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A COMMENTARY ON NEPOS'
LIFE OF ALCIBIADES

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by

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TO MY PARENTS

PREFACE

I should like to express my gratitude to:

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The aims of this study have been set out in the Introduction. In addition it should be noted that the commentary does not include any textual criticism. (For a discussion of the manuscript tradition in Nepos, the reader is referred to Marshall's study in BICS suppl. 37.) I have used the recent Teubner text edited by Marshall, with one change in 2.3: I have removed the comma which occurs after odiosa and placed it just before the word.

For the sake of convenience, I have used the following abbreviations:

Gomme's Commentary= A.W. Gomme, A.Andrewes and K.J. Dover, A Historical Commentary on Thucydides Vol. 4, Oxford, 1970.

M.L.= R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C., Oxford, 1969.

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INTRODUCTION

In the last poem of Ep.1 Horace teases his book because it is fated to be used as a setwork by lisping old schoolmasters. These words seem to be even more applicable to Nepos' Lives. In the eyes of educational authorities, the strong moral tone in which they are written makes them suitable for the young, and the Latin does not burden a beginner with too many difficulties. However, the Lives have not on the whole been thought worthy of detailed study by scholars. Most of what has been written on Nepos has been about general features of his work such as style and use of sources : apart from Att., the individual Lives have not received much attention. (Jenkinson's "Genus Scripturae Leve" contains a useful bibliography on Nepos.) It is the aim of this study to provide a detailed commentary on the Life of Alcibiades.

Much of the commentary is historical and biographical in its emphasis. In making detailed reference to other accounts, I have tried to fill important gaps in Nepos' brief and (in places) abrupt account, to compare the picture of Alcibiades in his account with that of other accounts and to trace sources which he may have used : important passages have been quoted in full so that verbal similarities can be seen.

In general, the way in which Nepos views Alcibiades is consistent with what one might call a traditional view. In many other writers there are parallels to the qualities and faults mentioned by Nepos : his beauty, eloquence, intelligence and dissoluteness could be regarded as proverbial. Nepos stresses the diversity of his nature and the profound effect which that

diversity had on so many people : here too he is reflecting a commonly held view, and one which can be traced back to Alcibiades' lifetime.

What sources has Nepos used for this Life ? The answer is unfortunately not conclusive, but there are some possibilities. Apart from an incidental reference to Plato's Symposium (2.2), he cites as his main sources Thucydides, Theopompus and Timaeus (11.1). However, it is not easy to determine from what he says, how closely or directly he has used them : his language is imprecise. Yet some of the details in this Life can be linked with Thucydides' account, and there are some verbal parallels, as there are between Thucydides and Them. Moreover there are in Alc. close verbal parallels with Diodorus : this fact may suggest that Nepos has used Diodorus' main sources for the period, Theopompus and Ephorus, especially since there is evidence from some of the other Lives that he may have used both authors directly.

There are also similarities between Nepos' Alc. and Plutarch's Alc. These too imply the use of a common source or sources : it is significant that Plutarch cites both Ephorus and Theopompus. It is even possible that Plutarch has used Nepos for his Alc. However, I have argued that this is unlikely. Nonetheless, similarities between the two works suggest that the picture of Alcibiades in Plutarch is not much different from that which had already emerged by the end of the 1st century B.C. Also the fact remains that elsewhere Plutarch actually cites Nepos, and it is possible that Nepos had some influence on him. He may even have helped to inspire in Plutarch the idea of comparing Greeks and Romans (see Han.13.4).

In a number of places I have pointed out similarities in biographical technique between Nepos and Plutarch.

It is also possible that Nepos has had some influence on the biographical aims and techniques of Tacitus and Suetonius. Here too I have pointed out similarities. There are, for example, some interesting parallels between Nepos' Lives and Tacitus' Agricola. That Suetonius was acquainted with Nepos' writings emerges from Aug. 77 : he is quoted for some information about Octavian's abstemious drinking habits during the siege of Mutina.

I have included in the commentary a detailed examination of Nepos' language. In so doing I have perhaps risked what Nepos himself wished to avoid : boring the reader with too much information. However, the citing of references does give one some idea of how repetitive Nepos can be, especially when a single word occurs several times within the space of a few lines. (Yet one should not be too stern with him : he sometimes uses an interesting variety of expressions.) Also this type of information does provide some insight into his biographical technique :

The repetitive quality of his writing reflects a number of features : There is an almost formulaic pattern in the structure of the Lives, particularly in the first chapter. And throughout the Lives great emphasis is placed on certain themes, for example patriotism, tyranny, the role of fortuna in people's lives and numerous personal qualities. There is a tendency to apply the same terms to a number of characters : the terms applied to Alcibiades are mostly favourable and many of them are also applied to other characters whom Nepos views favourably. There are several parallels

between Alcibiades and Themistocles ; it is also interesting to find some between Alcibiades and Atticus.

A striking feature of Nepos' work is his tendency to describe many non-Roman situations in Roman terms. This reflects not only his vagueness about details (a common fault in his writing), but also perhaps a desire to make his Lives more relevant to his reading public and thus more readable. From antiquity to the present day biography and history have tended to be distinguished from each other, and biography has had the greater popular appeal.

Readability is perhaps the most abiding quality of Nepos' Lives and Alcibiades may be the most readable of them all. On the whole Nepos portrays him consistently, although of course he also emphasises the inconsistency which was such an important part of his nature. He has told the story simply, yet dramatically ; many of the complicated details about Alcibiades are omitted, yet particular incidents are highlighted, notably the return to Athens and the assassination. Above all, from Nepos' Life there emerges the impression that Alcibiades was unique and worth writing about.

TRANSLATION

1. Alcibiades the Athenian, son of Clinias : Nature seems to have tried to achieve all she could in this man : everyone who has written about him agrees that both his faults and his virtues were unsurpassed. He was born in a very great city of a noble family. He was by far the most handsome of all the men of his time. He was skilled in all things and very resourceful : he was a most distinguished general on both land and sea. His eloquence was such that he was one of the foremost orators : this was because his delivery and style made it impossible for anyone to resist him. He was wealthy. When he needed to, he worked hard and endured hardship. He was generous and as dazzling in his life as in his lifestyle. He was affable and charming and could adapt himself with the greatest skill to different situations. Yet the moment he let go of himself and there was no reason for him to exert his mind, his extravagance, dissoluteness, love of pleasure and lack of self-control became so obvious that everyone was astonished at the variety and inconsistency which could be found in one man.

2. He was brought up in the home of Pericles (he is said to have been his stepson) and educated by Socrates. His father-in-law was Hipponicus, the richest man in the Greek-speaking world : he was so rich that if Alcibiades himself had decided on what he wanted to do, he could not have imagined more advantages or attained greater ones than whatever it was nature or fortune had in fact granted him. In his early youth - according to Greek custom - he was loved by a large number of men, including Socrates, as

Plato records in the Symposium. Here he is represented as saying that he spent a whole night with Socrates and left his bed in the same way that a son should leave his father's bed. When he grew to maturity, he had no fewer love affairs than before, and in them, as far as was acceptable, he did many disagreeable things in a way that was frivolous and full of fun. These affairs I would describe if I did not have more important things to write about.

3. During the Peloponnesian War it was his advice and influence that led Athens to declare war on Syracuse. He himself was chosen as general to conduct this campaign, along with two colleagues, Nicias and Lamachus. One night, while preparations were being made for the fleet's departure, all the statues of Hermes in Athens were overturned, the only exception being the statue in front of the door of Andocides' house. (It was afterwards known as the "Mercury of Andocides".) Since it was clear that the deed could not have been committed without a large measure of agreement among people - and this affected the general public rather than individuals - the people were terrified that there would be a sudden outbreak of violence in the city, which would destroy their freedom. Alcibiades seemed to be the main suspect. People thought that he was too great and powerful to be considered a private citizen. After all, by his generosity he had bound a large number of people to himself, and by his work in the law-courts he had gained an even larger number as his supporters. This meant that whenever he made a public appearance, he drew the eyes of everyone towards himself and in the

whole state no-one was regarded as his equal. As a result, the public not only expected a great deal from him, but also were very afraid of him, because he had the power to bring about the most good and the most harm. Another reason for suspecting him of disgraceful behaviour was the claim that he had celebrated the Mysteries in his own home. (In terms of Athenian custom, this was sacrilege.) This was thought to fall under conspiracy rather than offences against religion.

4. This was the charge that his enemies brought against him at a public meeting. But it was almost time to go to war. Bearing this fact in mind and knowing the ways of his fellow-countrymen, he insisted that if they wished to take any action against him, he should face trial in person rather than be accused maliciously in his absence. However, as his enemies realised they could not harm him, they decided it would be best to keep quiet for the time being and to wait until he was due to leave : then they could attack him during his absence. And that is what they did. When they presumed he had arrived in Sicily, they laid a charge against him in his absence, alleging profanation of the sacred rites. A message about this matter was sent to him in Sicily by the magistrates with the instruction that he should return home to stand trial. Although he was full of hope for the success of his command, he was reluctant to disobey the order, and so he boarded the trireme which had been sent to bring him back. The voyage took him to Thurii in Italy.

He was much preoccupied with the uncontrolled licence of his countrymen and their cruelty to men of noble birth, and he considered that the most expedient course was to escape the impending storm. After slipping away from his guards, he reached first Elis, then Thebes. In the meantime he had been condemned to death and his property confiscated, and, in keeping with tradition, the priests known as the "Eumolpidae" had been summoned by the people to curse him. So that the memory of the curse might be better preserved, a copy of it had been inscribed on a stone pillar and set up for all to see. When he heard about these events, he went off to settle in Sparta. There, as he himself used to say, he conducted a war, not against his home country, but against his personal enemies, for in his view they were also enemies of the state : although they understood that he could be of enormous benefit to the state, they had banished him because they were more concerned about their own feelings of resentment than the good of the community. And so it was on his advice that the Spartans established friendly relations with the king of Persia, then fortified Decelea in Attica, set up a permanent garrison there and held Athens in a state of siege. It was also through his help that they drew Ionia away from her alliance with Athens. Once this had happened, Sparta began to be vastly superior in war.

