophon also mentions in the *Hellenica* (3.4.26), but it is not found in the *Agésilas*.

<sup>79</sup> The information provided in these sources is relevant, to an extent, but we are obviously not relying upon it to independently confirm any of the information in the biography by the same author.

<sup>80</sup> La Rue Van Hook, "Introduction to *To Archidamus*," in *Isocrates*, trans. La Rue Van Hook, vol. 3 of *Isocrates*, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 471.

<sup>81</sup> George Norlin, "Introduction to *To Philip*," in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. 1 of *Isocrates*, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 244–45.

<sup>82</sup> Kenneth S. Sacks, "Ephorus," *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 510.

<sup>83</sup> His thirty-volume history is no longer extant, only preserved in the works of others. There are two fragments that are of specific interest (F 18b, F 207), though much else is of relevance. It is widely thought that Ephorus is both reliant upon the *HellOxy* and serves as a source for Diodorus Siculus's history for the period of 411–386 BCE. This gives us unique access to the *HellOxy* in Diodorus (via Ephorus), though Diodorus's manipulation/distortion of his sources is well documented.

ca. 336 BCE <sup>84</sup>	Kallisthenes	<i>FGrHist</i> 124 F 26 <sup>85</sup>
ca. 325 BCE <sup>86</sup>	Theopompus of Chios	<i>Philippikai historiai</i> and <i>Hellenica</i> passim <sup>87</sup>
ca. 320 BCE <sup>88</sup>	Aristotle	<i>Politics</i> 5.6.2 <sup>89</sup>
ca. 167 BCE <sup>90</sup>	Polybius	<i>Histories</i> 3.6.11; 9.8.6; 9.23.8
ca. 80–40 BCE <sup>91</sup>	Philodemus	<i>On Vices</i> 10 ( <i>PHerc.</i> 1008) <sup>92</sup>
ca. 56 BCE	Cicero	<i>Letters to Friends. To Lucceius</i> 5.12.7 <sup>93</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Albert B. Bosworth, “Callisthenes,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 268. Name is spelled with both a “C” and a “K” in secondary literature.

<sup>85</sup> One of Plutarch’s sources, a fourth century historian who wrote his own *Hellenica*. The brief mention of this individual in Plutarch’s *Ages.* is inconsequential, but it does show that there were other sources discussing the life of Agesilaus that we have very little awareness of today. The likelihood of us gaining a much more robust picture of the historical reliability of Xenophon’s *Agesilaus* and other works in antiquity would be significantly greater if we had access to all of the literature no longer extant.

<sup>86</sup> Klaus Meister, “Theopompus (3),” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 1461–62. Meister provides the range of 378–320 for his life span and notes that it is likely that he wrote one of his more significant historical works, *Philippikai historiai*, in 324.

<sup>87</sup> Both of these works exist only in fragments. Concerning his treatment of Agesilaus, much of what we have are quotations of Theo’s work found in later sources; see *FGrHist* 115 [i.e., Theopompus of Chios], spec. F 22, 106a–108, 240, 321–323.

<sup>88</sup> Aristotle died in 322 BCE, the work was most likely published sometime after that. See Harris Rackham, “Introduction,” in *Politics*, by Aristotle, trans. H. Rackham, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944), xi–xxvii, see p. xviii.

<sup>89</sup> Briefly notes Cinadon, an individual who responsible for arranging an assault on Agesilaus in 398. This is mentioned in Xenophon’s *Hellenica* (3.3.4–11), but not in the *Agesilaus*.

<sup>90</sup> It is probably safe to assume that the work was written even later than 167, maybe closer to 145 BCE. There are references to events later than that but they are considered to be later additions. See Christian Habicht, “Introduction,” in *The Histories*, by Polybius, trans. W. R. Paton, rev. by F. W. Walbank and Christian Habicht, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), xvi.

<sup>91</sup> His life span is typically given as 110–40/35 BCE, the range I have provided is based on that. See Piero Treves and Dirk Obbink, “Philodemus,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 1132.

<sup>92</sup> An accessible English translation of this particular fragment can be found in William W. Fortenbaugh and Stephen A. White, eds., *Aristo of Ceos: Text, Translation, and Discussion*, RUSCH XIII (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2006), 85. Philodemus is interacting with and quoting Aristo of Ceos (fl. late 3<sup>rd</sup> cen. BCE) throughout this particular work (or the fragments that remain of this work) and it is difficult to tell if he is quoting Aristo here or if this is an anecdote he has picked up from someone else.

<sup>93</sup> Cicero claims that Xenophon refused to have a painting or sculpture made of him; this is repeated later by Apuleius et al.

ca. 30 BCE <sup>94</sup>	Diodorus Siculus	<i>The Library of History</i> 14.79.1–3; 14.80.1–8; 14.83.1–84.2; 15.21.1; 15.31.3–34.2; 15.54.6; 15.59.4; 15.82.6–83.5; 15.92.2–93.6 <sup>95</sup>
ca. 30 BCE <sup>96</sup>	Cornelius Nepos	<i>On Great Generals. Agesilaus</i> passim <sup>97</sup> ; also mentioned in <i>Chabrias</i> 1.2; <i>Conon</i> 2.2–4; <i>On Kings</i> 1.2; <i>Timotheus</i> 1.3
ca. 25 BCE <sup>98</sup>	Justin (Trogus)	<i>Prologus</i> 6
ca. 14–37 CE <sup>99</sup>	Valerius Maximus	<i>Memorable Doings and Sayings</i> 7.2.ext15
ca. 84–96 CE <sup>100</sup>	Frontinus	<i>Stratagems</i> 1.4.2–3; 1.8.12; 1.10.3; 1.11.5, 17; 2.6.6; 3.11.2
ca. 85–155 CE <sup>101</sup>	[Dio Chrysostom] Favorinus <sup>102</sup>	<i>Discourse 37. The Corinthian Discourse</i> 43 <sup>103</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Kenneth S. Sacks, “Diodorus of Agryrium, Sicily,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 455.

<sup>95</sup> Bruce, *Historical Commentary*, 4. He points out that scholars widely believe that Diodorus is using the *HellOxy* as a source for his own work (though it comes down to him through Ephorus). It appears that this is in fact the case, but it is also clear that Diodorus is not a mere copyist of the *HellOxy* and actually provides us with a distinct perspective on the events relevant to us. In the episode at 15.82.6–83.5 he mistakenly calls Agesilaus “Agis.” This episode is important because the episode itself describes a serious lapse in judgment by Agesilaus while in a position of military leadership.

<sup>96</sup> J. C. Rolfe, “Introduction,” in *Cornelius Nepos*, trans. J. C. Rolfe, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), vii–xvii, see p. xi. According to Rolfe, Nepos published a first edition in ca. 35 BCE and then a second edition ca. 27 BCE.

<sup>97</sup> A brief treatment of the life of Agesilaus.

<sup>98</sup> Alexander Hugh McDonald and Antony Spawforth, “Pompeius Trogus,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 1181. The date provided is for Trogus’s work, not Justin’s. They don’t provide a specific date for Trogus’s *Historiae Philippicae* but they do mention that it is typically dated to the reign of Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE). Justin wrote a summary of each major volume much later, ca. 100–400 CE; see Alexander Hugh McDonald and Antony Spawforth, “Justin (Marcus Iunian(i)us Iustinus),” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 780. This brief mention of Agesilaus is not much, but does provide us with yet another example of a work that was interested in the historical events that surrounded him and the part of the world that he lived in.

<sup>99</sup> D. R. Shackleton Bailey, “Introduction,” in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, by Valerius Maximus, trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 200), 1–7, see p. 1.

<sup>100</sup> Charles E. Bennett, “Life and Works of Frontinus,” in *Stratagems, Aqueducts of Rome*, by Frontinus, trans. Charles E. Bennett, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925), xii–xxvii, see p. xiv.

<sup>101</sup> These dates correspond with Favorinus’s life-span (see note directly below); M. B. Trapp, “Favorinus,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 571.

<sup>102</sup> Bracketed because it is believed that, although in the collection of “Discourses”, Dio did not actually write *The Corinthian Discourse*. Crosby remarks that it is generally believed that this particular work was written by Favorinus.

<sup>103</sup> Like Cicero before him, he provides the anecdote about Agesilaus’s refusal of letting anyone produce a painting or sculpture of him.

ca. 95–115 CE <sup>104</sup>	Plutarch	<i>Agésilas</i> passim, <i>Agésilas and Pompey</i> passim <sup>105</sup> , various <i>Moralia</i> <sup>106</sup>
ca. 100 CE <sup>107</sup>	Dio Chrysostom	<i>Discourse 56. On Kingship</i> 7 <sup>108</sup>
ca. 100–150 CE <sup>109</sup>	Pseudo-Dionysius	<i>Art of Rhetoric</i> 9.11.60
ca. 150 CE <sup>110</sup>	Pausanias	<i>Description of Greece</i> 3.8.8–3.10.2; 4.17.5; 8.6.2; 9.13.2; 9.14.5

<sup>104</sup> For Plutarch's *Lives*, see Joseph Geiger, "Plutarch: Biographical Writings," *OEAGR* 5:329–32; C. P. Jones, "Towards a Chronology of Plutarch's Works," *JRS* 56 (1966): 61–74. Jones actually tries to put dates, or at least ranges of dates, on certain works. Unfortunately, we cannot date much of Plutarch's oeuvre and we are left with having to approximate a range. For Plutarch's *Moralia*, see F. C. Babbitt, "Introduction," in *Moralia*, by Plutarch, trans. F. C. Babbitt, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), ix–xxxiii, see p. xii. Babbitt seems to think that the *Moralia* were composed prior to the *Parallel Lives*, but this does not appear to be the consensus view. In the conclusion to his article, Jones notes that the majority of his writing came in the last twenty years of his life and dates "at least 15 of the *Moralia*," to that time; see Jones, "Chronology," 73.

<sup>105</sup> Several other of Plutarch's *Lives* mention Agesilaus: *Lycurgus* 13.6, 30.5; *Timoleon* 36.1, 36.4; *Pelopidas* 21.3, 30.2; *Titus Flamininus* 11.3; *Lysander* 22.3–5, 23.2, 5, 7–9, 24.1–2, 27.1, 30.3; *Cimon* 29.3; *Agis and Cleomenes* 3.2; *Artaxerxes* 20.3–4, 22.2–3. These are brief mentions that often have parallels in his biography of the Spartan king.

<sup>106</sup> Much of what we find in the *Moralia* is a rehashing of information included in the biography. There are a few instances where details in the various *Moralia* have proven useful, you will find them mentioned in the footnotes to the table below. Those that mention Agesilaus include: *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry* 31C; *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend* 52F, 55D; *How a Man May Become Aware of His Progress in Virtue* 78D, 81A; *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* 189F, 190F, 191A–D; *Sayings of Spartans* 208B–215A, 217E, 227D, 229F; *Bravery of Women* 243D; *On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander* 343A; *The Oracles at Delphi No Longer Given in Verse* 399B–C; *On Brotherly Love* 482D; *On Compliancy* 533E–F; *On Praising Oneself Inoffensively* 545A; *On the Sign of Socrates* 577E–F; *Table-Talk* 644B; *Whether an Old Man Should Engage in Public Affairs* 784E–F, 790C; *Precepts of Statecraft* 805E–F, 807E–808A, 809B.

<sup>107</sup> Very much a general date; Cohoon notes in the introduction to the *Discourses* that it is likely that the political discourses belonged to the period shortly after the end of his exile (96 CE). J. W. Cohoon, "Introduction," in vol. 1 of *Discourses*, by Dio Chrysostom, trans. J. W. Cohoon, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), ix–xvi, see pp. x–xi.

<sup>108</sup> The source mentions Agesilaus's battle with the Persian king at Sardis and his acquiescence to the request by Lacedaemonian leadership for him to return to his fatherland.

<sup>109</sup> Malcolm Heath, "Pseudo-Dionysius *Art of Rhetoric* 8–11: figured speech, declamation and criticism," *American Journal of Philology* 124 (2003): 81–105. The author was once thought to be Dionysius of Halicarnassus due to a reference to one of his other works in the document. This view is no longer held as widely as it once was, if at all. Heath suggests Aelius Serapion and a date of early second century CE.

<sup>110</sup> Antony Spawforth, "Pausanias (3)," *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 1097.

ca. 150–80 CE <sup>111</sup>	Aelius Aristides	<i>Oration 1. Panathenaic Oration</i> 296 <sup>112</sup> ; <i>Regarding Rome</i> 17 <sup>113</sup> ; <i>To Plato: In Defense of the Four</i> 90, 201–2; <i>The Second Leuctran Oration</i> 32, 43
ca. 150–180 CE <sup>114</sup>	Maximus of Tyre	<i>Socratic Love</i> (2) 5; <i>Socratic Love</i> (4) 3; <i>Proper Entertainment</i> 5; <i>Soldier and Farmer</i> (1) 2; <i>Friendship</i> 8; <i>On Degrees of Good</i> (2) 6
ca. 158/9 CE <sup>115</sup>	Apuleius	<i>Apologia</i> 15.1 <sup>116</sup>
ca. 165 CE <sup>117</sup>	Polyaenus	<i>Stratagems of War</i> 1.48.3, 2.1.1–33 <sup>118</sup>
ca. 193–211 CE <sup>119</sup>	Athenaeus	<i>The Learned Banqueters</i> 4.145a; 9.384a; 12.511c; 12.550e; 13.609b; 14.616d–e; 14.657b–c; 15.676c–d <sup>120</sup>
ca. 200 CE <sup>121</sup>	Philostratus the Elder	<i>Letters</i> 8
ca. 225–250 CE <sup>122</sup>	Diogenes Laertius	<i>Xenophon</i> 2.6.51–52
ca. 235 CE	Aelian	<i>Historical Miscellany</i> 4.16; 7.13; 10.20; 12.15; 14.2, 27, 46d

<sup>111</sup> Exact dating of his publications/orations is difficult, but C. A. Behr provides a very helpful sketch of his life in *P. Aelius Aristides: The Complete Works, Volume I. Orations I–XVI*, trans. Charles A. Behr, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 1–4.

<sup>112</sup> Aristides provides a brief note about the Athenians winning a battle against Agesilaus and his allied forces.

<sup>113</sup> See Behr’s two-volume work cited above for the references to *Regarding Rome*; *To Plato: In Defense of the Four*; and *The Second Leuctran Oration*.

<sup>114</sup> What we know of his life is extremely limited, this range seems the most likely given the information provided by M. B. Trapp. See Maximus of Tyre, *The Philosophical Orations*, trans. M. B. Trapp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), xi–xii. Titles of the specific orations and locations noted above are from Trapp’s volume.

<sup>115</sup> The date reflects when Apuleius is believed to have delivered the *Apologia*; see Christopher P. Jones, “General Introduction,” in *Apologia, Florida, De Deo Socrates*, by Apuleius, ed. and trans. Christopher P. Jones, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), vii–xxvi, see p. ix.

<sup>116</sup> As Cicero mentioned, Apuleius notes that Agesilaus refused to allow anyone to make a sculpture or painting of him.

<sup>117</sup> Polyaeus, *Stratagems of War*, ed. and trans. Peter Krentz and Everett L. Wheeler, 2 vols. (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1994), xiii–ix.

<sup>118</sup> Agesilaus is mentioned several other times in Polyaeus’s work, but they are duplicates of what he provides in these two sections.

<sup>119</sup> S. Douglas Olson, “Introduction,” in *The Learned Banqueters*, by Athenaeus, ed. and trans. S. Douglas Olson, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), vii–xx, see p. vii.

<sup>120</sup> He mentions a handful of Agesilaus’s exploits, some provide details that are not in Xenophon’s version of the same event.

<sup>121</sup> He lived from ca. 170–250 CE, the date of the publication of his *Letters* is unknown.

<sup>122</sup> Herbert S. Long, “Introduction,” in *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, by Diogenes Laertius, trans. R. D. Hicks, 2 vols., LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), xv–xxvi, see p. xvi. These dates are far from certain.

What becomes evident just by looking at the above table is that Agesilaus was an extremely important figure to those living in antiquity. Multiple times, throughout the sources listed above, his simple lifestyle, self-restraint, military achievements, etc. are referenced in a positive light; he is viewed as an exemplar for the most part. Furthermore, Xenophon himself was highly regarded as a historian/author and his work was utilized and praised by many.<sup>123</sup> The combination of a legendary subject and a highly decorated author was undoubtedly what led to steady interaction with this particular source throughout the centuries following its publication.

Many of these sources are obviously reliant upon other works that were previously written so they are of limited use in confirming the information in Xenophon's *Agesilaus*. They do help by showing the kind of information concerning the life of Agesilaus that was thought to be historical and was being passed down amongst ancient authors.<sup>124</sup> There are a handful, however, that do more than just duplicate information. These sources, typically written in the fourth century BCE, have the potential to independently confirm parts of Xenophon's *Agesilaus*. They will be relied upon heavily in the following section. In the few pages that follow I will provide a brief note on each of the sources, stating why they are relevant for our purposes in section three.

- Andocides, *On the Peace with Sparta* – This oration was thought to have been delivered ca. 391 BCE and it contains a brief note regarding Agesilaus's victory over the allied forces in Boeotia. Xenophon describes Agesilaus's victory in the Battle of Coronea in 2.6–15. The fact that this oration was supposedly delivered prior to the time of writing of Xenophon's biography and includes a shared event makes it extremely valuable for our purposes, even if it is very limited in its overlap.
- Lysias, *In Defence of Mantitheus* – This oration, written by Lysias and delivered by Mantitheus, was most likely written between 394 and 389. It provides, yet again, a brief mention of Agesilaus's activity in Boeotia.

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<sup>123</sup> McKechnie and Kern, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, 22.

<sup>124</sup> Showing that something has been “duplicated” (marked “D” below) is part of the process in the following section.



- Unknown, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* – Similar to Xenophon’s *Hellenica*, the *HellOxy* is a continuation of Thucydides’s *Histories*. The *HellOxy* is made up of three collections of fragmentary papyri (*London papyrus* – P. Oxy. v 842; *Florence papyrus* – PSI XIII; *Cairo papyrus* 26 6 SR 3049, 27, 1). The *London papyrus* is the one that primarily concerns us given that it covers events that are also included in Xenophon’s *Hell.* and *Agésilas*, i.e., his activity in Asia Minor ca. 395 and parts of his journey back to Greece from Asia.<sup>125</sup> It is considered to be independent of Xenophon’s *Hell.* making it an extremely valuable resource for our purposes.<sup>126</sup> Bruce goes so far as to say that he considers it to be a more reliable source than Xenophon’s *Hell.*<sup>127</sup> Many of its parts are difficult to read, but it is clear that Diodorus is following the *HellOxy* in places, ultimately giving us access to the source in some fashion through a later historian. Diodorus does alter the contents of his source so there are some difficulties in determining just how much access we have to those lost parts of the *HellOxy* through Diodorus.
- Xenophon, *Anabasis* and *Hellenica* – The importance of the *Anabasis* is minimal though it does show a connection between Xenophon and Agésilas. The *Hellenica*, as can be seen above, contains much of what we find in the *Agésilas* and because it too is authored by Xenophon, its value is minimal for our purposes here. Those places where the *Hellenica* and the *Agésilas* differ in the coverage of the same events are worth noting.
- Isocrates, *To Archidamus* and *To Philip* – There are questions about the authenticity of this letter to Agésilas’s son, though Van Hook dismisses the objections altogether.<sup>128</sup> Its importance to us is in its brief discussion about the type of individual Agésilas was thought to be, a mostly positive assessment. He also provides insight into Agésilas’s motives behind his campaign, which he repeats in his work titled *To Philip*. These two works are of value because of their relative closeness in chronological proximity to the writing of Xenophon’s *Agésilas*.
- Ephorus, *fragments* – Despite the fact that Ephorus’s monumental history is no longer extant, these preserved snippets are still valuable due to the time they were supposedly initially written (340 BCE) and their contents.
- Kallisthenes, *fragment* – Yet another fragment preserved by Plutarch. It mentions a certain Euthynus who alerted Agésilas to an attack on Sparta. The event, though not mentioned in Xenophon’s *Agésilas*, gives insight into the actions of the Spartan king

<sup>125</sup> Occhipinti, *Historiography*, 1.

<sup>126</sup> Bruce, *Historical Commentary*, 4.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 21–22. Bruce points out the possibility that Diodorus could have been using the *HellOxy* as his primary source for the entire period of 411–386. He also notes that prior to this determination, when Diodorus’s work and Xenophon’s *Hell.* were at odds with one another concerning the historical record of this time period that Xenophon was typically considered to be the more reliable. Bruce argues that now that we are aware of the quality of Diodorus’s source (the *HellOxy*), both the *HellOxy* and Diodorus’s work should be “approached with greater respect when it is found to be at variance with Xenophon” (22).

<sup>128</sup> Gorge Law Cawkwell points out that its authenticity is “doubtful” (“Isocrates,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 747–48); Van Hook says that these types of claims are “without validity” (“Introduction,” 471).

later on in life. The attack described happened in 362 BCE, just years before Agesilaus's death.

- Theopompus of Chios, *Philippikai historiai* and *Hellenica* – Theopompus's work, as it relates to Agesilaus, is preserved in the work of much later authors, Plutarch and Athenaeus. Both preserve interesting details about his life that Theopompus has provided, though it appears that Theopompus is utilizing Xenophon's work and is not an independent source.
- Aristotle, *Politics* – Here he provides a story about Cinadon, an individual who attempted to assassinate Agesilaus. This story is not retold in the biography, but it is preserved in Xenophon's *Hellenica*. If true, it shows that there was clearly a segment of the population that did not have the same feelings towards the Spartan king that his biographer had.

From this point forward, as we move out of the fourth century into subsequent ones, the sources are going to be dependent upon earlier works. There is still value here for the reasons stated above, but also because there are instances, such as Plutarch's *Agesilaus*, where the author has gone to great lengths to research his subject and provides information from a variety of sources. Sources such as Plutarch's, despite being so far removed chronologically from the time of their subject's life, warrant our attention because they approach the subject from a variety of angles and possibly produce a more even-handed biography of the subject.

- Polybius, *Histories* – Written in the mid second century BCE, this history has a few mentions of our subject. What is interesting about Polybius's contributions to the tradition regarding Agesilaus is that he actually has a negative take on the Spartan king's contributions (9.23.8).
- Philodemus, *On Vices* – Brief mention of Lysander's and Agesilaus's "falling out" early in the Asiatic campaign; helpful for seeing the type of tradition that was passed on about the Spartan king.
- Cicero, *Letter to Frinds. To Lucceius* – Provides us with the anecdote about Agesilaus refusing to have a sculpture made of himself. He also hints at the popularity of Xenophon's *Agesilaus*.
- Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* – As already noted in footnotes above, Diodorus is thought to have used the *Hellosy* (via Ephorus) as his primary source for the time period we are most interested in (late fifth, early fourth century BCE). There are, however, some issues that need to be mentioned. There are places where the text of the *Hellosy* is simply unreadable and for the longest time scholars, working with the hypothesis that Diodorus was extremely faithful in his reproduction of his sources, would simply turn to his account to see what the *Hellosy* was essentially reporting at these places. One can clearly see, however, when comparing Diodorus to what is extant of the *Hellosy*, that the former is not a mere copyist, but has his own agenda and is unafraid of abridging the account and/or altering it for his own purposes (cf. *Hellosy* 14.4–15.4 with

*Lib.* 14.80.1–5).<sup>129</sup> Diodorus's work is valuable, but it needs to be employed with prudence when it comes to either confirming details or marking them as inaccurate.

- Cornelius Nepos, *Agesilaus* – His biography on the Spartan king is the first (extant) biography written on the individual following Xenophon's. He mentions Xenophon in his opening sentence as one who has already written about his subject, an indication that he was utilizing him as a source; the information in his biography confirms that. The primary value of his work then is in showing the transmission of the tradition concerning Agesilaus after his death. Nepos also mentions Agesilaus in a few other works, which will be briefly discussed in the footnotes of the large table below.
- Justin (Trogus), *Prologus* – As mentioned in the footnotes, this is essentially the work of Trogus, not Justin. This is the reason why I have the date as 25 BCE instead of somewhere in the second to fourth centuries CE (Justin's date is debated). The summary is helpful in that it contains a few events in Agesilaus's life. Its real value comes in the fact that it offers a different perspective on these events, one that is not so positive toward Agesilaus.
- Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* – A brief story about Agesilaus and his willingness to suspend the laws of the Lacedaemonians for reasons of political expediency.
- Frontinus, *Stratagems* – His version of the events surrounding the Battle of Sardis are fairly lacking and possibly conflate two events into one. He would certainly be utilizing one of the many sources available to him at the time, i.e., Diodorus, the *HO*, Xenophon, et al. The value of his source is primarily in showing the various information that was being passed down about Agesilaus in the centuries after his lifetime.
- [Dio Chrysostom] or Favorinus, *Discourse 37. The Corinthian Discourse* – Most likely the work of Favorinus, though included in Dio's *Discourses*. He notes the oft repeated anecdote about Agesilaus refusing to have a statue made of himself.
- Plutarch, *Agesilaus* – A full-length biography on the Spartan king. Like Cornelius Nepos, he mentions Xenophon as a source and certainly makes use of him. He also appears to utilize Diodorus at various places, although all of his other apparent sources outside of Xenophon go unnamed.<sup>130</sup> Despite being so much later than Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, Plutarch's use of various sources and seemingly measured approach to the life of Agesilaus make his biography of considerable value. It shows the types of information concerning Agesilaus that ancients thought to be historical. He also mentions Agesilaus in a number of his other biographies and *Moralia*.
- Dio Chrysostom, *On Kingship* – Another mention of Agesilaus's campaign in Asia, victory in the battle of Sardis, and the Lacedaemonian leaders requesting him to come home to help in the war at home.
- Pausanias, *Description of Greece* – The descriptions he provides of the various battles of Agesilaus are selective and told from a big-picture perspective. He does duplicate many

<sup>129</sup> The numbering for the *Hellosy* follows *FGrH* 66; for a discussion of Diodorus's use of his sources see Robert Drews, "Diodorus and His Sources," *AJP* 83 (1962): 383–92; V. J. Gray, "The Value of Diodorus Siculus for the Years 411–386 BC," *Hermes* 115.1 (1987): 72–89.

<sup>130</sup> D. R. Shipley, *Plutarch's Life of Agesilaos: Response to Sources in the Presentation of Character* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 47–8.

important events in Agesilaus's life and gives the modern reader an idea of the type of historical information about Agesilaus that was passed along long after his time.

- Aelius Aristides, multiple – Mentions Agesilaus's success in his Asiatic campaigns and states that the way he treated his friends, while beneficial to them, actually hurt his city.
- Maximus of Tyre, multiple – Briefly discusses Agesilaus's campaign in Asia, love of honor, envy of Lysander, lineage, etc.
- Apuleius, *Apologia* – Another mention of Agesilaus's refusal to allow anyone to make a sculpture of him.
- Polyaeus, *Stratagems of War* – He provides a number of stories that are not recorded elsewhere. Given the time of his writing he obviously would have been dependent on previous information, but his source is still valuable in that it shows the type of information that was passed down concerning Agesilaus's war strategies.
- Philostratus the Elder, *Letters* – Another mention of Agesilaus's love for Megabates.
- Diogenes Laertius, *Xenophon* – While the source places Agesilaus in Asia and returning to Greece, two major movements in the career of Agesilaus that are oft-repeated, its real value is in its evaluation of the relationship between Agesilaus and Xenophon, as discussed above.
- Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* – Tells of Agesilaus's interactions with Persian leaders that are also mentioned by several other ancient writers.

### Comparing the Extant Sources (Step 3)

The previous sections were aimed at answering preliminary questions about Xenophon's *Agesilaus* and, while certainly relevant to the reliability of the biography, are, in actuality, secondary to the task now at hand. The purpose of this section is twofold: to break down the biography into individual data points (as much as possible);<sup>131</sup> and to determine the extent of which those data points are verified, duplicated, inaccurate, or non-verifiable. In order to accomplish the latter purpose, all sources that treat the life of Agesilaus will be examined to see if they confirm or deny the data in Xenophon's biography of the Spartan king.

While the abbreviations for the different "Results" were discussed in the introductory chapter, a few notes are necessary on what is meant by the abbreviations listed under "Type". As for the various "Type" designations, this is simply a way to categorize the different types of

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<sup>131</sup> The breaking down of the biography into data points was very much a subjective exercise and will be discussed further in the final assessment of the work.

primary and secondary information in the biography. The primary type is reserved for a more general designation: AI (authorial insertion), AA (authorial assessment), LA (life of Agesilaus), and WDO (words and deeds of others). The secondary classification is used to sub-categorize details that are primarily categorized as LA: B/O/C (birth/origin/childhood), ML (middle of life), D (death).<sup>132</sup> Just to clarify, AI (authorial insertion) designates those places in the narrative where the author is clearly inserting his voice. These are primarily found in the middle of an extended anecdote or at the beginning/end of a section. In many cases the details he provides in these authorial insertions are extraneous and cannot be evaluated for their historical content. AA (authorial assessment) is used to denote places where the author also inserts himself in the narrative, but it typically involves an assessment of a figure in the biography, whether primary subject, secondary characters, or group. These are instances where the author notes something an individual/group did or said and provides commentary on what that means about the individual/group or how it impacted those around him/them. These statements can be evaluated for their historical content, but often times it will be singularly attested data and very difficult, if not impossible, to verify.<sup>133</sup>

Again, the purpose of the table below is to determine the following: the types of material found in the biography; the percentage of material that is verifiable, i.e., reliable; the percentage of material duplicated in other sources; the percentage that is in error; and the percentage of

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<sup>132</sup> The purpose of the classification system is to see, upon completion of this section, which types of data are the most reliable in the biography.

<sup>133</sup> These types of statements are often the opinions of the author. They *can* be correct, but they are difficult to assess and often include language that is very generalizing in nature. For example, “He was cautious with his enemies but compliant with his friends” (*Ages.* 11.12). Generally speaking, this may be true, but it is ultimately an opinion of the author based on some sort of experience with his subject.

material that is non-verifiable altogether. Following the table will be a summary of its contents and a final evaluation of the reliability of the work.

<b>Key to table below</b>			
<b>Type (Primary):</b> AI (authorial insertion); AA (authorial assessment); LA (life of Agesilaus); WDO (words and deed of others)			
<b>Type (Secondary):</b> B/O/C (birth/origin/childhood); ML (middle of life); D (death account detail)			
<b>Result:</b> V (verified); D (duplicated); CR (conflicting reports); I (inaccurate); NV-NH (non-verifiable, non-historical); NV-SA (non-verifiable, singularly attested)			
<b>Loc.</b>	<b>Data Point</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Result</b>
1.1	Introductory remarks stating how difficult it is to write an “appreciation of Agesilaus” actually worthy of the individual. Will attempt one though because it would not be right to not at least try seeing how good a man he was.	AI	NV-NH
1.2	Agesilaus’s line of descent can be traced back to Heracles, which is filled with “kings and sons of kings.”	LA B/O/C	V <sup>134</sup>
<u>1.3</u> <sup>135</sup>	His family is honored above all others in their fatherland, and their state above all others in Greece; “leaders in a community of leaders.”	AA	NV-SA <sup>136</sup>
1.4	Both the country and the family of Agesilaus should be praised; the state which Agesilaus’s family ruled over never once tried to overthrow their rule, and Agesilaus’s family never tried to acquire more power than was originally conferred upon them.	AA	CR <sup>137</sup>
1.4	“This kingdom alone stands fast continually”; no other government can say the same.	AA	NV-SA
<u>1.5</u>	After King Agis’s death, there was a struggle for the throne between Agesilaus and Leotychidas.	LA ML	D <sup>138</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* 8.131; Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 1.3–4, *Agesilaus* 1.1. These sources discuss various chunks of the lineage of Agesilaus. What is provided in Herodotus and Plutarch’s *Lycurgus* is very similar and record the lineage from Heracles to Leutychides (Agesilaus’s great grandfather). In Plutarch’s *Agesilaus*, we are brought the rest of the way, from Zeuxidamas (Agesilaus’s grandfather) down to our subject. Though not confirming anything in the biography, Maximus of Tyre briefly mentions the lineage of Agesilaus (*On Degrees of Good* (2) 6).

<sup>135</sup> The underlining you see throughout the table will be explained in the concluding remarks of the chapter.

<sup>136</sup> While this specific description cannot be verified, there is no doubt that Agesilaus’s family held a place of prominence in the Greek world.

<sup>137</sup> Interesting that Xenophon says this about his family never trying to gain more power than was originally conferred upon them; Plutarch signals that this type of amenable spirit might have died out with Agesilaus (see Plutarch, *Ages.* 8.3).

<sup>138</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 3.3–4.1; Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 1.2–5; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.8.8. Though this, and subsequent events, are also recorded in the *Hellenica*, throughout this

1.5	Agesilaus was chosen as king because he was more eligible in “point of birth” and “character” (moral excellence).	LA ML	I <sup>139</sup>
1.5	That the state chose Agesilaus to lead is proof of his virtue.	AA	NV-NH
1.6	Xenophon states that Agesilaus was young when he gained the throne.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>140</sup>
<u>1.6</u>	The Persian army was preparing to make war on the Greeks.	WDO	D <sup>141</sup>
<u>1.7</u>	Agesilaus asks the Lacedaemonians for 30 Spartans, 2000 newly enrolled citizens, and 6000 allies in order to go to Asia and either effect a peace or fight with the barbarians.	LA ML	D <sup>142</sup>
1.8	A host of factors aroused excitement in the people regarding Agesilaus’s campaign into Asia – a	LA ML	CR <sup>143</sup>

table I will not reference Xenophon’s history given that the chart above clearly lists those instances.

<sup>139</sup> Xenophon mentions nothing about Agesilaus being chosen because of his moral excellence in the *Hellenica* and neither do the two later biographies by Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos (and Nepos is *closely* following Xenophon’s *Agesilaus*). In *Hell.* 3.3.3–4 it is pretty clear that Agesilaus was chosen based on the case made for him by Lysander in front of a state assembly. In episodes where we can compare the *Hellenica* and the *Agesilaus*, those instances where Xenophon’s appraisal of Agesilaus’s actions are unnecessarily encomiastic are going to be marked “I” when there is a more straightforward account in the *Hellenica*. Furthermore, even Cornelius Nepos, who follows Xenophon closely in his biography, agrees that Lysander played a role in getting Agesilaus into power (*Ages.* 1.5). See also Plutarch, *Agesilaus and Pompey*, 1.2. Plutarch goes much further here than he does in his biography of Agesilaus and actually says that the Spartan acquired the throne by “sinning against both gods and men” (Perrin, LCL). Pausanias also mentions the controversial ascent and the role that Lysander played in getting Agesilaus to the top (*Description of Greece* 3.8.8–10).

<sup>140</sup> Agesilaus was roughly 40 years old when he ascended to the throne. Personally, I do not consider this to be “young,” but Xenophon might at the time of writing and there really is no way to argue against that.

<sup>141</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 2.1; Plutarch, *Ages.* 6.1; Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.79.1.

<sup>142</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 6.2–3; Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.79.1. Diodorus mentions the 30 Spartans and the 6000 soldiers, but not the 2000 newly enrolled citizens. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.9.1–2 mentions Agesilaus’s call for allied troops.

<sup>143</sup> This is difficult because both the *Hellenica* and Plutarch’s *Ages.* (6.1–2) emphasize Lysander’s involvement in persuading Agesilaus to pursue this war. Plutarch explicitly mentions the struggles that Lysander’s friends were facing in Asia and his desire to go over there and help. In the biography, it appears as if it were a collection of reasons held by Agesilaus himself and his citizens that were the driving force behind the decision to go to war. The truth is probably somewhere in between. It would be difficult to mark this as “I”, but there does appear to be a certain distortion of the facts in order to make it more about Agesilaus than anyone else, and understandably so given the nature of the genre. Furthermore, Isocrates’s *To Archidamus* (Agesilaus’s son) 11–14 mentions that Agesilaus had a yearning to wage war against the barbarians and to liberate the Greeks, this would line up with both Agesilaus’s and Lysander’s

	determination to wage an offensive war instead of a defensive one; Agesilaus's desire to make the enemy pay for it all rather than the Greeks; and the possibility of subduing new parts of Asia.		
<u>1.10–11</u>	"This, then, was his first act in Asia" –Tissaphernes and Agesilaus had a truce which, if kept, would result in Tissaphernes obtaining independence for Greek cities in Asia from the Persian king. Tissaphernes actually ended up requesting a larger army to wage war with Agesilaus and broke the truce. Agesilaus is said to have kept his end of the truce despite being betrayed.	LA ML	D <sup>144</sup>
1.12	Xenophon calls the actions of Agesilaus mentioned directly above a noble achievement.	AA	NV-NH
1.12	Xenophon claims that by keeping his end of the truce, Agesilaus made Tissaphernes a perjurer and distrusted everywhere, but it increased the willingness of others (both barbarians and Greeks) to enter into agreements with him.	AA	D <sup>145</sup>
<u>1.13</u>	Tissaphernes was empowered by his enlarged army and threatened war unless Agesilaus left Asia.	WDO	D <sup>146</sup>
<u>1.13</u>	The forces with Agesilaus became afraid because of their weaker position.	WDO	NV-SA
1.13	Agesilaus was fearless in the face of the larger army, and told Tissaphernes' envoys to tell their master that he was grateful for his perjury because he now had the gods on his side as allies of the Greeks.	LA ML	D <sup>147</sup>
<u>1.14</u>	Agesilaus readied his troops at once; told the cities that lay on the lines of the march to Caria to have their markets stocked.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>1.14</u>	Agesilaus told other Greeks to send their troops to Ephesus.	LA ML	D <sup>148</sup>
1.15	Tissaphernes "reflected" on the fact that Agesilaus was without cavalry; he also "thought" that Agesilaus was angry with him because of his deceit.	WDO	NV-SA

reasons for wanting to campaign in Asia (see also, *To Archidamus* 13; *To Philip* 87). Also, in Justin's epitome of Trogus's *Historiae Philippicae* he mentions that the Lacedaemonian leaders were hesitant to put Agesilaus in charge of the forces because of his lame foot (*Prologus* 6.2), which indicates that Xenophon's description of the people as "excited" might be overselling it.

<sup>144</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 2.3–4; Plutarch, *Ages.* 9.1–2; Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.8. Other brief mentions of Agesilaus's time in Asia comes in passing comments by Maximus of Tyre (*Proper Entertainment* 5; *Soldier and Farmer* (1) 2).

<sup>145</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 2.5 ; Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.8.

<sup>146</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 9.1.

<sup>147</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 2.5; Plutarch, *Ages.* 9.3; Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 14.2.

<sup>148</sup> Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.79.3 mentions that once Agesilaus arrived in Asia he acquired 4000 more troops.



<u>1.15</u>	Tissaphernes sent his infantry to Caria and his cavalry to the plain of Maeander to descend upon Agesilaus's men before they got to Caria (it was too difficult to ride there).	WDO	D <sup>149</sup>
<u>1.16</u>	Agesilaus did not attack Caria, went to Phrygia instead and conquered many by surprise attack.	LA ML	D <sup>150</sup>
1.17	Xenophon claims that how Agesilaus dealt with Tissaphernes was a sign of sound generalship	AA	NV-NH
1.17–19	Agesilaus would take the booty he acquired from his conquests and sell it to his friends who would then turn around and sell it for profit. He also allowed his friends to go and lay claim to booty when Agesilaus was told where it was hidden. Many wanted to be his friend because of this.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>1.20</u>	Agesilaus had the wherewithal to not destroy the lands that he conquered, but to treat his captives with gentleness so that they might continue to cultivate the land so it would produce food supply for his troops.	LA ML	NV-SA
1.21	Agesilaus also told his men not to punish their prisoners as criminals, but to treat them as human beings.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>151</sup>
1.21	Agesilaus would also find a place of refuge for the children who were left behind after war	LA ML	NV-SA
1.22	Agesilaus took care of the older prisoners of war so that they would not get eaten by wolves/dogs.	LA ML	NV-SA
1.22	Because of the way he treated people he won over the goodwill of many, including prisoners.	LA ML	NV-SA
1.22	He also treated those captured as freedmen and thereby made his fortresses impregnable to assault.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>1.23</u>	Xenophon claims that a campaign in the plains of Phrygia was impossible due to Pharnabazus's cavalry.	AA	NV-SA
<u>1.23</u>	Agesilaus decided he needed a cavalry.	LA ML	D <sup>152</sup>
<u>1.23–24</u>	Agesilaus enrolled the wealthiest men in all the cities to raise up riders, horses, and arms to fight in their stead so that they could be exempt from service.	LA ML	D <sup>153</sup>
<u>1.24</u>	Entire cities known for their horse-breeding were to furnish contingents of cavalry; Agesilaus felt that this would	LA ML	NV-SA

<sup>149</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 3.1.

<sup>150</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 3.2; Plutarch, *Ages.* 9.2–3; Frontinus, *Stratagems* 1.8.12; Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.9. Nepos does not mention Agesilaus's deception, just that he attacked Phrygia. Also, Diodorus (*Lib.* 14.79.3) discusses the success Agesilaus had ravaging Phrygia.

<sup>151</sup> While not repeated exactly, his goodwill towards enemies is mentioned in Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.4.

<sup>152</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 9.3.

<sup>153</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 9.3–4.

	ensure a strong cavalry if the horses/riders were from horse-breeding cities.		
1.24	Agesilaus's move to raise up a cavalry was considered an "admirable stroke on his part."	AA	NV-NH
<u>1.25</u>	Agesilaus collects his troops in Ephesus.	LA ML	D <sup>154</sup>
<u>1.25</u>	Agesilaus offered prizes for the cavalry troop that rode the best; to the infantry group that had men in the best condition; to the archers that showed the best proficiency in their duties.	LA ML	D <sup>155</sup>
<u>1.25</u>	Because of this everyone was working hard at their craft.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>1.26</u>	The city where Agesilaus and his men were quartered appeared as a war factory, everyone was busy working.	WDO	D <sup>156</sup>
1.28	Agesilaus "believed that contempt for the enemy would kindle the fighting spirit."	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>1.28</u>	Because of that, those barbarians captured in war were sold naked so that his troops could see the soldiers they were fighting against, white and unfit, and think that the war would be like fighting against women.	LA ML	D <sup>157</sup>
1.28	Agesilaus tells the troops he would lead them "by the shortest route" to the most fertile parts of the country so they should start preparing body and mind.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>158</sup>
1.29	Tissaphernes somehow heard of Agesilaus's plans and "believed" Agesilaus was going to trick him.	WDO	D <sup>159</sup>
1.29	As a result, Tissaphernes sends men to Caria again and stations cavalry at Maeander.	WDO	D <sup>160</sup>

<sup>154</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 3.2; Plutarch, *Ages.* 9.3; Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.79.3; Diogenes Laertius, *Xenophon* 2.6.51.

<sup>155</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 3.3.

<sup>156</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 3.2; slightly different language, but the idea is the same.

<sup>157</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 9.5; Frontinus, *Stratagems* 1.11.17; Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.6; Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 12.550e.

<sup>158</sup> While we read the same in Xenophon's *Hell.*, this is not repeated in any additional source and is ultimately singularly attested material. There are multiple sources that record the events described here in 1.28–32, however, and many contain conflicting reports; cf. with *HellOxy* 14.3–6 (*FGrH* 66 F 7); Diod. Sic., *Lib.* 14.80.1–4 (utilizing *HellOxy*); Xenophon, *Hell.* 3.4.20–24; Plutarch, *Ages.* 10.1–4; Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 3.4–5; Pausanias 3.9.6. The source that is of most value is the *HellOxy*, as it provides a differing account than what we find in the *Ages.* and *Hell.* and was written very close to the time of the actual events. Diodorus Siculus appears to be using the *HellOxy* and Pausanias might be using Diodorus. Nepos appears to be using Xenophon and Plutarch appears to be using a combination of the *HellOxy* and Xenophon's *Ages.* For help in sorting out who is using whom, see Bruce, *Historical Commentary*, 151–52.

<sup>159</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 10.1–2; Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 3.4–6.

<sup>160</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 10.1–2; Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 3.4–6.

1.29	Agesilaus, however, did as he said and marched straight to “the neighborhood of Sardis.”	LA ML	CR <sup>161</sup>
1.29	For 3 days, his route went through a country without enemies and his troops helped themselves to provisions. On the fourth day, the enemy’s cavalry showed up.	LA ML	CR <sup>162</sup>
1.30	The enemy’s cavalry was told to cross the river Pactolus and set up camp.	WDO	CR <sup>163</sup>
1.30	The enemy cavalry killed a large number of Greeks.	WDO	V <sup>164</sup>
1.30	Agesilaus ordered his cavalry to go to their aide.	LA ML	CR <sup>165</sup>

<sup>161</sup> The *Helloxy* is incredibly difficult to read here, but there appears to be enough visible points of contact between the *Helloxy* and Diodorus to conclude that the latter is following the former at this point. The major difference between the two accounts is the geographical direction in which Xenophon has Agesilaus heading. Diodorus places Agesilaus heading in a more northerly route, up to the Sipylus mountains, while Xenophon has Agesilaus heading in a more easterly route to the Pactolus river and the Tmolus mountains. It is difficult to tell which historian has it correct and while other parts of the *Helloxy* and Diodorus’s accounts seem more accurate, it is difficult to break from Xenophon here because of his supposed participation in the event. Even if Xenophon was left behind at Ephesus, as some have suggested, he would still have almost immediate and direct access to the details of the battle upon Agesilaus and co.’s return to their home base. Plutarch says that they went to the plain of Sardis (*Ages.* 10.2), as does Dio Chrysostom (*On Kingship* 7). Pausanias mentions that the battle was fought in the plain of the Hermus river, which would seem to follow Diodorus (*Description of Greece* 3.9.5–6).

<sup>162</sup> Both the *Helloxy* (14.3) and Diodorus (*Lib.* 14.80.1) indicate that Tissaphernes’s troops were following closely behind Agesilaus during his plundering escapades, picking off stragglers, not arriving three days after the plundering began. Plutarch (*Ages.* 10.2) does not mention this three-day, enemy-free, plundering that Xenophon reports. Nepos (*Ages.* 3.4–6) notes that Tissaphernes’s troops were late getting to Agesilaus and by the time they had arrived he had already acquired much booty.

<sup>163</sup> This note about the Pactolus river puts Xenophon’s account at odds with what we find in the *Helloxy* (14.2) and Diodorus (*Lib.* 14.80.1), though what we have in the *Helloxy* is very difficult to read at this particular point. It does appear, however, that Xenophon is being consistent with his earlier note about Agesilaus telling his troops that he would lead them “by the shortest route” (1.28), though Cartledge claims that they are roughly the same distance. Plutarch (10.3) appears to follow Diodorus here, though he uses different language than both Xenophon and Diodorus. Nepos provides his reader with an extremely general description as he notes that Xenophon turned toward Phrygia, about the same as saying he went north.

<sup>164</sup> Found in Diodorus (*Lib.* 14.80.1) and the *Helloxy* (14.3); later duplicated by Nepos and Plutarch. Despite the numerous disagreements throughout this episode across the various sources it appears that this is a point at which they all agree.

<sup>165</sup> From this point thru 1.32 (first of the three lines labeled as such below, “The charge...”) Xenophon’s account differs significantly from the *Helloxy* and Diodorus. The differences are so great that scholars have even posited that the sources were discussing an entirely different battle altogether, though some dispute that claim now on the basis of the two versions ending in Agesilaus plundering the enemy’s camp; see specifically Cartledge, *Agesilaos*, 215. The two

1.31	The Persian cavalry saw them coming and gathered together in full strength and confronted Agesilaus's troops.	WDO	CR
1.31	Agesilaus realized that the Persians only had cavalry and not an infantry, he thought now was the time to go to war.	LA ML	CR
1.31	He offered sacrifice and then gave commands to his infantrymen, targeteers, and cavalry to attack.	LA ML	CR
1.32	The charge of the cavalry was met by the Persians but they could not withstand the full attack and many fell, others fled.	WDO	V <sup>166</sup>
1.32	Agesilaus's troops captured their camp; the targeteers started to plunder.	WDO	V <sup>167</sup>
1.32	Agesilaus entrenched his camp there.	LA ML	V <sup>168</sup>
1.33	Agesilaus advances to Sardis because of confusion in the enemy camp.	LA ML	CR <sup>169</sup>
1.33	In Sardis Agesilaus burns/pillages and calls on those who want freedom to join him; he challenges anyone who claims a right to Asia to battle him.	LA ML	NV-SA
1.34	No one opposed him so he continued his campaign with complete confidence.	LA ML	NV-SA

primary differences are found in the absence of the ambush attack led by Xenocles (left out of Xenophon) and the subsequent battle description that paints it more as a minor skirmish rather than a full-scale battle as Xenophon portrays it. The absence of the ambush attack by Xenocles is not entirely unusual given that this is a biography of Agesilaus and it is expected that the narrative should focus on the primary subject. That said, the absence of it in the *Hell*. (if it did actually happen) leads one to believe that what we have in the *HellOxy* and, subsequently, in Diodorus might be the more complete account and, at this juncture, the more reliable. Furthermore, the style of warfare, i.e. arranging and executing an ambush, is something we should expect from Xenophon give his smaller army, unfamiliarity with the terrain, and willingness to employ the tactic on other occasions; see Cartledge, *Agesilaos*, 215–16 for a helpful discussion on these issues. Even Xenophon himself says that was the preferred style of fighting for Agesilaus (6.5–7). I have chosen to mark these details “CR” rather than “I” because of Xenophon’s proximity to the situation and the fact that there are no other accounts that independently confirm what we find in the *HellOxy* and, subsequently, in Diodorus. It would appear that Plutarch is using Xenophon here (see *Ages*. 10.3).

<sup>166</sup> *HellOxy* 14.5; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.9.6.

<sup>167</sup> *HellOxy* 14.6; Plutarch, *Ages*. 10.3; Dio Chrysostom, *On Kingship* 7 mentions Agesilaus’s victory in the battle of Sardis.

<sup>168</sup> *HellOxy* 15.1.

<sup>169</sup> Again, the differences between the account in the *HellOxy* and the *Agesilaus* depart and vary considerably. The timelines of the two works, as to when Agesilaus and his army were where, seems to be significantly different.

1.34	The Greeks were now honored by their foes because of the success of the campaign; those who once challenged them wouldn't even look them in the face.	AA	NV-SA
1.34	He stripped the enemy's country bare and tithed to the god at Delphi over 200 talents.	LA ML	NV-SA
1.35	The Persian king sent Tithraustes to behead Tissaphernes because he thought the latter was the cause for the defeat his army just suffered.	WDO	D <sup>170</sup>
1.35	"All" the nations sent embassies seeking his friendship; many revolted to his side; both Greeks and barbarians acknowledged his leadership.	WDO	NV-SA
1.36	Xenophon says that his conduct calls for "unstinted admiration."	AA	NV-NH
1.36	Xenophon tells us that at this point Agesilaus was "ruler of countless cities", becoming more famous by the day.	LA ML	D <sup>171</sup>
<u>1.36</u>	He was intent of dissolving the empire that had attacked Greece in the past.	LA ML	D <sup>172</sup>
<u>1.36</u>	The state expands Agesilaus's command to include the naval fleet.	LA ML	D <sup>173</sup>
<u>1.36</u>	Despite his lofty position on the mainland and in the islands, and the imminent destruction of the Persian empire by his own handiwork, Agesilaus "suppressed all thought of these things" and when called home to help the fatherland, he answered that call.	LA ML	D <sup>174</sup>
1.36	This showed that he would not take the whole earth in exchange for his fatherland, nothing was worth more to him.	AA	NV-SA
1.37	Agesilaus was able to influence cities in such a positive way that despite the fact they were fractured, he was able to keep them intact and in harmony.	LA ML	D <sup>175</sup>
1.37	Because of this, it is obvious how skilled he was at kingcraft.	AA	NV-NH

<sup>170</sup> Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.80.8; Plutarch, *Ages.* 10.4; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.9.7.

<sup>171</sup> This language is not duplicated exactly in any source, but it is mentioned that Agesilaus was successful in Asia. For ex., Plutarch, *Ages.* 15; Aelius Aristides, *Regarding Rome* 17, *The Second Leuctran Oration* 43; Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 1.48.3.

<sup>172</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 15.1 mentions his desire to continue his conquest of Asia and to ultimately take the power away from the Persians.

<sup>173</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 10.5; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.9.6.

<sup>174</sup> Not all of what Xenophon says here is duplicated, but there are parts in Plutarch's biography (15.1, 4–5); also, Cornelius Nepos (4.2–3). Diodorus (*Lib.* 14.83.1) notes, in a more simplistic way, that those in charge voted and subsequently sent for Agesilaus. Dio Chrysostom also discusses this much later; see Dio Chrysostom, *On Kingship* 7. Pausanias also mentions Agesilaus's decision to go back home at this time (*Description of Greece* 3.9.12, 4.17.5).

<sup>175</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 15.1.

1.38	The Greeks in Asia mourned his departure.	WDO	D <sup>176</sup>
1.38	They mourned not because he was their ruler, but because he was also viewed as their father/comrade.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>1.38</u>	Others joined his army as he headed back to his fatherland, “knowing” that the enemy they were to face was a stout one.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.1</u>	Agesilaus crosses the Hellespont.	LA ML	D <sup>177</sup>
<u>2.1</u>	He passes through the same tribes as the Persian king once did.	LA ML	D <sup>178</sup>
<u>2.1</u>	He did it in a month as opposed to a year for the Persian king.	LA ML	D <sup>179</sup>
2.1	He traveled swiftly because he “had no intention” of being late in coming to the aide of his fatherland.	LA ML	CR <sup>180</sup>
<u>2.2</u>	As he entered into Thessaly, those local to the area (from Larisa, Crannon, Scotussa, and Pharsalus) began harassing him and his army.	WDO	D <sup>181</sup>
<u>2.2</u>	Agesilaus instructed his army to form a hollow square where half of his cavalry was in front, the other half in back.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>182</sup>
<u>2.2</u>	The attacks to his rear guard were too intense so he sent his cavalry in the front to help out in the rear.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>2.3</u>	The Thessalians eventually backed off.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.3</u>	Noticing their error, Agesilaus sent additional troops to the rear to attack at full speed.	LA ML	NV-SA

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<sup>176</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 15.5.

<sup>177</sup> The fact that Agesilaus returned home from Asia at the behest of his fatherland is oft repeated. While there is not an independent source that verifies this particular data point, it should probably be considered as such. I will discuss issues like this in the concluding remarks of the chapter. Those later historians/biographers that note this include Polybius, *Histories* 3.6.11; Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.83.3; Plutarch, *Ages.* 16.1; Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 4.5; Diogenes Laertius, *Xenophon* 2.6.51.

<sup>178</sup> Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.83.3.

<sup>179</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 4.5.

<sup>180</sup> Justin, *Prologus* 6.4; Justin, summarizing the work of Trogus, notes that Agesilaus was actually tardy in returning home and this forced the Lacedaemonians to raise up an army and meet the enemy. Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.83.1 and Plutarch, *Ages.* 16.4 both appear to reference this great battle and that Agesilaus was not a part of it.

<sup>181</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.9.12.

<sup>182</sup> From here thru 2.4 we read a different version of events than what is found in Diodorus (14.83) and Plutarch (16). It appears as if Xenophon is focusing on one small battle that occurred while the others are giving a big-picture perspective. They are not providing conflicting reports, rather different perspectives most likely suited to their purposes.

<u>2.3–4</u>	Many of the Thessalians were captured; Polymarchus the Phalasian fell in the fight.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.4</u>	A wild fight ensued and did not stop until they reached Mt. Narthacium; some enemies were killed, others taken prisoner.	LA ML	D <sup>183</sup>
<u>2.5</u>	Agesilaus set up a trophy “between Pras and Narthacium.” He was proud of himself for defeating an enemy that was proud of its cavalry with one that he had created on his own.	LA ML	D <sup>184</sup>
2.5	Agesilaus crossed the Achaean mountains of Phthia and was in friendly territory until he reached Boeotia.	LA ML	V <sup>185</sup>
<u>2.6</u>	Once he entered into the territory of Boeotia, he encountered several groups that were allied against him – Thebans, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Aenianians, Euboeans, and both Locrian tribes.	WDO	D <sup>186</sup>
<u>2.6</u>	Agesilaus immediately readied his army for battle.	LA ML	D <sup>187</sup>
<u>2.6</u>	In addition to his own army, Agesilaus had with him a regiment and a half from the Lacedaemonians and local allies, both Phocians and Orchomenians.	WDO	D <sup>188</sup>
2.7	Xenophon says that he is not about to say that Agesilaus’s army was inferior in both numbers and in quality, and despite this that Agesilaus still accepted battle, this would show that the king had little common sense.	AI	NV-NH
2.7–8	Instead, Xenophon says that Agesilaus had made his army smarter, more confident, able to endure, inspired, and filled with hope that good things would happen. Agesilaus believed that men who were prepared like this would fight will all their strength.	AA	NV-SA
2.9	Xenophon writes, “I will describe the battle, for there has been none like it in our time.”	AI	NV-NH <sup>189</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 16.5

<sup>184</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 16.5.

<sup>185</sup> His presence in Boeotia is verified by a few sources, both Andocides and Lysias (mentioned above) note his presence there. The former discusses his military victory (discussed below).

<sup>186</sup> Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.84.1; Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.24.

<sup>187</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.1.

<sup>188</sup> Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.84.1; Plutarch, *Ages.* 17.2; The exact makeup of the additional forces differs between the three sources, though that could be due in part to the different authors referring to groups at different levels of their various identifications.

<sup>189</sup> The statement itself is NV, but it does appear that what follows is an account given by an eyewitness. Plutarch says that Xenophon was present and follows him very closely throughout this battle (Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.2). See also Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.3.16 and *Anabasis* 5.3.6.

<u>2.9</u>	The two armies met in the plain of Coronea, Agesilaus coming from Cephissus, the Thebans from Hellicon.	LA ML	D <sup>190</sup>
2.9	Each side thought that the two armies matched up evenly.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.9</u>	Agesilaus was on the right side of the formation.	LA ML	D <sup>191</sup>
<u>2.9</u>	The Orchomenians on the left; the other army had the Thebans positioned on the right and the Argives on the left.	WDO	D <sup>192</sup>
<u>2.10</u>	As they approached they maintained silence but when they were about a furlong apart the Thebans cried out and rushed ahead.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.10–11</u>	At this point, some of the mercenary troops under Herippidas, the Cyreians, Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellespontines rushed to attack the opponent and with their spears they fought back the opposition.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>193</sup>
<u>2.11</u>	The Argives fled despite not even being engaged by Agesilaus's army.	WDO	D <sup>194</sup>
<u>2.11</u>	Agesilaus's mercenary troops were celebrating when someone came and alerted Agesilaus that the Thebans had been able to get through the Orchomenians and were now in the baggage train.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>195</sup>
<u>2.11</u>	Agesilaus repositions his troops to engage and so do the Thebans. Each side is ready for battle.	LA ML	D <sup>196</sup>
2.12	Xenophon comments that what Agesilaus does next wasn't necessarily the safest thing, but he did show courage.	AA	NV-NH
<u>2.12</u>	Agesilaus makes a strong frontal attack on the Thebans, some died.	LA ML	D <sup>197</sup>
2.12	Xenophon notes that the area was filled with sounds of battle.	AA	V <sup>198</sup>
<u>2.12</u>	Some Thebans "broke through and reached the Hellicon," many died in their retreat.	WDO	D <sup>199</sup>

<sup>190</sup> Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.84.1; Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.1; Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 4.5; Aelius Aristides, *The Second Leuctran Oration* 32.

<sup>191</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.1.

<sup>192</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.1.

<sup>193</sup> Xenophon briefly describes the battle directly around Agesilaus while Plutarch and Diodorus focus on the fact that the Orchomenians were quickly disposed of by the Thebans (Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.2; Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.84.1).

<sup>194</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.2; Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.84.1.

<sup>195</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.2; he does say that the Thebans swiftly defeated the Orchomenians.

<sup>196</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.2.

<sup>197</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.2.

<sup>198</sup> This is such an obvious statement that it cannot be wrong. Battles are not fought in silence.

<sup>199</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.4; It's possible that Polyaeus is describing this in *Stratagems* 2.1.19.



2.13	Xenophon says Agesilaus was the victor.	AA	V <sup>200</sup>
<u>2.13</u>	Agesilaus was wounded severely, in every part of his body with every sort of weapon.	LA ML	D <sup>201</sup>
<u>2.13</u>	Some of the army rode up to Agesilaus and told him that eighty men of the enemy army were holed up in a temple. Rather than pursue them Agesilaus decided to instruct his cavalry to put them in a safe place. He did this out of respect for the gods.	LA ML	D <sup>202</sup>
<u>2.14</u>	Xenophon discusses the battlefield from the perspective of someone who was there...he describes the color of the ground, the numerous people dead on the ground, the smashed articles of war, the way some were impaled by spears and knives.	AA	NV-SA <sup>203</sup>
<u>2.15</u>	Xenophon notes that they drug the enemy's dead behind their camp's line, ate supper and slept.	LA ML	D <sup>204</sup>
<u>2.15</u>	Agesilaus has on staff an individual named Gylis, referred here to as a "polemarch."	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>205</sup>
<u>2.15</u>	Agesilaus orders Gylis to get the army in battle order, set up a trophy, and that every man should wear a wreath in honor of the god, and all flute players to play.	LA ML	D <sup>206</sup>
<u>2.16</u>	The Thebans sent someone to ask Agesilaus if they could bury their own dead under a truce, it was allowed.	WDO	D <sup>207</sup>
2.16	Agesilaus leaves for home, "choosing, instead of supreme power in Asia, to rule and to be ruled at home according to the constitution."	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>2.17</u>	Agesilaus goes to war again against the Argives because they were enjoying the fruits of their land and enjoying war; they also had appropriated Corinth.	LA ML	D <sup>208</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Andocides confirms this years before Xenophon's *Agesilaus* (see Andocides, *On the Peace with Sparta* 18). Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.9.13 mentions that Agesilaus made his way into Boeotia and won the battle of Coronea.

<sup>201</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.2–3; Justin, *Prologus* 6.4.

<sup>202</sup> With some variation in Plutarch 19.1; a similar story is recounted in Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 4.6–7; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.9.13; and Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.5.

<sup>203</sup> While this could be description for entertainment's sake, I think it is more likely the case that Xenophon is describing what he saw.

<sup>204</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 19.1; Plutarch does not say whose dead specifically, just that Agesilaus was intent on getting "the dead" inside the encampment.

<sup>205</sup> "Polemarch," appears to be the correct title for someone in Gylis's position; see Xenophon, *Minor Works*, trans. J. S. Watson (London: George Bell & Sons, 1891), 20n1. Watson points out that the title "polemarch" was used in other ancient sources to speak of an individual who was commander of a *mora* (roughly 500 men).

<sup>206</sup> Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.84.2, though no mention of Gylis's involvement.

<sup>207</sup> Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 14.84.2; Plutarch, *Ages.* 19.2–3.

<sup>208</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 21.1–2; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.10.1–2.

<u>2.17</u>	Agesilaus destroyed their territory then went to Corinth by “the pass”; he then captured the “walls leading to Lechaem.”	LA ML	D <sup>209</sup>
2.17	As a result of previous actions, he has now “unbarred the gates of Peloponnese.”	AA	NV-NH
<u>2.17</u>	Agesilaus returns home for the festival of Hyacinthus, sang the paeon in honor of “the god,” and took his place assigned by the choirmaster.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>2.18</u>	Agesilaus finds out that the Corinthians were keeping cattle in Peiraeum, harvesting the land, and receiving support from the Boeotians there; he then marches on Peiraeum.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>2.18</u>	Agesilaus saw that Peiraeum was heavily guarded so he moved his camp, after breakfast, to a position in front of the capital.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>2.19</u>	Agesilaus finds the Peiraeum undefended, attacks it, and then returns home.	LA ML	NV-SA
2.20	The Achaeans, who were “zealous advocates” for the alliance, “begged” Agesilaus to join them in an expedition against Acarnania.	WDO	I <sup>210</sup>
<u>2.20</u>	The Acarnanians attacked him in a mountain pass; he seized the heights above their heads with “light infantry” and inflicted severe losses on them. After, he set up a trophy.	LA ML	D <sup>211</sup>
2.20	Apparently, this continued until the Acarnanians, Aetolians, and Argives entered into an alliance with Achaeans and himself.	WDO	NV-SA
2.21	Enemies sent embassies desiring peace; Agesilaus rejected the peace offering until he had forced Corinth and Thebes to restore to their homes the people “who had been exiled because of their sympathy towards the Lacedaemonians.”	LA ML	NV-SA

<sup>209</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 21.1–2.

<sup>210</sup> This is not the way this same event is portrayed in the *Hellenica* (4.6.1–4). Here it is reported that the Achaeans threatened to withdraw from the alliance unless the Lacedaemonians came to their aid. Once the ephors heard this plea and realized how reasonable it was they sent Agesilaus to assist the Achaeans. This appears to be an example of Xenophon depicting the events in such a way that it favors Agesilaus rather than giving an actual account of what happened. Interestingly, Plutarch notes that Agesilaus teamed up with the Achaeans in order to do battle with the Acarnanians and that he did so “to gratify the Achaeans” (*Ages.* 22.5). Plutarch’s words could be viewed as being in support of either, so he is of little value here. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.10.2 mentions that Agesilaus was helping Aetolians in a war against Arcania, not the Achaeans.

<sup>211</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 22.5; he simply mentions that Agesilaus “conquered the Acarnanians in battle.”

<u>2.21</u>	He led an expedition against Phleius and also restored the Phleiasian exiles who suffered the same fate as the ones above.	LA ML	NV-SA
2.21	Xenophon opines that while some may censure these actions, they were done in a spirit of true comradeship.	AA	NV-NH
<u>2.22</u>	He led another expedition against Thebes to help out the Lacedaemonians who were getting murdered there.	LA ML	NV-SA
2.22	This too, Xenophon claims, was done in a spirit of comradeship.	AA	NV-NH
<u>2.22</u>	He found that the city was protected on all sides so he crossed the Pass of Cynoscephalae and destroyed the country up to the city walls; he offered to fight the Thebans on the plain and in the hills.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>212</sup>
<u>2.22</u>	He made another expedition against Thebes the following year, crossed the stockade and the trenches at Scolus and destroyed the rest of Boeotia.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>213</sup>
2.23	Xenophon notes that up to this point “he and his city enjoyed unbroken success.” He goes on to state that what happened next was not Agesilaus’s fault.	AA	CR <sup>214</sup>
2.23	After the disaster at Leuctra (apparently his adversaries, in a joint effort with the Mantineans, were murdering his friends in Tegea – a coalition of forces from Boeotia, Arcadia, and Elis were also all involved), he took to battle with only the Lacedaemonians and destroyed the lands of those who killed his friends. He then returned home.	LA ML	D <sup>215</sup>
<u>2.24</u>	Sparta was attacked by a host of different groups (Arcadians, Argives, Eleians, Boeotians – who were all supported by the Phocians, Locrians, Thessalians, Aenianians, Acarnanians, Euboeans). Slaves and members of outlander communities were in revolt. Spartan nobles were killed.	WDO	D <sup>216</sup>
2.24	For the most part, Agesilaus kept the city safe, primarily by not going out into the plains but remaining in the higher places. He believed that by doing so he would be in control of the situation.	LA ML	CR <sup>217</sup>

<sup>212</sup> Polyaeus mentions Agesilaus’s activity in Theban territory (specifically some activity that involved “passes”), but it’s difficult to say whether the same incident that Xenophon is describing here is in view (*Stratagems* 2.1.25).

<sup>213</sup> Polyaeus mentions Agesilaus’s activity around Scolus, but, like event above, it’s difficult to say whether the same incident is in view (*Stratagems* 2.1.11).

<sup>214</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 28.4–5.

<sup>215</sup> Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 15.33.2–3, 15.59.4; Plutarch, *Ages.* 28.5.

<sup>216</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 31.1–2.

<sup>217</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 31.4–6. From what Plutarch reports, things did not appear to be in control. Plutarch does say that Agesilaus sought out higher ground though (32.1–2).

2.25	Xenophon states that “none will deny that his conduct was marked by good sense.”	AI	NV-NH
<u>2.25</u>	Agesilaus was no longer able to serve actively in battle so he set about raising money for his country.	LA ML	NV-SA
2.25	While at home he did all that he could and when an opportunity arose to go abroad he seized it; he was not “ashamed” to go out as an envoy instead of a general.	LA ML	NV-SA
2.26	Even as an envoy he accomplished work worthy of a great general.	AA	NV-NH
2.26	Agesilaus scared off Autophradates who was attacking Ariobarzanes, an ally, in Assos.	LA ML	D <sup>218</sup>
2.26	Cotys, who was besieging Sestus, which was still under the power of Ariobarzanes, broke it off due to Agesilaus’s presence.	WDO	NV-SA
2.26	A trophy was erected to him on account of his conduct and these “bloodless successes.”	LA ML	NV-SA
2.27	Agesilaus was able to persuade Mausolus to sail for home though he was in the midst of besieging an enemy territory.	LA ML	NV-SA
2.27	Xenophon discusses how his success as an ambassador was admirable.	AA	NV-NH
2.27	Everyone was giving him money – those who were under obligation to him and those who even fled from him.	WDO	D <sup>219</sup>
2.27	Agesilaus was sent home by a great escort from Tachus and Mausolus (the latter had given money to Lacedaemon on account of his friendship with Agesilaus).	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>2.28</u>	When Agesilaus was 80, he became aware of the King of Egypt’s desire to go to war with Persia. The king of Egypt had plenty of resources to accomplish this goal.	LA ML	D <sup>220</sup>
2.28	Agesilaus was “delighted” when he was summoned by the Egyptian king, which actually promised him chief of command.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>2.28</u>	Agesilaus goes to Egypt (implied).	LA ML	D <sup>221</sup>

<sup>218</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Timotheus* 1.3; Nepos mentions a joint effort by Timotheus and Agesilaus in coming to the aid of Ariobarzanes. While it is not entirely clear whether or not they are talking about the exact same situation, I think that they are.

<sup>219</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 7.1–2.

<sup>220</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 8.2.

<sup>221</sup> That Agesilaus spent time in Egypt is something oft repeated, though never verified by an entirely independent source. Later writers mention Theopompus (4<sup>th</sup> cen. BCE) as their source for Agesilaus’s arrival to Egypt and subsequent greeting by Egyptian officials (Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 9.384a, 14.616d–e, 15.676c–d; Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 15.92.2; Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 8.2; Plutarch, *Ages.* 36.3–6), but it appears that Theopompus is leaning heavily on Xenophon’s work. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.10.2 also mentions Agesilaus’s trip to Egypt, as does Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.22.

2.29	There were several things that Agesilaus was hoping to accomplish by aiding the Egyptians – repay them for the gifts they gave to Sparta; liberate the Greeks in Asia again; chastise the Persian for claiming that Messene should be given up.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>2.30</u>	The king of Egypt did not give Agesilaus the chief of command.	LA ML	D <sup>222</sup>
2.30	Agesilaus felt deceived and did not know what he should do.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>2.30</u>	The Egyptian army splintered; one side revolted, the rest deserted him. The king fled to Sidon in Phoenicia and the two remaining forces chose kings to lead them.	WDO	D <sup>223</sup>
2.31	Agesilaus found himself in a tough spot; he had to decide if he was going to support one or the other of the two sides.	LA ML	CR <sup>224</sup>
2.31	He sided with the one whom he thought would be the strongest friend to the Greeks.	LA ML	CR
2.31	Agesilaus worked with this new party to deal a crushing blow to their enemies.	LA ML	D <sup>225</sup>
<u>2.31</u>	His new friend gave him money for his services and he set sail for home.	LA ML	D <sup>226</sup>
<u>2.31</u>	Despite it being the middle of winter, he was anxious to get his state ready to take action against her enemies the following summer.	LA ML	D <sup>227</sup>
3.1	Xenophon provides commentary on the previous sections – that was a record of his deeds, they were done before a crowd of witnesses; they don't need proof, "the mere mention of them is enough and they command belief immediately."	AI	NV-NH
3.1	Xenophon states that what follows is his attempt to show the virtue that Agesilaus possessed in his soul, his love for what is honorable, and his dismissal of all that was base.	AI	NV-NH
<u>3.2</u>	Agesilaus had a deep reverence for religion.	AA	D <sup>228</sup>
3.2	Because of his deep reverence for religion, his enemies relied more on his treaties than they did on their own	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>222</sup> Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 15.92.2; Plutarch, *Ages.* 37.1.

<sup>223</sup> Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 15.92.3; Plutarch, *Ages.* 37.3.

<sup>224</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 37.3–6; Plutarch gives us a different picture that involves Agesilaus waiting to make a decision until he got official word from the leading Lacedaemonians back home. While it is the case that they instructed him to look out for the best interest of Sparta, it was not a decision he made on his own. This seems to be typical of Xenophon throughout his biography, continuously ascribing decisions to Agesilaus as if he was the only actor on stage, so to speak.

<sup>225</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 39.5.

<sup>226</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 40.1–2.

<sup>227</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 40.1–2.

<sup>228</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 4.7.

	friendship with each other. They would rather put their trust in Agesilaus than meet together.		
3.2	Xenophon writes that if anyone thinks that is incredible he will provide some examples.	AI	NV-NH
3.3	Spithridates the Persian placed his family and his troops in the care of Agesilaus when he found out that Pharnabazus wanted to take his daughter from him without marrying her.	WDO	V <sup>229</sup>
<u>3.4</u>	Cotys, ruler of the Paphlagonians, refused to comply with the king, but chose instead to side with Agesilaus and form an alliance with him, offering up the service of his men (1K cavalry, 2K targeteers).	WDO	NV-SA
<u>3.5</u>	Pharnabazus comes and meets with Agesilaus.	LA ML	D <sup>230</sup>
<u>3.5</u>	Pharnabazus made an agreement with Agesilaus, claiming that if he were not made Persian general he would revolt and join Agesilaus.	WDO	D <sup>231</sup>
3.5	Pharnabazus is then reported as saying, “if I become general, I shall make war on you, Agesilaus, with all my might.”	WDO	D <sup>232</sup>
3.5	Xenophon states that Pharnabazus used the language he did “in full confidence that nothing contrary to the terms of the armistice would happen to him.”	AA	NV-SA
4.1	Xenophon writes that he will now discuss Agesilaus’s justice in matters of money.	AI	NV-NH
4.1	No man has ever complained about being defrauded by Agesilaus, but many acknowledged they had benefitted from his generosity.	WDO	NV-SA
4.1	Xenophon writes that since he delighted in giving away his own money it is quite obvious that he would not defraud others.	AA	D <sup>233</sup>

<sup>229</sup> *HellOxy* 24.4; the *HellOxy* confirms that Spithridates sought the protection of Agesilaus, though it does not specify why, just mentions that Spithridates became Pharnabazus’s enemy and fled.

<sup>230</sup> In Porphyrios of Tyre’s *Evangelical Preparation* (3) there is a brief mention of Theopompus’s 4<sup>th</sup> cen. BCE work and its preservation of a story about the meeting between Pharnabazus and Agesilaus. Porphyrios seems to indicate that Theopompus is using Xenophon’s work and manipulating its contents for the worse. Because Theopompus is not independent of Xenophon here “D” is the appropriate designation. Their meeting is also recorded in Plutarch, *Ages.* 12.1–5.

<sup>231</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 12.5.

<sup>232</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 12.5.

<sup>233</sup> Plutarch, *Precepts of Statecraft* 809B; Plutarch is actually citing Xenophon at this point.

4.2	Agesilaus considered not returning favors to people unjust and was actually prone to respond in greater kindness than what he received.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>4.3</u>	In some instances, Agesilaus would give back to his fatherland those rewards that were due him.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>234</sup>
4.3	Xenophon asks the question, “Isn’t it a sign of his freedom from greed that was able to get money from others whenever he wanted in order to give aid to the state or his friends?” <sup>235</sup>	AA	NV-NH
4.4	If Agesilaus was in the habit of selling his favors or taking payment for his benefactions, no one would have felt like they owed him anything.	AA	NV-NH
4.5	Xenophon asks, “Is it not the case that the man who, by noble instinct, refused to take more and would rather take less is beyond the reach of covetousness?”	AA	NV-NH
<u>4.5</u>	Agesilaus was owed “all the property of Agis” and transferred half of his property to his relatives on his mother’s side because they were in need. Xenophon notes that all of Lacedaemon can bear witness to that event.	LA ML	D <sup>236</sup>
4.6	Agesilaus was reportedly offered a great sum by Tithraustes in order to leave his country. He responded by saying, “Among us, Tithraustes, a ruler’s honor requires him to enrich his army rather than himself, and to take spoils rather than gifts from the enemy.”	LA ML	D <sup>237</sup>
5.1	Xenophon asks, “Can anyone mention a time when Agesilaus yielded to any of the pleasures which other men enjoy?”	AI	NV-NH
5.1	Agesilaus thought drunkenness and overeating should be avoided.	LA ML	D <sup>238</sup>
5.1	Agesilaus would give both of his portions away (he received a double portion at public meals) to whomever he wanted in order to honor them; this, he believed, was the purpose of those double portions.	LA ML	NV-SA

<sup>234</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 7.2–4; here he discusses his lack of greed, not entirely sure if they both have the same thing in mind, but the fact that Agesilaus was not one who was completely enamored with acquiring large sums of money seems to be pretty accurate.

<sup>235</sup> I am paraphrasing here despite the quotes, this is typical throughout when reproducing the questions that Xenophon poses in the latter half of his biography.

<sup>236</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 4.1

<sup>237</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 10.4; Interestingly, Xenophon does not tell us about Agesilaus taking money from Tithraustes and leaving the area and heading back to Phrygia. Plutarch tells us that he ultimately took the money because Tithraustes chose to punish Tissaphernes, an enemy to all Greeks.

<sup>238</sup> Plutarch, *Sayings of Spartans* 210A

5.2	Sleep was not his “master”, but the “servant of his activities”; he maintained modest accommodations and would experience shame if he did not; he thought that a ruler’s superiority over his subordinates should be shown by endurance, not weakness.	AA	D <sup>239</sup>
5.3	What he did take more of his fair share was hardships – the summer’s heat and the winter’s cold; he enjoyed hard work and thought that by working hard it would encourage his men. Xenophon claims that he “gloried” in his hard work and “showed a strong distaste for indolence.”	AA	D <sup>240</sup>
5.4	Agesilaus had “habitual control of his affections.”	AA	D <sup>241</sup>
5.4	Agesilaus loved Megabates, the handsome son of Spithridates.	LA ML	V <sup>242</sup>
<u>5.4</u>	Even though it was a custom of the Persians to bestow a kiss on those they honor, Agesilaus refused a kiss from him. Xenophon says that this was a sure act of moderation.	LA ML	D <sup>243</sup>
<u>5.5</u>	Megabates was dishonored by the event and did not try to kiss Agesilaus again.	WDO	D <sup>244</sup>
<u>5.5</u>	Agesilaus approached a companion of his and asked if Megabates could try and honor him again.	LA ML	D <sup>245</sup>
<u>5.5</u>	Xenophon records direct speech here, as the companion of Megabates asks Agesilaus if he would kiss Megabates if he yields. Still, Agesilaus refused to kiss Megabates. Agesilaus claims he would rather fight the temptation.	LA ML	D <sup>246</sup>
5.6	Xenophon remarks that no one has ever reported Agesilaus behave in such a way as this, i.e., indulging his passions.	AA	NV-NH
<u>5.7</u>	He stayed in temples when he was away from his home, or in a public place where people could witness his integrity.	LA ML	D <sup>247</sup>
6.1	Agesilaus fought against the strongest of enemies and always put himself at the front of the struggle; this was a clear sign of his courage.	AA	NV-SA
6.2	Agesilaus won his battles by engaging the enemy, not by scaring them away.	LA ML	CR <sup>248</sup>

<sup>239</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 14.2.

<sup>240</sup> On his willingness to take on hardship, see Plutarch, *Ages.* 2.2; Plutarch says that because of his lameness he never refused a hardship or difficult task.

<sup>241</sup> Isocrates, *To Archidamus* 13; Plutarch, *Ages.* 14.1.

<sup>242</sup> *HellOxy* 24.4; Plutarch, *Ages.* 11.5; Philostratus the Elder, *Letters* 8.

<sup>243</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 11.5.

<sup>244</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 11.6.

<sup>245</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 11.7.

<sup>246</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 11.7; Maximus of Tyre, *Socratic Love* (2) 5.