5. However, these deeds did not win for Alcibiades the Spartans' friendship : on the contrary, they grew to fear and dislike him. For when they became aware of the outstanding intelligence which this very dynamic man displayed in everything, they were terrified that through love of his country he might one day leave them and be welcomed back by his own people. And so they decided to find a convenient moment to kill him. But the plot could not be concealed from him for long : So quick were his powers of perception that he could not be deceived, especially since he had made up his mind to be on the alert. For this reason he took refuge with King Darius' satrap Tissaphernes and formed a close friendship with him. When he observed that after the catastrophe in Sicily Athens' power was degenerating while Sparta's was growing, he first negotiated by means of intermediaries with the general Pisander who was in control of the army at Samos, and mentioned to him the possibility of returning to Athens. Pisander was of the same political persuasion as Alcibiades : he disliked democracy, but favoured the nobles. But Pisander would not help him. Then he was first received by the army through the help of Thrasybulus son of Lycus and made commander at Samos. Thereafter, as a result of support from Theramenes, he was recalled by a decree of the people and during his absence granted power equal to that of Thrasybulus and Theramenes.

While these men were in command, there was such a change of fortune that the Spartans, who just a short while before had won glorious victories, were driven in terror to sue for peace. They had been defeated in five land battles and three sea battles and had lost two hundred ships, which had been captured and had come into the possession of the enemy. Along with his colleagues Alcibiades recaptured Ionia, the Hellespont and also many Greek cities on the coast of Asia. Several of these cities they stormed, including Byzantium, but they secured the friendship of just as many by diplomacy, because they had shown mercy to the prisoners. And so after loading themselves with plunder, enriching the army and achieving great things, they arrived in Athens.

6. The entire city went down to the Piraeus to meet them. Everyone was so keen to see Alcibiades that the crowd poured around his trireme as if he were the only person who had arrived : so convinced were the people that both their previous misfortunes and their present good fortunes were due to him. Hence they blamed themselves for the loss of Sicily and the victories of the Spartans, since they had banished a man of such calibre from the state. There seemed to be a good reason for this view, because the moment Alcibiades had assumed control of the army, the enemy had been outmatched on both land and sea. When he disembarked, although Theramenes and Thrasybulus had shared the same power and had come with him to the Piraeus, it was he alone who was escorted by all and publicly presented with crowns of gold and bronze :

in the past, only Olympic victors had received this kind of treatment. He accepted this act of goodwill from his countrymen with tears in his eyes as he remembered their former cruelty. When he reached the city itself, a public meeting was called and he spoke in such a way that no-one was hardhearted enough not to weep at his fate or to show hatred of the men who had organised his exile from his native city. It was as if another people - not the one that was now weeping - had condemned him for sacrilege. Accordingly his property was restored to him at public expense, and the Eumolpidae, the very priests who had cursed him, were once again summoned, this time to renounce the curse, and the pillars on which the curse had been inscribed, were hurled into the sea.

7. But this joy of Alcibiades was short-lived. Every possible honour was bestowed on him and the domestic and military affairs of the whole country were entrusted to his personal administration. He insisted however on having Thrasybulus and Adimantus as his colleagues. His request was granted and he set out with a fleet for Asia. But because he achieved less at Cyme than was expected, he fell into disfavour. The problem was that people imagined there was nothing he could not do, and so they blamed him for all setbacks, saying that he had acted out of negligence or treachery. This is exactly what happened at Cyme. They claimed that he had been reluctant to capture the town because he had been bribed by the Persian king.

I believe that what did him the greatest harm was the inflated opinion people had of his ability and character : their love for him was equalled by their fear that his good fortune and great wealth would make him arrogant and that he would set his heart on tyranny. And so they deprived him of office while he was away and put another man in his place. When he heard the news, he was reluctant to go back home, but went instead to Pactye, where he fortified three strongholds (Orni, Bizanthe and Neontichi), gathered together a group of supporters and became the first member of a Greek state to enter Thrace: he thought it would bring more glory to be enriched with foreign plunder than Greek plunder. The effect of this action was that he increased in both fame and wealth, and established important alliances between himself and a number of Thracian kings.

8. However, he found it impossible to give up his love for his country. The Athenian general Philocles had anchored the fleet off Aegospotami, and nearby was his Spartan counterpart Lysander, who had made it his business to drag out the war as long as possible, because the Persian king was supplying the Spartans with money, whereas the Athenians were completely worn out and had nothing except weapons and ships. Alcibiades went to the Athenian army and there amongst the rank and file he began his address : He pledged that if they were willing, he would force Lysander either to fight or to sue for peace : the Spartans were unwilling to fight at sea since their strength lay rather on land :

he himself would have little difficulty in persuading the Thracian king Seuthes to drive Lysander from the land. Once this had been done, Lysander would have to fight at sea or bring the war to a settlement. Even though Philocles accepted the truth of what Alcibiades had said, he was unwilling to do what had been asked of him because he realized that once Alcibiades was accepted, he himself would lose his influence over the army, and would have no share of any success, but would incur the sole responsibility for any misfortune. Alcibiades left him with these words : "Since you are opposed to victory for your country, my advice is that you keep your naval encampment away from the enemy. The danger is that your soldiers' lack of discipline will provide Lysander with an opportunity to crush your army." Alcibiades was absolutely right. When Lysander had learnt from scouts that a large crowd of Athenians had gone ashore to plunder and had left their ships practically unmanned, he did not let the moment for action go by, but attacked, and in so doing ended the entire war.

9. Alcibiades thought that now that the Athenians had been defeated, it would not be safe to stay where he was, and he withdrew deep into Thrace beyond the Propontis in the hope that his lot could easily be concealed. But this was a vain hope. When the people of Thrace heard that he had arrived with a great quantity of money, they ambushed him.

Although they robbed him of what he had been carrying, they did not manage to capture him. He realised that because of the power of Sparta, no place in Greece was safe for him, and so he crossed over to Pharnabazus in Asia, who was so captivated by his urbanity that he became his closest friend : Pharnabazus gave him a fortified post in Phrygia, Grynium, which brought him a revenue of 50 talents. But he was dissatisfied with his lot, and he could not bear the fact that Athens was defeated and enslaved to Sparta. All his thoughts centred on the liberation of his home country. However, he perceived that this would be impossible without support from the Persian king, and for this reason he was keen to win the king's friendship ; he had no doubt that he would easily succeed in his plan if only he had an opportunity to meet him. He knew that the king's brother Cyrus was secretly preparing to fight against him with Spartan aid : if he revealed this fact, he would win very considerable favour.

10. While Alcibiades was making his plans and urging Pharnabazus to send him to the king, Critias and the other tyrants of Athens had sent reliable agents to Lysander in Asia to inform him that if he did not remove Alcibiades, all agreements that he had made in Athens would be cancelled. And therefore, if Lysander wanted his achievements to remain, he should round up Alcibiades. These proposals roused the Spartan to action and he made up his mind that he must be more direct in his dealings with Pharnabazus. So he threatened to cancel the agreement between the

Persian king and the Spartans if Pharnabazus did not hand over to him Alcibiades dead or alive. The satrap did not oppose him, and preferred to violate the law of clemency than to let the power of the king be reduced. Therefore he sent Susamithres and Bageus to kill Alcibiades while he was in Phrygia on his way to the king. These agents secretly ordered the inhabitants of the area in which Alcibiades was then staying, to kill him. Since the local people did not dare attack him with swords, by night they piled up some wood around the hut in which he was sleeping and set it alight, so as to destroy by fire the man whom they distrusted their ability to overwhelm in combat. Alcibiades was woken up by the sound of the flames, and even though his sword had been removed from him, he seized a dagger which belonged to his companion. (He always had with him a friend from Arcadia who refused to leave him.) He ordered this man to follow him and seized whatever clothing came to hand. He threw it onto the fire and leapt through the fierce flames. When the foreigners saw that he had escaped from the blaze, they hurled weapons at him from a distance, killed him and brought his head to Pharnabazus. However the woman who had been living with Alcibiades covered the body with some of her own clothing and cremated it in the fire that was burning down the hut, the very fire which had been prepared to burn him alive. Thus died Alcibiades at the age of about 40 years.

11. Although Alcibiades has been given a bad reputation by many people, three historians of the greatest authority are full of praise for him. They are Thucydides, a contemporary of his, Theopompus, who was born a little later, and Timaeus. The last two are often full of slander, but somehow they both agree in praising him. They write about in in the way I have written above, and they also mention this detail : He was born in Athens, the finest of cities, and he outdid all Athenians in the magnificence and excellence of his life. Later, when he was banished from there and went to Thebes, he applied himself to Theban pursuits with such dedication that no-one could equal his physical endurance or strength. (All Boeotians aim at strength of body rather than alertness of mind.) Amongst the Spartans, for whom endurance is traditionally the greatest virtue, this same man gave himself such through training in austerity that he outdid all Spartans by the simplicity of his diet and general way of life. He lived among the Thracians, whose lives are devoted to drink and sex : in both respects he surpassed them as well. He went to the Persians, who give the highest praise to energetic hunting and extravagant living. So well did he imitate their way of life that even they were full of admiration for his aptitude in these matters. So, wherever he was, he was considered a leader and won great affection. But that is enough about him. Let us now describe others.