<sup>247</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 14.1

<sup>248</sup> Interesting that Xenophon says this when he says the exact opposite in 2.11 concerning the Argives fleeing in terror. Also, Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.30, tells of an interesting story where



6.2	People could see the toll war had taken on his body, the trophies he had won, and determine what kind of man he was.	AA	NV-NH
6.3	Xenophon appears to imply that Agesilaus was victorious in all his campaigns; he has as many trophies as the number of campaigns he went on.	LA ML	CR <sup>249</sup>
6.3	Agesilaus did gain some of his victories because his opponents were unwilling to engage. <sup>250</sup>	LA ML	NV-SA
6.4	Agesilaus's wisdom is evidenced by all of his deeds.	AA	NV-NH <sup>251</sup>
6.4	Xenophon claims that Agesilaus's friends and troops all loved him because of his absolute obedience towards his fatherland.	AA	D <sup>252</sup>
6.5	Agesilaus gave his enemy "no chance to disparage him."	AA	NV-SA
<u>6.5–6.7</u>	Agesilaus was a crafty general – he was known to practice deceit when necessary; anticipating others' actions; by hiding if necessary; using the exact opposite methods on his enemies that he would normally use on his friends; hiding his movements by cloaking them with the night; utilizing spaces to his advantage and always having the stronger position; he moved quietly and always had his troops ready and calm if he sensed battle was near;	LA ML	D <sup>253</sup>
6.8	He was terrifying to his enemies, but his friends believed in him greatly – he was never despised by his enemies though, the citizens of the state did not censure him, his friends approved of him and he was beloved by everyone in all the world.	AA	CR <sup>254</sup>
7.1	No single act could tell of his great patriotism.	AA	NV-NH

Agesilaus took some captives, placed them naked in front of his army, and those that they were fighting against recognized them as relatives and stop attacking. I would not say this is "scaring his opponents away," but it is not exactly engaging them either.

<sup>249</sup> Repeated by Polybius, *Histories* 3.6.11; For an alternate view see Cornelius Nepos, *Chabrias* 1.1; *Conon* 2.2–4. The story about Chabrias's bravery in the face of Agesilaus is repeated in Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.2.

<sup>250</sup> This appears to be in direct contrast to what he says in 6.2.

<sup>251</sup> These types of general statements are nearly impossible to verify or disprove. Having said that, if you read both Plutarch's *Agesilaus* and his *Agesilaus and Pompey*, a comparison of the two great figures, you get an entirely different impression than what Xenophon says here. His assessment is much more even-handed, and as a result, harsher.

<sup>252</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 4.1–2, 15.4–6.

<sup>253</sup> Frontinus, *Stratagems* 1.10.3, 2.6.6 (cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.3.19); also, Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.17 (repeated in 15.2).

<sup>254</sup> There really is not a good place to put this anecdote, but there is a story in the *Hellenica* and subsequently reproduced by others that portrays Agesilaus as petty, jealous, and filled with anger at his closest confidant, Lysander (Xenophon, *Hell.* 3.4.8–9; Philodemus, *On Vices* 10; Maximus of Tyre, *Friendship* 8).

7.1	Agesilaus, according to Xenophon, never shirked toil, shrank from danger, spared money, excused himself from service because of old age/illness; he believed that it was the duty of a king to do as much good as possible.	AA	D <sup>255</sup>
7.2	One of the greatest things he did, according to Xenophon, was that he was law abiding.	AA	CR <sup>256</sup>
7.3	Agesilaus was like a father was to a child with his political opponents; chiding them if they failed but praising if they did well. He stood by them if disaster fell.	AA	NV-SA
7.3	He was fair to all the citizens; cared for their safety, even the least of them.	AA	NV-SA
7.3	He believed that if the citizens continuously obeyed the law then the fatherland would prosper and be strong “when the Greeks were prudent.”	AA	NV-SA
7.5	During a battle at Corinth 8 Lacedaemonians were killed and 10,000 of the enemy; instead of showing joy, he exclaimed, “Alas for thee, Hellas! those who now lie dead were enough to defeat all the barbarians in battle had they lived!”	LA ML	D <sup>257</sup>
7.6	When faced with an imminent takeover by his Greek enemies he exclaimed, “And if we are going to annihilate the erring members of our own race, let us beware lest we lack men to help in the conquest of the barbarians.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>258</sup>
7.7	Agesilaus was more interested in harming the barbarian than he was with warring with his fellow Greeks.	AA	CR <sup>259</sup>
8.1	He was not arrogant, but instead was fatherly and a servant to his people.	AA	NV-SA

<sup>255</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 4.3–4; Plutarch talks about how Agesilaus was always quick to honor those who were in power, mainly the ephors and the senate. He was always willing to do what they asked him to do and was quick to honor them in public. His behavior pleased them and allowed him to find favor with them.

<sup>256</sup> On two occasions, Plutarch, *Ages.* 30 and Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* 7.2.15, our sources report that Agesilaus essentially suspended the city’s laws so that those who were going to be punished under them would avoid said punishment. I do not consider using one’s power to help others avoid punishment, no matter how expedient it is, to be “law-abiding.” This story is repeated in Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.13. See also Plutarch, *Ages.* 13.3–4, 26.1–5, 32.3–7.

<sup>257</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages.* 5.2–3.

<sup>258</sup> The saying itself is not attested in Nepos, but an episode portraying an “imminent takeover” and Agesilaus’s sound generalship is (*Ages.* 6.1–3). Also, a similar statement can be found in Plutarch, *Ages.* 16.4–5, though in a different context.

<sup>259</sup> It is difficult to know just how much weight to give Polybius’s statement on the matter, or if Polybius is even talking about intra-Greek relations when he says what he does, but there is at least some chatter regarding Agesilaus’s poor conduct towards fellow Greeks to the contrary of what Xenophon says here; see Polybius, *Histories* 9.23.4–9.

8.2	He spent time making small talk but he also took seriously the more pressing matters; he was optimistic, good humored, cheerful; the center of attention; he listened to those who boasted without annoyance, thinking that if he listened to them it was really doing no harm.	AA	NV-SA
8.3	When appropriate he showed dignity; for example, he was unwilling to accept friendship from the Persian king via letter, saying, “Tell his Majesty that there is no need for him to send me private letters, but, if he gives proof of friendship for Lacedaemon, and good-will towards Greece, I on my part will be his friend with all my heart. But if he is found plotting against them, let him not hope to have a friend in me, however many letters I may receive.”	AA	D <sup>260</sup>
8.4	Agesilaus admired the ruler that was the better leader of his people, not the one who had the most money or subjects.	AA	NV-SA
8.5	Agesilaus believed that it benefitted Greece if a number of satraps revolted from the king; he was not swayed by gifts or the king’s acceptance of his hospitality and was careful not to give reason to any to revolt because they did not trust him.	AA	NV-SA
8.6	Xenophon notes that the Persian king believed that he would subject all things to himself because of his great wealth and for this reason he went about amassing as much as he could.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>8.6</u>	Agesilaus, on the other hand, was not ostentatious, he did not acquire gold/silver just to acquire it or decorate his home in a lavish manner.	AA	D <sup>261</sup>
8.7	Xenophon mentions Aristodemus, a past relative of Agesilaus, as once having lived and owned a house in Sparta.	WDO	CR <sup>262</sup>
<u>8.7</u>	His daughter used less than lavish transportation.	WDO	D <sup>263</sup>
8.8	Because of the way Agesilaus viewed wealth he never felt compelled to commit an injustice for the sake of obtaining riches.	AA	CR <sup>264</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 23.5–6; Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 10.20.

<sup>261</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 19.5

<sup>262</sup> In this brief mention of Aristodemus, Xenophon is actually passing on a tradition about the man that was unique to the Lacedaemonian people. Ephorus et al. do not place Aristodemus in Sparta, he actually died before the Heraklids reached Sparta. It was his sons, Prokles and Eurysthenes, that were the first to rule there; see Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 17, 18b-c, 117 and subsequent discussions beneath each for more information. Plutarch repeats what Xenophon says here, but with a little more caution (Plutarch, *Ages.* 19.5).

<sup>263</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 19.5–6.

<sup>264</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 35.1–4.

9.1	Xenophon notes that he will now point out several points of contrast between the Persian king and Agesilaus.	AI	NV-NH
9.1	The Persian “thought his dignity required he should be seldom seen.”	WDO	NV-SA
9.1	Agesilaus was constantly visible to his people, “believing that, whereas secrecy was becoming to an ugly career, the light shed luster on a life of noble purpose.” <sup>265</sup>	LA ML	NV-SA
9.2	The Persian king was difficult to approach.	WDO	NV-SA
9.2	Agesilaus was accessible by all.	LA ML	NV-SA
9.2	The Persian king was tarty in negotiations.	WDO	NV-SA
9.2	Agesilaus would send away people speedily when they obtained what they sought.	LA ML	NV-SA
9.3	Agesilaus was so much simpler and more easily satisfied in matters of personal comfort.	LA ML	D <sup>266</sup>
9.3	The Persian always had his people looking for extravagant drink, food, and was difficult to please when it came to where/how he slept.	WDO	D <sup>267</sup>
9.3	Agesilaus didn’t require extravagance in what he ate or where he slept or what he drank, would use what was readily available and be happy about it.	LA ML	D <sup>268</sup>
9.4	Where Agesilaus would be happy with what he had, he noticed that the Persian king would scour the ends of the earth to make himself comfortable.	LA ML	NV-SA
9.5	Agesilaus didn’t shrink from the elements, could handle heat/cold, and was willing to adapt to the divine ordering of the world; the Persian king could not and was weak in that regard.	LA ML	D <sup>269</sup>
<u>9.6</u>	Agesilaus raised horses and dogs and persuaded his sister Cynisca to breed chariot horses; he showed in this that a winning stud is the sign of a wealthy person, not necessarily that the win is merit based.	LA ML	D <sup>270</sup>
9.7	Agesilaus did not seek victory in games, but in affection, friendship, service, handling his adversaries; this is a sign of his true nobility notes Xenophon.	AA	NV-SA

<sup>265</sup> This is not a direct quote from Agesilaus, just odd phrasing in Marchant’s translation that I thought needed to be duplicated.

<sup>266</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 7.2, 14.1–2.

<sup>267</sup> Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 4.145a preserves a brief note in Theompompus’s work that talks about the costs of the “Great King’s” meals, particularly how they cost upwards of twenty to thirty talents, an enormous amount.

<sup>268</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 19.4–5.

<sup>269</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 14.2.

<sup>270</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 20.1–2.

10.1	Xenophon notes that he is transitioning from listing the qualities he praises Agesilaus for having to detailing all the things that show he is the “perfect embodiment of goodness.”	AI	NV-NH
10.2	Agesilaus’s virtue should serve as an example for those who want to make goodness a habit.	AI	NV-NH
10.2	Agesilaus prided himself on self-control, not the control of others; less on leading in war than on leading others to virtue.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>271</sup>
10.3	Xenophon states that his words are not a funeral dirge, but a eulogy.	AI	NV-NH
10.3	Xenophon notes that this type of praise language was something Agesilaus was used to hearing in his lifetime.	AI	NV-NH
10.4	Xenophon says that a man who acquired more glory than any other man and desired it from his youth should be praised/blessed.	AI	NV-NH
10.4	He coveted honor.	LA ML	D <sup>272</sup>
10.4	He never knew defeat.	LA ML	CR <sup>273</sup>
10.4	He never blundered, or had a blunder on his account, either with his own men or those whom he warred against.	LA ML	I <sup>274</sup>
11.1	Xenophon states that he will go through the story “of his virtue” again so that it will be summarized and can be easily remembered.	AI	NV-NH
<u>11.1</u>	Agesilaus revered holy places, no matter if they were those of his enemies; he thought he should make allies of those gods in hostile places just the same as he would at home.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.1	Agesilaus did no harm to those who were participating in active worship.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.2	Agesilaus believed that the gods pleased in righteous deeds done in all places, not just in temples.	LA ML	NV-SA

<sup>271</sup> Isocrates, *To Archidamus* 13 discusses Agesilaus’s “self-control”. He does not mention that Agesilaus “prided himself” on it.

<sup>272</sup> Maximus of Tyre, *Socratic Love* (4) 3; his love of honor is mentioned. Plutarch, *Ages.* 2.2 mentions his actions were always done from a sense of honor.

<sup>273</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Chabrias* 1.1; *Conon* 2.2–4. Both of these sources mention a defeat of sorts; Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.2 repeats the story about Chabrias.

<sup>274</sup> This is an absurd statement, one that really does not need to be refuted with evidence. That being said, Agesilaus certainly blundered at various points in his war efforts. One specific instance happened when he was severely wounded at the battle of Coroneia (Xenophon, *Ages.* 2.12; cf. with Plutarch, *Ages.* 18.2–3). See also Plutarch, *Ages.* 34 (cf. Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 15.82.6; Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.5.4–17; Polybius 9.8). See also Aelius Aristides, *To Plato: In Defense of the Four* 201–2; Aristides notes how Agesilaus was too supportive of his friends and it cost his city its dignity.

11.2	Agesilaus was not puffed up in times of success, offered more sacrifices in times of good than in times of bad.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.2	Agesilaus looked cheerful in fear and humble when successful.	LA ML	D <sup>275</sup>
11.3	Agesilaus welcomed the most devoted man as friend, not the most powerful.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.3	Agesilaus hated the one who didn't show gratitude when someone did him a favor.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.3	Agesilaus wanted to reward what is right more so than what is wrong, justice more than injustice.	LA ML	D <sup>276</sup>
11.4	Agesilaus was intimate with those that were good.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.4	Agesilaus gained insight into the lives of those who were critics more so than those they criticized.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.4	Agesilaus reproached those who let an enemy deceive them.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.5	Agesilaus was pleased by the praise of those "who were prepared to censure faults they disapproved,"; he also "never resented candor, but avoided dissimulation like a snare."	LA ML	D <sup>277</sup>
11.6	Because he thought losing friends was worse than losing money, Agesilaus hated slanderers more than anything.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.6	He was lenient towards private citizens who made mistakes, but became tougher when those in charge erred.	LA ML	CR <sup>278</sup>
11.6	He thought kingship demanded virtue, not indolence.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>11.7</u>	He did not want a statue of himself erected, but instead thought about memorials of his mind.	LA ML	D <sup>279</sup>

<sup>275</sup> On his cheerfulness no matter the crisis, see Plutarch, *Ages.* 2.3.

<sup>276</sup> Isocrates, *To Archidamus* 13 discusses how Agesilaus was "just". Plutarch, *Ages.* 23.5–6 discusses how he thought justice was the most important of virtues.

<sup>277</sup> Plutarch, *How to Tell a Flatterer From a Friend*, 55D; Plutarch actually cites Xenophon here.

<sup>278</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 5.1–2; Plutarch tells us that he was perhaps too lenient on both his enemies and his friends, so much so that the ephors levied a fine against him because it appeared as if, by his leniency, he was "making the citizens his own" when in fact they were property of the state. Of equal import, the Lysander episode in Plutarch (7.1–8.4) shows that Agesilaus was extremely hard on those in charge when they erred, however, there are also two other stories in Plutarch, concerning Phoebidas and Sphodrias (23.1–26.1), where Agesilaus is extremely lenient on two individuals who were both in positions of leadership (both of which are in Xenophon's *Hell.*).

<sup>279</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 2.2; Cicero, *Letters to Friends. To Lucceius* 5.12.7; [Dio Chrysostom] or Favorinus, *Discourses* 37. *The Corinthian Discourse* 43; Apuleius, *Apologia* 15.1. Cicero also provides an interesting note about how Xenophon's eulogy of Agesilaus has been far more beneficial for Agesilaus than "all the portraits and statues under the sun" (Shackleton Bailey, LCL).

11.8	He was just and generous in the use of money; he thought that the generous man needed to spend his money in the service of others.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.8	He lived in awe of the gods; he believed that those who were alive are not yet fully blessed until they die gloriously.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.9	He thought it was worse to neglect the good knowingly than in ignorance.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.9	He did not want fame unless he had earned it.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.9	He saw virtuous living as a pleasure and praise was more pleasing than money.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.9	He displayed courage and prudence; he cultivated wisdom by actions rather than words.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.10	He was just as terrible to his enemies as he was gentle with his friends.	LA ML	D <sup>280</sup>
11.10	He resisted fatigue “obstinately,” but yielded more easily to a comrade, though “fair deeds appealed more to his heart than fair faces.”	LA ML	NV-SA
11.10	He was moderate in times of prosperity and confident in the face of danger.	LA ML	D <sup>281</sup>
11.11	He was urbane in manner.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.11	He was never arrogant, but instead reasonable; showed contempt for the haughty and was humbler than most.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.11	He was simple in his dress, but gave his army the best, he wanted little, but gave much	LA ML	D <sup>282</sup>
11.12	He was a terrible opponent, but gentle when he had conquered his foes.	LA ML	D <sup>283</sup>
11.12	He was cautious with his enemies but compliant with his friends.	LA ML	D <sup>284</sup>
11.12	He made it his constant business to weaken the plans of his enemies.	LA ML	D <sup>285</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> On his gentleness, see Plutarch, *Ages.* 2.1, 5.1–2

<sup>281</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 14.1; discusses his moderation.

<sup>282</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 14.1–2; He discusses how simple he was in appearance.

<sup>283</sup> Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 2.1.4.

<sup>284</sup> Plutarch, *Ages.* 5.1–2

<sup>285</sup> This should probably be marked as “verified” simply because of the obvious nature of the statement, every general is going to make it his business to frustrate the plans of his enemies. While there are numerous stories discussing Agesilaus’s military acumen, a few stand out in Polyaeus’s *Stratagems* (2.1.27, 29–33).

11.13	Xenophon says he was described as “Devoted to family” by his relatives; “an unfailing friend” by those he was intimate with; “unforgetful” by those who served him; “champion” by those who were oppressed; “a savior second to the gods” by those who were in danger.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>286</sup>
11.14–15	Xenophon says that he never wearied in his pursuit of glory as long as his body could support him; he was just as formidable of an opponent in his later years as he was in the prime of his life.	LA ML	D <sup>287</sup>
11.15	His death brought welcome relief to his enemies.	WDO	D
11.15	His allies had full confidence in him, his friends regretted his departure even though he lived life to the fullest.	WDO	D
11.16	His service did not end even after he died; he was a great benefactor even after he died.	AA	NV-SA
<u>11.16</u>	He was “brought home to be laid in his eternal resting-place, and, having raised up monuments of his virtue throughout the world, was buried with royal ceremony in his own land.”	LA D	D <sup>288</sup>

### Interpreting the Results

Because of the tremendous amount of data in the table/notes above, it may be somewhat difficult to recognize the key results. Before I present a summarized version that features a tally of the results and accompanying percentages, I offer a few observations. First, determining what is an actual data point is a fairly subjective process. One scholar may choose to include multiple lines of text in a single data point, while another may break up that same data point into several others. A significant change to the number of data points would obviously impact the percentages in a summary table like the one below. Second, assigning “types” to the various data

<sup>286</sup> We know that at least one of these anonymous ascriptions is disputed due to his interactions with Lysander upon their arrival in Asia (Plutarch, *Ages*. 7.1–8.2), but this has been mentioned elsewhere.

<sup>287</sup> Plutarch cites Xenophon and paraphrases what he says in 11.14–15; Plutarch, *Moralia. Whether an Old Man Should Engage in Public Affairs* 784E–F.

<sup>288</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Ages*. 8.6–7; Nepos mentions the fact that Agesilaus was brought home after having passed away in the Port of Menelaus. See also Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.10.2, who talks about him being brought home while dying on his trip to Egypt.



points was difficult at times. What one scholar may label AA another may label LA or WDO.

There were places where I oscillated between options of how to label certain pieces of information. Ultimately, though, the “type” designation process is not nearly as important, at least for our purposes, as the determination of the “result” label. Marking a data point as V, I, D, CR or NV is clearly more important when it comes to arriving at the conclusions we are seeking. There is less subjectivity involved in that specific process. Here is the breakdown of the various classifications in the table above:

	V	I	D	CR	NV-SA	NV-NH	Total	Percentages
AI						16	16	5.7%
AA	2		10	6	19	19	56	19.8%
LA-BOC	1						1	.3%
LA-ML	3	2	69	15	65		154	54.4%
LA-D			1				1	.3%
WDO	4	1	25	3	22		55	19.4%
Total	10	3	105	24	106	35	283	
Percentages	3.5%	1.1%	37.1%	8.5%	37.4%	12.4%		

By far, the most unexpected percentages are found in the first two “result” columns. Only four percent of the data points were verified, and I was only able to mark one percent as “I” (incorrect). Again, to reiterate, something is verified when that specific data point is found in an additional source that is literarily independent of the one under investigation. Also, something is marked “I” when there are additional *sources*, also literarily independent, that present a different account of the same event and we have reason to believe that account is the more correct one. This was certainly not the result I was expecting for either of the two most important categories. There is, however, a likely reason why this is the case, i.e., the paucity of sources from the time period. There is no doubt that the literary record we have access to has diminished over time and is currently far less in quantity than what it was in antiquity. Simply look at the *Helloxy*, one of our most valuable resources from that time period (and for this project), that has come to us in a

fragmentary state and is simply unreadable at times. If we had a complete manuscript it is likely that both of those percentages increase, since it was used both to verify and prove Xenophon's *Agesilaus* incorrect at points.

The totals for the D and CR columns also warrant further discussion. As mentioned previously, a "D" result signals that the material in Xenophon's *Agesilaus* has been duplicated in a later source or sources. These specific data points were not marked "V" due to the fact that the later source containing the material was not considered to be literarily independent of the biography under investigation. Regardless, what this *does* show is that later authors sought out historical information in Xenophon's *Agesilaus* and did in fact deem a substantial amount of it to be historical or worthy of inclusion in their own works.<sup>289</sup> One can clearly see in the above table just how often Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch utilized Xenophon's *Agesilaus* in the production of their biographies. What is interesting in regard to these two authors is that Plutarch, writing over 100 years after Nepos and almost 500 years after Xenophon, does not appear to make use of the former's biography, instead working closely with Xenophon's *Agesilaus* and *Hellenica* (not to mention other historical works) to produce his own. This signals that Xenophon's biography, while admittedly overly encomiastic in places, was considered, at least by Plutarch, to be a source that was of significant value for understanding the person of Agesilaus and worthy of using in the production of a work that some might consider a more even-handed, historical-in-nature biography. This may have implications for what biographers of his own period *expected*, and therefore often aimed for, in biographic compositions.

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<sup>289</sup> This does not mean that every single data point that is marked "D" should be considered closer to "V" than "I". There are definitely places in the biography that are marked "D" that I still view with skepticism.

The totals/percentages in the CR column should be viewed similarly to the ones in the D column. These are places where there is information that is in conflict with what is Xenophon's *Agésilas* yet there is either no additional source to "tip the scales" or there is no indication from where the other author got his information. There simply is not enough information to mark the specific data point as "I". We should view these specific places with measured skepticism in regard to their historical claims. Xenophon, at times, makes some pretty outlandish claims that others are quickly to refute or give a more even-handed explanation and/or record of the event(s). Even though we cannot be certain that these authors are correct in what they report when refuting Xenophon, I tend to think that the more even-handed account is the more accurate one.

Finally, before moving on, the percentage of NV-SA material needs to be discussed. This is material that was found only in Xenophon's *Agésilas*. It was somewhat surprising that 37% of the data points in his biography were unable to be verified or refuted.<sup>290</sup> Much of this material comes in the form of Xenophon making somewhat general claims about the person of Agesilaus, often times extremely laudatory material that later writers might look at as suspect or as simply Xenophon's perception of the man and not exactly the type of material they are willing to duplicate in their own works. Having said that, as will be made clear in the paragraphs below, there are places marked NV-SA that I believe are in fact historical.

### **Concluding Remarks**

While it is true that the table featured above is the most significant piece in determining the reliability of the work, the questions answered prior to the table need to be brought back into

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<sup>290</sup> Technically, that number is double (74.5%) when you add in the percentage of data points that were labeled "D", as this material is essentially singularly attested in that it stems from one source.

the discussion before any final determination is made. The topics discussed above include textual history, authorship, author-subject relationship, any political or social influences on the author, and variations in characterization between the author's portrayal of the subject in different sources. It is very difficult to quantify precisely the impact of these issues on the reliability of the biography. These secondary issues are typically weighted differently by individual scholars. This is part of the reason, I believe, why determining the reliability of a specific document can be problematic and the results are likely to vary from scholar to scholar. Having said that, they still need to be discussed and allowed to factor into the final determination.

The issues uncovered in the textual history section are certainly difficult to quantify as to how much they impact the overall historical reliability of the document. Wieczorke's dissertation allowed us to see that the most important manuscript of the *Agesilaus* as we now have it is dated to the late tenth, early eleventh century CE, some fourteen hundred years after the *Agesilaus* was originally written. There is no doubt in this author's mind that what we read in the modern version of the *Agesilaus* is not an exact duplication of what was originally written; Wieczorke even points this out (see notes above). What we do not know, unfortunately, is how much and in what areas the manuscript has been altered as we are without access to the development of the manuscript tradition in its entirety prior to this tenth/eleventh century manuscript. We can, however, look at these later sources that were interacting with the *Agesilaus* and see that they were reproducing information that we find in our current version. This signals to the modern reader that these later sources do in fact corroborate the *basic* textual continuity of the *Agesilaus* for the centuries immediately following its production. We should not operate under the assumption that *everything* has stayed the same, but there are obviously pieces of the *Agesilaus*, maybe significant chunks, that have.

Authorship, the author-subject relationship, and the social or political influences that the author was under during the time of writing can all be discussed together due to how closely they are related. The authorship of the *Agesilaus* is now thought to be a decided issue. The debate has since died down and Xenophon is widely considered to be the author of the biography. This is of value for our purpose because of what we know about the relationship between Xenophon and his subject. The two were intimately familiar with one another, served side by side in war, travelled together in both Asia and Greece, and had a continued association that might be described as a patron-client relationship. Xenophon's love or admiration for Agesilaus is apparent in the biography with statements like, "I know how difficult it is to write an appreciation of Agesilaus that shall be worthy of his virtue and glory" (1.1); "Such then is the record of my hero's deeds" (3.1); he is "the perfect embodiment of goodness" (10.1); again, he calls him "My hero" (11.2); and concludes by saying he was a "bountiful benefactor" to the state (11.16). These are only a few examples, as many other statements clearly demonstrate his unrestrained admiration for his subject. Nevertheless, the nature of their relationship cuts both ways when it comes to how it affects the reliability of the document. As for the advantages that result from the nature of their relationship, it gave the author unique access to his subject, which ultimately allowed him to give his reader insights into the person/character of Agesilaus that others simply did not have. As has been shown, there is a large portion of his work that is singularly attested material, and, in these places, the modern reader is forced to trust Xenophon's depiction or description of the deeds/person of Agesilaus. As for the disadvantages, it seems that the nature of their relationship was in part responsible for much of the assessment of Agesilaus's character that appears to be unnecessarily encomiastic at times. He also makes too much of Agesilaus's impact on certain outcomes by giving him credit where credit was not necessarily

due. As modern readers, we are put in the tough position of having to decide whether we are reading a unique (and trustworthy) assessment of Agesilaus's character or description of his deeds, or, an over-inflated description provided by someone who was in some way indebted to his subject and felt like this was an appropriate way of ultimately repaying his hero/savior. If I had to make a definitive statement on the impact of the nature of their relationship on the reliability of the document I would say that it has a slightly more negative impact than positive. There is simply too much encomiastic language in the *Agesilaus* and when we can check the *Agesilaus* against the *Hellenica* and find somewhat different depictions of the subject, it makes me think that what we have in the biography is not intended to be an exact assessment of the person and character of the Spartan king.<sup>291</sup>

While the above information does cast doubt on the reliability of the *Agesilaus*, all hope is not lost. While admittedly stepping beyond the evidence of the summarized table, I do think that the biography has a considerable amount of historical information in it and, at the very least, it was viewed as a valuable resource in the centuries following its writing. If I were to assign certain percentages as to the number of data points I think to be reliable, non-reliable, and indeterminable, it would be roughly 35%, 10%, 55% respectively.<sup>292</sup> Again, these final

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<sup>291</sup> Xenophon's tendency to over-state his subject's impact on the outcome of certain events becomes clear when his *Hellenica* is compared to the *Agesilaus* and we can see two separate characterizations of the same subject by the same author. The *Hellenica* certainly puts Agesilaus at the forefront in the events it reports, but there is also far less encomiastic language and a more even-handed assessment of Agesilaus's role in certain events. There are also events in the *Hellenica* that are not included in the *Agesilaus* featuring the Spartan king that present us with a slightly different portrait of the individual, one that is often times more negative in its assessment. This reiterates the fact that in certain places in the biography Agesilaus's role and character depiction are inflated.

<sup>292</sup> How I arrived at these numbers: The "non-reliable" number does not need a tremendous amount of explanation. I simply took the percentage of data points that I marked "I" and added it to the percentage of data points that I marked "CR". Of course, not all of the data points marked "CR" are necessarily non-reliable, as Xenophon could be correct in what he reports while those

percentages are my own estimations and I am quite aware that I am moving beyond the evidence clearly displayed above, though I do not think that the estimated percentages are outrageous in any one area.

Xenophon's *Agésilas* is an important piece of literary history and provides his readers with a unique perspective of a man he greatly admired. The historical value of the source is minimal in places, but significant in others, and despite these fluctuations it is clear that his more immediate readers found great value in the information he provided.

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sources in conflict have it wrong. Having said that, the percentage is intended to be an estimate, not an exact number, and it is highly likely that not all of the indeterminable information is accurate, so the 10% estimation regarding what is non-reliable might even be too generous to Xenophon. The numbers for "reliable" and "indeterminable" require a little more explanation. As to how I arrived at the percentage of material I view as "reliable," in the table you will find 92 data points that have been underlined, i.e., 1.3, 1.5, 1.6, etc. The underline indicates to the reader that these are data points which I have little issue with determining them as reliable pieces of information. Some of them have been duplicated by a number of later sources, others are singularly attested material that describe situations where it is widely thought that Xenophon and Agésilas were together. Still, others are simply information that is unremarkable in nature and I have found little reason to believe that Xenophon would have made them up. Other scholars may disagree with me at points, but these are decisions one must make on his own and given how much I have looked at the data I have no problem standing by these determinations. The "indeterminable" number is by far the largest and it primarily represents all of those data points marked NV-SA. There are some which are marked D, and even some marked CR, that also fall into this category, yet it is simply too difficult to determine if they are reliable or not.

## Chapter 3

### Cornelius Nepos's *Atticus*

Cornelius Nepos's oeuvre is of great significance for understanding the development of the ancient biographical genre as it is the earliest surviving of the Latin biographers.<sup>1</sup> Even if his place of prominence is by chance (because no earlier Roman works survived), much can still be gleaned about the nature of Roman biography from reading his contributions.<sup>2</sup>

It is unfortunate that what remains is just a fraction of what he produced throughout his life. His collection of biographies, *On Famous Men*, is thought to have spanned some sixteen books which consisted of eight two-volume works comparing important Roman and foreign figures of the following classifications: generals, historians, king, poets, orators, statesmen, philosophers, and grammarians (though the classifications outside of generals, historians, and kings are uncertain).<sup>3</sup> What is left of his biographical contributions includes *The Book on the Great Generals of Foreign Nations* (henceforth referred to as *On Foreign Generals*) in its

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<sup>1</sup> Edna Jenkinson, "Nepos: An Introduction to Latin Biography," in *Latin Biography*, ed. T. A. Dorrey, Studies in Latin Literature and its Influence (New York: Basic Books, 1967), 1–15, see p. 1. Also, see her later article in *ANRW*, "Cornelius Nepos and Biography at Rome," *ANRW* 1.3:703–19. Jenkinson points out that there were three other biographers at Rome who came before Nepos: Varro, Santra, and Hyginus. All three of these authors and their works are attested to in Suetonius and Jerome, but no longer extant. For an excellent overview of Nepos's life and literary contributions see Rex Stem, *The Political Biographies of Cornelius Nepos* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012). His is by far the most up-to-date, well-researched work available on Cornelius Nepos that I have encountered and I rely on it heavily in this introductory section.

<sup>2</sup> Jenkinson, "Nepos," 1; she mentions him being at the forefront due to "chance".

<sup>3</sup> Jenkinson, "Introduction," 2.



supposed entirety and two works from his volume on Roman historians, *Cato* and *Atticus*, of which the latter is the focus of this chapter.<sup>4</sup>

The historical value of his extant biographical works has been the subject of considerable debate and, if his *Agesilaus* is any indication as to the historical merits of the rest of his oeuvre, the outlook is not favorable.<sup>5</sup> Recent contributions that have helpfully summarized the discussion regarding the historical worth of Nepos's biographies include an article by Molly Pryzwansky and the aforementioned monograph by Rex Stem.<sup>6</sup> As Stem points out, one cannot begin the discussion without mentioning Horsfall's highly pejorative critique in the early 80s where he calls Nepos an "intellectual pygmy," and one whose "sole importance to us lies in the accident of his survival as the earliest Latin biographer."<sup>7</sup> Horsfall points out that Nepos's work contains "many absurd exaggerations," and that his "inaccuracies are startling and numerable."<sup>8</sup> Horsfall

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<sup>4</sup> There are also a handful of fragments. The works that did not survive include the *Chronica*, *Exempla*, some poetry, letters to and from Cicero, a work that compares "lettered" and "learned" men, and two longer biographies on Cato and Cicero; see Stem, *Political Biographies*, 8.

<sup>5</sup> While it probably should be expected given his clear admiration for Xenophon mentioned at the outset, Nepos's *Agesilaus* is at times nothing more than a truncated version of Xenophon's biography (Nepos, *Agesilaus* 1.1). He follows him closely, too closely at times in this author's opinion, and gives you a very limited view of the life of Agesilaus. Plutarch, writing much later than Nepos, provides his reader with a more even-handed treatment, though it too is dependent upon Xenophon's work.

<sup>6</sup> Molly M. Pryzwansky, "Cornelius Nepos: Key Issues and Critical Approaches," *CJ* 105.2 (2009–10): 97–108. As it relates to the historical value of Nepos's work, she briefly shows that some of the more prominent names in Nepos scholarship view his work as having limited historical value, though there has been a reassessment of late (see 98n5). Stem provides a very thorough overview of the more recent assessments that have been made regarding the historical value of Nepos's work (1950s and on); *Political Biographies*, 9–10, 55n1 (specifically for the *Atticus*).

<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Horsfall, "Prose and mime," in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, Volume II, Part 2: The Late Republic*, ed. E. J. Kenney, vol. 2 of *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, ed. P. E. Easterling and E. J. Kenney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 112–20. Jenkinson, writing years before Horsfall, is just as negative in her assessment ("Nepos," 709–15).

<sup>8</sup> Horsfall, "Prose," 118.

is certainly not the only one to arrive at this conclusion; similar assessments were made both before and after his.<sup>9</sup>

Horsfall does, however, note that the *Cato* and *Atticus* have the most merit and that the latter “displays intermittently personal knowledge and understanding.”<sup>10</sup> He further softens his position on the *Atticus* in his commentary written a few years later when he states, “obvious untruths and eager exaggerations are infrequent and he records from a viewpoint if not intimate then clearly close enough at least for the biographer to learn something of the tone, language, and outlook of his subject. The detail is intermittently engrossing if studied with care. N. had a fine nose, when he dared follow it.”<sup>11</sup>

Present-day discussion surrounding the historical value of Nepos’s entire body of work is still very similar. Horsfall’s critique has certainly received pushback, but the fact that Nepos’s work contains significant historical errors is seemingly widely accepted. However, after surveying the various claims scholars have made regarding Nepos’s work, Stem suggests a more nuanced stance towards the ancient author,

I do not mean to suggest that Nepos is free of significant historical errors or that the appearance of error in his work can always be explained away by the further

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<sup>9</sup> Stem also points to the aforementioned Jenkinson as well as Elizabeth Rawson as having similar critiques. Jenkinson claims that Nepos’s work provides “a fruitful harvest for the seeker after historical errors” (“Nepos,” 713). Rawson writes, “Nepos moved in educated circles ... though he seems to have been phenomenally inaccurate” (*Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* [Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985], 49). I have found scholars critiquing the accuracy of Nepos as early as 1920; see Alice Hill Byrne, “Titus Pomponius Atticus, Chapters of a Biography” (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1920), vi. She writes this regarding the *Atticus*, “It betrays the defects of Nepos’ biographical work in general, carelessness in the presentation of facts, lack of psychological penetration, indiscriminating laudation.” Her reconstruction of the historical Atticus, specifically her discussion on the sources that mention his life, I have found to be extremely valuable for my own project.

<sup>10</sup> Horsfall, “Prose,” 118. Though writing before him, Jenkinson also mirrors Horsfall’s more positive assessment of the *Atticus* (Jenkinson, “Nepos,” 714).

<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Horsfall, ed., *Cornelius Nepos: A selection, including the lives of Cato and Atticus*, Clarendon Ancient History Series (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 7–8.

contextualization of each example. Some errors are just that. But the way Nepos has been covered in a blanket of historical reproach is excessive and should be recalibrated ... Nepos was writing not as a historian but as a biographer, and the purposes of the biographer culminate not in the truthful presentation of deeds but in the telling presentation of character.<sup>12</sup>

While the *Atticus* has been the recipient of more glowing assessments than the other biographies in Nepos's oeuvre, the goal here is to heed Stem's advice and take part in furthering the "recalibration." The hope is that we can arrive at a more exact evaluation of this particular work and a better understanding of the historical merits of at least a portion of Nepos's corpus.

The fact is that one should *expect* a greater degree of historically reliable material in the *Atticus* than in his other biographies given the familiarity he had with his subject (see section below on the nature of their relationship). Though, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, a close relationship between author and subject does not ensure reliability in all parts and can actually have a negative impact in some instances. Ultimately, it will be interesting to see just how Nepos's work compares with the percentages provided in the other chapters for the other biographies, or if this biography yields an entirely different result.

The *Atticus* is roughly half the length of Xenophon's *Agesilaus* so this chapter will be somewhat shorter than the previous one, but will still follow the same structure: secondary questions related to authorship, author-subject relationship, etc.; a look at all the sources that handle the life of Atticus; an extensive table that tracks whether the data has been verified, refuted, duplicated, etc.; and a concluding section that gives an overall assessment of the work's reliability. The goal of these initial sections, as before, is to arrive at a place where we can accurately assess the historical reliability of this particular biography.

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<sup>12</sup> Stem, *Political Biographies*, 39.

### Textual History (Questions from 1a)

Although exact dates for Nepos's birth and death are unknown, we learn from his own work that he was a contemporary of Atticus.<sup>13</sup> Because of this, and other textual clues, best estimates put Nepos's birth anywhere between 110–100 BCE and his death ca. 24 BCE.<sup>14</sup> He came to Rome from Cisalpine Gaul ca. 80–65 BCE,<sup>15</sup> most likely coming into contact with Atticus ca. 65, "whose return to Rome from Athens Nepos, with slight hesitation, dates to that

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<sup>13</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Att.* 19.1, "This much I published in Atticus' lifetime. Now, since fortune has willed that I survive him ..." (Horsfall). For other helpful biographical sketches of Cornelius Nepos (apart from Stem's), see John Briscoe and Andrew Drummond, "Cornelius Nepos," in *The Fragments of the Roman Historians, Volume 1: Introduction*, ed. T. J. Cornell, vol. 1 of *The Fragments of the Roman Historians*, ed. T. J. Cornell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 395–401; also, John C. Rolfe, Gavin B. Townend, and Antony J. S. Spawforth, "Cornelius Nepos," *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 380. All English translations of the *Atticus* will come from Horsfall's work (1989), which was cited above.

<sup>14</sup> Rolfe, et al., "Cornelius Nepos," *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 380. All we know for certain about his death is found in Pliny, "Cornelius Nepos, who died in the Principate of the late lamented Augustus" (*Nat.* 9.137 [Rackham, LCL]). Nepos's death could be no earlier than 27 BCE, the first year of Augustus's reign as Emperor. This life-span is commonly repeated in secondary literature.

<sup>15</sup> Briscoe and Drummond write, "The elder Pliny (Pliny, *Nat.* 3.127) says that he was a 'neighbor of the Po', the younger that he was a *municeps* ('fellow townsman') of Titus Catius, described by Cicero (*Fam.* 15.16.1) as an Insubrian. From this Mommsen (*Hermes* 3 (1869), 62 n.1) argued that he came from Ticinum, since the other Insubrian cities ... were too far from the Po to fit Pliny's language. Sherwin-White prefers Mediolanum [present day Milan, another Insubrian city], presumably thinking that the elder's language should not be pressed" ("Cornelius Nepos," 395n2). Holger Sonnabend puts him in Rome as early as 80 BCE; see *Geschichte der antiken Biographie: Von Isokrates bis zur Historia Augusta* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2002), 107.

As for him being securely in Rome by 65 BCE, see Jerome, *Jo. Hier.* 12, "For Cornelius Nepos relates that he was present when Cicero brought to a conclusion his defence of Cornelius, a revolutionary tribune, in virtually the same words as those of the published version." Although Jerome was writing some three hundred years later, this reference to an event that occurred in 65 BCE seems to be taken by scholars as solid evidence for placing Nepos in Rome by 65 BCE. For others who rely on this evidence see Rolfe, et al., "Cornelius Nepos," *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 380; Briscoe and Drummond, "Cornelius Nepos," 395; Joseph Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos and Ancient Political Biography*, HEFT 47 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1985), 67. For the Jerome fragment and translation see, John Briscoe and Andrew Drummond, "Cornelius Nepos," in *The Fragments of the Roman Historians, Volume II: Texts and Translations*, ed. T. J. Cornell, vol. 2 of *The Fragments of the Roman Historians*, ed. T. J. Cornell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 798–815; this specific fragment on 805 (T20=F13).

year.”<sup>16</sup> We are not exactly sure when Nepos’s literary production began, but as Geiger helpfully points out, his significant output makes it likely that he was already writing around the time he made contact with Atticus in 65, or at least began shortly thereafter.<sup>17</sup> It is thought that he stayed in Rome until his death, where he pursued both writing and publishing.<sup>18</sup>

What is unique about Cornelius Nepos’s *Atticus* is that the majority of it was actually published prior to the death of its subject, with a second edition published shortly after Atticus’s passing (*Att.* 19.1).<sup>19</sup> Nepos’s collection of biographies was likely published around 35–34 BCE (prior to Atticus’s death in 32)<sup>20</sup> and the second edition, “in which the brief extract *On Kings* and the lives of Datames, Hamilcar and Hannibal seem to have been added to the existing collection and additions made to the biography of Atticus,” was likely published just before 27 BCE.<sup>21</sup>

The textual history of the *Atticus* is similar to what we found regarding the *Agésilas* as everything stems from a single manuscript, the *Codex Danielis*, that was most likely produced ca. 9<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> c. CE. This significant gap leaves us wondering just how much was changed in the *Atticus* from the time of its original publication to the production of this 9–12<sup>th</sup> c. MS. Marshall’s

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<sup>16</sup> Briscoe and Drummond, “Cornelius Nepos,” 395. Nepos writes, “After calm had been established at Rome he returned to the city, in the consulship, I believe, of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus” (Cornelius Nepos, *Att.* 4.5). Their consulship is dated to 65 BCE.

<sup>17</sup> Geiger, *Nepos*, 67.

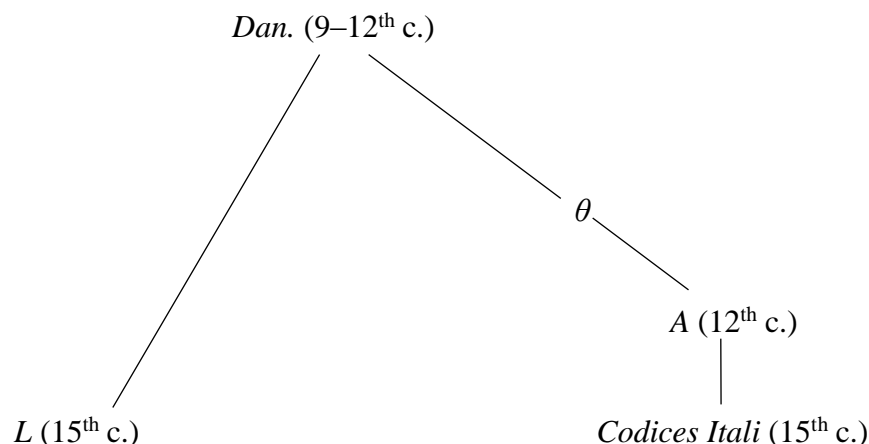
<sup>18</sup> Jenkinson, “Introduction,” 1.

<sup>19</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Att.* 19.1, “Here ends what I wrote during the lifetime of Atticus. Now, since it was Fortune’s decree that I should survive him.” See, also, Geiger, *Nepos*, 95.

<sup>20</sup> His entire work is dedicated to Atticus; see Nepos, *Generals. Preface* 1. Nepos tells us that Atticus was seventy-seven years of age when he died and that he passed on “the thirty-first of March, in the consulship of Gnaeus Domitus and Gaius Sosius”, which would have been in 32 BCE (*Att.* 22.3 [Rolfe, LCL]).

<sup>21</sup> The reason being that Octavian is consistently referred to as Caesar throughout Nepos’s extant work, never as Augustus, a title not conferred on him until 27; see Rolfe, “Introduction,” xi. Rex Stem provides a helpful discussion about the dates of the first and second edition of the *Atticus*. The first edition he claims was published ca. 35–32 BCE, the second 32–27 BCE; see *Political Biographies*, 15.

work in this area has proved invaluable for understanding the development of the MSS that contain Nepos's work. He provides a manuscript stemma that shows the importance of the MS previously mentioned and the primary manuscripts used in the production of modern critical editions of the *Atticus*.<sup>22</sup> What is shown here is a slight modification of the stemma he provides in the work cited below to show just the primary MSS that contain the *Atticus*.<sup>23</sup>



The *Codex Danielis*, named after its one-time possessor, Pierre Daniel, is no longer extant.<sup>24</sup> Our knowledge of its existence comes through later MSS whose editors use and mention it in their works.<sup>25</sup> As can be seen in the stemma above its importance cannot be overstated; without it we would be even further limited in our understanding of the nature of Roman biography as our access to Nepos's work would be eliminated altogether. The *Dan.* gave rise to two other significant MSS that are used in the production of the critical texts of the *Atticus*, the *L* and *A* MSS. Of these, the *A* MS is thought to be at least one remove from *Dan.*, this is signified by the

<sup>22</sup> P. K. Marshall, *The Manuscript Tradition of Cornelius Nepos*, BICS Supplement 37 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1977), 64. He discusses the dating of *Dan.* here as well, noting that it should not be dated any later than the 12<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>23</sup> There are two other primary MSS, *u* and *P*, that stem from the *Dan.* which are not shown. They attest to the majority of Nepos's extant work, but not the *Atticus*.

<sup>24</sup> Also referred to as the *Codex Gifanianus*, or simply *Gif*.

<sup>25</sup> Marshall, *Manuscript Tradition*, 10.

$\theta$  in the stemma above. There are two critical editions commonly used today, Enrica Malcovati's *Cornelii Nepotis Quae Exstant* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1964) and P. K. Marshall's *Cornelius Nepos Vitae cum Fragmentis* (1977).<sup>26</sup> Marshall's text is the one I will be using in my evaluation of Nepos's *Atticus*.

As mentioned earlier, we are in a position much like we were with Xenophon's *Agesilaus*. We do not know the changes the *Atticus* incurred from the time of its original publication to the time of the production of the *Dan.* MS. What is even more surprising, and unfortunate for our purposes, is that Nepos's work is hardly attested to in classical literature. There is one fourth-century MS titled *Scholia in Ciceronis Orationes Bobiensia* that, due to the almost exact duplication of Nepos' language, appears to contain portions of his *Themistocles*, *Miltiades*, *Aristides*, and *Hannibal*. The question then is just how much of Nepos's work did this scholiast have in front of him? He does twice use the phrase *viri illustres* leading Marshall to believe that he might have had Nepos's entire collection of *De Viris Illustribus* in front of him, not just a small collection of *vitae* that had been separated from the larger work. If Marshall is correct, then this particular MS would be a witness to the stability of at least a portion of Nepos's work from long before the *Dan.*<sup>27</sup> This is helpful, of course, for those biographies mentioned above, but our interest does not lie there and little, if anything, can be claimed about stability of the *Atticus* based on the contents of this fourth-century MS. Having said that, the one thing that does point to a rather stable transmission process is the fact that, as we will see below, there are a number of details provided by Nepos that are duplicated and/or confirmed in other sources of the same time period. This does not rule out tampering with the MS altogether, but it does give us

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<sup>26</sup> There are several earlier ones available, but these two seem to have a greater awareness and understanding of the manuscripts available.

<sup>27</sup> Marshall, *Manuscript Tradition*, 1–3.

confidence that what was recorded in the first century BCE by Nepos was for the most part faithfully transmitted through subsequent centuries.

### **Authorship and Authenticity (Questions from 1b)**

There is little, if any, debate surrounding the authorship of the *Atticus*. The *Dan. MS*, our earliest witness to Nepos's work, features a note introducing the *Cato*, the *Atticus*, and portions of a letter by Cornelia (mother of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus) as "from Cornelius Nepos's book *On Latin Hisotrians*" (*e libro Cornelii Nepotis de Latinis historicis*).<sup>28</sup> This attribution of authorship to Cornelius Nepos for the *Atticus* has stood the test of time.<sup>29</sup> The same cannot be said for *On Foreign Generals*, the work attached to these other three in the *Dan. MS*. It has since been attributed to Nepos, but was long thought to belong to Aemilius Probus. There is an epigram at the end of the work "in which a Probus claims to be the author (*auctorem*)."<sup>30</sup> While there were scholars as early as the fifteenth century who claimed that Nepos was the author, there were others who argued that the work belonged to Probus up until the nineteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Comparative analysis has since shown that the work does in fact belong to Nepos, but others have pointed out that this ultimately rests on circumstantial evidence.<sup>32</sup>

For our purposes, the significance of the *Atticus* being written by Cornelius Nepos ultimately lies in our reconstruction of their relationship. The following section will attempt to

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<sup>28</sup> Stem, *Political Biographies*, 12.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 12; he goes so far as to say, "The Nepotian authorship of the biographies of Cato and Atticus has never been challenged."

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* See also, Joseph Geiger, "Cornelius Nepos and the Authorship of the Book on Foreign Generals," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 7 (1982): 134–36. Stem makes the comment that the case for Nepos's authorship of *On Foreign Generals* is based on circumstantial evidence because of Geiger's argument in this particular article.



do just that with hopes of better understanding just how close the two really were. If the two had a significant bond of friendship then we are on more solid footing when arguing, in places where Nepos cannot be checked, that he has provided us with historically reliable information. Of course, as we saw in the case of Xenophon and Agesilaus, the bonds of friendship can lead one to distort the picture in an effort to present a more positive portrayal of the subject.

### **Relationship of Author to Subject (Questions from 1c)**

There are only a handful of statements in ancient literature that give us direct insight into the nature of Nepos's and Atticus's relationship. Observe the following:

I am waiting for Nepos' letter. So he's anxious to see my works is he, notwithstanding his opinion that those on which I most plume myself are not worth reading? (Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* XVI.5.5 [Bailey, LCL])<sup>33</sup>

Sad news about Nepos' son. I am really very sorry and upset. I had not so much as heard of the boy's existence. (Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* XVI.14.4)

Concerning this man's life and character I have given fuller details in the separate book which I devoted to his biography at the urgent request of Titus Pomponius Atticus. (Cornelius Nepos, *Cato* 3.5 [Rolfe, LCL])

I am sure, Atticus, that there will be a great many people who judge this kind of writing frivolous and insufficiently worthy of the characters of great men. (Cornelius Nepos, Prologue to *On Foreign Generals* 1 [Horsfall])

This I assert as a matter not reported but observed, for I often joined in his life at home on account of our relations. (Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus* 13.7 [Horsfall])<sup>34</sup>

The first two excerpts are of minimal importance, but do show that a relationship existed between Atticus, Nepos, and Cicero. We cannot determine much from these brief mentions other than the fact that Nepos was sharing details about his son's illness with Atticus, a fairly private

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<sup>33</sup> English translations of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* will all come from D.R. Shackleton Bailey's Loeb volumes.

<sup>34</sup> As mentioned earlier, all English translations of the *Atticus* will come from Horsfall's *Cornelius Nepos* (1989), see full citation above.

matter, who then felt it important enough to pass on to other members of their social circle.

Despite its obvious existence, it seems rather clear that Nepos and Cicero's relationship was not as strong as the relationship between Nepos and Atticus.<sup>35</sup>

The third excerpt, regarding Atticus's request of Nepos to provide a biography of Cato, I find to be of greater import for it shows that the two were in a position to influence the direction of each other's professional lives. Of course, one does not have to be incredibly close to someone to suggest that they pursue a project and it be something the individual considers a worthwhile pursuit. Having said that, when this excerpt is coupled with the next two, the extent of their relationship becomes, in my opinion, more apparent.

The fourth excerpt reveals that the entire work of *On Foreign Generals* was dedicated to Atticus, a significant indicator of the nature of their relationship. One could reasonably conclude that Atticus might even be the one responsible for paying for the production of the work.<sup>36</sup> Regardless of the exact reason why it was dedicated to Atticus, the dedication itself shows that the two men were friends.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, the fifth excerpt, if Nepos is telling the truth, reveals that the two men spent considerable time together and were close enough that Nepos had specific knowledge regarding the way Atticus managed his household (how he acquired his home, education of his slaves, the way he acquired/trained his slaves, the style of furniture he had, the amount allotted for monthly entertainment, etc.). The modern reader has little, if any, reason to be skeptical of Nepos's claim

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<sup>35</sup> Stem, *Political Biographies*, 61–83; He has a lengthy section detailing the nature of Cicero and Nepos's relationship.

<sup>36</sup> John Marincola, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 53–7. Marincola addresses dedications in ancient historical literature and briefly discusses some of the reasons why authors dedicated their works to other individuals.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

in *Att.* 13.7, and the ramifications of this brief note, when coupled with the third and fourth excerpts, are significant and help us in our reconstruction of the nature of their relationship. I think it is safe to assume that the two men had a relationship that went beyond professional acquaintances, and that they were likely close friends.<sup>38</sup> The fact that Nepos was sharing details about something as personal as his child's illness, was influenced by the other to partake in a professional project, dedicated his work to Atticus, and spent considerable time at his home are all indicators that this was the case.<sup>39</sup>

If this understanding of the nature of their relationship is accurate (that the two were in fact close friends), then we are most likely dealing with a biography that was written by an individual with access to a substantial amount of historically reliable material, if not by his own witnessing of the events, then through the testimony of others who ran in their shared social circle. This is most likely even more-so the case when he is retelling the events of Atticus's life from ca. 65 BCE (the time they likely met) until his death. These conclusions regarding the

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 109. Horsfall does not think the two were as close as I have posited here.

<sup>39</sup> It is also worth noting that Nepos mentions Atticus and/or writes about him in *all* of his extant biographical literature (preface to *On Foreign Generals*, *Atticus*, end of his brief version of *Cato*); see Stem, *Political Biographies*, 15. One cannot rule out the possibility, however, that the affection was one-sided, where Nepos was more of an admirer of Atticus than the two being close friends. One indicator that the affection might have been more one-sided is the fact that Atticus dedicated his work, *Liber Annalis*, to Cicero and not Nepos (Marincola, *Authority*, 55). There is even the possibility, given the way Atticus took care of so many others, that the nature of their relationship was similar to what we concluded regarding Xenophon and Agesilaus, i.e., of the patron-client variety. There is direct evidence of Atticus's client network in Cicero, *Letter to Friends* VII.29.1; *Letters to Atticus* I.20.7; et al. Richard Burrige seems to think that their relationship was of this sort (*Gospels?*, 127). Still, the limited evidence that we have seems to point in the direction of them being close friends rather than any of the other viable options.

nature of their relationship will be taken into consideration in the final evaluation of the reliability of the biography.<sup>40</sup>

### Compiling the Sources (Step 2)

As with the previous chapter, the aim of this section is to list and discuss the sources that cover the life of Atticus, no matter how brief they are in their treatment. The table below lists the sources in chronological order from closest to the time of writing of Nepos's *Atticus* to the furthest away. Also included in the table are those sources that, while not commenting on Atticus's life explicitly, mention the words and deeds of others in the biography. These sources intersect with Nepos's biography in a very important way, as they often confirm or refute minor details and by doing so give us greater insight into the reliability of the *Atticus*. There will be brief comments about the sources beneath the table.

Year	Author	Title and Location(s)
ca. 68–44 BCE <sup>41</sup>	Cicero (letters)	<i>Letters to Atticus</i> passim <sup>42</sup> ; <i>Letters to Friends</i> passim <sup>43</sup> ; <i>Letters to Quintus</i> II.10

<sup>40</sup> As mentioned in the final paragraph of the introduction, there will be instances where certain sections are left out due to limited and/or nonexistent data. This is the case here as there is no need to include sections “1d” and “1e”. There is the possibility that Atticus was Nepos's patron, as suggested above, but there is no hard evidence to support that specific claim.

<sup>41</sup> The dates listed for Cicero's writings come from Catherine Steel, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Cicero* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 374–76. For the letters: *to Atticus* (68–44 BCE), *to Friends* (62–43), *to Quintus* (59–54). For the treatises: *On the Laws* (after 52 BCE); *Brutus* (46); *Orator* (46); *Academics* (45); *On Ends* (45); *On Old Age* (44); *On Friendship* (44).

<sup>42</sup> Obviously too many to list; letters from each of the four volumes are cited in the table below. The correspondence between the two men contains a wealth of information on the late Republic, and multiple letters provide details that duplicate, confirm, or refute what is recorded in the biography.

<sup>43</sup> V.5.1–3 (62 BCE); V.4.1 (57); XVI.10.2 (53); XIII.1.5, VIII.8.2 (51); XIV.5.2 (50); XIV.14 (49); XIV.19 (48); XIV.10 (47); IX.1.1, IX.4, IX.26.1, VI.10a.1 (47/46); XIII.17.1, XIII.18.1–2, XIII.23.1 (46/45); VII.29.1, IX.8.1 (45); VII.31.2, XVI.23.2, XI.29.1,3 (44). Dates come from the Loeb volume.

ca. 52–44 BCE	Cicero (philosophical and rhetorical writings)	<i>On the Laws</i> ; <i>Academics</i> <sup>44</sup> ; <i>On Ends</i> <sup>45</sup> ; <i>Brutus</i> <sup>46</sup> ; <i>Orator</i> <sup>47</sup>
ca. 36 BCE	Varro	<i>On Agriculture</i>
<b>ca. 35–27 BCE</b>	<b>Cornelius Nepos</b>	<b><i>Atticus</i> (passim)</b>
ca. 14–37 CE <sup>48</sup>	Valerius Maximus	<i>Memorable Doings and Sayings</i> 7.8.5
ca. 54–57 CE <sup>49</sup>	Asconius Pedianus	<i>Against Piso</i> 13C; <i>On Behalf of Cornelius</i> 77C
ca. 64 CE <sup>50</sup>	Seneca the Younger	<i>Epistles</i> 21.5 <sup>51</sup>
ca. 76–77 CE <sup>52</sup>	Pliny the Elder	<i>Natural History</i> 35.2.11 <sup>53</sup>
ca. 95–115 CE <sup>54</sup>	Plutarch	<i>Brutus</i> 29.9; <i>Cicero</i> 32.1, 45.2; <i>Sulla</i> 10.1
ca. 109–20 CE <sup>55</sup>	Tacitus	<i>Annals</i> 2.43
ca. 100–30 CE <sup>56</sup>	Suetonius	<i>On Grammarians</i> 16; <i>Tiberius</i> 7
ca. 138–61 CE <sup>57</sup>	Appian	<i>Civil Wars</i> passim <sup>58</sup>

Of these sources, the most important for our purposes and the most difficult to assess in terms of historical value are the contributions from Cicero. The letters appear to be the most

<sup>44</sup> I.IV.14; I.V.18; I.VIII.33.

<sup>45</sup> I.5.16; II.21.68; V.1.3; V.2.4.

<sup>46</sup> I.14–15; VII.26, 28; X.42; XVIII.72; XIX.74; LXXXVIII.301–XC.308.

<sup>47</sup> XXXIV.120.

<sup>48</sup> Explanation for dating can be found in the “Agesilaus” chapter.

<sup>49</sup> R. G. Lewis, ed., *Asconius: Commentaries on Speeches by Cicero*, Clarendon Ancient History Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), xii.

<sup>50</sup> Michael von Albrecht, *A History of Roman Literature: From Livius Andronicus to Boethius with Special Regard to its Influence on World Literature*, rev. by Gareth Schmeling and Michael von Albrecht, trans. Frances Newman et al., 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 2:1168n3.

<sup>51</sup> Atticus is mentioned in other places throughout Seneca’s works, often in passing and in relation to the contents found in a specific letter that Cicero wrote to him (*Epistles* 118; *De Brevitate Vitae* 5.2).

<sup>52</sup> Von Albrecht, *Roman Literature*, 2:1266.

<sup>53</sup> Atticus is mentioned as an authority for books 7 and 33.

<sup>54</sup> Explanation for dating can be found in the “Agesilaus” chapter.

<sup>55</sup> This is probably a wider range than is typically given for the dating of the work, but there is some uncertainty amongst the authorities. Von Albrecht mentions both Syme and Häussler’s work, the former providing a range of 115–20, the latter 109–20 (von Albrecht, *Roman Literature*, 1101n1).

<sup>56</sup> The range is broad to reflect the uncertainty that surrounds the dating of his works.

<sup>57</sup> Sorek, *Ancient Historians*, 198–99.

<sup>58</sup> Appian’s *History of Rome* is also referred to by the titles of its individual books. His *Civil Wars* is extremely valuable, despite being much maligned for its inaccuracy, for the reconstruction of the latter part of the Roman Republic, due to it being one of the only sources still extant. A handful of places within the *Civil Wars* discuss individuals also mentioned in the *Atticus*.

valuable, as they provide access to Atticus's concerns, thoughts, relationships, actions, etc. (albeit in an indirect way at times). They also discuss other people and places mentioned in the biography. Byrne, whose dissertation sought to contribute to our knowledge of the historical Atticus, notes, "The letters of Cicero constitute evidence of the highest value both for fact and for characterization."<sup>59</sup> Byrne views the letters as having greater historical value than Nepos's biography, even claiming that when the two are at odds the letters should be viewed as containing the correct information.<sup>60</sup>

The philosophical and rhetorical writings are harder to assess. The difficulty lies in deciding where the mind of Cicero stops and the accurate representation of the characters within the works begin. Byrne offers another helpful directive at this point, "The evidence offered by Atticus' speeches in the dialogues of Cicero carries less weight and may be counted as convincing only when it reinforces conclusions drawn from the letters."<sup>61</sup> More recent, and slightly more negative in its assessment, are the words of Andrew Lintott. He writes:

One of the first things that students of late-Republican Roman history have to learn is that they cannot treat Ciceronian texts as authentic records of history. They must realize not only that the statements about his own lifetime, especially in his speeches, contain bias and misrepresentation, if not at times downright fantasy, but that most accounts of past history in his works have a persuasive element that tends to overshadow his devotion to the truth as he knows it.<sup>62</sup>

The last portion, about the rhetorical overlay being at times so heavy that it "overshadows his devotion to the truth" is obviously the most problematic. If we were trying to reconstruct the

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<sup>59</sup> Byrne, "Biography," vii.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, vi.

<sup>61</sup> Byrne, "Biography," vii.

<sup>62</sup> Andrew Lintott, *Cicero as Evidence: A Historian's Companion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3. Lintott, as his preface points out, has been teaching on the life and works of Cicero for over forty years and has an incredible command of the ancient literature written by him and relative to the reconstruction of his surrounding context.

philosophical and/or political views of the historical Atticus, we would then need to approach Cicero's works with the same apprehension we find in Lintott's writing. However, given that the primary use of Cicero's philosophical and rhetorical writings here is to confirm details more "concrete" in nature (places, literary contributions, family history/relations, etc.), then we will look to these writings in a manner consistent with what Byrne suggests above. From what I can gather Cicero appears to be fairly deliberate in his reconstruction of the historical context/life details of his subjects in the various dialogues, and probably even more so when it comes to Atticus given his life-long friendship and extensive familiarity.<sup>63</sup>

What must also be considered is whether Nepos used Cicero as a source for his biography of Atticus. The level of dependence one sees between Nepos's biography and Cicero's letters (and philosophical/rhetorical writings) will determine if one marks certain data points as "duplicated" or "verified."<sup>64</sup> Unsurprisingly, scholars are divided on the issue. We know that Nepos knew of Cicero's correspondence with Atticus and that he held it in high regard concerning its historical value (*Att.* 16.3). The language used in *Att.* 16.3 leads Geiger to conclude, "Written sources must have been important in the composition of the biography. The enthusiastic description of Cicero's letters to Atticus with the strong emphasis on their historical value renders it virtually certain that Nepos used them for the *Life*."<sup>65</sup> Oddly enough, having considered the same evidence, Horsfall concludes, "Nepos had seen a collection of Cicero's

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<sup>63</sup> On Cicero's concern for getting the details right in the historical reconstructions used in his dialogues, see *Letters to Atticus* XII.20. For a helpful article that treats this exact subject, see Robert Epes Jones, "Cicero's Accuracy of Characterization in His Dialogues," *The American Journal of Philology* 60 (1939): 307–25.

<sup>64</sup> If Nepos has gleaned information from Cicero's writings and included it in his characterization of Atticus, then he is merely duplicating information and his biography is not an independent attestation to that specific data point.

<sup>65</sup> Joseph Geiger, "Cicero and Nepos," *Latomus* 44 (1985): 261–70, quote at 269.

letters to Atticus—pretty clearly not the collection that we now have—but there seems no definite indication that he used them.”<sup>66</sup> Horsfall finds greater dependence in the *Atticus* on Cicero’s rhetorical writings where he can see direct borrowing of certain words and ideas from *On Friendship* and *On Old Age*.<sup>67</sup>

Given Nepos’s high praise for the historical value of the correspondence between Cicero and Atticus, and the fact that biographers consistently used sources in the composition of their works, I agree with Geiger’s assessment. It seems more reasonable to approach the biography with an understanding that the biographer did in fact incorporate information from this massive collection of letters into his work. I also agree with Horsfall concerning Nepos’s borrowing of information from Cicero’s philosophical/rhetorical writings. Because of this, when we encounter portions of the biography also discussed in the letters and/or philosophical/rhetorical writings, I have chosen to mark them “duplicated” rather than “verified.” This, of course, does not mean that this information is not true. As in the evaluation of the *Agesilaus*, when a data point is underlined it is an indication that I feel that the likelihood of it being true is quite high. This is the case for various “types” of data in the *Atticus*. Also, there are instances when a data point from the biography is found mentioned in Cicero’s letters and/or his philosophical/rhetorical writings on multiple occasions, in these few instances I do consider that data point verified.

The following is a brief description of the contents of the various sources used in the evaluation of the *Atticus* below.

- Cicero, philosophical and rhetorical writings – While Atticus has a role in some of the dialogues, I do not view these as representations of his actual thought. I base this on Cicero’s own discussion (in his correspondence with Atticus, et al.) of how he composed these philosophical treatises (ex., *Letters to Friends* IX.8). Where the philosophical writings do have some value is in the details related to the historical settings in which he

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<sup>66</sup> Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 12.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 12–13.



sets the dialogues. Cicero appears to go to great lengths to get these types of details right, even asking Atticus throughout their correspondence to confirm various details he was interested in including.

- Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* – The importance of these letters for verifying portions of Nepos's *Atticus* cannot be overstated. You will see it mentioned numerous times in the table below. This one-sided correspondence mentions people, places, character attributes, etc. all discussed in Nepos's biography.
- Cicero, *Letters to Friends* – These letters mention Atticus a number of times, touching upon things like his depth of friendship with Cicero (XIII.1), Atticus's cultural refinement (XIII.1), his generally nervous nature (XVI.23.2), the rather large circle of mutual friends he shares with Cicero (C. Memmius – XIII.1.5; Caelius Rufus – VIII.8.2; Varro – IX.1.1, IX.4; Papirius Paetus – IX.26.1; Trebianus – VI.10a.1; Servius Sulpicius Rufus – XIII.17.1, 18.1–2; L. Cossinius – XIII.23.1; Tiro – XVI.23.2; Oppius – XI.29.1,3; Gaius Antonius – V.5.1–3), his client network (Manius Curius – VII.29.1); his literary knowledge (VII.31.2).
- Varro, *On Agriculture* – This dialogue features Atticus in Epirus as a fairly well-established farmer. It's historical value is difficult to judge.
- Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* – A brief story about Quintus Caecilius, Atticus's uncle by adoption, and his generosity towards Atticus when he was on his deathbed. There are a number of details that coincide with what is in the *Atticus*, and even in Cicero's letters. D. R. Shackleton Bailey claims that some of what's included is certainly exaggeration.<sup>68</sup>
- Asconius Pedianus, *Commentaries on the Speeches of Cicero* – Asconius, a highly-respected historian, produced these commentaries in an effort to help educate his sons.<sup>69</sup> The value of the work for our purposes lies in his citation of Atticus's historical work, which Nepos mentions in the latter half of his biography.
- Seneca, *Epistles* – He mentions Atticus and his family's place in the lineage of the imperial family, duplicating what was said in Nepos's biography.
- Pliny, *Natural History* – A passing comment regarding Atticus's literary contributions.
- Plutarch, multiple – Reveals that there was known correspondence between Brutus and Atticus, a minimal indication of their friendship.
- Tacitus, *Annals* – Although brief, Tacitus does help to confirm the connection between Atticus and the imperial family. Interesting to see the rather uninspiring treatment of Atticus in a much larger work of historiography as Tacitus simply refers to him as a "plain Roman knight."
- Suetonius, multiple – He, like many others, discusses Atticus's link to the imperial family.
- Appian, *Civil Wars* – Various events mentioned in the biography are covered in Appian's account. His writings are of immense value in reconstructing the late Republic, despite some of their obvious flaws. Without Appian's work, Plutarch's biographies, and

<sup>68</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* 7.8.5; see Shackleton Bailey's note attached (n6).

<sup>69</sup> Lewis, *Asconius*, xi; von Albrecht goes so far as to call his commentaries "precious historical evidence" (*Roman Literature*, 2:1242).

Cicero's writings, we would be without witness to one of the most critical periods in Rome's history.

### Comparing the Extant Sources (Step 3)

As with the previous chapter, this section is aimed at breaking down the biography into individual data points and comparing its contents to the sources discussed immediately above. Again, the purpose of the table below is to determine the following: the types of material found in the biography; the percentage of data points that is verifiable, i.e., reliable; the percentage of data points duplicated in other sources; the percentage that is in error; and the percentage of data points that is non-verifiable altogether. Following the table will be a summary of its contents and a final evaluation of the reliability of the work.

Key to table below			
<b>Type (Primary):</b> AI (authorial insertion); AA (authorial assessment); LA (life of Atticus); WDO (words and deed of others)			
<b>Type (Secondary):</b> B/O/C (birth/origin/childhood); ML (middle of life); D (death account detail)			
<b>Result:</b> V (verified); D (duplicated); CR (conflicting reports); I (inaccurate); NV-NH (non-verifiable, non-historical); NV-SA (non-verifiable, singularly attested)			
Loc.	Data Point	Type	Result
<u>1.1</u>	Atticus descended from "the remotest origins of the Roman race." <sup>70</sup>	LA B/O/C	NV-SA <sup>71</sup>
<u>1.1</u>	His equestrian rank was inherited from his ancestors.	LA B/O/C	NV-SA
<u>1.2</u>	His father was industrious, wealthy, and a "lover of literature."	WDO	NV-SA <sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Horsfall's translation is the basis for the English text in the table. I resort to direct quotations when there is wording and/or terms that need exact repeating in order to best communicate the content of the text.

<sup>71</sup> This is nowhere duplicated or confirmed, but there is discussion about the descendants of Numa (successor to Romulus) in Plutarch. While there appear to be multiple legends about the wives and children of Numa, Plutarch notes that according to one Numa had four sons, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus. Atticus's *nomen* "Pomponius" signals that he descended from Pompon. If these legends are at all accurate, then what Nepos says here has some merit. It would also be difficult to understand why Nepos would make something like this up given the literary interests of his subject (*Att.* 18.3) and the fact that he wrote during his lifetime (see also Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 58; Andrew Drummond, "Pompilius Numa," *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 1181).

<sup>72</sup> One could conclude from the only mention of Atticus's father in ancient literature (Cicero, *On the Laws* III.XX.49) that he was exactly this kind of man. We learn from this philosophical dialogue that Atticus's father had a work on the law dedicated to him. The work was supposedly

1.2	Because of his love of literature, Atticus's father taught him in all the areas young boys should be taught.	LA B/O/C	NV-SA
1.3	As a child, he was both quick to learn and his tone and enunciation were excellent.	LA B/O/C	NV-SA
1.3	He could both take in information and recite it equally as well.	LA B/O/C	NV-SA
1.3	Because of his skills, he had a notable reputation and his fellow class-mates had a difficult time accepting him for this reason.	LA B/O/C	NV-SA
1.4	His abilities inspired his friends out of rivalry.	LA B/O/C	NV-SA
1.4	His closest friends were Lucius Torquatus, Gaius Marius (the younger), and Marcus Cicero.	LA B/O/C	NV-SA <sup>73</sup>
1.4	They were close friends for the entirety of their lives.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>74</sup>
2.1	Atticus's father died when he was young.	WDO	NV-SA
2.1	Atticus was related to Publius Sulpicius.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>75</sup>
2.1	Publius Sulpicius was murdered.	WDO	V <sup>76</sup>

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written by Marcus Junius Gracchanus and titled *De Potestabilibus* (Byrne, "Biography," 23; Cicero, *De Re Publica, De Legibus*, trans. C. W. Keys, LCL 213 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994], 517n1).

<sup>73</sup> Atticus's friendship with Cicero is indisputable (Cicero, *Letters to Friends* passim; *Letters to Atticus* passim). L. Torquatus is mentioned in a handful of letters, but the exact nature of their relationship is not made known. The way the latter is discussed would appear that he was a friend of both Cicero and Atticus (see esp. *Letters to Atticus* VII.12.4, VII.23.1, VIII.11B.1, IX.8.1).

<sup>74</sup> This is certainly true of Atticus and Cicero. Cicero mentions he and Atticus being in school together as young boys in *One the Laws* II.XXIII.59. Of course, details such as this need to be held only tentatively given the nature of that genre. Marius died early on, ca. 82 BCE, according to Plutarch and Appian (Plutarch, *Caius Marius* 46.6; *Sulla* 32.1; Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.10.94).

<sup>75</sup> The only noted connection between Atticus and Sulpicius comes in Cicero's *On Friendship*. He says that Atticus was "much in the society of Publius Sulpicius" (1.2, [Falconer, LCL]). This obviously does not speak to their familial ties, but, again, I find it hard to discount what Nepos says here, and a few lines later about the exact familial connection, given the literary interests/output of his subject.

<sup>76</sup> Sulpicius was murdered in 88 BCE (Livy, *Summaries* 77; Plutarch, *Sulla* 10.1; Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.7.60). There is considerable discussion surrounding Appian's use, or non-use, of Plutarch's *Lives* in the composition of his *Civil Wars*. There does not appear to be a definitive answer either way. Many have landed in that in-between space, claiming that Appian must have had some general awareness of Plutarch's *Lives*, but whether he used them as a source seems indeterminable. At this point, however, a brief perusal of their accounts of the death of Sulpicius does not indicate that Appian was using Plutarch or that the two were even using a common source. A helpful introduction to the issues can be found in Gregory S. Bucher, "The Origins,

<u>2.1</u>	Because of Atticus's relationship to Sulpicius he was in some danger.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>77</sup>
<u>2.1</u>	Atticus's relationship to Sulpicius came through Anicia, a cousin of his on his mother's side; she married Servius, the brother of Sulpicius.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>78</sup>
<u>2.2</u>	When Sulpicius was killed the "state was thrown into turmoil by the disorder Cinna provoked."	WDO	V <sup>79</sup>
2.2	Atticus realized, given his "standing," he probably could not continue to live there without ultimately offending either side.	LA ML	NV-SA
2.2	Romans were divided, some favored Sulla, others Cinna.	WDO	V <sup>80</sup>
2.2	He felt that this was the right time for him to move to Athens.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>81</sup>
<u>2.2</u>	One of the primary reasons for him moving to Athens was to pursue his academic interests.	AA	NV-SA
2.2	His friend Marius had been ruled an enemy of the state.	WDO	V <sup>82</sup>
<u>2.2</u>	Atticus helped Marius escape by his giving him some financial assistance.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>2.3</u>	He moved a large portion of his wealth to Athens so this time abroad would not have a negative impact on his estate.	LA ML	NV-SA

Program, and Composition of Appian's *Roman History*," *TAPA* 130 (2000): 411–58. The likelihood of Appian using Plutarch's *Lives* as a source increases in Book II of his *Civil Wars*.

<sup>77</sup> This statement cannot be found in any other source, but it is not difficult to accept given the actions of Sulpicius and Marius as described by Appian (*Civil Wars* 1.7.55–60).

<sup>78</sup> This would be exactly the type of information Atticus could have supplied his biographer given his interests in the genealogies of his fellow countrymen (see *Att.* 18.2–3).

<sup>79</sup> This would have been in 87 BCE. Cinna took up the cause of Marius and Sulpicius with his attempt to distribute the new citizens among the old. He was expelled from the city. He then gained support of the army, teamed up with Marius, besieged the city, and cut off its food supply. He reentered the city and proceeded to massacre those who initially opposed him. He was eventually murdered in 84 BCE (Sallust, *The Histories* [*Fragments*] 14, 25–28, 36, 56, et al.; Livy, *Summaries* 79; Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.8.64–9.78).

<sup>80</sup> A rather obvious statement given the general nature of any conflict.

<sup>81</sup> That Atticus felt this way at this particular time is unattested in ancient literature, but it is undeniable that he did in fact move to Athens and spend a considerable amount of time there. A Roman does not acquire the name "Atticus" (the Athenian) without doing so (Cicero "prophesied" about this becoming his surname in *On Ends* V.2.4). His connection to Athens is also discussed in *Letters to Atticus* V.10, et al., *On the Laws* I.1, 3, *Brutus* VII.26, *On Old Age* 1; Varro, *On Agriculture*, passim (though the historical value of this particular work is in question). Byrne points out that at this time (87 BCE) Athens was still involved in the Mithridatic war, so he likely did not arrive in Athens until March of 86 ("Biography," 1).

<sup>82</sup> Livy reports that both the senior and junior Gaius Marius were deemed enemies of the state (*Summaries* 77). Appian reports that the younger Marius joined forces with Cinna, who was also declared an enemy of the state, in 87 BCE (*Civil Wars* 1.8.65).

2.3	Because of the way he lived his life many of the Athenians loved him.	LA ML	D <sup>83</sup>
2.3	He deserved their affection.	AA	NV-NH
2.4	On top of his natural charm, he helped to relieve some of their need by the use of his own resources.	LA ML	NV-SA
2.4	Atticus helped when they could not attain the resources they needed, specifically when the state needed a loan, and he did it on their terms, not charging large amounts of interest or letting the loan continue for an extended period of time.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>84</sup>
2.5	The Athenians benefitted from the way he handled his business; their debts did not grow old nor did they acquire much interest.	WDO	NV-SA
2.6	He was also generous in another way; he distributed grain to all the people, each man got six bushels of wheat; a measure which the people at Athens called a medimnus. <sup>85</sup>	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>86</sup>
3.1	While in Athens he showed that he was capable of being at peace with members of both low and high society.	LA ML	NV-SA

<sup>83</sup> Cicero wrote to Atticus, many years after the time of Atticus's stay there, that the Athenians still had great affection for him (*Letters to Atticus* V.10.5).

<sup>84</sup> Details about this specific loan are not repeated elsewhere. Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* does discuss a loan to the city of Sicyon in 61 BCE (I.13.1; see also *Letters to Friends* V.5.3). This signals that a loan to a government was not completely out of character. What makes it difficult to believe is his apparent level of personal wealth at the time (2,000,000 HS, see *Att.* 14.2). There must have been some alternative sources of income for Atticus at the time in order for him to be able to make funds available to a city. Athens, at the time, was in decline due to their recent involvement in the Mithridatic war, they desperately needed all the help they could get (Byrne, "Biography," 1).

<sup>85</sup> I found that Rolfe's translation rendered the Latin more clearly here.

<sup>86</sup> Byrne's comments regarding Atticus's munificence here are worth noting; she points out that if his inheritance of 2,000,000 sesterces (*Att.* 14.2) was all he had at this time, then there really is no way he could have made these types of loans/donations. It is possible, she points out, that he had already increased his personal wealth through other business dealings; see Byrne, "Biography," 2, n9 also. In addition, this rather large donation of grain needs to be reconciled with what we find in Cicero's letter to Atticus ca. 50 BCE. Cicero brings up yet another (or quite possibly the only) donation by Atticus to the people of Athens and questions whether it was really necessary (*Letters to Atticus* VI.6). As Byrne points out, Cicero's comment "shows that such gifts were not habitual with Atticus" ("Biography," 2). Is it possible that Nepos has taken this one-off gift of grain some thirty years later (ca. 50 BCE), brought it forward in the chronological sequencing of his biography for emphasis (ca. 85 BCE), and made it an event in his biography that was supposed to best demonstrate Atticus's true character? Or it could just as easily be the case that Atticus was in fact generous towards the Athenians on multiple occasions and being that Cicero's correspondence with Atticus does not extend this far back in time, we are without witness to this first grain gift. Even if the latter is correct, Byrne's concern about the possibility of the gift considering Atticus's limited financial resources still remains.