COMMENTARY

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 : Alcibiades, Cliniae filius, Atheniensis : Eleven of Nepos' other Lives begin with the formula of name, father's name, country or city of birth (in that order) : Milt.1.1, Them.1.1, Arist.1.1, Cim.1.1, Thras.1.1, Dion 1.1, Tim.1.1, Dat.1.1, Epam.1.1, Ham.1.1, Han.1.1.

In Ham.1.1 mention is also made of Hamilcar's cognomen (Barca), and in Dat.1.1 of Datames' mother's nationality (Scythian).

Other Lives in which Nepos indicates the place from which the character came, are : Paus.1.1, Lys.1.1, Con.1.1, Iph.1.1, Cha.1.1, Pel.1.1, Ag.1.1, Eum.1.1, Phoc.1.1, Timol.1.1, Cat.1.1, Att.3.3.

Cliniae : Clinias, the father of Alcibiades, was killed at the battle of Coroneia in 447 (Plut.Alc.1.1, Isoc. De Big.28). Herodotus (8.17) writes of a Clinias who came to the battle of Artemisium (480) in his own ship with 200 men. Plutarch wrongly identifies the man as Alcibiades' father (Alc.1.1).¹

In---virtutibus : Nepos' view that Alcibiades was a mixture of good and evil is found in other sources :

Thucydides (6.15) contrasts his excellence as a general with the excessiveness of his private life (see note on 11.2).

Plutarch (Alc. 16.1f) repeats and develops Thucydides' point. In Alc.23.3 he compares Alcibiades with a chameleon, the difference being that a chameleon cannot turn white, whereas Alcibiades in a sense could : he was not totally evil, but a mixture of good and evil.

Valerius Maximus also emphasises the dual nature of Alcibiades :

utrum bona an vitia patriae perniciosiora (3.1.3)
quasi duae fortunae (6.8.4)

In spite of Nepos' emphasis here on Alcibiades' faults, he says very little about them in the rest of the Life, apart from applying four perjorative adjectives to him (1.4), showing some embarrassment at his homosexual affairs (2.3) and referring to his disreputable activities amongst the Thracians and the Persians (11.4f). This may suggest that Nepos views him favourably. That may be so, but it does not mean that Nepos eulogises him.² His emphasis is rather on Alcibiades' profound influence on others and their astonishment at his versatility (see esp.1.4, 11.5f).

1.1 : language :

natura : On the role of natura in Alcibiades' life, see note on 2.1. What of natura's role in the lives of other characters in Nepos ? Dion receives certain qualities from natura (Dion 1.2). Natura is kind to Agesilaus in the mental gifts he provides him with, but unkind in the body she gives him (Ag.8.1 ; see note on 11.3). Atticus' conduct was determined partly by natura, but also by doctrina (Att.17.3). In Reg.1.5 and Att.2.2.2 natura is connected with the inevitability of death.

For examples of natura referring to a person's nature, see Alc.1.4 (diversam naturam - Alcibiades) and Att.5.1 (difficillima natura - Atticus' uncle Caecilius), Natura refers to a general quality or feature in Milt.6.1, Dat.8.3.

constat---omnes : The expression illustrates Nepos' tendency to be imprecise and to exaggerate (see note on 11.2).

constat : cf. Reg. 3.5

omnes : See note on 2.1.

memoriae---pròdiderunt : For other examples of the expression, see Them. 10.5, Paus. 2.2, Lys. 3.2, Ham. 8.2, Han. 13.3

The expression dignus memoria is used in Cha. 1.1, Tim. 4.4

Epam. 1.4, Reg. 1.1, and hominum memoria in Them. 5.3,

Arist. 1.2, Reg. 1.3 . Other examples of memoria: Them. 10.3

Arist. 2.2, Alc. 4.5, Tim. 2.3, Epam. 7.2, Phoc. 1.1, Timol. 2.2

Han. 8.2 Att. 11.5.

In general there is a sameness about Nepos' language.

However, he does use a variety of expressions in connection with the recording of history :

aio : Them. 1.4, 9.1, 10.4, Dat. 2.2

collaudo : Ag. 1.1

convenit : Han. 13.1

dicitur : Arist. 1.3, Paus. 5.3, Lys. 3.5, Alc. 2.1, Reg. 3.4

effero : Alc. 11.1

explico : Epam. 4.6

expono : Dion 3.5

historiam relinquo : Them. 9.1

historiam scribo : Pel. 1.1, Cat. 3.3 (cf. historia Att. 16.3)

lego : Dat. 6.8

loquor : Ham. 3.2

mentionem facio : Alc. 2.2, 5.3, Epam. 4.5, Ham. 3.3, 11.6, Han. 12.1
Att. 16.3

narro : Cat. 1.1

praedico : Alc. 11.1

scribo : Them.9.1, 10.4, Pel.1.1, cf. Alc.11.2
scriptum relinquo : Con.5.4, Han.8.2, 13.1

excellentius : excellens is linked with Nepos' biographical purpose in : Prol.1.8 (excellentium imperatorum) and Epam.4.6. (excellentium virorum), It is also applied to the bonitas of Timoleon (Timol.5.1), Cyrus and Darius (Reg.1.2 - superlative), the declaiming skills of Atticus (Att. 1.3 -adverb) (Excello is applied to the abstinentia of Aristides (Arist.1.2).)

vel --- virtutibus : For Nepos' use of alliteration, see note on 5.5. These words are very similar to Nepos' descriptions of Themistocles and Pausanias.

huius vitia ineuntis adulescentiae magnis
sunt emendatae virtutibus (Them.1.2)
nam ut virtutibus eluxit, sic vitiis est
obrutus (Paus.1.2)

(For parallels between Alcibiades and Themistocles, and between Alcibiades and Pausanias, see note on 9.3.)

vitium : This word is used in connection with : free states (Cha.3.3), dancing - from the Roman point of view (Epam.1.2) and leaders in general (Att.16.4).

virtutibus : See note on 7.3.

1.2 : natus ----- civitate : On Nepos' view of Athens, see note on 11.2.

The date of Alcibiades' birth was about 451. Since he served in the Potidaea campaign as a hoplite (432/1), he cannot have been born later than 452. Yet he cannot have been born much earlier. : Plutarch (Alc.7.2) refers to him as *μειράκιον* and according to Isocrates (De Big. 29), he joined the expedition soon after the *δοκιμᾶσι*.³

summo genere : The nobility of Alcibiades' ancestry is stressed in several sources :

Thuc.5.43.2: ἀξιώματι δὲ προγόνων τιμώμενος
Diod.12.84.1: εὐγενείᾳ --- δεινομασμένος
13.37.2: εὐγενείᾳ --- πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων
Plut.Alc.6.1: εὐφυΐαν
16.3: δόξα προγόνων

Isoc.De Big.25f emphasises the nobility of Alcibiades' ancestry, describing his links with the Eupatridae (on his father's side) and the Alcmeonidae (on his mother's side). In [Plato] Alc.1 Alcibiades himself traces his ancestry through Eurysaces back to Zeus (121f, cf. Plut.Alc.1.1). But Socrates says scornfully that no-one would be interested in Alcibiades' noble ancestry except perhaps a lover (122 B). Xenophon (Mem.1.2.25) writes of how Alcibiades' and Critias' ancestry made them "puffed up" : ὠγκωμένω μὲν ἐπὶ γένει.

In [Andoc.] Contra Alc. 34 and Lysias Contra Alc.1. 39f pointed reference is made to the ostracism of two of Alcibiades' ancestors : Megacles and Alcibiades ὁ πελακίος.

(A rather different point is made by Aristotle (Rhet. 2.15.3) when he writes of the degeneration found in the descendants of Alcibiades.)

Nepos makes no reference to Alcibiades' mother, Deinomache. For information on her, see [Plato] Alc.1.105D, Plut.Alc.1.1. Nor, apart from the reference to Clinias does he give any information about the family of Alcibiades. This may seem a little surprising in view of the amount of information that was available (Plut.Alc.1.2 - see note on 2.1), and the fact that in some of the other Lives Nepos does provide this kind of information : Background about the character's father is found in Them.1.2, Cim.1.1, Tim.1.1, 2.3, Epam.2.1, Cat.1.1, Att.1.1f.

(In Ag.7.4 Nepos refers to Eurysthenes, the first of Agesilaus' line.) However in Alc. Nepos seems to be more than usually preoccupied with the need to be brief (see note on 2.3). Also his main interest in the opening chapter is the character of Alcibiades.

As in Alc., in a few of the other Lives Nepos stresses the nobility of the character's ancestry : Milt.1.1, Dion 1.1, Epam.2.1.(In Them.1.2 reference of this kind is made to Themistocles' father.) On the other hand, Nepos writes that Atticus was descended ab ultima stirpe (Att.1.1) but that the family became pauper. Atticus' retention of equestrian rank is stressed. Eumenes is presented as having been in an unusual predicament : he lacked generosa stirps, but Nepos' point is that he suffered the disadvantage of not being Macedonian (Eum.1.2).

omnium --- formosissimus : Alcibiades' beauty was proverbial : See Plato Protag.309A,316A, Rep.6 494Bf (see note on 11.6), [Plato] Alc.1.217Af, Plut. Alc.16.3, Diod.13.68.1f, Lucian Dial. of the Dead 419, Ael. V.H.12.14, Athen.12.534Bf, 574Df, Libanius Orat. 30.22, Christodorus of Thebes 82f.

There are references to Alcibiades' attractiveness to women in : Xen. Mem.1.2.24, Athen.12.534C, 535Af, 13.574Df, and to men in : Plut. Alc.4.1, Athen.12.534C (On his various love affairs see note on 2.3 ; on his relationship with Socrates, see note on 2.2.)

However, ancient sources also contain several scathing remarks about Alcibiades' beauty ; See [Plato] Alc.1.104Af, 108C, 123E, 219Bf (see note on 2.2), and :

Persius Sat.4.14 : summa nequiquam pelle decorus
Boethius Consol.3.8 : introspectis visceribus illud
Alcibiadis superficiei pulcherrimum corpus turpissimum
videretur ?⁴

Reference to physical appearance is also made in some of the other Lives:

magnam corporis dignitatem (Dion, Dion 1.2)
animo magno et corpore (Iphicrates, Iph.3.1)
hominem maximi corporis (Thuys, Dat.3.1)
corporis firmitatem (Epaminodas, Epam.3.1)
statura fuit humili---pede (Agesilaus, Ag.8.1)⁵
amplissimae---formae (Artaxerxes Macrochir, Reg.1.4)

(In Ham. 4.3 mention is made of Hannibal's bad eye.)

(See also the note on corpus 11.3.)

Nepos sometimes makes reference to pictures or statues of the character :

Milt.6.3, Them.10.3, Cha.1.3, Tim.2.3, Att.3.2.

However, mention of these details does not add anything to one's knowledge of the man's appearance or character, as is the case in some of Plutarch's and Suetonius' Lives.⁶
In Nepos, pictures and statues are viewed as evidence of important achievements or honours paid to the man.

ad---terra : Nepos again alludes to the intelligence of Alcibiades in 4.1 and 5.1f.

This quality is strongly emphasised by Plutarch :⁷

Alc.14.8 τὴν δεινότητά καὶ σύνεσιν ὡς οὐ τοῦ
τυχόντος ἀνδρός οὐδέν

16.1 φρονήματι καὶ δεινότητι

However in Persius Sat.4.1f Socrates tells Alcibiades scornfully that prudencia has come to him before his beard.

Alcibiades' ability as a general is stressed in several accounts : Thuc.6.15.4 (see note on 3.5), Plut. Mor.800D, Alc.38.2, Comp.of Alc. and Cor.1.1f, Diod.12.84.1f, 13.68.1f

disertus ---resistere : Several times Nepos emphasises the effect of Alcibiades' personality on others (see 3.4,3.5, 6.1, 8.2, 11.5,11.6). Similar emphasis is found in Plutarch's account of the Athenians' feelings after the final defeat : They still had some hope while Alcibiades was alive (Alc.38.2). In the Frogs (produced in 405) Aristophanes conveys the impression that in spite of its confused feelings towards Alcibiades, the Athenian δῆμος wished to have him back (1425) :

Ποθεῖ μὲν, ἐχθαίρει δέ, βούλεται δ' ἔχειν⁸

There are several references in antiquity to the eloquence of Alcibiades: Thuc.6.17.1, Xen.Mem.1.2.15, Hell.1.4.13, Plut. Alc.16.1f. In Alc. 10.2 Plutarch describes this gift in superlative terms:

δεινότατον εἰπεῖν

This expression is also used in Diod. 12.84.1 and 13.68.5 (cf. λόγῳ συνειτώτατος 13.37.2).

Details about Alcibiades' style are given by Cicero. In De Or.2.93 he, Pericles and Thucydides are described as "subtiles, acuti, breves, sententiis magis quam verbis abundantes"⁹

However, in three places (Mor.80D, 804A, Alc.10.3f) Plutarch presents a rather different view of Alcibiades' eloquence: Often he would stumble, unable to find the right expression. The source cited is Theophrastus. (Perhaps the view is a reaction to the extravagant praise of Alcibiades' eloquence.)

1.2 : language

amplissima : Amplius is applied to : the appearance of Artaxerxes Macrochir (Reg.1.4), Cato's act of bringing Ennius to Rome (superlative, Cat.1.4) and the funeral of Craterus (Eum.4.4).¹⁰ Amplius is used to refer to a "further point" or something more" in Alc.11.2, Thras. 4.3, Ag.8.2. In other examples, amplius is used in the context of numbers: Thras.4.2, Dat.8.3, Pel.2.3, Eum.12.4,

Ham.2.4, Han.2.3, Att.13.6, 18.6.

summo genere : For the expression, see Eum.1.3 (referring to Eumenes).

summo : See note on 11.1.

genere : Genus is also used to refer to the ancestry of Dion (Dion 1.4), Thuys (Dat.2.2), Epaminondas (Epam. 1.4, 2.1). Elsewhere it means "sort, type" : Milt.1.2, 3.4, 4.3, Paus.3.6, Dat.8.2, Ag.8.3, Eum.5.2, 11.2, Han.5.2.

omnium : See note on 2.1.

aetatis : This word can refer to :

maturity (Milt.1.1)

old age (Phoc.4.1, Timol.4.1, Cat.2.4, Att.7.1, 10.3 :

In the last three examples it is combined with extrema : cf. Tim.4.4 below.)

one's present age (Han.2.5, 3.1)

an age-group, especially a person's contemporaries (Them.9.1 Alc.11.1, Iph.1.1, Att.16.1. This would be the meaning here.)

a lifespan (Eum.1.2) or an era (Tim.4.4, Att.12.4, 18.3)

multo : a word which Nepos uses excessively : Prol.1.7, Milt.1.2, 3.6, 5.3, 8.2, Them.1.3, 7.2, 8.2, 8.6, 9.3, 10.1, 10.2, Arist. 2.2, Paus. 3.1, Cim.3.4, 4.3, Lys.3.3, 4.1, Alc.2.2, 2.3 (twice), 3.3, 3.4, 4.4, 4.7, 5.6 (twice), Thras.1.1, 1.3 (twice), 4.2 (twice), Con.2.1 (twice), 2.2, 3.1, 4.4, Dion 1.2, 1.3, 3.1, 4.2, 5.2 (twice), 6.4, 8.4, 10.1, Iph.1.2 (twice), Cha. 1.1, 2.1, Tim.1.1, 1.2, 3.1, 4.1, Dat.1.1, 1.2, 6.7, 7.3, 8.3, 11.5, Epam.4.6, 6.1, 9.1, Pel.2.4 5.5, Ag.2.5, 3.1, 3.5, 3.6, 4.3, 5.2, 5.3, Eum.1.1, 1.2, 1.5, 2.4, 3.3, 4.3, 5.3, 10.1, 11.2, Phoc.1.1, 2.5, Timol.1.1, 1.2, 3.3, Reg. 1.2, 2.1, 2.3 (twice), 3.4, Ham.2.1, 2.5, Han.1.2, 2.3, 4.3, 5.3, 6.4, 8.3, 13.1, 13.3. Cat. 2.3, 2.4, 3.4, Att.5.3, 6.4, 8.5, 10.4, 12.4, 13.6, 15.3, 16.3, 21.1. (See also notes on plus (2.1) and plurimus (4.6).)

formosissimus : Formosus is also applied to Hasdrubal (Ham.3.2).

Forma is applied to : Iphicrates (imperatoria forma, Iph.3.1), Thuys in disguise (ignotam formam, Dat.3.3), Eumenes (Eum.11.2), Artaxerxes Macrochir (amplissimae pulcherrimae corporis formae, Reg.1.4) and the familia of Atticus (forma vix mediocri, Att.13.3).

omnes res : For the expression, see Lys.1.5, Eum.8.5, Cat.3.1, Att.9.2, 9.4, 13.1.

aptus : This word is also applied to the ingenium of Dion (Dion 1.2). (In Att.16.1, Nepos wonders to what age group Atticus was aptissimus.)

consiliique plenus : For the expression, cf. Paus.1.2 (Mardonius). For other examples of consilium see note on 3.1.

imperator---summus : Nepos introduces his work "Liber de excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium" with the words :

de vita excellentium imperatorum (Prol.1.8)

It is then hardly surprising that there are so many examples of imperator : Prol.1.8, Milt.1.3, Cim.2.2, 3.4, Thras.1.4, Con.1.2, 2.2, Iph.1.3, 2.2 (twice), Tim.3.3, Dat.6.8, Epam.5.3, 8.3, Pel.4.2, Ag.4.2, 6.1, Eum.13.1, Ham.2.4, 3.1, Han.1.1, 2.2, 3.1, 3.2, 13.4 (cf. Cat.3.1, Att.10.2, 11.1, 19.2). (Imperatorius is linked with forma in Iph.3.1 (see above).)

summus : See note on 11.1.

disertus : This word is also applied to Timotheus (Tim.1.1) and Epaminondas (Epam.5.1). (The adverbial form is used in Epam.3.2.)

What of other good orators in Nepos ? He applies the term eloquentia to : Themistocles (Arist.1.2), Cimon (Cim.2.1), Plato (Dion 3.3), Epaminondas (Epam.5.1),

Callistratus (Epam.6.1, although he is outwitted by Epaminondas : Epam.6.4) and Hortensius (Att.5.4). The term orator is used of Cato (Cat.3.1).

in primis : For the expression see Paus.1.2, Epam.10.3 Att.13.1, 13.6. Compare Iph.1.1 : cum primis compararetur.

dicendo valeret : cf. : valuitque eloquentia (Dion 3.3 - see above).

valeo : a favourite word of Nepos' to express the idea of superiority : Milt.3.6, 5.2, 5.5, Them.2.7, 4.5, Cim.2.1, Alc.8.2, Thras.1.4, 3.3, Con.2.1, 3.1, Dion 6.3, Iph.1.2 Tim.3.1, Ag.3.6, Eum.3.5, 10.3, Phoc.4.1, Han.10.3, Att.5.3.

commendatio oris atque orationis : cf.: summa suavitas oris atque vocis (Atticus, Att.1.3).

commendatio : the only example of this word in Nepos.

orationis : the only example in Nepos where the term refers to the art of public speaking . Elsewhere it refers to actual speeches : Epam.5.1, 6.1, 6.4, Cat.3.2 Att.22.1.