3.1	He had all the public honors available bestowed upon him; they wanted him to become a citizen.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>3.1</u>	He did not “take advantage” of their offer of citizenship.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>87</sup>
3.2	He did not allow them to erect a statue in his honor while living there, but once he moved he could not stop them. <sup>88</sup>	WDO	NV-SA
3.2	Once he left they put up numerous statues of him throughout even their most revered places.	WDO	NV-SA
3.2	He was treated as both “agent and counsel” when involved with the state’s administration.	LA ML	NV-SA
3.3	He was extremely fortunate that he was born in and lived in Rome, the then world’s superpower.	AA	NV-NH
3.3	His wisdom was revealed by the fact that when he was in Athens, a “city which excelled all others in its antiquity, its culture, and its learning, he was uniquely dear to it.”	AA	NV-NH
4.1	Sulla returned from Asia to Athens and kept Atticus by his side because of his intellectual prowess and cultural refinement.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>89</sup>
4.1	His Greek and Latin were excellent, seemed so natural in his use of both.	AA	V <sup>90</sup>
<u>4.1</u>	He recited poetry so exquisitely, in both Greek and Latin, that it completely satisfied his audience.	AA	NV-SA
4.2	Sulla wanted Atticus by his side and wanted to take him to Italy.	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>87</sup> According to Cicero, citizens of Rome were forbidden by law to hold dual citizenship at this time (*Pro Balbo* 10.28).

<sup>88</sup> Interesting that we saw this same kind of behavior in Xenophon’s *Agesilaus*. If this is continuously repeated throughout other ancient biographies, then we know that this is likely a stock attribute and probably fiction. Regardless, we are still unsure as to whether or not citizenship was extended to him by the Athenians.

<sup>89</sup> Cicero, *Letters to Friends* XIII.1; *On Old Age* 1; Cicero discusses the cultural refinement of Atticus. He says that Atticus “brought home from Athens not only a cognomen but culture and practical wisdom (*humanitas*) too” (*On Old Age* 1 [Falconer, LCL]). Nepos uses the same term, *humanitas*, to describe Atticus here. Of course, this tells us nothing of Sulla’s sudden interest in Atticus or, as described here, his reasons for his interest in Atticus.

<sup>90</sup> No one confirms this about Atticus, but not to consider it “verified” would be somewhat absurd. Given the time he spent in Athens, his educational background, the fact that he and Cicero corresponded in Greek in some instances, and that he apparently wrote his “biography” of Cicero in Greek, there is just really no reason not to consider this particular data point as fact. Cicero does discuss Atticus’s interest in the Greek language, specifically some of its more finer points like accentuation (*Letters to Atticus* XII.5a.2). Also, his awareness/familiarity with Greek oratory is revealed in Cicero’s *Brutus* 293, 325. Furthermore, Byrne’s attempt at reconstructing his childhood education stresses the likelihood of his interaction with Greek literature (“Biography,” 24–25, 31).

4.2	Atticus's response to Sulla trying to convince him, "No, please, I beg you, I left Italy to avoid bearing arms against you in the company of those men against whom you would lead me."	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>91</sup>
4.2	Sulla was impressed by Atticus's "sense of duty" and subsequently ordered that everything he had received as a gift while staying in Athens be given to Atticus.	WDO	NV-SA
4.3	Atticus was in Athens for several years.	LA ML	V <sup>92</sup>
4.3	He spent the appropriate amount of time tending to his own estate.	LA ML	NV-SA
4.3	The rest of his time was spent on literature and the public affairs of the Athenians.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>93</sup>
4.3	He also traveled to Rome on several occasions to attend to his friends there during their elections.	LA ML	V <sup>94</sup>
4.4	If something major happened, Atticus was there for his friends.	LA ML	NV-SA
4.4	He was very loyal to Cicero throughout all the difficult times he faced.	LA ML	V <sup>95</sup>
4.4	When Cicero fled, Atticus gave him 250,000 sesterces.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>96</sup>

<sup>91</sup> If anything, this is at least in line with the way Atticus is characterized throughout the rest of the biography (*Att.* 6.1), and even the way he is characterized throughout Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* (Atticus was not one to take sides/participate in war, etc.).

<sup>92</sup> Internal evidence suggests that he was in Athens from ca. 85 to 65 BCE. Of course, internal evidence is of little value here, but there is a significant amount of evidence from the *Letters to Atticus* that also suggests he was in Athens for a considerable amount of time. Most convincing are those letters, dated to the time of his supposed return to Rome, that show how anxious Cicero was for him to return to his hometown (see spec., *Letters to Atticus* I.3.2; I.4.1).

<sup>93</sup> That Atticus spent a considerable amount of time reading various works of literature is not at all surprising given the way he is portrayed here and in several of Cicero's writings.

<sup>94</sup> Atticus's propensity to travel while living in Athens is alluded to in his correspondence with Cicero; *Letters to Atticus* I.9.1; I.10.6 (specifically mentions Atticus coming back for Cicero's election); I.4.1 (also discusses the possibility of his return to Rome for Quintus's election); I.18.8 (mentions his return for the census).

<sup>95</sup> Cicero faced some very difficult times ca. 60–58 BCE when he and Claudius/Clodius were at odds with one another (see most of the *Letters to Atticus* dated to ca. 59 BCE; ex. II.22).

Ultimately, in 58, Clodius had Cicero banned from Rome and stated that he could not be within 400 miles of the city (III.4); Plutarch said it was 500 miles (*Cicero* 32.1). In the early part of 58 Cicero wrote numerous short letters to Atticus and it is quite clear how much their friendship meant to the former in these hard times. Cicero gave the impression that without it he would have committed suicide (III.7.1–2). We read in *Letters to Atticus* IV.1 that Cicero eventually returned to Rome and felt that he owed much to Atticus for his friendship/kindness.

<sup>96</sup> Odd that there is no mention of this gift in any of the numerous letters from Cicero to Atticus.

4.5	After everything returned to normal in Rome, Atticus came back.	LA ML	V <sup>97</sup>
<u>4.5</u>	Nepos thinks that his return to Rome came during the consulship of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>98</sup>
4.5	When Atticus left Athens the entire citizen body escorted him out and cried as he was leaving. <sup>99</sup>	WDO	NV-SA
5.1	Atticus had an uncle named Quintus Caecilius; he was a Roman knight, very wealthy, but difficult to deal with. He was friends with Lucius Lucullus.	WDO	V <sup>100</sup>
<u>5.1</u>	Atticus showed great respect to his uncle and was in good standing with him because of it.	LA ML	NV-SA
5.1	Everyone else couldn't stand him.	WDO	V <sup>101</sup>
<u>5.1</u>	When his uncle was old, Atticus was rewarded for how he treated him in his earlier years.	LA ML	NV-NH
5.2	His uncle eventually adopted him and made him heir to three-quarters of his estate.	LA ML	V <sup>102</sup>
<u>5.2</u>	His inheritance was worth 10 million sesterces.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>103</sup>
5.3	Atticus's sister married Quintus Tullius Cicero.	WDO	V <sup>104</sup>
<u>5.3</u>	The marriage was arranged by Marcus Cicero.	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>97</sup> You start to read about Atticus's expected return to Rome in his correspondence with Cicero in those letters dated closest to 65 BCE (*Letters to Atticus* I.3.2; I.4.1).

<sup>98</sup> If Nepos is right here his return would have had to have been post-election time in 65 BCE. Cicero writes to Atticus ca. July 65 that the consuls for 64, L. Julius Caesar and C. Marcius Figulus, had been elected and the contents of his letter reveal that he is still waiting on Atticus's return to Rome (*Letters to Atticus* I.2.1–2). Full names for the consuls referred to here are Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Lucius Manlius Torquatus. Both of these consuls are briefly mentioned in additional sources: L. Aurelius Cotta in Cicero, *Philippic* 1.20; Torquatus in Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 81. For these references and further discussion, see Francisco Pina Polo, *The Consul at Rome: The Civil Functions of the Consuls in the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 239, 292 (Cotta); 284–5 (elections); 311 (Torquatus).

<sup>99</sup> Found in Xenophon's *Agésilas* as well.

<sup>100</sup> The adoption of Atticus, the wealth of Caecilius, and the friendship with Lucullus are all in Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* 7.8.5. Cicero also talks about Atticus's wealthy uncle Caecilius, Caecilius's connection to Lucullus, and Caecilius's somewhat difficult nature (*Letters to Atticus* I.1.3–4; I.12.1). Even Seneca discusses how difficult Caecilius was to deal with when it came to matters of money (*Epistles* 118.2).

<sup>101</sup> Valerius's account gives the overall impression that Caecilius was not a well-liked man.

<sup>102</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* 7.8.5; Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* III.20.1–2. As Horsfall points out in his commentary on the biography, Atticus's daughter was eventually named Caecilia, this certainly had to be the reason why (*Cornelius Nepos*, 68).

<sup>103</sup> The exact amount is not repeated, but Cicero calls it a "large inheritance" (*Letters to Atticus* III.20.2).

<sup>104</sup> Evidence of their marriage is everywhere in Cicero's correspondence with Atticus, only a few examples will suffice: *Letters to Atticus* I.5.2; I.6.2; I.8.1, et al.



5.3	Atticus and Marcus Cicero were on close terms since childhood.	LA ML	V <sup>105</sup>
5.3	Atticus was closer to Marcus than he was Quintus.	LA ML	V <sup>106</sup>
5.3	Nepos concludes that similar character carries more weight than blood ties.	AI	NV-NH
5.4	Atticus was also on close terms with Quintus Hortensius.	LA ML	V <sup>107</sup>
5.4	Quintus Hortensius was the leading orator at the time.	WDO	D <sup>108</sup>
5.4	He was so close to Hortensius that it was difficult to tell who loved him more, Hortensius or Cicero.	AA	NV-NH
5.4	Atticus was the one responsible for them being civil towards each other despite their mutual interest in acquiring honor from others; he bonded them together.	LA ML	D <sup>109</sup>
6.1	Atticus carried himself publically in such a way that he always “belonged” and was looked at as one who “belonged to the <i>optimates</i> .”	AA	NV-SA
6.1	He was not, however, a part of the conflicts associated with civil affairs.	LA ML	D <sup>110</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> See note at 4.4.

<sup>106</sup> This seems like a rather obvious statement given the abundant correspondence between Marcus and Atticus and how revealing it is of the bond between the two. Also, in reading through Cicero’s letters to Atticus there appears to be some bad blood between Quintus and Atticus at times, especially after Atticus turned down Quintus’s offer to join him in Asia (*Letters to Atticus* I.17.1–3).

<sup>107</sup> Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* I.14.5; IV.6.3; V.2.1, et al.

<sup>108</sup> Hortensius’s genius and pride of place amongst the orators is discussed at length in Cicero’s *Brutus* (LXXXVIII.301–XC.308).

<sup>109</sup> Cicero’s letters do reveal a sort of tension between Hortensius and himself, while also revealing that Atticus was quite fond of the other famed orator. It appears as if at one point Atticus asked Cicero to write an apologia of Hortensius for a reason unknown, and Cicero was somewhat reluctant to do so. The one-sided exchange does appear to show that Atticus played some sort of mediating role between Cicero and Hortensius (*Letters to Atticus* IV.6.3), at least at one time. Also, in V.2.1, Cicero mentions their mutual friendship with Hortensius; in VI.3.9, Cicero writes that he holds Hortensius in high regard. As Hortensius was dying Cicero writes to Atticus that he was “deeply distressed” upon learning about his poor health and that he had already made up his mind “to live on really close terms with him” (VI.6.2 [Shackleton Bailey, LCL]). It is quite clear from the contents of the letters that their relationship grew over time. This is most likely owed to Atticus’s involvement in bringing them together.

<sup>110</sup> Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* I.16.14; I.17.5, 7. Cicero talks about Atticus’s choice to remain independent in politics, not chasing opportunities to advance in that specific arena.

6.1	Atticus thought that men who concerned themselves with “the waves” of civil life (political storms?) were like those who were tossed around by the waves of the sea.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>111</sup>
<u>6.2</u>	Atticus was not interested in public office though the opportunity to participate was available to him due to his stature/influence in the public sphere.	LA ML	D <sup>112</sup>
6.2	Public offices could “not be sought in the traditional manner,” nor won without bribery, nor “could they be held to the state’s advantage without danger when public morals had been so corrupted.”	AI	V <sup>113</sup>
<u>6.3</u>	Atticus never participated in public auction.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>6.3</u>	He did not act as a “surety” or “contractor” in these auctions.	LA ML	D <sup>114</sup>
<u>6.3</u>	Atticus did not accuse anyone of anything, either personally or as a “seconder.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>6.3</u>	Atticus never took anyone to trial personally, never “exercised jurisdiction.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>6.4</u>	While he was offered the post of prefect, he said he would only take it if did not have to go with anyone to their province, be content with the honor bestowed by the position alone, and that he would not “profit” from the work.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>6.4</u>	Quintus Cicero offered him the legate’s position in Asia, he refused because he said it would be “unseemly” to take a praetor’s assistant position after refusing the praetorship itself.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>115</sup>

<sup>111</sup> While Atticus may not have been involved in these “storms” directly, he certainly had a great interest in them. The letters between the two men often reveal their shared interest in the political affairs of Rome (ex. *Letters to Atticus* II.5, II.12, II.11, II.15, II.18, V.14.3, et al.). Atticus appears as one who was intimately familiar with the political situation, but could claim independence from it when needed because he never “technically” participated. He must have had an indirect influence at times, Nepos says as much (*Att.* 4.3).

<sup>112</sup> Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* I.17.5, 7.

<sup>113</sup> Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* I.18.3; Cicero mentions that the Senate passed a decree on electoral bribery, certainly an indication that corruption was pervasive. See also *Letters to Atticus* IV.15.7–8 and IV.18.3; bribery and corruption were rampant in the electoral process.

<sup>114</sup> Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* XIII.3.1; Cicero writes this to Atticus, in a letter about taking on bonds, “I approve on both points. So we must take these. Otherwise you would at long last have had to stand surety, and in this transaction too! So all shall come from me” (Shackleton Bailey, LCL). These few lines certainly give the impression that Atticus at least tried to steer clear of these types of business deals. Either Nepos got this information from Cicero’s letter here or it was a known aspect of the way Atticus conducted himself.

<sup>115</sup> Cicero mentions Quintus’s appointment to Asia (*Letters to Atticus* I.15.1) and Atticus’s refusal to join him (I.16.14; I.17.5), but there is no direct mention of his reason for not going with Quintus.

6.5	Atticus's decision to avoid administration in the provinces served both his dignity and peace of mind; those who took part in administration at this level were often suspected of crime.	AA	NV-SA
6.5	Everyone clamored for his "regard."	WDO	NV-SA
6.5	They all thought that it came from his "sense of duty" and not "fear" or "hope."	WDO	NV-SA
7.1	Caesar's civil war broke out when Atticus was close to 60 years old.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>116</sup>
7.1	Atticus was exempt from fighting because of his age and chose to stay in Rome.	LA ML	V <sup>117</sup>
7.1	His friends went with Pompey; Atticus gave them the financial resources they needed for the trip.	LA ML	V <sup>118</sup>
7.1	Pompey was not offended by Atticus's decision to stay in Rome, despite the two being close.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>119</sup>
7.2	Atticus had no special position with Pompey and had not received any money from him, like others had.	LA ML	NV-SA
7.2	Some of those who followed Pompey certainly did so reluctantly.	WDO	NV-SA
7.2	Those close to Pompey who stayed in Rome offended him greatly.	WDO	V <sup>120</sup>
7.3	Atticus's inactivity actually pleased Caesar so much that when he won the civil war and was sending out letters to collect money he did not bother Atticus.	LA ML	NV-SA

<sup>116</sup> Based on the internal timeframe of the biography, this would appear to be accurate. If Atticus was 77 years of age around the time of his death in 32 BCE (22.3), he would have been close to 60 years of age in 49 BCE, the time at which the civil war began. As long as Nepos is correct about the date of Atticus's death, there really is no reason to doubt Nepos here.

<sup>117</sup> That Atticus stayed in Rome is clear from his correspondence with Cicero; see esp. VII.12.6, VII.23, et al. Also, according to Polybius, men could serve in the army up until the age of 46 (*Histories* 6.19.2) and were exempt from that point forward. Atticus was certainly of the age to avoid service.

<sup>118</sup> The fact that his friends, at least Cicero and Torquatus, left Rome and, at some point, were siding with Pompey is pretty well established (VII.23; VII.26.3). That Atticus helped Cicero financially during his flight from Rome can be deduced from what we find in the letters, esp. in VII.26.3 and XI.2.4.

<sup>119</sup> The friendship between Cicero, Atticus, and Pompey is first mentioned in *Letters to Atticus* I.1.2. In letters subsequent to this one, Cicero continues to discuss the changing nature of their relationship, while Atticus appears to be a step removed from it all (I.18, I.19, II.3, II.1.6, II.17, II.19, II.20, et al.). There are references to the shared friendship between the three, especially in the letters dated to ca. 49 BCE, the time of the civil war (see esp. VII.23; VII.26.3), but it never appears that Atticus and Pompey were "close."

<sup>120</sup> *Letters to Atticus* XI.6.5; Cicero writes that everyone who stayed back in Rome was considered an enemy by those in Pompey's camp. Plutarch also mentions this in his biography of the man (*Pompey* 61.4) and Caesar writes of it in his *Civil War* (1.33.2).

7.3	Also, because of their relation to Atticus, Caesar pardoned both Atticus's nephew and Quintus Cicero, despite both belonging to Pompey's camp.	WDO	CR <sup>121</sup>
7.4	Atticus avoided any new danger by his "old way of life."	LA ML	NV-NH
8.1	After the death of Caesar, the state appeared to belong to both Bruti and Cassius, and all the citizens were following them.	WDO	D <sup>122</sup>
8.2	Marcus Brutus and Atticus were very close despite their age difference; he was closer to Atticus than he was those his same age.	WDO	D <sup>123</sup>
8.2	Atticus was both a "leading adviser" and "daily companion."	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>124</sup>
8.3	Some came up with a plan that involved the Roman knights setting up a fund for those who assassinated Caesar. If the leaders of the knights got involved then they could easy get this done, so they thought.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>125</sup>
8.3	Gaius Flavius, close friend of Brutus, asked Atticus if he would lead this effort.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>126</sup>
8.4	Atticus was unopposed to helping his friends, but never took sides, so if those involved wanted to use his resources, they could, but he was not going to get involved.	LA ML	NV-SA
8.4	His refusal to participate ended the effort.	LA	NV-SA

<sup>121</sup> Caesar's pardon of Quintus Cicero most likely occurred due to Marcus Cicero's pleading with him. Marcus tried to make sure that Quintus was not viewed negatively by Caesar due to his own actions (*Letters to Atticus* XI.12.2–3; XI.21.3).

<sup>122</sup> *Letters to Atticus* XIV.14.2; The three men mentioned together in the letters between Atticus and Cicero for the first time. Other letters discuss the leadership of Brutus and Cassius during this time period (XIV.20, XV.19, et al.). This idea that "all the citizens were following them" is hyperbole. There are mentions of the people showing support for Brutus and Cassius after the murder of Caesar in Appian's *Civil Wars* (2.19.142; 3.1.4), but those in the ruling class did not appear to view them highly at all (3.1.6).

<sup>123</sup> Their correspondence with one another is mentioned in Plutarch, *Brutus* 29.9, *Cicero* 45.2. Also, Cicero mentions how close the two were in *Brutus* I.10. Atticus was twenty-five years older than Marcus Brutus (Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 73–4).

<sup>124</sup> They were friends, but there is little about Atticus being a "leading adviser." In fact, we read of Atticus asking Cicero for advice on how to handle a problem that was obviously brought to Atticus by Brutus and Cassius (*Letters to Atticus* XIV.20.4). Having said that, in regard to him being a "daily companion" of the Brutus, there appears to be much evidence. Brutus and Cassius made their way to Lanuvium and it would appear that Atticus spent much time with them there (*Letters to Atticus* XIV.7.1; 10.1; 14.2; 19.1; 20.1; et al.).

<sup>125</sup> As Horsfall points out, this is the only "sure reference" to this event, the others are in spurious documents (*Cornelius Nepos*, 74).

<sup>126</sup> The only mention of this Gaius Flavius is in Cicero's *Letters to Friends* XIII.31 (written ca. 46 BCE). The letter is highly complementary of the man and does distinguish him as a Roman Knight.

		ML	
8.5	Antony was coming into power so Brutus and Cassius “abandoned their attention to the duties assigned to them by the consul for the sake of appearances, despaired of the situation, and went into exile.”	WDO	V <sup>127</sup>
8.6	Despite Atticus refusing to give money “to that cause when it was prospering,” he helped Brutus out by sending him 100,000 sesterces as he fled Italy.	LA ML	NV-SA
8.6	Atticus also gave another 300,000 sesterces to Brutus when he was in Epirus.	LA ML	NV-SA
8.6	He did not flatter Antony.	LA ML	NV-SA
8.6	He did not abandon anyone else who was in despair.	LA ML	NV-SA
9.1	Nepos notes that the war at Modena now occurred.	AI	V <sup>128</sup>
9.1	Nepos claims that Atticus was a “seer” during this time, but only if the character of seer can be interpreted as someone who has an inherent goodness and is not unsettled by anything that happens.	AA	NV-NH
<u>9.2</u>	Antony was now considered a public enemy and left Italy; he was not going to be restored.	WDO	V <sup>129</sup>
9.2	Antony’s personal enemies and those who had joined his enemies started to attack his friends, tried to take his wife’s possessions, and even wanted to harm his children.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.3</u>	Cicero and Brutus were not encouraged by Atticus to further “outrage” Antony.	LA ML	NV-SA
9.3	Atticus actually helped those close to Antony flee from Rome by giving them whatever they were lacking.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>9.4</u>	He was very generous towards Publius Volumnius.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>130</sup>

<sup>127</sup> *Letters to Atticus* XIV.19.1; Cicero writes that he has received a letter from Brutus and the latter is contemplating exile. In *Letters to Atticus* XV.9, Cicero writes about Brutus and Cassius being given charge of the grain sales in Asia and Sicily respectively. He insinuates that this assignment should be viewed as beneath their station. Appian covers a situation very much like what Nepos writes here in his *Civil Wars* (3.1.6–7).

<sup>128</sup> The battle at Mutina (modern Modena) is described in Appian (*Civil Wars* 3.8.49).

<sup>129</sup> The events leading up to and surrounding Antony being deemed an enemy of the state can be found in Appian (*Civil Wars* 3.8.50–63). Plutarch also discusses Antony being deemed a public enemy (*Antony* 17.1).

<sup>130</sup> Whether this was a calculated move by Atticus or not, it helped him in the end tremendously. Publius was a man very close to Antony (see *Att.* 12.4) and by helping him here it gained him safety later (*Att.* 10.2, 12.4).

<u>9.4</u>	Atticus also helped Fulvia to a great extent when she was dealing with her legal troubles; he was always by her side in court, always her “surety”.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>131</sup>
<u>9.5</u>	Fulvia bought an estate but was unable to finish paying it off.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.5</u>	Atticus gave Fulvia the money to pay off the home, requiring no interest on the loan or “formal” terms.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>132</sup>
9.5	Nepos claimed that Atticus did this because he thought it was better to be thought of as one who was mindful of favors that others had done for him and that he wanted to be a friend to people, not success.	LA ML	NV-NH
9.6	“No one could think that he acted thus under force of circumstances, for no one believed that Antony would triumph.”	AA	NV-NH
9.7	Some of the <i>optimates</i> criticized him because they thought he was not harsh enough to “bad citizens.”	WDO	NV-SA
9.7	Atticus was more prone to depend on his own judgement rather than someone else’s; he wanted to do what he thought was best for him, not what he thought others would applaud.	LA ML	NV-SA
10.1	The tides turned and Antony returned to Italy.	WDO	V <sup>133</sup>
<u>10.1</u>	Because of Atticus’s association with Cicero and Brutus everyone thought that Atticus was in grave danger.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>134</sup>
<u>10.2</u>	Prior to Antony’s return Atticus went into hiding at Publius Volumnius’s home.	LA ML	NV-SA
10.2	Nepos points out that Atticus had helped Publius earlier.	AI	NV-NH
10.2	Again, Nepos interjects himself. He discusses the quickness at which situations can change, bringing danger one minute and success the next.	AI	NV-NH
<u>10.2</u>	With Atticus during this time of hiding was Quintus Gellius Canus, “a man very like him.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>135</sup>
10.3	By Atticus having Canus by his side, this should be considered as an example of his “goodness.”	AA	NV-NH
<u>10.3</u>	Atticus and Canus had known each other since they were young.	LA ML	NV-SA

<sup>131</sup> Similar to his dealings with Publius, his decision here to help Fulvia in her time of need paid off in the end (*Att.* 10.4).

<sup>132</sup> Probably better said, “no additional interest.” See Horsfall’s comments on how the loan did in fact carry some interest, though minimal in comparison to what she would have faced if she had gone at it alone (Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 78).

<sup>133</sup> Antony’s meeting with Octavian and Lepidus that resulted in the triumvirate can be found in Appian (*Civil Wars* 4.1.2) and repeated, with some rather fascinating additions, in Dio Cassius (*Roman History* 47.1–2). The meeting is also discussed in Plutarch (*Antony* 19.1–20.3).

<sup>134</sup> Odd that Cicero’s death is not mentioned in the biography given how close the two were.

<sup>135</sup> Not much is known about this man except that he had a daughter who was a possible match for Cicero’s nephew (*Letters to Atticus* 15.21.2).

10.4	Antony remembered Atticus's prior actions towards himself and eventually sent him a letter telling him to not be afraid and come visit him immediately.	WDO	NV-SA
10.4	Antony was kind to Atticus even though he hated Cicero and wanted to harm all his friends, as those close to him were telling him to do.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>10.4</u>	Both Canus and Atticus were taken of the list of those who had been "proscribed."	WDO	NV-SA
10.5	So that Atticus would not encounter any danger Antony sent a guard.	WDO	NV-SA
10.5	"So Atticus at a time of great danger served to protect not only himself but also the friend whom he held dearest."	AA	NV-NH
10.5	Atticus did not seek safety just for himself, but did so for his friend. This was done "so that it appeared that he wished for no good fortune for himself alone, independently of Canus."	LA ML	NV-SA
10.6	Nepos compares Atticus to a ship's captain, one who has steered his ship safely to the port after a storm many times over. In a way Atticus is no different as he has stayed clear of danger several times.	AA	NV-NH
11.1	Once this episode was over and he was free from danger he devoted his time to helping others.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>11.1</u>	Apparently, at this time, Atticus was at his estate in Epirus. <sup>136</sup> Many came to him and were not turned away.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>137</sup>
11.1	This was during the time of the "mob" searching for those who had been "proscribed" by the generals, as they were promised a reward for those they turned in.	WDO	V <sup>138</sup>
<u>11.2</u>	"After the battle at Philippi and the death of Gaius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, he even began to protect Lucius Iulius Mocilla, the ex-praetor, and his son, and Aulus Torquatus, and those others struck down by a like blow of fortune, and gave	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>139</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Of course, we know from Cicero that Atticus did in fact own a place at Epirus (*Letters to Atticus* I.5.7). Whether or not Atticus went to Epirus at this time and helped those who came to him is indeterminable based on the extant literary evidence, although there really is no reason not to believe Nepos at this point.

<sup>137</sup> That people were fleeing Rome and seeking shelter in nearby locations is discussed in Dio Cassius (*Roman History* 47.12.1) and Appian (*Civil Wars* 4.6.36). Neither of these sources mention Atticus's efforts, they primarily focus on Sextus Pompeius's efforts to harbor refugees in Sicily.

<sup>138</sup> That rewards were offered for tracking down the proscribed is discussed throughout the sources covering this time period (ex. Appian, *Civil Wars* 4.3.13).

<sup>139</sup> There are a lot of pieces to this datum. The battle of Philippi and Brutus's resultant death are discussed in Plutarch (*Brutus* 51–2, et al.); L. Iulius Mocilla is unknown; A. Torquatus is apparently mentioned again at 15.3, though it might not be the same individual (see Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 81). As Horsfall mentions, there is an A. Torquatus mentioned in Cicero's *Letters to Friends* 6.1–4 and *On Ends* 2.72; likely the same individual mentioned here.

	orders that all their needs should be transported from Epirus to Samothrace.”		
11.2	Nepos remarks that it is both unnecessary and difficult to explain all the details.	AI	NV-NH
11.3	Nepos interjects himself into the narrative by stating, “I want one point to be understood, that his generosity did not depend on circumstances or on calculation.”	AA	NV-NH
11.4	Nepos states that based on all the “facts and circumstances” Atticus was not interested in selling “himself to the successful”, but helping those in need.	AA	NV-NH
<u>11.4</u>	He continued to take care of Brutus’s mother Servilia after Brutus’s death and the height of her wealth.	LA ML	NV-SA
11.5	He was “magnanimous.”	LA ML	NV-NH
11.5	He did not have “feuds” because he didn’t harm anyone.	LA ML	NV-NH
11.5	If he did incur injury, he’d soon forget rather than seek revenge.	LA ML	NV-NH
11.5	He never forgot someone else’s kindness towards himself.	LA ML	NV-NH
11.5	And those he was kind to, he remembered them favorably as long as they were “grateful.”	LA ML	NV-NH
11.6	He lived in such a way as to prove the old saying, “each man’s character moulds his own fortune.”	AA	NV-NH
11.6	But Atticus molded himself before his fortune and was careful to be found blameless in any situation.	AA	NV-NH
<u>12.1</u>	Because of who Atticus was, Marcus Agrippa chose to enter into a relationship by marriage with him. He married Atticus’s daughter (Caecilia Attica).	WDO	NV-SA <sup>140</sup>
12.1	Agrippa could have married anyone he wanted because of who he was and his connections to the ever so powerful Caesar, but preferred to marry into a Roman knight family rather than one of aristocracy.	AA	NV-SA
<u>12.2</u>	Marcus Antonius was actually responsible for bringing about the marriage.	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>140</sup> Suetonius writes this regarding Tiberius, “He married Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Agrippa, and granddaughter of Caecilius Atticus, a Roman knight, to whom Cicero’s letters are addressed” (*Tiberius* 7.2, [Rolfe, LCL]). From what I can observe this is the only other attestation to the marriage between Marcus Agrippa and Caecilia Attica, even though the latter is not mentioned directly. Most modern historians take what is stated here and in 19.4 as evidence that the two were married (see Dietmar Kienast, “Agrippa,” *BNP* 1:391–92). This is marked NV-SA rather than D or V because of Nepos’s claim that Agrippa wanted to be in a relationship with Atticus by marriage due to the type of man the latter was.



<u>12.2</u>	Instead of using his newfound connection to Agrippa to increase his wealth, he asked for his friends to be removed from any danger or “inconveniences.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>12.3</u>	Atticus helped Lucius Saufeijs regain his inheritance even after it was taken away from him. Saufeijs was a Roman knight, contemporary of Atticus, lover of philosophy who once lived in Athens, and held several residences in Italy. Apparently, the same messenger that delivered the message to Saufeijs that everything had been confiscated also delivered the message that everything was to be restored.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>141</sup>
<u>12.4</u>	He did the same for Lucius Julius Calidus.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>142</sup>
12.4	Nepos says the he is most “elegant” poet of their age and that he is a good man, well-educated in the “most important branches of knowledge.”	AA	NV-SA
<u>12.4</u>	Calidus was “entered in the register of the proscribed by Publius Volumnius, Antony’s aide-de-camp <sup>143</sup> , after the proscription of the knights, on account of his large properties in Africa.”	WDO	NV-SA
12.5	Nepos notes how people knew Atticus for his generosity towards his friends in times of trouble, even those that were not around. It is difficult, Nepos says, to determine whether this kind of behavior was responsible for him gaining more glory or more trouble.	AA	NV-NH
13.1	Atticus was thought to be equally as good a head of household as he was a citizen.	AA	NV-NH
13.1	Despite being wealthy he did not like to buy or build excessively.	LA ML	NV-SA
13.1	But he did live “extremely well” and the possessions that he did have were of the highest quality.	AA	NV-SA
<u>13.2</u>	The house that he owned once belonged to Tamphilus and sat on the Quirinal hill.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>144</sup>

<sup>141</sup> While this specific act of Atticus’s is not mentioned elsewhere, Lucius Saufeijs is a rather well-known figure. He is mentioned extensively in Cicero’s *Letters to Atticus* (I.3.1, II.8.1, VI.1.10, XV.4, et al.); his wealth, his philosophical leanings (Epicureanism), and his friendship with the two are discussed. According to Horsfall, there are even two known statues of Saufeijs, one at Athens (Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 85).

<sup>142</sup> Little is known about this individual; possibly the same L. Julius mentioned in Cicero’s *Letters to Friends* 13.6.

<sup>143</sup> *praefecto fabrum*; Roebuck says it is a military office specifically designated for skilled craftsmen or engineers. They reported directly to the general they were appointed by. See Cornelius Nepos, *Three Lives—Alcibiades, Dion, Atticus*, ed. R. Roebuck (Mundelein, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2014), 90.

<sup>144</sup> In a rather indirect way, Cicero discloses that Atticus’s home was on the Quirinal (*Letters to Atticus* XII.45.2).

<u>13.2</u>	Atticus received the house from his uncle.	LA ML	NV-SA
13.2	Nepos thinks it's charm comes from the "grounds," not the house itself.	AA	NV-NH
<u>13.2</u>	The actual home was old and had more "character than luxury."	AA	NV-NH
<u>13.2</u>	Atticus did nothing to the house unless it needed it due to its age.	LA ML	NV-NH
<u>13.3</u>	He had nice slave quarters, practically speaking, but it was not beautiful or magnificent.	AA	NV-NH
<u>13.3</u>	Atticus's slaves were all highly educated – his slaves could both read and copy, even the footmen.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>145</sup>
<u>13.3</u>	All of the other "specialists" required to run the house were first rate as well.	AA	NV-NH
13.4	All of his slaves were "born and trained in the household."	WDO	NV-SA
13.4	For Nepos, this signals both restraint and "industry."	AA	NV-NH
13.4	It is a sign of restraint because he did not desire what many others did; a sign of "industry" (or determination) because he worked to train his slaves rather than spend the money to have someone else do it.	AA	NV-NH
<u>13.5</u>	He was tasteful, did not spend lavishly, focused on elegance rather than affluence.	AA	NV-NH
<u>13.5</u>	His house was filled with furniture that was basic/modest, not excessive.	AA	NV-NH
<u>13.6</u>	Even though he was an important Roman knight, known for entertaining important guests, he only allowed a budget of 3,000 sesterces a month for expenses.	LA ML	NV-SA
13.7	Nepos says, "This I assert as a matter not reported but observed, for I often joined in his life at home on account of our relations."	AI	NV-NH
14.1	Atticus's only form of entertainment at his home was someone reading, and this happened every time he had a dinner.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>146</sup>
<u>14.2</u>	He would invite those people over who had similar tastes.	LA	NV-SA

<sup>145</sup> While these exact details are not repeated in other sources, there is discussion in the letters about Atticus's slaves being able to read/copy/edit (*Letters to Atticus* IV.15, VII.2.3, XVI.2.6; Byrne, "Biography," 14ff.). Additionally, IV.15, tells of a Dionysius, a slave educated enough to be a teacher to Cicero and his son. There are also several other mentions of individuals, while not labeled as slaves specifically, are thought by Byrne to be so. They are often discussed in the context of literary research (*Letters to Atticus* V.3.3; V.12.2; XII.22.2; XIII.33.3). If Byrne is right, one easily gets the impression that Atticus had a host of slaves who were "highly educated" and capable of doing a number of tasks that involved both reading and copying. On the unlikelihood of "footmen" being able to read and copy, see Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 89.

<sup>146</sup> While there is no mention of reading being the exclusive form of dinner entertainment at Atticus's house, there is mention of it happening; *Letters to Atticus* XVI.3.1.

		ML	
14.2	Despite his substantial increase in wealth after his uncle passed (he acquired 2m HS from his father and another 10m HS from his uncle), he never changed his lifestyle.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>147</sup>
14.3	He had “no park,” no “luxurious villa at Rome or by the sea,” no “country estate in Italy”; his only estates were at Arretium and Mentana.	LA ML	CR <sup>148</sup>
14.3	His financial income came from his properties at Epirus and Rome.	LA ML	CR <sup>149</sup>
14.3	Nepos states that “one can tell he used to measure the value of money not by quantity but by reason.” <sup>150</sup>	AA	NV-NH
15.1	Atticus was not a liar and could not stand lies either.	LA ML	D <sup>151</sup>
15.1	There was always a little “severity” in his “courtesy” and a little “charm” in his “gravity.”	AA	NV-NH
15.1	It was difficult to tell if his friends respected him or loved him more.	AA	NV-NH
<u>15.1</u>	If someone asked him to do something he was very careful in choosing whether to give his word or not that he would do it; he thought it was irresponsible to give your word and then back out.	LA ML	D <sup>152</sup>

<sup>147</sup> It is unclear why Nepos does not mention the other inheritances which he subsequently brings up (*Att.* 21.1).

<sup>148</sup> He had a villa at Ficulea (*Letters to Atticus* XII.34.1); a place “near” Rome (VII.3.6; XII.37.2); a “country house” (XII.36.2); a place “out of town” (XII.38.1). As Horsfall points out, these could all be in reference to the same place (*Cornelius Nepos*, 92). What is not clear is just exactly the place they are referencing. Ficulea is roughly 15 miles northeast of Rome and Mentana (ancient *Nomentum*) is a few miles further to the north. Arretium (Arezzo?) is in north-central Italy, some 80 plus miles from Rome. If one were to guess, it would appear that the estate near Mentana, at Ficulea, is the place that is frequently mentioned by Cicero in his correspondence with Atticus. The one at Arretium is not mentioned. It would appear that Nepos’s claim here, that Atticus did not have a “country estate,” is misguided. The estate at Ficulea should be considered as such.

<sup>149</sup> There are other forms of income discussed in Cicero’s letters (loan to Sicyon, I.13.1; training gladiators, IV.17.6; loans to friends, IV.7.2); also, see Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 92–3; Byrne, “Biography,” 1–22). Byrne combs through Cicero’s correspondence with Atticus to find any shred of evidence regarding his business dealings. She concludes that he was active in the banking business in both Italy and Greece (in “Biography,” 13 she specifically deals with the claim here).

<sup>150</sup> The tenses of the verbs here make one think that this portion was revised after his death.

<sup>151</sup> Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* I.17.5–6. Cicero praises Atticus for his “uprightness, integrity, conscientiousness, fidelity to obligation.” One could say that abhorring lying is a sign of integrity.

<sup>152</sup> Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* I.17.5–6. This shows conscientiousness and fidelity to obligation.

<u>15.2</u>	Once he had promised that he was going to do it, he did it with fervor and carried it out like it was his own business, not someone else's.	LA ML	D <sup>153</sup>
<u>15.2</u>	Once he started something he did not tire of it; his thought his reputation depended on him finishing it and his reputation was very important to him.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>154</sup>
<u>15.3</u>	Because of this he looked after the affairs of "the Ciceros, of Marcus Cato, Quintus Hortensius, Aulus Torquatus, and of many Roman knights."	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>155</sup>
15.3	Nepos concludes that one could say he avoided political affairs out of choice, not because he didn't have anything to do.	AA	NV-NH
16.1	Atticus's close relationship with Sulla, while he was an elderly man, is proof of his good-natured personality.	AA	NV-NH
<u>16.1</u>	And when Atticus became an old man he was the same to Marcus Brutus as Sulla was to him.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>156</sup>
16.1	He was also such close friends with people his own age, mainly Quintus Hortensius and Marcus Cicero, that it is difficult to really tell which generation he truly belonged.	AA	NV-NH
<u>16.2</u>	Cicero and Atticus were so close that Cicero was fonder of Atticus than he was of his own brother Quintus.	WDO	D <sup>157</sup>

<sup>153</sup> Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* I.17.5–6. Cicero tells Atticus that when it came to "fidelity to obligation," he was second to none. One can also read of Cicero's confidence in Atticus to get a major project completed for him while the former was away. The project consisted of buying a piece of property and on it erecting a shrine to his late daughter; there are multiple letters discussing the project in *Letters to Atticus*, see esp. XIII.1.1–2, as it discusses Cicero's confidence in Atticus to get this accomplished.

<sup>154</sup> Again, this hits on fidelity to obligation, but the central point Nepos is trying to make in this specific data point has to do with his concern for his reputation, and that is something that is not repeated in additional sources (hence the NV-SA designation).

<sup>155</sup> His involvement in the affairs of Marcus Cicero is certainly attested to: Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* I.6.2; I.7; I.8.2; I.9.2; I.12.1–2; V.5.2; XI.2.1, et al.). Though Atticus's involvement in the affairs of the others listed here is not mentioned, there is mention of his relationships with these three individuals (Cato - I.17.9; II.1.8; Hortensius - I.14.5; IV.6.3; V.2.1, et al; Torquatus – *Letters to Friends* 6.1–4 and *On Ends* 2.72).

<sup>156</sup> There are no references to Atticus's relationship with Sulla outside of this biography; there are mentions of his relationship with Brutus (see notes above related to the data points beginning with 8.1).

<sup>157</sup> The closeness of Cicero and Atticus is not really up for debate, but that the former cared for the latter more than he did for his own brother is most likely hyperbole used to drive home a point, rather than a legitimate assessment of the way Cicero felt about the two men. That being said, we do get the impression at points that Cicero values Atticus slightly more than his own brother, though, this is also, more likely than not, hyperbole (ex. *Letters to Atticus* IV.18.2). Cicero also mentions his deep affection towards his brother on multiple occasions (ex. I.17.1). It is quite difficult to verify or disprove one hyperbolic statement on the basis of another, but, if

16.3	Nepos says, “To prove the point” ... and then mentions that there were eleven rolls of letters between the two men and numerous published books in which Atticus is mentioned.	WDO	V <sup>158</sup>
16.3	Nepos says that the correspondence between Cicero and Atticus covered the events of their lives from the time of Cicero’s consulship to his death.	WDO	I <sup>159</sup>
16.3	These letters are so complete in the information they offer about the local history of the time period in which they were written that no one even needs to write a history for this point in time.	AI	NV-NH
16.4	Cicero predicted things that happened in his lifetime and the current time period in which Nepos was writing.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>160</sup>
17.1	Nepos poses a question, essentially asking: What else can I say about his love for his family?	AI	NV-NH
17.1	Nepos overheard Atticus boasting of the fact that he never had to reconcile with his mother, i.e., they never had a quarrel that required it, and the same for his sister who was about the same age. This was heard at his mother’s funeral, who Atticus buried at the age of 90, when he was 67 at the time.	LA ML	NV-SA
17.2	Nepos says you can interpret the above one of two ways: either they never fought or Atticus did not think it was appropriate to be angry with those closest to him.	AA	NV-NH
17.3	This kind of behavior came not just from nature, but from his reading of the major philosophers; he took to heart their teachings and acted upon them, he did not do this “for show.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>161</sup>

taken at face value, it would appear that Nepos is here recording something that he has picked up on either in reading these same letters or seeing interactions between the three men.

<sup>158</sup> Obvious given the numerous mentions of Atticus in the letters, dialogues, and rhetorical writings of Cicero. See Horsfall for his interesting comments about the supposed differences between what Nepos had in regard to the letters between Cicero and Atticus versus what we have now (*Cornelius Nepos*, 96).

<sup>159</sup> *Letters to Atticus* begins in 68 BCE and goes until 44 BCE, Nepos is off by a few years on their start date and a single year for their end date. Cicero’s consulship began in 63 BCE and he died in 43. Considering the start of Cicero’s consulship would have been a date seemingly easy to verify, scholars point to this as evidence of Nepos’s laziness and/or lack of concern for accuracy.

<sup>160</sup> This is certainly an odd statement by Nepos; he might have based this on some of the contents of Cicero’s correspondence with Atticus. Cicero writes to Atticus, “It is not so much the proscription of individuals that we have to fear ... as the destruction of the whole country—so enormous will be the power on either side when the clash comes. Such is my forecast.” (*Letters to Atticus* VIII.11.4 [Shackleton Bailey, LCL]).

<sup>161</sup> Atticus’s interest in philosophy is hinted at throughout his correspondence with Cicero (*Letters to Atticus* XIII.38.1, XVI.7.4), but nothing like what Nepos says here is repeated. It is also mentioned in Cicero’s philosophical writings (*On Ends* I.5.16, V.1.3; *Academics* I.VIII.33), though this “evidence” of his interest in/love for philosophy needs to be viewed in light of the

<u>18.1</u>	Atticus was a “leading follower of ancestral custom and lover of antiquity.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>162</sup>
18.1	His mastery of all things ancient can be seen in the history he produced; he “placed the magistracies in order.”	LA ML	V <sup>163</sup>
<u>18.2</u>	He left nothing out that was relevant to Roman history, all listed according to date; his work allows for one to recover the family lineage of “famous men.”	LA ML	D <sup>164</sup>
<u>18.3</u>	He also produced something similar for other families in additional books.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>18.3–4</u>	Marcus Brutus requested him to record the history of the Junian family, Claudius Marcellus requested it for the Marcelli, Cornelius Scipio and Fabius Maximus requested it for the Fabii and Aemilii; Atticus provided the history of the family from “origin to present, recording who was whose son, what magistracies he held, and when.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>165</sup>
18.4	Nepos remarks that nothing can be better than what Atticus has provided for those that want some information on the lives of famous men.	AA	NV-NH
<u>18.5</u>	He wrote poetry, but only minimally.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>166</sup>

genre in which it is found, i.e., his dialogues are not to be read as caches of historical data. Byrne also discusses his interest in philosophy (“Biography,” 25–26, 34–35).

<sup>162</sup> This can be seen in the numerous instances where Cicero makes a request of Atticus to search out some chronological or genealogical detail for him (XII.5B; XII.20.2; XII.22.2; XII.23.2; XII.24.2; et al.; Byrne, “Biography,” 30n75).

<sup>163</sup> The fact that Atticus produced his *Liber annalis* cannot be disputed. There are numerous mentions of it throughout ancient literature (Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* XII.23.2; idem, *Brutus* I.14–15, VII.28; idem, *Orator* XXXIV.120; Asconius, *Commentary on Pro Cornelio* 77C, *Commentary on In Pisonem* 13C). The work was probably written ca. 50–47 BCE (Byrne, “Biography,” 42).

<sup>164</sup> This appears to be in-line with Cicero’s evaluation of the work in his *Brutus* (XIX.74) and *Orator* (XXXIV.120). Byrne lists the events covered in the *Annals* that receive direct mention in other sources (“Biography,” 41–46).

<sup>165</sup> There is a mention of a “picture” drawn in a building known as the “Parthenon” (one made to look like the original) that sat on Brutus’s property. Shackleton Bailey concludes that this was a family tree drawn by Atticus, tracing out Brutus’s lineage (*Letters to Atticus* XIII.40n1). If accurate, the request to write it out in book form is certainly believable. That there were additional requests to produce the same kind of work is also believable.

<sup>166</sup> Horsfall notes, “It was positively unusual for Romans of good family at this date *not* to write some poetry, if they were of a literary bent.” He points to Nepos, Varro, Cicero, Augustus, Brutus, Hortensius, Sulla, and Caesar, all as examples of those who wrote poetry around this time (*Cornelius Nepos*, 101).

18.5–6	Atticus would write four or five lines of verse on each of the famous Roman men; it was hard to believe that he could summarize their achievements in such short a space, but he was able.	LA ML	V <sup>167</sup>
18.6	Atticus also wrote a single roll on Cicero. This he wrote in Greek.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>168</sup>
19.1	Nepos tells his reader that what he has written up to that point was written and published prior to the death of Atticus.	AI	NV-NH
19.1	What follows is what remained of Atticus's life and it will include examples aimed at the instruction of his readers, hoping to show them that "it is each man's character that secures his fortune."	AI	NV-NH
19.2	Atticus was content with his "equestrian rank" but he ultimately gained access to the imperial family (by marriage), "son of the deified Caesar." <sup>169</sup>	LA ML	V <sup>170</sup>
19.2	Atticus was friends with Octavian prior to the marriage simply because of who he was; this is how he gained access to all the leading men of the state, despite their less fortunate positions than Caesar.	LA ML	NV-NH
19.3	Caesar had "Fortune" on his side to the extent that he was awarded with more than any Roman previously.	AA	NV-NH
19.4	Atticus had a granddaughter through the marriage of his daughter and Agrippa.	LA ML	V <sup>171</sup>
19.4	The granddaughter was actually betrothed to "Tiberius Claudius Nero, his stepson, the son of Drusilla."	WDO	V <sup>172</sup>
19.4	Atticus's granddaughter was only a year old when this happened.	WDO	NV-SA
19.4	Caesar's actions solidified their connection to one another and brought about more frequent interactions.	LA ML	NV-NH
20.1	Nepos claims that even before the betrothal took place that Octavian would write Atticus often, so much so that he always	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>167</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.2.11. Pliny mentions the volume of "portraits" published by Atticus. It appears that Cicero also briefly mentions this in one of his philosophical writings (*On Ends* II.21.68).

<sup>168</sup> There is a brief mention in the correspondence between he and Cicero about Atticus writing up a summary of his friend's consulship. He also mentions that it was written in Greek. This is likely to what Nepos is referring, if not a vorlage; see *Letters to Atticus* II.1.1.

<sup>169</sup> See *Att.* 12.1.

<sup>170</sup> Seneca, *Epistles* 21.5; Tacitus, *Annals* 2.43; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7.

<sup>171</sup> Seneca, *Epistles* 21.5; Suetonius, *On Grammarians* 16, *Tiberius* 7.

<sup>172</sup> Seneca, *Epistles* 21.5; Tacitus, *Annals* 2.43; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7. Seneca mentions the relationship between Tiberius and his granddaughter. Also, Atticus's daughter's marriage to Agrippa and his granddaughter's marriage to Tiberius are implied in Tacitus when he mentions Atticus's great grandson, Drusus, and Atticus's connection to the Claudian household. Suetonius says something similar in his biography of Tiberius.

	would tell Atticus what he was doing, what he was reading, where he was, and for how long.		
20.2	Even when he was in Rome, Octavian would write Atticus frequently if he didn't get to spend considerable time with him.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>20.2</u>	The letters from Octavian to Atticus would be about something in ancient history, or poetry, or just a joking request to receive longer letters from him.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>173</sup>
20.3	It was because of the relationship between Atticus and Caesar that Atticus actually got him to restore the temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>174</sup>
20.4	Marcus Antonius would also write Atticus in a similar fashion, telling him what he was doing even though he was quite some distance away. <sup>175</sup>	WDO	NV-SA <sup>176</sup>
20.5	The reader who understands just how much this is a "sign of wisdom to retain the society and goodwill of those two men," especially considering the power-struggle between the two, will be able to judge what this really means.	AA	NV-NH
<u>21.1</u>	At age 77, having great "dignity", "influence", and "riches" (which he received through several inheritances because of his own "goodness"), he became sick.	LA D	NV-SA <sup>177</sup>
21.1	Up to that point he was in excellent health and actually required no "medicine" for the previous 30 years of his life.	LA D	I <sup>178</sup>
<u>21.2</u>	Initially his doctors thought it was irritation of his bowel and were not that worried about it, only "simple remedies were proposed."	LA D	NV-SA <sup>179</sup>

<sup>173</sup> Horsfall points out that Octavian's literary interests are well documented (*Cornelius Nepos*, 105; Suetonius, *Aug.* 84ff.).

<sup>174</sup> Atticus's involvement in the restoration is nowhere mentioned; that Octavian restored the temple is documented (Augustus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 19; Livy, *History of Rome* 4.20.7).

<sup>175</sup> Some might find it hard to believe that Atticus received the attention of both Octavian and Antony to this extent.

<sup>176</sup> As Horsfall notes, Antony was in the east from 37 till his death in 30 (*Cornelius Nepos*, 107).

<sup>177</sup> According to previous content in this biography, we only know of two inheritances (2,000,000 HS from his father and 10,000,000 HS from his uncle, see 14.2). Here we read of "several." Perhaps his acts of generosity to those who were in great need at various times throughout his life resulted in subsequent inheritances and increased wealth (Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 108).

<sup>178</sup> He may not have required "medicine" (or the help of a physician [Roebuck, *Three Lives*, 99]) for any of his previous illnesses, but he was not "in excellent health" up to that point. There are mentions (*Letters to Atticus* VI.9.1, VII.2.2, VII.5.1, IX.6.6) of sickness, even severe sickness, in the letters from Cicero that date well within the 30-year timeframe Nepos mentions here.

<sup>179</sup> This term here used to describe the illness is *tenesmon*. *Tenesmos* is discussed in Pliny, he says it is a "frequent and ineffectual desire to go to stool" (*Nat. Hist.* 28.59 [Jones, LCL]). He



<u>21.3</u>	3 months went by without any new pains before “the disease burst so violently into his lower intestine that at the end ulcers full of matter burst through his loins.”	LA D	NV-SA
<u>21.4</u>	Before that happened, as the pains and the fever were increasing steadily, he summoned Agrippa, Lucius Cornelius Balbus and Sextus Peducaeus.	LA D	NV-SA <sup>180</sup>
21.5– 6	Nepos records a lengthy speech by Atticus to these three: “Just how much care and attention I have employed in caring for my health recently I do not need to recount at length, since I have you as witnesses. Since I have, I hope, satisfied you that I have left undone nothing that might serve to cure me, all that is left is that I now look after my own interests. This I wished you to know: for I am resolved no longer to nourish the disease. For however much food I have taken in these last days, I have so prolonged my life as to increase the pain without hope of recovery. So I beg of you both to approve of my plan and not to try to hinder me by pointless dissuasion.”	LA D	NV-SA <sup>181</sup>
22.1– 2	Atticus gave the speech with great “resolve” and Agrippa begged him not to allow himself to die sooner than he had to and to try and extend his life for his sake and for those closest to him.	WDO	NV-SA
22.2	Atticus was silent in response to the pleas.	LA D	NV-SA
<u>22.3</u>	Atticus stopped eating for two days and the fever seemed to leave him and the pain decreased.	LA D	NV-SA
<u>22.3</u>	He still carried out his plan and died three days later.	LA	NV-SA

actually does give some very simple remedies, i.e., drinking cow’s or ass’s milk (Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 108).

<sup>180</sup> Unfortunately, there is no other mention in ancient literature of the circumstances surrounding the death of Atticus. The likelihood of these three men being asked to attend to Atticus while on his deathbed is not all that far-fetched. His relationship with Agrippa was probably in good standing at the time of his death (32 BCE) considering Agrippa did not divorce his daughter until after this time. As for the other two: L. Cornelius Balbus ran in the same circles, is mentioned in *Letters to Atticus* (II.3.3; VIII.9A.2; VIII.15A; et al.), was the subject of Cicero’s *Pro Balbo*; Peducaeus is also mentioned in *Letters to Atticus* (I.5.4; VII.13.3; XV.13.3; et al.), the contents of which demonstrate a relationship between the three men that was active for quite some time.

<sup>181</sup> Helpful in viewing the death of Atticus against the backdrop of other literary works during and around his time is the two-part article by Miriam Griffin. Griffin discusses the commonality of suicide during this time and discusses some of the more common themes found in these types of death scenes. The likelihood of this being an all-out creation of Nepos is, in my opinion, slim, but the idea that it contains elements borrowed from other death accounts is highly likely. See, Miriam Griffin, “Philosophy, Cato, and Roman Suicide: I,” *Greece & Rome* 33.1 (1986): 64–77, and idem, “Philosophy, Cato, and Roman Suicide: II,” *Greece & Rome* 33.2 (1986): 192–202. Also, Horsfall discusses the similarities this scene shares with other works of the same period (*Cornelius Nepos*, 110–11).

		D	
<u>22.3</u>	His death came “on the last day of March when Gnaeus Domitius and Gaius Sosius were consuls.”	LA D	NV-SA <sup>182</sup>
<u>22.4</u>	His burial was simple, his bier was modest, there was no procession...all these things he requested.	LA D	NV-SA
22.4	He was escorted by “all men of substance and by very large crowds of the common people.”	LA D	NV-SA
<u>22.4</u>	“He was buried by the Appian Way at the fifth milestone, in the tomb of Quintus Caecilius his uncle.”	LA D	NV-SA <sup>183</sup>

## Interpreting the Results

As in the previous chapter, and in the ones to follow, in this section I provide a summary table of the work above. The table provides a breakdown and accompanying percentages of the various “types” and their “results.”

	V	I	D	CR	NV-SA	NV-NH	Total	Percentages
AI	2					9	11	4.6%
AA	1				7	33	41	17.2%
LA-BOC					8		8	3.4%
LA-ML	14		9	2	73	11	109	45.6%
LA-D		1			12		13	5.4%
WDO	14	1	4	1	37		57	23.8%
Total	31	2	13	3	137	53	239	
Percentages	13.0%	.80%	5.4%	1.3%	57.3%	22.2%		

If comparing the results above with the results tied to Xenophon’s *Agesilaus*, the particular percentage that sticks out the most is the one found under the “V” column. Whereas only 3.5% of the data points in the *Agesilaus* was marked verified, for the *Atticus* that total rose to 13%. Also interesting are the comparative totals for the “CR” columns, as they were drastically different; the *Agesilaus* was at 8.5%, while the *Atticus* is at 1.3%. This is quite remarkable for the *Atticus*, especially when combined with the low percentage in the “I” column

<sup>182</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 50.1; In the overview of the contents of book 50, Dio tells us that Cn. Domitius L. F. Cn. N. Ahenobarbus (Gnaeus Domitius) and C. Sosius C. F. T. N. (Gaius Sosius) were consuls in 32 BCE.

<sup>183</sup> Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos*, 112.

(.80%). Only 2% of the data points from the *Atticus* are directly called into question by other sources. (This does not mean that only 2% of the data points are unreliable; there could be substantial amounts of data in the NV-SA and NV-NH columns that are fictive. Of course, any claim that certain portions of data marked NV-SA or NV-NH are fictive would need to be supported with evidence as would the reverse claim.) That the *Atticus* is comparatively more reliable than Xenophon's *Agesilaus* is not an astounding find. The latter really sits on the fringe of the genre, bordering encomium, and even claims at the outset that part of its aim is to write an "appreciation" of the Spartan king, a telling comment that signals to the reader the author's motive for writing. Furthermore, there seemed to be a greater amount of information that, while relevant to the life of Atticus, was aimed more at scene-setting than direct characterization of the subject. This allowed for a greater number of opportunities to verify data points by using works from the genre of historiography proper, some of which were in fact verified thereby increasing that particular percentage.

Two additional statistics that might give one pause when comparing the two works are the percentages for the "D" and "NV-SA" columns. For the "D" column, the *Agesilaus* was at 37.1%, while the *Atticus* is at 5.4%; and for the "NV-SA" column, the *Agesilaus* was at 37.4%, while the *Atticus* is at 57.3%. This is a significant difference in each category. The most likely reason for the difference, between both types of data, is the popularity of the subject. Agesilaus made a considerably larger impact on the producers of literature in the centuries that followed his life. His words and deeds are referenced, often in a positive light, in sources written several hundred years after his time on earth. Atticus was simply not that remarkable in comparison and, while his actions were noble and even could be considered inspiring to some, his life just did not make the kind of impact that Agesilaus's did.

One final point to which I want to draw attention is the similarity between the breakdowns of the various types of data in the two biographies. Below are the percentages for each type of data in both the *Agesilaus* (left) and the *Atticus* (right).

	Total	Percentages	Total	Percentages
AI	16	5.7%	11	4.6%
AA	56	19.8%	41	17.2%
LA-BOC	1	.3%	8	3.4%
LA-ML	154	54.4%	109	45.6%
LA-D	1	.3%	13	5.4%
WDO	55	19.4%	57	23.8%
Total	283		239	

One can see that the only real difference between the two comes in the amount of space given to the beginning and end of their subject's lives. Nepos has expanded these two sections by including material that he obviously thought gave his reader insight into his subject's nature. The similarity between the two in their breakdowns is interesting to note and is likely due to a shared genre.

### Concluding Remarks

As can be seen by the analysis above, our evaluation of the *Atticus* has produced somewhat different results than the evaluation of the *Agesilaus*. That being said, a striking similarity between the two comes in the shared situation that produced the biography. Both works come from a place of the author's familiarity with his subject. As discussed in the "Concluding Remarks" in the previous chapter, this level of familiarity between author and subject can have a marked negative impact on the reliability of the work. This, however, does not seem to be the case with the *Atticus*, as much so with the *Agesilaus*, as it appears as if the bias of friendship was somewhat suppressed in the production of the work. This certainly does not mean that it was removed altogether and that its presence did not have a negative impact on the

reliability of the work. There are obvious episodes of overstatement and exaggeration that give the reader an overtly positive assessment of the individual when a more nuanced approach to his subject would have produced a slightly more authentic-sounding document. The primary reason for this suppression, though, is most likely due to the fact that a large portion of the biography was produced prior to the death of the subject. This puts considerable constraints on what can be written about the subject, especially when that individual is one of the more accomplished historians of his day. This rather unique situation is what has propelled me to underline roughly one hundred of the data points that were not marked “V” initially, an indication that I find them to be accurate in what they report.

When taking everything up to this point into consideration, my adjusted percentages for the data points that I find to be reliable, non-reliable, and indeterminable, is 60%, 5%, and 35% respectively. This too is noticeably different than the percentages for the *Agesilaus*. As stated in the previous chapter, and as will be stated in the following ones, the final percentages are my own estimations and do move beyond the evidence. That being said, I do not think that they are shocking and/or a gross overstatement. I do think that given the unique situation in how it was produced, i.e., that portions of the work were written prior to the subject’s death, what we have in the *Atticus* is a biography that included a significant amount of information which is accurate. Regardless, similar to Xenophon’s *Agesilaus*, the *Atticus* is a valuable resource for those interested in both the historical reliability of the genre and its overall development/progression, an undoubtedly important piece of literary history that warrants our continued attention.

## Chapter 4

### Tacitus's *Agricola*

Tacitean scholarship is an immense field of study as his entire body of work has been poured over by a number of modern scholars for centuries.<sup>1</sup> His contributions to our understanding of the early Principate, through his *Annals* and *Histories*, cannot be overstated and his works certainly warrant the attention they have received due to their significant contents.<sup>2</sup> His *opera minora* (*Agricola*, *Germania*, *Dialogus*) are also of importance as they provide the modern reader insight into the developments of the biographical, ethnographical, and dialogical styles of writing in antiquity. Because he was so actively involved in the political arena of his day, Tacitus provides his reader with a unique vantage point of the events he details in these important

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<sup>1</sup> In order to understand just how strong the interest in Tacitus was even as early as the sixteenth century, see P. Burke, "Tacitism," in *Tacitus*, ed. T. A. Dorey (New York: Basic Books, 1969), 149–71. More recent, and absolutely critical to becoming aware of the more significant contributions to the field made slightly before Syme's massive work, but mainly "post-Syme", are the articles written by H. W. Benario; see "Recent Work on Tacitus: 1954–1963" *CW* 58 (1964): 69–83; "Recent Work on Tacitus: 1964–1968" *CW* 63 (1970): 253–67; "Recent Work on Tacitus: 1969–1973" *CW* 71 (1977): 1–32; "Recent Work on Tacitus: 1974–1983" *CW* 80 (1986): 73–152; "Recent Work on Tacitus: 1984–1993" *CW* 89 (1995): 89–162; "Recent Work on Tacitus: 1994–2003" *CW* 98 (2005): 251–336. The "Syme" work referred to is his landmark two-volume work; Sir Ronald Syme, *Tacitus*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958).

<sup>2</sup> *Annals* covers the period from Tiberius's accession (14 CE) to the death of Nero (68 CE), while *Histories*, although written prior to *Annals*, covers a later time period of 69 CE to the downfall of Domitian in 96 CE. Unfortunately, with regards to both, what remains of these two works is only a fraction of what was originally written. Of the *Histories*, the first four books and a part of the fifth, out of twelve or fourteen books, survive today. Of the *Annals*, books 1–4, 12–15, and fragments of book 5, 6, 11 and 16 survive. Despite their fractured remains, A. J. Woodman notes that because of these two works Tacitus is "more responsible for our view of the early Roman Empire than any other ancient historian" (A. J. Woodman, "Tacitus," *OEAGR* 6:419–23, see p. 422). Also, see Egon Flaig, "Tacitus," *BNP* 14:105–11 (p. 106) for dates the works cover and what remains of them.

historical works.<sup>3</sup> Despite the fact that much has already been said about Tacitus's entire collection, and even a considerable amount written about the historical value of the *Agricola*, the hope is that the methodology employed here will provide some fresh insight into its reliability, or even lack thereof.<sup>4</sup> The sections that follow will mirror the arrangement of the previous chapters.

### Textual History (Questions from 1a)

The *Agricola* was written 97–98 CE and was most likely Tacitus's first literary production.<sup>5</sup> In the few centuries subsequent to its publication there was little interaction with the

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<sup>3</sup> Tacitus's political career flourished throughout the Flavian dynasty and the reigns of both Nerva and Trajan. He states in his *Histories*, "I cannot deny that my political career owed its beginning to Vespasian; that Titus advanced it; and that Domitian carried it further" (Tacitus, *Histories* 1.1 [Moore, LCL]). He served as quaestor (81 CE), praetor (88 CE), quindecimviri (88 CE), suffect consul (97 CE), and, ultimately, as proconsul of Asia in 112 CE. These offices and their dates are recorded in a number of secondary sources; Woodman, "Tacitus," 6:419; Flaig, "Tacitus," 14:105; R. H. Martin and A. J. Woodman, "Tacitus," *OCD*<sup>4</sup> 1426–28; Victoria Emma Pagán, "Introduction," in *A Companion to Tacitus*, ed. Victoria Emma Pagán (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 1–12.

<sup>4</sup> An example of a more recent work that discusses the historical merits of the *Agricola* is the new critical edition and commentary by Woodman; see A. J. Woodman, ed., with C. S. Kraus, *Tacitus: Agricola*, Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 25–30; henceforth referred to as W–K. Woodman only provides a handful of pages on the topic; for something of far greater detail, see W. S. Hanson, "Tacitus' 'Agricola': An Archaeological and Historical Study," *ANRW* 33.3:1742–84. Also, A. R. Birley's *The Roman Government of Britain* has a lengthy section on Agricola and in its survey of the governor discusses a number of other relevant ancient sources outside of the biography (Anthony R. Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> R. H. Martin, "From manuscript to print," in *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus*, ed. A. J. Woodman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 241–52; Martin notes, "The dates at which each of Tacitus' works was published is not known for certain, but it is generally accepted that they were written and published in a period of roughly twenty years, beginning in 98 (the year after his consulship) and in the order *opera minora* ('lesser works': *Agricola*, *Germania*, *Dialogus*), *Histories*, *Annals*" (241). More insightful into the dating of the *Agricola* are the conclusions in R. M. Ogilvie and I. A. Richmond, eds., *Cornelii Taciti De vita Agricolae* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 10–11. They are slightly more exact in their determination; the work was begun in 97, finished in 98, the same year as the *Germania*, but before it (11). The Ogilvie and Richmond volume, relied on extensively throughout this chapter, will henceforth be referred to as O–R.

work save for a few allusions to it in Pliny's *Panegyricus* and Jordanes's *Getica*.<sup>6</sup> The next *known* interaction with the *Agricola* did not occur until the early twelfth century when a man named Peter the Deacon, the librarian at the Abbey of Monte Cassino, is said to have quoted from the *Agricola* in the prologue to his *Vita S. Severi episcopi et confessoris*.<sup>7</sup>

In the early-to-mid fifteenth century, in multiple correspondences between a number of individuals, we learn that a copy of the *Agricola* (along with additional works by Tacitus) existed in Germany and was subsequently moved to Rome some thirty years later.<sup>8</sup> It is believed that while in Rome the codex that once contained Tacitus's *opera minora* and a few other works was altered and the *Agricola* was removed in order to be sold separately.<sup>9</sup> Several copies of the *Agricola* were thought to have been made shortly thereafter.<sup>10</sup>

There are only four extant manuscripts of the *Agricola*: *Ee* (*Codex Aesinas*), *T* (a copy of *Ee*), *A* (Vaticanus Latinus 3429), and *B* (Vaticanus Latinus 4498).<sup>11</sup> The *Aesinas* manuscript, re-discovered in Italy in 1902, is peculiar in that it contains a version of the *Agricola* which displays the work of multiple hands that spans nearly six hundred years. Its construction is best explained in the following table:<sup>12</sup>

#### ***Codex Aesinas Construction***

<i>E</i> portion	<i>e</i> portion
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<sup>6</sup> For the allusions to the *Agricola* in Pliny, see O–R, *Agricolae*, 11n2; for those in Jordanes's *Getica*, see M. Winterbottom, "Tacitus: Minor Works," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 410–11. The *Getica* was a summary of Cassiodorus's much longer *History of the Goths*. The interaction with the *Agricola* is minimal (cf. *Getica* 2.13; *Agricola* 12.3–5).

<sup>7</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 81. Also, Clarence W. Mendell, *Tacitus: The Man and His Works* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 279–93. Mendell provides an extensive discussion on the manuscript history of the *Agricola*.

<sup>8</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 81–82; Martin, "Manuscript," 245–46. Martin discusses at least three known letters that included either a mention of Tacitus's *opera minora* or the *Agricola* explicitly.

<sup>9</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 84.

<sup>10</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 84; Martin, "Manuscript," 246.

<sup>11</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 84–90. *Aesinas* is labeled *Ee* in order to show the two separate hands responsible for the production of the MS.

<sup>12</sup> As I tried to write this out several times, I found it getting more and more convoluted with each passing attempt. The table allows one to see the pertinent details side-by-side and eliminates the need for some unnecessarily verbose explanation.



Date: ca. 830–50 CE	Date: 15 <sup>th</sup> cen. CE
Contents: folios 56–63 (13.1–40.2) with a palimpsest of folio 69 (which contains some discernible portions in 40.2–43.3). <sup>13</sup>	Contents: folios 52–55, 64–65
Argued by Ogilvie and Richmond that this portion of the <i>Aesinas</i> is what remains of the aforementioned MS brought from German to Rome in the mid-fifteenth century.	Most likely the work of Stefano Guarnieri <sup>14</sup> ; he received the damaged copy of the <i>Agricola</i> (i.e. the <i>E</i> portion) and had to rework the beginning and the end portion. He most likely relied upon a copy of the text that was made after the <i>Agricola</i> was separated from its original location, yet still reliant on <i>E</i> .

As for the *A* and *B* manuscripts, they are thought to have been copied from a common hyparchetype as they share numerous readings and omissions.<sup>15</sup> It also thought that hyparchetype ultimately owes its existence to the once complete *E* portion of the *Aesinas*.<sup>16</sup> Having said that, Ogilvie and Richmond helpfully draw attention to the fact that the “precise relationship between *A* and *B* and their relationship with *Ee* is still a matter of dispute.”<sup>17</sup> The *T* manuscript, as numerous scholars point out, is of zero value in establishing the original text given that it is a copy of *Ee*.

Regardless of the exact relationship between the manuscripts, we find ourselves in the same position as with Xenophon’s *Agésilas* and Cornelius Nepos’s *Atticus*, i.e., the earliest

<sup>13</sup> Stan Wolfson, *Tacitus, Thule and Caledonia: The achievements of Agricola’s navy in their true perspective*, BAR British Series 459 (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2008), 25. Wolfson’s brief discussion of the *Agricola* MSS is both concise and well-documented.

<sup>14</sup> W–K, *Agricola*, 36.

<sup>15</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 89.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 89. A more recent explanation of the manuscript history, though using slightly different designations when it comes to the various extant manuscripts, can be found in W–K, *Agricola*, 35–37. What O–R have deemed “E”, Woodman calls “H” due to his conclusion that it is identical with the Hersfeld MS; an assumption on Woodman’s part according to one reviewer (Duncan B. Campbell, review of *Tacitus: Agricola (with C. S. Kraus)*, by A. J. Woodman, BMCR 2015.09.27, <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2015/2015-09-27.html>). Wolfson also discusses the MS naming issue and lists those outside of Woodman that also refer to it as “H” (*Tacitus, Thule and Caledonia*, 25n80).

manuscript to which we have access is significantly later than the original production of the work. There certainly were alterations to the text between the time of its writing and the production of the first extant copy, but the extent of those alterations is unknown. Furthermore, the most valuable MS, the *Ee* MS, has a number of issues. There are significant corruptions in the text as well as readings in the margins that have the potential to significantly alter the meaning of what is found in the main body.<sup>18</sup> Wolfson warns, “There are passages which contain nonsense, that still need to be corrected, and the worst scenario is when the explanations for these are more nonsensical than the nonsense they are supposed to explain.”<sup>19</sup> For those of us who are not Latinists, we must rely on the critical editions and translations of those who have diligently attended to these issues, and recognize the fact that there will be unresolvable issues in the text that will prohibit us from achieving a level of certainty for which we would typically strive.

There are a number of important editions of the *Agricola*, the first going back to the late-fifteenth century.<sup>20</sup> The English edition/commentary that stands above the rest is the 1967 edition by Ogilvie and Richmond.<sup>21</sup> The work was revised by Winterbottom and Ogilvie in 1975, but the

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<sup>18</sup> Wolfson, *Tacitus, Thule and Caledonia*, 26.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>20</sup> Martin, “Manuscript,” 248. The *editio princeps* of Tacitus’s work, published ca. 1472, did not include the *Agricola*. It was added to the second edition in 1476–77 and in a subsequent edition in 1497, the latter being the first firmly dated edition of a Tacitean work (248).

<sup>21</sup> See the full citation of the O–R volume above; Hanson refers to the Ogilvie and Richmond edition as “the standard edition of the text” (“Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1744). There are numerous editions of the text in multiple languages; Benario highlights the following ones in his articles listed above: G. Viansino (1959); S. Monti (1959); R. Till (1961); E. de Saint-Denis (1962); Forni (1962); R. M. Ogilvie and I. A. Richmond (1967); R. M. Ogilvie (1970, Loeb); Koestermann (1970); M. Winterbottom and R. M. Ogilvie (1975); J. Delz (1983); A. Städele (1991, 2001); W-K (2014).

text of the *Agricola* remained largely unchanged.<sup>22</sup> More recently, A. J. Woodman and C. S. Kraus produced an edition/commentary for the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics series and it has been lauded as a significant contribution.<sup>23</sup> The W–K text is entirely new and has been oft compared to the O–R volume. Reviewers point out roughly forty-five changes Woodman has made to the text, bringing attention to both the appropriateness and deficiencies of the alterations. Both the Ogilvie and Richmond volume and the Woodman volume, along with the translations by Birley and Ogilvie (Loeb), will be used in the evaluation of the *Agricola* below.<sup>24</sup>

### **Authorship and Authenticity (Questions from 1b)**

Despite the work itself being anonymous there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the *Agricola*. Major commentaries on the work do not even bother addressing the issue of authorship as the style of the work is clearly Tacitean, and all of our earliest MSS attribute the work to Tacitus. Mendell discusses a handful of attempts to label some of Tacitus's work as forgery, but these have been deemed somewhat reckless in the way they handle the data.<sup>25</sup> In the numerous other modern works treating the life and work of Tacitus there is no mention of any of his works being a forgery and his authorship of the works ascribed to him is not in doubt. For these reasons, we will proceed with the working assumption that Tacitus is the author of the *Agricola* and all that implies regarding the reliability of the work.

### **Relationship of Author to Subject (Questions from 1c)**

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<sup>22</sup> Campbell, "Review," np. The review is available at the address listed above, no page numbers are given.

<sup>23</sup> Full citation for the W–K volume is noted above. Myles Lavan, "Review: The New Green-And-Yellow of *Agricola*," *Histos* 9 (2015): xxxix–xlv.

<sup>24</sup> Anthony R. Birley, *Tacitus: Agricola and Germany*, Oxford World's Classics (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>25</sup> Mendell, *Tacitus*, 219. Mendell states that since 1875 "there have been at least five major attempts to discredit the works of Tacitus as either forgeries or fiction."

As is the case with each one of the biographies examined in this work the *Agricola* was written by someone who had a unique connection to his subject. The biography itself reveals this connection on a few occasions:

For the time being, this book, intended to honor Agricola, my father-in-law, will be commended, or at least excused, as a tribute of dutiful affection. (Tacitus, *Agricola* 3.3 [Birley])<sup>26</sup>

As consul he betrothed his daughter, then a girl of outstanding promise, to myself, then a young man, and after his consulship gave her in marriage. (Tacitus, *Agricola* 9.6)

But for myself and for your daughter the pain of losing a father is increased by grief that we could not sit by your sick-bed, sustain your failing strength, sate our sorrow with a last look and last embrace ... This is our special sorrow, this is what specially hurts us, that through the circumstance of our long absence he was lost to us four years earlier ... May you call us, your family, from feeble regrets and the weeping that belongs to women to contemplate your noble character, for which it is a sin either to mourn or to shed tears ... This is the true respect, the true duty, of each of us closest to you. That is what I would enjoin on his daughter and his wife, that they revere the memory of a father and a husband by continually pondering his deeds and his words in their hearts. (Tacitus, *Agricola* 45.4–46.3)

The familial ties that Tacitus had to his subject put him in an inimitable position as he would have had unmediated access to his subject on a variety of occasions. We should expect accurate information (even when it cannot be confirmed) when Tacitus reports on things like family history, official government positions that Agricola held, details surrounding his death (despite the fact that he was not present for his subject's passing), etc. Of course, this does not mean that these types of details cannot be questioned; some scholars have already brought into question certain aspects of his family history that seem rather innocuous at first glance. For instance, in *Agricola* 4.1–2, Tacitus mentions Agricola's father, Julius Graecinus, and how he was executed at the hands of Gaius Caesar [Caligula] after refusing to prosecute a man known as Marcus

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<sup>26</sup> All English translations of the *Agricola* will come from Birley (2009) unless otherwise noted.

Silanus. Some argue that this is inaccurate due to the fact that the more well-known Silanus committed suicide ca. 38 CE, two years prior to Graecinus's death (40 CE). Why would an emperor wait so long to enact vengeance? Others, in an attempt to rehabilitate Tacitus's version of the events, point out that there is an additional Silanus (M. Junius Silanus Torquatus, consul in 19 CE), whose fate is unknown but who was at one point also "the object of Caligula's suspicions" (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.48).<sup>27</sup> The only issue here is that the date of death for this Silanus is unknown thereby making it impossible to know if it came before or after Graecinus's death. As a result, no one really knows which Silanus is in view here and while there are good reasons to believe that Tacitus is right (see discussion in Birley noted below), the ambiguity remains. This ambiguity, in an area where one would think that Tacitus would have been most accurate, goes to show that the familial connection might not always ensure accuracy, even in locations where it is difficult to see how he could have possibly gotten it wrong.

While there certainly will be places where Tacitus provides his reader with accurate information due to the familial tie to his subject, this same tie will also be the reason why we are presented with an uneven treatment of both the subject and his antagonists at other points. This should be obvious based on what Tacitus says at the outset (see first excerpt listed above). We are told that the work will be a "tribute of dutiful affection" intended to "honor" his father-in-law (3.3). When "honor" and "affection" are part of the motives for writing this will naturally slant the account, usually by overemphasizing and/or devaluing the effects and/or implications of both the subject's and his antagonists' actions. Syme points out, "The *Agricola* purports to be a

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<sup>27</sup> For a brief discussion of this specific portion of Tacitus's *Agricola* and the scholars who have entered into this debate, see Birley, *Roman Government*, 72n42.

composition in praise of Tacitus' father-in-law. Being that, it cannot fail to be an attack on Domitian."<sup>28</sup> This becomes most clear in the concluding chapters of the biography.

An additional point to take into consideration, and one that commentators on the *Agricola* discuss frequently, is the fact that Tacitus and his father-in-law were separated from one another for an extended period of time near the end of the latter's life. Agricola was recalled from Britain ca. 83–84 CE and subsequently passed away in 93 CE. Tacitus would presumably have had contact with Agricola from 84–89 until he himself was called away to a province on official business.<sup>29</sup> Tacitus notes in *Agr.* 45.5 that he and his wife had been gone for the four years prior to the death of his father-in-law. Tacitus did not begin writing until 97 so unless he had the intention of writing this biography for at least eight years prior to putting pen to paper he would not have had the opportunity to consult his subject and gather more recent accounts of some of the events he records. Hanson notes, "It would be a mistake to assume, therefore, that the 'Agricola' is necessarily an account based solely upon first-hand information which can be relied upon unquestioningly and implicitly."<sup>30</sup> While I think there is some merit to Hanson's sentiment, I also think any concern that Tacitus's account might be riddled with inaccuracies simply because he wrote eight years after his last contact with his subject is unnecessary. Given his previous exposure to his subject, ongoing exposure to his subject's family, presumed note-taking as a historian,<sup>31</sup> own memory of some of the experiences recorded in the biography, it seems unwarranted to cast doubt over the whole of his account because of such a small time-gap. Furthermore, if Tacitus was with Agricola in the early stages of his gubernatorial work in

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<sup>28</sup> Syme, *Tacitus*, 1:29.

<sup>29</sup> Syme, *Tacitus*, 1:68.

<sup>30</sup> Hanson, "Tacitus' 'Agricola'," *ANRW* 33.3:1742.

<sup>31</sup> If in fact he was present in Britain with Agricola as some scholars have argued.

Britain, then there is the possibility that he was even an eye-witness to much of what happened in the early stages of Agricola's work there.<sup>32</sup> There are other reasons, discussed immediately below, that seem to have more of an impact on the truth-value of Tacitus's biography of his father-in-law than the time he did or did not spend with him near the end of his life. Having said that, the issues discussed above further reinforce the need to go through the biography point by point in order to better determine its reliability.