- 1.3 dives : The wealth of Alcibiades is alluded to in Thuc.6.12.2, 6.15.2, Xen. Mem.1.2.25, Diod.13.37.2f Plut. Alc.10.2, Ael. V.H. 3.28 (In both the Xenophon and Aelian references wealth is linked with luxury.) In [Plato] Alc.1.122 Socrates scorns Alcibiades' wealth, saying that it is nothing compared with that of the Persians (see note on 11.5).

cum --- patiens : See 1.4, 11.3, 11.4. In no other source is there any specific reference to Alcibiades as "hard working" or "able to endure hardship" except perhaps in the description of his lifestyle in Thebes and Sparta (see 11.3f). But there the point is rather his versatility. Here too the clause cum tempus posceret links his capacity for work and hardship with his versatility.

liberalis : Alcibiades' generosity is also given prominence in Plut. Alc.5.1f. 10.1, 16.3 (see notes on 3.4, 11.2).

splendidus --- victu : see note on 11.2. A parallel to Nepos' use of splendidus can be found in Plutarch's and Diodorus' use of λαμπρός and ἐπιφκνής:

τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐπιφκνέστερον	Plut. <u>Alc.</u> 12.1
λαμπρῶς εὐημεροῦντος	Plut. <u>Alc.</u> 34.1
ἐπιφκνέστατος Ἀθηναίων	Diod.12.84.1
τὴν ψυχὴν λαμπρῶς	Diod.13.68.5

For details of Alcibiades' dazzling lifestyle, see Thuc.6.15f,

Dem. Contra Meid. 143f, Isoc. De Big.1f, Plut. Mor.52Ef, Alc.11,12, [Andoc] Contra Alc.25f, Athen.1.3E.

affabilis --- serviens : Alcibiades' ability to charm people is strongly emphasised in Plut. Alc.1.3,¹¹ 24.4f and Comp. of Alc. and Cor. 2.4, 3.2, 3.3, and it is linked with his success as a flatterer (see note on 5.3). Compare Persius Sat. 4.15f:

ante diem blando caudam iactare popello
desiñis
Here Nepos links Alcibiades' charm with his versatility (see also 11.2f).¹²

1.3 language :

dives : This word is applied to Caecilius (Att.5.1). Phocion was pauper, but could have been divitissimus (Phoc.1.2). (See note on ditissimus 2.1.) Divitiae were possessed by Dion (Dion 1.2). On the other hand, Epaminondas refused divitiae in exchange for his love of his country (Epam.4.2). Atticus was remarkable in that he did not gain divitiae (Att.7.2).

laboriosus : cf. 1.4, 11.3. This term is also applied to Timotheus (Tim.1.1) (see also Att.12.5).

patiens : This term is linked with the patientia attributed to Alcibiades in 11.4. It is also applied to Epaminondas (Epam.3.2, 7.1). Iphicrates, on the other hand, was not patiens (Iph.3.2). The term patientia is applied to Eumenes (Eum.1.3).

liberalis : This word is used in a variety of contexts: It refers to the apparent willingness of Pharnabazus to write Lysander a favourable testimonial (Lys.4.1), the indulgent behaviour of Chabrias (Cha.3.2) and the generosity of Atticus (Att.13.6, cf. Att.15.1). Liberalitas is applied to Alcibiades in 3.4 (see note).

splendidus : See note on 11.2.

non minus in vita quam victu : Nepos seems to enjoy wordplay and jingles. Other examples are :

Themistocles unus restitit et universos pares---(Them.4.2)
quod proditiōnis esset damnatus, memoriae
prodidit (Them.10.5)

non magis amore quam more ductus (Cim.1.2)

in morbum---est mortuus (Cim.3.4)

illo statu Chabrias sibi statuam---iis statibus
<in> statuis (Cha.1.3)

vixi ; invictus enim morior (Epam.9.4)

exercitatissimum---exercitum (Ag.3.3)

referentem gratiam quam ingratum vivere (Eum.6.5)

in exilium erant expulsi (Phoc.2.2)

quo facto populus superior factus---factionis (Phoc.3.2)
oppidum oppugnaret (Reg.2.2)

amphoras complures complet (Han.9.3)

saepe suis opibus inopiam---(Att.2.4)

rei publicae actorem auctoremque habebant (Att.3.2)

a condiscipulatu vivebat coniunctissime (Att.5.3)

augere possessiones posset suas (Att.12.2)

non affluentiam affectabat (Att.13.5)

ita percepta habuit praecepta (Att.17.3)

vita : In view of Nepos' biographical purpose, it is not surprising that there are so many examples of this word. Examples which refer specifically to biography are: Prol.1.8, Epam.1.3, 4.6, Pel.1.1, Cat.3.5. Other examples occur in : Paus.1.1, 5.5, Cim.4.4, Alc.1.3, Dion 9.5, Cha.4.3, Tim.4.2, Epam.10.4, Eum.13.1, Phoc.1.1, Timol.1.6, 3.4, Reg.2.2, 3.4, Han.12.5, Cat.1.3, Att.1.4, 7.3, 14.2, 17.3, 19.2, 21.6, 22.1.

victu : cf.11.4. This word is also used in Dion 4.5, Ag.7.3, Eum.12.3.

affabilis, blandus : the only examples of these words in Nepos.

callidissime ; Callidus is applied to Themistocles (Them.1.4), Callicrates (Dion 8.1), Datames (Dat.8.4, 10.1) Eumenes (Eum.5.4), Antigonus (Eum.10.1), Fabius (Han.5.29 and Hannibal (Han.9.2). Pausanias is worse than callidus :
non callida sed dementia ratione cogitata (Paus.3.1)¹³
However, Atticus' liberalitas was not callida (Att.11.3). The term calliditas is applied to Eumenes (Eum.1.3) and Hamilcar and Hannibal (Reg.3.5).

serviens : See note on inservisse (11.3).

- 1.4.: idem---reperiebatur : The contrast between Alcibiades' excellence as a general and the licentiousness of his private life is found in Thuc. 6.15.4 : Nepos may have the passage in mind at this point. (Compare Plut. Mor.800D, Nic.11.2f, Alc.16.1f.)

Throughout ancient sources there are numerous references to Alcibiades' possession of the type of fault mentioned here (boldness, excessiveness):¹⁴

- Βικιότης: Xen, Mem.1.2.12, [Andoc.] Contra Alc.10
Θρασύτης: Isoc. De Big.22, Diod.13.68.4f, Plut. Mor.800D,
Nic.11.2
Πακωνομία: Thuc.6.15.4, 6.28.2, [Andoc.] Contra Alc.10,30,
Plut. Alc.16.5
Τρυφή: Plut. Alc.16.1, 23.7, 32.2, Comp. of Alc. and Cor.
3.1, Lys.19.4, Athen.12.534F
ὑβρις: Xen. Mem.1.2.12, Dem. Contra Meid.143, Plut. Alc.
16.1, Ael. V.H. 4.15 (In Isoc. De Big.9,10,23 the
term ὑβρις is applied to Alcibiades' enemies.)
See also Xen. Mem.1.2.24f, Plut. Alc.6.2, 8.1f,36.2,
Comp. of Alc. and Cor.1.3, 5.2, Athen.5. 180Af.
525Af, Ael. V.H. 3.28, Pliny N.H. 14.144.

Nepos is the only source to say specifically that these faults emerged when Alcibiades "let go" of himself. Possibly he is aiming at a contrast between physical labor and mental labor (see language notes below).

ut---naturam : The idea that Alcibiades inspired amazement (in a positive or negative sense) is found in other ancient authors : Nepos' admirarentur is consistent with the use of θαυμάζω in Thuc.6.12.2, Isoc. De Big.40, Diod.6.8.1f, Athen.12.534C. (See note on 11.5.) On the diverse nature of Alcibiades see notes on 1.1 and 11.1f.

Nepos has begun the Life with a brief evaluation of character : this is consistent with his technique in all the other Lives except Ag., Ham. and Cat. However in Alc. there is an unusually close correspondence between the evaluation at the beginning and the one at the end (see note on 11.6).

1.4. : language :

animi : For the opposite situation, in which Alcibiades puts his mind to something, see 5.2.

Nepos' frequent use of this word is consistent with the interest he has as a biographer in morality and character :

- animus aequus : Dion 6.4, Cha.3.3, Att.1.3
aequitas animi : Thras.4.2
animus bonus : Ag.6.2
animus fortis : Cim.3.2 (Cimon)
animus magnus : Iph.3.1 (Iphicrates), Epam.3.1
(Epaminondas)
animus maximus : Dion 5.3 (Dion)
magnitudo animi : Them.10.1 (Themistocles), Thras.1.1
(Thrasylbulus), Eum.5.2 (Eumenes),
Reg.3.5 (Hamilcar and Hannibal)
animus strenuus: Dat.6.4

For other examples of animus see : Milt.4.5, Alc.5.2, Thras.2.3, Dion.8.2, Iph.3.3, Dat.6.1, 9.4, Epam.1.4, 3.1, 6.2, Pel.5.2, Ag.4.1, 8.1, Eum.4.2, 11.4, Han.1.3, 10.1, Att.2.2, 14.1.

laborem : cf. 11.3 (see note).

luxoriosus : cf. 11.5. This term is also applied to Pausanias (Paus.3.2) and to the Elder Dionysius, who was free of the vice (Reg.2.2). Luxuria is applied to Dion's son (Dion 6.2) and the Macedonian troops and Roman veterans (Eum.8.3). On the other hand, Agesilaus (Ag.7.4) and Phocion (Phoc.1.4) were free of the vice, and Cato campaigned against it (Cat.2.3).

dissolutus : the only example of this word in Nepos.

libidinosus : cf. Reg.2.2, Ag.7.4 : Dionysius and Agesilaus were free of this vice.

intemperans : cf. Att.13.4 : Atticus is not intemperans. Intemperantia is applied to Pausanias (Arist.2.3 - a contrast is made with the iustitia of Aristides) and the Macedonian troops and Roman veterans (Eum.8.2).

omnes : See note on 2.1.

admirarentur ; cf. 11.5 (a close parallel) and see note there.

uno : See note on 6.3.

dissimilitudinem, diversam : the only example of these words in Nepos.

naturam : See notes on 1.1, 2.1.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 : Educatus---dicitur : Before the battle of Coroneia in 447 Clinias appointed Pericles and Ariphron (who were brothers) as guardians of his sons Alicibiades and Clinias ([Plato] Alc.1.104Af. Plut. Alc.1.1).