### **Social and/or Political Influences on the Author (Questions from 1d)**

When talking about the social and/or political influences that impacted Tacitus while he wrote the *Agricola* one must highlight the political situation that existed slightly prior to the time of his writing the biography. The reign of Domitian (81–96 CE) clearly had its lingering effects on Tacitus as is evidenced by comments early in the work. In the initial pages, he both praises the more recent regimes of Nerva and Trajan and openly critiques the previous one for its effective attempts at silencing a selection of literary contributions throughout the fifteen-year period Domitian was in power. He even goes so far as to say he and others essentially lost fifteen years of their lives because of the harsh restrictions placed on them during Domitian's tenure (3.2–3). It is no doubt that Tacitus writes this biography of his father-in-law from a place of disdain for the previous administration, and it appears at certain points to have had a negative impact on the truthfulness of his account. This becomes even more obvious in the final chapters of the biography.

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<sup>32</sup> Birley, *Roman Government*, 281; Birley reproduces and translates an inscription that is commonly thought to belong to Tacitus's funerary monument. He writes, "If, as seems probable, Tacitus was born c.58, he would have been the right age to hold a tribunate when Agricola, whose daughter he had just married, began his governorship of Britain. In that case, it is plausible that he served in one of Agricola's four legions, perhaps from 77 to 79. He could then have been an eye-witness of what he describes in *Agr.* 18–22."

Scholars have long been discussing the political climate that engulfed Tacitus and its subsequent effects on his portrayal of both Agricola and Domitian. Neither Dorrey nor Syme mince words in their evaluation of Tacitus's *Agricola* regarding this aspect. Syme, in reference to Tacitus's treatment of Domitian in the biography, writes, "So flagrant is the distortion when the Emperor is defamed that upon cool reflection doubts might arise about the superior excellence of Julius Agricola"<sup>33</sup>; and, "an encomium permitted licence and exaggeration, and some of the devices there employed by Tacitus were not at all creditable."<sup>34</sup> Dorrey confidently asserts, "It is now *generally acknowledged* that in the concluding chapters of the *Agricola* Tacitus is on several occasions guilty of distortion of the truth."<sup>35</sup> He calls the episode in *Agr.* 40.2, the secret mission by one of Domitian's freedmen to bribe Agricola with the governorship of Syria, an "obviously sheer fabrication."<sup>36</sup>

In the concluding chapters of the biography, Tacitus works to portray Domitian as a "jealous tyrant" and greatly diminish his accomplishments while in Germany.<sup>37</sup> As the examples below illustrate, it appears that Tacitus even goes so far as to ascribe to Domitian both deceitful and purely evil actions performed by previous emperors. Below are two excerpts that discuss the words and deeds of Caligula; observe how closely they are reproduced by Tacitus in reference to Domitian:

Then turning his attention to his triumph, in addition to a few captives and deserters from the native tribes he chose all the tallest of the Gauls, and as he expressed it, those who were 'worthy of a triumph,' as well as some of the chiefs. These he reserved for his parade, compelling them not only to dye their hair red and to let it grow long, but also to

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<sup>33</sup> Syme, *Tacitus*, 1:123.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:210. This is in direct reference to his depiction of Domitian in the latter portion of his biography.

<sup>35</sup> T. A. Dorey, "Agricola and Domitian," *Greece & Rome* 7 (1960): 66–71, quote from p. 66 (emphasis mine).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>37</sup> Hanson, "Tacitus' 'Agricola'," *ANRW* 33.3:1747.



learn the language of the Germans and assume barbarian names. (Suetonius, *Gaius Caligula* 47 [Rolfe, LCL])

He was well aware that his recent sham triumph over Germany had aroused ridicule—slaves had been purchased in the market, who could, with suitable clothing and their hair treated be made to look like prisoners of war. (Tacitus, *Agricola* 39.2)

[Again, in reference to Caligula] He had scourged senators ... he had tortured them by every unhappy device in existence – by the cord, by knotted bones, by the rack, by fire, by his own countenance ... three senators, as if no better than worthless slaves, were mangled by whip and flame at the behest of a man who contemplated murdering the whole senate. (Seneca, *On Anger* 3.19.1–2 [Basore, LCL])

He had missed that final period, when Domitian, no longer at intervals and with breathing—spaces, but in a continuous and as it were single onslaught drained the blood of the Commonwealth. Agricola did not live to see the senate-house under siege, the senate hedged in by armed men, the killing of so many consular in that same act of butchery, so many most noble women forced into exile or flight. (Tacitus, *Agricola* 44.5–45.1)<sup>38</sup>

While there remains the real possibility that Domitian has acted this way on his accord, the fact that ancient biographers constructed the character of their subjects by attributing to them behaviors of similar individuals that came prior is no rarity.<sup>39</sup>

Tacitus's move to label Domitian's accomplishments in Germany a "sham" (*Agr.* 39.2 above) has been shown to be at odds with other views of the time. Frontinus, who served in Britain prior to Agricola and was a member of Domitian's staff during the Chattan war<sup>40</sup> (ca. 83

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<sup>38</sup> For these examples see, Hanson, "Tacitus' 'Agricola'," *ANRW* 33.3:1748. Also, see O–R, *Agricolae*, 20, upon whom Hanson is depending for these insights. It is certainly possible that Domitian himself has chosen to mimic the actions of his predecessor rather than these being literary constructs, something I point out again in the section dealing with the text below.

<sup>39</sup> For a more recent discussion on this feature of ancient biography, see the following three chapters in De Temmerman and Demoen, *Writing Biography*, (full citation in chapter one): Koen De Temmerman, "Ancient biography and formalities of fiction," 3–25; Mark Beck, "Lucian's *Life of Demonax*: The Socratic paradigm, individuality, and personality," 80–96; Patrick Robiano, "The *Apologia* as a *mise-en-abyme* in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyans*," 97–116.

<sup>40</sup> H. Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier in Germany: An Archaeological Study," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 59 (1969):144–97.

CE), discusses his accomplishments in a positive light in *Stratagems* 1.1.10 and 2.11.7.<sup>41</sup> Schönberger points out that what Frontinus reports here lines up with archaeological findings.<sup>42</sup> Dorrey notes, “His [Domitian’s] campaign against the Chatti, involving the annexation of the Mount Taunus region, the driving of a salient into Germany, the construction of the *limes*, and the shortening of the frontier, had results that were of great permanent value.”<sup>43</sup> Having said that, other ancient writers, like Pliny (the Younger) and Dio, describe his activity in Germany as unnecessary and inconsequential. The difficulty comes in determining why these ancient writers see things so differently (i.e., what are their biases) and who is providing us with reliable information and who is simply regurgitating what has come down to them.

Aside from Domitian’s extremely cruel actions towards others, one gets the feeling that the primary motivation behind Tacitus’s negative assessment of the recently assassinated emperor came from the apparently widely circulated rumor that Domitian was responsible for poisoning his father-in-law. In *Agr.* 43.2 he writes, “The sympathy that was felt was increased by the persistent rumour that he had been poisoned. I would not venture to assert that we have any definite evidence.” Interestingly, though, as Birley points out, is the statement in Cassius Dio, “But Agricola for the rest of his life lived not only in disgrace but in actual want, because the deeds which he had wrought were too great for a mere general. Finally, he was murdered by Domitian for no other reason than this” (*Roman History* 66.20.3 [Cary, LCL]). Unfortunately, the portion of Tacitus’s *Hist.* that would have contained his additional discussion of Agricola’s accomplishments/death has been lost, but some scholars do think that Dio follows Tacitus closely at points. Is it possible that Dio has preserved for us what Tacitus really thought

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<sup>41</sup> Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1748.

<sup>42</sup> Schönberger, “Roman Frontier,” 159.

<sup>43</sup> Dorrey, “Agricola and Domitian,” 67.

happened to his father-in-law, which he later recorded in the now missing part of his *Histories*?<sup>44</sup> While we have no way of knowing for certain if that was in fact the case, we are not going beyond the evidence when we say that the toxic culture of Domitian's reign had a serious impact on Tacitus and his treatment of the emperor and his accomplishments at points. It should also be pointed out, and will be discussed further below, that Tacitus's overall negative assessment of Domitian does not stand alone in ancient literature. Several other writers discuss his cruelty, jealousy, murderous tendencies, odd behaviors, etc. In the primary section of this chapter we will take a closer look at the additional claims Tacitus makes regarding the nature of Domitian and how they compare with what is found in other sources.

### **Compiling the Sources (Step 2)**

As has been the case in previous chapters, this section will compile all of the relevant sources that discuss the life of the subject under consideration. *Agricola* was not a tremendously important or popular figure in antiquity and for that reason there are not an enormous number of sources that we can use to verify or refute the claims about *him* in the biography. Having said that, the rather unique construction of the *Agricola* (the focus on the life of the subject, but also the lengthy digression about the land of Britain and other historiographical features) forces us to also interact with sources that most likely never had the intention of intersecting with the biography. As has been the case in previous chapters, the table will list the sources in chronological order from closest to the time of writing of Tacitus's *Agricola* to the furthest away and there will be brief comments further explaining their relevance of the sources beneath the table.

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<sup>44</sup> Birley, *Tacitus*, 95n43. Birley also points out that Dio reports a wide-scale poisoning by Domitian in *Rom. Hist.* 67.11.6.

Year	Author	Title and Location(s) <sup>45</sup>
ca. 54 BCE <sup>46</sup>	Cicero	<i>Letters to Friends</i> 7.10.1, 15.16.2; <i>Letters to Atticus</i> 4.16.7, 4.18.5
ca. 50 BCE <sup>47</sup>	Caesar	<i>Gallic War</i> passim
ca. 30 BCE <sup>48</sup>	Diodorus Siculus	<i>The Library of History</i> 5.21 ff.
ca. 25 BCE <sup>49</sup>	Livy	<i>History of Rome</i> passim
ca. 18–23 CE <sup>50</sup>	Strabo	<i>Geography</i> passim
ca. 43–44 CE <sup>51</sup>	Pomponius Mela	<i>The Chorography</i> 3.49–57
ca. 64 CE <sup>52</sup>	Seneca	<i>de Beneficiis</i> 2.21.5; <i>Epistles</i> 29.6–7
ca. 76–77 CE <sup>53</sup>	Pliny the Elder	<i>Natural History</i> 4.16
79 CE	NA	Deva Victrix Inscription <sup>54</sup>
ca. 79–81 CE	NA	Verulamium Inscription <sup>55</sup>
ca. 96 CE <sup>56</sup>	Statius	<i>Silvae</i> 5.1.88–91, 5.2.143–49
<b>97–98 CE</b>	<b>Tacitus</b>	<b><i>Agricola</i></b>
ca. 110 CE <sup>57</sup>	Pliny the Younger	<i>Panegyricus</i> passim; <i>Letters</i> passim
ca. 120 CE <sup>58</sup>	Tacitus	<i>Histories</i> passim; <i>Annals</i> passim
ca. 100–30 CE <sup>59</sup>	Suetonius	<i>Lives of the Caesars</i> passim
ca. 130 CE <sup>60</sup>	Juvenal	<i>Satire</i> 2.159–61, 4.126–27, 15.110

<sup>45</sup> Unless noted otherwise, all of the locations correspond to how they are found in their respective Loeb volumes.

<sup>46</sup> The dates for these specific letters are provided in the Loeb volumes which they appear.

<sup>47</sup> Exact date for the writing is unknown; there is a debate whether it was composed year-by-year or after the war all at once (Von Albrecht, *Roman Literature*, 1:410–11).

<sup>48</sup> Dating of this work is discussed in the “Agesilaus” chapter.

<sup>49</sup> John Briscoe, “Livy,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 852–53.

<sup>50</sup> Daniela Dueck, “Strabo,” *OEAGR* 6:395–96.

<sup>51</sup> Frank E. Romer, *Pomponius Mela’s Description of the World* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1988), 3.

<sup>52</sup> Explanation for dating can be found in the “Atticus” chapter.

<sup>53</sup> Date provided in the “Atticus” chapter.

<sup>54</sup> More commonly referred to as the Chester Inscription (modern-day name for Deva Victrix).

<sup>55</sup> Also referred to as the St. Albans Inscription (modern-day name for Verulamium).

<sup>56</sup> For date, see Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier, “Cn. Julius Agricola: mise au point prosopographique,” *ANRW* 33.3:1807–57 (p. 1814); and Michael Dewar, “Statius,” *OEAGR* 6:385–87. Dewar claims that this particular book of the *Silvae* was published posthumously; the date given above from Raepsaet-Charlier’s article is the date of his death.

<sup>57</sup> Life span ca. 61–ca. 112 CE; A. N. Sherwin-White and Simon Price, “Pliny the Younger,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 1162–63.

<sup>58</sup> Martin and Woodman, “Tacitus,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 1426–28.

<sup>59</sup> As mentioned in the chapter on “Atticus,” this range is broad to reflect the uncertainty that surrounds the dating of his works; see Keith Bradley, “Suetonius,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 1409–10, “early 2nd cent.”

<sup>60</sup> The date provided here is the date of his death. There is very little evidence within Juvenal’s work that might point us to a more specific; the consulship of Juncus (127 CE) as mentioned in 15.27 is the last point of reference given (Susanna Braund, “Juvenal,” *OEAGR* 4:169–71).

ca. 194–223 CE <sup>61</sup>	Cassius Dio	<i>Roman History</i> passim
ca. 240 CE <sup>62</sup>	Herodian	<i>History of the Empire</i> 3.14.6–8
ca. 4th c. CE <sup>63</sup>	Eutropius	<i>Abridgment of Roman History</i> 7.13 <sup>64</sup>
ca. 4th c. CE <sup>65</sup>	Eumenius	<i>Panegyric</i> 9

- Caesar, *Gallic War* – In the locations designated above Caesar discusses the geography and inhabitants of Britain. He gives us a valuable point of comparison with what Tacitus provides in chs. 10–17 of the biography.
- Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* – Diodorus provides us with an additional description of Britain to compare with what is found in the biography. Discussion on the dating of his work and its value as a source can be found in the chapter on the *Agesilaus*.
- Livy, *History of Rome* – He discusses the tendencies of the Gauls in battle; something that can be used to support an assessment by Tacitus in the biography. He also discusses the burning of books at the Comitium and the “Group of Three” mentioned early in the biography.
- Strabo, *Geography* – He provides an additional account of the land of Britain.
- Pomponius Mela, *The Chorography* – The first Roman attempt at describing a particular region. It is more inclusive than a topography, less inclusive than a geography.<sup>66</sup> The work discusses Britain and is later used by the Elder Pliny.
- Seneca, *de Beneficiis* and *Epistles* – These two works briefly mention Agricola’s father, both in a positive light. The former actually discusses his father’s death and it happens to correspond with what Tacitus writes here.
- Pliny, *Natural History* – He has a section discussing Britain and its inhabitants.
- Deva Victrix (Chester) Inscription – IMP[eratore] VESP[asiano] VIII [= nonum] T[ito] IMP[eratore] VII [= septimum] CO[n]S[ulibus] CN [= Gnaeo] IVLIO AGRICOLA LEG[ato] AVG[usti] PR[o] PR[aetore]. This lead pipe inscription includes Agricola’s *tria nomina* and is dated ca. 79 CE. It was found in the town known as Deva Victrix in Roman Britain, modern-day Chester.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> J. W. Rich, “Cassius Dio,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 288; his full name is thought to be L. Cassius Dio. As Rich mentions, the dates for the work are disputed. Martin Hose discusses two sets of dates; one he calls the “late date” (212–234), the other the “early date” (194–223); Listed here is the majority view according to Hose. For his discussion, see Martin Hose, “Cassius Dio: A Senator and Historian in the Age of Anxiety,” in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, ed. John Marincola (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 461–67, discussion about dating on p. 463.

<sup>62</sup> Date is an estimate based on the events covered in the work; see Alexander Hugh McDonald and Antony Spawforth, “Herodian (2)” *OCD*<sup>4</sup>, 674.

<sup>63</sup> W–K, *Agricola*, 137.

<sup>64</sup> Eutropius, *Abridgment of Roman History*, trans. Rev. J. S. Watson (London: George Bell and Sons, 1886).

<sup>65</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 182.

<sup>66</sup> Romer, *Pomponius*, 4.

<sup>67</sup> D. R. Wilson, R. P. Wright, and M. W. C. Hassall, “Roman Britain in 1970,” *Britannia* 2 (1971): 242–304 (see p. 292, n17). It is also mentioned in O–R, *Agricolae* 140; Woodman and Kraus, *Agricola* 95 (Figure 2); and Raepsaet-Charlier, “Cn. Julius Agricola,” 1818 (for the restored text featured here).

- Verulamium (St. Albans) Inscription – This is an additional inscription that features a portion of Agricola’s *tria nomina* (*gric*). The fragments were thought to have been a part of a plaque that was prominently featured at the entrance to the complex of the Forum and Basilica thought to have been erected by Agricola. It has been dated to ca. 79–81 CE.<sup>68</sup>  
 [Imp.Titus Caesar divi] Vespa[siani] f.Ves[pasianus Aug.]  
 [p.m.tr.p.VIII imp. XV cos. VIII] desi[gn. VIII censor pater patriae]  
 [et Caesar divi Vespas]ian[i. f.Do]mi[tianus cos. VI design. VII]  
 [princeps iuventu]ti[s collegiorum omnium sacerdos]  
 [Cn. Iulio A]gric[ola leg.Aug.pro pr.]  
 ...]VEI[... ..]NATA[...<sup>69</sup>
- Statius, *Silvae* – This is a collection of poems aimed at celebrating the elite of his day. The two that concern us are, one, a short list of what appears to be the various victories achieved by Agricola while in Britain and, two, a poem celebrating some of the accomplishments of Vettius Botanus (mentioned in the *Agricola* a handful of times).<sup>70</sup>
- Pliny the Younger – Both his *Panegyricus* and his *Letters* are used in the latter portion of the biography where Domitian is discussed; he provides a rather negative assessment of the emperor in his own work, specifically the *Panegyricus*.
- Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* – On various occasions Suetonius will provide details about the emperors discussed in the biography.
- Juvenal, *Satire* – This trio of excerpts mentions Roman military feats and the after effects of Roman occupation in Britain.
- Cassius Dio, *Roman History* – Dio’s eighty volume work comes to us in severely fragmented form. Books 36–54 (covering the years 68–10 BCE) are intact, large fragments of Books 55–60 (9 BCE – 46 CE) are available, and Books 78–80 are also intact.<sup>71</sup> There are also significant portions of the work that have been summarized by latter historians (Zanoras and Xiphilinus)<sup>72</sup> and by doing so have provided us the only access to these parts of Dio’s work.
- Herodian, *History of the Empire* – He provides a brief excerpt on Britain. The value here is simply in seeing the types of information later mentioned about Britain and whether it lines up with what Tacitus says in the biography.
- Eutropius, *Abridgement of Roman History* – This fourth-century work by Eutropius has a brief mention of the Orcades islands, off the coast of Britain, that contradicts what is in the biography.
- Eumenius, *Panegyric* – He provides a very brief excerpt about the geography of Britain that appears to follow something Tacitus says in the biography.

<sup>68</sup> See Raepsaet-Charlier (p. 1818) for her version of the restored text and brief discussion of dating; and R. P. Wright, “Excavations at Verulamium, 1955, Interim Report,” *The Antiquaries Journal* 36 (1956): 8–10 (restored text used here on p.10). Wright’s article features a picture of the fragments in their supposed correct position (Plate III).

<sup>69</sup> The pipe and the plaque are pictured together in O–R, *Agricolae*, Plate I.

<sup>70</sup> Raepsaet-Charlier, “Cn. Julius Agricola,” 1815.

<sup>71</sup> Hose, “Cassius Dio,” 462.

<sup>72</sup> Rich, “Cassius Dio,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup> 288.

### Comparing the Extant Sources (Step 3)

The table below breaks down the biography into individual data points and makes use of the sources mentioned above to either confirm or refute the claims. The *Agricola* has a tremendous amount of material that is singularly attested due to the relative irrelevance of its subject. This, of course, does not mean that the information is inaccurate. It does mean that there is a large portion of the material that requires the modern evaluator to make a decision regarding its historicity or lack thereof. As with the previous chapters, I will underline the address of the singularly attested and/or duplicated data points that I consider reliable; this will also be further discussed in the succeeding results section.

<b>Key to table below</b>			
<b>Type (Primary):</b> AI (authorial insertion); AA (authorial assessment); LA (life of Agricola); WDO (words and deed of others)			
<b>Type (Secondary):</b> B/O/C (birth/origin/childhood); ML (middle of life); D (death account detail)			
<b>Result:</b> V (verified); D (duplicated); CR (conflicting reports); I (inaccurate); NV-NH (non-verifiable, non-historical); NV-SA (non-verifiable, singularly attested)			
<b>Loc.</b>	<b>Data Point</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Result</b>
1.1 (Preface)	“It was the custom in past times to relate famous men’s deeds and characters for posterity. Even our present age, though indifferent to its own affairs, has not abandoned it, at least whenever some great and noble virtue has overcome and surmounted the vice that is common to small and great states alike: ignorance of what is right and jealousy.” <sup>73</sup>	AA	NV-SA
1.2 (Preface)	“Yet in former generations the path to memorable achievements was less uphill and more open. Further, the most distinguished writers were attracted to publish accounts of meritorious achievement, without partiality or self-seeking. Their sole reward was in doing what they knew to be right.”	AA	NV-SA

<sup>73</sup> The first several paragraphs of the biography consist of prefatory remarks by Tacitus about the literary milieu that both came before him and in which he found himself. There are a few remarks that are actually anchored in history by the reference to known figures and/or literary works, but for the most part it is simply a dramatic depiction of how corrupt things had gotten prior to the advent of the current administration.

1.3 (Preface)	“Indeed, many considered that to compose a record of their own life showed confidence about their conduct rather than conceit. Rutilius and Scaurus did so and were neither disbelieved nor criticized. Of course, excellence can best be appreciated in those ages in which it can most readily develop.”	AA	NV-SA <sup>74</sup>
1.4 (Preface)	“But in these times I needed permission when I intended to relate the life of a dead man. I should not have had to request this if I had been planning an invective. So savage and hostile to merit has this age been.”	AA	NV-SA
2.1 (Preface)	“We have read how Arulenus Rusticus’ eulogy of Paetus Thrasea and that of Priscus Helvidius by Herennius Senecio were treated as capital offences.	WDO	V <sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Rutilius = P. Rutilius Rufus, flor. ca. 120–90 BCE; Scauro = M. Amelius Scaurus, flor. ca. 120–90 BCE. Both O–R and W–K discuss the political rivalry between the two and the fact that each wrote memoirs. Scauro’s memoirs are referenced in Cicero (*Brut.* 112), Valerius Maximus (*Memorable Doings and Sayings* 4.4.11), and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 33.21). Fragments of Rutilius and Scauro can be found in Hermannus Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914), 185, 189–90; see also, G. L. Hendrickson, “The *Memoirs* of Rutilius Rufus,” *Classical Philology* 28 (1933):153–75.

<sup>75</sup> Suetonius, *Domitian* 10.3–4; Suetonius notes, in listing out the murders committed by Domitian, “Junius Rusticus [his full name was Q. Junius Arulenus Rusticus], because he had published eulogies of Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus and called them the most upright of men” (Rolfe, LCL). O–R discuss the discrepancy between the two accounts and think that Suetonius has probably conflated Rusticus and Herennius rather than it being some sort of intentional move by Tacitus to give credit to Herennius for a work he did not write (*Agricolae*, 132); other sources confirm this. Dio says that Domitian killed Rusticus because “he called Thrasea holy” and he killed Senecio because “he had written the biography of Helvidius Priscus” (*Roman History* 67.13.2 [Foster, LCL]. Pliny also attests to Herennius Senecio’s writing *de vita Helvidi* “a life of Helvidius” and being on trial for it (*Letters* 7.19.5–6 [Radice, LCL]). While helpful that Pliny provides attestation to this piece of ancient literature, the thing I find most interesting about what he writes in this letter is in the recounting of the trial. Mettius Carus, an individual participating in the examination of Senecio, asked the wife of Helvidius if Senecio did in fact write a *vita* of her husband and if she did in fact lend Senecio Helvidius’ “diaries” (*Letters* 7.19.6). She responded in the affirmative. This noteworthy piece of information might provide further insight into the composition of ancient biographies in general. Is it likely that Tacitus was working with Agricola’s diaries during the composition of the work? What does that mean for the reliability of the work? Any answers to these questions are pure conjecture, but the presence of diaries during the composition of the work might provide an answer as to why there is so much singularly attested material. Also, the use of diaries by individuals in antiquity might be worth exploring further in the near future. For more information on all four of these men and the different works in antiquity that briefly mention some aspect of their lives, see O–R, *Agricolae*, 132–3.



2.1 (Preface)	“Further, that savage punishment was inflicted not only on the authors themselves but on their books. The Board of Three was delegated with the task of burning, in the Comitium and Forum, the biographies of distinguished men of genius.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>76</sup>
2.2 (Preface)	“No doubt they thought that in that fire the voice of the Roman People, the liberty of the senate, and the conscience of mankind could be wiped out.”	AA	NV-SA
2.2 (Preface)	“Over and above this, the teachers of philosophy were expelled and all noble accomplishments driven into exile, so that nothing honourable might anywhere confront them.”	WDO	V <sup>77</sup>
2.3 (Preface)	“We have indeed provided a grand specimen of submissiveness. Just as the former age witnessed an extreme in freedom, so we have experienced the depths of servitude, deprived by espionage even of the intercourse of speaking and listening to one another. We should have lost our memories as well as our voices, were it as easy to forget as to be silent.”	AA	NV-SA
3.1 (Preface)	“Now at last spirits are reviving. At the first dawning of this most fortunate age, Nerva Caesar at once combined principles formerly incompatible, monarchy and freedom. Day by day Nerva Trajan is enhancing the happiness of our times. Public security has not merely inspired our hopes and prayers but has gained the assurance of those prayers’ fulfilment and, from this, strength.”	AA	NV-SA <sup>78</sup>
3.1 (Preface)	“And yet, by the nature of human frailty, remedies take longer to act than diseases. Our bodies, which grow so slowly, perish in an instant. So too you can crush the mind and its pursuits more easily than you can recall them to life. Indolence indeed has a charm of its own, to which we	AI	NV-NH

<sup>76</sup> We do not have sources that confirm, or even a source that duplicates, this particular event, but Livy does discuss the “Group of Three” (Livy, *History of Rome* 25.1.10) and the fact that the Comitium was the place where other books were burned (Livy, *History of Rome* 40.29.14).

<sup>77</sup> Suetonius, *Domitian* 10.4; Dio, *Roman History* 67.13.2–3; Pliny, *Letters* 3.11.1; O–R, *Agricolae*, 135.

<sup>78</sup> Pliny also talks about the “renaissance under Nerva and Trajan”; *Letters* 1.10.1 (current flourishing of liberal arts); 1.13.1 (flourishing of poetry); 3.18.5 (revival of oratory). In *Letters* 9.13.4, Pliny comments that after Domitian’s death *reddita libertatis* “freedom was restored” and, as O–R point out, there is an inscription from the day Nerva was elected that reads ‘Libertas Restituta’ (O–R, *Agricolae*, 136). Furthermore, given the way Dio describes the stark difference between the final years of Domitian’s reign and the years immediately following when Nerva assumed the throne, it is not difficult to view Tacitus’s statement here as an accurate portrayal of the general consensus (*Roman History*, 68.1–3).

	gradually yield, and we end up by loving the inaction that we at first hated.”		
3.2 (Preface)	“After all, in the space of fifteen years, a large portion of a human life, many have died by the intervention of chance, and all the most mentally active as victims of the emperor’s cruelty. The few of us that are left have outlived not only the others but, so to speak, our own past selves. So many years have been stolen from the middle of our lives, years in which those of us who were youths have become old men and the old men have reached almost the end of their allotted span—in silence.”	AA	NV-SA
3.3 (Preface)	“None the less, it will not be an unpleasant task to put together, even in a rough and uncouth style, a record of our former servitude and a testimony to our present blessings. For the time being, this book, intended to honour Agricola, my father-in-law, will be commended, or at least excused, as a tribute of dutiful affection.” <sup>79</sup>	AI	NV-NH
4.1	Gnaeus Julius Agricola was from <sup>80</sup> the “ancient and famous” colony of Forum Julii.	LA B/O/C	NV-SA <sup>81</sup>
4.1	Both grandfathers held a noble equestrian office known as “Procurators of Caesar.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>82</sup>
4.1	His father Julius Graecinus was a Senator.	LA	V <sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup> A preface of this length is quite uncommon in ancient biography. Woodman mentions the preface by Cornelius Nepos as being the only one with similar features (W–K, *Agricola*, 65); though Nepos’s is introducing a collective work, not a single biography (*Pref.* 1–8, *On the Great Generals of Foreign Nations*).

<sup>80</sup> Following Birley here as he makes it a point to note that *ortus* likely means “came from” rather than “was born at” (*Tacitus*, 65). W–K have their doubts about Birley’s translation (*Agricola*, 94).

<sup>81</sup> Deva Victrix (Chester) inscription (full *tria nomina*); Verulamium (St. Albans) inscription (a portion, *gric*, is observable); Dio Cassius *RH* 66.20.1 (full *tria nomina*); a writing tablet from Carlisle reads *sinularis Agricolae* (“bodyguard of Agricola”). For discussion on the tablet, see W–K, *Agricola*, 95, 283–84. As for the Forum Julii being labeled *ueter et inlustri* (“ancient and famous”), it does not appear that Tacitus is overstating his case; this was a naval port originally founded by Julius Caesar and further established by Augustus (W–K, *Agricola* 95; O–R, *Agricolae* 141; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.35 “a colony of the eighth legion, called Pacensis and Classica” [Rackham, LCL]).

<sup>82</sup> Nothing else is known of these two men outside of this statement.

<sup>83</sup> Graecinus’s brother, Marcus, set up a funerary monument at Rome for Agricola’s father. The monument reads *L(ucio) IVLIO • L(uci) F(ilio) • ANI(ensi) | GRAECINO | TR(ibune) PL(ebis) PR(aetori) | M(arcus)IVLIVS • L(uci) • F(ilio) • ANI(ensi) | GRAECINVS | QVAESTOR • F(aciendum) [curauit]*; trans. “To Lucius Julius, son of Lucius, Aniensis, Graecinus, tribune of the plebs, praetor, Marcus Julius, son of Lucius, Aniensis, Graecinus, quaestor, had this set up” (for the monument see *AE* 1946.94; for the restored text and translation see Birley, *Roman Government*, 72).

		B/O/C	
<u>4.1</u>	He was known for his interests in eloquence and philosophy.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>84</sup>
<u>4.1</u>	Because of this he drew the wrath of Gaius Caesar [Caligula].	WDO	NV-SA
<u>4.1</u>	Caligula ordered him to prosecute Marcus Silanus, he refused.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>85</sup>
<u>4.1</u>	He was ultimately killed by Caligula.	WDO	D <sup>86</sup>
<u>4.2</u>	Agricola's mother was named Julia Procilla.	LA B/O/C	NV-SA <sup>87</sup>
<u>4.2</u>	She was virtuous, of high character.	AA	NV-SA
<u>4.2</u>	His mother raised him with love/care and his childhood consisted of a complete training in "liberal studies."	LA B/O/C	NV-SA
<u>4.2</u>	His own "natural integrity" combined with going to school at Massilia, kept him away from forming relationships with people of ill-repute.	AA	NV-SA
<u>4.2</u>	Massilia was a mixture of "Greek culture and provincial thrift". <sup>88</sup>	AA	D <sup>89</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Agricola's father is praised by Seneca for his integrity in *de Beneficiis* 2.21.5 and quoted by Seneca in *Epistles* 29.6–7. The latter is somewhat of a sarcastic comment about the philosopher Aristo (Birley, *Tacitus*, 65). That Agricola's father had a penchant for rhetorical eloquence and philosophy is not something that warrants skepticism. He also wrote a work titled "de vineis", a treatise on agriculture and quite possibly the reason why Agricola ("farmer") was given the nickname that he is now known by (O–R, *Agricolae*, 141). The work is referenced in Columella (I.1.14, et al.) and the Elder Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 14.33 and 16.241); see Birley, *Roman Government*, 72n43.

<sup>85</sup> The explanation by W–K is helpful: "it was because of his *eloquence* that he was ordered to prosecute, because of his *philosophy* that he declined" (*Agricola*, 97). As discussed above, there are some who label this statement by Tacitus as fictive. If the Marcus Silanus mentioned here is the M. Junius Silanus, father-in-law of Caligula, who was forced to commit suicide in 38 CE, then the death of Agricola's father (ca. 40 CE) seems to be too delayed for an act of imperial retribution. There is an additional man by the same name who, as mentioned, was a known enemy of Caligula (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.48.1), but no one knows the date of his death (W–K, *Agricola*, 97). O–R suggest that the language in Seneca implies a delay between what happened with Silanus and the death of Agricola's father. They write, "The refusal to act against Silanus cannot have been the immediate cause of his death, but he was doubtless in disfavor and the ultimate pretext is unknown" (*Agricolae*, 142).

<sup>86</sup> Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 2.21.5, "whom Gaius Caesar killed simply because he was a better man than a tyrant found it profitable for anyone to be" (Basore, LCL).

<sup>87</sup> Tacitus is the only one to provide us with any information on Agricola's mother.

<sup>88</sup> Or "provincial simplicity" (Hutton, LCL).

<sup>89</sup> Both Cicero and Strabo discuss the city of Massilia in a positive light. Cicero writes, "I would be right in saying that in culture and reliability this city is the superior not only of Greece but probably of the whole world" (*Pro Flacco* 63 [Macdonald, LCL]). Strabo writes extensively about the city, noting how they have come to be a place where the men of culture study rhetoric

<u>4.3</u>	"I remember how he used to tell" were it not for his mother's guidance, he would have studied philosophy in even greater detail than what was appropriate for a Roman and a senator. <sup>90</sup>	WDO	NV-SA
4.3	His "lofty and aspiring nature was attracted, with more passion than is prudent," to glory.	AA	NV-SA
4.3	As he grew older these feelings decreased and from philosophy he acquired "a sense of proportion."	AA	NV-SA
<u>5.1</u>	His early training in military life was under the command of Suetonius Paulinus, who having approved of Agricola selected him to be "tested" on his staff. <sup>91</sup>	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>92</sup>
<u>5.1</u>	Paulinus was known as "a conscientious and circumspect commander."	WDO	NV-SA <sup>93</sup>
5.1	He did not use his rank as tribune and his inexperience as an excuse to indulge himself or to go on furloughs, like other young soldiers. <sup>94</sup>	LA ML	NV-SA
5.1	Instead he busied himself with knowing the province, the army, learning from more experienced soldiers, and following the best examples he could find.	LA ML	NV-SA
5.1	He never volunteered for something in order to gain fame and never declined a task because of cowardice.	LA ML	NV-SA
5.1–2	He was both cautious and alert when performing his duties.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>5.2–3</u>	During his first service in Britain it had never been in such a bad state, nor has it ever been in such a state since then.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>95</sup>

and philosophy and how even Romans were seeking out education there due to its growing reputation as a place of learning. He also says that they have a simplistic way of life (*Geography* 4.5). O–R, citing both Tacitus (*Annals* 4.44) and Valerius Maximus (*Memorable Doings and Sayings* 2.6.7), mention that Octavian received part of his education at Massila (*Agricolae*, 143).<sup>90</sup> One of the few direct reminiscences of Tacitus; one wishes there were many more given the connection he had to his subject.

<sup>91</sup> W–K, *Agricola*, 103; see their explanation of the phrase *electus quem contubernio aestimaret*. It seems to imply that the reason Agricola was selected to serve in this capacity is due to the fact that Paulinus approved of him on some level already.

<sup>92</sup> Gaius Suetonius Paulinus was known due to his work decades earlier when he led his army across the Atlas range during the annexation of Mauretania (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 5.14). He served as Governor of Britain from 58–61 CE (W–K, *Agricola*, 103). He will resurface later in the biography in the recounting of the Boudican revolt (14.3–16.2).

<sup>93</sup> Tacitus repeats this evaluation of Paulinus in his *Histories*, "Suetonius Paulinus did not at once give his infantry the signal to engage, for he was naturally inclined to delay, and a man who preferred cautious and well-reasoned plans to chance success" (2.25).

<sup>94</sup> There are unsolvable issues here in determining what Tacitus was trying to say (W–K, *Agricola*, 103–4).

<sup>95</sup> As the secondary literature points out, Tacitus is referring to the revolt of Boudica in 60 CE (Birley, *Tacitus*, 66; W–K, *Agricola*, 105; O–R, *Agricolae*, 147). This revolt is discussed later on

	“Veterans had been massacred, <i>coloniae</i> burned down, armies cut off.”		
<u>5.3</u>	The men had to fight for their lives before they could even think about gaining victory.	AA	NV-SA
<u>5.3</u>	The fighting was all done under the command of the general and all glory went to him.	AA	NV-SA
5.3	Agricola gained experience and a taste for military glory, though this was not welcomed in his day. Getting a reputation as a hero was dangerous, just as much as having a bad reputation.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>6.1</u>	Returning from the field he came to the city to take up office.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>6.1</u>	He married Domitia Decidiana, “a woman of high lineage.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>96</sup>
<u>6.1</u>	The marriage was beneficial to his career, brought him distinction and “material support.”	LA ML	NV-SA
6.1–2	Their marriage was a bit unusual in how equally yoked they were; each put the other first. “Still, a good wife deserves more than half the praise, just as a bad one deserves more than half the blame.”	AA	NV-SA
<u>6.2</u>	He was assigned the province of Asia for his quaestorship under proconsul Salvius Titianus.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>97</sup>
6.2	Salvius Titianus was corrupt and willing to cover-up their misconduct while in Asia, a province known for its wealth and wrongdoers; Agricola refused to be corrupted.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>98</sup>

in the *Agricola* (14.3–16.2) and in the *Annals* (14.29–39). Several scholars discuss the word *coloniae* (pl.) and are quick to label it a rhetorical plural. The only colony of Rome’s in Britain at the time was the one at Camulodunum (Colchester); see W–K, *Agricola*, 105–6.

<sup>96</sup> We know from an inscription that her father (Domitius Decidius) was chosen in 44 CE to be a quaestor under Claudius; he also later served as praetor. There is a high likelihood that the father was related to T. Decidius Domitianus, a procurator under Augustus. There is little reason to doubt the “high lineage” comment by Tacitus here (see O–R, *Agricolae*, 148 for a helpful discussion and references; also, Birley, *Roman Government*, 74n48).

<sup>97</sup> The older brother of the emperor Otho, full name was L. Salvius Otho Titianus. He is mentioned a few times in Tacitus’s *Hist.* (1.90; 2.60).

<sup>98</sup> It is worth noting that Cicero praises his brother for abstaining from wrongdoing when he served as proconsul in the same province (*Letters to Quintus* 1.1.19, “here are the foundations of your prestige ... your own integrity and self-restraint ... Such conduct would be creditable enough in our private, everyday lives, but with so wide an authority, amid such a falling-off in moral standards and in a province so rich in temptations, it must surely appear superhuman” [Shackleton Bailey, LCL]).

<u>6.2</u>	While in Asia he had a daughter, this was both to his advantage and a consolation as he lost his son shortly thereafter.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>99</sup>
<u>6.3</u>	He had a year in between the quaestorship and the tribunate of the plebs that was spent “in quiet inactivity.” The year he was tribune was also one of inactivity.	LA ML	NV-SA
6.3–4	He understood the current age; in the reign of Nero “indolence was then a kind of philosophy.”	AA	NV-NH <sup>100</sup>
<u>6.4</u>	He praetorship was also silent, no “presidency of a court had fallen to him.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>101</sup>
<u>6.4–5</u>	Both the games and other official duties were overseen by him and he struck a balance between doing them cheaply or spending excessively; he avoided extravagance but still gained popular approval.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>102</sup>
<u>6.5</u>	Galba tasked him with inventorying the temple gifts; because of his thoroughness “it was as though the Commonwealth had never experienced sacrilege at the hands of anyone but Nero.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>103</sup>
7.1	The next year proved difficult for Agricola and his family.	AI	NV-NH
<u>7.1</u>	Otho’s fleet, roaming about unhinged, “plundered the Intimilian district of Liguria as though it was enemy territory.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>104</sup>

<sup>99</sup> The daughter born to Agricola while in Asia was the one Tacitus would end up marrying. W–K point out that the infant mortality rate, though “difficult to estimate,” was around 30–40% before the end of year one (*Agricola*, 110).

<sup>100</sup> W–K translate *inertia pro sapiential fuit* as “idleness was equivalent to wisdom” (*Agricola*, 111). Pliny makes a comment in his *Letters* that appears to echo Tacitus’s assessment, but for his own day; Pliny writes, “For our generation it was different. Though our early manhood was spent in camp, it was at a time when merit was under suspicion and apathy an asset” (*Letters* 8.14.7 [Radice, LCL]). Pliny’s *Letters* were written ca. 96–108 CE and were most likely looking back on a time twenty years after when Tacitus is referring to (ca. 85 CE), but considering that Pliny’s comments would be in reference to the time of Domitian’s reign it is not hard to imagine that the same issues still persisted.

<sup>101</sup> Galba was emperor from June of 68 CE to January 15, 69 CE (the date of his death); this gives us rather firm footing for dating Agricola’s praetorship (68 CE). Agricola would have been 28 years of age, two years shy of when an individual typically assumed the praetorship, but since he had two children he was allotted a year’s reduction for each under the *ius liberorum* (W–K, *Agricola*, 111).

<sup>102</sup> The responsibility of the games had been given to the praetors by Augustus as early as 22 BCE (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 54.2.3–4); see O–R, *Agricolae*, 151.

<sup>103</sup> The *sacrilegium* mentioned here is a reference to Nero’s plundering of the temples throughout the Empire to restore the art that was lost in the fire in Rome (Tacitus, *Annals* 15.45; Suetonius, *Nero* 32).

<sup>104</sup> In his *Hist.* Tacitus discusses the fleet’s actions in the area and even gives an account of its raid on the town of Albintimilium (mod. Ventimiglia) in Liguria (2.12–13). Surprisingly, Tacitus

<u>7.1</u>	They killed Agricola's mother in order to loot her estate and family property.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>7.2</u>	Agricola was on his way to attend to his "filial duties" when he heard of Vespasian taking the throne. He immediately joined his party.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>105</sup>
<u>7.2</u>	Mucianus was in control of Rome early on as Vespasian had not yet arrived.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>106</sup>
<u>7.2–3</u>	Domitian was not yet responsible enough to assume power, he was more interested in using his father's power to do what he pleased.	WDO	D <sup>107</sup>
<u>7.3</u>	Agricola had been tasked with conducting a levy and had done so with "integrity and energy."	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>7.3</u>	Agricola was appointed by Mucianus to command the Twentieth legion.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>7.3</u>	The Twentieth legion was slow to show its support of Vespasian's rule and its former commander "behaved treasonably."	WDO	NV-SA <sup>108</sup>
<u>7.3</u>	The legion could not be controlled by the "consular legates" or the "praetorian legate."	WDO	NV-SA <sup>109</sup>

relays the bravery of another woman during the attack yet chooses not to mention the fate of Agricola's mother (2.13).

<sup>105</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.79; Tacitus discusses the timeline for Vespasian's claim to the throne. On July 1 Tiberius Alexander (prefect of Egypt) administered the oath of allegiance to his troops and on July 3 the army in Judaea took the oath in front of Vespasian himself. This news was ultimately sent to Gaul, but no one knows how long it would have taken to arrive (*Hist.* 2.86.4; W–K, *Agricola*, 114). Suetonius discusses it as well in his biography of the emperor; he provides a date for when the troops took the oath in front of Vespasian that conflicts with Tacitus's (11 July instead of 3 July; Suetonius, *Vespasian* 6.3–4). We also read in *Hist.* 3.43.1 that Agricola's hometown of Forum Iulii was occupied by a pro-Vespasian procurator, Valerius Paulinus of Gallian Narbonensis, in October. This could be an indication of when Agricola joined the Vespasian side, if he did in fact do it "at once" or "immediately" as the biography indicates.

<sup>106</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.11; Tacitus describes Mucianus's (governor of Syria) march on Rome in late December of 69.

<sup>107</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.2, 39; Suetonius, *Domitian* 1.3: In *Hist.* 4.2 Tacitus discusses Domitian's adulterous practices at a young age; in *Hist.* 4.39 he discusses Mucianus's command of the city despite Domitian's presence and how Domitian often acted irresponsibly at the behest of his friends. Suetonius also discusses Domitian's poor behavior when his father assumed the role of emperor and how he felt free to do what he pleased (taking married women for himself).

<sup>108</sup> The actions of Roscius Coelius, the one who was replaced by Agricola as commander of the Twentieth, are described in Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.60, "Trebellius charged Coelius with stirring up mutiny and destroying discipline" (Moore, LCL). This legion was stationed in Britain at the time under the command of then governor Trebellius Maximus (*Hist.* 1.60).

<sup>109</sup> The consular legates referred to here would have been M. Trebellius Maximus and M. Vettius Bolanus (mentioned in 8.1). Both served as governor of Britain and are later described as having

7.3	It cannot be determined if this was due to the incapacity of the one in charge of the legion or the members of the legion itself.	AA	NV-NH
<u>7.3</u>	The individual chosen to take over was also tasked with handing out punishment.	AA	NV-SA
7.3	“Agricola, with a most rare moderation, preferred to let it appear that he had found the men well disciplined, not that he had made them so.”	AA	NV-SA
8.1	Vettius Bolanus was the governor of Britain at the time and was not ruling “the untamed province” with a firm enough hand.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>110</sup>
8.1	Agricola was eager, but controlled himself.	LA ML	NV-SA
8.1	He had learned how to submit to authority and was “skillful in tempering duty with expediency.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>8.2</u>	Petilius Cerialis served as consular in Britain after Bolanus.	WDO	D <sup>111</sup>
<u>8.2</u>	Cerialis gave Agricola difficult tasks and put him in harm’s way; this gave Agricola “a share in the glory” though.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>8.2</u>	To test Agricola, Cerialis would give him charge of a portion of the army, if he performed well, he would give him a greater portion of the force.	WDO	NV-SA
8.3	Agricola did not boast if he performed well and gave credit to his commanding officer.	LA ML	NV-SA
8.3	His obedience and modesty “ruled out any jealousy but did not rule out some glory.”	AA	NV-NH
<u>9.1</u>	After his legionary command, Vespasian made Agricola a patrician and gave him the province of Aquitania to govern.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>112</sup>

little control over their armies (*Agricola* 16.3–5). The praetorian legate was the same Roscius Coelius mentioned immediately above.

<sup>110</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.65 briefly mentions Trebellius Maximus’s act of fleeing Britain and Vitellius sending out Vettius Bolanus in his place. Little else is said about Bolanus’s activity in Britain, though there is a poem by Statius crediting him with taking a cuirass from a British king (*Silvae* 5.2.143–49). Birley argues that this was the “anti-Roman ex-husband of Queen Cartimandua of the Brigantes” and would have taken place in 69 CE (as discussed in *Hist.* 3.45). He thinks Agricola arrived after this, 70 CE, thereby not being involved in the only bit of action Bolanus saw (Birley, *Tacitus*, 68).

<sup>111</sup> His appointment to position of governor in Britain is discussed in Josephus (*Jewish War* 7.82); he served as governor from 71–74 CE (O–R, *Agricolae*, 157). His participation in various other conflicts and relation to Vespasian is mentioned in the *Annals* (14.32) and *Hist.* (3.59; 4.68).

<sup>112</sup> The act of conferring the patriciate upon another by the emperor is attested to in the *Annals* (11.25); so, while not being attested to directly, it at least provides some precedent (W–K, *Agricola*, 120).



9.1	This was “a particularly splendid post” and had the chance of resulting in consulship, a rank for which Vespasian had “marked him out.”	AA	NV-SA <sup>113</sup>
9.2	“Many believe that the military temperament lacks discrimination, because the proceedings of a court martial, being not subject to control, rather blunt, and often high-handed, give no scope for the finesse of the law courts.”	AA	NV-NH
9.2	Agricola, however, performed his new duties quite well; he dealt with the civilians “readily and equitably.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>114</sup>
9.3	He was able to separate work and relaxation.	AA	NV-NH
9.3	When the courts needed his attention, he was present and did his job well, balancing between mercy and strictness.	LA ML	NV-SA
9.3	When done with his official work, he took off the “mask of power.”	LA ML	NV-SA
9.3	“Sullenness and arrogance and greed he had cast aside. And in his case, what is very rare, his familiar manner did not lessen his authority nor did his strictness reduce his popularity.”	LA ML	NV-SA
9.4	To discuss things like “incorruptibility” and “self-restraint” would be insulting to Agricola, his character was too great to waste time on things like that.	AA	NV-NH
9.4	He did not chase after fame by bringing attention to his virtues or “by intrigue,” something difficult even for good men.	LA ML	NV-SA
9.4	He did not prolong rivalries with his colleagues or get into quarrels with procurators; winning had no appeal and getting worsted was humiliating.	LA ML	NV-SA
9.5	He was governor for “less than three years” and then recalled for the possibility of consulship.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>115</sup>
9.5	It was rumored that Britain was going to be the province he was to receive.	WDO	NV-SA
9.5	He had not tried to persuade anyone of this, but it was because of his own competence that he had been discussed.	LA ML	NV-SA
9.5	“Rumour is not always wrong. Sometimes it even determines the choice.”	AI	NV-NH

<sup>113</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.77.2; He discusses the fact that on occasion individuals were designated for the consulship months prior to taking office. Having said that, what is mentioned here is not an official act of designating Agricola for office; the language used is not that formal (O–R, *Agricolae*, 159).

<sup>114</sup> O–R discuss the fact that no soldiers were quartered in Aquitania and because of this his responsibilities were primarily judicial/administrative as reflected above (*Agricolae*, 159).

<sup>115</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* 14.29; he alludes to the fact that a three-year term was the norm. Birley, along with W–K, thinks that the recall happened in 76 CE, while O–R think 77. The consulship would have happened the latter half of that same year. He would have been 36 years of age at this time (Birley, *Roman Government*, 77; W–K, *Agricola*, 124–25; O–R, *Agricolae*, 162).

<u>9.6</u>	Once consul he betrothed his daughter, a promising young woman, “to myself, then a young man,” and after concluding his consulship he gave her to me in marriage.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>116</sup>
<u>9.6</u>	His responsibility of governing Britain came immediately after, he was also given the office of <i>pontifex</i> .	LA ML	NV-SA
10.1	“Britain’s position and its peoples have been described by many writers.” <sup>117</sup>	AI	V <sup>118</sup>
<u>10.1</u>	“I shall offer my own account, not to compete with their diligence and literary talent, but because Britain was then	AI	D <sup>119</sup>

<sup>116</sup> If Agricola arrived back in Rome to serve as consul in 76 CE, then his consulship would have taken place in the latter half of that year and the marriage most likely early in 77. It is likely that his daughter was only 13 to 14 at the time of her marriage to Tacitus, who was only 18–22 years of age (Birley, *Tacitus*, 69; O–R, *Agricolae*, 163).

<sup>117</sup> This sentence begins a lengthy digression (in relation to the rest of the biography) exploring the ethnography (10–12) and history (13–17) of Britain. Reading it feels as if you are in an entirely different genre as the focus moves completely away from Agricola and remains so for a healthy portion of the biography. As O–R point out, ethnographies were governed by specific topics that were typically addressed and certain language that was commonly used in the description. The topics include: 1) physical geography; 2) origins and features of inhabitants; 3) climate; 4) mineral resources, agricultural products, etc.; and 5) political, social, and military organization (*Agricolae*, 164; for specific language that Tacitus uses that mirrors other ethnographers, see p. 165). These topics are all treated, though in severely truncated form due to the fact that *bios* was the governing genre.

<sup>118</sup> There were numerous ancient authors who had written about Britain prior to what Tacitus provides here. Those that are commonly discussed include Pytheas, Isidorus, Eratosthenes, Caesar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, the Elder Pliny, Pomponius Mela, Ptolemy, Livy, and Fabius Rusticus; the latter two are listed by Tacitus in this same section (O–R, *Agricolae*, 165). For a comprehensive look at all the sources that discuss Britain before or after Tacitus, see A. L. F. Rivet and Colin Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1979), 49–102. Rivet and Smith provide author’s names, names of their works, estimated time of publication, and translation of any relevant text (if necessary); it is an incredibly valuable tool for those interested in the ancient depiction of Roman Britain.

<sup>119</sup> Tacitus appears to indicate that he has based his account, or at least the new information he provides, on the testimony of Agricola. That Agricola was the “first” (*primum*) to “completely conquer” (*perdomita*) the island is difficult to prove/disprove, but appears to be accurate based on what we know of the previous attempts at conquest (also, Cassius Dio says he “overran the whole of the enemy’s territory”; *Roman History* 66.20.1 [Cary, LCL]). Diodorus Siculus, long before Tacitus, claimed that Julius Caesar was the first to accomplish the feat, “In our day, however, Gaius Caesar, who has been called a god because of his deeds, was the first man of whom we have record to have conquered the island, and after subduing the Britains he compelled them to pay fixed tributes” (*Lib.* 5.21.2 [Oldfather, LCL]). Caesar attempted on two separate occasions to conquer Britain, both of which were not very successful (55–54 BCE). Caesar’s attempt was followed by the Claudian invasion of 43 CE (Suetonius, *Claudius* 17.1–2; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 60.19–21). Following these invasions were a series of advancements further into Britain by a succession of Governors (Aulus Plautius: 43–47 CE; Ostorius Scapula: 47–52;

	for the first time completely conquered. Hence matters formerly uncertain, which my predecessors embellished in eloquent fashion, will be reported on the evidence of the facts.”		
10.2	As far as Roman knowledge is concerned, Britain is the largest island.	AA	D <sup>120</sup>
10.2	Germany is to the east, Spain is to the west, the Gauls are to the south, and the north, not facing any other land mass, is battered by the sea.	AA	I <sup>121</sup>

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Didius Gallus: 52–57; Quintus Veranius: 57; Suetonius Paullinus: 58–60; Vettius Bolanus: 69–71; Petillius Cerialis: 71–73/4; Julius Frontinus: 73/4–76/7). For an extremely helpful visual representation of the advancements of each of these governors, see Barri Jones and David Mattingly, *An Atlas of Roman Britain* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002), 64–77. One can clearly see in the maps they provide the incremental advancements made by the governors prior to Agricola’s tenure and how he surpassed them all (p. 75; Map 4:13).

<sup>120</sup> Tacitus appears to qualify his statement by adding “known to the Romans” (W–K, *Agricola*, 130). Having said that, the portion about Britain being the largest known island was stated long before Tacitus (Diodorus Sic., *Lib.* 5.21.1). Opinion changed as time went on; Pseudo-Agathemerus, *Geographia Compendiaria* VIII (27), “Among the greatest islands the first of all in the inhabited world is Salike [mod-day Sri Lanka], the second *Alvion* [ancient name for Britain], the third would be *Ivernia*” (trans. Rivet–Smith, *Place-Names*, 50). This was written sometime after the second century CE. Here in lies the problem with trying to verify geographical and/or ethnographical information in ancient sources, things can change quickly (or, in actuality, the literary evidence is so sparse that we do not have enough sources written in the same time period and on the same subjects to verify a large portion of what is recorded). Exploration, immigration, and appropriation were happening all the time in antiquity; what might have been true for one author at the time he described a particular place or people group, might change considerably (or even slightly) and be recorded differently by another author writing years later, both providing different information about the same place/group and both still being right at the time they wrote.

<sup>121</sup> The misconception that Spain was to the west of Britain was propagated throughout ancient literature (Caesar, *The Gallic War* 5.13.2; Strabo, *Geography* 2.5.27 ff., 3.1.1–3, 4.5.1; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 4.16). Ptolemy (ca. 150 CE), on the shoulders of Marinus (ca. 100 CE), corrected the misconception; see Ogilvie and Richmond, *Agricolae*, 166–67 for further discussion.

<u>10.3</u>	Both Livy (older author) and Fabius Rusticus (modern-day author) have compared Britain to an “elongated shoulder-blade” or “axe” [“little shield” or “double axe”]. <sup>122</sup>	WDO	NV-SA <sup>123</sup>
10.3	From this side of Caledonia this is what it looks like and why that description has often been used for the entire island.	AA	NV-SA
<u>10.3</u>	Those that have gone beyond this point have “found a huge and irregular expanse of land, projecting beyond the apparently outermost shore and tapering into a wedge-like shape.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>124</sup>

<sup>122</sup> MSS give two different readings here, *oblongae scutulae uel bipenni* or *oblongae scupulae uel bipenni*; a difference of one letter (*t* or *p*). Much discussion has been had over which reading is the correct one and a consensus evades scholars. Birley’s translation is following the explanation provided by Ogilvie and Richmond; they opt for the latter reading (with a slight correction from the apparently corrupt *scupulae* to *scapulae*), and provide a gloss for *scapulae* as “shoulder blade.” They also maintain that *bipenni* does not mean “double axe,” as it had been understood, but that it is merely a synonym for *securis*, i.e., the singular for “axe” (*Agricolae*, 168–70). They do not believe that the double-headed axe was in use in Rome at the time. W–K go in a somewhat different direction, opting for a corrected text of *oblango scutulo* (“little shield”), a reading initially suggested by Lacey in the 1950s. Relying on numismatic evidence and iconography, they argue that this “little shield” is in the shape of a figure eight and that *bipennis* does in fact mean “double axe.” This allows for the two terms, conjoined by *uel*, to remain synonymous (when it comes to describing the shape); see W–K, *Agricola*, 133–35. In both cases the editors of the critical editions have claimed that the original text has been corrupted and both opt for different readings than what is found in any of the MSS. It is quite difficult to decide between the two, though Woodman and Kraus’s use of extra-textual evidence adds additional support that is definitely appealing. Furthermore, they discuss the fact that the common description of Britain was that it was triangular in shape and in this case, as can be seen elsewhere in Tacitus (*Annals* 15.61, Fabius specifically), he is actually providing alternative viewpoints (Livy and Fabius) in order to correct the common misconception. I have provided both readings, but favor the latter. Ultimately, as Tacitus is simply relaying the views of other authors, the choice of readings has little impact on the historical reliability of the work.

<sup>123</sup> Unfortunately, neither of the portions of these authors’ works that treat Britain remain. As numerous secondary sources point out, the portion of Livy’s work that would have discussed Caesar’s expeditions into Roman Britain was book 105. Little is known of Fabius Rusticus, though some think his work could have served as a source for Tacitus’s *Histories* (for brief discussions on both Livy and Fabius Rusticus, see Ogilvie and Richmond, *Agricolae*, 167; W–K, *Agricola*, 132; Birley, *Tacitus*, 79; Syme, *Tacitus*, 1:294).

<sup>124</sup> As others have pointed out, Tacitus is implying that it was Agricola and his forces that had “gone past this point” and, in addition, it’s possible that Tacitus was with Agricola at this time (W–K, *Agricola*, 135–36; Birley, *Tacitus*, 70).

10.4	A Roman fleet [Agricola's] then confirmed "for the first time" that Britain was an island when they circumnavigated it. <sup>125</sup>	WDO	D <sup>126</sup>
10.4	They also discovered the previously unknown Orcades and subjugated them.	WDO	I <sup>127</sup>
10.4	Thule was also "thoroughly viewed" ["sighted"] but they had orders to go no further and could not because winter was near. <sup>128</sup>	WDO	NV-SA <sup>129</sup>

<sup>125</sup> The use of *adfirmauit*, translated here as "confirmed," is purposeful (W–K, *Agricola*, 136). It was already thought to be an island by earlier writers (Caesar, *Gallie War* 4.20.2; Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, 4.16.7; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 4.16), but Agricola established it as fact.

<sup>126</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 39.50.4, 66.20; He writes, "To the very earliest of the Greeks and Romans it was not even known to exist, while to their descendants it was a matter of dispute whether it was a continent or an island ... In the lapse of time, however, it has been clearly proved to be an island, first under Agricola, the proprietor, and now under the emperor Severus" (39.50.4 [Cary, LCL]). There are also several allusions to a man named Pytheas who claimed that he circumnavigated Britain as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BCE. We learn of Pytheas through a collection of references in a variety of different ancient authors (Eratosthenes, Timaeus, Diodorus, Caesar, Polybius, Strabo, Pliny, et al.). Pytheas was taken seriously by earlier authors, but eventually dismissed by the likes of Polybius and Strabo. An attempt to rehabilitate Pytheas's image and to substantiate some of the claims that he apparently made can be found in an article by C. F. Angus, "Pytheas of Marseilles," *Greece & Rome* 3 (1934): 165–72. If the above statement by Tacitus is taken as a claim that Agricola was the first to circumnavigate the island and Pytheas is to be believed, then one could mark this "CR". This proves difficult given that those works that reference Pytheas are for the most part highly critical of his claims. As Angus points out, "By an irony of fate the works of Eratosthenes and Timaeus who believed him are lost, while those of Polybius and Strabo who did not remain!" (172). Because of the uncertainty of Pytheas's claims, as passed on to us by later authors, I have chosen to mark this "D" on the basis of Dio's claim written out above.

<sup>127</sup> Pomponius Mela, *Chor.* 3.54; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 4.16; Eutropius, *Abridgment of Roman History* 7.13. Both Mela and Pliny, writing long before Tacitus, make reference to the Orcades (Orkneys). The fourth-century writer Eutropius also contradicts what is reported here by claiming that Claudius was the first to subdue the Orcades some forty years earlier. There is, of course, debate as to whether Eutropius, writing nearly three hundred years after the fact, has provided us with accurate information. Wolfson attempts to shed light on Eutropius's supposed error (*Tacitus, Thule and Caledonia*, 75–77). Regardless, the clear references to the islands before what is found in the *Agricola* is enough to mark this statement as "I".

<sup>128</sup> There is debate surrounding *dispecta* as Birley, et al. claim that it means "thoroughly viewed" or "thoroughly inspected" while Woodman glosses it as "discerned" or "picked out" (from a distance). The latter seems to indicate that Agricola did not venture as close to Thule as the former implies. W–K argue that they merely sighted the island, confirming its "fabled location" (*Agricola*, 138).

<sup>129</sup> Thule is most likely modern-day Shetland (Ogilvie and Richmond, *Agricolae*, 172).

<u>10.5</u>	The sea has been reported as “sluggish and difficult for rowers, and is not even stirred up by the winds as happens elsewhere.” Tacitus believes this is the case because “the land and mountains, which create and feed storms, are further apart there, and the deep mass of unbroken seawater is set in motion more slowly.”	AA	NV-SA <sup>130</sup>
<u>10.6</u>	He does not wish to discuss the properties of the Ocean and tides; several others have handled this already.	AA	NV-SA <sup>131</sup>
<u>10.6</u>	He says he is going to add one thing; the sea is dominating in that area and tidal currents are numerous and flow in various directions. “They do not merely rise as far as the shoreline and recede again. They flow far inland, wind around, and push themselves among the highlands and mountains, as if in their own realm.”	AA	NV-SA <sup>132</sup>
11.1	Tacitus points out that as is the case with most barbarians, “little has been established” regarding the inhabitants of Britain, i.e., whether they are native to the land or have migrated there.	AA	NV-NH <sup>133</sup>
11.2	Their varied physical appearance allows for some conclusions to be drawn.	AA	NV-NH
<u>11.2</u>	The Caledonians have “red-gold hair and massive limbs” suggesting a Germanic origin.	AA	NV-SA <sup>134</sup>
<u>11.2</u>	The Silures have “swarthy features” which includes “curly hair.”	AA	NV-SA

<sup>130</sup> Strabo (*Geography* 1.4.2) cites Pytheas when discussing the “frozen sea” around Thule, but this is most likely not what Tacitus is referring to here as Pytheas appears to have confused Thule with Iceland. O–R provide a more likely explanation, “Pytheas was certainly alluding to the freezing sea round Iceland but Tacitus describes a different phenomenon. The North Atlantic Drift Current passes close to the western shores of Shetland [ancient Thule] through the Faroe-Shetland channel. It is at its maximum intensity in Oct.–Nov. and Jan.–Feb. Roman ships coming from the shorter North Sea waves into the long oceanic rollers of the Current would notice the difference and, if faced by head-winds and the strong tidal streams, would be immobilized for long periods” (O–R, *Agricolae*, 173).

<sup>131</sup> Birley draws attention to Posidonius’s *On the Ocean*, a work that is no longer extant but partially preserved in Strabo (*Tacitus*, 71). W–K mentions Aristotle as well (*Agricola*, 141).

<sup>132</sup> The most likely explanation for this addition is that it comes from Agricola’s own observations (Birley, *Tacitus*, 71; O–R, *Agricolae*, 174).

<sup>133</sup> Other authors had speculated on the inhabitants of Britain prior to Tacitus. Diodorus says that the inhabitants are autochthonous (*Lib.* 5.21.5) while Caesar claims that the inland parts of the island are inhabited by people indigenous to the island, but the outskirts are populated by those that migrated there (*Gallic War* 5.12). Tacitus proceeds to list a few options but thinks the last one he discusses is the correct one.

<sup>134</sup> Germans were described in a similar way in both Strabo (*Geography* 7.1.2) and Tacitus’s *Germany* (4.1); though, as others have pointed out, there is no evidence for the Caledonians being of Germanic origin (Birley, *Tacitus*, 72; O–R, *Agricolae*, 175).

11.2	“The fact that Spain lies opposite, provide evidence that Iberians of old crossed over and settled this territory.”	AA	I <sup>135</sup>
11.2	The inhabitants that live closest to Gaul resemble the Gauls. This is either due to heredity or the fact that “shared climatic conditions produce the same physical appearance.”	AA	NV-SA <sup>136</sup>
11.3	“Taking everything into account,” it is more likely that the Gauls simply took control of the land closest to them. <sup>137</sup>	WDO	V <sup>138</sup>
11.3	This is evidenced by the fact that you will find both their rites and religious beliefs in that part of Britain.	AA	V <sup>139</sup>
11.3	Similarly, the language is not that much different between the two groups.	WDO	V <sup>140</sup>
11.3	They have the same “boldness in seeking out danger”; and also, the same “timidity in facing it.”	WDO	D <sup>141</sup>
11.4	The Britons have more ferocity; they haven’t been softened by long periods of peace.	WDO	NV-SA
11.4	“We are told,” that the Gauls used to have a reputation as warriors, but “decadence” and “peace” happened and they are without courage or liberty. The same is true of the Britons who were conquered long ago.	WDO	D <sup>142</sup>
11.4	The rest of the people are like the Gauls from long ago.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>12.1</u>	Their primary strength is their infantry.	AA	NV-SA

<sup>135</sup> See note on 10.2 above.

<sup>136</sup> Caesar, *Gallic War* 5.14.1; He mentions that the Britons of Kent and the Gauls differ little in regard to their manner of life, but does not say whether they shared physical traits. According to W–K, “Climate played a crucial role in ancient medical, ethnographical, and anthropological theory, and was believed to be determinative of physical characteristics and of moral character” (*Agricola*, 145). This provides a little context to what appears as a rather odd statement at first. Strabo also compares the men of Britain to the Celts, but more so notes their differences rather than their similarities (*Geography* 4.5.2).

<sup>137</sup> W–K, *Agricola*, 146; Their gloss of *in uniuersum tamen aestimanti* (“taking everything into account”) and subsequent explanation is helpful in understanding the sense of what Tacitus was trying to communicate. It is clear by his use of *tamen* that Tacitus thinks this is the most plausible scenario (O–R, *Agricolae*, 176).

<sup>138</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 176–77; This is not verified by any ancient literary source, but through our current knowledge of the Gallic conquest of Britain starting as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BCE. The explanation in O–R is helpful.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 177; Birley, *Tacitus*, 72. Both of these sources discuss the fact that archaeological evidence bears this out. Caesar, *Gallic War* 6.13; He discusses the Druids and their religious rituals and how these same practices can be found in Britain.

<sup>140</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 177–78; Birley, *Tacitus*, 72.

<sup>141</sup> Caesar, *Gallic War* 3.19.6; Livy, *History of Rome* 10.28.4. Both discuss the tendencies of the Gauls in battle in a similar way as described here.

<sup>142</sup> Tacitus appears to be referencing Caesar’s *Gallic War* 6.24.1 which he also cites in *Germany* 28; in this case Tacitus is the one duplicating earlier material.

<u>12.1</u>	They also use chariots; the “nobles” are the charioteers, while their “clients” do the fighting.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>143</sup>
<u>12.1</u>	Long ago Britons were subject to kings, now they are split into various factions.	WDO	D <sup>144</sup>
12.2	A “lack of unanimity” is helpful when engaging “powerful peoples.”	AI	NV-NH
12.2	It is rare for “two or three states” join together to fight or defend against a common threat; each group fights on their own and each group suffers defeat.	WDO	CR <sup>145</sup>
12.3	It rains often making for a poor climate, but there is no “extreme cold.”	AA	V <sup>146</sup>
12.3	“The days last longer than in our part of the world, the nights are bright and in the most distant parts of Britain so short that you can hardly distinguish between evening and morning twilight.”	AA	V <sup>147</sup>
12.4	“If clouds do not block the view, they say that the sun’s glow can be seen by night. It does not set and rise but passes across the horizon. In fact, the flat extremities of the earth, casting a low shadow, do not project darkness, and night falls below the level of the sky and the stars.”	AA	D <sup>148</sup>
<u>12.5</u>	Their crops differ from the olive and vine; they have many cattle.	AA	D <sup>149</sup>
<u>12.5</u>	The crops are slow to ripen but come up fast; this is due to the large amounts of moisture.	AA	NV-SA

<sup>143</sup> The portion about the “nobles” and the “clients” is nowhere repeated, but Pomponius Mela (*Chorography* 3.52); Strabo (*Geography* 4.5.2); Dio Cassius (*Roman History* 39.51); and Caesar (*Galic War* 4.24.1, et al.) all discuss their use of chariots.

<sup>144</sup> That there were kings ruling during the time of Caesar’s invasion and beyond seems undeniable (see *Galic War* 5.11.9, 5.20.1, 5.22.1; Suetonius, *Caligula* 44.2; *ILS* 216 – Claudius conquered eleven kings in Britain; Birley, *Tacitus*, 73).

<sup>145</sup> Caesar, *Galic War* 4.30, 34; he appears to mention on two occasions that the Britons would assemble to fight in unison against the Romans. O–R refute this claim but fail to give a reference to the ancient literature that discusses the examples to which they appeal; *Agricolae*, 180.

<sup>146</sup> Caesar, *Galic War* 5.12; Strabo, *Geography* 4.5.2 (both discuss the climate in similar ways as Tacitus does here).

<sup>147</sup> Tacitus chooses to only discuss the length of days/nights in the summer months, not in the winter. The length of the nights/days in Britain are discussed in a number of different sources: Caesar, *Galic War* 5.13.3; Strabo, *Geography* 2.1.18; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2.186; Juvenal, *Satires* 2.160.

<sup>148</sup> Eumenius, *Panegyric* 9; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2.47.

<sup>149</sup> Pomponius Mela, *Chor.* 3.50; Mela discusses the fertile land and how it is great for producing crops necessary for sustaining herds, though not necessarily great for producing crops necessary for sustaining human life. Also, Caesar, *Galic War* 5.12.5 and Strabo, *Geography* 4.5.2, both discuss the presence of cattle on the island.



12.6	Their land has gold and silver, the prizes of winning wars.	AA	V <sup>150</sup>
<u>12.6</u>	The surrounding oceans also “produce” pearls, but they are “dusky and mottled.”	AA	D <sup>151</sup>
12.6	This could be because of a lack of skill by the diver; in the Red Sea, the divers take them “from the rocks alive and breathing,” in Britain they wait until the sea coughs them up.	WDO	NV-SA
12.6	Tacitus believes that the more likely explanation is that the pearls themselves lack a certain quality, rather than it being that the Romans lack their usual greed.	AI	NV-NH
13.1	Britons are quick to submit to “conscription and taxes and the obligations imposed by the empire, so long as there are no abuses.”	WDO	NV-SA
13.1	They will not tolerate abuse; they are obedient, but not slaves.	WDO	NV-SA
13.1	The Deified Julius was the first to enter Britain with an army; he was successful in a battle and “gained control of the coast.”	WDO	V <sup>152</sup>
13.1	He should be known as the one who “pointed it out, not handed it over, to future generations.”	WDO	D <sup>153</sup>
13.2	The Civil Wars came after and men turned against the State.	WDO	V <sup>154</sup>
<u>13.2</u>	Britain became an afterthought, even when things were peaceful in Rome.	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>150</sup> Strabo, *Geography* 4.5.2. For a more complete discussion of the metals found in Britain, see O–R, *Agricolae*, 183 and Appendix 4. This is marked “V” due to the evidence presented in the Appendix, not necessarily because of anything reported in the ancient literature.

<sup>151</sup> Pomponius Mela states that the rivers there produce gems and pearls (*Chor.* 3.51). Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 9.116, discusses the poor quality of pearls found in Britain. Suetonius, *Deified Julius* 47; He reports that Caesar is said to have invaded Britain in hopes of finding pearls (“they say”).

<sup>152</sup> As mentioned above, the Roman conquest of Britain did in fact begin with Julius Caesar. Caesar himself writes of his first two attempts at conquering the island (*Gallic War* 4.20–38; 5.8–23). The first attempt was definitely a struggle as they encountered significant resistance by an army far more well-versed in the landscape; the second attempt, while not without its struggles, was a greater success. These two attempts took place in 55 and 54 BCE. Caesar’s two campaigns are briefly summarized in Strabo; he, too, highlights the fact that Caesar’s activity on the island was minimal, but does point out that he had a handful of victories (*Geography* 4.5.3); cf. also Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 39.50 ff.; Plutarch, *Caesar* 23.2.

<sup>153</sup> This is very much in-line with how Dio portrays it in his *Roman History* (39.53) written much later after the fact.

<sup>154</sup> The fact that the civil wars of 49–30 BCE came after Caesar’s attacks on Britain does not need to be substantiated by any external source; though it is discussed by many.

13.2	“The Deified Augustus called that ‘prudence,’ Tiberius made it an injunction.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>155</sup>
<u>13.2</u>	Gaius Caesar [Caligula] definitely thought about invading Britain, but his “impulsive character” forced him to think otherwise.	WDO	D <sup>156</sup>
<u>13.2</u>	Plus, his actions against Germany amounted to nothing.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>157</sup>
<u>13.3–14.1</u>	Deified Claudius was the one who carried out the task. Legions and <i>auxilia</i> were shipped, Vespasian played a role (“the first step towards his future greatness”). “Peoples were subdued, kings captured, and destiny pointed to Vespasian.” Aulus Plautius was the first to be in command, he was followed by Ostorius Scapula, both “outstanding” soldiers.	WDO	D <sup>158</sup>
<u>14.1</u>	The portion of Britain nearest Rome was made into a province and given a <i>colonia</i> of veterans.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>159</sup>
14.1	States were ultimately granted to [T]ogidumnus as king; he was loyal for as long as Tacitus could remember.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>160</sup>

<sup>155</sup> As numerous secondary sources mention, Augustus thought about attacking Britain on numerous occasions but ultimately decided against it (Dio, *Roman History* 49.38.2, 53.22.5, 53.25.2). He then “advised” Tiberius to “keep the empire within its existing limits” (*Annals* 1.11, 1.77, 4.37). For brief discussion, see O–R, *Agricolae*, 186; W–K, *Agricola*, 161; Birley, *Tacitus*, 74).

<sup>156</sup> Suetonius, *Caligula* 46; while not spelled out in the exact terms used here, it does appear that this description of Caligula and his actions towards Britain is quite apt. This is repeated in Dio, *Roman History* 59.25.1.

<sup>157</sup> His German expedition is discussed in Tacitus, *Germany* 37 and *Histories* 4.15; neither present him in a very positive light.

<sup>158</sup> Tacitus, *Histories* 3.44, *Annals* 12.31; Suetonius, *Claudius* 17.1–2, *Vespasian* 4; Dio, *Roman History* 60.19–21; W–K, *Agricola*, 162 (*ILS* 216 = *CIL* 6.40416); O–R, *Agricolae*, 187; Birley, *Roman Government*, 17–25 (Aulus Plautius), 25–31 (Ostorius Scapula). What Tacitus provides here is, at least as far we can tell from the other sources that cover this event, a very loose reporting of what actually happened. Yes, Claudius was the one who ultimately oversaw these campaigns against Britain, but Aulus Plautius and Vespasian deserve most of the credit for making the significant advances in Britain at this time. While some of what Tacitus writes here can be corroborated by external sources, they are mostly later and do provide details that, while not at odds, are slightly different in what they emphasize. As O–R put it, Tacitus is “speaking loosely and rhetorically” (187).

<sup>159</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* 12.32; The founding of the *colonia* at Camulodunum is discussed here.

<sup>160</sup> Most likely Togidumnus instead of Cogidumns (W–K includes the former, O–R the latter); see W–K, *Agricola*, 164; O–R, *Agricolae*, 189; Birley, *Tacitus*, 75. Secondary literature points to an inscription from Chichester that reads ‘[Ti(beri)] Claud(ii) [To]gidubni, re[g(is) m]agni Brit(anniae)’ “Tiberius Claudius Togidubnus, Great King of Britain.” As Birley points out, “There is no difficulty about *-dubnus*, rather than Tacitus’ *-dumnus*: variation between *b* and *m* is common in Latin versions of Celtic names” (*Tacitus*, 75). It would appear that, given the time of his passing and the fact that Tacitus implies he served the Romans for quite some time, the

14.1	The practice of using kings “as instruments of enslavement” was an ancient one and was still going on in Tacitus’s day.	WDO	V <sup>161</sup>
<u>14.2</u>	Didius Gallus was the next governor and he maintained what was bequeathed to him.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>162</sup>
14.2	He moved some forts into further outlying areas to get credit for expansion.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>14.2</u>	Veranius followed Didius but died within a year.	WDO	D <sup>163</sup>
<u>14.3</u>	Suetonius Paulinus followed and had two good years; “people were conquered and garrisons consolidated.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>164</sup>
<u>14.3</u>	He attacked Mona, an island he thought was useful to the rebels. His attack on Mona made him susceptible to an attack from the rear.	WDO	D <sup>165</sup>
15.1	The Britons felt a certain boldness when they were without an overseer and they began to discuss a rebellion; they aroused each other with a call to action:	WDO	NV-SA
15.2–5	“All that is achieved by submissiveness is that heavier burdens are imposed ... it will be more dangerous if we are detected planning in this way than if we dare to act.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>166</sup>

Togodumnus mentioned in Dio, *Roman History* 60.20–1 is not the same individual discussed here.

<sup>161</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 190–91; W–K, *Agricola*, 164–65 and the article they point to, David C. Braund, “client kings,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup> 334–35. Braund lists client kings dating back to 3rd c. BCE as well as discusses the relationships between client kings and Rome in the first-century CE.

<sup>162</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* 12.40; 14.29. See also Birley, *Roman Government*, 31–7. Tacitus gives him credit for putting an end to the advancements of the Silurians in his *Annals*. Here he downplays the accomplishments of Agricola’s predecessors likely in order to portray his subject in a more positive light.

<sup>163</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* 14.29; Birley, *Roman Government*, 37–43. Birley records and translates a funerary inscription that details the career of Veranius; it mentions his administrative position in Britain and his death (*AE* 1952.251 = *CIL* 6.41075).

<sup>164</sup> This is the same Suetonius Paulinus mentioned in *Agr.* 5.1. Tacitus also discusses the career of Suetonius Paulinus at length in his *Annals* (14.30, 32–34, 38–39, et al.), he is also briefly mentioned in the *Histories* (2.37). The presentation of Suetonius in these sources, along with what is in the *Agricola*, is fairly consistent, though much more detail is provided in the historiographical writings. For a discussion of his career outside of his time in Britain, see Birley, *Roman Government*, 43–50.

<sup>165</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* 14.29; Dio, *Roman History* 62.7.1. Dio discusses the fact that the Britons were planning on attacking the Romans due to Paulinus being absent because of his expedition to Monna.

<sup>166</sup> This is a somewhat lengthy speech put on the lips of an unknown Briton. It is clearly a Tacitean invention and does not necessitate mining for historical content. Having said that, a close comparison of the contents of the speech with the events described in his *Annals* (14.31) does reveal some interesting similarities. It is quite clear that Tacitus has taken the causes for the revolt as described in his *Annals* and made them a part of the speech.

<u>16.1</u>	The Britons were encouraged by this kind of talk and Boudica, a female royal, led them in their revolt against Rome.	WDO	D <sup>167</sup>
16.1	The sex of the leader was not an issue with the Britons.	AA	CR <sup>168</sup>
<u>16.1</u>	They went after the soldiers “dispersed among the forts” and also went into the <i>colonia</i> , for they felt like this was the “seat of their enslavement.” They were enraged and acted in a savage manner; they were conquerors that day.	WDO	D <sup>169</sup>
<u>16.2</u>	If it weren’t for Paulinus coming to the rescue, the Roman occupation of Britain would have been over.	AI	NV-SA <sup>170</sup>
16.2	A single battle restored order.	AA	D <sup>171</sup>
16.2	Many Britons retained their weapons. The Britons were spurred on by their guilt of being rebels and their fear of the Roman leadership; they knew he had the potential to act in a severe way towards them if they surrendered, taking their actions as a personal attack on himself.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>172</sup>
<u>16.3</u>	Petronius Turpilianus was sent to Britain; Roman leadership thought he would be more flexible and having not been exposed to the rebels’ ways, easier on those who surrendered.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>173</sup>
<u>16.3</u>	Petronius settled the situation down and then handed the province off to Trebellius Maximus.	WDO	NV-SA
16.3	Trebellius was inactive and did not survey the camps. He was an “affable administrator.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>174</sup>
16.3	The Britons learned to “condone seductive vices.”	WDO	NV-SA
16.3	The Civil Wars were a legitimate excuse for inactivity.	AA	NV-NH

<sup>167</sup> Dio, *Roman History* 62.1.1, 2.2, 7.1.