For other references to Pericles' custody of Alcibiades see :

Xen. Mem. 1.2.40 : Περικλεῖ ἐπιτρόπῳ

Isoc. De Big.28 : ἐπέτροπέυθη δ' ὑπὸ Περικλέους

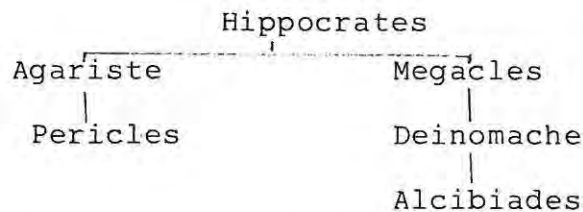
[Plato] Alc.1.118C : τοῦ σοῦ ἐπιτρόπου Περικλέους

[Plato] Alc.2.143E. Περικλέα τὸν σοῦ ἐπέτροπόν τε καὶ φίλον

Persius Sat.4.3 : magni pupille Pericli

Strictly speaking Nepos' statement is inaccurate : the term privignus implies that Alcibiades was the son of Pericles' wife. In what way were Alcibiades and Pericles related ? Plutarch (Alc.1.1) says no more than that they were related : προσήκοντες κατὰ γένος.

Diodorus (12.38.2) refers to Pericles as uncle (θεῖος) and Alcibiades as nephew (ἀδελφιδόους). The most satisfactory solution to the problem is that Alcibiades' mother and Pericles were first cousins :¹



Nepos makes no attempt, as other sources do, to discuss Pericles' influence on Alcibiades.

In Isoc. De Big.28f Alcibiades' education under the guardianship of Pericles is seen as a blessing ; and when Alcibiades became a citizen, he was able to prove his worth (29). Nowhere in this speech is the view expressed that Pericles' good teaching was wasted on him. However, one should bear in mind that the speaker is Alcibiades' son who devotes much of the speech to a defence of his father's conduct.

The writers about Socrates, however, are less kind to Alcibiades. From Plato one gains the impression that Pericles had a difficult time with him. Fearing that he would corrupt Clinias, Pericles arranged for Clinias to stay with Aripbron (Protag.320A). Extreme hostility to Alcibiades may account for the passage in [Plato] Alc.2 where Socrates imagines him attempting to murder Pericles (143Ef). But in Alc.1.118E he is credited with an appreciation of Pericles' abilities and of his own failings : he admits that he is himself to blame for not listening to his teacher.² A similar view is expressed during a conversation between Pericles and Alcibiades in Xen. Mem.1.2.40f. At the end (46) Alcibiades regrets the fact that he had not known Pericles earlier:

Εἴθε σοι, ὦ Περικλεῖς, τότε συνεγενόμην,
ὅτε δεινότατος σκυτοῦ πῶτε ἦσθκ.

It appears that the Socratics were embarrassed by the fact that Alcibiades had been associated with Pericles, whom they tried to excuse from blame. His association with Socrates caused them even greater embarrassment (see below).

Plutarch (Alc.3) tells of Pericles' reaction on being told that Alcibiades has run away.

"If he is dead--- we shall find out only a day earlier ; if he is alive he will be as good as dead (ἄσωστον) for the rest of his life."

Pericles here seems to look upon Alcibiades as a "hopeless case". However Plutarch is hesitant to believe the story as it has come from a man who admits his hatred of Alcibiades:

ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ἄξιον ἴσως πιστεύειν,
ἅ γε λοιδορεῖσθαι τις αὐτῷ δι' ἔχθραν
ὁμολογῶν εἶπεν (ibid.)

Plutarch does not seem to express any particular view of Pericles' influence on Alcibiades. Perhaps he is more interested in Alcibiades' influence on Pericles. On two occasions he tells the story of how Alcibiades advised Pericles to study how not to explain himself to the Athenians (Mor.186Df. Alc.7.2. The same story is found in Diod.12.38.3 and Val.Max.3.1.3Ex.1, and is no doubt derived from a common source.)³

eruditus a Socrate : Nepos describes in detail the education of Epaminondas (1.4,2) and Atticus (1.2f): Epaminondas had a number of teachers (whose names are recorded) and Atticus was taught by his father. The excellence of both men as students is stressed. In the other Lives education as a specific topic is ignored. Possible reasons are the brevity of some of the Lives, and Nepos' lack of information. But for a biographer of Alcibiades, there was no lack of information. Plutarch (Alc.1.2) says that not even the mothers of many of Alcibiades' contemporaries can be named, whereas in the case of Alcibiades, there is information about his nurse and his tutor (cf.Lyc.16.4f).

Socrates' role as an educator of Alcibiades is emphasised in Plato's Symp. and Protag. and particularly in Alc.1. In the latter dialogue Alcibiades is made aware of his ignorance and is left with the advice : γνῶθι σεαυτόν (124,cf. Julian Or.6.188Cf).

There were other teachers, whom Nepos does not mention. Pericles is reported as having engaged Zopyrus ([Plato] Alc. 1. 122B, Plut.Alc.1.2), a Thracian too old to have been of any use (ἄχρειότατον ὑπὸ γήρωσ) [Plato] Alc.1.122B) and no better than an ordinary slave (οὐδέν τι τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντα δούλων Plut.Lyc.16.4). The rhetorician Sophilus (father of Antiphon) is also said to have been a teacher of Alcibiades (Plut.Mor.832C, Philostratus Lives of the Sophists 498).

Most of the details recorded by writers in antiquity about Alcibiades' education are concerned with pipe-playing. According to Gellius (A.N.15.17.1) Pericles employed Antigenides as his teacher in this art. (He cites Pamphila as his source.) Plutarch (Alc.2.4f) describes how Alcibiades usually listened to his teacher, but avoided playing the instrument (cf. [Plato] Alc.1.106E) : He objected to the distorted appearance which the face of the pipe-player would assume, and the fact that the instrument closed up the mouth, thus preventing freedom of utterance. When he gave up pipe-playing, his influence was such that other Athenian boys followed his example (Plut. Alc.2.6).⁴ (For a similar mockery of pipe-playing, see Athen.14.616E) The story is also told in Gellius A.N.15.17.1f. There Alcibiades was so disgusted that he broke the instrument.

Another story about Alcibiades' schooldays, which seems to illustrate both his love of Homer and his violent temper, is that he assaulted a teacher who was unable to provide him with a copy of Homer (Plut. Mor. 186E, Alc.7.1, Ael. V.H. 13.38).

socerum---ditissimum : Alcibiades married Hipparete the daughter of Hipponicus (Isoc De Big.31f, [Andoc.] Contra Alc.13f, Plut. Alc.8.2). Hipponicus served as an Athenian general at Tanagra in 426 (Thuc.3.91.4, Diod.12.65). According to [Andoc.] Contra Alc. 13, he fell while commanding at Delium. However, the writer may be confusing him with Hippocrates (Thuc.4.77,89f).⁵

The wealth of Hipponicus is also mentioned in :

Andoc. De Myst.130 : Ἰππώνικος δὲ ἦν πλουσιώτατος τῶν Ἑλλήνων

Isoc. De Big.31 : πλοῦτος μὲν πρῶτος ὦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων

Plut. Alc.8.1 : μεγάλην καὶ δύναμιν ἀπὸ πλοῦτος

The source of this wealth was silver mines (Xen.Por. 4.15, Nep. Cim.1.3).⁶

Plutarch (Alc.8.1f) tells how after making a bet with some friends Alcibiades assaulted Hipponicus, but on the following day he visited Hipponicus and was forgiven. Both Plutarch (Alc.8) and [Andocides] (Contra Alc.13f) emphasise the arrogance and selfishness of Alcibiades towards Hipparete.⁷ In despair she goes to stay with her brother. Alcibiades does not oppose her, but when she tries to divorce him, he seizes her and takes her home.

Was Hipponicus related to Alcibiades ? Demosthenes (Contra Meid. 144) says that Alcibiades claimed descent on his mother's side from Hipponicus. The statement is odd. However, Demosthenes is probably confusing the famous Alcibiades with his son of the same name.

ut---tribuerat : According to [Andoc.] Contra Alc.13f and Plut. Alc.8, Alcibiades did try to get more money from Hipponicus. Although the dowry (10 talents) was the largest ever known, after the birth of their child Alcibiades demanded a further 10 talents.⁸ [Andocides] also tells the unlikely story of how Alcibiades went so far as to plot the assassination of Hipponicus' son Callias in order to gain Hipponicus' wealth (Contra Alc.15).

quem---tribuerat : At the beginning of the Life the influence of natura on Alcibiades' personality is stressed : in hoc---experta (1.1); and in 7.3 it may be implied that fortuna is on his side : timebatur---concupisceret.