<sup>168</sup> Secondary sources call attention to Tacitus’s comment about the indifference of the Britons to the sex of their leader; many call it into question (O–R, *Agricolae*, 198; W–K, *Agricola*, 172–73; Birley, *Tacitus*, 76). Tacitus appears to propagate this same sentiment in his *Annals* (14.35). It is difficult to know if he is telling the truth here, or, as W–K states, he is following Roman historiographical conventions by describing the barbarians “in terms which are the opposite to themselves” (*Agricola*, 173).

<sup>169</sup> Dio, *Roman History* 62.7.1–3; Suetonius, *Nero* 39.1; Tacitus, *Annals* 14.32–33.

<sup>170</sup> Dio, *Roman History* 62.8.1 (describes Paulinus’s return but does not echo the sentiment Tacitus states here); Tacitus, *Annals* 33–34 (describes Paulinus’s return).

<sup>171</sup> Dio, *Roman History* 62.12.1–6; Tacitus, *Annals* 14.34–37 (a more detailed account of the battle).

<sup>172</sup> Something similar is repeated in his *Annals* (14.38).

<sup>173</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* 14.39; Birley, *Roman Government*, 50–2.

<sup>174</sup> As Hanson points out, Trebellius’s time in Britain came shortly after the Boudican revolt; his inactivity was probably more so due to the need to keep things calm for a while rather than his laziness (Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1755). Furthermore, his governorship was from 63–69, twice the length of a typical governorship, a sign that it was at least considered a success by those directly above him in the political hierarchy (1755).

<u>16.3</u>	There was a mutiny brewing as the soldiers got tired of doing nothing; Trebellius fled and went into hiding.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>16.4</u>	Despite being “disgraced and humiliated, he remained in command on sufferance for the time being.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>16.4</u>	The general was allowed to live in exchange for giving the army “a free hand.” The “mutiny ended without bloodshed.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>175</sup>
16.5	Similarly, Vettius Bolanus did not enforce discipline on Britain during the time of the Civil War.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>176</sup>
16.5	Like those before him he did not pursue any action against the enemy and the Roman camp was disorderly at times because of it.	WDO	CR <sup>177</sup>
16.5	He was an upright man and preferred popularity over being an authority figure.	AA	NV-SA
17.1	When Vespasian “recovered Britain” he brought “great generals and outstanding armies” and the hope of the Britons dissipated.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>178</sup>
<u>17.1</u>	Petilius Cerialis attacked Brigantes, the most populated state, and they were struck with fear.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>179</sup>
<u>17.1</u>	He and his army fought numerous battles, though some were without bloodshed; he took over much of the Brigantes.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>180</sup>
17.2	Cerialis “would have eclipsed the efforts of any other successor.”	AA	NV-SA

<sup>175</sup> Tacitus, *Histories* 1.60, 2.65. Much of what is mentioned here about Trebellius is a truncated depiction supported by what Tacitus writes in his *Histories*. For further discussion of his career prior to his appointment in Britain and after, see Birley, *Roman Government*, 52–6.

<sup>176</sup> Tacitus, *Histories* 2.65, 2.97; Tacitus mentions him replacing Trebellius (2.65) and questions his allegiance to Rome (2.97). See also, Birley, *Roman Government*, 57–62.

<sup>177</sup> Statius, *Silvae* 5.2.143–49. This poem mentions Bolanus and some of his accomplishments while in Britain; “This cuirass he donned himself at call to arms, this he took from a British king” (Parrott, LCL). In what appears to be Tacitus’s recollection of the same event, Bolanus goes unnamed (*Histories* 3.44–45). Birley helpfully points out, “Soon after his return to Italy Bolanus was honoured by Vespasian with patrician rank (Statius, *Silvae* 5.2.28), no doubt during the censorship in 73–4; and a little later became proconsul of Asia (Statius, *Silvae* 5.2.56–8). Both items suggest that his performance in Britain had not been negligible in the eyes of an emperor who knew that province well” (*Roman Government*, 62).

<sup>178</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 204, refers to this as “an exaggerated expression”; W–K, *Agricola*, 178, pushes back on that.

<sup>179</sup> He is mentioned in Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.82 as being offered Britain; though nothing of his time in Britain is actually detailed. For a detailed discussion of the rest of his career, see Birley, *Roman Government*, 62–8.

<sup>180</sup> This is of course the same Cerialis mentioned above (8.1–3), but little else is known about his time in Britain.

<u>17.2</u>	Julius Frontinus, a good man, took over next and conquered the “strong and warlike people of the Silures,” He had to overcome both their courage and the terrain.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>181</sup>
<u>18.1</u>	Agricola crossed over “mid-summer.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>182</sup>
18.1	The soldiers were thinking at the time that there would be no more campaigning and were anticipating some rest; the enemy, also thinking that there was going to be no more campaigning, was looking for an opportunity to strike.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>18.1</u>	The inhabitants of Ordovices had attacked a cavalry regiment in its area and this “excited the province.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>183</sup>
18.2	“Those who wanted war welcomed the lead and were waiting to test the temper of the new legate.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>18.2</u>	The summer ended, however, and the troops dispersed throughout Britain; they had “taken for granted” that war was not going to happen.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>18.2</u>	Furthermore, because of the time of the year it was not a good time to launch a campaign, and “many thought” it was better to just watch over the “suspected districts”.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>18.2</u>	Agricola had other plans, and made the decision to take the threat head on.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>18.2</u>	He gathered “the legionary detachments and a modest force of <i>auxilia</i> ” and, because the Ordovices wouldn’t come down to the plain, he led his troops up the hill; he took the lead in order to give his troops courage.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>184</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Birley writes, “Julius Frontinus is one of the most important figures of the Flavio-Trajanic era. Besides his political prominence, he was a distinguished writer on technical subjects, and is mentioned in the works of Aelian, Martial, and the younger Pliny. But his governorship of Britain is attested only by a single sentence in the *Agricola*, and his origin and early career are unknown” (*Roman Government*, 68).

<sup>182</sup> Most likely 77 CE; see W–K, *Agricola*, 181; Birley, *Roman Government*, 77–8. For a full treatment of the arguments for and against both the early (77–82 CE) and late (78–83 CE) dating of Agricola’s governorship in Britain, see Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1751–53. For much of what Tacitus describes about Agricola’s activity in Britain we have no other source to compare. The majority of what remains will be singularly attested material. Having said that, this is likely the time, if it happened at all, when Tacitus was with Agricola in Britain. What is described in *Agr.* 18–22 could potentially be an eye-witness account by the author himself.

<sup>183</sup> The only other mention of the Ordovices is in *Annals* 12.33. Here, Ostorius Scapula (*Agr.* 14.1) is described as engaging in battle against Caratacus, a respected British leader. Ptolemy’s *Geography* (II.3.6–9) also mentions Ordovices, but later authors have expressed concerns over where Ptolemy has placed the people group (Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1757; O–R, *Agricolae*, 208).

<sup>184</sup> The description of the physical location of the battle between Ostorius and Caratacus in the region of the Ordovices (*Annals* 12.33) matches what is said here. There was some difficult terrain that any attacking army would have had to navigate.

<u>18.3</u>	Nearly all of the Ordovices were “cut to pieces.”	WDO	NV-SA
18.3	“Well aware that he had to build on this prestige and that the outcome of his first operations would determine how much fear his later actions would inspire, he took the decision to reduce the island of Mona.”	LA ML	NV-SA
18.3	Tacitus interjects and mentions how he had previously discussed Paulinus’s similar attempt and how it eventually resulted in all of Britain rebelling.	AI	NV-NH
<u>18.4</u>	Due to the quick decision by Agricola, there were no ships available for the campaign.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>18.4</u>	But because he is so resourceful he found a way to get the troops to the island.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>18.4</u>	Auxiliary forces, “specially selected from those who knew the fords and whose national practice was to swim while carrying their weapons and controlling their horses, were told to discard all their equipment.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>185</sup>
<u>18.4</u>	They launched a sudden attack on the enemy and it surprised them; they were expecting a naval attack.	WDO	NV-SA
18.4	The enemy then realized that nothing was impossible for troops who fought this way.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>18.5</u>	The enemy surrendered the island.	AA	NV-SA
18.5	Agricola was thought to be a “famous” and “great” man. He had chosen war over pageantry when he first entered the province as governor.	WDO	NV-SA
18.6	Agricola did not use his victory to gain advantage or glory, but portrayed it as “keeping a conquered people under control.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>186</sup>
<u>18.6</u>	“He did not even use laurel-wreathed dispatches to report on his actions.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>187</sup>
18.6	Because he denied fame, he became even more famous.	LA ML	NV-SA
18.6	“People gauged his hopes for the future by his reticence about such great deeds.”	WDO	NV-SA
19.1	Agricola was aware of the general “feelings of the province”; he had gathered from others’ experiences that “force achieves little if followed by undue harshness.”	LA ML	NV-SA

<sup>185</sup> W–K, et al., suggest that the special forces here are the Batavians (*Agricola*, 188). Tacitus mentions the Batavians in his *Annals* (2.8) and *Histories* (4.12) as excelling in swimming.

<sup>186</sup> While this cannot be confirmed, Agricola’s self-assessment seems to be on point. Hanson describes the previous military activity in the region and how it would have prohibited Agricola from being solely responsible for considerable activity himself (“Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1757–9).

<sup>187</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 15.40 (133); he discusses the common practice of laurel branches being used in victory celebrations.

19.1	He set his mind on finding the reasons for war in the province.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>19.2</u>	He started with himself and his staff, and began to instill discipline in “his own household”; something many find even more difficult than running a province.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>188</sup>
<u>19.2</u>	He refused to use freedman or slaves for “official business.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>19.2</u>	He was not influenced by “personal likings,” “recommendations,” or “petitions” when it came to choosing “centurions or soldiers for staff appointments.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>19.2</u>	He believed that the “best men would prove trustworthy.”	LA ML	NV-SA
19.3	He was aware of everything that went on; he was wise in his punishment, letting the little things go and punishing the big things with greater strictness. He accepted remorse at times rather than doling out punishment. He preferred to put people in positions of authority that would do the right thing than to have to punish those who did wrong.	LA ML	NV-SA
19.4	He completely reorganized the way that corn was being collected and sold, and put an end to what amounted to nothing more than a scam that few people benefited from.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>189</sup>
20.1	His decision to put an end to certain abuses brought peace and this was viewed as a good thing for once; previously,	AA	NV-SA <sup>190</sup>

<sup>188</sup> A helpful description of what the governor’s staff consisted of can be found in Birley, *Roman Government*, 11. He provides precise names of the different types of positions within the staff and the necessary references to support his claims.

<sup>189</sup> Cicero, *Verrines* II.3.163–203; This reference is mentioned in several secondary sources as it describes a practice of Verres’ in Sicily ca. 70 BCE that is similar to what was taking place in Britain at the time. Essentially, there were two possible abuses taking place; 1) Britons were being forced to buy corn from the Romans at a high price and then forced to turn around and sell it back to them at a lower price; 2) Britons were being asked to transport corn long distances and being charged to do so (W–K, *Agricola*, 195–6; O–R, *Agricolae*, 215–6).

<sup>190</sup> Hanson writes this about what was described in *Agr. 19*, “it has been suggested that the account of Agricola’s checking of abuses in the corn levy was no more than a stock literary description of a ‘good governor’ with no justification in reality” (“Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1746). Hanson is referring to an article written by J. C. Mann about two topoi present in the *Agricola*, the one in view here he labels the “good governor.” He argues that it is “impossible” to think that Frontinus, Agricola’s immediate predecessor, governed his province in such a way as to allow these types of abuses to go on unchecked. There is little doubt that they did in fact happen, but this would not be something Frontinus would promote. Tacitus has portrayed Agricola here as a savior of sorts, coming in and putting an end to these terrible abuses as if no other governor had any concern about their goings on. For this reason, he says, “We must not be so naïve as to think that *Agricola 19* has anything to do with historical fact” (Mann, “Two ‘Topoi’ in the ‘Agricola’,” *Britannia* 16 (1985): 21–24). While I think Mann’s approach is insightful, I do not think he has any special insight into the character of Frontinus and his time as



	peace had been feared as much as war because of the actions of the previous governors.		
<u>20.2</u>	When summer arrived, he began to march; he was active in controlling the troops, choosing sites, observing estuaries and forests.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>20.2</u>	He kept the enemy from getting comfortable, attacking them at random times.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>20.2</u>	When he had done enough so that they feared him, he reversed course and showed them how much better it was to be at peace with Rome.	LA ML	NV-SA
20.3	“As a result, many states which up to that moment had operated on equal terms” were quick to give over hostages and stop acting hostile towards Rome.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>191</sup>
20.3	The enemy also found themselves surrounded by forts and garrisons, “with such skill and thoroughness that no new part of Britain ever came over with so little damage.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.1</u> <sup>192</sup>	The following winter Agricola made it a point to encourage individuals/communities to build temples, markets, and homes in some of the more primitive areas under his control. He thought by exposing them to things	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>193</sup>

governor given the little information we have on him (Birley, *Roman Government*, 68). This very well could be a topos, and it very well could not.

<sup>191</sup> The quoted portion of the data point above involves a textual issue that has ramifications for how we view the preexisting conflict between the Britons and Agricola’s predecessors. A helpful explanation can be found in Hanson (“Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1744). The practice of giving over hostages can be seen in other ancient literature; Tacitus, *Annals* 2.1, Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History* 94.4.

<sup>192</sup> This chapter (21) is apparently unique in ancient literature as it is thought to be the only place that describes the process, although summarily, of Roman urbanization. As Millett points out, and as recorded in W–K, “this is evidently ‘the only passage in ancient literature which claims that the Romans had a policy of urbanization’” (W–K, *Agricola*, 200; Martin Millett, *The Romanization of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 69). This is not to say that these types of buildings were not erected in Britain prior to Agricola, as archaeological evidence shows that they were, but that this is the first time the erection of Roman buildings, providing Roman education, encouraging Roman dress, etc. are all grouped together and depicted as some sort of formulaic process of Romanization (for the other buildings, dates, locations, etc., see W–K, *Agricola*, 201). It is also argued by some that Agricola’s “encouragement” of individuals/communities to build various Roman structures was not in an official capacity, i.e., this was just a suggestion of his own and not a formal attempt at Romanization (Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1744, 1775).

<sup>193</sup> The inscription from Verulamium, discussed above, contains a record of the erection of a forum under Agricola. Though, as Birley points out, if the inscription was to mark the completion of the building, given when it is commonly dated (79–81 CE), it is likely that the building began under a previous governor, either Frontinus or Cerialis (Birley, *Tacitus*, 80).

	like this they would prefer the peace and quiet rather than war.		
21.1	He would praise those who responded to his encouragement and chastise those who did not. They started to “compete with one another for his approval, instead of having to be compelled.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>21.2</u>	He even educated the sons of those in leadership and considered the Britons to be more naturally gifted than even the trained Gauls.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>194</sup>
<u>21.2</u>	The Britons eventually adopted Roman “civilization”; they wanted to speak like the Romans, dress like them, and even took on some of the more negative things like “colonnades and warm baths and elegant banquets.” Little did they know this was a part of their “enslavement.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>195</sup>

<sup>194</sup> Education of the Gallic people is discussed in the *Annals* (3.43); Juvenal appears to discuss “the fruits of this policy”, “Nowadays the whole world has its Greek and Roman Athens. Eloquent Gaul has been teaching the lawyers of Britain. Thule is already talking about hiring a professor of rhetoric” (*Satires* 15.110 [Braund, LCL]; Birley, *Tacitus*, 80). Gaul was apparently known for its rhetoricians (Juvenal, *Satires* 7.145–50). That this was not just something available to the British leadership can be seen in Martial when he “praises the culture, Greek as well as Latin, of a young British woman, Claudia Rufina” (*Epigrams* 11.53; Birley, *Tacitus*, 80). Plutarch also mentions a grammarian named Demetrius traveling home from Britain to Tarsus; given the timeline he might have even been a part of Agricola’s administration (*Obsolescence of Oracles* 2; see discussion in Birley, *Roman Government*, 92; two bronze plates feature Demetrius’s name, *RIB* 662–3). W–K discuss the fact that Latin was known to the people in Britain, as evidenced by coins and tablets, long before Agricola’s tenure as governor (*Agricola*, 203).

<sup>195</sup> Suetonius, *Claudius* 15.2; Only Roman citizens could wear togas. As Birley points out, this might be an indication that Agricola allowed some of the British elite to acquire Roman citizenship (*Tacitus*, 80). Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 15.3; he says, apparently in jest, that Claudius wanted to see the whole world in togas (W–K, *Agricola*, 204). With regards to the mention of colonnades (public porticoes), baths, and banquets, these were all places where debauchery could occur. As W–K point out, public porticoes and baths were places notorious for prostitution and banquets were also known for sometimes involving excessive drinking and erotic entertainment (*Agricola*, 204–5; with both primary and secondary sources). The last portion of this particular data point is interesting when read in concert with Tacitus’s *Histories* 4.64. Here he depicts a member of the Tencteri tribe (Germany) giving a number of demands to an assembly gathered at Cologne, and in the speech the individual makes the remark, “Resume the manners and customs of your fathers, cutting off those pleasures which give the Romans more power over their subjects than their arms bestow” (Moore, LCL). While the speech was most likely a Tacitean invention, the sentiment might have been one that was shared throughout the Roman provinces, i.e., they were well aware of the fact that these elements of Roman life were not solely meant for their pleasure, but primarily for their pacification (W–K, *Agricola*, 206).

<u>22.1</u>	The third year of his campaigning brought him and his army in contact with new people. They ravaged the area up to Taus [Tay] estuary.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>196</sup>
22.1	This greatly intimidated the enemy so that they refused to challenge Agricola's army.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>22.1</u>	The army was bothered by some storms.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>22.1</u>	They even had time to build some forts.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>197</sup>
22.2	Experts agreed that Agricola was the best at picking sites for forts.	AA	NV-SA
22.2	His forts were never overrun by enemy forces or even abandoned; they were free to make quick attacks or journeys because they had "supplies to last for a year."	AA	NV-SA <sup>198</sup>
<u>22.3</u>	This made winters less formidable because the forts were self-sufficient.	AA	NV-SA
<u>22.3</u>	This discouraged the enemy because they were used to making up their losses in the summer during the winters; now they had to worry about the Romans in both the summer and the winter.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>22.4</u>	Agricola gave credit to those who deserved it, centurion or prefect, they all knew he was an honest witness.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>22.4</u>	Some say he was harsh when he delivered reprimands.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>22.4</u>	He was polite to good men, but tough on those who did wrong.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>22.4</u>	He was not silent about things when angry, you never had to worry about where you stood with him. "He thought it more honorable to give offense than to harbor hatred."	LA ML	NV-SA

<sup>196</sup> There is some debate here surrounding the place name. The MS reads *Tanaum*, while *Taum* has been written in the margin. There is no river known by the name *Tanaum* which has led to a number of different suggestions (English Tyne, the Tweed, the Scottish Tyne, the Forth, the Clyde, the Solway Firth). Many scholars actually prefer the marginal reading of *Taum* and assume it to be a reference to the Tay/Taus estuary "on account of Ptolemy's reference to the *Taοβα εἰσχωσις*" (Ptolemy, *Geography* 2.3.4; O-R, *Agricolae*, 57n2, 230; W-K, *Agricola*, 208; Birley, *Tacitus*, 81; Hanson, "Tacitus' Agricola," *ANRW* 33.3:1743). Also, the year of his third campaign is thought to have been 79 CE, this is also the date commonly ascribed to the lead pipe found at Deva Victrix or modern-day Chester (much further south of where they were here); this would indicate that work on other fortresses continued to go on during their various campaigns (Birley, *Roman Government*, 83–4).

<sup>197</sup> That Agricola built forts throughout Britain is indisputable but identifying the specific ones that belong to him is seemingly very difficult. Hanson discusses the issues surrounding the assigning of forts to specific time periods/governors in his *ANRW* article ("Tacitus' Agricola," *ANRW* 33.3:1757–71).

<sup>198</sup> O-R, *Agricolae*, 231; they point out that this has been borne out by archaeological evidence as it was typical for these forts to have enough supplies to outlast a year-long siege.

<u>23.1</u>	Agricola spent the “fourth summer” securing the territory he had already traversed.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>23.1</u>	“And, if the spirit of the army and the glory of the Roman name had permitted it, a frontier had been found within Britain itself. For the Firths of Clota [Clyde] and Bodotria [Forth], carried far inland by the tides of opposite seas, are separated by a narrow neck of land.”	AA	NV-SA
<u>23.1</u>	This area and all of what is on “the nearer side” was secured by garrisons; the Britons had been “pushed back, as if into a different island.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>24.1</u>	In his fifth year “having first crossed by ship”, he successfully campaigned against unknown peoples. <sup>199</sup>	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>200</sup>
<u>24.1</u>	He put his troops in the part of Britain that faces Ireland; “an expression of hope rather than of fear.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>24.1</u>	Tacitus claims that Ireland lies between Britain and Spain, and near the Gallic Sea, and it “would have united the strongest parts of the empire with great mutual advantage.”	AI	I <sup>201</sup>
<u>24.2</u>	Ireland is smaller than Britain but larger than the islands “in our sea.”	AI	V <sup>202</sup>
<u>24.2</u>	It is similar to Britain in soil, climate, way of life.	AA	NV-SA
<u>24.2</u>	How to approach the island and where to harbor have been made known through “trade and merchants.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>24.3</u>	Agricola helped out a “minor king”, one that had been “expelled in a family quarrel.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>24.3</u>	Agricola “treated him like a friend ... in case an opportunity arose.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>24.3</u>	“I have often heard him say that Ireland could be conquered and held with a single legion and modest numbers of <i>auxilia</i> .”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>24.3</u>	Agricola thought that would be a good thing for Rome’s position towards Britain, if freedom were removed from all around it.	LA ML	NV-SA

<sup>199</sup> The text here has issues that appear to be unresolvable. I have chosen to follow W–K over O–R and Birley (“he crossed in the leading ship”). W–K’s explanation regarding the placement/reading of *primum* and *prima* appears to be more satisfactory than what is provided in O–R (W–K, *Agricola*, 213–4; O–R, *Agricolae*, 235).

<sup>200</sup> The “real” issue here, outside of the textual ones, is that we do not know precisely where Agricola’s fifth year of campaigning takes place. There have been numerous suggestions yet the ambiguity still remains (Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1745). It was most likely beyond the Clyde river as it was mentioned directly above (Birley, *Roman Government*, 84).

<sup>201</sup> The misconception about Britain’s position relative to Spain has been discussed above.

<sup>202</sup> The initial part of this sentence is repeated elsewhere (Caesar, *Gallic War* 5.13; “smaller by one half” (Edwards, LCL). The latter half is obviously correct, Ireland is roughly 32,000 sq. miles, while Sicily, the largest island in the Mediterranean, is only 10,000 sq. miles (W–K, *Agricola*, 215).

<u>25.1</u>	In the summer that marked his sixth year as governor, he took control of the states that were beyond the Bodotria.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>25.1</u>	“Because there were fears that all the peoples on the further side might rise and the land routes be threatened by an enemy army, Agricola reconnoitered the harbours with the fleet.”	LA ML	NV-SA
25.1	For the first time the fleet was a part of his forces and it “was making an excellent impression as it followed along”; the war was taking place on both land and sea.	AA	NV-SA
25.1	Men from all three branches were together in camp and in “high spirits.” They each talked about the dangers and victories they experienced.	WDO	NV-SA
25.2	The prisoners made it known that the Britons were amazed by the fleet; they saw the “secret places of their own sea had been opened up, the last refuge for the vanquished was closed.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>25.3</u>	The Caledonians took up arms; it was rumored that their forces were larger than they really were, but they were still a good size.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>203</sup>
<u>25.3</u>	They attacked a few forts and essentially issued a challenge.	WDO	NV-SA
25.3	Cowardly men suggested a retreat; this was better than getting beaten back they claimed.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>25.3</u>	Agricola learned that the enemy was about to attack “in several columns.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>25.4</u>	In order to avoid being circled by a larger force, he divided up his force into three separate divisions and moved forward.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>26.1</u>	The enemy, upon finding out about this, moved on the Ninth Legion, they “cut down the sentries” and burst into their camp at night when they were sleeping, panic ensued.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>26.1</u>	Fighting was taking place in the camp, Agricola learned of what was going on from his scouts.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>26.1</u>	He followed them closely and then ordered his “most mobile” members of the cavalry and infantry to attack from behind “and then the whole army was to raise the battle-cry.”	LA ML	NV-SA
26.1	“At first light the standards gleamed.”	WDO	NV-SA
26.2	The Britons feared “being caught between two fires.”	WDO	NV-SA
26.2	The men of the Ninth Legion regained their fighting spirit and pursued glory. There was a heated battle “in the narrow passage of the gates.”	WDO	NV-SA
26.2	Both armies played a role in driving back the enemy; though both wanted the glory for themselves.	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>203</sup> The location of the Caledonii is debated; Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola,’” *ANRW* 33.3:1767.

<u>26.2</u>	“Had not marshes or forests covered the retreating enemy, that victory would have ended the war.”	AA	NV-SA
27.1	The report of success inspired the army; Tacitus records the following direct speech, “Nothing can stand in the way of courage ... we must go deep into Caledonia, and, fighting battle after battle, we must find the furthest limit to Britain at last.”	WDO	NV-SA
27.1	Even those who had been cowardly just a short time ago were now emboldened and boasting of the accomplishments.	WDO	NV-SA
27.1	“This is the unfairest aspect of warfare: all claim for themselves the credit for success, failure is blamed on a single man.”	AI	NV-NH
27.2	The Britons attributed the defeat to the “skill of the general” not the “superior courage” of the other army.	WDO	NV-SA
27.2	They did not shrink back, they mobilized their young men, hid the women and children, and united together over sacrifices.	WDO	NV-SA
27.2	Both sides were ready for more war.	AA	NV-SA
28.1–3	Usipi digression. <sup>204</sup>	WDO	NV-SA
<u>29.1</u>	Agricola lost a very young son at the beginning of the next summer.	LA ML	NV-SA
29.1	He did not hide his emotions nor shown them in an extravagant fashion. He had war to help him cope with the loss.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>29.2</u>	Agricola told his fleet to go plunder in random places to cause “panic and uncertainty.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>29.2</u>	His army “was marching light, reinforced by the bravest of the Britons and those whose loyalty had been tested in a long period of peace.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>29.2</u>	He arrived at the Graupian Mountain and it the enemy was already there.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>205</sup>

<sup>204</sup> At this point Tacitus records a most peculiar digression that is entirely unrelated to Agricola’s work in Britain. A group of Usipi men, who had been enlisted in German, travel to Britain and in route they kill their commanding officer and others, try to steal some ships and sail back home. They somehow manage to land on the British shore, steal some supplies, and then accidentally circumnavigate the island. In the process, they run out of supplies and resort to eating one another. They are eventually found, captured, and sold into slavery. They apparently end up in Agricola’s camp as slaves, telling their remarkable story. It appears as if Dio repeats this story, though he misses on his chronological placement (*Roman History* 66.20.2–3; this is a part of Xiphilinus’s epitome of Dio).

<sup>205</sup> The culmination of Tacitus’s depiction of Agricola as a military leader is his portrayal of the Battle of Mons Graupius; there is no consensus as to where this is thought to have actually taken place (Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1768–9). Birley points to a few portions of the fictitious speeches of Calgacus (*Agr.* 30–32) and Agricola (*Agr.* 33.2–34.3) as signaling a

29.3	The Britons were not deterred by what happened previously, they were anticipating “revenge or enslavement.”	WDO	NV-SA
29.3	“They had at last learned that a common danger could only be ward off by a united front.”	WDO	NV-SA
29.3	They managed to pull together, through “embassies and alliances,” all of forces in the various states.	WDO	NV-SA
29.4	Thirty thousand could be seen, more were coming in.	AA	NV-SA
29.4	A leader named Calgacus, known for his “valor and nobility ... is reported to have spoken in words like these:”	WDO	NV-SA
30–32	Calgacus’s speech to his troops.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>206</sup>
33.1	The soldiers were excited by the speech and reacted with “roaring, singing, and inarticulate cries.”	WDO	NV-SA
33.1	“New columns of men began to move and arms flashed as the boldest darted before the ranks.”	WDO	NV-SA
33.1	Agricola thought it appropriate to then address his own soldiers:	LA ML	NV-SA
33.2– 34.3	Agricola’s speech to his troops.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>207</sup>
35.1	Agricola’s speech ignited his troops, they were quick to prepare for battle when it ended.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>35.2</u>	They were eager to charge, but he put them in a battle-line. He put the auxiliaries in the following formation: the	LA ML	NV-SA

possible area, but the descriptions are vague and inconclusive (*Roman Government*, 88–89). He states that “the currently favoured candidate [is] the Mither Tap of Bennachie in Aberdeenshire, close to the exceptionally large Roman camp of Durno” (89).

<sup>206</sup> At this point Tacitus supplies a speech that covers three entire chapters and is thought by many to be his own invention. It serves a rhetorical purpose, but it is not worth mining for historical content due its fictitious nature. He even appears to confuse Queen Cartimandua and the Brigantes with Boudica and the Iceni (*Agr.* 31.4) as numerous secondary sources point out (Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1747; W–K, *Agricola*, 248; Birley, *Tacitus*, 87).

<sup>207</sup> Of course, while impossible with the Calgacus speech, Tacitus could have consulted Agricola and asked him to recount the speech given here as best as he could, if, in fact, he did actually give a speech in this instance. O–R have their doubts as to whether any aspect of the speech is authentic. They note, while “the arguments used suit the Roman situation ... the plan is artificially rhetorical” and, later, “the language itself has a few touches appropriate to a true soldier ... but is throughout heavily influenced by the phraseology of Sallust” (*Agricolae*, 265). They also point out that on a number of occasions Tacitus appears to be borrowing from the speeches given by Scipio and Hannibal as recorded in Livy’s *History of Rome* (cf. *Agr.* 33.2 // Livy 21.43.13; cf. *Agr.* 33.5 // Livy 21.43.9 and 21.44.7; cf. *Agr.* 34.1 // Livy 21.40.5 and 21.43.17; cf. *Agr.* 34.2 // Livy 21.44.8; cf. *Agr.* 34.3 // Livy 21.40.6). It is possible that Agricola was so aware of these speeches that he himself chose to mimic these lines of argumentation when addressing his troops, though O–R argue that it was “unlikely that Agricola would have indulged in literary reminiscence on such an occasion” (*Agricolae*, 265); I tend to agree.

	infantry, numbering 8,000, were put in the center, the cavalry (3,000) were flanking them on both sides.		
<u>35.2</u>	The Legions were “stationed in front of the rampart: victory in a battle where no Roman blood was shed would be a tremendous honor; if the <i>auxilia</i> were driven back, the legions were a reserve.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>35.3</u>	“The Britons’ line was posted on the heights, both to make a show and to intimidate: their front ranks were on the flat ground, the remainder were packed together on the slopes of the hill, raising up as it were in tiers. The charioteers filled the middle of the plain, making a din as they rode back and forth.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>35.4</u>	The enemy’s numbers made Agricola anxious, he thought they might attack both in front and on the sides; he caused his line to open out. This extended it too far, some were telling him to bring the Legions in to fight; he stayed positive and hoped for the best.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>35.4</u>	He gave up his horse and positioned himself in front of the auxiliary forces, on foot.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>36.1</u>	The fighting started and for a while they maintained their distance, hurling javelins at one another. The Britons would knock the Roman javelins down with their large swords or catch them with their shields.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>36.1</u>	Agricola then commanded the Batavian’s and the Tungrian cohorts to fight at close quarters with the enemy. This is what they were trained to do.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>36.1</u>	The Britons struggled with this because they had such large swords, their weapons were not intended to be used in a “cut-and-thrust struggle and close-quarters battle.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>36.2</u>	The Batvians started to swing “indiscriminately”, they “struck with their shield-bosses, and stabbed in the face.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>36.2</u>	Once they finished killing in the plain they moved up the mountain.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>36.2</u>	The other cohorts, viewing this as a competition of sorts, moved upwards as well. They “pressed forward to attack, and cut down the nearest of the enemy. In the hast of victory a good many were left half-dead or untouched.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>36.3</u>	The cavalry struggled mightily due to their inability to establish footing; the horses and runaway chariots would run into the troops either on the side or head on.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>37.1</u>	There were Britons who were stationed at the very top of the hill that had yet to even engage in battle; they were looking at the Roman numbers “with contempt.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>37.1</u>	They started down the hill to fight, but Agricola met them with four regiments of cavalry that had been held back in	LA ML	NV-SA



	case of an emergency and these met the Britons head on and pushed them back.		
37.2	The Britons tactics were turned on themselves.	AA	NV-SA
<u>37.2</u>	“The cavalry regiments, on the general’s command, wheeled round from the front of the battle and charged the enemy in the rear.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>37.2</u>	The cavalry was effective, causing great harm to all its foes.	WDO	NV-SA
37.3	Men were acting “according to their own character”; some were fleeing, some were giving up themselves for death by running at the opposition without weapons.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>37.3</u>	The battlefield was full of weapons and bodies, the earth was covered in blood.	AA	NV-SA
37.4	“Sometimes even the vanquished displayed their fury and their courage.”	AI	NV-NH
<u>37.4</u>	The enemy reached the woods, they regrouped, and began to attack those that pursued them.	WDO	NV-SA
37.4	Agricola appeared to be everywhere at once.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>37.4</u>	“He ordered strong light-armed cohorts to form a kind of huntsmen’s cordon, part of the cavalry to dismount and scour the forest where the trees were dense, the remainder to range through the clearings—otherwise, over-confidence might have led to serious casualties.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>37.5</u>	Once the enemy saw the Roman troops coming towards them in battle order, they fled in all different directions, breaking formation and heading for “distant and inaccessible retreats.”	WDO	NV-SA
37.6	10,000 enemy were killed, only 360 Roman troops. Aulus Atticus, a prefect, was among those killed.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>38.1</u>	That night the army celebrated their victory and enjoyed the booty they had acquired.	WDO	NV-SA
38.1	The Britons were in anguish, “dragging off their wounded, calling out to survivors, abandoning their homes and in their rage setting fire to them, choosing hiding-places, and leaving them again at once.” They became sad at the sight of loved ones, husbands even killed their wives and children out of pity.	WDO	NV-SA
38.2	When they awoke the next day it was clear just how widespread the destruction was. It was silent, homes were smoldering, scouts found no one.	AA	NV-SA
<u>38.2</u>	They went all over, but could not find anyone, the Britons were not gathering in groups.	WDO	NV-SA

<u>38.2</u>	Because summer was over and they could fight no more, he took his troops to the region of the Boresti.	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>208</sup>
<u>38.3</u>	Here Agricola took hostages “and instructed the prefect of the fleet to sail round Britain: forces were allocated for the purpose, and panic had gone before.”	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>209</sup>
38.3	Agricola marched unhurriedly through new enemy territory in order to strike fear into their hearts.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>38.3</u>	He settled his infantry and cavalry into their winter quarters.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>38.4</u>	The fleet, due to a “favorable wind and reputation behind it,” made it back to the Trucculensian harbor.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>210</sup>
39.1	Agricola’s dispatches, though not exaggerated with boastful language, brought on a “characteristic reaction on the part of Domitian: his expression was one of delight, but in his heart he was uneasy.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>211</sup>

<sup>208</sup> An otherwise unattested tribe (Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1747, 1770).

<sup>209</sup> Dio, *Roman History* 39.50.4, 66.20.2–3. Dio discusses the circumnavigation of Britain by Agricola.

<sup>210</sup> The *Portus Trucculensis* or “Trucculensian harbor” is an otherwise unknown location; there have been several suggestions as to what location Tacitus was referring to but none have garnered majority support (Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1743).

<sup>211</sup> In the final eight chapters of the biography Domitian’s character is much maligned presumably due to his notoriously cruel nature and, more specifically, due to the fact that Tacitus believes he was probably responsible for the death of his father-in-law (43.2). Domitian’s words and deeds are discussed in a number of ancient sources, the following are just a sampling of the ways in which he is described by later authors (from second to fourth century CE): Plutarch, *On Being a Busybody* 15E (killed someone because of envy, though he mentions in the same breath that people admired him for his dignity); Suetonius, *Domitian* passim (plotting, spent considerable time in seclusion, cruel, fearful; Suetonius does mention that in the early part of his reign he was quite different, even good in some respects, but turned eventually to cruelty and avarice); Pliny, *Panegyricus* 48.3 (“fearful monster”); Marcus Aurelius, *Miscellaneous Letters* II.1 (tyrant); Dio, *Roman History* 66–67 (passim; this epitome of Dio’s work by Xiphilinus depicts Domitian in a negative way on multiple occasions: quick to anger; treacherous; secretive; attacks with sudden violence; pretended to like those who he was about to kill, etc.); Apollonius of Tyana, *Testimonia* 4 (“murderer”; repeats what is said in Dio, *Roman History* 67.18); Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* passim (discusses his cruelty); Ammianus Marcellinus, *History* 18.5 (“he drenched the memory of his name with indelible detestation” [Rolfe, LCL]; Asonius, *Thanksgiving for his Consulship, Addressed to the Emperor Gratian* 6 (“jealous”); Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 36–37 (“tyrant”, also discusses him receiving the *damnatio memoriae*). Even with all of the biases inherent in ancient literature, it is difficult to argue with the characterization of Domitian in these last chapters of the biography. We have to approach it knowing that in some way Tacitus has downplayed Domitian in order to elevate Agricola, but there appears to be enough evidence to suggest that Domitian was not that different from how he is portrayed here.

39.1	He knew that “his recent sham triumph over Germany had aroused ridicule.”	AA	CR <sup>212</sup>
39.1	Domitian went so far as to purchase slaves and dress them up like prisoners of war	WDO	NV-SA <sup>213</sup>
39.1	In front of him was a real victory, one that produced thousands of dead men and was receiving great admiration from the people.	AA	NV-SA
39.2	“What he dreaded most of all was for the name of a subject to be exalted above that of the emperor.”	AA	NV-SA <sup>214</sup>
39.2	His efforts to quiet the accomplishments of those who excelled in “public eloquence and distinction in civilian professions” was for naught if he allowed someone to receive glory for military accomplishments. Those other talents were not all that special, but “good generalship belonged to the emperor.”	AA	NV-SA
39.3	He dealt with his torment in silence; a sign of “sinister intentions” says Tacitus.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>215</sup>
39.3	He decided it was best to let this sudden onslaught of praise for the military achievements of Agricola to die down; Agricola was still over Britain.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>40.1</u>	The emperor ordered for the senate to provide a “public statue, and all the insignia to go with an honorary triumph.” This included a flattering speech.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>216</sup>
<u>40.2</u>	In addition, it was to be suggested that the province of Syria was now intended for Agricola.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>40.2</u>	Atilius Rufus had died and left the vacancy.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>217</sup>

<sup>212</sup> As discussed above (see section titled “Social and/or Political Influences on the Author”), calling his work in Germany a “sham” is probably a bit hyperbolic and more so driven by personal bias than some universal assessment or sentiment; see specifically the comments by Frontinus (who most likely served alongside of him) and the article by Schönberger, both of which are cited above. Having said that, both Pliny (*Panegyricus* 16.3) and Dio (*Roman History* 67.4.1) appear to repeat the sentiment that his activity in Germany was of little value.

<sup>213</sup> Again, as already stated above, there exists the possibility that Tacitus has attributed to Domitian an action previously committed by another emperor (cf. Suetonius, *Caligula* 47; Hanson, “Tacitus’ ‘Agricola’,” *ANRW* 33.3:1748). This, of course, does not rule out that Domitian himself might have chosen to mimic the actions of his predecessor.

<sup>214</sup> Dio, *Roman History* 67.14.4.

<sup>215</sup> Pliny, *Panegyricus* 48.3; Pliny describes him as a “fearful monster ... lurking in his den” (Radice, LCL). Dio calls him “secretive” (*Roman History* 67.1.1).

<sup>216</sup> Multiple secondary sources discuss the fact that emperors were allowed to award the *triumphalia ornamenta* to generals who distinguished themselves (W–K, *Agricola*, 289; Birley, *Tacitus*, 92; O–R, *Agricolae*, 287–8). Also, Dio (*Roman History* 55.10.3) and Tacitus’s *Annals* (4.23) mention statues given to victors in the Forum for their accomplishments.

<sup>217</sup> O–R, *Agricolae*, 288; W–K, *Agricola*, 290; Both sources discuss epigraphic evidence that places Atilius in Pannonia in 80 and Syria in 83. Nothing is known of his death or successor.

40.2	It was believed that a “freedman from one of the senior palace departments had been sent to Agricola, bearing an imperial letter of appointment to the Syrian command, under instructions to hand it to Agricola if he should still be in Britain.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>218</sup>
40.2	He met Agricola in the Channel crossing, did not speak to him, and returned to Domitian.	WDO	NV-SA
40.2	“The story may be true, or it may be a fiction invented to suit the emperor’s character.”	AI	NV-NH
<u>40.3</u>	Agricola’s successor was left a peaceful and secure province.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>219</sup>
<u>40.3</u>	In order to avoid friends who “wanted to pay their respects” and the crowds, he came into the city at night and went to the Palace.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>40.3</u>	He was greeted with a kiss, “dismissed without a word, into the crowd of courtiers.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>220</sup>
<u>40.4</u>	Agricola chose to play down his “military reputation,” and went into quiet retirement.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>40.4</u>	“His style of life was modest, he was courteous in conversation, with only one or two companions in public.”	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>40.4</u>	Those who did not know him and saw no self-aggrandizing on his part, would ask why he was famous and when only a few understood.	WDO	NV-SA
41.1	“He was often accused in his absence before Domitian, but in his absence was found not guilty.”	LA ML	NV-SA
41.1	He was in danger because of the emperor’s “hostility to merit, the man’s glory, and—the worst sort of enemy—those who sang his praises.”	WDO	NV-SA
41.2	In the years that followed, Agricola “could not be passed over in silence.”	AI	NV-NH
<u>41.2</u>	Armies in Moesia, Dacia, Germany, Pannonia had all been lost because of either the “folly or cowardice of their generals.” So many members of the military had either died or been taken prisoner.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>221</sup>

<sup>218</sup> Dorrey calls this an “obviously sheer fabrication” (“Agricola and Domitian,” 66); though Tacitus himself acknowledges the possibility (40.2).

<sup>219</sup> We do not know who his successor was but this has not prevented speculation. Birley suggests Sallustius Lucullus (*Roman Government*, 95–9; W–K, *Agricola*, 291).

<sup>220</sup> The phrase used here to describe the kiss, *breui osculo*, is also used in his *Annals* to describe how Nero greeted his own mother (13.18; *breve osculum*).

<sup>221</sup> These battles are discussed in Dio, *Roman History* 67.7–8, 10; Suetonius, *Domitian* 6. O–R’s explanation of the various allusions to each of these battles in Suetonius is helpful (*Agricolae*, 291–2). The reason this is not marked “V” or even “D” is because the specific reason for the defeats, “cowardice” and “folly”, is not given in these other sources and his explanation is very much tied to what he describes.

<u>41.2</u>	It wasn't just the outskirts of the Roman territory that was in danger, but the fortress and the control of the whole provinces.	AA	NV-SA
<u>41.3</u>	With the losses mounting, the public started to demand Agricola as general.	WDO	NV-SA
41.3	"Everyone contrasted his energy, resolution, and proven courage in war with the inaction and timidity of others."	WDO	NV-SA
41.4	"There is evidence" that Domitian heard and was affected by this talk. His freedman tried to help, but Domitian was prone to taking bad advice.	WDO	NV-SA
41.4	Because of the failings of others and his own accomplishments "Agricola was being driven to the precipice of glory."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>42.1</u>	"The year had now come round for him to ballot for the proconsulship of Africa or Asia."	LA ML	NV-SA <sup>222</sup>
42.1	"The recent murder of Civica was both a warning for Agricola and for Domitian a precedent."	AA	NV-NH <sup>223</sup>
<u>42.1</u>	Men who knew what the emperor was thinking approached Agricola "on their own accord" and asked him if he was planning on going to a province.	WDO	NV-SA
42.1	They started off by hinting at the fact that retirement was a better option, then they ultimately praised it as the better option. They offered to help Agricola decline a province.	WDO	NV-SA
42.1	They eventually started to threaten Agricola if he didn't retire, and ended up dragging him before Domitian.	WDO	NV-SA
42.2	"The latter had prepared his hypocrite's part, put on a majestic air, listened to the plea to be excused, and, after consenting, was graciously pleased to accept thanks for conferring a favour, without a blush for its invidious nature."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>42.2</u>	He did not give Agricola the proconsular's salary that was normally offered in these situations.	WDO	NV-SA
42.2	Tacitus suggests that he was either offended because Agricola did not ask, or he would be ashamed to give	AA	NV-SA <sup>224</sup>

<sup>222</sup> O-R, *Agricolae*, 294.

<sup>223</sup> Suetonius, *Domitian* 10.2; he states that Civica was murdered while serving as proconsul in Asia. He was murdered for inciting a coup. The exact date of his death is unknown (Birley, *Tacitus*, 93).

<sup>224</sup> This entire section, 42.1–42.2, is the subject of much debate. As Hanson points out, "No one disputes the bare facts that Agricola chose not to be a candidate for the *sortitio* for Africa or Asia and was not offered the *solarium*", it is the explanation that surrounds it that causes many to think is a total fabrication ("Tacitus' 'Agricola'," *ANRW* 33.3:1754). While the explanation may be a Tacitean invention, it might also be the product of intimate familiarity with his subject and his family. It is impossible to say definitively in either direction, and Hanson admits as much (1754). There are certainly those who have labored to show that Tacitus's depiction of the events

	money to someone for something he had already forbidden.		
42.3	“It is part of human character to hate someone you have hurt.”	AI	NV-NH
<u>42.3</u>	Domitian was one who “plunged into violence and the more he concealed his feelings the more implacable he was.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>225</sup>
42.3	Agricola’s self-restraint calmed Domitian down; Agricola did not “court renown and ruin by defiance and an empty parade of freedom.”	LA ML	NV-SA
42.4	“Those whose habit is to admire what is forbidden ought to know that there can be great men even under bad emperors, and that duty and discretion, if coupled with energy and a career of action, will bring a man to no less glorious summits than are attained by perilous paths and ostentatious deaths that do not benefit the Commonwealth.”	AI	NV-NH
<u>43.1</u>	Family, friends, and even outsiders were all affected by his death. Even the “common people ... and the population of the city” would come to his house and were constantly talking about him in the marketplace. Everyone was sad when they heard of his death and were not quick to forget.	WDO	NV-SA
43.2	There was a “persistent rumor” that Agricola had been poisoned; this only increased the sympathy from others.	LA D	D <sup>226</sup>
43.2	“I would not venture to assert that we have any definite evidence.”	AI	NV-NH
<u>43.2</u>	Having said that, there were far more “freedmen” and “court physicians” who paid their respects in his final days that are normally present when an emperor sends them; this was either due to “anxiety or espionage.”	LA D	NV-SA
<u>43.3</u>	To further support his position, Tacitus says that on his very last days, as he was breathing his final breaths, messengers were coming and going, relaying the events to the emperor.	LA D	NV-SA

in this section may not be a fabrication at all (Kurt von Fritz, “Tacitus, Agricola, Domitian, and the Problem of the Principate,” *Classical Philology* 52 (1957): 73–97, spec. 76–77). The fact is, as already stated, we simply do not have the evidence to determine whether the episode is a fabrication or an insightful bit of history.

<sup>225</sup> Domitian’s violent behavior towards others is no secret; Suetonius outlines it in his biography of the emperor (*Domitian* 10 ff.); see also the note attached to *Agr.* 39.1. Of course, what is important here for our purposes is again Tacitus’s explanatory remarks tied to the claim that he resorted to violence, this is why we must designate this particular data point “NV-SA”.

<sup>226</sup> Dio, *Roman History* 66.20.

43.3	One would think that the emperor would have been sad to hear the news, instead it was being sent to him as fast as possible.	AA	NV-SA
43.3	The emperor did at least put on a show of grief, though it was probably because he “was relieved of the need for hatred, and he was one who could hide joy more easily than fear.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>43.4</u>	When Agricola’s will was read, he had named Domitian as co-heir with his wife and daughter; the emperor was pleased and took it as a complement.	LA D	NV-SA
43.4	“His mind was so blinded and corrupted by incessant flattery that he did not understand that a good father would only make a bad emperor his heir.”	AI	NV-NH
<u>44.1</u>	Agricola was born on June 13, 40 CE. Gaius Caesar was in his third consulship.	LA ML	NV-SA
<u>44.1</u>	He died at age 54 on August 23, 93 CE; the consuls were Collega and Priscinus.	LA D	NV-SA
<u>44.2</u>	Tacitus describes his appearance; he was better looking than he was tall.	AA	NV-SA
<u>44.2</u>	He had a kind expression, did not appear aggressive.	AA	NV-SA
44.2	Looking at him you would immediately think he was a good man, and should think him a great one.	AA	NV-NH
<u>44.3</u>	He achieved great glory for an extended period of time; he was consul and was even awarded the “triumphal insignia: what more could fortune have added?”	AA	NV-SA
<u>44.3</u>	He did not “enjoy excessive wealth” despite the fact that he was wealthy.	AA	NV-SA
<u>44.4</u>	Both his wife and daughter survived him.	WDO	NV-SA
44.4	He should be regarded as fortunate to have left the world at the height of his glory, both family and friends “secure”, especially considering “what was to come.”	AA	NV-NH
44.5	“He was, it is true, not permitted to live to see the dawn of this most fortunate age and Trajan’s Principate, which he used to predict, observing the signs and praying for their fulfilment, in our hearing. Yet he took with him effective compensation for his premature death.”	AA	NV-SA
44.5	He missed out on Domitian’s final years, constantly filled with bloodshed and insanity.	WDO	V <sup>227</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Suetonius, *Domitian* 10 ff.; Pliny, *Panegyricus* 48.3–4; As mentioned earlier, Pliny writes about Domitian being a “fearful monster” and says he “built his defences with untold terrors ... he licked up the blood of his murdered relatives ... [and] emerged to plot the massacre and destruction of his most distinguished subjects” (Radice, LCL).

45.1	“Agricola did not live to see the senate-house under siege, the senate hedged in by armed men,”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>228</sup>
45.1	“the killing of so many consular in that same act of butchery, so many most noble women forced into exile or flight.”	WDO	V <sup>229</sup>
<u>45.1</u>	“A single victory was all that Carus Mettius as yet had to his credit, it was still only inside the Alban citadel that Messalinus was rasping out his vote, and Massa Baebius was still a defendant. But soon we ourselves led Helvidius to prison, the face of Mauricus and Rusticus put us to shame, we were stained by Senecio’s innocent blood.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>230</sup>
<u>45.2</u>	At least Nero had the decency to turn away and not watch the crimes committed that he had ordered to take place.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>45.2</u>	It was tormenting the way that Domitian watched our every move, every time our faces turned pale with shock at his actions. Those with naturally occurring flushed faces were saved when others “blushed with shame.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>231</sup>
45.3	Tacitus, speaking almost directly to Agricola, tells him that he was blessed given the timing of his death.	AI	NV-NH
45.3	Again, speaking directly to Agricola, tells him that he had heard from those who were present at his death bed that he had met the occasion with “a cheerful courage.”	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>228</sup> Tacitus describes a similar event in his *Annals* though it is in reference to something that took place under Nero, not Domitian (16.27).

<sup>229</sup> Suetonius, *Domitian* 10.2–4, 11.1, 15.1; Pliny, *Letters* 3.11.3, 5.1.8, 7.19.4, 9.13.5; *Panegyricus* 48.3. See also W–K, *Agricola*, 315–6; O–R, *Agricolae*, 306–7 as they both provide helpful references.

<sup>230</sup> This is a very complex sentence that alludes to several different episodes following the death of Agricola but prior to the death of Domitian. Each individual is discussed in an additional ancient source, or sources, but the exact episodes to which Tacitus is referring are difficult to pinpoint. The incident involving Carus Mettius is unknown, though, as other secondary sources point out, it might be in reference to the case of the Vestal Virgin Cornelia (Pliny, *Letters* 4.11; W–K, *Agricola*, 316; O–R, *Agricolae*, 307). Mettius is also mentioned in Juvenal, *Satires* 1.35–6; Martial, *Epigrams* 12.25; Pliny, *Letters* 1.5.3, 7.19.5–6. He was apparently a notorious informer for Domitian. Messalinus is described by Juvenal in extremely negative terms (*Satires* 4.113–16); he is also mentioned in Pliny, *Letters* 4.22.5–6. Massa Baebius was discussed alongside of Carus in *Satires* 1.35–6 (mentioned above). He also is mentioned in Pliny, *Letters* 7.33 in addition to Senecio. Helvidius the younger is mentioned in Suetonius’s biography of Domitian (10.4); he was killed because of a play he wrote where he apparently “censured Domitian’s divorce from his wife” (Rolfe, LCL). Mauricus was exiled by Domitian yet returned after his murder (Pliny, *Letters* 3.11.3, 1.5.10–16). Senecio, mentioned in Pliny, *Letters* 7.33, is also discussed above (Agr. 2.1) as he was one of the individuals under trial because of the biography he wrote (Pliny, *Letters* 7.19).

<sup>231</sup> Suetonius, *Domitian* 18.1; Pliny, *Panegyricus* 48.4–5; both mention the naturally occurring redness of Domitian’s face.



45.3	“You seemed to be doing your best, as far as a man could, to acquit the emperor of guilt for your death.”	AI	NV-NH
<u>45.4</u>	Tacitus mentions how much pain he and his wife were in due to the fact that they were unable to be by his side when he died. They missed out on hearing some final words from him, something they could take with them forever.	AI	NV-SA
45.4	Tacitus says that it is their deepest sorrow that he passed four years too soon.	AI	NV-NH
45.4	Tacitus does not doubt that his mother-in-law did everything the right way to bring honor to Agricola after his death.	AA	NV-SA
45.4	“Yet too few tears were shed as you were laid out; and there was something more that your eyes, in their final glimpse of light, had longed for.”	AI	NV-NH
46.1	Tacitus, speaking directly to Agricola, tells him that if there is an afterlife, he hopes that he rests in peace.	AI	NV-NH
46.1	Instead of weeping and having regrets, Tacitus requests, “May you call us ... to contemplate your noble character, for which it is a sin either to mourn or to shed tears.”	AI	NV-NH
46.2	Allow us to honor you with admiration and praise and, if possible, imitation. For Tacitus that is what “true respect” and “true duty” look like for those closest to Agricola.	AI	NV-NH
46.3	This is what he asks of his mother-in-law and wife, Agricola’s daughter, that they frequently think about his words and deeds and think about who he really was in his soul rather than long for his physical presence.	AI	NV-NH
46.3	Tacitus is not opposed to statues to remember him by, but images “are weak and perishable.”	AI	NV-NH
46.3	“The beauty of the soul lives forever, and you can preserve and express that beauty, not by the material and artistry of another, but only in your own character.”	AI	NV-NH
46.4	“All that we have loved in Agricola, all that we had admired in him, abides and is destined to abide in human hearts through the endless procession of the ages, by the fame of his deeds. Many of the men of old will be buried in oblivion, inglorious and unknown. Agricola’s story has been told for posterity and he will survive.”	AI	NV-NH

## Interpreting the Results

Similar to what is found in the previous chapters, the following table is a summary of what is presented above. The table provides a breakdown and accompanying percentages of the various “types” and their “results.”

	V	I	D	CR	NV-SA	NV-NH	Total	Percentages
AI	2	1	1		4	26	34	8.7%
AA	4	2	6	2	53	12	79	20.3%
LA-BOC	1				3		4	1.0%
LA-ML					100		100	25.6%
LA-D			1		4		5	1.3%
WDO	9	1	14	2	142		168	43.1%
Total	16	4	22	4	306	38	390	
Percentages	4.1%	1.0%	5.6%	1.0%	78.5%	9.7%		

The most interesting piece of data to come from the table, at least in my opinion, is the fact that not a single data point that serves to depict what I have deemed the “middle” of Agricola’s life was marked as anything other than singularly attested. This speaks to the relative irrelevance of Agricola’s life. Agricola was a very minor figure in antiquity and only one other source (Dio, *Roman History* 67.20.1–3) actually discusses his life in any detail, and even that is minimal. This is, of course, not to say that Tacitus does not provide us with accurate, or inaccurate, information, but that those direct statements about his words, deeds, character, etc., are nowhere else repeated.

An additional result I found interesting is that the detailing of his life (those data points marked LA-BOC; LA-ML; and LA-D) only makes up roughly 28% of the data points. This is no doubt the impetus behind the debate concerning the genre classification of the work.<sup>232</sup> The 28%

<sup>232</sup> W–K, *Agricola*, 3; they discuss the structure of the work and arrive at the conclusion that roughly 65% of the work is more historical than biographical. They point out the fact that this has spurred on serious discussion about the genre classification of the work, but say that those who want to classify it as history, rather than biography, “misunderstand its nature.”

is *half* of what we find in both the *Atticus* (54%) and the *Agesilaus* (55%). In the previous chapter I presented a breakdown of the percentages of each “type” of data for the previous two works and they were very similar in their construction. Below is that same chart with the data from the *Agricola* added.

	Total	Percentages ( <i>Ages.</i> )	Total	Percentages ( <i>Att.</i> )	Total	Percentages ( <i>Agr.</i> )
AI	16	5.7%	11	4.6%	34	8.7%
AA	56	19.8%	41	17.2%	79	20.3%
LA-BOC	1	.3%	8	3.4%	4	1.0%
LA-ML	154	54.4%	109	45.6%	100	25.6%
LA-D	1	.3%	13	5.4%	5	1.3%
WDO	55	19.4%	57	23.8%	168	43.1%
Total	283		239		390	

Essentially, the percentages devoted to the WDO and LA (all three) categories are flipped in comparison to the two previous biographies surveyed. Tacitus spends a considerable amount of space depicting the accomplishments and/or characterizations of those on the periphery. Yet he does this all while maintaining a congruent focus on his subject. He never loses sight of *Agricola*, as the various digressions and explanations of additional characters serves the overall purpose of highlighting *Agricola*’s personality and/or accomplishments. This is a prime example of how works in antiquity could blend different genres yet still maintain a single classification.

The last thing I want to draw attention to is the total percentage of singularly attested data; that amount came to 79% of the data points. This will ultimately result in a wider range of assessments regarding the reliability of the work as each individual assessing the biography will have to make (educated) guesses as to whether they want to underline a specific data point or not.<sup>233</sup> For example, there will be some who see Tacitus’s characterization of Domitian in the

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<sup>233</sup> As with the previous chapters, I have underlined those data points that I think are safe to consider reliable, despite the lack of hard evidence. I will discuss these further in the following section.

latter chapters as a gross misrepresentation in order to exalt his subject, while others, who consider the wide range of data available on Domitian from antiquity, will think that his assessment is fairly accurate even if it does border on the hyperbolic at times. The one evaluating the work will have to make these sort of judgment calls many times over given the unique construction of the work.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The *Agricola* provided some interesting results due to the combination of the way it is constructed and the seeming obscurity of its subject. This resulted in a biography that has very little information that is either confirmed (4.1%) *or* disproved (1.0%), and an enormous amount of information that is singularly attested (79%). In order to arrive at a final determination, I worked through the biography underlining those data points that I felt were accurate, despite not being confirmed by additional sources. A factor that had considerable influence on these decisions was the relationship Tacitus had with his subject. The nature of his relationship with his subject would have provided him regular access when the two were in the same location. Further, any type of diary or log that *Agricola* kept while in the field would most likely have been accessible to Tacitus, both due to his professional life/connections and his relationship with the subject. Having said that, I still avoided underlining those data points that were primarily an evaluation of his character (same with those dealing with Domitian), most of which were highly encomiastic and/or derogatory (those depicting Domitian). Compare the following two statements about *Agricola*, the first I chose not to underline, while the second I did. This should provide some insight into my decision-making process with regard to these types of data points:

Agricola was thought to be a “famous” and a “great” man. He had chosen war over pageantry when he first entered the province as governor. (*Agricola* 18.5)

In order to avoid being circled by a larger force, he divided up his force into three separate divisions and moved forward. (*Agricola* 25.4)

This is not to say that these types of characterizations, as seen in the first excerpt, are totally inaccurate, but that I feel more comfortable withholding judgment than I do extending it in that situation. The latter excerpt is more straightforward in what it reports and is something that, at least in my opinion, could have easily been written down and/or verbally articulated by the subject himself.

Totaling all of the underlined data points along with those that were marked “V”, the percentage of the data points that I feel comfortable labeling as reliable is roughly 57% (non-reliable, 5%; indeterminable, 38%). This is a marked increase from the 4.1% that can be confirmed. Again, the reason behind the dramatic increase is that I think Tacitus had access to reliable information that came straight from his subject. Many have expressed concern over the biases of Tacitus’s account, specifically his depiction of Domitian, et al., but the fact is that there is a considerable amount of information that does not involve some sort of value judgment of another individual and/or *Agricola* himself and is recorded in a rather straightforward manner by Tacitus. This type of information could have easily been provided by his father-in-law in the numerous times they undoubtedly spent together upon his return from Britain (ca. 85 CE) and prior to Tacitus’s departure (ca. 89 CE). The *Agricola* is an extremely valuable piece of ancient literature given its unique construction (blending of different genres) and access it provides to a rather obscure figure that would have otherwise been almost entirely absent from the ancient record.

## Chapter 5

### *The Gospel According to John*

A biography unlike any of the other three surveyed, the Fourth Gospel presents a unique set of challenges with regards to its historicity that give even the keenest historian problems in his attempts to resolve them all. Scholars have long been baffled by the numerous problems created by the uniqueness of the Fourth Gospel despite the presence of the Synoptic tradition. This, coupled with questions about authorship and the seemingly ever-present mind of that same author in the words of those who occupy the pages, creates a host of issues that result in a variety of assessments regarding the work's reliability. Despite the inherent difficulties, this has not stopped numerous NT scholars from exploring the work for its historicity nor will it prevent my efforts here.

The following pages will resemble the previous three chapters as I will work through the preliminary questions before breaking the Fourth Gospel into individual data points and assigning each one a "Result" (V, I, D, CR, NV-SA/NH). With regard to the preliminary questions, the majority of available space will be used to discuss authorship, as this single issue is both complicated and the most relevant for making decisions regarding the non-verified material. The other preliminary questions will be treated only briefly, as space constraints simply do not permit me to engage them fully. All of these issues have been taken on already in various commentaries, monologues, dissertations, NT introductions, etc., and those works offer much more extensive treatments of the topics; I will point to these works where appropriate.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I am very reliant upon the conclusions put forth by Craig Keener with regard to my answers to these preliminary questions. His two-volume commentary on the Fourth Gospel provides helpful

### Textual History (Questions from 1a)

The issues addressed in this section are limited to when and where the Fourth Gospel was written. The third issue typically addressed in this section, the work's manuscript history (i.e., number of extant MSS; differences between them and the impact of those differences; and important critical editions), is simply too large to treat here and, admittedly, the payoff is quite limited.<sup>2</sup>

There is no shortage of proposed dates regarding the composition of the Fourth Gospel. To illustrate, here are the dates suggested by a select handful of NT scholars: W. G. Kümmel (90–100 CE); H. Koester (ca. 100 CE); J. A. T. Robinson (40–65 CE); J. B. Tyson (90–100 CE); D. Guthrie (ca. 70 CE); and R. E. Brown (80–110 CE).<sup>3</sup> Even in this small sample size one can

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discussions on the majority of these issues and, most importantly, leads you to the appropriate primary source evidence. This is not to say that others do not do this, as many working with the introductory issues of the Fourth Gospel martial out these same bits of evidence, but Keener's presentation of the evidence is the one to which I have naturally had the most exposure. Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 140–42, for his discussion of John's date.

<sup>2</sup> There are a number of secondary sources with detailed treatments of the relative issues. For example, Lonnie D. Bell, Jr., "Textual Stability and Fluidity Exhibited in the Earliest Greek Manuscripts of John: An Analysis of the Second/Third-Century Fragments with Attention also the More Extensive Papyri (P45, P66, P75) (PhD diss., The University of Edinburgh, 2015)"; W. J. Elliott and D. C. Parker, eds., *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel according to St. John, Volume One: The Papyri*, NTTS 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995); and U. B. Schmid, W. J. Elliott, D. C. Parker, eds., *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel according to St. John, Volume Two: The Majuscules*, NTTSD 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Rueben Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: John* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press; Pasadena, CA: William Carey International University Press, 1995). For discussion of the various MSS available on a more general level, see Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, trans. Errol F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), passim; D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008; Philip W. Comfort, *New Testament Text and Translation Commentary* (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Steve Mason and Tom Robinson, *Early Christian Reader: Christian texts from the first and second centuries in contemporary English translation, including the New Revised Standard*

see that a date near the end of the second half of the first-century is preferred, and this holds true when you survey a number of other works. The question, then, is *why*? What evidence do we have for any date for the Fourth Gospel's composition?

In establishing the work's *terminus ante quem* we can look to several pieces of second-century evidence, none more valuable than P<sup>52</sup>, a fragment which contains portions of John 18 nearly identical to what we have in our modern critical editions.<sup>4</sup> Not long after its acquisition by Bernard P. Grenfell in Egypt, C. H. Roberts dated it to the first half of the second century, a date confirmed by other respected paleographers.<sup>5</sup> Metzger writes,

[It] proves the existence and use of the fourth Gospel during the first half of the second century in a provincial town along the Nile, far removed from its traditional place of composition (Ephesus in Asia Minor). Had this little fragment been known during the middle of the past century, that school of New Testament criticism which was inspired by the brilliant Tübingen professor Ferdinand Christian Baur could not have argued that the fourth Gospel was not composed until about the year 160.<sup>6</sup>

As others have pointed out, if the commonly ascribed date for P<sup>52</sup> of the first half of the second century (ca. 125 CE) is correct, along with the assumed place of authorship (Ephesus), then the work was likely composed at least a quarter century earlier.<sup>7</sup> The amount of distance between its

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*Version of the New Testament* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 772–73. Mason and Robinson provide a table in Appendix F that displays these authors' dating of each NT book.

<sup>4</sup> For a helpful discussion of Roberts's method in dating the work, along with an excellent overview of P<sup>52</sup> and several other important MSS of John, see Bell, Jr., "Textual Stability," 44–58.

<sup>5</sup> Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 56. He writes, "On the basis of the style of the script, Roberts [the one who first realized the fragment's significance] dated the fragment to the first half of the second century. Though not all scholars are convinced that it can be dated within so narrow a range, such eminent paleographers as Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, W. Schubart, Sir Harold I. Bell, Adolf Deissmann, Ulrich Wilcken, and W. H. P. Hatch have expressed agreement with Roberts' judgment."

<sup>6</sup> Ibid; also quoted in Keener, *John*, 1:141.

<sup>7</sup> Keener, *John*, 1:141.



place of discovery and the assumed place of provenance for the Fourth Gospel warrants such a conclusion. Additionally, if one is working with the traditional view of Johannine authorship, *and* with the assumption that the external evidence about John's death is accurate, then the *terminus ante quem* for the Fourth Gospel could be moved to just slightly before his death ca. 98 CE.<sup>8</sup>

As an aside, that we even have a small fragment of a MS that dates to less than fifty years after the composition of the original document is astonishing, especially in light of the MS evidence we have for the other ancient biographies surveyed here. Furthermore, the majority of the Fourth Gospel is attested to in MSS dating no later than the end of the second, early third century CE (P<sup>66</sup>, P<sup>75</sup>), and the entire Gospel can be found in a MS dating to the fourth century CE (X).<sup>9</sup> This is in stark contrast to what we found in our evaluation of the other biographies.

Before we move on to discussing Ephesus, et al., as potential locations for where the Gospel was written, more needs to be said regarding the dating of the Fourth Gospel, as we have only demonstrated a likely *terminus ante quem*. How early can we date the work? If one views the Fourth Gospel as dependent upon one, or all, of the Synoptics, then, naturally, it can only be as early as the latest date for those works upon which it depends. However, if one sees the Fourth Gospel as an independent attestation to the life and ministry of Jesus, then it might be

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<sup>8</sup> Paul N. Anderson, *The Riddles of the Fourth Gospel: An Introduction to John* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 97. Anderson writes, "In his *Ecclesiastical History* (ca. 325 C.E.), Eusebius cites earlier traditions claiming that after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans (70 C.E.), the apostles drew lots, and John's lot fell to go to Asia Minor, where he later died under the reign of Trajan (post-98 C.E.). John's ministry was reportedly interrupted when the Roman emperor Domitian exiled him to Patmos in 84 C.E., although John is said to have returned to Ephesus after Domitian's death (d. 96 C.E.)."

<sup>9</sup> Aland and Aland, *Text*, 100–01, 107; also repeated in Keener, *John*, 1:142n17.

considerably earlier than what has been traditionally argued.<sup>10</sup> And, of course, one can still hold to a date in the latter part of the first century *and* that it is independent of the Synoptics, the two are not mutually exclusive. The reality is that we simply do not know for certain when the work was written, but a combination of internal and external evidence makes it likely (or *likelier* than the other options) that it was written ca. 85–95 CE. Even that is nothing more than an educated guess as all of the evidence typically brought forth has issues. The only thing that seems relatively certain when it comes to dating the Fourth Gospel is the *terminus ante quem*.<sup>11</sup>

As for its place of origin, scholars regularly point to four locations: Alexandria, Antioch, an unknown place in Syria-Palestine (maybe Galilee), and Ephesus. If one takes the external evidence seriously, then the latter of the options is the likeliest provenance for the Fourth Gospel.<sup>12</sup> There is certainly the possibility that the work was composed much earlier in a location within Syria-Palestine and then later edited and put into its final form in Ephesus, but any suggestion to that effect is ultimately conjectural. Given how the external evidence appears to point in the same direction, Ephesus will be adopted as the most-likely provenance for the Fourth

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<sup>10</sup> Craig L. Blomberg, *The Historical Reliability of John's Gospel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 42. He lists F. Lamar Cribbs (1970); J. A. T. Robinson (1976); Friedmar Kemper (1987); and Klaus Berger (1997) as scholars who want to date the Gospel prior to fall of Jerusalem. He views most of the arguments as stemming from silence. See also Daniel B. Wallace, "John 5,2 and the Date of the Fourth Gospel," *Biblica* 71 (1990): 177–205; and Blomberg's brief critique (p. 43 of *Historical Reliability*).

<sup>11</sup> For various discussions of the relevant evidence, see Keener, *John*, 1:142; Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, ed. Francis J. Maloney (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 206–15; D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leicester: Apollos, 1991), 82–7; Andreas J. Köstenberger, *Encountering John: The Gospel in Historical, Literary, and Theological Perspective*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 7–9. Carson does an excellent job of presenting the evidence scholars often put forth in their efforts to determine a *terminus post quem* and subsequently showing the inherent flaws in that same evidence.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of all the candidates, see Keener, *John*, 1:142–49; see pp. 146–47 for evidence/case for Ephesus.

Gospel. The fact is that this determination has little, if any, bearing on the historicity of the document.

### **Authorship and Authenticity (Questions from 1b)**

As we have seen with all three of the previous biographies, authorship ultimately plays an important role in determining the reliability of the work as knowledge of who authored the work often influenced the decisions regarding the singularly attested, duplicated, and/or conflicting material. A connection between the author and his subject like what we have seen in the three previous biographies surveyed provides reason to believe that when the data cannot be checked the author is likelier to be telling the truth. With the Fourth Gospel we are presented with an issue yet to be encountered in that there is considerable uncertainty surrounding the authorship of the work. Any type of resolution offered rests on multiple pieces of circumstantial evidence and must be stated with the caveat that total certainty is unattainable. Regardless, it is the historian's task to survey all of the evidence and extend a conclusion that he feels is best supported by that same evidence.<sup>13</sup>

Any discussion about authorship of the Fourth Gospel typically begins by pointing to John 19.35 (“And he who has seen has testified, and his testimony is true; and he knows that he is telling the truth, so that you also may believe.”) and John 21.24 (“This is the disciple who is testifying to these things and wrote these things, and we know that his testimony is true.”).<sup>14</sup> The

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<sup>13</sup> What follows is a rather truncated look at all the evidence. In my coursework I produced a lengthy paper exploring the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. This will have to be considerably shorter due to space constraints.

<sup>14</sup> You will notice that throughout this chapter that addresses in John are noted with a period, 19.35, instead of the more common colon, 19:35, while passages from the Synoptics/Q will feature the more common colon separator between chapter and verse. This is primarily to make Johannine references more easily recognizable and to not have to continuously write out “John” in the table below.

context is clear that the individual in question in both of these instances is “the disciple whom Jesus loved” (19.26; 21.20), a moniker applied to a specific individual five times in the Fourth Gospel (13.23; 19.26; 20.2; 21.7, 20). The obvious and immediate question, then, is *who is it?* It would seem that an accurate identification of this beloved disciple (BD) would help solve the authorship dilemma, at least to an extent, as these same verses also reveal that there was another hand (or hands) involved (the consistent use of the third-person to reference the BD in 19.35; and the “*we* know that his testimony is true” in 21.24). It is quite obvious that an editor, or editors, was/were involved, but given the stylistic unity of the work one is not entirely sure of the extent of his involvement, i.e., if the unified language was from the hand of the individual who wrote most of the document or the one who edited it after the fact. Any theory regarding authorship needs to recognize that more than one hand played a role in the production of the Fourth Gospel but parsing out who wrote/edited what is virtually impossible. For simplicity’s sake, I think it wise to assume that the BD actually did in fact author the majority of the tradition present in the Fourth Gospel.<sup>15</sup> For this reason, there is great merit in trying to identify the BD and the most effective way of attempting to identify this individual is by examining all of the relevant internal and external evidence; only then can one make an educated guess as to who the likeliest candidate is to fill the BD role.

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<sup>15</sup> Richard Bauckham, *The Testimony of the Beloved Disciple: Narrative, History, and Theology in the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 34, n.7. Bauckham points out that the use of the verb γράφω “to write” cannot be understood in any other way than the BD being the *author* of the work.

### *Internal Evidence*

There are numerous textual clues as to the identity of the BD and the following bulleted list will highlight those I think to be most relevant.<sup>16</sup>

- Indications of personal involvement/eyewitness testimony:
  - “We saw his glory” (1.14); “we have all received” (1.16); does this indicate a personal experience with Jesus? For 1.14, 16 the question still remains regarding who the “we” is; and for 1.16, what is meant by “received”?
  - In each of the following verses the author notes the time or day a specific event happened (1.39; 4.6, 52; 5.9; 7.14; 12.1; 18.28; 19.14, 31; 20.1; 21.4). The simplest explanation is that the one who wrote this was present at these events and could easily have noted the time at which the event occurred.
  - These verses provide additional details that would typically only be known by those present at an event (12.3; 13.24; 18.10; 19.41; 21.8–9, 11).
  - The author knew the thoughts/feelings of other disciples (2.11, 17, 22; 4.27; 6.19, 60–61; 12.16; 13.22, 28; 21.12), brief conversations they had amongst themselves at various points (4.33; 16.17; 21.3), and where some of them were from (1.44; 12.21; 21.2) and lineage (21.2).
- The language of the author is thoroughly Jewish – His vocabulary, syntax, direct knowledge/use of Hebrew and Aramaic with regards to OT quotations, etc. all betray a familiarity and consistent use of these Semitic languages rather than the language in which he is writing.<sup>17</sup>
- The author shows a familiarity with Jewish customs and opinions – (2.6) “Now there were six stone waterpots set there for the Jewish custom of purification”; (4.9) “For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans”; (4.27) “They were amazed that he had been speaking with a woman”; (11.55) “many went up to Jerusalem out of the country before the Passover to purify themselves”; (18.28) “they themselves did not enter into the Praetorium so that they would not be defiled”; (19.40) “as is the burial custom of the Jews”.
- The author shows a familiarity with the geography/topography of the land – (3.22) “land of Judea”; (3.23) “Aenon near Salim, because there was much water there” - this

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<sup>16</sup> The majority of this evidence was compiled from my own close reading of the text. It was then further supplemented by B. F. Westcott’s discussion on internal evidence that can be found in his commentary. I have noted where Westcott’s commentary was followed in a substantial way. See Brooke Foss Westcott, *The Gospel According to St. John: The Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, ed. A. Westcott, Thornapple Commentaries (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1980), ix–lvii. In addition to Westcott’s work, an incredibly helpful and extensive survey of the relevant internal and external evidence can be found in J. B. Lightfoot, *The Gospel of St. John: A Newly Discovered Commentary*, edited by Ben Witherington III and Todd D. Still, assisted by Jeannette M. Hagen, The Lightfoot Legacy Set, Vol. 2 (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2015), 41–76, 205–325.

<sup>17</sup> Lightfoot, *St. John*, 52–7, 267–82. Lightfoot goes into each of these areas in great detail.

particular reference shows intimate familiarity with the area; (4.5–6) “a city of Samaria called Sychar, near the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph” - also shows familiarity with the geography and the historical traditions associated with this particular location, though there is some possible confusion here (will be discussed in the main table below); (5.2–3) “in Jerusalem by the sheep gate a pool, which is called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porticoes. In these lay a multitude of sick, blind, lame, and withered, waiting for the moving of the waters” - shows a thorough knowledge of this area in Jerusalem before its destruction and the cultural practice associated with the location; (11.18) “Now Bethany was near Jerusalem, less than two miles off” - shows that the author had probably made the two mile trek a time or two; (11.54) “to the country near the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim”.

- One of his primary means of providing chronological orientation for his audience is to note any upcoming/ongoing festival(s) – (2.13; 5.1; 6.4; 7.2, 14, 37; 10.22; 11.55; 19.14, 31, 42) Noteworthy is the remark in 7.37, “on the last day, the great day of the feast”. That the author orientates his audience by noting particular festivals happening and that he knew this day was called “the great day” shows a familiarity with and interest in Jewish culture.<sup>18</sup>
- The author is concerned to point out (whether in his own authorial asides or on the lips of Jesus) that certain events in Jesus’s ministry have fulfilled OT passages (2.17; 12.38; 13.18; 15.25; 17.12; 19.24, 36). Ultimately, this shows the author’s concern to validate his/Jesus’ words and deeds with the thing most sacred to the Jewish people and betrays the author’s Jewishness. Westcott also notes, “And it follows...that the Evangelist in setting down these sayings of Christ accepts to the full the teaching which they convey”.<sup>19</sup>
- As mentioned above, the phrase “the one whom Jesus loved”, along with its other slight variations, is found in 13.23, 19.26, 20.2, 21.7, 20. 19.35 is what I consider to be the first major authorial identifier and has a legitimate connection to the BD, “And he who has seen has testified, and his testimony is true; and he knows that he is telling the truth, so that you also may believe.” 21.24 is the second major, and most important, authorial identifier in the gospel, “This is the disciple who is testifying to these things and wrote these things, and we know that his testimony is true.” These two statements feature the appearance of the BD in the immediate context. In 19.26, nearing the end of his life, Jesus tells both the BD and his mother that they are to consider each other family from this point forward. Although some may disagree, I think it is reasonable to conclude that the one who “has seen” and “has testified” in 19.35 is the BD in 19.26. In 21.20–24, it is clear that the BD is “the disciple who is testifying to these things”. Although the “we” in 21.24 creates some confusion, it is clear that the BD stands behind a majority of the tradition in the Fourth Gospel. Also, it should be mentioned that the reference to Lazarus in 11.3, “Lord, he whom you love is ill”, with its unique positioning and phrasing, has led some scholars to believe that Lazarus is a legitimate candidate for the beloved disciple and author of the gospel.

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<sup>18</sup> For even more discussion of the author’s familiarity with Jewish history, geography, names, and customs see Lightfoot, *St. John*, 293–324.

<sup>19</sup> Westcott, *St. John*, xiv.

- Statement of purpose for writing the gospel – In 20.31 the author writes, “But these are written so that you may come to believe that Jesus is the Messiah [χριστός], the Son of God, and through believing you may have life in his name.” This statement would seem to provide further evidence for a Jewish author considering a main purpose of his was to show that Jesus was the Messiah. While this doesn’t rule out a Gentile author, it does show that the author had a sincere interest in uncovering or discerning something that was incredibly important to the Jewish people, something that was missed by many Jews who interacted with Jesus when he was on the earth (1.11).
- Lastly, one of the more important pieces of internal evidence, at least when it comes to figuring out who the BD might be, is the list of disciples in 21.2, “Simon Peter, and Thomas called Didymus, and Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, and two others of His disciples were together.” The immediate context suggests that the BD has to be one of these seven individuals.

The above internal evidence suggests the following concerning the individual responsible for the majority of the tradition in the Fourth Gospel: he was thoroughly Jewish; he was familiar with the geography associated with Jesus’ ministry (specifically his Judean ministry); he was an eyewitness to several of the events described or had access to a considerable amount of eyewitness testimony; either he or a later editor claims that the individual is the disciple “whom Jesus loved”; and because of the latter he must be one of the following: Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, either one of the sons of Zebedee, or one of the two anonymous disciples (21.2). Westcott arrives at similar conclusions but goes a step further by asserting that the author must be an apostle, specifically John, son of Zebedee.<sup>20</sup> His move from ‘an apostle’ to John, son of Zebedee is predicated on his determination that in the Synoptic tradition:

We find three disciples standing in a special sense near to Jesus, Peter and the sons of Zebedee, James and John ... St. Peter is out of the question. One of the two sons of Zebedee, James, was martyred very early (Acts 12:2), so that he could not have been the author of the Gospel. John therefore alone remains; and he completely satisfies the

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<sup>20</sup> Westcott, *St. John*, xlv. Westcott’s claim regarding the apostolicity of the author is based on much of the same evidence presented above: the scenes which the author describes; his familiarity with the feelings of the other disciples; his familiarity with the places the disciples of Jesus and Jesus himself retreated to; his familiarity with the misperceptions of those around Jesus and the subsequent correctives offered by Jesus to the disciples in private (2.21 ff.); and his familiarity with the emotional state and inner thought world of Jesus.

conditions which are required to be satisfied by the writer, that he should be in close connection with St. Peter, and also one admitted to peculiar intimacy with the Lord.<sup>21</sup>

While Westcott's position is a reasonable conclusion based on this specific set of data, I want to stop short of drawing any absolute conclusions based on it alone. I do agree, however, with his conclusions regarding Peter and James, so those two can be eliminated as possibilities for being the BD.<sup>22</sup> This leaves Thomas, Nathanael, John, and the two unnamed 'other disciples' from the list in 21.2 as possibilities for the BD.

There is a different kind of internal evidence, however, that I think makes it clear that another hand was involved, the so-called "aporias" in the text.<sup>23</sup> The following list highlights

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<sup>21</sup> Westcott, *St. John*, xlv.

<sup>22</sup> It must also be mentioned that there are a number of scholars who have argued that both James and John died a martyr's death early on. A recent, thorough exploration of the evidence for this view can be found in Bauckham's *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*; see Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2017), 582–89. The argument for John's early death rests on dubious evidence, but Bauckham's argument for the evidence's authenticity is helpful, and, at times, convincing.

<sup>23</sup> Helpful in defining the term *aporia* is the following quotation from Robert Fortna's *The Gospel of Signs*, he writes, "The interpreter of John's gospel is confronted from the outset by a fundamental literary phenomenon, and one which, in degree at least, distinguishes that gospel from the other three, namely the presence of the so-called *aporias* – the many inconsistencies, disjunctures and hard connections, even contradictions – which the text shows, notably in the narrative portions, and which cannot be accounted for by textual criticism" (Robert T. Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source Underlying the Fourth Gospel*, SNTSMS 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 2). Fortna is certainly not the first to use the term *aporia* in order to label the difficulties present in the Fourth Gospel, that distinction belongs to Eduard Schwartz. In a series of lectures given at the University of Göttingen at the beginning of the twentieth century Schwartz, "Finding no word in his own language pat to his purpose he somewhat recklessly concluded that the Greek word ἀπορία was just what he needed. Applied to things, the word means straits or difficulties; applied to persons it refers to any embarrassing situation from which it is hard to extricate oneself – an impasse" (John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 19–20). Schwartz's work on the topic can be found in a collection of articles from 1907–08, see Eduard Schwartz, "Aporien im vierten Evangelium," *NGG* (1907) 1:342–72; "Aporien im vierten Evangelium," *NGG* (1908) 2: 115–48; "Aporien im vierten Evangelium," *NGG* (1908) 3:149–88; "Aporien im vierten Evangelium," *NGG* (1908) 4:497–560.



some of the more difficult aporias in the Fourth Gospel. These can be found at the beginning of Raymond Brown's commentary<sup>24</sup>:

1. Differences of Greek Style
  - a. John 21 differs from the rest of the Gospel in small stylistic details.
  - b. The Prologue (1.1–18) is written in a carefully constructed, interlocking poetic pattern found but rarely in the Gospel proper.
  - c. The Prologue employs important theological terms not found elsewhere in the Gospel, for example, *logos* ("Word" personified), *charis* ("grace" or "covenant love"), *plērōma* ("fullness"), *egeneto* ("came into being").<sup>25</sup>
2. Breaks and Inconsistencies in Sequence
  - a. 14.31 reads, "Rise, let us be on our way." Jesus follows with another three chapters worth of discourse material and does not seem to depart until 18.1.
  - b. 20.30–31 appears to be a conclusion to the Gospel, the evangelist sums up his narration and explains the purpose he had in writing; yet this is followed by another, seemingly independent chapter with another conclusion.
  - c. The disciples of John the Baptist who were present when the Baptist identified Jesus and explained his mission in 1.29–34 do not seem to understand anything about Jesus in 3.26–30.
  - d. After his first sign at Cana (2.11), Jesus works signs in Jerusalem (2.23); yet his next miracle at Cana is apparently designated as his second sign (4.54), as if there were no signs intervening.
  - e. In 7.3–5 his brothers speak as if Jesus had never worked signs in Judea, despite the Jerusalem signs just mentioned and another miracle in ch. 5.
  - f. At the Last Supper Peter asks Jesus where he is going (8.36, also 14.5); yet in the same setting in 16.5 Jesus complains that no one has asked him, 'Where are you going?'
  - g. Throughout ch. 3 Jesus has been at Jerusalem, which is in Judea; yet in mid-chapter (3.22) we are suddenly told that he came into Judea.
  - h. 6.1 has Jesus traveling to "the other side of the Sea of Galilee" while chapter 5 ends with him in Jerusalem. One would think that Jesus would have needed to be around the Sea of Galilee in order to travel to "the other side" of it, not several miles away in Jerusalem.

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<sup>24</sup> Though condensed and put in list form, much of the phrasing in this list is taken verbatim from Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, 2 vols., AB 29-29A (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965–1970), 1:xxiv–xxv. See also, Anderson, *Riddles*, 67–90.

<sup>25</sup> Anderson points out, equally as important is the fact that "Such terms as "light" (*phōs*), "darkness" (*skotia*), "glory" (*doxa*), and "truth" (*alētheia*), however, are rife within the rest of John's narrative, so these themes both echo and announce the central thrust of the Johannine Gospel" (*Riddles*, 68).

- i. Related to the one immediately above, “Chapters 5 and 7 are in Jerusalem, while chapters 4 and 6 are in Galilee, with little transitional commentary; further, the debate in John 5.16–47 appears to continue in 7.14–52.”<sup>26</sup>
- 3. Repetitions and Passages Out of Context
  - a. Brown claims that 5.19–25 and 5.26–30 are very similar in content but the former appears to emphasize realized eschatology with the latter final eschatology. See specifically 5.25 and 5.28.
  - b. 6.35–50 presents Jesus’ revelation as the bread of life while 6.51–58 presents Jesus’ body as the bread of life.
  - c. 14.1–31 is essentially repeated in 16.4–33.
  - d. 3.31–36 seems out of context on the lips of JTB. The statements seem to be closer to something Jesus would say than John the Baptist.
  - e. 12.44–50 has Jesus making a public proclamation when in 12.36 he had just gone into hiding.
  - f. “The narrator gives a summary statement twice at the end of Jesus’ ministry, first declaring that after performing his signs many people believed (10.40–42); later it is claimed that despite witnessing his signs many did not believe (12.37–43). Why the uneven reception and differing reports? Do we have earlier and later endings of different sections here?”<sup>27</sup>

The aporias really do make it difficult to conclude that a single individual was responsible for the Fourth Gospel in its entirety. One could argue that ancient biographical conventions allow for considerable shaping and/or restructuring of existing material in an effort to achieve some other type of narrative aim outside of a straightforward reporting of events, but all of the above issues, when viewed collectively, ultimately suggest that another hand played an important role in the production of the Fourth Gospel. I will return to this after discussing the external evidence.

### *External Evidence*

Amidst his discussion on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, Craig Keener points out that when examining the external evidence alone John, son of Zebedee, is the only one for which

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<sup>26</sup> Anderson, *Riddles*, 72.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

you can truly build a strong case.<sup>28</sup> He does note, however, that even though he believes the evidence is sufficient it is still incomplete.<sup>29</sup> He believes, as do I, that the external evidence must be read in concert with the internal evidence before arriving at a solution. The following pieces of external evidence are commonly cited in commentaries and the like in the sections that treat the authorship of the Fourth Gospel and will factor into the final decision here.

- The limited use of the Gospel in the early second century causes some scholars to doubt the claims in other external evidence that it was written by John, son of Zebedee. “Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, neglects this Gospel in his epistles”.<sup>30</sup> Others, such as Polycarp (allusions) and Justin Martyr (citation) show an awareness of the Gospel, though there is debate over whether or not Justin’s citation really came from the Gospel of John.<sup>31</sup> That being said, absence of evidence showing the use of the Fourth Gospel in early Christian writings is not an automatic defeater of Johannine authorship. Anyone who has studied ancient literature knows that there is a substantial amount that has been lost, but then again that fact alone should not be viewed as support for there ever being such evidence.
- Keener notes, “Gnostic writers claim Johannine authorship even before ‘orthodox’ writers comment on the subject”.<sup>32</sup> Ptolemy (ca. 180 CE) is cited by Irenaeus as attributing the Fourth Gospel to “John, the disciple of the Lord” (Irenaeus *Haer.* 1.8.5). Origen refutes Heracleon’s assertion that John 1.18 should be attributed to John the disciple instead of JTB (Origen *Comm. Jo.* 6.3).<sup>33</sup> Heracleon also reckons John among

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<sup>28</sup> Keener, *John*, 1:91. As mentioned above, the information found in this section is taken primarily from Craig Keener’s commentary on the Gospel of John. I have scoured his discussion on external evidence and checked his claims against the sources he cites before including anything from it in the above section. For his helpful review of the evidence see, Keener, *John*, 1:91-100. Equally helpful to Keener’s work are Martin Hengel, *The Johannine Question*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989), 1–23; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St John*, 2 vols. (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 1:78; Lightfoot, *St. John*, 205–66.

<sup>29</sup> Keener, *John*, 1:92. He notes the oddity that the Fourth Gospel is without attestation in the Christian writings of the early second century. For Keener, it is difficult to understand why a work like the Fourth Gospel, if written by such a prominent apostle, would have been not been cited by second century Christians in the various documents they composed.

<sup>30</sup> Keener, *John*, 1:93.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 1:92.

<sup>33</sup> Maurice Wiles points out that Heracleon is the individual Origen implicates in this particular section. See Maurice F. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel: The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 7. Origen’s commentary can probably be dated early third century, while Heracleon reportedly fl. ca. 175 CE.

the apostles.<sup>34</sup> Hengel notes that Theodotus, a disciple of the Gnostic teacher Valentinus and contemporary of Irenaeus also made use of the Fourth Gospel. He referred to John as the author and also called him *apostolos*.<sup>35</sup>

- Theophilus of Antioch (d. 181 CE) attributes John 1.1 to John (*Autolyc.* 2.22).
- Irenaeus writes (ca. 180 CE) that “John, the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia” (Irenaeus *Haer.* 3.1.2 [Roberts, ANF]). The immediate question is: who was Irenaeus’ source regarding this information? Interestingly, Irenaeus also writes that other information about Jesus (mainly his age) was passed on by those ‘elders’ who “were conversant in Asia with John” (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.22.5 [Roberts, ANF]). When we look elsewhere to other early church tradition, mainly Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History*, we find that one of the ‘elders’ Irenaeus has in view is Polycarp. In a letter to Florinus, as preserved in Eusebius, Irenaeus writes that he listened to Polycarp as a young boy and heard “the accounts which he gave of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord. And as he remembered their words, and what he heard from them concerning the Lord, and concerning his miracles and his teaching, having received them from eyewitnesses of the ‘Word of life’” (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.20.6 [McGiffert, NPNF]). The source for Irenaeus claiming that John, son of Zebedee, was the author of the Fourth Gospel was then most likely Polycarp. However, some scholars want to dismiss Irenaeus’ statement above (*Haer.* 3.1.2) as evidence for Johannine authorship. Their primary objection revolves around what Irenaeus says about *another* elder, Papias. In a statement preserved in both Irenaeus’ *Against Heresies* (5.33.4) and Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History* (3.39.1–2), Irenaeus says that Papias was a hearer of John (the apostle) and a companion of Polycarp.<sup>36</sup> Eusebius, writing much later (325 CE), points to a statement by Papias himself that ultimately calls into question whether or not he was a hearer of the apostle John. Papias writes, “If, then, any one came, who had been a follower of the elders, I questioned him in regard to the words of the elders,—what Andrew or what Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what things Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that what was to be gotten from the books would profit me as much as what came from the living and abiding voice” (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.3–4 [Schaff and Wace, NPNF]). Eusebius seizes upon the two Johns mentioned to point out that Papias never claimed to be a hearer of the apostle John, only of those who came after him, Aristion and the ‘presbyter’ John. Modern scholars point to this as evidence of the fact that Irenaeus made a mistake in trying to establish a connection between Papias and the apostle John. The subsequent move they make is to claim that if Irenaeus made a mistake in this aspect, it would surely be possible that as a young boy he made a mistake about Polycarp’s

<sup>34</sup> Hengel, *Johannine Question*, 9.

<sup>35</sup> Hengel, *Johannine Question*, 9.

<sup>36</sup> We know that the apostle John and not the elder John is in view in Irenaeus’ statement because of what he says in the preceding section, “as the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, related that they had heard from him how the Lord used to teach in regard to these times” (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.33.3 [Roberts, ANF]).

association with the apostle John. This then calls into question the most stable attestation to Johannine authorship, the statement made by Irenaeus mentioned at the outset of this section (*Haer.* 3.1.2).

- Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, wrote, “John, who leaned on the breast of the Lord, who was a priest and bore the breastplate, a witness and a teacher: who is buried in Ephesus” (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.31.3 [Schaff and Wace, NPNF]). Obviously, if read in concert with John 13.23 then Polycrates is claiming that someone named John was the author of the Gospel. He also reiterates the tradition regarding John living and being buried in Ephesus, something that is widely attested. It must be noted that many have pointed out that within this same quotation Polycrates mentions the apostle Philip, when actually it was another Philip, not the apostle, that he was intending to talk about. This has led some to suggest that he has also confused the two John’s who lived in Ephesus. Furthermore, the statement about John bearing a breastplate is very odd. Blomberg rightly points out, “Had the apostle come out of such a background, other early Christian writings would surely have stressed it”.<sup>37</sup>
- Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150 – ca. 215 CE) writes, “But, last of all, John, perceiving that the external facts had been made plain in the Gospel, being urged by his friends, and inspired by the Spirit, composed a spiritual gospel” (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.14.5-7 [Schaff and Wace, NPNF]).
- The sole dissenting voice from antiquity comes from a group labeled the Alogoi by Epiphanius, who claim that the gnostic Cerinthus wrote the gospel.<sup>38</sup>
- P<sup>66</sup> (ca. 150–175 CE) preserves *Euangelion kata Iōannēn*.
- Hengel writes the following about the geographical permeation achieved by the Fourth Gospel in the mid-to-late second century: “We can see the high estimation in which the Fourth Gospel was held in all the centres of the church: with Tertullian in Carthage and even with the North African martyrs of Scili about 180; by the Muratorian Canon and Hippolytus in Rome; in Alexandria by Celsus, the opponent of the Christians, before 177 (or perhaps even earlier, about 160), who read all four Gospels carefully; and a little later by Clement, by the *Physiologus* and possibly even by the syncretistic Poimandres. We also find it about the same time in Theophilus of Antioch, who quotes John 1.1 and mentions the author John as an inspired person; and probably further east in the Syrian Odes of Solomon. About 170/180 it was as well known from West to East as the Synoptics”.<sup>39</sup> Some may wonder what the attestation of the Gospel’s presence in various places of the world has to do with authorship. It at least says that the Church *thought* that the Fourth Gospel was from a reliable enough source to take it on as a sacred text. Furthermore, if the P<sup>66</sup> dating is accurate (and that is certainly debated), then at least some of the churches were handling manuscripts that had *Euangelion kata Iōannēn* on them.

<sup>37</sup> Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 25.

<sup>38</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion* 51.3.6.

<sup>39</sup> Hengel, *Johannine Question*, 6.

While the external evidence has its own issues, the majority does speak to a commonly held Christian (and even non-Christian) tradition that John, son of Zebedee, was the author of the Fourth Gospel. The doubt cast on Irenaeus' statement by modern scholars warrants consideration, but it must also be recognized that Irenaeus can be wrong concerning Papias and right about Polycarp, one doesn't necessarily follow the other. If the link between John, Polycarp and Irenaeus is in fact legitimate, then it becomes very difficult to build a case, as Keener has pointed out, for anyone but John, son of Zebedee, based on the external evidence.

Despite the difficulties inherent in each, when both the internal and external evidence are viewed together, I find it difficult to conclude that anyone other than John, son of Zebedee, was the BD and the individual behind much of the tradition in the Fourth Gospel. As I mentioned in the concluding remarks on the internal evidence, the author of the Fourth Gospel was thoroughly Jewish; he was entirely familiar with geography associated with Jesus's ministry; he was an eyewitness to some of the events described or had access to eyewitness testimony; he was apparently one and the same with the BD and, because of what we read in 21.2, he was most certainly one of the following, Thomas, Nathanael, John, or one of the two unnamed 'other disciples' (as mentioned above, the tradition about the deaths of Peter and James should probably rule them out as possibilities). In my opinion, when the above internal evidence is paired with the external evidence John becomes the most likely candidate of the five possibilities.

As has been alluded to at different points, this does *not* mean that I hold to this theory of authorship with one-hundred percent certainty. There are obvious issues in holding this position, far beyond what has already been discussed. One of the more significant obstacles to Johannine authorship presented by the internal evidence is the sheer lack of material about John compared to what we find in the Synoptics: the calling of James and John; the healing of Peter's mother-in-

law for which John was present; the healing of Jairus's daughter; the transfiguration; the sons of Zebedee's request to sit on Jesus's right and left; the prayer in the garden of Gethsemane.<sup>40</sup> A possible solution, which would allow one to maintain Johannine authorship, is that John is attempting to supplement existing Jesus tradition and has done so not only by excluding the stories about himself but also by excluding a significant amount of other tradition found in the Synoptics (parables, teaching on the Kingdom, exorcisms, etc.).<sup>41</sup> Of course, this is a speculative attempt to resolve the issue and ultimately these differences have led many prominent Johannine scholars to abandon the traditional authorship theory and look for a solution elsewhere.<sup>42</sup>

Additionally, because the internal and external evidence for Johannine authorship is not entirely convincing, and there are two anonymous disciples in 21.2, scholars have posited a number of other solutions for the identity of the BD and author of the majority of the tradition in the Fourth Gospel. James Charlesworth's *The Beloved Disciple* is the most exhaustive survey of all the possibilities that both he and other scholars have suggested.<sup>43</sup> He lists and discusses twenty-three possibilities in all, though many are so absurd that they do not warrant any

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<sup>40</sup> Ben Witherington, *John's Wisdom: A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 14–15.

<sup>41</sup> A similar point is argued by Anderson, though much more extensively; see Paul N. Anderson, *The Fourth Gospel and the Quest for Jesus* (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 50–51.

<sup>42</sup> Witherington points this out; see *John's Wisdom*, 15. As argued by a number of scholars, it could be the case that the author was intimately familiar with the life of Jesus, present at a number of the events he records, yet not one of the twelve. Richard Bauckham argues as much, as do many others; see Bauckham, *Eyewitnesses*, 412–14 (see n1 for a host of scholars who share his conclusion).

<sup>43</sup> James H. Charlesworth, *The Beloved Disciple: Whose Witness Validates the Gospel of John?* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995). He provides a more truncated version of his argument most recently in *Jesus as Mirrored in John: The Genius in the New Testament* (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 72–3.

discussion.<sup>44</sup> Aside from Thomas (Charlesworth's own suggestion<sup>45</sup>), the one candidate outside of John that I find a strong possibility is Lazarus.<sup>46</sup> There are a number of pieces of circumstantial evidence that support this conclusion. The most obvious one, as mentioned above, is found in 11.3 when the author writes, in reference to Lazarus, "So the sisters sent word to Him, saying, 'Lord, behold, he whom You love is sick.'" That we are introduced to Lazarus as

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<sup>44</sup> Those include: Ananda (J. E. Bruns); a symbol of the Church (Bultmann); Matthias (E. L. Titus); Apollos (S. Pétrement); Paul (B. W. Bacon); a type of Benjamin (P. S. Minear); the Rich Young Ruler (Swete); Judas Iscariot; et al.

<sup>45</sup> In support of his conclusion he provides the following evidence: (1) According to the narrator the BD is the only one who sees the spear thrust into Jesus' side (19.32–35); with this in mind, when reading 20.24–5 it is definitely interesting that Thomas demands the following, "Unless I see in His hands the imprint of the nails, and put my finger into the place of the nails, and put my hand into His side, I will not believe" (emphasis own); (2) Charlesworth points out that only Judas Iscariot and Thomas are explicitly labeled as members of the twelve. Considering the dualistic nature of the Fourth Gospel (light/darkness, etc.), if this dualism can be seen in the twelve at all then, with Judas being portrayed as the betrayer, the only other member of the twelve explicitly mentioned, Thomas, would then be portrayed as the beloved disciple. This can be seen by the fact that Thomas is given the paradigmatic confession in 20.28; (3) The narrator may imply that both Thomas and the BD were with Jesus until the end, faithful unto death; (4) He suggests that both the BD passages and the Thomas story in 20.24–29 were added by a later redactor; (5) The framing of 'the twin' in the Fourth Gospel (11.16; 20.24) indicates that the two are linked by the way they are introduced in the Gospel; (6) Thomas is the seventh disciple introduced into the narrative, the symbolic number for perfection and prominent in the narrative surrounding the introduction of the BD; (7) Certain repetitions and formulae indicate that Thomas is the BD; (8) In the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* Thomas is presented as being from the tribe of Benjamin. Incorporating Minear's earlier insights (about Benjamin traditions being present in the Fourth Gospel), Charlesworth claims that this link may further galvanize his theory that Thomas is the BD; (9) The "Book of Glory" (chs. 13–20) portrays Thomas and the BD as the ideal student; (10) "The tenth is a technical, sequential literary device that through ambiguity, misunderstanding, and clarification gradually reveals that the BD is Thomas" (*Beloved Disciple*, 225); (11) A "grand inclusio" is set off by 1.34 and brought to a close at 20.31; Charlesworth tries to argue that 1.34, a verse that seemingly is meant to capture the words of JTB is actually a declaration made by the BD, who he claims to be Thomas; (12) Finally, if the BD is Thomas, then he clearly shows a concern for Jewish purification rites and would further serve as "the ideal disciple for those Johannine Christians who wish to continue in observing Jewish rules and customs" (*Beloved Disciple*, 226). His rather lengthy argument for Thomas as the BD can be seen in its entirety in pp. 225–87.

<sup>46</sup> Witherington, *John's Wisdom*, 14.



one who is loved by Jesus *and* that the moniker “whom Jesus loved” (and its variations) is only found from this point forward is an extremely peculiar feature in the Fourth Gospel and quite difficult to explain outside of it being a clue to the identity of the BD. Other pieces of circumstantial evidence include: when he looked into the empty tomb and saw the clothes he immediately believed, could this be because of his own previous resurrection experience? (20.8); the expectation that the BD would not die before Jesus returned, as expressed in 21.23, makes sense if it concerns Lazarus due to what happened to him previously; Lazarus lived in Bethany, roughly a ninety minute walk from Jerusalem, he could easily have taken Jesus’s mother to his home (19.26–27; and having life in Jesus’s name (20.31) as the stated purpose of the Fourth Gospel carries a certain double-meaning if the author was Lazarus. There are, however, a number of strong objections to the Lazarus theory: the primary one being that if in fact the anonymous disciple in 18.15 is both the BD and Lazarus, then why would Lazarus be able to enter into the courtyard of the high priest when earlier in 12.10 the chief priests were planning to put Lazarus to death? Additionally, as others have pointed out, if Lazarus was in fact the BD then how did John’s name become attached to the Gospel and with such consistency amongst the early Church?<sup>47</sup>

One option that I think warrants further consideration is the possibility that both John *and* Lazarus were involved in the production of the Fourth Gospel. If so, the Fourth Gospel could then have been produced/composed along these lines: Lazarus wrote a significant amount of the tradition used in the Fourth Gospel (specifically from his appearance on); Lazarus passes away some time after producing this material and before the final edition of the Fourth Gospel (could explain the note in 21.23 about the death of the BD); John, at a later point, takes over the Lazarus

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<sup>47</sup> Witherington, *John’s Wisdom*, 14.

tradition, reshapes it stylistically, adds to it, etc., and produces the final edition of the Fourth Gospel (this would explain his widespread association with the work and the obvious editorial interruptions in the work). This makes sense of two pretty significant pieces of evidence, one internal and one external: the internal piece of evidence being the introduction of Lazarus alongside of “he whom you love” (11.1–3); and the external evidence being the aforementioned widespread association of John with the work. The rest of the observations regarding the internal evidence still apply as well (thoroughly Jewish; access to eyewitness testimony; familiarity with Judean topography; etc.).

In conclusion, what seems to be most certain is the fact that at least two individuals had a role in the production of the Fourth Gospel. Internal evidence suggests this through the language used in 19.35, 21.24, and the numerous aporias in the text. Internal evidence also suggests that one of those individuals, likely the BD, was a member of Jesus’s inner-circle and had access to a substantial amount of eyewitness testimony, if it was not his own. It would appear that this individual wrote the majority of the Fourth Gospel given the stylistic unity of the text (though it is possible that the editor is responsible for the stylistic unity). When the internal and external evidence are combined, that individual would appear to be John, son of Zebedee, though certainty eludes us, and the possibility remains that it was someone else, possibly Lazarus or Thomas. As for who edited the work at a later stage, this is impossible to know. Also, any attempts to parse out what the later editor added/reshaped/corrected, etc., are futile as they simply require too much speculation, but to say that someone else was not involved in the process ignores too much evidence. With these points in mind, the final evaluation of the

singularly attested and/or duplicated material will be done under the working assumption that John, son of Zebedee, is the BD and the author of the majority of the Fourth Gospel.<sup>48</sup>

### **Relationship of Author to Subject (Questions from 1c)**

The relationship of the assumed author to his subject has been discussed in the previous section to the extent that little else needs to be said. Everyone familiar with the NT understands that by concluding that John, son of Zebedee, was responsible for a majority of the tradition in the Fourth Gospel that he would have had considerable access to his subject and because of this would be writing from a privileged vantage point. In the same way that we saw in the other biographies surveyed, this can be both good and bad in regard to the historical reliability of a document. The author obviously stood in a unique position to report to his audience things he actually saw and heard, but at the same time might over-inflate the accomplishments of his subject and/or distort the nature and/or effects of the actions of his subject's antagonists. Both the positives and negatives of this level of proximity to one's subject will be taken into account in the final evaluation of the data.<sup>49</sup>

### **Compiling the Sources (Step 2)**

As with the three previous chapters that treated individual biographies, this section will compile and discuss all of the sources relevant to the project at hand. The table lists the sources, to the extent possible, in chronological order. Because of the sheer number of sources that discuss the life of Jesus outside of the canonical Gospels (post-NT Christian apocryphal and

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<sup>48</sup> The actual comparison of the Fourth Gospel to external sources, and the decisions related to the "Result" column, will not be influenced by this working assumption.

<sup>49</sup> The final preliminary topic, "Social and/or Political Influences on the Author" (Questions from 1d), is omitted from this chapter due to lack of data and/or relevance.

pseudepigraphal writings, the *agrapha*, rabbinic material, Nag Hammadi documents, early church fathers, etc.), and the peculiar nature of many of them (the apocryphal/pseudepigraphal and Nag Hammadi documents with gnostic components in particular), there will be a very select number of sources and/or type of source utilized in the table below.<sup>50</sup> The real issue that I have with a number of these sources, despite the fact that they share/reproduce content similar to what is found in the canonical Gospels, is that they often reshape the content and place it in a context completely foreign to where it was originally found. I echo the sentiment expressed by Meier in *A Marginal Jew*, though I have a slightly more positive view of the *Gospel of Thomas*:

I do not think that the rabbinic material, the *agrapha*, the apocryphal gospels, and the Nag Hammadi codices (in particular the *Gospel of Thomas*) offer us reliable new information or authentic sayings that are independent of the NT. *What we see in these later documents is rather the reaction to or reworking of NT writings by Jewish rabbis engaged in polemics, imaginative Christians reflecting popular piety and legend, and gnostic Christians developing a mystic speculative system.* Their versions of Jesus' words and deeds can be included in a "corpus of Jesus material" if that corpus is understood to contain simply everything and anything that any ancient source ever identified as material coming from Jesus. But such a corpus is the Matthean dragnet (Matt 13:47–48) from which the good fish of early tradition must be selected for the containers of serious historical research, while the bad fish of later conflation and invention are tossed back into the murky sea of the uncritical mind.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> The decision to limit the number and type of sources surveyed here was a result of a conversation with my mentor Dr. Craig Keener.

<sup>51</sup> John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, 5 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1991–2016), 1:140; emphasis mine. A portion of this quote is reproduced in James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans, "Jesus in the Agrapha and Apocryphal Gospels," in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research*, ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, NTTS 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 479–533, 482 for quote. As I was working through these sources and trying to articulate my own conception of how they function I came across this quote in Charlesworth and Evans first, then made my way to Meier's work where it became clear that he had already articulated my view of these sources in a much clearer fashion. Even a cursory reading of these sources reveals that a majority of these texts handle the Jesus tradition in a radically different way than the evangelists. Their contents may show some affinities to the Fourth Gospel, but often it includes the reassignment of a saying to an entirely different context (specifically with the apocryphal/pseudepigraphal and Nag Hammadi documents).

In previous chapters, specifically the first, there was an effort to look at sources well beyond the date the biography under consideration was composed in order to locate the types of material later authors were treating as historical. While showing the types of material that were duplicated by later authors is of import, the sheer number of occurrences of this phenomenon with regard to the Jesus tradition in the Fourth Gospel, as well as the unique way in which the tradition is reshaped/reused, would ultimately detract from our understanding of the reliability of the Fourth Gospel if done to the fullest extent. If every parallel and/or reproduction of the Fourth Gospel was noted, it is likely that the entire Fourth Gospel would be shown to be “Duplicated” and done so by sources that really have no interest in reproducing portions for historical purposes. Furthermore, there are entire volumes dedicated to the reception of the Fourth Gospel in the early Church, apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, Nag Hammadi documents, etc., if one is truly interested in tracking all of them down.<sup>52</sup> As has been the case with previous chapters, below the table you will find a brief discussion of the contents of each source and why it is relevant for our purposes.

Year	Author	Title and Location(s)
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<sup>52</sup> A few examples for those interested in the Fourth Gospel’s reception by the early church: Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett, *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Joel C. Elowsky, ed., *John*, vols. IV A–IV B of *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament*, ed. Thomas C. Oden (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2006); Hubertus R. Drobner, *The Fathers of the Church: A Comprehensive Introduction*, trans. Siegfried S. Schatzmann (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016). For those who wish to review the parallels between the Fourth Gospel and the post-NT Christian apocrypha/pseudepigrapha, see Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 2:755 for the Fourth Gospel specifically. For those interested in the parallels between the Fourth Gospel and the Nag Hammadi texts, see Craig A. Evans, Robert L. Webb, and Richard W. Wiebe, eds., *Nag Hammadi Texts and the Bible: A Synopsis and Index* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 503–16 for the Fourth Gospel specifically. Also helpful, for parallels in various types of extracanonical literature, see Robert W. Funk, ed., *New Gospel Parallels: Volume Two, John and the Other Gospels*, FFNT 6 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985); William D. Stroker, *Extracanonical Sayings of Jesus*, RBS 18 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).

ca. 50–60 CE <sup>53</sup>	Unknown	<i>Q</i> passim
ca. 65–75 CE	Unknown	<i>The Gospel According to Mark</i> passim
ca. 75–79 CE <sup>54</sup>	Josephus	<i>Jewish War</i> passim
ca. 70–90 CE	Unknown	<i>The Gospel According to Luke</i> passim
ca. 80–90 CE	Unknown	<i>The Gospel According to Matthew</i> passim
ca. 93–94 CE <sup>55</sup>	Josephus	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i> passim
<b>ca. 85–95 CE</b>	<b>Unknown</b>	<b><i>The Gospel According to John</i></b>
ca. 75–100 CE <sup>56</sup>	Mara bar Serapion	<i>The Epistle of Mara, Son of Serapion</i>
ca. 120 CE <sup>57</sup>	Tacitus	<i>Annals</i> 15.44
ca. 165 CE <sup>58</sup>	Lucian of Samosata	<i>Passing of Peregrinus</i> 11, 13
ca. 1st c. CE–2nd c. CE <sup>59</sup>	Didymos Judas Thomas <sup>60</sup>	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>
ca. 200–500 CE <sup>61</sup>	Unknown	<i>Babylonian Talmud</i> (b. Sanh. 43a)

<sup>53</sup> Mason and Robinson, *Early Christian Reader*, 772–73. The dates I have suggested are mainly reliant upon the suggestions by W. G. Kümmel and Raymond E. Brown and I have been intentionally broad in the range of dates given. An additional source used in dating these works is Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), passim.

<sup>54</sup> Edith Mary Smallwood and Tessa Rajak, “Josephus,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup> 776.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> There is a wide range of dates given for this particular letter. Darrell L. Bock dates it ca. 75 CE, Craig Evans dates it to the end of the first century CE, and William Cureton gives a possible range of dates (end of first century CE or latter part of the second) based on a few different factors. Robert E. Van Voorst also discusses a range of possible dates and the scholars who vie for the different options. For these dates and discussions, see Darrell L. Bock, *Studying the Historical Jesus: A Guide to Sources and Methods* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002); William Cureton, ed., *Spicilegium Syriacum: Containing Remains of Bardesan, Meliton, Ambrose and Mara bar Serapion* (London: Rivingtons, 1855), xv; Craig A. Evans, “Jesus in Non-Christian Sources,” in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research*, ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, NTTS 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 455 (here he notes that other scholars have dated the letter to second or third century); Robert E. Van Voorst, *Jesus Outside the New Testament: An Introduction to the Ancient Evidence* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 56–7.

<sup>57</sup> Martin and Woodman, “Tacitus,” *OCD*<sup>4</sup> 1426–28.

<sup>58</sup> Evans, “Non-Christian Sources,” 443–78, specifically 461; Van Voorst, *Outside*, 58.

<sup>59</sup> Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 415; date is uncertain, Evans says “perhaps as early as the late first century.” Theissen and Merz give a date of no later than 140 CE (*Historical Jesus*, 38).

<sup>60</sup> Based off of internal evidence; see *Gos. Thom.* Prologue.

<sup>61</sup> For discussions regarding the dating for the completion of the Talmud, see Evans, *Ancient Texts*, 228 (500–550 CE); Jacob Neusner, *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 183 (600 CE).

- Unknown, *Q* – The inferred source known as “Q” refers to the material common to Matthew and Luke that is not present in Mark.<sup>62</sup> The majority of the material consists of sayings, though it also contains a few of the deeds of Jesus. While recognizing all the difficulties associated with this view, I view Q as the earliest witness to the life and teachings of Jesus.<sup>63</sup> The value of Q for this particular project is minimal given the limited number of times that it and the Fourth Gospel overlap, but still of immense value given that it is an independent attestation to the words and deeds of Jesus.
- Unknown, *The Gospel According to Mark* – This is the first known biography of Jesus and an obvious source for Luke and Matthew. This is the single most important source for the project at hand as it contains a substantial amount of independently attested material about the life of Jesus.
- Unknown, *The Gospel According to Luke (L)* – The portions of Luke that are of most value here are those that cannot be found in Q or Mark; they will be referred to as L, followed by their address, in the table below.
- Unknown, *The Gospel According to Matthew (M)* – As with Luke, the portions of Matthew that are of most value here are those that cannot be found in Q or Mark.<sup>64</sup>
- Josephus, *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities* – There are passages in both *War* and *Ant.* that are of great significance for historical Jesus research given their contents and independence from the Gospels. For instance, *War* 6.5.3 provides an additional glimpse into how city officials handled individuals who caused a disturbance in Jerusalem in the first century CE. Jesus’s (son of Ananias) arrest, interrogation, and punishment mirror some of what we read in the Gospels’ description of Jesus’s final moments. Additionally, *Ant.* (18.3.3), often referred to as the Testimonium Flavianum, portrays Jesus as a wise man, a doer of amazing deeds, one who was able to persuade many Jews and Greeks, that the “leading men” of the Jews played a role in his death, and as ultimately being sentenced to death by Pilate. There is considerable debate over additional portions of the TF that name Jesus as ὁ χριστὸς, claim that he appeared alive to his followers on the third day, and claim that the prophets spoke about him. These are often seen as later interpolations by Christian scribes, though that debate rages on.<sup>65</sup> *Ant.* 18.5.2 is of value because it mentions John the Baptist and discusses Herod’s motivations for arresting him.

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<sup>62</sup> There are a small number of places where some scholars see Markan and Q overlap (temptation narrative, etc.); the text of Q that will be relied upon in this study is James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Sayings Gospel Q in Greek and English: with Parallels from the Gospels of Mark and Thomas* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002).

<sup>63</sup> Keener, *Historical Jesus*, 130–33; Keener’s very nuanced explanation of the value of Q for historical Jesus research is helpful. He recognizes the inherent problems associated with the Q hypothesis but proceeds with his project and position on Q given his own exploration of the literary dependence among the Synoptics; much of what he says I am in agreement with.

<sup>64</sup> The descriptions offered here are minimal as there is no need to give a detailed overview of the contents of Q, Mark, Luke, and/or Matthew.

<sup>65</sup> Evans, “Non-Christian Sources,” 466–7; Evans provides a number of secondary sources that are on both sides of the debate regarding the authenticity of certain portions of the TF (see nn. 57–59 on pp. 466–67).

Finally, *Ant.* 20.9.1, though not as valuable as the TF, mentions Jesus and says that he is the one called “Christ”; it also mentions Jesus’s brother James. There are additional passages from Josephus, beyond those mentioned here, which are cited below.

- Tacitus, *Annals* – Given the fact that Tacitus wrote so long after the events he describes he certainly is relying upon a source for his information. That it was most likely *not* a Christian source is evident by the contents. So, while dependent upon an earlier source (official Roman record?<sup>66</sup>), this is still an independent non-Christian witness to Jesus’s life/existence and Pilate’s involvement in his death.
- Mara bar Serapion, *The Epistle of Mara, Son of Serapion* – While no direct mention of the name “Jesus” it is highly likely that he is in view here. There is a mention of “the Jews” killing their “wise king”, and it says that “he lived on in the teaching which he had given.” It appears that this specific piece of tradition is independent of any Christian influence (though that is debated).<sup>67</sup> Its relevance is minimal, but it is another attestation to the death of Jesus outside of the Gospels as well as the notion that Jesus was viewed by some as a “wise king”. The latter is interesting due to all the talk about Jesus’s kingship in the death accounts and the *titulus* attached to the cross.
- Lucian of Samosata, *Passing of Peregrinus* – Lucian’s treatment of the second-century figure Peregrinus mentions some rather interesting details about Christianity during that time. The real value for our purposes is that it attests to Jesus’s crucifixion. This is, as Van Voorst points out, in all likelihood a piece of information that had simply become common knowledge by that time, not some independent claim that was intended to serve as historical data.<sup>68</sup>
- Didymos Judas Thomas, *Gospel of Thomas* – This collection of 114 sayings provides a handful of noteworthy parallels to the Fourth Gospel. Though the work is thought to be much earlier, the earliest complete MS we have of the *Gospel of Thomas* is a fourth-century Coptic MS found at Nag Hammadi in 1945.<sup>69</sup> There are a handful of Greek fragments (P. Oxy 1, 654, 655) that contain portions of the work and are dated to the third century CE (possibly earlier). If there is one source out of those listed in this section that might contain independent tradition it is this one. There is considerable debate surrounding this issue and a number of respected scholars that argue for independent Jesus tradition in the work.<sup>70</sup> The primary reservation that I have with following those who argue for independent tradition in this source is the fact that noteworthy similarities between the Gospel of Thomas and M, L, and even the Fourth Gospel do exist.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, scholars have pointed to an extensive list of parallels between the *Gospel of*

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<sup>66</sup> Though not likely given that he calls Pilate a procurator rather than a prefect; see Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1:91.

<sup>67</sup> Evans, “Non-Christian Sources,” 456n38; Van Voorst, *Outside*, 57–8. Van Voorst provides a brief, but helpful, summary for why it should and/or should not be viewed as independent of Christian thought/sources.

<sup>68</sup> Van Voorst, *Outside*, 64; he is relying on Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1:92.

<sup>69</sup> Theissen and Merz, *Historical Jesus*, 37.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 38n56; also, Charlesworth and Evans, “Agrapha and Apocryphal Gospels,” 496n39.

<sup>71</sup> Charlesworth and Evans, “Agrapha and Apocryphal Gospels,” 498–9. There are similarities at the level of Matthean and Lucan *redaction*, an important distinction (499).



*Thomas* and a number of other works in the NT.<sup>72</sup> For these reasons, I view the *Gospel of Thomas* not as an independent witness to the sayings of Jesus, but because of its similarity to Q it comes about as close to a source with historical intention as any of the others outside of the canonical Gospels. The noteworthy parallels between *Gospel of Thomas* and the Fourth Gospel will be mentioned in the table below, but at most serve to demonstrate the types of material that was later duplicated as I do not view this source as an independent witness.

- Unknown, *b. Sanh.* 43a – Given the complexities associated with determining the value of rabbinic material for the study of the historical Jesus, this is the only portion I am willing to include.<sup>73</sup> It is one of the few places in the rabbinic literature where we are on fairly solid ground that we even have a reference to Jesus of Nazareth.<sup>74</sup> Even then, this is not an independent attestation to his life/death, but a polemicized retelling of a few events from his life.

Given the nature of this project it is appropriate to provide a brief note regarding my understanding of the literary relationship between the Synoptics. It should be apparent, based on the descriptions above, that I am a proponent of the “Two-Source Hypothesis.” I also am working with the assumption that there were two additional sources that supplied the material unique to Matthew and Luke. After doing my own comparative analysis of the Synoptics this appears to me to be the most likely explanation of their literary relationship. I recognize that there are merits to other hypotheses, but one must choose a starting point and I am more comfortable using the “Two-Source Hypothesis” as my foundation than any of the other options.

As for the relationship of these sources to the Fourth Gospel, I view the latter as independent, though, as Paul Anderson has argued, there does appear to have been some interaction between the traditions at a very early stage.<sup>75</sup> Anderson clearly shows that while we should consider the Fourth Gospel independent of the Synoptics/Q, it should not be assumed that

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<sup>72</sup> Evans, Webb, and Wiebe, eds., *Nag Hammadi Texts*, 88–144.

<sup>73</sup> Helpful discussions about the value, or lack thereof, of the rabbinic material for the study of the historical Jesus can be found in Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1:93–98; Van Voorst, *Outside*, 104–122.

<sup>74</sup> Though, even this is certainly debated; see Van Voorst, *Outside*, 106.

<sup>75</sup> Anderson, *Fourth Gospel*, 102–26.

it was composed in total isolation and apart from any contact with these earlier traditions. He argues for a level of interaction between the sources at a very early stage, possibly when they were circulating orally, and does so by showing the unique ways in which John interacts with Mark, Q, Luke, and Matthew.<sup>76</sup> As they stand in their final forms, however, they will be viewed as independent sources and in those data points where the Fourth Gospel and the Q/Markan/L/M traditions overlap they will be marked as verified.

### Comparing the Extant Sources (Step 3)

The previous sections were aimed at answering preliminary questions about the Fourth Gospel and, while certainly relevant to the reliability of the biography, are, in actuality, secondary to the task now at hand. The purpose of this section is twofold: to break down the biography into individual data points; and to determine the extent of which those data points are verified, duplicated, conflicting, inaccurate, or non-verifiable. In order to accomplish the latter purpose, all the sources discussed in the previous section will be examined to see if they confirm or deny the data in the Fourth Gospel.

Key to table below			
<b>Type (Primary):</b> AI (authorial insertion); AA (authorial assessment); LJ (life of Jesus); WDO (words and deed of others)			
<b>Type (Secondary):</b> B/O/C (birth/origin/childhood); ML (middle of life); D (death account detail)			
<b>Result:</b> V (verified); D (duplicated); CR (conflicting reports); I (inaccurate); NV-NH (non-verifiable, non-historical); NV-SA (non-verifiable, singularly attested)			
Loc.	Data Point	Type	Result

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 104. He writes, “The Johannine tradition appears to have intersected with each of the Synoptic Gospels, but in different ways, suggested by the frequency and character of contacts with each. In no case are the similarities identical, so as to suggest direct dependence on a written text. In all cases the contacts appear to have occurred during the oral stages of both Synoptic and Johannine traditions, but these contacts appear also to have developed in different ways and at different times.”

1.1–2 <sup>77</sup>	In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. <sup>78</sup>	AA	NV-NH <sup>79</sup>
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<sup>77</sup> The number of data points for the Fourth Gospel is substantially higher than the previous three biographies; this is due to the inordinate amount of dialogue in the Gospel and the necessity of breaking it up into multiple parts in order to label the “Type” accurately. Also, you will notice that there are entire chapters (15, 17) that consist of only one data point; this is due to my decision to keep Jesus’s lengthy monologues together, treating it as a unified speech, rather than breaking it up artificially. I wanted the author’s presentation of the data to determine my decision on where to break up the data rather than making a subjective determination where I thought Jesus changed subjects or the tradition appeared to be stitched together.

<sup>78</sup> Though I have made some adjustments, the text used here is the Gospel of John as found in the NASB. My use of the NASB is done so in accordance with their usage guidelines and with special permission from the Lochman Foundation; see front matter for citation. All English translations of the NT will come from the NASB unless otherwise noted.

<sup>79</sup> Much of the Prologue (1.1–18) is a very broad, christologically-laden overview of the life of Jesus. Despite much of it being christological in nature, it still serves to characterize Jesus and does in fact introduce major aspects of the Johannine perception of Jesus that are then further reiterated in the remainder of the work. One question that could be posed, in regard to the relationship between the Prologue and the historicity of the Fourth Gospel, is: *should we consider John’s christological recapitulation of the life of Jesus in the Prologue as driving the creation of some of his content, or, should we see the content as authentic and the christological interpretation being a result of what Jesus actually said/did?* In the same way we can ask about these larger themes that run throughout the Gospel (love/ faith/life/witness/divine agency, etc.). Are these larger themes driving the creation of content or should we just consider them to be characteristics of Jesus’s life and teachings that he himself wanted to emphasize? Take for instance what we find in the first verse, John’s claim that Jesus was ὁ λόγος (the “word”) which, based on the subsequent presentation of Jesus in the remainder of the Prologue, appears to be a claim that he is equal to divine Wisdom, or, more narrowly defined, Torah (Keener, *John*, 1:350–63, though he is certainly not the first to point this out). Keener has suggested that John’s point in labeling and describing Jesus as ὁ λόγος (Torah) in the Prologue, is that he is signaling to his reader that “Jesus himself embodies the Torah and is its fullest revelation” and, as a consequence, “rejecting Jesus ... constitutes rejection of Torah” (Keener, *John*, 1:360). When we turn to the narrative of John’s Gospel, we find just this, people clinging to the Torah, to Moses, to a certain interpretation of the Torah/understanding of its message, and ultimately rejecting Jesus because of these beliefs. Jesus typically responds by telling them that Moses wrote *about* him, and that their hope is misplaced, and they are misguided in their interpretation and have missed the central message of the Torah, i.e., him (3.14; 5.45–47; 6.32; 7.19, 22, 42; 8.17; 9.28–29; 10.34–36; 12.14, 34; 15.25; 17.12; 19.28, 37–37; 20.9; Keener, *John*, 1:360n334). This brings us back to our italicized question posed above, *should we consider John’s christological recapitulation of the life of Jesus in the Prologue as driving the creation of some of this content, or, should we see the content as authentic and the christological interpretation being a result of what Jesus said/did?* The answer might simply be, “yes”. With regard to the specific aspect discussed, we know that in both M (5:17) and L (24:44) that Jesus saw himself as fulfilling the

1.3	All things came into being through Him, and apart from Him nothing came into being that has come into being.	AA	NV-NH <sup>80</sup>
1.4–5	In Him was life, and the life was the Light of men. The Light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it.	AA	NV-NH <sup>81</sup>

Law and the Law/Prophets being *about* him. This goes to show that both of those components were at least a part of the existing Jesus tradition prior to John writing his Gospel, though we do not know the extent to which he was aware of said tradition. Of course, this does not mean that simply because there are points of contact between the Fourth Gospel and earlier Jesus tradition related to his self-understanding regarding his relationship to the Law that every portion of every narrative that discusses Jesus's self-perception about his relationship to the Law as found in John is authentic to Jesus. Many of the Johannine passages cited above come encased in the lengthy discourses of Jesus, and, as so many have pointed out, there are serious issues with parsing out the historical sayings of Jesus from the Johannine overlay in those "speeches". What all this requires is that we hold a very nuanced understanding of the interconnectedness of both the historical and theological content in the Fourth Gospel. Both are present, both serve a purpose, and while they cannot always be separated, you should not overemphasize the one to the detriment of the other because we really do not know at all times which is the impetus for the other. For this reason, many of the larger discourses in John will be labeled SA and will also not be underlined. There simply is no way of definitively discerning which portions are authentic to Jesus and which are authorial overlay.

<sup>80</sup> An example of how the Nag Hammadi documents have been shown to echo what we find in the Fourth Gospel can be seen in works such as *The Teachings of Silvanus* and the *Tripartite Tractate*. To illustrate, *Teach. Sil.* reads, "Only the hand of the Lord has created all these things. For this hand of the Father is Christ, and it forms all. Through it, all has come into being ... the things which have come into being through the Word, who is the Son as the image of the Father" (trans. Peel and Zandee). One can see that there is definite contact between *Teach. Sil.* and John 1.3 but given how late the former source is (ca. 2nd-3rd c. CE) there is no doubt that it is entirely dependent upon the Fourth Gospel or, perhaps, some later reproduction of its tradition. I would argue that this particular duplication of the Fourth Gospel is slightly more legitimate than what we find in a work like the *Tripartite Tractate*, but it is still apparent that *Teach. Sil.* has taken the tradition and repurposed it in such a way that it is not reduplicating the material for historical purposes. As for the *Tripartite Tractate*, it too has portions that discuss the "Logos" and his involvement in the creation, but the source, with its overwhelming gnostic tendencies, is so far afield from what the author of the Fourth Gospel is trying to communicate that the parallels do not warrant noting. If needed, all future translations of the Nag Hammadi texts come from James M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library: The Definitive Translation of the Gnostic Scriptures Complete in One Volume* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990); individual translators will be listed in parentheses.

<sup>81</sup> Here John introduces us to two more significant themes that will be expanded upon throughout his Gospel. That Jesus was "life" and had the answer for those seeking eternal life is discussed quite frequently in the Fourth Gospel, no verse more recognizable than 3.16. While that specific verse is not found in the Synoptic tradition, the concern for and discussion about eternal life obviously is (cf. Mark 9:43–48; Mark 10:17–22 and parr.; Mark 10:23–31 and parr.; M 18:8–9).

1.6	There came a man sent from God, whose name was John.	AA	NV-NH <sup>82</sup>
1.7–8	He came as a witness, to testify about the Light, so that all might believe through him. He was not the Light, but <i>he came</i> to testify about the Light.	AA	NV-NH <sup>83</sup>
1.9	There was the true Light which, coming into the world, enlightens every man.	AA	NV-NH

While this may signal that John's emphasis on eternal life/Jesus being the key to that life throughout his Gospel has authentic tradition behind it, the fact that we find it discussed so frequently might better indicate that the author has taken a specific portion of tradition and expanded it considerably for the sake of emphasis, especially given his stated purpose in 20.31 (having "life", mostly found with the added descriptor "eternal", is found thirty-two times in the Fourth Gospel, significantly less than what we find in the Mark, Q, M, and L). Concerning the theme of "light", mainly that Jesus is the light, this too is repeated quite frequently throughout the Fourth Gospel (3.19–21 [5x]; 8.12 [2x]; 9.3–5; 11.9–10 [2x]; 12.35–36 [5x]; 12.46). We do find the idea that Jesus was considered to be a light of sorts in both M (4:16) and L (2:32) where they each refer to an OT passage as explaining the impact of Jesus's coming to earth. Viewing Jesus in light of these OT references could have served as the impetus for John including this theme in his Gospel and further expanding upon it. What is really interesting is that you find both the theme of life and light together on the lips of Jesus on more than one occasion (3.14–21; 8.12); this could be an indicator of either Johannine emphasis or Jesus's desire to repeat something essential to his own self-perception.

<sup>82</sup> The idea that John the Baptist was sent or came from God is found in multiple layers of the Jesus tradition. It is stated in Mark 1:2 when he attaches a conflation of Exodus 23:20 and Malachi 3:1 to Isaiah 40:3 as he introduces JTB to his audience. Interestingly, both Matt and Luke chose *not* to follow the Markan text, but Q, by having this same quotation, almost verbatim, on the lips of Jesus much later in their respective gospels (Matt 11:10 // Luke 7:27). Although multiply attested, because it is a *belief* about JTB, it seems more appropriate to label it as NV-NH rather than V. This same motif of agency is also repeatedly found on the lips of Jesus throughout the Fourth Gospel, primarily in reference to Jesus being sent by the Father. While the idea that Jesus was sent by the Father can be found in the Synoptics (cf. Q 10:16 (Matt 10:40, Luke 10:16), Mark 9:37 and parr., Mark 12:1–12 and parr.), it is not featured there nearly as frequently as it is in John (chs. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 20!). Are we to assume that in John's Gospel Jesus's agenda was to communicate this specific aspect of his self-perceived identity nearly every time he opened his mouth, or should we view this as a Johannine invention of sorts that, while based on authentic Jesus tradition, owes its repeated presence to the mind of the author? While difficult to say with certainty (if not impossible), the latter option does seem to be the likelier of the two in this specific case.

<sup>83</sup> The numerous uses of μαρτυρία "witness" (30x) and μαρτυρέω "to testify" (47x), especially in comparison to the Synoptic usage (4x and 2x respectively), might signal a motif in the Fourth Gospel. This does not mean that every instance where these words are used is a Johannine invention, but that in these instances there is a higher likelihood that the author of the Fourth Gospel is putting it on the lips of his subjects to achieve some sort of narrative aim; see Peter W. Ensor, *Jesus and His Works: The Johannine Sayings in Historical Perspective*, WUNT 85 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 228.

1.10	He was in the world, and the world was made through Him, and the world did not know Him.	AA	NV-NH
1.11–13	He came to His own, and those who were His own did not receive Him. But as many as received Him, to them He gave the right to become children of God, <i>even</i> to those who believe in His name, who were born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man, but of God.	AA	NV-NH <sup>84</sup>
1.14	And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us,	AA	NV-NH
1.14	and we saw His glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth.	AA	NV-NH
1.15	John testified about Him and cried out, saying, “This was He of whom I said, ‘He who comes after me has a higher rank than I, for He existed before me.’”	AA	NV-NH <sup>85</sup>
1.16	For of His fullness we have all received, and grace upon grace.	AA	NV-NH
1.17	For the Law was given through Moses; grace and truth were realized through Jesus Christ.	AA	NV-NH
1.18	No one has seen God at any time; the only begotten God who is in the bosom of the Father, He has explained <i>Him</i> .	AA	NV-NH

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<sup>84</sup> The Fourth Gospel, as well as the Synoptics, details numerous instances of Jesus being rejected by his own people. More importantly, with this data point we are introduced to yet another theme commonly found in John’s Gospel, “belief”. The general theme of “belief” regarding Jesus and his message is obviously present in the Synoptics, but in no way comparable to what we find in the Fourth Gospel. From this point forward, the word “believe” is found either on the lips of Jesus or in reference to people’s disposition towards Jesus over eighty times! Very similar to what we concluded regarding the “sent” language, there is little reason to believe that Jesus kept bringing up “belief” over and over again, this is likelier than not a theme that John has chosen to expand throughout his Gospel that has at its core a central tenet of Jesus’s teaching.

<sup>85</sup> A statement taken from its presumed original context (1.32–34) and intended to serve the theme of Jesus’s preexistence and preeminence as emphasized throughout the Prologue. The historical value of this statement will be assessed in its original context.

1.19 <sup>86</sup>	This is the testimony of John, when the Jews sent to him priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, “Who are you?”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>87</sup>
1.20	And he confessed and did not deny, but confessed, “I am not the Christ.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>88</sup>
1.21	They asked him, “What then? Are you Elijah?”	WDO	NV-SA
1.21	And he said, “I am not.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>89</sup>
1.21	“Are you the Prophet?”	WDO	NV-SA
1.21	And he answered, “No.”	WDO	NV-SA
1.22	Then they said to him, “Who are you, so that we may give an answer to those who sent us? What do you say about yourself?”	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>86</sup> 1.19–28 appears to function as a textual unit and will be approached here as such. Because of its contents (1.23, 26–27 specifically) and placement it is often compared with Mark 1:2–8 and parr. The difficulty comes in determining whether or not this is an appropriate comparison, mainly due to the significant differences between the contents of the accounts and the location (1.28; cf. Mark 1:5 and parr.). That being said, the similarities in content (1.23 and 1.26–27) are too significant in this author’s opinion not to view it as an episode that overlaps with Mark 1:2–8; Matt 3:1–12; and Luke 3:1–18 (portions of the Matt and Luke parallels belong to Q). The possibility remains that John uttered the statements in 1.23 and 1.26–27 on multiple occasions, but I see no reason to suggest this other than to avoid the inherent difficulties in comparing it with the Synoptic/Q tradition.

<sup>87</sup> It is possible that the brief conversation in 1.19–22 happened prior to what we read in Mark 1:7 or Q 3:7–9. Having said that, in the parallel accounts no one is “sent” to question John though people of various designations are coming out to see him; see Mark 1:5 [“all” from Judea and Jerusalem] // Q 3:7 [“crowds” in Luke; “Pharisees and Sadducees” in Matt, also 3:7]. The real issue with this particular data point comes when it is read in conjunction with 1.24, “Now they had been sent from the Pharisees.” Craig Keener writes, “early first-century Pharisees as a group did not exercise authority over priests and Levites” (*John*, 1:430). He then points to several early sources that show that the priests were very much in a position of authority at this time and that they were actually more commonly thought to be Sadducees rather than Pharisees (*John*, 1:431–2).

<sup>88</sup> In Luke 3:16 the “people” wonder if John is the Christ, though no questions are ever put to John about his identity in any of the Synoptics. The question here of “Who are you?” results in a rather curious response from John, “I am not the Christ.” Despite the singularly attested nature of this brief conversation, JTB’s self-abasement can be found in other layers of the Jesus tradition (Mark 1:7 and parr.), though, as Keener points out, what we find here likely “reflects Johannine emphasis and possibly polemic” (*John*, 1:431).

<sup>89</sup> While Matt 17:10–13 appears to indicate that Jesus understood John as Elijah in some sense (and Mark 9:11–13, though not explicitly stated), it is likely that here John is making it very clear that he is not actually Elijah (Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 76). I do not find Jesus’s claims in Matt 17:10–13 and par. to be in conflict with what JTB says here.

1.23	He said, “‘I am a voice of one crying in the wilderness, make straight the way of the Lord,’ as Isaiah the prophet said.”	WDO	CR <sup>90</sup>
1.24	Now they had been sent from the Pharisees.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>91</sup>
1.25	They asked him, and said to him, “Why then are you baptizing, if you are not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the Prophet?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>1.26–27</u>	John answered them saying, “I baptize in water, among you stands One whom you do not know. He who comes after me, the thong of whose sandal I am not worthy to untie.”	WDO	CR <sup>92</sup>
<u>1.28</u>	These things took place in Bethany beyond the Jordan, where John was baptizing.	AI	NV-SA <sup>93</sup>
1.29–31	The next day he saw Jesus coming to him and said, “Behold, the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the	WDO	NV-SA <sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Not one of the Synoptics places the Isaiah text on the lips of JTB, each has it as an editorial aside of sorts (Mark 1:2 and parr.).

<sup>91</sup> As discussed above, this specific data point has its issues. That a group of “priests and Levites” had been sent by the Pharisees in this specific context is certainly singularly attested material, but the likelihood of this being the case is very slim. From what we know the Pharisees simply did not wield this kind of power at that time.

<sup>92</sup> When compared to Mark 1:7–8 and Q 3:16–17 the differences are enough to warrant a CR label, specifically due to the phrase “among you stands One whom you do not know” and the remarks in Q concerning “fire”. The reality is that there is a high likelihood that John said something very similar to this, but the differences necessitate a CR determination.

<sup>93</sup> The place itself is unattested and any suggestion to where this might be is just that, a suggestion. An extremely helpful explanation of the different possibilities already offered can be found in Anson F. Rainey and R. Steven Motley, eds., *The Sacred Bridge: Carta’s Atlas of the Biblical World*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Carta Jerusalem, 2014), 350–1. The one that has the most explanatory scope, in my opinion, is that this is a reference to the region of Bashan, northeast of the Sea of Galilee. As Anson F. Rainey and R. Steven Motley explain, there are two instances in the Aramaic Targums that render Bashan as בְּתַנִּי and בְּתַנִּי (Tg. Neof. Deut 32:14 and Tg. Ps.-J. Deut 33:22 respectively). Citing Conder, they write, “He observed that it is a philological equivalent to the Greek Βηθανία”; see C. R. Conder, “The Site of Bethabara,” *PEFQSt* 7 (1875): 72–74; idem, “Bethany Beyond Jordan,” *PEFQSt* 9 (1877): 184–86. Of equal, if not more import for this particular data point is what we find in Josephus, *Ant.* 18.5.2, an attestation to the baptismal activity of JTB outside of the NT. Furthermore, without truly knowing the location that John is referencing we are unable to determine if what he records here is in conflict with what we find in the Synoptics (cf. Mark 1:5 // Matt 3:6 // Luke 3:3).

<sup>94</sup> The phrase “a Man who has a higher rank than I” is found in 1.15 and certainly echoes what we read in the Synoptics (Mark 1:7 and parr.). The other aspects of this particular data point, specifically “the Lamb of God,” are unique to the Fourth Gospel and are reason enough to mark it NV-SA. That this particular aspect is likely there to communicate some theological truth that



	world! This is He on behalf of whom I said, ‘After me comes a Man who has a higher rank than I, for He existed before me.’ I did not recognize Him, but so that He might be manifested to Israel, I came baptizing in water.”		
1.32–34	John testified saying, “I have seen the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven, and He remained upon Him. I did not recognize Him, but He who sent me to baptize in water said to me, ‘He upon whom you see the Spirit descending and remaining upon Him, this is the One who baptizes in the Holy Spirit.’ “I myself have seen, and have testified that this is the Son of God.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>95</sup>
1.35–36	Again the next day John was standing with two of his disciples, and he looked at Jesus as He walked, and said, “Behold, the Lamb of God!”	WDO	CR <sup>96</sup>
1.37	The two disciples heard him speak, and they followed Jesus.	WDO	CR
1.38	And Jesus turned and saw them following, and said to them, “What do you seek?”	LJ ML	CR
1.38	They said to Him, “Rabbi (which translated means Teacher), where are You staying?”	WDO	CR
1.39	He said to them, “Come, and you will see.”	LJ ML	CR
1.39	So they came and saw where He was staying; and they stayed with Him that day, for it was about the tenth hour.	WDO	CR
1.40–42	One of the two who heard John and followed Him, was Andrew, Simon Peter’s brother. He found first his own	WDO	CR <sup>97</sup>

John is interested in conveying is confirmed, at least to me, by the timing of the crucifixion in the Fourth Gospel in comparison to the Synoptics.

<sup>95</sup> While the Spirit descending on Jesus like a dove is common to all four Gospels, it is only in the Fourth Gospel that JTB narrates it/testifies to it.

<sup>96</sup> 1.35–42 is dramatically different than what we find in Mark 1:16–20 and par. (Matt 4:18–22), and L 5:1–11; it is actually quite difficult to know which account is accurate. It is interesting that here John points out Jesus to his disciples and this initiates the calling episode. In the Synoptics Jesus is the one who initiates (see Keener, *John*, 1:465–67). Additionally, as has been suggested that it is, this does *not* appear to be a precursor to Andrew and Peter’s more dramatic calling and subsequent abandonment of their profession as found in the Synoptic passages cited here, as the “follow” language is too similar. The only portion of what is found here that should be considered historical is that Andrew and Peter were involved in a calling episode early in Jesus’s ministry.

<sup>97</sup> The dramatic confession scenes in Mark 8:27–30 and parr. all feature Peter with the climactic confession that Jesus is the Christ, but here his brother immediately recognizes Jesus as such and is credited with the confession (though Peter does say something similar in 6.68). This early and dramatic confession by Andrew, along with what we find in 1.49 on the lips of Nathanael, paints

	brother Simon and said to him, “We have found the Messiah” (which translated means Christ). He brought him to Jesus.		
<u>1.42</u>	Jesus looked at him and said, “You are Simon the son of John; you shall be called Cephas” (which is translated Peter).	LJ ML	CR <sup>98</sup>
<u>1.43</u>	The next day He purposed to go into Galilee, and He found Philip. And Jesus said to him, “Follow Me.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>99</sup>
1.44	Now Philip was from Bethsaida, of the city of Andrew and Peter.	AI	CR <sup>100</sup>
<u>1.45</u>	Philip found Nathanael and said to him, “We have found Him of whom Moses in the Law and <i>also</i> the Prophets wrote—Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>101</sup>
<u>1.46</u>	Nathanael said to him, “Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>1.46</u>	Philip said to him, “Come and see.”	WDO	NV-SA

a picture of the disciples that is difficult to reconcile with the picture of the disciples we find in the Synoptics.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Matt 16:17–18 and Mark 3:16. That Jesus did in fact give Simon the name Peter is highly likely, hence the underlining of the address, but the event’s position in the Fourth Gospel in comparison to the Matthean narrative still warrants a CR designation. What will be unique to our evaluation of the Fourth Gospel, in comparison to the other biographies surveyed, is that there will be a number of data points which are designated CR yet still have their addresses underlined. This is primarily due to the fact that on a number of occasions John has rearranged his material and while it finds itself in a new context, the actual contents are multiply attested. There are also a number of data points where there is some combination of singularly attested, conflicting, and/or verified material; this makes for a unique situation where the data point is technically in conflict with its Synoptic counterpart(s) yet is still confirming it in a way.

<sup>99</sup> The calling of Philip and Nathanael is entirely unique to the Fourth Gospel, though Philip is found in the lists of disciples in the Synoptics (Mark 3:16 and parr.).

<sup>100</sup> Mark 1:21–31 clearly states that Simon and Andrew lived in Capernaum, not Bethsaida (oddly, both Matt 8:14–15 and Luke 4:38–39 remove the detail that it was the home of Peter *and* Andrew). Of course, this does not mean that this is where they were “from”. One could argue that Andrew and Peter were originally from Bethsaida and later moved to Capernaum, but in the end that is nothing more than a speculative attempt at resolving the tension.

<sup>101</sup> Nathanael is only mentioned in the Fourth Gospel. Some have argued that he should be identified with Bartholomew from the Synoptic list of disciples due to the pairing of Philip with Bartholomew in those instances, but that is not convincing (see Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 82). Keener points out that early church tradition suggests that he simply was not one of the twelve; he also suggests that arguments for either position (Bartholomew or not one of the twelve) are inconclusive (*John*, 1:482). Separately, that Jesus was from Nazareth and was the son of Joseph coheres with what we find in the Synoptics (from Nazareth: Mark 1:9; M 2:22–23; L 2:39 // son of Joseph: M 1:16; L 3:23, 4:22).

<u>1.47</u>	Jesus saw Nathanael coming to Him, and said of him, “Behold, an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no deceit!”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>1.48</u>	Nathanael said to Him, “How do You know me?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>1.48</u>	Jesus answered and said to him, “Before Philip called you, when you were under the fig tree, I saw you.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>1.49</u>	Nathanael answered Him, “Rabbi, You are the Son of God; You are the King of Israel.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>1.50–51</u>	Jesus answered and said to him, “Because I said to you that I saw you under the fig tree, do you believe? You will see greater things than these.” And He said to him, “Truly, truly, I say to you, you will see the heavens opened and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of Man.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>102</sup>
<u>2.1–2</u>	On the third day there was a wedding in Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there; and both Jesus and His disciples were invited to the wedding.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>2.3</u>	When the wine ran out, the mother of Jesus said to Him, “They have no wine.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.4</u>	And Jesus said to her, “Woman, what does that have to do with us? My hour has not yet come.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>103</sup>

<sup>102</sup> As Blomberg points out, this is the first use of *amēn amēn* and likely signals authenticity on some level (*Historical Reliability*, 84). The use of *amēn* by Jesus to introduce a saying is found throughout all layers of the earliest Jesus tradition (13x in Mark; 9x in M; 3x in L; 9x in Q; see Ensor, *Johannine Sayings*, 201). In John it introduces a saying 25x, and while not an automatic marker of authenticity, I do not think it should be viewed as a thematic element either, i.e., like belief, witness, sent language, etc. Additionally, the use of “Son of Man” language is also common in the Synoptics, and here we find it for the first time in the Fourth Gospel (there are eleven occurrences of the phrase in the Fourth Gospel in a self-referential context). Given the prominence of “Son of Man” language in the Synoptics its use here should also signal authenticity on some level.

<sup>103</sup> Jesus’s mother, Mary, goes unnamed in the Fourth Gospel (only mentioned two other times, 6.42; 19.25–27), while she receives a relatively high amount of coverage in Mark (3:31–35; 6:3), L (1:26–56; 2:1–20; 2:33–34; 2:48–51), and M (1:16, 18–25; 2:11, 13–14, 20–21). Jesus’s address of his mother as γύναι (“woman”) is consistent with the way he addresses women elsewhere (Matt 15:28; John 4.21, 8.10, 19.26, et al.; see n. at John 2.4 in the NET), as is the sort of distance between he and his mother that the address signals (Mark 3:31–35; L 2:48–51). Also worth noting is that his mother is portrayed here as being aware of Jesus’s ability to do something extraordinary (2.5). If the material about Mary that is unique to Luke’s Gospel is historical (chs. 1–2 specifically), then to portray Mary this way is actually in line with what is found elsewhere and to be expected. On a separate note, Jesus’s “hour” and his awareness that it either had not come or was impending is a topic discussed quite frequently in the Fourth Gospel. Either this is another theme that John has decided to repeat for emphasis or an element of Jesus’s self-awareness that he thought worth repeating on a number of occasions. It is likely that it is

<u>2.5</u>	His mother said to the servants, “Whatever He says to you, do it.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.6–7</u>	Now there were six stone waterpots set there for the Jewish custom of purification, containing twenty or thirty gallons each. Jesus said to them, “Fill the waterpots with water.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>104</sup>
<u>2.7</u>	So they filled them up to the brim.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.8</u>	And He said to them, “Draw <i>some</i> out now and take it to the headwaiter.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>2.8</u>	So they took it <i>to him</i> .	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.9–10</u>	When the headwaiter tasted the water which had become wine, and did not know where it came from (but the servants who had drawn the water knew), the headwaiter called the bridegroom, and said to him, “Every man serves the good wine first, and when <i>the people</i> have drunk freely, <i>then he serves</i> the poorer wine; <i>but</i> you have kept the good wine until now.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.11</u>	This beginning of <i>His</i> signs Jesus did in Cana of Galilee, and manifested His glory,	AA	NV-SA
<u>2.11</u>	and His disciples believed in Him.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.12</u>	After this He went down to Capernaum, He and His mother and <i>His</i> brothers and His disciples; and they stayed there a few days.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>2.13–16</u>	The Passover of the Jews was near, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. And He found in the temple those who were	LJ ML	CR <sup>105</sup>

both authentic and a theme repeated for the sake of emphasis, as is the case with a number of other themes in the work.

<sup>104</sup> John’s explanation, that the water pots were used for the Jewish custom of purification, has been a point of contention for some. Purificatory water, at least by later rabbinic standards, needed to be “living” water if a full ritual bath was in view, and that ritual baths (and not handwashing) are likely in view here is confirmed by the sheer amount of water that these pots were able to hold (120–150 gallons). As Keener points out, “the most scrupulous would not have used waterpots to store water for ritual baths” (*John*, 1:510). While several explanations for the “blunder” by John have been offered, the most sensical is that not all Jews were required, expected, or even chose to follow Pharisaic practices in all matters. This makes the presence of the large pots for purification purposes “not unusual, and at most offensive only to the strict Pharisees and their allies, whom John apparently delights to offend anyway” (Keener, *John*, 1:513; also, E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishna: Five Studies* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 31–32, 214–27).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Mark 11:15–17 and parr. (Matt 21:12–13 // Luke 19:45–46); there are certainly similarities between the account in the Fourth Gospel and Mark and its parr. (overturning the tables of the moneychangers; selling doves; the reference to his “Father’s house), but there are also some noteworthy differences (the addition of the sheep and oxen, the scourge of cords, what he says to the sellers). The real reason, however, why I have chosen to mark this as “CR” is because of its placement in the Fourth Gospel. Regardless of what the author of the Fourth

	selling oxen and sheep and doves, and the money changers seated <i>at their tables</i> . And He made a scourge of cords, and drove <i>them</i> all out of the temple, with the sheep and the oxen; and He poured out the coins of the money changers and overturned their tables; and to those who were selling the doves He said, “Take these things away; stop making My Father’s house a place of business.”		
2.17	His disciples remembered that it was written, “ZEAL FOR YOUR HOUSE WILL CONSUME ME.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>2.18</u>	The Jews then said to Him, “What sign do You show us as your authority for doing these things?”	WDO	CR <sup>106</sup>
<u>2.19</u>	Jesus answered them, “Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.”	LJ ML	CR <sup>107</sup>
<u>2.20</u>	The Jews then said, “It took forty-six years to build this temple, and will You raise it up in three days?”	WDO	NV-SA
2.21	But He was speaking of the temple of His body.	AI	NV-NH
<u>2.22</u>	So when He was raised from the dead, His disciples remembered that He said this; and they believed the Scripture and the word which Jesus had spoken.	WDO	NV-SA

Gospel’s *purpose* was in the chronological structuring of his material, I will mark those episodes that differ in this regard from other independent sources as “CR”. Notice that these are not marked “I”. I have not chosen to favor one chronological structuring over the other, but simply have chosen to note that the differences are worthy of a “CR” designation. I am of the opinion that the temple cleansing episode did in fact happen, but as to when it happened over the course of Jesus’s life, we are given different timelines. With regard to this specific datum, I do believe that the Synoptics have it in its “correct” place, but that is impossible to prove.

<sup>106</sup> If John 2.18–19 is supposed to be a continuation of the temple cleansing episode much like Mark 11:27–33 and parr. (Matt 21:23–27 // Luke 20:1–8) are, then the same logic used directly above still applies and these two data points should be marked “CR”. Having said that, given the similarities between what is said in 2.18 and what is found in the Synoptics (Mark 11:28 and parr.), the likelihood of the Jewish elite approaching Jesus and saying something like this seems pretty high.

<sup>107</sup> This, to me, is one of the more fascinating “disagreements” with the Synoptic tradition. Jesus’s response here is vastly different than what we find in Mark 11:29 and parr., but that Jesus said something like this is attested to in Mark 14:57–58, 15:29 and parr. It can also be found, isolated from its context and in a varied form, in *Gospel of Thomas* 71 and Acts 6:14. It is listed here as “CR” simply because of the way the author has chosen to position it in relation to its surroundings, but that Jesus said this on some occasion seems very likely. For a helpful list of parallels between John and the Synoptics regarding what Jesus said, see Paul N. Anderson, “The Message of Jesus in John: An Introduction to the Issues,” in *John, Jesus, and History, Volume 3: Glimpses of Jesus through the Johannine Lens*, eds. Paul N. Anderson, Felix Just, S.J., and Tom Thatcher, Early Christianity and its Literature 18 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 321–335; chart on pp. 322–24. There are a number of places throughout this table where I have relied upon his findings.

<u>2.23</u>	Now when He was in Jerusalem at the Passover, during the feast, many believed in His name, observing His signs which He was doing.	WDO	NV-SA
2.24–25	But Jesus, on His part, was not entrusting Himself to them, for He knew all men, and because He did not need anyone to testify concerning man, for He Himself knew what was in man.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>3.1–2</u>	Now there was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews; this man came to Jesus by night and said to Him, “Rabbi, we know that You have come from God <i>as</i> a teacher; for no one can do these signs that You do unless God is with him.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>108</sup>
<u>3.3</u>	Jesus answered and said to him, “Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>109</sup>
<u>3.4</u>	Nicodemus said to Him, “How can a man be born when he is old? He cannot enter a second time into his mother’s womb and be born, can he?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>3.5–8</u>	Jesus answered, “Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. Do not be amazed that I said to you, ‘You must be born again.’ “The wind blows where it wishes and you hear the sound of it, but do not know where it comes from and where it is going; so is everyone who is born of the Spirit.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>3.9</u>	Nicodemus said to Him, “How can these things be?”	WDO	NV-SA
3.10–21	Jesus answered and said to him, “Are you the teacher of Israel and do not understand these things? Truly, truly, I	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>110</sup>

<sup>108</sup> That the Pharisees went to Jesus to question him is attested to in Mark 12:13–17 and parr. (Matt 22:15–22 // Luke 20:19–26). They call Jesus “teacher” and also attempt to assuage him with words of respect prior to their questioning him.

<sup>109</sup> Though in a much different context, the closest saying to this one in the Synoptic tradition comes in Mark 10:15 and parr. (Matt 18:3 // Luke 18:17). *Gospel of Thomas* 22 contains something similar, but in entirely different context as well.

<sup>110</sup> This is the first of Jesus’s more lengthy responses to those he interacts with in the Fourth Gospel and on his lips are found a number of phrases/themes already discussed: “Truly, truly”; “Son of Man”; “believe”; “life”; and “light”. While the double *amēn* and “Son of Man” language appears to be a sign of authenticity, the presence of the themes “believe”, “life”, and “light” appear more so to be a convergence of elements that the author has chosen to emphasize for his specific narrative aims. This does not mean that the themes themselves are inauthentic and do not stem from Jesus’s teachings in some form or fashion, I truly believe that they do, but that it is truly difficult to determine where Jesus stops and John starts, or vice versa.

	say to you, we speak of what we know and testify of what we have seen, and you do not accept our testimony. If I told you earthly things and you do not believe, how will you believe if I tell you heavenly things? No one has ascended into heaven, but He who descended from heaven: the Son of Man. As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up; so that whoever believes will in Him have eternal life. For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whoever believes in Him shall not perish, but have eternal life. For God did not send the Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world might be saved through Him. He who believes in Him is not judged; he who does not believe has been judged already, because he has not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. This is the judgment, that the Light has come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the Light, for their deeds were evil. For everyone who does evil hates the Light, and does not come to the Light for fear that his deeds will be exposed. But he who practices the truth comes to the Light, so that his deeds may be manifested as having been wrought in God.”		
<u>3.22</u>	After these things Jesus and His disciples came into the land of Judea, and there He was spending time with them and baptizing.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>3.23</u>	John also was baptizing in Aenon near Salim, because there was much water there; and <i>people</i> were coming and were being baptized	WDO	NV-SA <sup>111</sup>
3.24	for John had not yet been thrown into prison.	AI	NV-SA <sup>112</sup>

This passage is truly paradigmatic of the issues we face when trying to determine the historicity of Jesus’s longer discourses/responses in the Fourth Gospel. What I have chosen to do in these instances is to mark them NV-SA and *not* underline their address. The mixture of Johannine overlay and authentic tradition is too difficult to parse out and ultimately make a determination.

<sup>111</sup> Though not repeated elsewhere, the obscurity of the location as well as the fact that John is presented in the Synoptics as having a rather successful baptism ministry make it very likely that this brief remark is historically reliable.