2.1. : language :

educatus : cf. Dion 4.3

dicitur : On Nepos' use of this word see note on 1.1

eruditus : This word is also used in Them.10.1 (Themistocles' learning of Persian) Iph.2.4 (Iphicrates' military reforms), Epam.1.4,2.1, Att.1.2, 12.4.

omnium : Frequent use of this word reflects Nepos' tendency to exaggerate. For other examples of omnium with a superlative adjective, see : Alc.1.2 (formosissimus), Tim.4.3 (potentissimus), 4.5 (fortissimum), Han.2.1 (potentissimus), 9.2 (callidissimus)

Further examples of omnis, which express the idea of surpassing all, are : Alc.11.2, 11.4, Cha.4.1, Tim.4.6, Epam.6.1, Eum.1.3, Han.1.1, Att.3.3. (see note on 11.4).

Omnis is also used in : Prol.1.3, 1.5, Milt.1.1, 3.6, 4.2, 6.1, 7.2, 8.1, 8.3, 8.4, Them.2.8, 3.1, 6.3, 6.5, 8.6, 9.2, 10.1, Arist.2.3, 3.1, Paus.1.1, 1.2, Cim.4.3, Lys.1.4, 1.5, 2.1, 3.1, 3.5, Alc.1.1, 1.2, 1.4, 2.1, 3.2, 3.5, 5.1, 6.1, 6.3, 7.1, 7.2, 9.4, 11.3, Thras.1.1, 1.4, 2.3, Con.1.1, 2.2, 2.4, 5.2, Dion 1.4, 4.2, 5.1, 5.3, 5.4, 7.1, 8.2, Iph.2.3, 2.4, 3.4, Cha.3.4, Tim.2.1, Dat.3.1, 3.3, 5.2, 6.4, 8.3, 8.4, Epam.1.2, 2.2, 3.4, 6.4, 7.1, 7.3, 8.1, 8.2, 8.5, 10.3, Pel.2.1, 3.2, 3.3, 4.3, 5.1, 5.5, Ag.2.3, 3.1, 3.6, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 5.1, 6.1, 7.2, 8.2, Eum.1.5, 1.6, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 3.1, 5.2, 5.6, 5.7, 6.2, 6.4, 7.2, 7.3, 8.2, 8.5, 8.7, 9.1, 9.2, 10.3, 10.4, 12.1, 13.2, Timol.1.1, 1.5, 3.4, 5.1, 5.2, Reg.1.1, 3.5, Ham.1.2, 2.4, Han.3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 5.4, 9.4, 10.1, 10.5, 12.3, 12.4, 12.5, Cat.3.1, 3.3, 3.4, Att.1.2, 1.4, 3.1, 3.2, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 6.5, 7.1, 9.2, 9.4, 10.4, 11.2, 13.1, 13.5, 13.6, 14.3, 15.3, 16.4, 17.3, 22.4.

Graeca lingua loquentium : For other examples of this expression, see Milt.3.2, Dion 1.5.

ditissimum : Dites is applied to Atticus' father (but see note on 1.2). For Nepos' use of dives see note on 1.3.

plura : Other examples of this word occur in Prol.1.8, Milt.5.2, 5.5, Them.9.3, Paus.5.5, Lys.2.1, Alc.3.4, 8.3, Thras.1.4, 2.1, 4.2, Con.5.1, Dion 3.2, Iph.3.4, Tim.4.6, Dat.5.2, Epam.3.1, 5.2, 10.4, Ag.3.6, Eum.3.6, 10.3, Timol.2.2, Ham.2.4, Han.10.3, 12.4, Cat.3.5, Att.5.2,

5.4, 9.4, 13.2, 17.1, 21.5, (See notes on multus (1.1) and plurimus (4.6).)

maiora : See notes on magnus (3.3), maxime (3.4), maximus (3.5). The comparative form (excluding examples with the meaning "ancestors") also occurs in Milt.6.4, Them.1.3, 4.4, 8.4, Paus.1.3, 2.2, Cim.3.4, Alc.2.3, 3.4, Con.4.3, Dion 1.3, 2.4, Dat.2.2, 4.3, 5.4, 6.6, 8.5, 11.1, Ag. 3.6, Eum.1.1, Att.4.4, 16.1.

natura : See note on 1.1.

fortuna : See notes on 7.3 and 9.1.

2.2. : ineunte---Graecorum : Nepos refers to homosexuality

in:Prol.1.4: Laudi in Creta ducitur adolescentulis
quam plurimos habuisse amatores.

Paus.4.1: adolescentulus, quem puerum Pansanias amore
venerio dilexerat

Ham.3.2: adolescens illūstris, formosus, Hasdrubal,
quem nonnulli diligi turpius, quam par erat
ab Hamilcare loquebantur.

In the last reference the words "diligi---erat" suggest that Nepos feels rather uncomfortable about this topic. His words in Alc.2.3 convey a similar expression. However, his attitude is not one of outright condemnation. He refers to the practice as a Greek custom and throughout the Prologue he stresses the importance of understanding the customs of other peoples. He is sternly critical of those who judge everyone by their own standards (Prol.1.2). There the immediate reference is to Epaminondas' skill at music and dancing, pursuits of which the Romans would have disapproved. Further treatment of this idea in Epam. indicates its importance to Nepos (1.1, 2.3 ;cf. Prol.1.6).

in eis---debuerit : The passage Nepos is referring to is Symp.219Bf. His version is a paraphrase :

Plato :

κατεκείμην τὴν νύκτα ὅλην---
οὐδὲν περὶ τὸ πτότερον κατε-
δεδαφθηκῶς ἀνέστην μετὰ
Σωκράτους, ἢ εἰ μετὰ
πατρὸς καὶ θηῦδον ἢ ἀδελφοῦ
πρεσβυτέρου

Nepos :

se pernoctasse cum Socrate
neque aliter ab eo surrexisse,
ac filius a parente debuerit.

Other references to this story are found in Plut. Mor.
333A, [Lucian] Amores 49, Petronius Sat.128.

The incident may have caused Plato a measure of embarrassment. Perhaps the story was too well-known for him to have ignored it. However the remark that it was as if Alcibiades had slept with a father or brother sounds like an attempt to steer away from the homosexual aspect of their relationship. Perhaps that is why Socrates is made to pour scorn on Alcibiades' physical beauty. Alcibiades says (219C) :

κατεφρόνησε καὶ κατεγέλασε τῆς ἐμῆς ὥρας καὶ
ὑβρίσε καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνο ὅ γε ὥμην τί εἶναι---

In general Alcibiades' association with Socrates was an embarrassment to Plato. Throughout the Symposium he defends the reputation of Socrates and presents Alcibiades in an unfavourable light: When he enters he is so noisy and drunk that Socrates has to ask for protection (213C). When they first meet, it is apparently Alcibiades rather than Socrates, who takes the initiative by inviting him to dinner. During the second dinner engagement Alcibiades tries to delay Socrates' departure. Alcibiades tells him he is the only worthy lover he has ever had(217 Af).(Compare [Plato] Alc.1. 103A, where Socrates declares he is the only lover of Alcibiades who has not forsaken him.)

In spite of his drunkenness, Alcibiades praises Socrates in the highest terms and acknowledges his debt to him : At Potidaea Socrates saved his life and then handed the prize for bravery over to him (220 E ; cf Diog. Laert.2.23). Alcibiades also praises the calmness shown by Socrates during the retreat from Delium (221Af). The most remarkable thing about him, Alcibiades says, is that he is quite unlike anyone else :

Τὸ δὲ μὴ δεῖν ἄνθρωπων ὁμοίον εἶναι --- (221C)

Perhaps the most important point made by Alcibiades is his admission that as soon as he turns from Socrates he forgets his advice (216B). (Compare his remark in connection with Pericles : see note on 2.1.) This remark must be intended to excuse Socrates for the apparent failure of his teaching. At the end of the speech Socrates teases Alcibiades, saying that he must have been sober - otherwise he would not have tried to disguise his main intention, which was to stir up a quarrel between Socrates and Agathon (222Cf). Perhaps Plato's reason for making Alcibiades appear sober is that he wants his readers to accept as the truth what Alcibiades has said.⁹

In Xenophon there is a more determined attempt to clear the name of Socrates from any disgrace that would have come from his association with Alcibiades. He claims (Mem.1.2.13f) that both Alcibiades and Critias exploited Socrates. If they had had the choice between living Socrates' kind of life and dying, they would have chosen the latter (16). While they were with Socrates they were reasonable (σωφρονουῦντες 18), because at the time they believed this was the best way of living. The deterioration of Alcibiades is compared with that of an athlete who neglects his training (24). Xenophon strongly emphasises that Socrates was not to blame (26f) and he concludes the section with a list of the good people who were associated with Socrates (48)

and some examples of how he was misrepresented (49).

Demosthenes (Erotic Essay 45f) has a slightly more positive view of Alcibiades, claiming that in spite of the latter's inherent lack of virtue, Socrates was successful in his attempts to improve him.

On the whole, other writers in antiquity accept the views expressed by Plato and Xenophon. According to Aelian, Socrates tried to cure Alcibiades of his arrogance and greed (V.H. 3.28) ; however Alcibiades disregarded his advice (4.15). In [Lucian] Amores 49 the episode in which Socrates "slept with Alcibiades like a father" is used as a good example to be followed by those who love youths. Cicero (Tusc. Disp. 3.77f) gives an account of how Socrates managed to convince Alcibiades that there was no difference between him and a porter (cf. Augustine Civ. Dei 14.8). The story does not occur in Plato, but it reminds one of the way in which Socrates "cuts Alcibiades down to size" in Alc.1. Julian (Them. 255C) writes that Socrates tried to restrain Alcibiades but was unable to do so.