<sup>112</sup> This chronological marker causes problems when the earlier parts of the Fourth Gospel are compared to the earlier parts of Mark. It is quite possible that Mark has collapsed the chronological framework of the initial portion of his biography and the author of the Fourth Gospel has chosen to expand/supplement it with what he thinks is new/noteworthy Jesus tradition (“water into wine” miracle, calling of Nathanael and Philip, Nicodemus episode, etc.). This does not dissolve all of the chronological discrepancies, however, as the Fourth Gospel still has Jesus’s first interactions with Peter and Andrew prior to John’s arrest (cf. Mark 1:14–16) as

3.25–26	Therefore there arose a discussion on the part of John’s disciples with a Jew about purification. And they came to John and said to him, “Rabbi, He who was with you beyond the Jordan, to whom you have testified, behold, He is baptizing and all are coming to Him.”	WDO	NV-SA
3.27–30	John answered and said, “A man can receive nothing unless it has been given him from heaven. You yourselves are my witnesses that I said, ‘I am not the Christ,’ but, ‘I have been sent ahead of Him.’ He who has the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, who stands and hears him, rejoices greatly because of the bridegroom’s voice. So this joy of mine has been made full. He must increase, but I must decrease.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>113</sup>
3.31–36	He who comes from above is above all, he who is of the earth is from the earth and speaks of the earth. He who comes from heaven is above all. What He has seen and heard, of that He testifies; and no one receives His testimony. He who has received His testimony has set his seal to <i>this</i> , that God is true. For He whom God has sent speaks the words of God; for He gives the Spirit without	AI	NV-SA <sup>114</sup>

well as the radial replacement of the temple cleansing episode. Given the freedom which ancient biographers had to rearrange their material, the likeliest explanation is that the author of the Fourth Gospel has displaced portions of his narrative for some other communicative aim, though this exact aim is still up for debate.

<sup>113</sup> Interesting that the bride/bridegroom language is repeated here but on the lips of JTB (cf. Mark 2:19-20 and parr.). Blomberg poses the question, “Had the Baptist already heard Jesus use these wedding metaphors in a different context? They are common enough throughout Christ’s teaching (cf. esp. Matt 22:1–14; 25:1–13) that it is certainly possible”; see Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 97.

<sup>114</sup> Due to the absence of first-person pronouns in the remainder of chapter 3 I have made the decision to break from the NASB’s arrangement of the text and view this portion as an authorial insertion by the author of the Fourth Gospel and not continued direct speech by JTB. The fact remains that the author of the Fourth Gospel appears to have taken over language similar to what is found on the lips of Jesus in Mark, Q, and even additional material in his own biography; cf. Q 10:21–22 (Luke 10:21–22, Matt 11:25–27) // John 3.35–36; cf. Mark 16:15 // John 3.36; cf. John 7.29, 13.3, 17.1–2. He appears to be restating or rephrasing what he has heard or read Jesus as saying, statements which appear in multiple layers of the Jesus tradition. A real tension in these verses comes from what he states in 3.32, “no one receives his testimony”, and what we find just a few verses above in 3.26, “behold, he is baptizing and all are coming to him.” Some resolve the conflict by appealing to hyperbolic speech in both portions of the narrative, but, in my opinion, I do not find this resolution particularly satisfying and the tension still remains. There is the possibility that the author of the Fourth Gospel means two different things when he talks about people going out to be baptized and receiving Jesus’s testimony, i.e., one can accept the baptism, but reject Jesus’s witness concerning himself.



	measure. The Father loves the Son and has given all things into His hand. He who believes in the Son has eternal life; but he who does not obey the Son will not see life, but the wrath of God abides on him.		
<u>4.1–3</u>	Therefore when the Lord knew that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John (although Jesus Himself was not baptizing, but His disciples were), He left Judea and went away again into Galilee.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>115</sup>
<u>4.4</u>	And He had to pass through Samaria.	AI	NV-SA <sup>116</sup>
<u>4.5–6</u>	So He came to a city of Samaria called Sychar, near the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph; and Jacob's well was there.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>117</sup>

<sup>115</sup> While there is no other mention of Jesus and his disciples participating in a baptism ministry, it is not so outlandish that it needs to be viewed with complete skepticism. It is quite possible that if some of Jesus's disciples did in fact have earlier connections to JTB that they resumed this practice, with Jesus's permission, after deciding to follow him; see Witherington, *John's Wisdom*, 108.

<sup>116</sup> If this did in fact happen then that Jesus passed through Samaria on his way to Galilee from Judea is highly likely (if not obvious); Josephus, *Ant.* 20.6.1; *Life* 269 (a three-day's journey from Galilee to Jerusalem). The real issue is determining whether or not Jesus would have ministered to the Samaritans in this way at all given what we read in other portions of the Jesus tradition. For instance, M 10:5–6, "Do not go in the way of the Gentiles, and do not enter any city of the Samaritans"; and M 15:24, "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Of course, in the same pericope that encompasses M 15:24, which finds its original source in Mark 7:24–30, Jesus relents to the woman's begging for help and heals the Gentile woman's daughter. Furthermore, in L 17:11–19 Jesus is portrayed as healing a Samaritan as he was passing between Samaria and Galilee. It would seem, then, that Jesus's attitude towards Samaritans in other places is, as Blomberg puts it, "situation specific," and not something we should look at as an indication of how he felt at all times towards the people group (Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 104).

<sup>117</sup> A handful of questions are commonly dealt with when dealing with this particular data point. Where is Sychar? Is the author claiming that Jacob's well was in Sychar? Or, is he claiming that Jacob's well is in the parcel of land that is *near* Sychar? To answer the first, Sychar is commonly thought to be Askar, which is roughly 1.5 kilometers NE of Jacob's well. Some associate Sychar with Shechem, which is thought to be slightly closer (Keener, *John*, 1:590). In regard to the latter two questions, if Sychar can be identified as Askar, and the well was 1.5 miles SW of Askar, then John is in error here. However, if we read the text as claiming that the well was in the parcel of land that was *near* Sychar/Askar, then what he says is perfectly acceptable. These difficulties are worth noting, but there is not enough clarity about these issues to make any determination other than NV-SA.

<u>4.6–7</u>	So Jesus, being wearied from His journey, was sitting thus by the well. It was about the sixth hour. There came a woman of Samaria to draw water. Jesus said to her, “Give Me a drink.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>118</sup>
<u>4.8</u>	For His disciples had gone away into the city to buy food.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>119</sup>
<u>4.9</u>	Therefore the Samaritan woman said to Him, “How is it that You, being a Jew, ask me for a drink since I am a Samaritan woman?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>4.9</u>	For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans.	AI	V <sup>120</sup>
<u>4.10</u>	Jesus answered and said to her, “If you knew the gift of God, and who it is who says to you, ‘Give Me a drink,’ you would have asked Him, and He would have given you living water.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>4.11–12</u>	She said to Him, “Sir, You have nothing to draw with and the well is deep; where then do You get that living water? You are not greater than our father Jacob, are You, who gave us the well, and drank of it himself and his sons and his cattle?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>4.13–14</u>	Jesus answered and said to her, “Everyone who drinks of this water will thirst again; but whoever drinks of the water that I will give him shall never thirst; but the water that I will give him will become in him a well of water springing up to eternal life.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>4.15</u>	The woman said to Him, “Sir, give me this water, so I will not be thirsty nor come all the way here to draw.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>4.16</u>	He said to her, “Go, call your husband and come here.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>4.17</u>	The woman answered and said, “I have no husband.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>4.17–18</u>	Jesus said to her, “You have correctly said, ‘I have no husband’; for you have had five husbands, and the one whom you now have is not your husband; this you have said truly.”	LJ ML	NV-SA

<sup>118</sup> As others have pointed out, Jesus’s interaction with the Samaritan woman, as shocking as it may be, is in line with his actions elsewhere (Mark 2:15–17 and parr.; L 7:36–50, 17:11–19); see Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 100; Keener, *John*, 1:585–6.

<sup>119</sup> This leaves Jesus and/or the woman as the only witnesses to what transpires. Either Jesus supplies the details of the dialogue to his disciples later, who then record it/pass it along, or the author of the Fourth Gospel fills out the narrative with details in an effort to “flesh it out”.

<sup>120</sup> While probably hyperbolic to some extent, that there were tensions between the two groups (even long before the time of Jesus) is discussed in Josephus *Ant.* 11.4.3, 11.4.9; 12.4.1; 20.6.1 (retold in *War* 2.12.3), et al., see Keener, *John*, 1:599. See, also, L 9:52–53, as an indication that the tensions were quite real and present in Jesus’s day.

<u>4.19–20</u>	The woman said to Him, “Sir, I perceive that You are a prophet. Our fathers worshiped in this mountain, and you <i>people</i> say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>121</sup>
<u>4.21–24</u>	Jesus said to her, “Woman, believe Me, an hour is coming when neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father. You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews. But an hour is coming, and now is, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth; for such people the Father seeks to be His worshipers. God is spirit, and those who worship Him must worship in spirit and truth.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>122</sup>
<u>4.25</u>	The woman said to Him, “I know that Messiah is coming (He who is called Christ); when that One comes, He will declare all things to us.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>4.26</u>	Jesus said to her, “I who speak to you am <i>He</i> .”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>123</sup>
<u>4.27</u>	At this point His disciples came, and they were amazed that He had been speaking with a woman, yet no one said, “What do You seek?” or, “Why do You speak with her?”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>124</sup>

<sup>121</sup> The past-tense reference to the Samaritans having “worshipped” on the mountain is either an attentive detail added by the author of the Fourth Gospel is his creation of the dialogue or a remembrance of an actual detail from the conversation. Keener points out (*John* 1:611–13), “the Jerusalemite ruler John Hyrcanus enslaved Samaritans and destroyed the Samaritan temple there in 128 BCE, perhaps a century and a half before this encounter (Josephus, *War* 1.3.6–7; *Ant.* 13.9.1) ... Although worship continued, it could not continue as temple worship on this site.”

<sup>122</sup> Jesus’s statement in 4.22, “for salvation is from the Jews”, is worth noting as potentially authentic given the rather explicit critique of “the Jews” throughout the Fourth Gospel. Blomberg notes that this particular statement is in-line with some of the “ethnocentrism” in M (10:5–6, 15:24), both of these sections depict Jesus noting that his ministry/mission is specifically for the Jews, and, by extension from the Jews (given its *his* ministry); see Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 101.

<sup>123</sup> Jesus’s very plain declaration that he is the Messiah is in stark contrast to what we find in Mark (his messianic secret motif), and even in other parts of the Fourth Gospel (the Nicodemus episode in particular).

<sup>124</sup> Keener’s comments here are helpful, “Jewish sages had warned against speaking with women in public, and society was still more suspicious of private conversations. In the Greek world as well, philosophers and moralists who associated with women drew criticism.” Their surprise here is not all that extraordinary. What is extraordinary, and what actually further supports that Jesus did have an interaction with this woman, is that women were known to travel with Jesus and support him in some capacity (Mark 15:40–41; L 8:2–3; see Keener, *John*, 1:620–1). One might ask, why were his disciples so surprised if women were known affiliates of Jesus? A simple

4.28–29	So the woman left her waterpot, and went into the city and said to the men, “Come, see a man who told me all the things that I <i>have</i> done; this is not the Christ, is it?”	WDO	NV-SA
4.30	They went out of the city, and were coming to Him.	WDO	NV-SA
4.31	Meanwhile the disciples were urging Him, saying, “Rabbi, eat.”	WDO	NV-SA
4.32	But He said to them, “I have food to eat that you do not know about.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
4.33	So the disciples were saying to one another, “No one brought Him <i>anything</i> to eat, did he?”	WDO	NV-SA
4.34–38	Jesus said to them, “My food is to do the will of Him who sent Me and to accomplish His work. Do you not say, ‘There are yet four months, and <i>then</i> comes the harvest’? Behold, I say to you, lift up your eyes and look on the fields, that they are white for harvest. Already he who reaps is receiving wages and is gathering fruit for life eternal; so that he who sows and he who reaps may rejoice together. For in this <i>case</i> the saying is true, ‘One sows and another reaps.’ I sent you to reap that for which you have not labored; others have labored and you have entered into their labor.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>125</sup>
4.39	From that city many of the Samaritans believed in Him because of the word of the woman who testified, “He told me all the things that I <i>have</i> done.”	WDO	NV-SA
4.40	So when the Samaritans came to Jesus, they were asking Him to stay with them; and He stayed there two days.	WDO	NV-SA

explanation might be that the adoption of women into the circle of Jesus’s followers had not happened yet, though it is an argument from silence.

<sup>125</sup> While demonstrating points of contact between the Fourth Gospel and Synoptic tradition does not confirm or verify the material in the strictest sense of the word, it does increase the percentage chance that the language which Jesus uses in those instances is authentic. For instance, cf. Mark 3:35 (and parr.) // John 4.34 doing the “will of God/Father”; cf. Q 10:16 (Matt 10:40, Luke 10:16), Mark 9:37 and parr., Mark 12:1–12 and parr. (in parable form) // John 4.34 “sent” language; cf. L 13:32 // John 4.34 “accomplish” the work, both use the verb *teleioō*. Furthermore, cf. Q 10:2 (Matt 9:37–38, Luke 10:2), *Gospel of Thomas* 73 // John 4.35 “harvest” language (see Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 103; Ensor, *Johannine Sayings*, 135–49). The numerous similarities between what Jesus says here and the various layers of Jesus tradition mentioned make it likely that Jesus said something very similar to what is recorded. There remains the possibility that the author of the Fourth Gospel’s mind was so saturated with earlier Jesus tradition that he has conflated numerous themes in the creation of this dialogue, thereby rendering it unique *and* similar, but fictitious. The dialogue is short enough, however, and centered around the theme of “harvest”, a topic that is found nowhere else in the Fourth Gospel. That the content is actually *dissimilar* from the rest of the work may actually be a sign that it is authentic.

<u>4.41</u>	Many more believed because of His word;	WDO	NV-SA
<u>4.42</u>	and they were saying to the woman, “It is no longer because of what you said that we believe, for we have heard for ourselves and know that this One is indeed the Savior of the world.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>4.43</u>	After the two days He went forth from there into Galilee.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>4.44</u>	For Jesus Himself testified that a prophet has no honor in his own country.	LJ ML	CR <sup>126</sup>
<u>4.45</u>	So when He came to Galilee, the Galileans received Him, having seen all the things that He did in Jerusalem at the feast; for they themselves also went to the feast.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>4.46</u>	Therefore He came again to Cana of Galilee where He had made the water wine.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>4.46–47</u>	And there was a royal official whose son was sick at Capernaum. When he heard that Jesus had come out of Judea into Galilee, he went to Him and was imploring <i>Him</i> to come down and heal his son; for he was at the point of death.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>127</sup>
<u>4.48</u>	So Jesus said to him, “Unless you <i>people</i> see signs and wonders, you <i>simply</i> will not believe.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>4.49</u>	The royal official said to Him, “Sir, come down before my child dies.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>4.50</u>	Jesus said to him, “Go; your son lives.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>4.50–53</u>	The man believed the word that Jesus spoke to him and started off. As he was now going down, <i>his</i> slaves met him, saying that his son was living. So he inquired of them the hour when he began to get better. Then they said to him, “Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him.” So the father knew that <i>it was</i> at that hour in which Jesus said to	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>126</sup> I will say at the outset, before noting the obvious difficulties, that it is highly likely that Jesus did in fact testify to/say something like this at some point or other. This is confirmed by what we find in Mark 6:4 and parr. (Matt 13:57, Luke 4:24) and that something similar is later duplicated by the *Gospel of Thomas* 31. Having said that, there are some noteworthy differences. First, and by far the most significant, Jesus says this in regard to Nazareth in the Synoptics, while here it appears as if Jesus is referencing Judea. Second, in the Synoptics this is direct speech, while here it is indirect. Third, in the Synoptics there is additional narrative context, while here it is plucked from its context and given an entirely new home. The latter two, at least to me, are not nearly as significant as the first and because of that specific difference I have marked it as “CR”.

<sup>127</sup> Close inspection of 4.46–53 reveal to me that this is not the same incident as described in Q 7:1–10 (Matt 8:5–13, Luke 7:1–10). There are scholars who view it as a parallel incident but the location, the participants involved, and the nature of the dialogue are too different for me to view these as the same event.

	him, “Your son lives”; and he himself believed and his whole household.		
4.54	This is again a second sign that Jesus performed when He had come out of Judea into Galilee.	AI	NV-SA
<u>5.1</u>	After these things there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>128</sup>
5.2	Now there is in Jerusalem by the sheep <i>gate</i> a pool, which is called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porticoes.	AI	V <sup>129</sup>
5.3–4	In these lay a multitude of those who were sick, blind, lame, and withered, waiting for the moving of the waters; [for an angel of the Lord went down at certain seasons into the pool and stirred up the water; whoever then first, after the stirring up of the water, stepped in was made well from whatever disease with which he was afflicted]. <sup>130</sup>	AI	NV-SA
<u>5.5</u>	A man was there who had been ill for thirty-eight years.	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>128</sup> One of the many trips Jesus makes to Jerusalem, a pattern which stands in stark contrast to the chronological/geographical structuring of the Synoptic tradition. The multiple trips to Jerusalem and the lengthier ministry actually seem more probable than a one-year, single-trip structure as presented in the Synoptics. The modern reader should also be aware of the genre conventions ancient biographers were working with, i.e., the ability to expand/collapse time in order to serve their narrative aims (see Michael R. Licona, *Why Are There Differences in the Gospels? What We Can Learn from Ancient Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), passim.).

<sup>129</sup> Cf. 3Q15 11.12–13, “By Bethesdatayin, in the pool where you enter is a smaller basin”; modern scholars point to this, a possible pre-70 CE witness to the pool’s existence in Qumran’s *Copper Scroll*, as evidence that confirms John 5.2 (cf. Charlesworth, *Mirrored*, 191, full citation below; he says that there is *no* pre-70 attestation to the “Pool of Bethesda”, but argues that it does exist, see pp. 26, 191–3. There is some discrepancy surrounding the dating of the *Copper Scroll*, so it is likely he considers it post-70, though his position on the matter is not stated here). Keener points out that, with regard to the actual location of this pool, “most commentators continue to prefer the site of the Twin Pools beneath St. Anne’s Monastery, which excavators identified as the Pool of Bethesda. The pools were apparently as large as a football field, and about twenty feet deep. The “five porticoes” represent a porch on each of the four sides and one separating the two pools, perhaps to separate the men and the women” (*John* 1:636–7); Also, Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 109; Witherington, *John’s Wisdom*, 137; Paul N. Anderson, “Aspects of Historicity in the Gospel of John: Implications for Investigations of Jesus and Archaeology,” in *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 587–618, see p. 603 for his comments on John 5.2; Charlesworth, *Mirrored*, 26, 191–3.

<sup>130</sup> Bracketed text was likely a later addition as it is not attested to in the major witnesses; see Charlesworth, *Mirrored*, 190. Interestingly, Charlesworth also points to this description, sans the part about the angel’s involvement, as an accurate depiction of what happened when the water from the upper pool was let into the water in the lower pool, thereby creating a disturbance in the lower pool and the appearance that the waters were being “moved” by an angel.

<u>5.6</u>	When Jesus saw him lying <i>there</i> , and knew that he had already been a long time <i>in that condition</i> , He said to him, “Do you wish to get well?”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>5.7</u>	The sick man answered Him, “Sir, I have no man to put me into the pool when the water is stirred up, but while I am coming, another steps down before me.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>5.8</u>	Jesus said to him, “Get up, pick up your pallet and walk.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>131</sup>
<u>5.9</u>	Immediately the man became well, and picked up his pallet and <i>began</i> to walk.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>132</sup>
<u>5.9</u>	Now it was the Sabbath on that day.	AI	NV-SA <sup>133</sup>
5.10	So the Jews were saying to the man who was cured, “It is the Sabbath, and it is not permissible for you to carry your pallet.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>134</sup>
5.11	But he answered them, “He who made me well was the one who said to me, ‘Pick up your pallet and walk.’”	WDO	NV-SA
5.12	They asked him, “Who is the man who said to you, ‘Pick up <i>your pallet</i> and walk’?”	WDO	NV-SA
5.13	But the man who was healed did not know who it was, for Jesus had slipped away while there was a crowd in <i>that</i> place.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>5.14</u>	Afterward Jesus found him in the temple and said to him, “Behold, you have become well; do not sin anymore, so that nothing worse happens to you.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>135</sup>
<u>5.15</u>	The man went away, and told the Jews that it was Jesus who had made him well.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>136</sup>

<sup>131</sup> This particular story does not find a counterpart in the Synoptics, but that Jesus healed the lame is in multiple layers of the Jesus tradition (cf. Mark 2:1–12 and parr.; Q 7:18–23 [Matt 11:2–6, Luke 7:18–23]; M 15:30–31). The command in Mark 2:9 is nearly verbatim to what we read here, but not enough to warrant considering the two stories as parallel accounts of the same incident.

<sup>132</sup> For a brief, yet helpful, discussion on the historicity of 5.1–9 and where a handful of prominent commentators stand, see Peter W. Ensor, *Johannine Sayings*, 165–6.

<sup>133</sup> Jesus’s decision to heal this man on the Sabbath seems like an attempt at provocation (Witherington, *John’s Wisdom*, 134). The man had been in this condition for thirty-eight years, why heal him on this day when it could have waited one more? This is in-line, however, with Jesus’s actions elsewhere (cf. Mark 3:1–6 and parr.; L 13:10–17). There is much debate about 5.9b–15 being tacked on by the author of the Fourth Gospel, but the arguments are not convincing (Ensor, *Johannine Sayings*, 168).

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Numbers 15:32–35; Jeremiah 17:21; Nehemiah 13:19.

<sup>135</sup> That Jesus found the man in the temple is a fairly minor detail but is likely historical given that it was so near to the pools of which they were just at (Keener, *John*, 1:643).

<sup>136</sup> As Ensor points out, the whole of 5.2–15 is consistent with what we find in the Synoptic tradition; he writes, “That Jesus healed, that he healed occasionally on the Sabbath day, and that

<u>5.16</u>	For this reason the Jews were persecuting Jesus, because He was doing these things on the Sabbath.	AI	NV-SA <sup>137</sup>
<u>5.17</u>	But He answered them, “My Father is working until now, and I Myself am working.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>138</sup>
<u>5.18</u>	For this reason therefore the Jews were seeking all the more to kill Him, because He not only was breaking the Sabbath, but also was calling God His own Father, making Himself equal with God.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>139</sup>
5.19–47	Therefore Jesus answered and was saying to them, “Truly, truly, I say to you, the Son can do nothing of Himself,	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>140</sup>

as a result he came into conflict with certain religious authorities, is part of the bedrock of the Jesus tradition (cf. Mk. 3.1–6 pars., Lk. 13.10–17, 14.1–6; for another Sabbath controversy story where healing is not involved cf. Mk. 2.23–28 pars.)”; see Ensor, *Johannine Sayings*, 169.

<sup>137</sup> Keener writes, “Although matters of life and death remained exceptions, and common people were probably less particular, the Pharisees probably opposed minor medical cures on the Sabbath” (*John*, 1:642, see n76 and attending citations for further discussion). It is what happens in 5.17 that really escalates the situation into something life-threatening for Jesus.

<sup>138</sup> Ensor, *Johannine Sayings*, 170–84; he has a lengthy defense of the authenticity of this saying. His remarks on pp. 173–4 are especially interesting/of value, though the entire section referenced here (pp. 170–84) labors to show the saying’s authenticity and, in my opinion, does so successfully.

<sup>139</sup> Why did “the Jews” draw this conclusion from what Jesus said in 5.17? They seem to misunderstand what Jesus is saying about himself and his relationship to the Father, hence the explanation that follows. Even if they did misunderstand him, would “the Jews” have tried to kill someone for what they thought he had said? As Keener points out, Pharisaic ethics do not typically call for such a strong course of action, though “evidence remains for intra-Jewish violence over doctrinal points in this period” (Keener, *John*, 1:644–47).

<sup>140</sup> This is the first of many lengthy discourses in the Fourth Gospel and while it obviously does not find additional attestation in other Jesus tradition, some of its constituent parts are similar in content to what we find in the Synoptics. There is great difficulty, however, in trying to parse out what is Johannine redaction and what might be authentic to Jesus. Scholars point to a number of parallels between the contents of the discourse and the teachings of Jesus in the Synoptics, some of which have already been discussed: 1) the “*amēn* phrases” in 5.19, 24–25, despite John’s unique use of *amēn amēn*, are found throughout all layers of the earliest Jesus tradition (13x in Mark; 9x in M; 3x in L; 9x in Q; see Ensor, *Johannine Sayings*, 201); 2) if much of v. 19 is to be considered as a parable or proverb, then the use of this form obviously coheres with what we find in the Synoptics; 3) vv. 19–23, 26–27, et al., and how they describe the father/son dynamic that exists between God/Jesus, is very similar to what we find in Q 10:22 (Matt 11:27, Luke 10:22); 4) the use of “Son of Man” in v. 27, especially in the context of discussing the Father, is similar to what is found in Mark 8:38; 5) vv. 28–29 find an indirect parallel in M 27:52–53; 6) on a broader level, Blomberg writes, “In fact, the double similarity and dissimilarity criterion works well ... Everything attributed to God in John 5:19–30 was commonplace in Judaism, yet Jesus’ implicit association of himself with these divine functions proved scandalous. On the other hand, the overall emphasis in the text is on Christ’s subordination to his Father, rather than on the



	<p>unless <i>it is</i> something He sees the Father doing; for whatever the Father does, these things the Son also does in like manner. For the Father loves the Son, and shows Him all things that He Himself is doing; and <i>the Father</i> will show Him greater works than these, so that you will marvel. For just as the Father raises the dead and gives them life, even so the Son also gives life to whom He wishes. For not even the Father judges anyone, but He has given all judgment to the Son, so that all will honor the Son even as they honor the Father. He who does not honor the Son does not honor the Father who sent Him. Truly, truly, I say to you, he who hears My word, and believes Him who sent Me, has eternal life, and does not come into judgment, but has passed out of death into life. Truly, truly, I say to you, an hour is coming and now is, when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live. For just as the Father has life in Himself, even so He gave to the Son also to have life in Himself; and He gave Him authority to execute judgment, because He is <i>the</i> Son of Man. Do not marvel at this; for an hour is coming, in which all who are in the tombs will hear His voice, and will come forth; those who did the good <i>deeds</i> to a resurrection of life, those who committed the evil <i>deeds</i> to a resurrection of judgment. I can do nothing on My own initiative. As I hear, I judge; and My judgment is just, because I do not seek My own will, but the will of Him who sent Me. If I testify about Myself, My testimony is not</p>		
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equality with God that became the preoccupation of early Christianity in general and of patristic exegesis on this passage in particular” (*Historical Reliability*, 113–15; see his work for these parallels and the quoted text, p. 115); 7) in v. 35 Jesus says that the people were “willing to rejoice for a while in his [John’s] light” and we see in Mark 11:32 (and parr.) that the people thought John was a real prophet and by implication had great respect for him (cf. Q 7:24–28); 8) v. 36 (et al.) mentions that Jesus was sent by the Father, (numerous parallels highlighted above in the note attached to 1.6); 9) in v. 39 Jesus states that the Scriptures testify about him, Blomberg writes, “This is the identical claim, made explicit, that resides in Matthew 5:17” (*Historical Reliability*, 117); 10) cf. 6.40 // Q 13:34 (Matt 23:37, Luke 13:34); 11) in vv. 44–47 Jesus laments the fact that these people are not listening to him, something similar is said in the parable found in Luke 16, “If they do not listen to Moses and the prophets, they will not be persuaded even if someone rises from the dead” (16:31); 12) the numerous references to eternal life (see note attached to 1.4–5 above for where this is mentioned in the Synoptics). Given the considerable number of parallels with other layers of Jesus tradition, it is highly unlikely that the author of the Fourth Gospel crafted this entire discourse but, determining which portions are authentic to Jesus and which are Johannine supplementation remains a difficult, if not impossible, task and for that reason it is considered SA and its address is not underlined.

	<p>true. There is another who testifies of Me, and I know that the testimony which He gives about Me is true. You have sent to John, and he has testified to the truth. But the testimony which I receive is not from man, but I say these things so that you may be saved. He was the lamp that was burning and was shining and you were willing to rejoice for a while in his light. But the testimony which I have is greater than <i>the testimony of John</i>; for the works which the Father has given Me to accomplish—the very works that I do—testify about Me, that the Father has sent Me. And the Father who sent Me, He has testified of Me. You have neither heard His voice at any time nor seen His form. You do not have His word abiding in you, for you do not believe Him whom He sent. You search the Scriptures because you think that in them you have eternal life; it is these that testify about Me; and you are unwilling to come to Me so that you may have life. I do not receive glory from men; but I know you, that you do not have the love of God in yourselves. I have come in My Father’s name, and you do not receive Me; if another comes in his own name, you will receive him. How can you believe, when you receive glory from one another and you do not seek the glory that is from the <i>one and only</i> God? Do not think that I will accuse you before the Father; the one who accuses you is Moses, in whom you have set your hope. For if you believed Moses, you would believe Me, for he wrote about Me. But if you do not believe his writings, how will you believe My words?”</p>		
6.1 <sup>141</sup>	<p>After these things Jesus went away to the other side of the Sea of Galilee (or Tiberias).</p>	<p>LJ ML</p>	<p>NV-SA<sup>142</sup></p>

<sup>141</sup> The feeding of the 5,000 offers a number of opportunities to compare the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptics. For those who view the Fourth Gospel as an independent witness to the life of Jesus, this particular narrative is of significant value as it provides a number of data points that can be confirmed by other witnesses, though it provides a significant number of interesting differences as well.

<sup>142</sup> Mark 6:32 offers that they went to a “secluded place” by boat, later says they went to Bethsaida (6:45); Matt 14:13 reproduces the part about the secluded place and getting there by boat; Luke 9:10 places them in Bethsaida, the known city of Philip (John 1.44, 12.21) as well as Andrew and Peter (John 1.44). From what we know about Bethsaida in Josephus it sat on the northeastern shore of the Sea of Galilee (*Ant.* 18.2.1, *Life* 399, here he calls it “Julias”, the name given to it by Herod Philip).

6.2	A large crowd followed Him, because they saw the signs which He was performing on those who were sick.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>143</sup>
6.3	Then Jesus went up on the mountain, and there He sat down with His disciples.	LJ ML	NV-SA
6.4	Now the Passover, the feast of the Jews, was near.	AI	NV-SA
6.5	Therefore Jesus, lifting up His eyes and seeing that a large crowd was coming to Him, said to Philip, "Where are we to buy bread, so that these may eat?"	LJ ML	CR <sup>144</sup>
6.6	This He was saying to test him, for He Himself knew what He was intending to do.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>145</sup>
<u>6.7</u>	Philip answered Him, "Two hundred denarii worth of bread is not sufficient for them, for everyone to receive a little."	WDO	CR <sup>146</sup>
<u>6.8–9</u>	One of His disciples, Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, said to Him, "There is a lad here who has five barley loaves and two fish, but what are these for so many people?"	WDO	NV-SA <sup>147</sup>
6.10	Jesus said, "Have the people sit down."	LJ ML	V <sup>148</sup>
6.10	Now there was much grass in the place.	AI	V <sup>149</sup>

<sup>143</sup> That large crowds were in pursuit of Jesus prior to the feeding miracle should be considered confirmed (Mark 6:31 and parr.), but what the author of the Fourth Gospel adds makes it difficult to mark it as "V". His note that they followed Jesus "because they saw the signs which he was performing on those who were sick" is unique to the Johannine depiction of the feeding miracle. We do read, however, in Matt 14:14 and Luke 9:11 that Jesus healed the sick prior to the feeding; maybe their pursuit of Jesus is implied in that portion of the tradition.

<sup>144</sup> In the Synoptics it is the disciples who come to Jesus and suggest that the large crowds be dispersed to the surrounding areas in order to find food for their evening meal. Here, the author of the Fourth Gospel depicts Jesus as being very much in control of the situation, approaching Philip (possibly because he was from that area?), and asking him what he thought they should do about the food problem. It is a fairly significant difference in how the brief conversation occurred prior to the feeding miracle.

<sup>145</sup> Again, the author of the Fourth Gospel portrays Jesus as being in complete control of this event, almost like he planned it; this is not the picture we get in the Synoptics.

<sup>146</sup> In Mark 6:37 the group of disciples respond to Jesus's command by rhetorically asking whether they should spend 200 denarii on the food; here, Philip simply states that even that amount would not be enough to feed all the people present.

<sup>147</sup> That there were five loaves and two fish available for distribution should be considered confirmed, but that is the extent of the similarities with the Synoptics for this particular data point. The Synoptics feature the disciples speaking as a collective, here Andrew (also from Bethsaida) is singled out. The Synoptics do not mention the "lad" who had the food, nor do they mention that they were barley loaves.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Mark 6:39 and parr.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Mark 6:39 and par.

6.10	So the men sat down, in number about five thousand.	WDO	V <sup>150</sup>
6.11	Jesus then took the loaves, and having given thanks, He distributed to those who were seated; likewise also of the fish as much as they wanted.	LJ ML	V <sup>151</sup>
<u>6.12</u>	When they were filled, He said to His disciples, “Gather up the leftover fragments so that nothing will be lost.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>152</sup>
6.13	So they gathered them up, and filled twelve baskets with fragments from the five barley loaves which were left over by those who had eaten.	WDO	V <sup>153</sup>
6.14	Therefore when the people saw the sign which He had performed, they said, “This is truly the Prophet who is to come into the world.”	WDO	NV-SA
6.15 <sup>154</sup>	So Jesus, perceiving that they were intending to come and take Him by force to make Him king, withdrew again to the mountain by Himself alone.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>155</sup>
6.16–17	Now when evening came, His disciples went down to the sea, and after getting into a boat, they <i>started to</i> cross the sea to Capernaum.	WDO	CR <sup>156</sup>
6.17	It had already become dark, and Jesus had not yet come to them.	AI	V <sup>157</sup>
6.18	The sea <i>began</i> to be stirred up because a strong wind was blowing.	AI	V <sup>158</sup>
6.19	Then, when they had rowed about three or four miles, they saw Jesus walking on the sea and drawing near to the boat; and they were frightened.	WDO	V <sup>159</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Cf. Mark 6:44 and parr.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Mark 6:41 and parr.

<sup>152</sup> Jesus’s specific command is not in the Synoptics, though it could obviously be implied if the accounts are read in parallel.

<sup>153</sup> Mark 6:43 and parr.

<sup>154</sup> If we are to consider what is recorded in Mark 6:45–52 and Matthew 14:23–36 as depicting the same situation as we find in 6.15–22, then there are again some interesting similarities/differences and a chance to see other portions of the Fourth Gospel confirmed by an independent witness.

<sup>155</sup> While the motivation for Jesus to move up the mountain is unique to the Fourth Gospel, that he did ascend a mountain following the feeding miracle is multiply attested (Mark 6:46; Matt 14:23).

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Mark 6:45; there the disciples head to Bethsaida rather than Capernaum. Matt 14:22 simply mentions “the other side”, but later says “Gennesaret” (14:34).

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Mark 6:47 and par.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Mark 6:48 and par.

<sup>159</sup> While the distance is not mentioned specifically in the Markan or Matthean account, that the disciples were terrified at Jesus’s decision to walk on water is (cf. Mark 6:48–50 and par.).

6.20	But He said to them, “It is I; do not be afraid.”	LJ ML	V <sup>160</sup>
6.21	So they were willing to receive Him into the boat, and immediately the boat was at the land to which they were going.	WDO	CR <sup>161</sup>
6.22	The next day the crowd that stood on the other side of the sea saw that there was no other small boat there, except one, and that Jesus had not entered with His disciples into the boat, but <i>that</i> His disciples had gone away alone.	WDO	NV-SA
6.23	There came other small boats from Tiberias near to the place where they ate the bread after the Lord had given thanks.	WDO	NV-SA
6.24	So when the crowd saw that Jesus was not there, nor His disciples, they themselves got into the small boats, and came to Capernaum seeking Jesus.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>6.25</u>	When they found Him on the other side of the sea, they said to Him, “Rabbi, when did You get here?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>6.26–27</u>	Jesus answered them and said, “Truly, truly, I say to you, you seek Me, not because you saw signs, but because you ate of the loaves and were filled. Do not work for the food which perishes, but for the food which endures to eternal life, which the Son of Man will give to you, for on Him the Father, God, has set His seal.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>162</sup>
<u>6.28</u>	Therefore they said to Him, “What shall we do, so that we may work the works of God?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>6.29</u>	Jesus answered and said to them, “This is the work of God, that you believe in Him whom He has sent.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>163</sup>
<u>6.30–31</u>	So they said to Him, “What then do You do for a sign, so that we may see, and believe You? What work do You	WDO	NV-SA <sup>164</sup>

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Mark 6:50 and par. It should be noted that that the absolute use of “I am” is also found in Mark 14:62.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Mark 6:51–52 and M 14:28–34.

<sup>162</sup> As previously mentioned, because of the frequency of its use in the Synoptics, the use of the *amēn* formula here (despite its duplication) supports the argument that this is authentic to Jesus, as does the use of “Son of Man”.

<sup>163</sup> Blomberg writes, “This statement passes the double similarity and dissimilarity test with flying colours. It is grounded in Judaism’s fascination with ‘works’ but offers a stunning redefinition. It coheres with later Christian emphases on belief, but uniquely continues to speak of faith as a good deed” (*Historical Reliability*, 123). This might be an instance of locating the authentic tradition that ultimately served as the impetus for the extensive presence of two of the larger themes in John’s Gospel (“believe”, “sent”).

<sup>164</sup> This desire to see a sign is also found in other layers of the Jesus tradition (Mark 8:11–12 and parr.), but their response here, especially in light of what just took place is very odd. One could

	perform? Our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness; as it is written, ‘HE GAVE THEM BREAD OUT OF HEAVEN TO EAT.’”		
<u>6.32–33</u>	Jesus then said to them, “Truly, truly, I say to you, it is not Moses who has given you the bread out of heaven, but it is My Father who gives you the true bread out of heaven. For the bread of God is that which comes down out of heaven, and gives life to the world.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>6.34</u>	Then they said to Him, “Lord, always give us this bread.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>6.35–40</u>	Jesus said to them, “I am the bread of life; he who comes to Me will not hunger, and he who believes in Me will never thirst. But I said to you that you have seen Me, and yet do not believe. All that the Father gives Me will come to Me, and the one who comes to Me I will certainly not cast out. For I have come down from heaven, not to do My own will, but the will of Him who sent Me. This is the will of Him who sent Me, that of all that He has given Me I lose nothing, but raise it up on the last day. For this is the will of My Father, that everyone who beholds the Son and believes in Him will have eternal life, and I Myself will raise him up on the last day.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>165</sup>
<u>6.41</u>	Therefore the Jews were grumbling about Him, because He said, “I am the bread that came down out of heaven.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>6.42</u>	They were saying, “Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How does He now say, ‘I have come down out of heaven’?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>6.43–51</u>	Jesus answered and said to them, “Do not grumble among yourselves. No one can come to Me unless the Father who	LJ ML	NV-SA

posit that they were in search of repetitive feedings, much like what their ancestors had experienced in the wilderness.

<sup>165</sup> The first of the “I am” sayings in the Fourth Gospel which, as so many have pointed out, are without their parallels in the Synoptics. Because of the profundity of these sayings and their inexplicable exclusion from the Synoptics many have questioned their authenticity. The singularly attested nature of these sayings makes it impossible to say with absolute certainty either way. Scholars have pointed out that some of Jesus’s teachings/actions in the Synoptics are centered around these same terms/phrases found in these Johannine “I am” sayings (bread, light, gate/door, shepherd, etc.), though never in a way completely analogous to what is found in the Fourth Gospel. Anderson’s remarks on this specific issue are insightful, “If these and other themes echoed in the Synoptics have been developed in John’s narrative and attributed to Jesus, what we have in John is likely a mixture of Jesus tradition and the evangelist’s paraphrastic expansions upon it as part of his preaching and written ministries over the years” (Anderson, “Message of Jesus,” 331). As for the other themes in this particular data point (the Father giving to the Son; losing no one), these are paralleled in the other layers of the Jesus tradition (Q 10:21–22 and M 18:14 respectively); see Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 124–25.

	sent Me draws him; and I will raise him up on the last day. It is written in the prophets, ‘AND THEY SHALL ALL BE TAUGHT OF GOD.’ Everyone who has heard and learned from the Father, comes to Me. Not that anyone has seen the Father, except the One who is from God; He has seen the Father. Truly, truly, I say to you, he who believes has eternal life. I am the bread of life. Your fathers ate the manna in the wilderness, and they died. This is the bread which comes down out of heaven, so that one may eat of it and not die. I am the living bread that came down out of heaven; if anyone eats of this bread, he will live forever; and the bread also which I will give for the life of the world is My flesh.”		
<u>6.52</u>	Then the Jews <i>began</i> to argue with one another, saying, “How can this man give us <i>His</i> flesh to eat?”	WDO	NV-SA
6.53–58	So Jesus said to them, “Truly, truly, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, you have no life in yourselves. He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up on the last day. For My flesh is true food, and My blood is true drink. He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood abides in Me, and I in him. As the living Father sent Me, and I live because of the Father, so he who eats Me, he also will live because of Me. This is the bread which came down out of heaven; not as the fathers ate and died; he who eats this bread will live forever.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>166</sup>
<u>6.59</u>	These things He said in the synagogue as He taught in Capernaum.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>167</sup>
<u>6.60</u>	Therefore many of His disciples, when they heard <i>this</i> said, “This is a difficult statement; who can listen to it?”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>168</sup>

<sup>166</sup> One cannot help but think about Mark 14:22–25 and parr. when reading this passage, but they clearly are not describing the same event. Also, the “sent” language in 6.57 is found, as already mentioned, in the Synoptics.

<sup>167</sup> While it would appear that the geographical settings are different in Mark and Matt following the feeding of the five thousand (see note on 1.16–17 above), that Jesus taught in synagogues is widely attested in other parts of the Jesus tradition (Mark 1:21–23 and par.; M 4:23; et al.). As for the whole of 6.22–59, despite their being a significant amount of singularly attested material, there is little reason to believe that it is entirely Johannine invention. I think it highly likely that the author has reworked/reshaped some authentic Jesus tradition, but has not abandoned it altogether to create something new entirely. There is great difficulty, however, in parsing out the authentic Jesus tradition from the theological overlay.

<sup>168</sup> Certain aspects of 6.60–71 appear to be authentic. The official designation for all of the data points is NV-SA, but the disappointment/questioning from those who heard Jesus’s message, the “Son of Man” language, the declaration that it is the Spirit that gives life, and the fact that he lost

<u>6.61–64</u>	But Jesus, conscious that His disciples grumbled at this, said to them, “Does this cause you to stumble? <i>What</i> then if you see the Son of Man ascending to where He was before? It is the Spirit who gives life; the flesh profits nothing; the words that I have spoken to you are spirit and are life. But there are some of you who do not believe.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>6.64</u>	For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were who did not believe, and who it was that would betray Him.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>6.65</u>	And He was saying, “For this reason I have said to you, that no one can come to Me unless it has been granted him from the Father.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>6.66</u>	As a result of this many of His disciples withdrew and were not walking with Him anymore.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>169</sup>
<u>6.67</u>	So Jesus said to the twelve, “You do not want to go away also, do you?”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>6.68–69</u>	Simon Peter answered Him, “Lord, to whom shall we go? You have words of eternal life. We have believed and have come to know that You are the Holy One of God.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>170</sup>
<u>6.70</u>	Jesus answered them, “Did I Myself not choose you, the twelve, and <i>yet</i> one of you is a devil?”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>6.71</u>	Now He meant Judas <i>the son</i> of Simon Iscariot, for he, one of the twelve, was going to betray Him.	AI	NV-NH
<u>7.1</u>	After these things Jesus was walking in Galilee, for He was unwilling to walk in Judea because the Jews were seeking to kill Him.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>171</sup>
<u>7.2</u>	Now the feast of the Jews, the Feast of Booths, was near.	AI	NV-SA
<u>7.3–4</u>	Therefore His brothers said to Him, “Leave here and go into Judea, so that Your disciples also may see Your works which You are doing. For no one does anything in secret	WDO	NV-SA

disciples because of the enigmatic nature of his teaching, all carry a certain ring of authenticity either due to it being replicated in Synoptic tradition or it being rooted in OT thought. One could balk at the clairvoyance (6.61, 64, 71) ascribed to Jesus, but this is found all throughout the Synoptic tradition as well (ex., the prediction of Peter’s denial in Mark 14:26–31 and parr.).

<sup>169</sup> It would seem to be highly unlikely that the early church would have made up the fact that Jesus lost disciples throughout the course of his ministry.

<sup>170</sup> While in a different context and slightly different language, Peter’s confession here is reminiscent of what we find in Mark 8:27–30 and parr. Has John lifted the confession from its original context, reworded it, and placed it here, *or*, did Peter utter something similar on two separate occasions?

<sup>171</sup> Nearly all of 7.1–10 is a rather peculiar episode unique to the Fourth Gospel. While the entirety of it has been marked NV-SA, I have decided to underline all of the data points contained therein. This just does not appear to me as something that the early church or the author of the work would have invented, especially given the fact that it portrays Jesus as being somewhat deceitful in his words/deeds.



	when he himself seeks to be <i>known</i> publicly. If You do these things, show Yourself to the world.”		
<u>7.5</u>	For not even His brothers were believing in Him.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>172</sup>
<u>7.6–8</u>	So Jesus said to them, “My time is not yet here, but your time is always opportune. The world cannot hate you, but it hates Me because I testify of it, that its deeds are evil. Go up to the feast yourselves; I do not go up to this feast because My time has not yet fully come.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>7.9</u>	Having said these things to them, He stayed in Galilee.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>7.10</u>	But when His brothers had gone up to the feast, then He Himself also went up, not publicly, but as if, in secret.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>7.11</u>	So the Jews were seeking Him at the feast and were saying, “Where is He?”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>173</sup>
<u>7.12–13</u>	There was much grumbling among the crowds concerning Him; some were saying, “He is a good man”; others were saying, “No, on the contrary, He leads the people astray.” Yet no one was speaking openly of Him for fear of the Jews.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>174</sup>

<sup>172</sup> That Jesus’s own family members were skeptical of him does not seem like something that the earliest Christians would have invented; this appears to be authentic. Its case for authenticity might be bolstered when read in light of Mark 3:21, where it is recorded that “His own people” were saying, “He has lost his senses” when the crowds were so thick that it prevented them from even eating a meal together. This shows a level of confusion/misunderstanding regarding Jesus’s ministry that might then manifest itself as skepticism at a later stage.

<sup>173</sup> 7.11–36 is yet another blend of Johannine redaction and authentic Jesus tradition. That Jesus went to the temple and began to teach; that some were amazed, others enraged, and yet still others confused at his teaching and presence; that Jesus engaged those who were visibly upset at what he was saying; and that the Jewish elite were actively seeking to silence him all seem plausible and likely authentic. It is really the lengthier blurbs of Jesus that present the most difficulty as “Jesus’s words gather together characteristic Johannine emphases” (Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 134). Despite showing similarities with Synoptic material, I have chosen to refrain from underlining 7.16–19.

<sup>174</sup> A major charge against Jesus that we find in the Synoptics is that he was only capable of doing the things he did because he was empowered by Satan (Beelzebul, ruler of the demons; see Mark 3:20–30 and parr.), implicit in that charge is the he leads people astray. Further, if one wants to take the rabbinic evidence regarding the life of Jesus seriously, it is pretty uniform in claiming that Jesus led people astray (see Van Voorst, *Outside*, 104–22, spec. p. 121). For an example, see *b. Sanh.* 43a “he practiced magic and enticed Israel to go astray”; though much, if not all, of the rabbinic literature that mentions “Jesus” (if he is even the one being referred to in the passages often held up as evidence) is highly polemical and most certainly dependent on earlier tradition, i.e., not an independent attestation to what we have here.

<u>7.14</u>	But when it was now the midst of the feast Jesus went up into the temple, and <i>began to</i> teach.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>175</sup>
<u>7.15</u>	The Jews then were astonished, saying, “How has this man become learned, having never been educated?”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>176</sup>
7.16–19	So Jesus answered them and said, “My teaching is not Mine, but His who sent Me. If anyone is willing to do His will, he will know of the teaching, whether it is of God or <i>whether</i> I speak from Myself. He who speaks from himself seeks his own glory; but He who is seeking the glory of the One who sent Him, He is true, and there is no unrighteousness in Him. Did not Moses give you the Law, and <i>yet</i> none of you carries out the Law? Why do you seek to kill Me?”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>177</sup>
<u>7.20</u>	The crowd answered, “You have a demon! Who seeks to kill You?”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>178</sup>
7.21–24	Jesus answered them, “I did one deed, and you all marvel. For this reason Moses has given you circumcision (not because it is from Moses, but from the fathers), and on <i>the</i> Sabbath you circumcise a man. If a man receives circumcision on <i>the</i> Sabbath so that the Law of Moses will not be broken, are you angry with Me because I made an entire man well on <i>the</i> Sabbath? Do not judge according to appearance, but judge with righteous judgment.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
7.25–27	So some of the people of Jerusalem were saying, “Is this not the man whom they are seeking to kill? Look, He is speaking publicly, and they are saying nothing to Him. The rulers do not really know that this is the Christ, do they? However, we know where this man is from; but whenever the Christ may come, no one knows where He is from.”	WDO	NV-SA
7.28–29	Then Jesus cried out in the temple, teaching and saying, “You both know Me and know where I am from; and I have not come of Myself, but He who sent Me is true, whom you do not know. I know Him, because I am from Him, and He sent Me.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>7.30</u>	So they were seeking to seize Him; and no man laid his hand on Him,	WDO	NV-SA
7.30	because His hour had not yet come.	AI	NV-SA

<sup>175</sup> Jesus going up into the temple to teach, even in the midst of a festival, is not that difficult to envision (cf. Mark 11:27–12:44 and parr.; see also Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 133–34).

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Matt 7:28–29, the peoples’ response following the Sermon on the Mount (Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 134).

<sup>177</sup> See note attached to 7.11.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Mark 3:22 as referenced in the note attached to 7.12–13.

<u>7.31</u>	But many of the crowd believed in Him; and they were saying, “When the Christ comes, He will not perform more signs than those which this man has, will He?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>7.32</u>	The Pharisees heard the crowd muttering these things about Him, and the chief priests and the Pharisees sent officers to seize Him.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>7.33–34</u>	Therefore Jesus said, “For a little while longer I am with you, then I go to Him who sent Me. You will seek Me, and will not find Me; and where I am, you cannot come.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>7.35–36</u>	The Jews then said to one another, “Where does this man intend to go that we will not find Him? He is not intending to go to the Dispersion among the Greeks, and teach the Greeks, is He? What is this statement that He said, ‘You will seek Me, and will not find Me; and where I am, you cannot come’?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>7.37–38</u>	Now on the last day, the great <i>day</i> of the feast, Jesus stood and cried out, saying, “If anyone is thirsty, let him come to Me and drink. He who believes in Me, as the Scripture said, ‘From his innermost being will flow rivers of living water.’”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>179</sup>
7.39	But this He spoke of the Spirit, whom those who believed in Him were to receive; for the Spirit was not yet <i>given</i> , because Jesus was not yet glorified.	AI	NV-NH
<u>7.40</u>	<i>Some of</i> the people therefore, when they heard these words, were saying, “This certainly is the Prophet.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>7.41</u>	Others were saying, “This is the Christ.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>7.41–42</u>	Still others were saying, “Surely the Christ is not going to come from Galilee, is He? Has not the Scripture said that the Christ comes from the descendants of David, and from Bethlehem, the village where David was?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>7.43</u>	So a division occurred in the crowd because of Him.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>7.44</u>	Some of them wanted to seize Him, but no one laid hands on Him.	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>179</sup> Has John created the connection between Jesus’s words here and the occurrences of the last day of this particular festival or is the connection native to the timing of the delivery of Jesus’s words itself? Blomberg writes, “For the first week [of the festival], daily libations were offered in the temple with water drawn from the pool of Siloam in Jerusalem. On the final day, however, no such ceremony was performed (*Sukk.* 4.9; 5.1). How poignant and provocative, then, for Jesus to offer spiritual water at precisely this moment in the festival” (*Historical Reliability*, 136–37). While my initial question is rather difficult to answer in a definitive manner, I tend to agree with Blomberg who later points out that the scriptural quotation by Jesus in v. 38 likely points to the authenticity of the data point. The scriptural “quotation” is without any true referent as there are a cluster of OT passages that could serve as the background (pp. 137–38). This signals authenticity more so than had John portrayed Jesus as quoting an OT passage verbatim.

7.45	The officers then came to the chief priests and Pharisees, and they said to them, “Why did you not bring Him?”	WDO	NV-SA
7.46	The officers answered, “Never has a man spoken the way this man speaks.”	WDO	NV-SA
7.47–49	The Pharisees then answered them, “You have not also been led astray, have you? No one of the rulers or Pharisees has believed in Him, has he? But this crowd which does not know the Law is accursed.”	WDO	NV-SA
7.50–51	Nicodemus (he who came to Him before, being one of them) said to them, “Our Law does not judge a man unless it first hears from him and knows what he is doing, does it?”	WDO	NV-SA
7.52	They answered him, “You are not also from Galilee, are you? Search, and see that no prophet arises out of Galilee.”	WDO	NV-SA
[7.53–8.11]	The <i>pericope adulterae</i> does not appear to be part of the original text of the Fourth Gospel and for that reason will not be evaluated for its historical content.		
<u>8.12</u>	Then Jesus again spoke to them, saying, “I am the Light of the world; he who follows Me will not walk in the darkness, but will have the Light of life.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>180</sup>
<u>8.13</u>	So the Pharisees said to Him, “You are testifying about Yourself; Your testimony is not true.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>181</sup>
8.14–18	Jesus answered and said to them, “Even if I testify about Myself, My testimony is true, for I know where I came	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>182</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Cf. M 5:14–16 where Jesus is reported as saying that his *hearers* are the “light of the world.” Furthermore, as already mentioned (see n. on 1.4–5 above), the themes “light” and “life” are found all throughout the Fourth Gospel. Here we find them both together and, as suggested in the note attached to 6.29, this too might be an instance where we have located the authentic tradition that then gave rise to the themes that are so widely mentioned. Of course, the difficulty in holding to that here is that this is also one of the “I am” sayings that do not find attestation in the Synoptic tradition, a fact that certainly complicates the possibility of it being authentic. I do not think that the singularly attested nature of the “I am” sayings prevent them from being authentic, however, and for that reason have underlined the address here.

<sup>181</sup> What the Pharisees says in response is at least in keeping with what their legal system demanded. Keener writes, “Jesus’ challengers therefore not surprisingly respond by claiming that he praises himself and does not adhere to the basic premise of Jewish legal procedure: a minimum of two or three witnesses was necessary, and their character had to be reliable” (*John*, 1:740). Their response shows that they have chosen to completely dismiss what Jesus said when he was previously in Jerusalem (5.31–32, 37). Either that, or John has chosen to characterize the Pharisees as slow/incapable of understanding Jesus’s claims about himself and his relation to the Father.

<sup>182</sup> Interestingly, Jesus already stated that he was not testifying about himself, and that if he did his testimony would not be true (5.31). Here he repeats that, though in a somewhat convoluted way. He states that “Even if” he did testify about himself, which clearly, he was not, as the rest

	from and where I am going; but you do not know where I come from or where I am going. You judge according to the flesh; I am not judging anyone. But even if I do judge, My judgment is true; for I am not alone <i>in it</i> , but I and the Father who sent Me. Even in your law it has been written that the testimony of two men is true. I am He who testifies about Myself, and the Father who sent Me testifies about Me.”		
<u>8.19</u>	So they were saying to Him, “Where is Your Father?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>8.19</u>	Jesus answered, “You know neither Me nor My Father; if you knew Me, you would know My Father also.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>8.20</u>	These words He spoke in the treasury, as He taught in the temple; and no one seized Him,	LJ ML	NV-SA
8.20	because His hour had not yet come.	AI	NV-NH
<u>8.21</u>	Then He said again to them, “I go away, and you will seek Me, and will die in your sin; where I am going, you cannot come.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>8.22</u>	So the Jews were saying, “Surely He will not kill Himself, will He, since He says, ‘Where I am going, you cannot come’?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>8.23–24</u>	And He was saying to them, “You are from below, I am from above; you are of this world, I am not of this world. Therefore I said to you that you will die in your sins; for unless you believe that I am, you will die in your sins.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>183</sup>
<u>8.25</u>	So they were saying to Him, “Who are You?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>8.25–26</u>	Jesus said to them, “What have I been saying to you <i>from</i> the beginning? I have many things to speak and to judge concerning you, but He who sent Me is true; and the things which I heard from Him, these I speak to the world.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>8.27</u>	They did not realize that He had been speaking to them about the Father.	AI	NV-SA
<u>8.28–29</u>	So Jesus said, “When you lift up the Son of Man, then you will know that I am, and I do nothing on My own initiative, but I speak these things as the Father taught Me. And He who sent Me is with Me; He has not left Me alone, for I always do the things that are pleasing to Him.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>8.30</u>	As He spoke these things, many came to believe in Him.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>8.31–32</u>	So Jesus was saying to those Jews who had believed Him, “If you continue in My word, <i>then</i> you are truly disciples	LJ ML	NV-SA

of what he says demonstrates, he knows it would be true because of it being backed by the Father. The repetition of themes here gives me pause however when it comes to underlining the address or not.

<sup>183</sup> As noted elsewhere (6.20), Jesus’s use of the absolute “I am” can be found not only in John, but also in Mark 6:50 and par., and in Mark 14:62; see also John 8.28, 58.

	of Mine; and you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free.”		
<u>8.33</u>	They answered Him, “We are Abraham’s descendants and have never yet been enslaved to anyone; how is it that You say, ‘You will become free’?”	WDO	NV-SA
8.34–38	Jesus answered them, “Truly, truly, I say to you, everyone who commits sin is the slave of sin. The slave does not remain in the house forever; the son does remain forever. So if the Son makes you free, you will be free indeed. I know that you are Abraham’s descendants; yet you seek to kill Me, because My word has no place in you. I speak the things which I have seen with <i>My</i> Father; therefore you also do the things which you heard from <i>your</i> father.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>8.39</u>	They answered and said to Him, “Abraham is our father.”	WDO	NV-SA
8.39–41	Jesus said to them, “If you are Abraham’s children, do the deeds of Abraham. But as it is, you are seeking to kill Me, a man who has told you the truth, which I heard from God; this Abraham did not do. You are doing the deeds of your father.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>8.41</u>	They said to Him, “We were not born of fornication; we have one Father: God.”	WDO	NV-SA
8.42–47	Jesus said to them, “If God were your Father, you would love Me, for I proceeded forth and have come from God, for I have not even come on My own initiative, but He sent Me. Why do you not understand what I am saying? <i>It is</i> because you cannot hear My word. You are of <i>your</i> father the devil, and you want to do the desires of your father. He was a murderer from the beginning, and does not stand in the truth because there is no truth in him. Whenever he speaks a lie, he speaks from his own <i>nature</i> , for he is a liar and the father of lies. But because I speak the truth, you do not believe Me. Which one of you convicts Me of sin? If I speak truth, why do you not believe Me? He who is of God hears the words of God; for this reason you do not hear <i>them</i> , because you are not of God.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>8.48</u>	The Jews answered and said to Him, “Do we not say rightly that You are a Samaritan and have a demon?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>8.49–51</u>	Jesus answered, “I do not have a demon; but I honor My Father, and you dishonor Me. But I do not seek My glory; there is One who seeks and judges. Truly, truly, I say to you, if anyone keeps My word he will never see death.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>8.52–53</u>	The Jews said to Him, “Now we know that You have a demon. Abraham died, and the prophets <i>also</i> ; and You say, ‘If anyone keeps My word, he will never taste of death.’ Surely You are not greater than our father Abraham, who	WDO	NV-SA

	died? The prophets died too; whom do You make Yourself out <i>to be</i> ?”		
<u>8.54–56</u>	Jesus answered, “If I glorify Myself, My glory is nothing; it is My Father who glorifies Me, of whom you say, ‘He is our God’; and you have not come to know Him, but I know Him; and if I say that I do not know Him, I will be a liar like you, but I do know Him and keep His word. Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day, and he saw <i>it</i> and was glad.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>8.57</u>	So the Jews said to Him, “You are not yet fifty years old, and have You seen Abraham?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>8.58</u>	Jesus said to them, “Truly, truly, I say to you, before Abraham was born, I am.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>8.59</u>	Therefore they picked up stones to throw at Him,	WDO	NV-SA
<u>8.59</u>	but Jesus hid Himself and went out of the temple.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>9.1</u>	As He passed by, He saw a man blind from birth.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>184</sup>
<u>9.2</u>	And His disciples asked Him, “Rabbi, who sinned, this man or his parents, that he would be born blind?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.3–5</u>	Jesus answered, “ <i>It was</i> neither <i>that</i> this man sinned, nor his parents; but <i>it was</i> so that the works of God might be displayed in him. We must work the works of Him who sent Me as long as it is day; night is coming when no one can work. While I am in the world, I am the Light of the world.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>185</sup>
<u>9.6–7</u>	When He had said this, He spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and applied the clay to his eyes, and said to him, “Go, wash in the pool of Siloam” (which is translated, Sent).	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>9.7</u>	So he went away and washed, and came <i>back</i> seeing.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.8–12</u>	Therefore the neighbors, and those who previously saw him as a beggar, were saying, “Is not this the one who used to sit and beg?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.9</u>	Others were saying, “This is he,” <i>still</i> others were saying, “No, but he is like him.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.9</u>	He kept saying, “I am the one.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.10</u>	So they were saying to him, “How then were your eyes opened?”	WDO	NV-SA

<sup>184</sup> Jesus’s healing of the blind is attested in all three of the Synoptics (Mark 8:22–26; Mark 10:46–52 and parr.; M 20:29–34), but this specific story is unique to the Fourth Gospel.

<sup>185</sup> As noted above with regard to 8.12, here Jesus repeats the phrase “I am the light of the world,” which is thematically similar to what we find in M 5:14–16, though the phrase is in reference to his hearers/disciples.

<u>9.11</u>	He answered, "The man who is called Jesus made clay, and anointed my eyes, and said to me, 'Go to Siloam and wash'; so I went away and washed, and I received sight."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.12</u>	They said to him, "Where is He?"	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.12</u>	He said, "I do not know."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.13</u>	They brought to the Pharisees the man who was formerly blind.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.14</u>	Now it was a Sabbath on the day when Jesus made the clay and opened his eyes.	AI	NV-SA
<u>9.15</u>	Then the Pharisees also were asking him again how he received his sight. And he said to them, "He applied clay to my eyes, and I washed, and I see."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.16</u>	Therefore some of the Pharisees were saying, "This man is not from God, because He does not keep the Sabbath." But others were saying, "How can a man who is a sinner perform such signs?"	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.16</u>	And there was a division among them.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.17</u>	So they said to the blind man again, "What do you say about Him, since He opened your eyes?"	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.17</u>	And he said, "He is a prophet."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.18–19</u>	The Jews then did not believe <i>it</i> of him, that he had been blind and had received sight, until they called the parents of the very one who had received his sight, and questioned them, saying, "Is this your son, who you say was born blind? Then how does he now see?"	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.20–21</u>	His parents answered them and said, "We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind; but how he now sees, we do not know; or who opened his eyes, we do not know. Ask him; he is of age, he will speak for himself."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.22–23</u>	His parents said this because they were afraid of the Jews; for the Jews had already agreed that if anyone confessed Him to be Christ, he was to be put out of the synagogue. For this reason his parents said, "He is of age; ask him."	AA	NV-SA
<u>9.24</u>	So a second time they called the man who had been blind, and said to him, "Give glory to God; we know that this man is a sinner."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.25</u>	He then answered, "Whether He is a sinner, I do not know; one thing I do know, that though I was blind, now I see."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.26</u>	So they said to him, "What did He do to you? How did He open your eyes?"	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.27</u>	He answered them, "I told you already and you did not listen; why do you want to hear <i>it</i> again? You do not want to become His disciples too, do you?"	WDO	NV-SA



<u>9.28–29</u>	They reviled him and said, “You are His disciple, but we are disciples of Moses. We know that God has spoken to Moses, but as for this man, we do not know where He is from.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.30–33</u>	The man answered and said to them, “Well, here is an amazing thing, that you do not know where He is from, and <i>yet</i> He opened my eyes. We know that God does not hear sinners; but if anyone is God-fearing and does His will, He hears him. Since the beginning of time it has never been heard that anyone opened the eyes of a person born blind. If this man were not from God, He could do nothing.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.34</u>	They answered him, “You were born entirely in sins, and are you teaching us?” So they put him out.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.35</u>	Jesus heard that they had put him out, and finding him, He said, “Do you believe in the Son of Man?”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>9.36</u>	He answered, “Who is He, Lord, that I may believe in Him?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.37</u>	Jesus said to him, “You have both seen Him, and He is the one who is talking with you.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>9.38</u>	And he said, “Lord, I believe.” And he worshiped Him.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.39</u>	And Jesus said, “For judgment I came into this world, so that those who do not see may see, and that those who see may become blind.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>186</sup>
<u>9.40</u>	Those of the Pharisees who were with Him heard these things and said to Him, “We are not blind too, are we?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>9.41</u>	Jesus said to them, “If you were blind, you would have no sin; but since you say, ‘We see,’ your sin remains.	LJ ML	NV-SA
10.1–5	“Truly, truly, I say to you, he who does not enter by the door into the fold of the sheep, but climbs up some other way, he is a thief and a robber. But he who enters by the door is a shepherd of the sheep. To him the doorkeeper opens, and the sheep hear his voice, and he calls his own sheep by name and leads them out. When he puts forth all his own, he goes ahead of them, and the sheep follow him because they know his voice. A stranger they simply will not follow, but will flee from him, because they do not know the voice of strangers.”	LJ ML	NV-SA

<sup>186</sup> What Jesus says here calls to mind what he says in Mark 4:10–12 and parr., specifically Matt 13:10–17 which contains some special M material that includes a lengthier digression on seeing, hearing, and understanding. One could easily see how Jesus could have said something like what is recorded here in John given the contents of these Synoptic passages.

<u>10.6</u>	This figure of speech Jesus spoke to them, but they did not understand what those things were which He had been saying to them.	WDO	NV-SA
10.7–18	So Jesus said to them again, “Truly, truly, I say to you, I am the door of the sheep. All who came before Me are thieves and robbers, but the sheep did not hear them. I am the door; if anyone enters through Me, he will be saved, and will go in and out and find pasture. The thief comes only to steal and kill and destroy; I came that they may have life, and have <i>it</i> abundantly. I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd lays down His life for the sheep. He who is a hired hand, and not a shepherd, who is not the owner of the sheep, sees the wolf coming, and leaves the sheep and flees, and the wolf snatches them and scatters <i>them</i> . <i>He flees</i> because he is a hired hand and is not concerned about the sheep. I am the good shepherd, and I know My own and My own know Me, even as the Father knows Me and I know the Father; and I lay down My life for the sheep. I have other sheep, which are not of this fold; I must bring them also, and they will hear My voice; and they will become one flock <i>with</i> one shepherd. For this reason the Father loves Me, because I lay down My life so that I may take it again. No one has taken it away from Me, but I lay it down on My own initiative. I have authority to lay it down, and I have authority to take it up again. This commandment I received from My Father.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>10.19</u>	A division occurred again among the Jews because of these words.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>10.20</u>	Many of them were saying, “He has a demon and is insane. Why do you listen to Him?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>10.21</u>	Others were saying, “These are not the sayings of one demon-possessed. A demon cannot open the eyes of the blind, can he?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>10.22–23</u>	At that time the Feast of the Dedication took place at Jerusalem; it was winter, and Jesus was walking in the temple in the portico of Solomon.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>10.24</u>	The Jews then gathered around Him, and were saying to Him, “How long will You keep us in suspense? If You are the Christ, tell us plainly.”	WDO	NV-SA
10.25–30	Jesus answered them, “I told you, and you do not believe; the works that I do in My Father’s name, these testify of Me. But you do not believe because you are not of My sheep. My sheep hear My voice, and I know them, and they follow Me; and I give eternal life to them, and they will never perish; and no one will snatch them out of My	LJ ML	NV-SA

	hand. My Father, who has given <i>them</i> to Me, is greater than all; and no one is able to snatch <i>them</i> out of the Father's hand. I and the Father are one."		
<u>10.31</u>	The Jews picked up stones again to stone Him.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>10.32</u>	Jesus answered them, "I showed you many good works from the Father; for which of them are you stoning Me?"	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>10.33</u>	The Jews answered Him, "For a good work we do not stone You, but for blasphemy; and because You, being a man, make Yourself out <i>to be</i> God."	WDO	NV-SA
10.34–38	Jesus answered them, "Has it not been written in your Law, 'I SAID, YOU ARE GODS'? If he called them gods, to whom the word of God came (and the Scripture cannot be broken), do you say of Him, whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world, 'You are blaspheming,' because I said, 'I am the Son of God'? If I do not do the works of My Father, do not believe Me; but if I do them, though you do not believe Me, believe the works, so that you may know and understand that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father."	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>10.39</u>	Therefore they were seeking again to seize Him, and He eluded their grasp.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>10.40</u>	And He went away again beyond the Jordan to the place where John was first baptizing, and He was staying there.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>10.41</u>	Many came to Him and were saying, "While John performed no sign, yet everything John said about this man was true."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>10.42</u>	Many believed in Him there.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.1</u>	Now a certain man was sick, Lazarus of Bethany, the village of Mary and her sister Martha.	AI	NV-SA <sup>187</sup>
<u>11.2</u>	It was the Mary who anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped His feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick.	AI	NV-SA
<u>11.3</u>	So the sisters sent <i>word</i> to Him, saying, "Lord, behold, he whom You love is sick."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.4</u>	But when Jesus heard <i>this</i> , He said, "This sickness is not to end in death, but for the glory of God, so that the Son of God may be glorified by it."	LJ ML	NV-SA

<sup>187</sup> The raising of Lazarus is obviously unique to the Fourth Gospel and some wonder why such an incredible miracle was left out of the Synoptics if in fact Jesus did perform the miracle. While it is puzzling, there are also similar types of miracles in the Synoptics that did not find a home in the Fourth Gospel (Mark 5:22–43 and parr.; L 7:11–17), which might suggest that the authors of the Gospels were simply being selective in what they included, not inventive. This does not completely remove the puzzlement that results from its absence from the Synoptics, however, and one's skepticism over its authenticity for that very reason is understandable.

<u>11.5</u>	Now Jesus loved Martha and her sister and Lazarus.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.6–7</u>	So when He heard that he was sick, He then stayed two days <i>longer</i> in the place where He was. Then after this He said to the disciples, “Let us go to Judea again.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.8</u>	The disciples said to Him, “Rabbi, the Jews were just now seeking to stone You, and are You going there again?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.9–10</u>	Jesus answered, “Are there not twelve hours in the day? If anyone walks in the day, he does not stumble, because he sees the light of this world. But if anyone walks in the night, he stumbles, because the light is not in him.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.11</u>	This He said, and after that He said to them, “Our friend Lazarus has fallen asleep; but I go, so that I may awaken him out of sleep.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.12</u>	The disciples then said to Him, “Lord, if he has fallen asleep, he will recover.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.13</u>	Now Jesus had spoken of his death, but they thought that He was speaking of literal sleep.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.14–15</u>	So Jesus then said to them plainly, “Lazarus is dead, and I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, so that you may believe; but let us go to him.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.16</u>	Therefore Thomas, who is called Didymus, said to <i>his</i> fellow disciples, “Let us also go, so that we may die with Him.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.17</u>	So when Jesus came, He found that he had already been in the tomb four days.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.18</u>	Now Bethany was near Jerusalem, about two miles off;	AI	NV-SA
<u>11.19</u>	and many of the Jews had come to Martha and Mary, to console them concerning <i>their</i> brother.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.20</u>	Martha therefore, when she heard that Jesus was coming, went to meet Him, but Mary stayed at the house.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.21–22</u>	Martha then said to Jesus, “Lord, if You had been here, my brother would not have died. Even now I know that whatever You ask of God, God will give You.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.23</u>	Jesus said to her, “Your brother will rise again.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.24</u>	Martha said to Him, “I know that he will rise again in the resurrection on the last day.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.25–26</u>	Jesus said to her, “I am the resurrection and the life; he who believes in Me will live even if he dies, and everyone who lives and believes in Me will never die. Do you believe this?”	LJ ML	NV-SA

<u>11.27</u>	She said to Him, “Yes, Lord; I have believed that You are the Christ, the Son of God, <i>even</i> He who comes into the world.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.28</u>	When she had said this, she went away and called Mary her sister, saying secretly, “The Teacher is here and is calling for you.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.29</u>	And when she heard it, she got up quickly and was coming to Him.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.30</u>	Now Jesus had not yet come into the village, but was still in the place where Martha met Him.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.31</u>	Then the Jews who were with her in the house, and consoling her, when they saw that Mary got up quickly and went out, they followed her, supposing that she was going to the tomb to weep there.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.32</u>	Therefore, when Mary came where Jesus was, she saw Him, and fell at His feet, saying to Him, “Lord, if You had been here, my brother would not have died.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.33–34</u>	When Jesus therefore saw her weeping, and the Jews who came with her <i>also</i> weeping, He was deeply moved in spirit and was troubled, and said, “Where have you laid him?”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.34</u>	They said to Him, “Lord, come and see.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.35</u>	Jesus wept.	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.36–37</u>	So the Jews were saying, “See how He loved him!” But some of them said, “Could not this man, who opened the eyes of the blind man, have kept this man also from dying?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.38–39</u>	So Jesus, again being deeply moved within, came to the tomb. Now it was a cave, and a stone was lying against it. Jesus said, “Remove the stone.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.39</u>	Martha, the sister of the deceased, said to Him, “Lord, by this time there will be a stench, for he has been <i>dead</i> four days.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.40</u>	Jesus said to her, “Did I not say to you that if you believe, you will see the glory of God?”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.41</u>	So they removed the stone.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.41–43</u>	Then Jesus raised His eyes, and said, “Father, I thank You that You have heard Me. I knew that You always hear Me; but because of the people standing around I said it, so that they may believe that You sent Me.” When He had said these things, He cried out with a loud voice, “Lazarus, come forth.”	LJ ML	NV-SA

<u>11.44</u>	The man who had died came forth, bound hand and foot with wrappings, and his face was wrapped around with a cloth.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.44</u>	Jesus said to them, “Unbind him, and let him go.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>11.45</u>	Therefore many of the Jews who came to Mary, and saw what He had done, believed in Him.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>188</sup>
<u>11.46</u>	But some of them went to the Pharisees and told them the things which Jesus had done.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.47–48</u>	Therefore the chief priests and the Pharisees convened a council, and were saying, “What are we doing? For this man is performing many signs. If we let Him <i>go on</i> like this, all men will believe in Him, and the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation.”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>189</sup>
<u>11.49–50</u>	But one of them, Caiaphas, who was high priest that year, said to them, “You know nothing at all, nor do you take	WDO	NV-SA <sup>190</sup>

<sup>188</sup> Blomberg rightly points out, “that many of the observers of Lazarus’ resurrection would have begun to believe in some way is entirely credible” (*Historical Reliability*, 172).

<sup>189</sup> 11.47–53 captures a discussion amongst the chief priests and Pharisees and, ultimately, their decision as to what they should do with Jesus. It would appear that this serves as the final “plot” to kill Jesus similar to what we find in Mark 14:1–2 and parr. (there are multiple “plots” to kill Jesus in the various Gospels: Mark 3:6 and parr.; L 4:28–30; John 5.18; John 10.39). Even though this plot appears to be at a different time in John’s narrative (pre-triumphal entry) than the one we find in the Synoptics (post-triumphal entry), all of the Gospels agree that the chief priests were involved. Furthermore, that they were concerned the Romans might come and take away their place (most likely their temple) and nation does have a ring of authenticity to it. Blomberg writes, “The tenuous relation with Rome reflected here matches what we know from other ancient documents” (*Historical Reliability*, 172). Of course, the ultimate question is how did Jesus’s followers gain access to this information in the first place? Keener writes, “A leak from the Jerusalem aristocracy is not at all implausible and happened on other occasions where the object of discussion had allies in the aristocracy (cf., e.g., Josephus *Life* 204). If Joseph of Arimathea became an ally of the disciples at some point, his sharing of information with them is more probable than not” (*John*, 2:852). Furthermore, if 12.42 is at all accurate, and any one of those “rulers” who ended up believing in Jesus were present at this council, then one could easily see how something like this could be leaked out later to interested parties.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. M 26:3, 57; L 3:2; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.2.2, 18.4.1–3. Matthew is the only other Gospel to directly link Caiaphas to the plot/trial of Jesus providing us with two independent traditions attesting to his involvement (Keener, *John*, 2:853n158). It is also interesting that John repeats what Caiaphas is reported as saying here later in his Gospel (18.14), which, to me, signals a historical reminiscence. The real difficulty comes in trying to determine what is meant by “that year” as Caiaphas had been high priest for a considerable amount of time by then (he held that position from 18–36 CE); see Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave*, 2 vols., ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 1:409–10. The most widely held position appears to stem from Origen (ca. 200 CE) who suggested “that year” meant “that fateful

	into account that it is expedient for you that one man die for the people, and that the whole nation not perish.”		
11.51–52	Now he did not say this on his own initiative, but being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus was going to die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but in order that He might also gather together into one the children of God who are scattered abroad.	AA	NV-NH
11.53	So from that day on they planned together to kill Him.	WDO	CR <sup>191</sup>
11.54	Therefore Jesus no longer continued to walk publicly among the Jews, but went away from there to the country near the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim; and there He stayed with the disciples.	LJ ML	NV-SA
11.55	Now the Passover of the Jews was near, and many went up to Jerusalem out of the country before the Passover to purify themselves.	WDO	V <sup>192</sup>
<u>11.56</u>	So they were seeking for Jesus, and were saying to one another as they stood in the temple, “What do you think; that He will not come to the feast at all?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>11.57</u>	Now the chief priests and the Pharisees had given orders that if anyone knew where He was, he was to report it, so that they might seize Him.	WDO	NV-SA
12.1	Jesus, therefore, six days before the Passover, came to Bethany where Lazarus was, whom Jesus had raised from the dead.	LJ ML	CR <sup>193</sup>

year which Jesus died” (Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 173; Keener, *John*, 2:853–54 for a slightly more robust discussion).

<sup>191</sup> A few things warrant a CR designation for this particular data point, some of which have already been mentioned but are worth repeating here. In Mark 14:1–2 and parr. there is brief mention of the chief priests and scribes (elders in Matt 26:3) convening together and forming a plot to seize Jesus and subsequently kill him. All three of those accounts happen after Jesus’s triumphal entry into Jerusalem and the temple cleansing episode; here the meeting happens prior to the triumphal entry and well after the re-positioned temple cleansing (2.13–21). Additionally, the plot to kill Jesus is spurred on by the temple cleansing episode in the Synoptics, but here it would appear that Lazarus’s resurrection is the primary catalyst for the plot. From a “big picture” perspective, the position of the plot in the overall narrative along with the reason for the plot are in conflict with the Synoptics. Having said that, outside of those differences I do think that John has preserved historically reliable tradition regarding the conversation had in the meeting, those involved, etc., none of which would appear to be in conflict with those brief mentions of the final plot in the Synoptics.

<sup>192</sup> In every account we have of Jesus’s final days the Passover looms (Mark 14.1 and parr.).

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Mark 14:3–9 // Matt 26:6–13; In Mark’s account, which Matthew is clearly reliant upon, the anointing happens two days prior to the Passover. Mark and John both agree on the location, Bethany. It should also be noted that despite their similarities I find enough differences between

12.2	So they made Him a supper there, and Martha was serving; but Lazarus was one of those reclining <i>at the table</i> with Him.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>194</sup>
12.3	Mary then took a pound of very costly perfume of pure nard,	WDO	V <sup>195</sup>
12.3	and anointed the feet of Jesus and wiped His feet with her hair; and the house was filled with the fragrance of the perfume.	WDO	CR <sup>196</sup>
<u>12.4–5</u>	But Judas Iscariot, one of His disciples, who was intending to betray Him, said, “Why was this perfume not sold for three hundred denarii and given to poor <i>people</i> ?”	WDO	NV-SA <sup>197</sup>
<u>12.6</u>	Now he said this, not because he was concerned about the poor, but because he was a thief, and as he had the money box, he used to pilfer what was put into it.	AI	NV-SA
12.7–8	Therefore Jesus said, “Let her alone, so that she may keep it for the day of My burial. For you always have the poor with you, but you do not always have Me.”	LJ ML	V <sup>198</sup>
12.9	The large crowd of the Jews then learned that He was there; and they came, not for Jesus’ sake only, but that they might also see Lazarus, whom He raised from the dead.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>12.10</u>	But the chief priests planned to put Lazarus to death also;	WDO	NV-SA
<u>12.11</u>	because on account of him many of the Jews were going away and were believing in Jesus.	WDO	NV-SA

these three (Mark, Matt, John) anointing accounts and the one in Luke (7:36–50) to conclude that the latter is an entirely different event.

<sup>194</sup> The Fourth Gospel is somewhat ambiguous in regard to whose house they were at, though given that the same three participants from ch. 11 are active here, it might be safe to assume that they are back at the house of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus. Mark 14:3 is clear that it was Simon the Leper’s home. There have been a number of suggestions that attempt to resolve the rather minor discrepancy, none of which move beyond speculation to an evidence-based resolution (see Keener, *John*, 2:861; he briefly mentions four common solutions). Given the ambiguity, however, I think it appropriate to leave it as SA and not label it as CR.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. Mark 14:3 // Matt 26:7. While John specifies it was Mary who did the anointing, both accounts agree that it was costly perfume of pure nard.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. Mark 14:3 // Matt 26:7. This is one of the few places where these accounts disagree; the Markan version has Jesus’s head being anointed while the Johannine version features Jesus’s feet.

<sup>197</sup> Cr. Mark 14:4–5 // Matt 26:8–9. John’s specificity here that it was Judas who posed the question actually makes this data point singularly attested material, rather than CR or V. Having said that, given the similarities between the questions this particular data point should at least be underlined.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. Mark 14:6–8 // Matt 26:10–12. While not word for word, the similarities between what Jesus is reported as saying in John and in the Markan/Matthean accounts are substantial and warrant marking this data point as V.



<u>12.12–13</u>	On the next day the large crowd who had come to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took the branches of the palm trees and went out to meet Him, and <i>began</i> to shout, “Hosanna! BLESSED IS HE WHO COMES IN THE NAME OF THE LORD, even the King of Israel.”	WDO	CR <sup>199</sup>
<u>12.14</u>	Jesus, finding a young donkey, sat on it;	LJ ML	CR <sup>200</sup>
12.14–15	as it is written, “FEAR NOT, DAUGHTER OF ZION; BEHOLD, YOUR KING IS COMING, SEATED ON A DONKEY’S COLT.”	AI	NV-NH
12.16	These things His disciples did not understand at the first; but when Jesus was glorified, then they remembered that these things were written of Him, and that they had done these things to Him.	WDO	NV-SA
12.17	So the people, who were with Him when He called Lazarus out of the tomb and raised him from the dead, continued to testify <i>about Him</i> .	WDO	NV-SA
12.18	For this reason also the people went and met Him, because they heard that He had performed this sign.	WDO	NV-SA
12.19	So the Pharisees said to one another, “You see that you are not doing any good; look, the world has gone after Him.”	WDO	NV-SA
12.20–22	Now there were some Greeks among those who were going up to worship at the feast; these then came to Philip, who was from Bethsaida of Galilee, and <i>began to</i> ask him, saying, “Sir, we wish to see Jesus.” Philip came and told Andrew; Andrew and Philip came and told Jesus.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>12.23–28</u>	And Jesus answered them, saying, “The hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified. Truly, truly, I say to you,	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>201</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Cf. Mark 11:1–10 and parr. The primary reason for marking this CR is the chronological placement of the triumphal entry in John in comparison to the Synoptics. The details are largely the same, and for that reason I have underlined the address for the data point corresponding to the event, but chronologically they are in conflict.

<sup>200</sup> Cf. Mark 11:7 and parr. It could be argued that what we read in Mark that Jesus did “find” the young donkey in a sense, but as it reads here it seems like John is wanting to emphasize Jesus’s control of the situation and minimize the disciples’ involvement and for that reason I have marked it as CR.

<sup>201</sup> There are three themes in this particular data point that find parallels in the Synoptics: the mission of the Son of Man; finding/losing life; and Jesus’s impending hour. Regarding the first, Jesus speaks of his mission when he says that a grain of wheat must fall into the earth and die and when it dies it will bear much fruit (12.24). While not communicating it in those words, Jesus was very clear in the Synoptics that he had to suffer in order to accomplish his mission (cf. Mark 8:31 and parr.). Regarding the second, we find what Jesus says here regarding finding/losing one’s life almost verbatim in Mark 8:35 and parr., as well as in Q 17:33. Finally, regarding the third, Jesus shows a certain resolve in the face of his impending “hour” in the

	unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit. He who loves his life loses it, and he who hates his life in this world will keep it to life eternal. If anyone serves Me, he must follow Me; and where I am, there My servant will be also; if anyone serves Me, the Father will honor him. Now My soul has become troubled; and what shall I say, 'Father, save Me from this hour'? But for this purpose I came to this hour. Father, glorify Your name."		
12.28	Then a voice came out of heaven: "I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again."	WDO	NV-SA
12.29	So the crowd <i>of people</i> who stood by and heard it were saying that it had thundered; others were saying, "An angel has spoken to Him."	WDO	NV-SA
12.30–32	Jesus answered and said, "This voice has not come for My sake, but for your sakes. Now judgment is upon this world; now the ruler of this world will be cast out. And I, if I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to Myself."	LJ ML	NV-SA
12.33	But He was saying this to indicate the kind of death by which He was to die.	AI	NV-SA
12.34	The crowd then answered Him, "We have heard out of the Law that the Christ is to remain forever; and how can You say, 'The Son of Man must be lifted up'? Who is this Son of Man?"	WDO	NV-SA
12.35–36	So Jesus said to them, "For a little while longer the Light is among you. Walk while you have the Light, so that darkness will not overtake you; he who walks in the darkness does not know where he goes. While you have the Light, believe in the Light, so that you may become sons of Light."	LJ ML	NV-SA
12.36	These things Jesus spoke, and He went away and hid Himself from them.	LJ ML	NV-SA
12.37	But though He had performed so many signs before them, <i>yet</i> they were not believing in Him.	WDO	NV-SA
12.38	<i>This was</i> to fulfill the word of Isaiah the prophet which he spoke: "LORD, WHO HAS BELIEVED OUR REPORT? AND TO WHOM HAS THE ARM OF THE LORD BEEN REVEALED?"	AI	NV-NH
12.39	For this reason they could not believe,	AI	NV-SA
12.39–41	for Isaiah said again, "HE HAS BLINDED THEIR EYES AND HE HARDENED THEIR HEART, SO THAT THEY WOULD NOT SEE	AI	NV-NH

Synoptics as well (cf. Mark 14:35–36 and par., though in Mark it appears that he would have avoided it if allowed to do so by the Father). While it is likely that John has reshaped this in his own unique way, there are enough similarities thematically with the Synoptic material to conclude that Jesus said something very similar to this.

	WITH THEIR EYES AND PERCEIVE WITH THEIR HEART, AND BE CONVERTED AND I HEAL THEM.” These things Isaiah said because he saw His glory, and he spoke of Him.		
12.42	Nevertheless many even of the rulers believed in Him, but because of the Pharisees they were not confessing <i>Him</i> , for fear that they would be put out of the synagogue;	WDO	NV-SA
12.43	for they loved the approval of men rather than the approval of God.	WDO	NV-SA
12.44–50	And Jesus cried out and said, “He who believes in Me, does not believe in Me but in Him who sent Me. He who sees Me sees the One who sent Me. I have come <i>as</i> Light into the world, so that everyone who believes in Me will not remain in darkness. If anyone hears My sayings and does not keep them, I do not judge him; for I did not come to judge the world, but to save the world. He who rejects Me and does not receive My sayings, has one who judges him; the word I spoke is what will judge him at the last day. For I did not speak on My own initiative, but the Father Himself who sent Me has given Me a commandment <i>as to</i> what to say and what to speak. I know that His commandment is eternal life; therefore the things I speak, I speak just as the Father has told Me.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
13.1	Now before the Feast of the Passover, Jesus knowing that His hour had come that He would depart out of this world to the Father, having loved His own who were in the world, He loved them to the end.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>202</sup>
13.2	During supper, the devil having already put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, <i>the son of Simon</i> , to betray Him,	WDO	NV-SA
13.3–6	<i>Jesus</i> , knowing that the Father had given all things into His hands, and that He had come forth from God and was going back to God, got up from supper, and laid aside His garments; and taking a towel, He girded Himself. Then He poured water into the basin, and began to wash the disciples’ feet and to wipe them with the towel with which He was girded. So He came to Simon Peter.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>203</sup>

<sup>202</sup> 13.1–35 depicts the Last Supper and there are some significant differences between what is presented here and what we find in the Synoptics (Mark 14:22–25 and parr.). One of the more significant differences is the timing of the event; John places the meal prior to the Passover, while the Synoptics are in agreement that the meal they shared *was* the Passover (Mark 14:12 // Matt 26:17 // Luke 22:7). Again, this puts John’s chronological structuring in conflict with the Synoptics.

<sup>203</sup> Cf. Mark 9:35; 10:42–45 and par.; M 23:11; L 22:27; These verses mention Jesus’s self-perceived role as a servant and/or him encouraging his followers to take on the role of a servant, something which he obvious exemplifies in 13.3–15.

<u>13.6</u>	He said to Him, “Lord, do You wash my feet?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>13.7</u>	Jesus answered and said to him, “What I do you do not realize now, but you will understand hereafter.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>13.8</u>	Peter said to Him, “Never shall You wash my feet!”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>13.8</u>	Jesus answered him, “If I do not wash you, you have no part with Me.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>13.9</u>	Simon Peter said to Him, “Lord, <i>then wash</i> not only my feet, but also my hands and my head.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>13.10</u>	Jesus said to him, “He who has bathed needs only to wash his feet, but is completely clean; and you are clean, but not all <i>of you</i> .”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>13.11</u>	For He knew the one who was betraying Him; for this reason He said, “Not all of you are clean.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
13.12–20	So when He had washed their feet, and taken His garments and reclined <i>at the table</i> again, He said to them, “Do you know what I have done to you? You call Me Teacher and Lord; and you are right, for <i>so</i> I am. If I then, the Lord and the Teacher, washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another’s feet. For I gave you an example that you also should do as I did to you. Truly, truly, I say to you, a slave is not greater than his master, nor <i>is</i> one who is sent greater than the one who sent him. If you know these things, you are blessed if you do them. I do not speak of all of you. I know the ones I have chosen; but <i>it is</i> that the Scripture may be fulfilled, ‘HE WHO EATS MY BREAD HAS LIFTED UP HIS HEEL AGAINST ME.’ From now on I am telling you before <i>it</i> comes to pass, so that when it does occur, you may believe that I am <i>He</i> . Truly, truly, I say to you, he who receives whomever I send receives Me; and he who receives Me receives Him who sent Me.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>204</sup>
13.21	When Jesus had said this, He became troubled in spirit, and testified and said, “Truly, truly, I say to you, that one of you will betray Me.”	LJ ML	V <sup>205</sup>
<u>13.22</u>	The disciples <i>began</i> looking at one another, at a loss <i>to know</i> of which one He was speaking.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>206</sup>

<sup>204</sup> Cf. Q 6:40 to 13.16, something Jesus repeats in 15.20. Also, cf. Q 10:16 (Matt 10:40) to 13.20, as there is great similarity between what Jesus says here and in the Matthean text.

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Mark 14:18 and par. What John has reported here is nearly verbatim with what we find in Mark and Matt. The saying is short enough and most certainly memorable enough that it could easily have been preserved by a number of witnesses, there is no need to suggest literary dependence, especially given how infrequent we find such verbatim parallels (Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 192).

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Mark 14:19 and parr. The response differs in detail, but the fact that they were troubled/grieved at what Jesus had just said is to be expected.

<u>13.23</u>	There was reclining on Jesus' bosom one of His disciples, whom Jesus loved.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>13.24</u>	So Simon Peter gestured to him, and said to him, "Tell <i>us</i> who it is of whom He is speaking."	WDO	NV-SA
<u>13.25</u>	He, leaning back thus on Jesus' bosom, said to Him, "Lord, who is it?"	WDO	NV-SA
13.26	Jesus then answered, "That is the one for whom I shall dip the morsel and give it to him."	LJ ML	CR <sup>207</sup>
13.26	So when He had dipped the morsel, He took and gave it to Judas, <i>the son</i> of Simon Iscariot.	LJ ML	CR
13.27	After the morsel, Satan then entered into him.	WDO	CR <sup>208</sup>
13.27	Therefore Jesus said to him, "What you do, do quickly."	LJ ML	NV-SA
13.28	Now no one of those reclining <i>at the table</i> knew for what purpose He had said this to him.	WDO	NV-SA
13.29	For some were supposing, because Judas had the money box, that Jesus was saying to him, "Buy the things we have need of for the feast"; or else, that he should give something to the poor.	WDO	NV-SA
13.30	So after receiving the morsel he went out immediately; and it was night.	WDO	NV-SA
13.31–35	Therefore when he had gone out, Jesus said, "Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him; if God is glorified in Him, God will also glorify Him in Himself, and will glorify Him immediately. Little children, I am with you a little while longer. You will seek Me; and as I said to the Jews, now I also say to you, 'Where I am going, you cannot come.' A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another, even as I have loved you, that you also love one another. By this all men will know that you are My disciples, if you have love for one another."	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>13.36</u>	Simon Peter said to Him, "Lord, where are You going?"	WDO	NV-SA
<u>13.36</u>	Jesus answered, "Where I go, you cannot follow Me now; but you will follow later."	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>13.37</u>	Peter said to Him, "Lord, why can I not follow You right now? I will lay down my life for You."	WDO	CR <sup>209</sup>

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Mark 14:20 // Matt 26:23 // Luke 22:21; all four of the Gospels seem to have it differently, though with minor agreements.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. Luke 22:3; John is the only other Gospel that mentions Satan/the devil's involvement in Judas's betrayal. In Luke's account Satan enters Judas prior to the meal; here it is near the end.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. Mark 14:29–31 and par.; L 22:33–34. The three accounts (Mark, Luke, and John) share the following: Peter saying something about being obedient to Jesus until the end, a rooster crowing a certain number of times, and Peter denying Jesus three times at some point in the proceeding hours. While we should consider those elements historical, there are enough

<u>13.38</u>	Jesus answered, “Will you lay down your life for Me? Truly, truly, I say to you, a rooster will not crow until you deny Me three times.	LJ ML	CR
14.1–4	“Do not let your heart be troubled; believe in God, believe also in Me. In My Father’s house are many dwelling places; if it were not so, I would have told you; for I go to prepare a place for you. If I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you to Myself, that where I am, <i>there</i> you may be also. And you know the way where I am going.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>210</sup>
<u>14.5</u>	Thomas said to Him, “Lord, we do not know where You are going, how do we know the way?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>14.6–7</u>	Jesus said to him, “I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father but through Me. If you had known Me, you would have known My Father also; from now on you know Him, and have seen Him.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
<u>14.8</u>	Philip said to Him, “Lord, show us the Father, and it is enough for us.”	WDO	NV-SA

differences, especially regarding where it occurs (both chronologically and geographically) and what is actually said, to mark it as CR.

<sup>210</sup> From the beginning of ch. 14 through the end of ch. 16 we encounter what has commonly been labeled as Jesus’s “Farewell Discourse”. There is great difficulty in trying to determine what is historical/authentic to Jesus and what is Johannine overlay in this rather lengthy set of responses/monologues. To say that it is entirely Johannine invention is, quite frankly, an absurd conclusion that ignores much of what we now know regarding the construction of speeches in ancient works that have historiographical interests. To treat them as speeches seems reasonable given their length and the fact that they come at such a critical point in the narrative, Jesus’s final moments with his disciples. It is highly likely that what we have here is an extended adaptation/reshaping of a historical core, something quite common in ancient historiographical writing. Keener writes, “Such stylistic adaptation and interpretive amplification did not violate the protocols of ancient historical writing. Those who expanded the historical kernel of a speech rather than composed it wholesale from probability were the more conservative historians” (Keener, *John*, 1:69). Of course, determining exactly which portion(s) belong(s) to the historical kernel/core is next to impossible. As has been the case in other parts of the Fourth Gospel, the only way to get close to labeling a specific verse or section of verses authentic is by taking note of any conceptual overlap with the Synoptic tradition. In each of these larger sections (14.9–21; 14.23–31; 15.1–27; 16.1–16; 16.19–28; 16.31–33), I will try to do that when applicable. This will not result in any of these larger sections being changed from SA to V, nor will it result in any of their addresses being underlined. Regarding the latter, the length, repetitiveness, and overall dissimilarity from other Jesus tradition prevent me from suggesting that any of the larger data points are mostly reliable in all that they contain, even though I do feel that there are portions of authentic tradition upon which the speeches are built.

14.9–21	Jesus said to him, “Have I been so long with you, and <i>yet</i> you have not come to know Me, Philip? He who has seen Me has seen the Father; how <i>can</i> you say, ‘Show us the Father’? Do you not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father is in Me? The words that I say to you I do not speak on My own initiative, but the Father abiding in Me does His works. Believe Me that I am in the Father and the Father is in Me; otherwise believe because of the works themselves. Truly, truly, I say to you, he who believes in Me, the works that I do, he will do also; and greater <i>works</i> than these he will do; because I go to the Father. Whatever you ask in My name, that will I do, so that the Father may be glorified in the Son. If you ask Me anything in My name, I will do <i>it</i> . If you love Me, you will keep My commandments. I will ask the Father, and He will give you another Helper, that He may be with you forever; <i>that is</i> the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it does not see Him or know Him, <i>but</i> you know Him because He abides with you and will be in you. I will not leave you as orphans; I will come to you. After a little while the world will no longer see Me, but you <i>will</i> see Me; because I live, you will live also. In that day you will know that I am in My Father, and you in Me, and I in you. He who has My commandments and keeps them is the one who loves Me; and he who loves Me will be loved by My Father, and I will love him and will disclose Myself to him.”	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>211</sup>
<u>14.22</u>	Judas (not Iscariot) said to Him, “Lord, what then has happened that You are going to disclose Yourself to us and not to the world?”	WDO	NV-SA
14.23–31	Jesus answered and said to him, “If anyone loves Me, he will keep My word; and My Father will love him, and We	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>212</sup>

<sup>211</sup> Blomberg writes, “the appeal to the testimony of his ‘works’ (vv. 10–11) coheres with his previous statements to that effect already found to be authentic.” The verse he is referencing is 4.34, “My food is to do the will of him who sent me and to accomplish his works” (see n. attached to 4.34–38 above for references). Furthermore, as has already been mentioned a number of times, the double *amēn* formula could signal that what follows is authentic. Finally, cf. 14.13–14 to Q 11:9–13; the “ask”, “seek”, “knock” language you find in that particular Q passage is not all that different conceptually than what you find here (and in 16.24); see Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 199 for quote and further discussion regarding this section.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. Mark 13:11 and parr. to 14.26; there the disciples are told that in the event that they face persecution that the Holy Spirit will speak through them or, if not that direct, they will be told what to say. What we find here is obviously different in that it is more so about recalling what Jesus said during his earthly ministry, but that Jesus had discussed the fact that the disciples

	will come to him and make Our abode with him. He who does not love Me does not keep My words; and the word which you hear is not Mine, but the Father's who sent Me. These things I have spoken to you while abiding with you. But the Helper, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name, He will teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said to you. Peace I leave with you; My peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you. Do not let your heart be troubled, nor let it be fearful. You heard that I said to you, 'I go away, and I will come to you.' If you loved Me, you would have rejoiced because I go to the Father, for the Father is greater than I. Now I have told you before it happens, so that when it happens, you may believe. I will not speak much more with you, for the ruler of the world is coming, and he has nothing in Me; but so that the world may know that I love the Father, I do exactly as the Father commanded Me. Get up, let us go from here."		
15.1–27	I am the true vine, and My Father is the vinedresser. Every branch in Me that does not bear fruit, He takes away; and	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>213</sup>

would have the Holy Spirit's help in time of need on at least one other occasion is a parallel worth noting, even if the help comes in different contexts. More significantly, at least in my opinion, is what we find in 14.28, "for the father is greater than I." The early church simply would not have invented such a saying. Blomberg writes, "all that is important for our discussion is that the subordination of Jesus to the Father clearly expressed here would not have been invented in a community increasingly concerned to exalt Jesus as fully equal to the Father" (*Historical Reliability*, 204). Finally, the awkwardness of 14.31–15.1 signals that this larger block of material (14–16) has been pieced together and was not, at least when it was first produced, intended to be a unity. Interestingly, at some point, the author of the work did in fact decide to unify the contents of the three chapters as they share some noteworthy similarities (cf. 14.14 // 16.23–24; cf. 14.16–18 // 16.8–11; cf. 14.19–20 // 1.16–19). This is one of, if not the, primary reasons for concluding that Johannine redaction/overlay is undoubtedly present in this section.

<sup>213</sup> There are numerous points of contact here with the Synoptic tradition. First, Jesus's final "I am" saying (and the few verses that follow) compares himself to his father, and his disciples to both of them, using vineyard imagery (cf. Mark 12:1–12 and parr.; Mark 14:25 and parr.; M 20:1–16; M 21:28–32). His choice here to compare himself and his father using this imagery is not surprising in the least (Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 206). Second, cf. what is found in 15.7, 16 to Mark 11:24 and par.; Q 11:9. Third, cf. Mark 3:31–35 and parr. to 15.14. The idea that Jesus considers someone close to him (friend or family) if they do the will of God and/or what he commands them to do is found in the Synoptic tradition and, obviously, in John. Fourth, cf. Q 6:40 to 15.20, something Jesus originally said in 13.16. With regard to the latter, either John has Jesus saying, "Remember the word that I said to you" to give the appearance of



	<p>every <i>branch</i> that bears fruit, He prunes it so that it may bear more fruit. You are already clean because of the word which I have spoken to you. Abide in Me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself unless it abides in the vine, so neither <i>can</i> you unless you abide in Me. I am the vine, you are the branches; he who abides in Me and I in him, he bears much fruit, for apart from Me you can do nothing. If anyone does not abide in Me, he is thrown away as a branch and dries up; and they gather them, and cast them into the fire and they are burned. If you abide in Me, and My words abide in you, ask whatever you wish, and it will be done for you. My Father is glorified by this, that you bear much fruit, and <i>so</i> prove to be My disciples. Just as the Father has loved Me, I have also loved you; abide in My love. If you keep My commandments, you will abide in My love; just as I have kept My Father's commandments and abide in His love. These things I have spoken to you so that My joy may be in you, and <i>that</i> your joy may be made full. This is My commandment, that you love one another, just as I have loved you. Greater love has no one than this, that one lay down his life for his friends. You are My friends if you do what I command you. No longer do I call you slaves, for the slave does not know what his master is doing; but I have called you friends, for all things that I have heard from My Father I have made known to you. You did not choose Me but I chose you, and appointed you that you would go and bear fruit, and <i>that</i> your fruit would remain, so that whatever you ask of the</p>		
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veracity, or Jesus did in fact call to mind something he had said earlier to his disciples ('A slave is not greater than his master', 13.16).

The parallels with the Synoptic tradition that begin in 15.18, "If the world hates you," actually carry over to the next data point to 16.4. It would be most helpful to reproduce the chart in which Raymond Brown (*John*, 2:694) has laid out for us all of the similarities between what we find here and what is found in Matt 10:17–25; Mark 13:9–13 and parr., but the layout here does not permit it. Observe the following: cf. 15.18, 21 // Matt 10:22, Mark 13:13 and parr. (hated because of Jesus); cf. 15.20 // Matt 10:24 (servant not above his master); cf. 15.20 // Matt 10:23; Luke 21:12 (persecution is coming); cf. 15.26 // Matt 10:20; Mark 13:11 (Holy Spirit/Paraclete's help); cf. 15.27 // Matt 10:18; Mark 13:9 and parr. (you will testify); cf. 16.1 // Matt 24:10 (faith being shaken); cf. 16.2 // Matt 10:17; Mark 13:9 and par. (punishment coming from those in charge of the synagogues); cf. 16.2 // Mark 13:12 and parr. (people will be put to death). Given the significant conceptual similarities between what we find here and what we find in certain portions of the Synoptic tradition, it is likely that there is a substantial layer of authentic Jesus tradition that stands beneath 15:18–16.4. It is clear that John has reshaped it to suit his purposes, but he is not inventing it.

	<p>Father in My name He may give to you. This I command you, that you love one another. If the world hates you, you know that it has hated Me before <i>it hated you</i>. If you were of the world, the world would love its own; but because you are not of the world, but I chose you out of the world, because of this the world hates you. Remember the word that I said to you, ‘A slave is not greater than his master.’ If they persecuted Me, they will also persecute you; if they kept My word, they will keep yours also. But all these things they will do to you for My name’s sake, because they do not know the One who sent Me. If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have sin, but now they have no excuse for their sin. He who hates Me hates My Father also. If I had not done among them the works which no one else did, they would not have sin; but now they have both seen and hated Me and My Father as well. But <i>they have done this</i> to fulfill the word that is written in their Law, ‘THEY HATED ME WITHOUT A CAUSE.’ When the Helper comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, <i>that is</i> the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, He will testify about Me, and you <i>will</i> testify also, because you have been with Me from the beginning.”</p>		
16.1–16	<p>“These things I have spoken to you so that you may be kept from stumbling. They will make you outcasts from the synagogue, but an hour is coming for everyone who kills you to think that he is offering service to God. These things they will do because they have not known the Father or Me. But these things I have spoken to you, so that when their hour comes, you may remember that I told you of them. These things I did not say to you at the beginning, because I was with you. But now I am going to Him who sent Me; and none of you asks Me, ‘Where are You</p>	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>214</sup>

<sup>214</sup> The obvious difficulty that cannot go unaddressed is the statement found on Jesus’s lips in 16.5, “and none of you asks me, ‘Where are you going?’”. Given what we read in 13.36, where Peter says, “Lord, where are you going?”, and what is then indirectly echoed by Thomas in 14.5, “Lord, we do not know where you are going, how do we know the way?”, Jesus’s statement here seems blatantly contradictory to those parts of John’s narrative. Carson lists out the suggested resolutions to the problem, but none that he has proposed, including his own resolution, seems satisfactory (Carson, *John*, 532–33). Given the fact that this block of material has clearly been stitched together (14.31–15.1), Witherington suggests that Jesus’s question might be in this location because the discourse, or something resembling it, in which it is encased was given at another time (Witherington, *John’s Wisdom*, 264). I agree with him on this point because it does not force one to explain away the issue and is certainly plausible given what we have already observed regarding Johannine redaction.

	going?’ But because I have said these things to you, sorrow has filled your heart. But I tell you the truth, it is to your advantage that I go away; for if I do not go away, the Helper will not come to you; but if I go, I will send Him to you. And He, when He comes, will convict the world concerning sin and righteousness and judgment; concerning sin, because they do not believe in Me; and concerning righteousness, because I go to the Father and you no longer see Me; and concerning judgment, because the ruler of this world has been judged. I have many more things to say to you, but you cannot bear <i>them</i> now. But when He, the Spirit of truth, comes, He will guide you into all the truth; for He will not speak on His own initiative, but whatever He hears, He will speak; and He will disclose to you what is to come. He will glorify Me, for He will take of Mine and will disclose <i>it</i> to you. All things that the Father has are Mine; therefore I said that He takes of Mine and will disclose <i>it</i> to you. A little while, and you will no longer see Me; and again a little while, and you will see Me.”		
<u>16.17–18</u>	<i>Some</i> of His disciples then said to one another, “What is this thing He is telling us, ‘A little while, and you will not see Me; and again a little while, and you will see Me’; and, ‘because I go to the Father’?” So they were saying, “What is this that He says, ‘A little while’? We do not know what He is talking about.”	WDO	NV-SA
16.19–28	Jesus knew that they wished to question Him, and He said to them, “Are you deliberating together about this, that I said, ‘A little while, and you will not see Me, and again a little while, and you will see Me’? Truly, truly, I say to you, that you will weep and lament, but the world will rejoice; you will grieve, but your grief will be turned into joy. Whenever a woman is in labor she has pain, because her hour has come; but when she gives birth to the child, she no longer remembers the anguish because of the joy that a child has been born into the world. Therefore you too have grief now; but I will see you again, and your heart will rejoice, and no one <i>will</i> take your joy away from you. In that day you will not question Me about anything. Truly, truly, I say to you, if you ask the Father for anything in My name, He will give it to you. Until now you have asked for nothing in My name; ask and you will receive, so that your joy may be made full. These things I have spoken to you in figurative language; an hour is coming when I will no longer speak to you in figurative language, but will tell you	LJ ML	NV-SA

	plainly of the Father. In that day you will ask in My name, and I do not say to you that I will request of the Father on your behalf; or the Father Himself loves you, because you have loved Me and have believed that I came forth from the Father. I came forth from the Father and have come into the world; I am leaving the world again and going to the Father.”		
16.29–30	His disciples said, “Lo, now You are speaking plainly and are not using a figure of speech. Now we know that You know all things, and have no need for anyone to question You; by this we believe that You came from God.”	WDO	NV-SA
16.31–33	Jesus answered them, “Do you now believe? Behold, an hour is coming, and has <i>already</i> come, for you to be scattered, each to his own <i>home</i> , and to leave Me alone; and <i>yet</i> I am not alone, because the Father is with Me. These things I have spoken to you, so that in Me you may have peace. In the world you have tribulation, but take courage; I have overcome the world.”	LJ ML	NV-SA
17.1–26	Jesus spoke these things; and lifting up His eyes to heaven, He said, “Father, the hour has come; glorify Your Son, that the Son may glorify You, even as You gave Him authority over all flesh, that to all whom You have given Him, He may give eternal life. This is eternal life, that they may know You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom You have sent. I glorified You on the earth, having accomplished the work which You have given Me to do.	LJ ML	NV-SA <sup>215</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> 17.1 begins what is commonly known as Jesus’s “High-Priestly” prayer, which reengages many of the themes found in the farewell discourse (Jesus’s hour; eternal life; mutual glorification, etc.). This too is another interesting mixture of authentic Jesus tradition and Johannine overlay. One of the more interesting aspects of the prayer is found in 17.3 where “Jesus” refers to himself in third person, “and Jesus Christ whom you have sent,” a clear marker of Johannine redaction (if it were authentic it would be the only place in the Gospels where Jesus refers to himself as such). Blomberg argues that much of what is here can be viewed as an expansion of what is found in Q 11:2b–4 (though he emphasizes the Matthean parallels, 6:9–13). While I find most of what he argues to be unconvincing, I do think it worth pointing out the parallel between 17.15 and M 6:13b as they both depict Jesus concerned with his disciples being kept/delivered from the evil one (τοῦ πονηροῦ). Also interesting is what he says regarding 17.12, specifically, “so that the Scripture would be fulfilled.” He points to the fact that no scripture is provided as a marker of authenticity since if this were a later addition the one who penned it certainly would have completed the thought, as is so common throughout the Jesus tradition (see Blomberg, *Historical Reliability*, 218–27 for many of the points made here). For the most part, I view this portion of the Fourth Gospel in the same way that I view others that feature longer discourses, i.e., that there is a historical kernel that exists here and has given rise to the material in the form in which it now exists.

	<p>Now, Father, glorify Me together with Yourself, with the glory which I had with You before the world was. I have manifested Your name to the men whom You gave Me out of the world; they were Yours and You gave them to Me, and they have kept Your word. Now they have come to know that everything You have given Me is from You; for the words which You gave Me I have given to them; and they received <i>them</i> and truly understood that I came forth from You, and they believed that You sent Me. I ask on their behalf; I do not ask on behalf of the world, but of those whom You have given Me; for they are Yours; and all things that are Mine are Yours, and Yours are Mine; and I have been glorified in them. I am no longer in the world; and <i>yet</i> they themselves are in the world, and I come to You. Holy Father, keep them in Your name, <i>the name</i> which You have given Me, that they may be one even as We <i>are</i>. While I was with them, I was keeping them in Your name which You have given Me; and I guarded them and not one of them perished but the son of perdition, so that the Scripture would be fulfilled. But now I come to You; and these things I speak in the world so that they may have My joy made full in themselves. I have given them Your word; and the world has hated them, because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. I do not ask You to take them out of the world, but to keep them from the evil <i>one</i>. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. Sanctify them in the truth; Your word is truth. As You sent Me into the world, I also have sent them into the world. For their sakes I sanctify Myself, that they themselves also may be sanctified in truth. I do not ask on behalf of these alone, but for those also who believe in Me through their word; that they may all be one; even as You, Father, <i>are</i> in Me and I in You, that they also may be in Us, so that the world may believe that You sent Me. The glory which You have given Me I have given to them, that they may be one, just as We are one; I in them and You in Me, that they may be perfected in unity, so that the world may know that You sent Me, and loved them, even as You have loved Me. Father, I desire that they also, whom You have given Me, be with Me where I am, so that they may see My glory which You have given Me, for You loved Me before the foundation of the world. O righteous Father, although the world has not known You, yet I have known You; and these have known that You sent Me; and I have made Your name known to</p>		
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	them, and will make it known, so that the love with which You loved Me may be in them, and I in them.”		
<u>18.1</u>	When Jesus had spoken these words, He went forth with His disciples over the ravine of the Kidron, where there was a garden, in which He entered with His disciples.	LJ D	NV-SA <sup>216</sup>
18.2–3	Now Judas also, who was betraying Him, knew the place, for Jesus had often met there with His disciples. Judas	WDO	V <sup>217</sup>

<sup>216</sup> It is somewhat difficult to tell if John’s location (“garden”) mirrors what we find in the Markan tradition (Gethsemane; Hebrew/Aramaic “oil press”). Brown suggests, “one may assume that on the Mount of Olives [Mark 14:26] there was a plot of land or garden with olive trees and an oil press, bearing the name Gethsemane” (*Death of the Messiah*, 1:149). This seems like a reasonable solution/suggestion, but there is not enough hard evidence to mark the data point as V, nor is there enough of a difference to mark it CR.

<sup>217</sup> The difficulty in determining the appropriate designation for this particular data point comes in the decision on whether or not John suggests Roman involvement in the arrest through the use of the word *σπεῖρα* (“cohort”). Some have suggested that the word used here for cohort, *σπεῖρα*, is being mistranslated, or *over-translated*, by modern translations when they supply the word “Roman” alongside of it. Keener points out that both *σπεῖρα* (vv. 3, 12) and *χλῖαρχος* (v.12), though technical terms for Roman military units/leaders, “appear frequently enough for Jewish soldiers” (*John* 2:1078–79; see nn. 97, 98 for primary sources that support his claim). He also points to an instance in Josephus where the use of *σπεῖρα* is further qualified by *Ρωμαικῇ* (“Roman”) suggesting that such qualification was necessary because of how frequent Jewish sources made use of the word in military contexts (*John*, 2:1029n100). Furthermore, when looking at the broader context of the arrest/trial narrative in John it would appear that Romans were *not* involved in the arrest, unless the author has focused the blame on the Jews to accomplish some other narrative aim (see 18.29, 35–36; Keener, *John*, 2:1079). Yet another point worth mentioning, in favor of a lack of Roman involvement at this point, is the absolute silence regarding this same issue in the Synoptics (cf. Mark 14:43 // Matt 26:47 // Luke 22:47, 52). Finally, a few other ancillary points/questions that Keener brings to our attention again in favor of a lack of Roman presence at the arrest: Would Judas have been cooperating with the Romans? Would the Romans have taken Jesus to Annas, a leader they had recently deposed? Would not the Romans, given their “commitment to suppressing nationalists,” have arrested Peter after he cut off Malchus’s ear? (see Keener, *John*, 2:1080; for the work he is relying on for the last few questions, see David R. Catchpole, *The Trial of Jesus: A Study in the Gospels and Jewish Historiography from 1770 to the Present Day*, StPB 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1971). Arguments for Roman involvement usually accentuate the technical nature of the terms used (*σπεῖρα* in vv. 3, 12 and *χλῖαρχος* in v.12) as well as the fact that John does appear to distinguish the cohort from the Jewish “officers” in 18.3, 12 (see Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 1:248). Furthermore, if one agrees with the position that these words signal Roman involvement, it is not necessary to think that an *entire* Roman cohort came out to arrest Jesus (six hundred soldiers), one can use a collective term and it not necessarily imply that entire group’s involvement. Having considered both sets of evidence, I think the evidence does in fact favor non-Roman involvement, despite the use of the technical terms, and for that reason I have marked this point as V (cf. Mark 14:43 and parr.).

	then, having received the cohort and officers from the chief priests and the Pharisees, came there with lanterns and torches and weapons.		
18.4	So Jesus, knowing all the things that were coming upon Him, went forth and said to them, “Whom do you seek?”	LJ D	CR <sup>218</sup>
18.5	They answered Him, “Jesus the Nazarene.”	WDO	CR
18.5	He said to them, “I am <i>He</i> .”	LJ D	CR
18.5–6	And Judas also, who was betraying Him, was standing with them. So when He said to them, “I am <i>He</i> ,” they drew back and fell to the ground.	WDO	CR
18.7	Therefore He again asked them, “Whom do you seek?”	LJ D	CR
18.7	And they said, “Jesus the Nazarene.”	WDO	CR
18.8	Jesus answered, “I told you that I am <i>He</i> ; so if you seek Me, let these go their way,”	LJ D	CR
18.9	to fulfill the word which He spoke, “Of those whom You have given Me I lost not one.”	AI	NV-NH
<u>18.10</u>	Simon Peter then, having a sword, drew it and struck the high priest’s slave, and cut off his right ear; and the slave’s name was Malchus.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>219</sup>
<u>18.11</u>	So Jesus said to Peter, “Put the sword into the sheath; the cup which the Father has given Me, shall I not drink it?”	LJ D	CR <sup>220</sup>

<sup>218</sup> 18.4–11 represent the moments right before Jesus was arrested and can be compared to what we find in Mark 14:44–52 and parr. (Matt 26:48–56; Luke 22:48–53). There are significant differences/similarities between all four Gospel accounts.

<sup>219</sup> That someone drew a sword and cut off the ear of a slave should be considered verified; this can be found in all four Gospel accounts (cf. Mark 14:47 and parr.). What is new to John’s account is that it was Peter who did it and that it was a slave named Malchus who was on the receiving end of the blow. For those reasons I have officially designated the data point as NV-SA, but, due to the similarities across the accounts, I have also underlined the address, signaling that I believe the point to be historically reliable (at least in the majority of what it reports).

<sup>220</sup> Cf. M 26:52–54; L 22:51; both Matthew and Luke have provided a different response by Jesus to the ear removal, though the Matthean account also mentions Jesus’s command to Peter to put the sword away. Regarding the “cup” and Jesus’s willingness to drink it; cf. Mark 14:34–36 and parr. In the Synoptic tradition Jesus is depicted as asking the Father, if at all possible, to allow him to bypass the “cup” which he is about to drink, though he is also willing to follow the Father’s will above all else. While the “cup” is mentioned in somewhat different contexts, there does appear to be continuity in Jesus’s reluctant willingness to drink it, though here he is depicted as being slightly *less* reluctant.

18.12–13 <sup>221</sup>	So the cohort and the commander and the officers of the Jews, arrested Jesus and bound Him, and led Him to Annas first; for he was father-in-law of Caiaphas, who was high priest that year.	WDO	CR <sup>222</sup>
18.14	Now Caiaphas was the one who had advised the Jews that it was expedient for one man to die on behalf of the people.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>18.15</u>	Simon Peter was following Jesus, and <i>so was</i> another disciple.	WDO	NV-SA <sup>223</sup>
<u>18.15</u>	Now that disciple was known to the high priest, and entered with Jesus into the court of the high priest,	WDO	NV-SA
<u>18.16</u>	but Peter was standing at the door outside.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>18.16</u>	So the other disciple, who was known to the high priest, went out and spoke to the doorkeeper, and brought Peter in.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>18.17</u>	Then the slave-girl who kept the door said to Peter, “You are not also <i>one</i> of this man’s disciples, are you?” He said, “I am not.”	WDO	CR <sup>224</sup>

<sup>221</sup> 18.12–19.16 covers everything that takes place from the time Jesus was arrested to him being handed over to be crucified; it will be compared to Mark 14:53–15:20 (Matt 26:57–27:26) and Luke 22:54–23:25. The Markan and Matthean accounts show an enormous amount of similarities with only a few exceptions, but the Lukan account is almost as different from the Markan/Matthean accounts as is the Johannine. While some may want to accentuate the differences between John and the Synoptics, the reality is that there is considerable difference between all three of these accounts (Mark/Matt; Luke; John). The number of differences between the accounts brings much of the material into “conflict”.

<sup>222</sup> That Jesus was first brought to Annas is technically only in conflict with the Matthean account (Matt 26:57) as he is the only one to specify that it was Caiaphas who first met with Jesus. Both Mark and Luke are ambiguous in that regard as they simply say that he was led away to the high priest. One could object and say that they clearly meant Caiaphas, as he was certainly the high priest at that time; but given the tendency to call former high priests “high priest” beyond their Roman appointed tenure (Annas being disposed by Rome in 15 CE; see John 18.19 and Acts 4:6 as examples of calling Annas high priest beyond that time), makes it possible, though unlikely, that Mark and Luke have Annas in view here. Regardless, this entire scene, because of the difference in high priest (cf. 18.12, 24 // Matt 26:57, 27:1) is still in conflict with one of the accounts and for that reason both this data point and the one at 18.24 are marked CR.

<sup>223</sup> 18.15–16 contains new information when compared to Mark 14:54 and parr., i.e., the addition of “another disciple” and his involvement in getting Peter into the courtyard (αὐλή). As we have seen in other places where their material overlaps, the new information does not necessarily contradict what we find in the Synoptics, as each of the other accounts simply move from the arrest to Peter following and subsequently sitting in the courtyard. The information John provides appears to be somewhat supplementary, rather than contradictory, and for that reason I have chosen to designate these data points as NV-SA rather than CR.

<sup>224</sup> All four Gospels have something different when it comes to the question/accusation of the servant-girl and Peter’s response (cf. Mark 14:67–68 // Matt 26:69–70 // Luke 22:56–57. The



18.18	Now the slaves and the officers were standing <i>there</i> , having made a charcoal fire, for it was cold and they were warming themselves; and Peter was also with them, standing and warming himself.	WDO	V <sup>225</sup>
18.19	The high priest then questioned Jesus about His disciples, and about His teaching.	WDO	CR <sup>226</sup>
<u>18.20–21</u>	Jesus answered him, “I have spoken openly to the world; I always taught in synagogues and in the temple, where all the Jews come together; and I spoke nothing in secret. Why do you question Me? Question those who have heard what I spoke to them; they know what I said.”	LJ D	CR <sup>227</sup>
18.22	When He had said this, one of the officers standing nearby struck Jesus, saying, “Is that the way You answer the high priest?”	WDO	CR
18.23	Jesus answered him, “If I have spoken wrongly, testify of the wrong; but if rightly, why do you strike Me?”	LJ D	CR
18.24	So Annas sent Him bound to Caiaphas the high priest.	WDO	CR
18.25–26	Now Simon Peter was standing and warming himself. So they said to him, “You are not also <i>one</i> of His disciples, are you?” He denied <i>it</i> , and said, “I am not.”	WDO	CR <sup>228</sup>
18.26–27	One of the slaves of the high priest, being a relative of the one whose ear Peter cut off, said, “Did I not see you in the garden with Him?” Peter then denied <i>it</i> again, and immediately a rooster crowed.	WDO	CR

questions/accusations and responses do not necessarily need to be verbatim in order to mark it as V, but the differences here are substantial enough, in my opinion, to mark it as CR. What should be considered verified is that Peter was questioned about/accused of being a follower of Jesus and he quickly denied it, and for that reason I have actually underlined the data point.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. Mark 14:54 // Luke 22:55.

<sup>226</sup> At this point (18.19–24), all three accounts (Mark/Matt; Luke; and John) go in seemingly different directions. The Markan account emphasizes the Jewish leaders’ failed quest for false testimony; the Lukan account emphasizes Peter’s denials, Jesus being mocked, and then the meeting the following morning; and the Johannine account emphasizes Jesus’s self-defense/position of innocence. This does not mean, however, that there are not *any* similarities; see data point immediately below.

<sup>227</sup> Jesus teaching openly in the temple is found in the Synoptic tradition; see Mark 14:49 and parr. Despite being found in different contexts it is probably safe to assume that he both did this and mentioned it in his defense at some point.

<sup>228</sup> Both the second and third denials by Peter are different enough from what is recorded in the Markan/Matthean and Lukan accounts to warrant a CR designation (cf. Mark 14:69–72; Luke 22:58–62).

18.28	Then they led Jesus from Caiaphas into the Praetorium, and it was early;	WDO	CR <sup>229</sup>
18.28	and they themselves did not enter into the Praetorium so that they would not be defiled, but might eat the Passover.	WDO	CR <sup>230</sup>
18.29	Therefore Pilate went out to them and said, “What accusation do you bring against this Man?”	WDO	CR
18.30	They answered and said to him, “If this Man were not an evildoer, we would not have delivered Him to you.”	WDO	CR
18.31	So Pilate said to them, “Take Him yourselves, and judge Him according to your law.”	WDO	CR
18.31	The Jews said to him, “We are not permitted to put anyone to death,”	WDO	CR
18.32	to fulfill the word of Jesus which He spoke, signifying by what kind of death He was about to die.	AI	NV-NH
<u>18.33</u>	Therefore Pilate entered again into the Praetorium, and summoned Jesus and said to Him, “Are You the King of the Jews?”	WDO	CR <sup>231</sup>
18.34	Jesus answered, “Are you saying this on your own initiative, or did others tell you about Me?”	LJ D	CR <sup>232</sup>
18.35	Pilate answered, “I am not a Jew, am I? Your own nation and the chief priests delivered You to me; what have You done?”	WDO	CR
18.36	Jesus answered, “My kingdom is not of this world. If My kingdom were of this world, then My servants would be fighting so that I would not be handed over to the Jews; but as it is, My kingdom is not of this realm.”	LJ D	CR
18.37	Therefore Pilate said to Him, “So You are a king?”	WDO	CR
18.37	Jesus answered, “You say <i>correctly</i> that I am a king. For this I have been born, and for this I have come into the world, to testify to the truth. Everyone who is of the truth hears My voice.”	LJ D	CR

<sup>229</sup> That Jesus was taken to Pilate early the following morning is attested to in all four Gospels (cf. Mark 15:1 // Matt 27:1 // Luke 23:1), but the Markan/Matthean accounts report that he was not escorted *into* the Praetorium until after the episode with Pilate occurs (cf. Mark 15:16 and par.). Furthermore, John’s account is reliant upon Jesus being inside the Praetorium and the Jews being outside as he is careful to depict Pilate moving between the two locations as he asks questions/speaks to the two parties. John’s physical positioning of the two parties in separate spaces actually throws much of his account into conflict with the Synoptic versions.

<sup>230</sup> The chronological marker regarding the Passover puts the entire scene depicting Jesus before Pilate and, ultimately, his crucifixion, in conflict with the Synoptics.

<sup>231</sup> Cf. Mark 15:2 and parr. It should be considered verified that Pilate asked Jesus this question at some point during his line of questioning, but John’s account varies regarding the when and where, and for that reason is marked CR.

<sup>232</sup> 18.34–38 varies widely from what is found in Mark 15:2–5 and parr.

18.38	Pilate said to Him, “What is truth?”	WDO	CR
<u>18.38–40</u>	And when he had said this, he went out again to the Jews and said to them, “I find no guilt in Him. But you have a custom that I release someone for you at the Passover; do you wish then that I release for you the King of the Jews?” So they cried out again, saying, “Not this Man, but Barabbas.”	WDO	CR <sup>233</sup>
18.40	Now Barabbas was a robber.	WDO	CR <sup>234</sup>
19.1–3	Pilate then took Jesus and scourged Him. And the soldiers twisted together a crown of thorns and put it on His head, and put a purple robe on Him; and they <i>began</i> to come up to Him and say, “Hail, King of the Jews!” and to give Him slaps <i>in the face</i> .	WDO	V <sup>235</sup>
19.4	Pilate came out again and said to them, “Behold, I am bringing Him out to you so that you may know that I find no guilt in Him.”	WDO	CR <sup>236</sup>
19.5	Jesus then came out, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe.	LJ D	CR
19.5	<i>Pilate</i> said to them, “Behold, the Man!”	WDO	CR
19.6	So when the chief priests and the officers saw Him, they cried out saying, “Crucify, crucify!”	WDO	CR
19.6	Pilate said to them, “Take Him yourselves and crucify Him, for I find no guilt in Him.”	WDO	CR
19.7	The Jews answered him, “We have a law, and by that law He ought to die because He made Himself out <i>to be</i> the Son of God.”	WDO	CR
19.8–9	Therefore when Pilate heard this statement, he was <i>even</i> more afraid; and he entered into the Praetorium again and said to Jesus, “Where are You from?”	WDO	CR

<sup>233</sup> Many of the elements here are found in the various accounts: Pilate saying he finds no guilt in Jesus (implied in Mark 15:4 and par.; stated explicitly in L 23:4); the question about releasing Jesus, the King of the Jews (almost verbatim in Mark 15:9); the people crying out for Barabbas’s release (Mark 15:11 and parr.), but they are not found in similar contexts and/or in a similar sequence, at least not to the extent that would warrant marking this as verified. That being said, the points of contact between this data point and the other accounts are numerous enough to underline the data point.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Mark 15:7 // L 23:19.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Mark 15:16–19 and par.

<sup>236</sup> 19.4–15 is in conflict with what we find in the Markan/Matthean account (15:19–20 // 27:30–31), as well as the Lukan account (23:20–25). Following the scourging and the donning of the purple robe/crown of thorns, the Markan/Matthean accounts have Jesus being beaten more, then de-robed, and led out to crucifixion. Luke’s account comes closest to the Johannine version at this point, but there are also a number of differences that ultimately warrant CR designations for all of this particular section.

19.9	But Jesus gave him no answer.	LJ D	CR
19.10	So Pilate said to Him, “You do not speak to me? Do You not know that I have authority to release You, and I have authority to crucify You?”	WDO	CR
19.11	Jesus answered, “You would have no authority over Me, unless it had been given you from above; for this reason he who delivered Me to you has <i>the</i> greater sin.”	LJ D	CR
19.12	As a result of this Pilate made efforts to release Him,	WDO	CR
19.12	but the Jews cried out saying, “If you release this Man, you are no friend of Caesar; everyone who makes himself out <i>to be</i> a king opposes Caesar.”	WDO	CR
19.13	Therefore when Pilate heard these words, he brought Jesus out, and sat down on the judgment seat at a place called The Pavement, but in Hebrew, Gabbatha.	WDO	CR
19.14	Now it was the day of preparation for the Passover; it was about the sixth hour.	AI	CR
19.14–15	And he said to the Jews, “Behold, your King!” So they cried out, “Away with <i>Him</i> , away with <i>Him</i> , crucify Him!” Pilate said to them, “Shall I crucify your King?” The chief priests answered, “We have no king but Caesar.”	WDO	CR
19.16	So he then handed Him over to them to be crucified.	WDO	V <sup>237</sup>
19.17	They took Jesus, therefore, and He went out, bearing His own cross, to the place called the Place of a Skull, which is called in Hebrew, Golgotha.	LJ D	CR <sup>238</sup>
19.18	There they crucified Him, and with Him two other men, one on either side, and Jesus in between.	WDO	V <sup>239</sup>
<u>19.19</u>	Pilate also wrote an inscription and put it on the cross. It was written, “JESUS THE NAZARENE, THE KING OF THE JEWS.”	WDO	CR <sup>240</sup>

<sup>237</sup> Cf. Mark 15:15 and parr.; Tacitus, *Annals* 15.44; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.3.3. All of these sources attest to the fact that Pilate played a role in the death of Jesus.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Mark 15:21 and parr.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. Mark 15:27 and parr. The other Gospel accounts are slightly more specific, noting that those on either side of Jesus were robbers/criminals. See also Lucian of Samosata, *Passing of Peregrinus* 11, 13; another mention of Jesus’s crucifixion outside of the NT.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. Mark 15:26 and parr. All four of the Gospels have an inscription above Jesus’s head, though each account varies ever so slightly in what it says. It is also worth mentioning what is found in Mara bar Serapion, *The Epistle of Mara, Son of Serapion*; the letter repeats the notion that Jesus was the “wise king” of the Jews *and* that he was killed at the hand of “the Jews”. As mentioned above, this is yet another attestation to the death of Jesus outside of the NT, but also that he was referred to (whether sarcastically or in seriousness) by some outside of Christian circles as a “wise king”.

<u>19.20</u>	Therefore many of the Jews read this inscription, for the place where Jesus was crucified was near the city; and it was written in Hebrew, Latin <i>and</i> in Greek.	WDO	NV-SA
19.21–22	So the chief priests of the Jews were saying to Pilate, “Do not write, ‘The King of the Jews’; but that He said, ‘I am King of the Jews.’” Pilate answered, “What I have written I have written.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>19.23–24</u>	Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took His outer garments and made four parts, a part to every soldier and <i>also</i> the tunic; now the tunic was seamless, woven in one piece. So they said to one another, “Let us not tear it, but cast lots for it, <i>to decide</i> whose it shall be”;	WDO	NV-SA <sup>241</sup>
19.24	<i>this was</i> to fulfill the Scripture: “THEY DIVIDED MY OUTER GARMENTS AMONG THEM, AND FOR MY CLOTHING THEY CAST LOTS.”	AI	NV-NH
19.25	Therefore the soldiers did these things.	WDO	NV-SA
19.25	But standing by the cross of Jesus were His mother, and His mother’s sister, Mary the <i>wife</i> of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene.	WDO	CR <sup>242</sup>
19.26–27	When Jesus then saw His mother, and the disciple whom He loved standing nearby, He said to His mother, “Woman, behold, your son!” Then He said to the disciple, “Behold, your mother!”	LJ D	NV-SA
19.27	From that hour the disciple took her into his own <i>household</i> .	WDO	NV-SA
19.28	After this, Jesus, knowing that all things had already been accomplished, to fulfill the Scripture, said, “I am thirsty.”	LJ D	NV-SA
19.29	A jar full of sour wine was standing there; so they put a sponge full of the sour wine upon <i>a branch of</i> hyssop and brought it up to His mouth.	WDO	V <sup>243</sup>
<u>19.30</u>	Therefore when Jesus had received the sour wine, He said, “It is finished!” And He bowed His head and gave up His spirit.	LJ D	CR <sup>244</sup>

<sup>241</sup> Here we have the only mention of Jesus’s tunic (cf. Mark 15:24 and parr.).

<sup>242</sup> Cf. Mark 15:40

<sup>243</sup> Cf. Mark 15:23, 36 and par. In the Markan/Matthean account Jesus is offered wine at the outset of his crucifixion and he either refuses it outright (Mark), or, after tasting it, he decides against it (Matt); the Lukan account features soldiers offering him wine in a mocking fashion (23:36). Later, in the final moments of his life, he calls out to God and someone rushes to get him sour wine, puts it on a reed, and gives it to him; it appears he received it then and took a drink (Mark 15:36 and par.).

<sup>244</sup> No final words are recorded in the Markan/Matthean account, while the Lukan account has Jesus saying, “Father, into your hands I commit my spirit” (23:46). Each of the accounts do mention, either through indirect or direct speech, Jesus yielding his spirit.

19.31	Then the Jews, because it was the day of preparation, so that the bodies would not remain on the cross on the Sabbath (for that Sabbath was a high day), asked Pilate that their legs might be broken, and <i>that</i> they might be taken away.	WDO	NV-SA
19.32	So the soldiers came, and broke the legs of the first man and of the other who was crucified with Him;	WDO	NV-SA
19.33	but coming to Jesus, when they saw that He was already dead, they did not break His legs.	WDO	NV-SA
19.34	But one of the soldiers pierced His side with a spear, and immediately blood and water came out.	WDO	NV-SA
19.35	And he who has seen has testified, and his testimony is true; and he knows that he is telling the truth, so that you also may believe.	AI	NV-NH
19.36	For these things came to pass to fulfill the Scripture, “NOT A BONE OF HIM SHALL BE BROKEN.”	AI	NV-NH
19.37	And again another Scripture says, “THEY SHALL LOOK ON HIM WHOM THEY PIERCED.”	AI	NV-NH
19.38	After these things Joseph of Arimathea, being a disciple of Jesus, but a secret <i>one</i> for fear of the Jews, asked Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus; and Pilate granted permission. So he came and took away His body.	WDO	V <sup>245</sup>
19.39	Nicodemus, who had first come to Him by night, also came, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds <i>weight</i> .	WDO	NV-SA
19.40	So they took the body of Jesus and bound it in linen wrappings with the spices, as is the burial custom of the Jews.	WDO	V <sup>246</sup>
19.41	Now in the place where He was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new tomb in which no one had yet been laid.	AI	NV-SA <sup>247</sup>
19.42	Therefore because of the Jewish day of preparation, since the tomb was nearby, they laid Jesus there.	WDO	V <sup>248</sup>

<sup>245</sup> Cf. Mark 15:42–45 and parr.; outside of him being a secret disciple “for fear of the Jews” this information is repeated in the other Gospel accounts (though only Matthew explicitly calls him a disciple).

<sup>246</sup> While the mention of the spices is not repeated in the Synoptic accounts it is an obvious enough addition that the data point should still be considered verified.

<sup>247</sup> We do read in the Lukan account that no one had yet lain in the tomb (23:53), but none of the other accounts mention that it was in a garden.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. Mark 15:42 and parr.

<u>20.1</u>	Now on the first day of the week Mary Magdalene came early to the tomb, while it was still dark, and saw the stone <i>already</i> taken away from the tomb.	WDO	CR <sup>249</sup>
<u>20.2</u>	So she ran and came to Simon Peter and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, and said to them, “They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we do not know where they have laid Him.”	WDO	CR <sup>250</sup>
<u>20.3–5</u>	So Peter and the other disciple went forth, and they were going to the tomb. The two were running together; and the other disciple ran ahead faster than Peter and came to the	WDO	CR

<sup>249</sup> Cf. Mark 16:1–4 and parr.; John’s account varies ever so slightly in that it says that Mary came to the tomb “while it was still dark” (Mark’s account notes that the sun had already risen). Furthermore, John’s account only mentions Mary Magdalene, while the other Gospels all mention that more than one woman was at the tomb that morning. Of course, with regard to who was there, John very well could have chosen to focus solely on Mary Magdalene for some other narrative aim or purpose; that he did focus on just her does not mean that he was making the claim she was the *only* one there (cf. what we find here to L 24:12, 24). Having said that, as it reads, it is in conflict with the Synoptics. These few differences do not mean that the data point is devoid of historical tradition. What should be considered historical is that on the day after Passover Mary Magdalene came to the tomb and saw that the stone which had been covering the tomb had been removed. As so many have pointed out, having a woman be the first to witness the resurrection ultimately making her testimony of primary importance was somewhat scandalous and should be considered a mark of authenticity (see Keener, *Historical Jesus*, 331). This is yet another example from the Fourth Gospel where the data point is in conflict with one or more of the Synoptic accounts but there are enough similarities where I am comfortable underlining its address.

<sup>250</sup> 20.2–18 can be compared to Mark 16:5–8; M 28:2–10; L 24:4–12. In doing so we find a number of differences between the four accounts, so much so that every single data point treating 20.2–10 ended up being marked CR. The reasons for this are twofold: 1) all three comparable accounts depict the women’s interactions with the angel(s) as happening prior to them reporting what they saw to Peter and the others (cf. Mark 16:5; M 28:2; L 24:4), a substantial difference in sequencing; 2) Mark’s account reports that the women told *no one* about what they saw at the tomb due to them being afraid (cf. 16:8; I understand this to be the end of Mark’s Gospel), another substantial difference. The latter reason makes this data point and all those that depict events based on the woman’s testimony as CR, i.e., what we find in 20.2–10. The only way to sift this particular section for potential historical tradition is to isolate portions and compare it to other parts of the tradition, also in isolation. If we were to isolate this data point, along with the next three as well, and then compare it to other parts of the tradition, also in isolation, then what we find in L 24:9–12 could serve to show that it is at least possible that something similar to what is recorded here in John did in fact take place. While this might allow us to underline some or all of these data points, it would not permit a change to the official designation. Doing so would require ignoring both Mark 16:8 and what is recorded in the Matthean account (no mention of Peter running to the tomb at all), and valuing the Lukan account over and against the others.

	tomb first; and stooping and looking in, he saw the linen wrappings lying <i>there</i> ; but he did not go in.		
<u>20.6–7</u>	And so Simon Peter also came, following him, and entered the tomb; and he saw the linen wrappings lying <i>there</i> , and the face-cloth which had been on His head, not lying with the linen wrappings, but rolled up in a place by itself.	WDO	CR <sup>251</sup>
<u>20.8</u>	So the other disciple who had first come to the tomb then also entered, and he saw and believed.	WDO	CR
20.9	For as yet they did not understand the Scripture, that He must rise again from the dead.	AA	NV-NH
<u>20.10</u>	So the disciples went away again to their own homes.	WDO	CR
20.11–14	But Mary was standing outside the tomb weeping; and so, as she wept, she stooped and looked into the tomb; and she saw two angels in white sitting, one at the head and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had been lying. And they said to her, “Woman, why are you weeping?” She said to them, “Because they have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid Him.” When she had said this, she turned around and saw Jesus standing <i>there</i> , and did not know that it was Jesus.	WDO	CR <sup>252</sup>
20.15	Jesus said to her, “Woman, why are you weeping? Whom are you seeking?”	LJ D <sup>253</sup>	CR <sup>254</sup>
20.15	Supposing Him to be the gardener, she said to Him, “Sir, if you have carried Him away, tell me where you have laid Him, and I will take Him away.”	WDO	CR
20.16	Jesus said to her, “Mary!”	LJ D	CR
20.16	She turned and said to Him in Hebrew, “Rabboni!” (which means, Teacher).	WDO	CR
20.17	Jesus said to her, “Stop clinging to Me, for I have not yet ascended to the Father; but go to My brethren and say to them, ‘I ascend to My Father and your Father, and My God and your God.’”	LJ D	CR

<sup>251</sup> If viewed in isolation from its context, and when compared to L 24:12, this particular data point could be considered to contain historically reliable information.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Mark 16:5–7; M 28:5–7; L 24:4–7. The differences are rather numerous and certainly warrant the CR designation. If trying to identify a historical kernel of what happened to Mary at the tomb, one could argue that all we can be “sure” of is that angels did in fact visit Mary at the tomb; what was said to her and what her response was is unknowable.

<sup>253</sup> I have labeled all of the data points pertaining to Jesus’s resurrected state as LJ-D rather than creating a new category.

<sup>254</sup> For 20.15–18, cf. M 28:8–10; L 24:9–10.



20.18	Mary Magdalene came, announcing to the disciples, “I have seen the Lord,” and <i>that</i> He had said these things to her.	WDO	CR
20.19–20	So when it was evening on that day, the first <i>day</i> of the week, and when the doors were shut where the disciples were, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in their midst and said to them, “Peace <i>be</i> with you.” And when He had said this, He showed them both His hands and His side.	LJ D	CR <sup>255</sup>
20.20	The disciples then rejoiced when they saw the Lord.	WDO	CR
20.21–23	So Jesus said to them again, “Peace <i>be</i> with you; as the Father has sent Me, I also send you.” And when He had said this, He breathed on them and said to them, “Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, <i>their sins</i> have been forgiven them; if you retain the <i>sins</i> of any, they have been retained.”	LJ D	CR <sup>256</sup>
20.24–25	But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came. So the other disciples were saying to him, “We have seen the Lord!” But he said to them, “Unless I see in His hands the imprint of the nails, and put my finger into the place of the nails, and put my hand into His side, I will not believe.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>20.26–27</u>	After eight days His disciples were again inside, and Thomas with them. Jesus came, the doors having been shut, and stood in their midst and said, “Peace <i>be</i> with you.” Then He said to Thomas, “Reach here with your finger, and see My hands; and reach here your hand and put it into My side; and do not be unbelieving, but believing.”	LJ D	CR <sup>257</sup>

<sup>255</sup> From this point forward, we are dealing with various post-resurrection appearances, something of which Mark provides no information, Matthew provides only a brief mention (28:16–20), and that which Luke goes into the most detail (24:13–53). 20.19–23 can be compared to L 24:29–31 as the two appearances appear to occur at the same time (cf. 20.19; L 24:13, 29). They provide very different details, surrounding contexts, outcomes, etc., and for that reason the data points describing this particular resurrection appearance have been marked CR.

<sup>256</sup> Cf. M 18:18–20; this is the closest parallel to what Jesus says here found in another canonical source.

<sup>257</sup> Cf. L 24:36–40; While John provides some new information there are some remarkable similarities between what we find here and in the Lukan account, specifically his greeting to the disciples “Peace with you” (cf. L 24:39). The primary difference, and the one reason why this has received a CR designation, is found in the very specific Johannine chronological marker (“After eight days”). When compared to the Lukan account it is almost as if Jesus vanishes from the dinner party and then reappears that same day when the disciples settle again in Jerusalem (cf. L 24:13, 29, 36), a noteworthy difference between the two accounts.

20.28	Thomas answered and said to Him, “My Lord and my God!”	WDO	NV-SA
20.29	Jesus said to him, “Because you have seen Me, have you believed? Blessed <i>are</i> they who did not see, and <i>yet</i> believed.”	LJ D	NV-SA
20.30	Therefore many other signs Jesus also performed in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book;	LJ D	NV-SA
20.31	but these have been written so that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing you may have life in His name.	AI	NV-NH
<u>21.1</u>	After these things Jesus manifested <i>Himself</i> again to the disciples at the Sea of Tiberias, and He manifested Himself in this way.	LJ D	NV-SA
<u>21.2–4</u>	Simon Peter, and Thomas called Didymus, and Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and the <i>sons</i> of Zebedee, and two others of His disciples were together. Simon Peter said to them, “I am going fishing.” They said to him, “We will also come with you.” They went out and got into the boat; and that night they caught nothing. But when the day was now breaking,	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.4</u>	Jesus stood on the beach;	LJ D	NV-SA
<u>21.4</u>	yet the disciples did not know that it was Jesus.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.5</u>	So Jesus said to them, “Children, you do not have any fish, do you?”	LJ D	NV-SA
<u>21.5</u>	They answered Him, “No.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.6</u>	And He said to them, “Cast the net on the right-hand side of the boat and you will find <i>a catch</i> .”	LJ D	NV-SA
<u>21.6</u>	So they cast, and then they were not able to haul it in because of the great number of fish.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.7</u>	Therefore that disciple whom Jesus loved said to Peter, “It is the Lord.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.7</u>	So when Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he put his outer garment on (for he was stripped <i>for work</i> ), and threw himself into the sea.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.8–9</u>	But the other disciples came in the little boat, for they were not far from the land, but about one hundred yards away, dragging the net <i>full</i> of fish. So when they got out on the land, they saw a charcoal fire <i>already</i> laid and fish placed on it, and bread.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.10</u>	Jesus said to them, “Bring some of the fish which you have now caught.”	LJ D	NV-SA

<u>21.11</u>	Simon Peter went up and drew the net to land, full of large fish, a hundred and fifty-three; and although there were so many, the net was not torn.	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.12</u>	Jesus said to them, “Come <i>and</i> have breakfast.”	LJ D	NV-SA
<u>21.13</u>	Jesus came and took the bread and gave <i>it</i> to them, and the fish likewise.	LJ D	NV-SA
<u>21.14</u>	This is now the third time that Jesus was manifested to the disciples, after He was raised from the dead.	AI	NV-SA
<u>21.15</u>	So when they had finished breakfast, Jesus said to Simon Peter, “Simon, <i>son</i> of John, do you love Me more than these?”	LJ D	NV-SA
<u>21.15</u>	He said to Him, “Yes, Lord; You know that I love You.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.15–16</u>	He said to him, “Tend My lambs.” He said to him again a second time, “Simon, <i>son</i> of John, do you love Me?”	LJ D	NV-SA
<u>21.16</u>	He said to Him, “Yes, Lord; You know that I love You.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.16–17</u>	He said to him, “Shepherd My sheep.” He said to him the third time, “Simon, <i>son</i> of John, do you love Me?”	LJ D	NV-SA
<u>21.17</u>	Peter was grieved because He said to him the third time, “Do you love Me?” And he said to Him, “Lord, You know all things; You know that I love You.”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.17–18</u>	Jesus said to him, “Tend My sheep. Truly, truly, I say to you, when you were younger, you used to gird yourself and walk wherever you wished; but when you grow old, you will stretch out your hands and someone else will gird you, and bring you where you do not wish to <i>go</i> .”	LJ D	NV-SA
21.19	Now this He said, signifying by what kind of death he would glorify God.	AI	NV-NH
<u>21.19</u>	And when He had spoken this, He said to him, “Follow Me!”	LJ D	NV-SA
<u>21.20–21</u>	Peter, turning around, saw the disciple whom Jesus loved following <i>them</i> ; the one who also had leaned back on His bosom at the supper and said, “Lord, who is the one who betrays You?” So Peter seeing him said to Jesus, “Lord, and what about this man?”	WDO	NV-SA
<u>21.22</u>	Jesus said to him, “If I want him to remain until I come, what <i>is that</i> to you? You follow Me!”	LJ D	NV-SA
<u>21.23</u>	Therefore this saying went out among the brethren that that disciple would not die; yet Jesus did not say to him that he would not die, but <i>only</i> , “If I want him to remain until I come, what <i>is that</i> to you?”	WDO	NV-SA
21.24	This is the disciple who is testifying to these things and wrote these things, and we know that his testimony is true.	AI	NV-NH

21.25	And there are also many other things which Jesus did, which if they were written in detail, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that would be written.	AI	NV-NH
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## Interpreting the Results

As with the three previous biographies, in this section we will look at the findings from the table above in statistical form. The following table provides a breakdown and accompanying percentages of the various “Types” and their “Results.”

	V	I	D	CR	NV-SA	NV-NH	Total	Percentages
AI	5			2	19	17	43	7.6%
AA					2	16	18	3.2%
LJ-BOC							0	0%
LJ-ML	5			12	135		152	27%
LJ-D				21	18		39	6.9%
WDO	14			62	236		312	55.3%
Total	24	0	0	97	410	33	564	
Percentages	4.3%	0%	0%	17.2%	72.7%	5.8%		

In comparison to the findings from the other chapters, what immediately stands out is the high percentage of data points that have been labeled CR. The percentage of CR data points for the Fourth Gospel is twice as high as the next closest (*Agesilaus*, 8.5%), and significantly higher than the *Atticus* (1.3%) and *Agricola* (1%). This is undoubtedly due to the fact that *The Gospel According to Mark* exists.<sup>258</sup> For the other three biographies surveyed there was not an additional *biography*, both written nearly contemporaneously and independently, that could serve as such a frequent source of comparison. This, in actuality, creates more problems for the Fourth Gospel’s reliability than it does remove or eliminate them. One would have hoped that given the fact we

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<sup>258</sup> This is not said in an effort to minimize the importance of M, L, and Q; the fact is that those three independent sources do not intersect with the Johannine material nearly as often as does Mark. When Matt and Luke do intersect it is almost always due to the fact that they are utilizing Markan material.

have access to an additional biography available for comparison that far greater than 4.3% of the data points would have been marked V. Furthermore, the fact that Mark exists yet roughly 70% of the data points were deemed SA is an additional point of concern for the overall reliability of the Fourth Gospel. Of course, this does not mean that all of those data points marked CR or SA are inaccurate or non-reliable; several of them actually have their addresses underlined. Regardless, that Mark exists *and* yet we still found that 4.3% of the data points were verified, 17.2% were in conflict, and 72.7% were singularly attested is rather astounding. It was very nearly the case that all of the material that was *not* singularly attested was in conflict with the other sources that were aimed at covering the same subject.

Another somewhat astounding percentage found in the table above is the 0% attached to the I column. While the other three biographies also had very low percentages of the data points marked I (1.1%, .8%, 1.3%), it is still surprising that not a single data point was marked in this way. This does not mean that there is not *any* inaccurate information in the Fourth Gospel, there are still several data points marked CR whose addresses were not underlined, and the historicity of the contents found therein is certainly in doubt.

One final set of percentages that I want to draw attention has to do with the “Types” of data found in the Fourth Gospel. In the two previous chapters I broke this column out and compared it to the previous biography(ies) surveyed. The following table does the same:

	Total	<i>Ages.</i>	Total	<i>Att.</i>	Total	<i>Agr.</i>	Total	<i>John</i>
AI	16	5.7%	11	4.6%	34	8.7%	43	7.6%
AA	56	19.8%	41	17.2%	79	20.3%	18	3.2%
LA-BOC	1	.3%	8	3.4%	4	1.0%	0	0%
LA-ML	154	54.4%	109	45.6%	100	25.6%	152	27%
LA-D	1	.3%	13	5.4%	5	1.3%	39	6.9%
WDO	55	19.4%	57	23.8%	168	43.1%	312	55.3%
Total	283		239		390		564	

When comparing percentages of data points related to types, what I found to be most surprising about the Fourth Gospel was the number from the final row, 55.3%. I simply did not expect to find this large of a percentage of data points for WDO. It should be pointed out, and this is unique to the Fourth Gospel, that there were four entire chapters (chs. 14–17, 117 verses) that only consisted of 14 data points, 9 of which were LJ-ML and 5 were marked WDO. Those 5 data points that were marked WDO only consisted of 5 verses, while the other 9 data points marked LJ-ML consisted of 108 verses (over 10% of the entire number of verses in the Fourth Gospel). This undoubtedly changes the percentage of the *biography* that pertains to LJ-ML and WDO, but, because of the lack of uniformity in the size of the data points, we have been careful to discuss these figures as they relate to percentages of data points and not percentages of the biography.

Two other percentages worth pointing out related to the “Types” table above are the low figures related to both AI and AA (roughly 10% combined), especially in comparison to the figures for the other three biographies (roughly 25%, 22%, and 29% respectively). That only 10.8% of the data points consisted of the author injecting his voice and either explaining something he just said or assessing the actions/characterizing any one of his subjects is, to me, an indication that John preferred indirect characterization over and above direct. It also could be an indicator that he was working with the assumption that his audience had a greater familiarity with his primary subject and he did not feel the need to insert his own voice into the narrative for explanatory purposes as much as the other authors surveyed here did.

### **Concluding Remarks**

What this section ultimately aims to do is move beyond the evidence presented above and assign final percentages regarding the amount of data points I have found to be reliable, non-

reliable, and indeterminable. These final percentages are arrived at by taking into consideration the figures discussed above, the number of underlined data points, and the answers to the preliminary questions posed prior to evaluating the biography. With the other three biographies, what really increased or contributed to my confidence in underlining the addresses of their data points was the fact that we know significantly more about the lives of the authors and, as a result, we could better reconstruct the nature of the relationship between author and subject. Also, we were nearly 100% sure as to who wrote the works. That the Fourth Gospel presented problems in these same aspects made the underlining process much more difficult. Additionally, that the author seemed to be far more interested in highlighting or emphasizing a certain theme on a number of occasions, as was clearly stressed in the larger table above, rather than what some might call “straightforward” reporting of the events also made those same decisions even that much harder. There were a number of times in this particular stage of the process where I oscillated between underlining/not underlining a specific data point, considerably more so than with the other three biographies. The Fourth Gospel simply proved to be different than the other three biographies surveyed, in a variety of ways, and that made this particular part of the process more difficult and the conclusions which I reached are held with less confidence.

Taking the above factors into consideration, if I were to assign percentages as to the number of data points in the Fourth Gospel I think to be reliable, non-reliable, and indeterminable, it would be roughly 60%, 15%, and 25% respectively. Regarding the percentage related to reliability, this, as has been the case with the other three biographies, is considerably higher than the percentage of data points deemed to have been verified. The increase has a lot to do with the high percentage of WDO data points and the fact that a high number of those data points are dialogue. There is very little reason to view these data points as unreliable outside of

sheer skepticism. There were a significant number of places where I felt that doubting the material simply because it was singularly attested was unnecessary and would have reflected a certain level of skepticism that I feel is unwarranted. As for those data points marked CR that were ultimately underlined, these were typically data points that included information that varied only slightly from other independent sources (i.e., Mark). On the occasions that there were data points that were a mixture of singularly attested, confirmed, and/or conflicting information and when those data points leaned more toward being confirmed than the other, I underlined their addresses.

While not being anywhere close to an exact science, one must at least attempt to draw conclusions regarding the data that cannot be outright verified and/or refuted and, based on my interaction with the text, I am comfortable with these percentages. While, historically, the Fourth Gospel has been relegated to somewhat of a second-tiered status when it comes to our reconstruction of the historical Jesus, I find that too to be unwarranted. There are undoubtedly parts of this biography that need to play greater roles in future reconstructions, even parts that are singularly attested and/or in conflict with the Synoptic tradition, and my hope is that more and more scholars will recognize this and make greater use of this source moving forward.



## Chapter 6

### Concluding Matters: Compiling and Assessing the Data

As stated in the first chapter, the primary purpose of this dissertation was to explore the historical reliability of the ancient biographical genre by looking at a select number of works commonly thought to belong. Admittedly, the sample size was small but, as one can see after having read the previous four chapters, the work involved in evaluating a single biography, coupled with institutionally appointed space limitations, necessitated such a select group. What, then, did looking at these four ancient biographies on such a micro level achieve? What were we able to learn, if anything, about the historical reliability of the genre through such a tedious process? In an effort to answer those questions I think it worthwhile to look at the results from each biography side by side. These four tables are replicas of those found at the end of each chapter.

#### **Xenophon's *Agesilaus***

	V	I	D	CR	NV-SA	NV-NH	Total	Percentages
AI						16	16	5.7%
AA	2		10	6	19	19	56	19.8%
LA-BOC	1						1	.3%
LA-ML	3	2	69	15	65		154	54.4%
LA-D			1				1	.3%
WDO	4	1	25	3	22		55	19.4%
Total	10	3	105	24	106	35	283	
Percentages	3.5%	1.1%	37.1%	8.5%	37.4%	12.4%		

#### **Cornelius Nepos's *Atticus***

	V	I	D	CR	NV-SA	NV-NH	Total	Percentages
AI	2					9	11	4.6%
AA	1				7	33	41	17.2%
LA-BOC					8		8	3.4%
LA-ML	14		9	2	73	11	109	45.6%
LA-D		1			12		13	5.4%
WDO	14	1	4	1	37		57	23.8%
Total	31	2	13	3	137	53	239	
Percentages	13.0%	.80%	5.4%	1.3%	57.3%	22.2%		

**Tacitus's *Agricola***

	V	I	D	CR	NV-SA	NV-NH	Total	Percentages
AI	2	1	1		4	26	34	8.7%
AA	4	2	6	2	53	12	79	20.3%
LA-BOC	1				3		4	1.0%
LA-ML					100		100	25.6%
LA-D			1		4		5	1.3%
WDO	9	1	14	2	142		168	43.1%
Total	15	5	22	4	306	38	390	
Percentages	4.1%	1.0%	5.6%	1.0%	78.5%	9.7%		

**The Gospel According to John**

	V	I	D	CR	NV-SA	NV-NH	Total	Percentages
AI	5			2	19	17	43	7.6%
AA					2	16	18	3.2%
LJ-BOC							0	0%
LJ-ML	5			12	135		152	27%
LJ-D				21	18		39	6.9%
WDO	14			62	236		312	55.3%
Total	24	0	0	97	410	33	564	
Percentages	4.3%	0%	0%	17.2%	72.7%	5.8%		

I want to extract from these four tables three figures from each and put them in an additional table because I think these specific figures are quite telling. Below you will find the percentages for the columns V, I, and NV-SA from each of the four biographies.

	<i>Agesilaus</i>	<i>Atticus</i>	<i>Agricola</i>	<i>John</i>
V	3.5%	13%	4.1%	4.3%
I	1.1%	.8%	1.0%	0%
NV-SA	74.5% <sup>1</sup>	62.7%	84.1%	72.7%

If we are going to claim that this particular study taught us anything about the genre as a whole, we have to start here. The percentages for these three “Result” categories are uniform enough to

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<sup>1</sup> These numbers reflect the NV-SA + D columns, as the latter truly represents SA material in that the contents are nowhere confirmed by an independent source, simply repeated by a later source.

say that there is *at least a likelihood* this is what we would find in future evaluations of biographies using this same methodology. One would be correct in pointing out that the *Atticus* had a fairly higher percentage of its data points verified than the other three biographies, but 13% is still not that high of a number in relation to the whole. I was fairly surprised to see just how consistent these numbers were across all four biographies and, while I would preface this by again pointing to the small sample size, I do think that these numbers, particularly the percentage of data points marked SA, are likely to repeat in future studies.

Do these extracted percentages teach us anything else? I think they do, and I think it is tied to the percentages that were more subjectively assigned to each individual biography concerning the amount of reliable, non-reliable, and indeterminable information in each. Observe the following:

	<i>Agesilaus</i>	<i>Atticus</i>	<i>Agricola</i>	<i>John</i>
Reliable	35%	60%	57%	60%
Non-reliable	10%	5%	5%	15%
Indeterminable	55%	35%	38%	25%

Despite the fact that these percentages move beyond the evidence, I am still confident in claiming that the biographies surveyed here actually contain far more reliable information than what is represented by the percentages attached to the V column. Having said that, I fully recognize that these percentages would vary widely among individual scholars. The reason for this is unquestionably due to the high amount of singularly attested material in each of the biographies surveyed (74.5%, 62.7%, 84.1%, and 72.7% respectively). These percentages all dropped considerably after evaluating these data points for their historical reliability, but the extent to which these percentages would drop is undoubtedly going to be different depending on

which scholar is conducting the investigation. This is why I think that uncovering the verified material in each ancient biography is so crucial if we are ever going to establish a baseline expectation for the historical reliability of this particular genre.

Ultimately and, I would add, unfortunately, the variations in our assessments of the reliability of specific biographies and, as a consequence, our assessment of the genre as a whole, are not necessarily going to be tied to the amount of data points we find to be outright verified or refuted, it is most likely going to be tied to how we interpret/handle the singularly attested material. If the extracted percentages for the V, I, and NV-SA columns do in fact hold up over future studies, I am not sure that we will ever arrive at a consensus regarding the reliability of this particular genre because of this very fact. There simply is too much room for variation in our assessments. Different scholars will approach the singularly attested material in different ways and, unless we are all willing to recognize that when making judgements about said material that we are moving beyond the evidence, then we will consistently remain at impasse in arriving at a consensus regarding the historical reliability of this particular genre. This rather grim assessment should not, however, stop us from working towards that goal, and the hope is that my continued explorations of this specific aspect of the genre will ultimately serve that very goal and keep pushing this conversation forward.

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