Plutarch in Mor. 333A draws a contrast between Socrates and Alexander : Socrates allowed Alcibiades to sleep with him, but Alexander reacted with anger when he was offered a beautiful youth. However Plutarch's chief concern is this rhetorical exercise (De Fortuna Alexandri 1) is to praise Alexander rather than to blame Socrates.¹⁰ Elsewhere he sees the relationship of Socrates and Alcibiades as a credit to both men. Socrates' love of Alcibiades is seen as evidence of Alcibiades' excellence (Alc.4.1) ; Alcibiades acknowledges Socrates' work as a gift from the gods (4.3). Plutarch emphasises the good influence that Socrates had on Alcibiades and in this context tells the story about Alcibiades being reduced to tears (Mor. 69F , 84D, Alc.6.1). In spite of his lapses Alcibiades

revered Socrates and despised his other lovers
(Alc.6.1).¹¹

A reaction to the glorification of Socrates is found in Athenaeus (5.182Af):¹² He is cynical about the stories which Plato and other authors tell of Socrates' bravery at Delium and his offer of the prize to Alcibiades after Potidaea (5.215Ef), and in general suspicious of Plato's stories about Socrates and Alcibiades as they are not found in the comic poets (5.219Bf). In 11.506Cf he draws attention to Plato's hostility towards Alcibiades.

Perhaps Athenaeus has over-reacted slightly. To some extent Plato's portrayal of Alcibiades may be humorous rather than hostile, and there may be some truth in Quintilian's remark (8.4.23) than in the Symposium Plato was more interested in praising Socrates for his self-control than in criticising Alcibiades.

Nepos accepts that Alcibiades' relationship with Socrates was homosexual (in eis). But apart from expressing a general distaste for homosexuality (2.3), he says no more about the relationship.

2.2. : language :

ineunte adulescentia : This expression is also used in Them.1.1. On three other occasions Nepos uses adulescentia to indicate a stage of life : Cim.1.1, Cat.2.4, 3.2. More often, however, he uses the term adulescens : Epam.2.2, Att.4.1, 4.2, 16.1, or adulescentulus : Tim.4.2, Eum.1.4, Ham.1.1, Cat.1.1, Att.2.1, 2.4. (In Eum.1.4 peradulescentulus is also used.)

multis : See note on 1.2.

more : See note on 11.4.

mentionem facit : See note on 1.1.

pernocatasse : the only example of this word in Nepos.

2.3. : posteaquam---fecit: Apart from Socrates, the names of those men with whom Alcibiades is reputed to have been involved, included Democrates (Plut.Alc.3), Anytus (Plut.Mor.762C, Alc.4.4f, Athen,12.534Ef, who quotes Satyrus) and possibly Polytion (Andoc. De Myst,134f, Plut. Alc.5).¹³

quae---haberemus : In the Prologue Nepos expresses a desire not to be longwinded :

Sed hic plura persequi cum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum festinatio ut ea explicem quae exorsus sum (1.8).

Brevity continues to be his aim throughout the Lives (Alc.11.6 , Tim.4.2, Epam.4.6, 10.4, Reg.3.5, Han.13.4, Att.11.2, 17.1). He is aware of limited space (Epam.4.6, Han.5.4) and also does not want to bore his readers (Lys.2.1). In some cases he refers them to his other writings (Dion 3.2, Reg.1.1, Cat.3.5).

Here Nepos' brevity may be due to feelings of embarrassment at having to discuss a subject he does not like.

There are two instances in which Nepos breaks away from his tendency to be brief and to mention only essential items : Tim.4.6, Att.13.6. However in each case the circumstances are rather special. In the first, he explains that the man whose biography he is about to write (Datames) is unfamiliar to his readers. In the second, he admits that the detail he has mentioned may seem trivial, but he uses it to emphasise the closeness of his friendship with Atticus.

2.3. : language

robustior : Other examples of robustus occur in Thras.2.2 and Han. 10.2.

multos, multa : See note on 1.2.

odiosa: the only example of this word in Nepos, although odium is used with some frequency : Lys.1.3, Dion 4.2, 5.3, 8.2, 10.2, Tim.3.5, Dat.9.1, 10.3, Eum.11.2, Phoc.2.1, 4.4, Timol.2.3, Ham.4.3, Han.1.3, 2.3, Att.10.4.

delicate, iocose : the only examples of these words in Nepos.

maiora : See note on 2.1.

potiora : the only example of this form in Nepos. There are however four examples of the superlative: Ag.3.1, 8.5, Timol. 4.3, Att.3.3.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1. : Bello---indixerunt: Here, as in most of the other Lives, Nepos launches into his subject's career with some abruptness. However in some of the Lives he indicates the beginning of the career with a little more clarity.: Them.2.1, Con.1.1, Dat.1.1, Eum.1.4, Ham.1.1, Han.3.1, Cat.1.1.

Plutarch uses the amusing story of the quail to introduce Alcibiades' entry to public life (Alc.10.1; see note on 3.4).

Various important events have been omitted by Nepos: Alcibiades' treatment of the Spartan delegation to Athens, his role in bringing about Athens' alliance with Argos, Mantinea and Elis, and his involvement in Patrae and Argos (Thuc.5.43-83, Plut.Mor.804f, Alc.14.15).¹ The ostracism of Hyperbolus (Plut.Arist.7.3, Nic.11, Alc.13.3) is also not mentioned.²

Nepos also gives no details of Athens' earlier involvement in Sicily. According to Plutarch (Alc.17.1) the Athenians wanted Sicily from as far back as the time of Pericles, whose ability to restrain the people is praised (Per.20.3f). In 427 Athens responded to a request from Leontini for aid against Syracuse. A fleet was sent out under Laches and Charoeades (Thuc.3.86, Diod.12.53f). Later, another force was sent under Eurymedon and Sophocles (Thuc.3.115, Diod.12.54).³ In 416/5 Athens became involved in a dispute between Selinuntia and Egesta. Thucydides (6.6) writes that the Athenians wanted to give the impression of helping the Egestaeans (their kinsmen), but that their real ambition was to conquer the whole of Sicily. The Egestaeans skilfully used the idea of kinship to stir the Athenians to action: they claimed that there was a danger that the Syracusans would gain control of the rest of Sicily and then ally themselves with

their fellow-Dorians in the Peloponnese. Athens' response was to send a delegation to Egesta. On its return, the Athenian assembly decided to send an expedition to Sicily under Alcibiades, Nicias and Lamachus (cf. Diod.12. 82f).⁴

Because of the lack of such background information, the effect of Nepos' version is to overemphasise the initiative of Alcibiades in the Sicilian expedition. Yet Thucydides' account implies that Alcibiades played a prominent part in setting it in motion. His enthusiasm for the expedition is not actually mentioned until the occasion of the second meeting of the assembly, when Nicias tried to dissuade the Athenians from embarking on it. But if there is any truth in Nicias' remarks that Alcibiades would lead people on, Alcibiades may have previously given the expedition active support (Thuc.6.12f. In Plut.Nic.12.1 Alcibiades is represented as having stirred up the people before the meeting). In the speech given to Alcibiades (Thuc.6.16f)⁵ a clear idea emerges of his enthusiasm, and in 6.15.2 he is seen as the most enthusiastic supporter of the project :

ἐνῆγε δὲ προθυμώτατα τὴν στρατείαν
Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου

Thucydides writes that he aimed to conquer not only Sicily but Carthage, and that his main motive was to gain personal credit for these conquests (6.15.2).⁶

Thucydides lays much stress on the rivalry between Alcibiades and Nicias and on their personalities, especially Alcibiades'.⁷ It is possible that because of this emphasis Alcibiades'initiative has been exaggerated.

Other sources, perhaps following Thucydides, also stress Alcibiades' role in promoting the Sicilian expedition and the extravagance of his aims :

Diod.12.84.1 : Ἀλκιβιάδης --- ἐπεισε τὸν δῆμον
ἐπανελέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον

Twice Plutarch describes how Alcibiades and his followers "kindled" the people's desire :⁸

Per.20.3 : δύσποτος ἔρως --- ὃν ὕστερον ἐξέκκυσαν
οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ῥήτορες

(Plutarch also writes here that some people dreamed of attacking Carthage and Etruria.)

Alc. 17.2 : τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον ἀναφλέξας αὐτῶν

(Alcibiades, he writes, urged the subjugation of the whole of Sicily and dreamed of conquering Carthage, Libya, Italy and the Peloponnese as well (17.2f). He adds, rather dramatically, that Alcibiades' enthusiasm inspired people to draw maps of Sicily, Italy and Carthage (17.3, cf. Nic.12.1f).⁹

Lucian : Historia 38 : περιπλεῖν Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν
μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐλπίδων

Livy 28.41.17 : Athenienses --- auctore inpingro ac nobili iuvene

ad---Lamachus : For the names of the generals, see 1G1²302 (=M.L.77)49f, Thuc.6.8, Diod.13.2, Andoc.De Myst.11
On the proposal of Demostratus they were to have full powers in the organisation of the expedition : αὐτοκράτορες
(Thuc.6.26.1, Diod.13.2.2, Plut.Nic.12.4, Alc.18.2).
The reluctance of Nicias to take part in the expedition is made clear in Thucydides, Diodorus and Plutarch.

However he is represented as having been chosen in the hope that his forethought (*Προνοία*) would act as a check on the boldness of Alcibiades and the recklessness of Lamachus (Plut.Alc.18.1;cf. Nic. 12.4, where Nicias' cautiousness (*ἠσφαλεία*) is seen as a means of controlling the daring of Alcibiades and the roughness of Lamachus). In Nic .12.3 Nicias is incorrectly represented as the "first" general :
στρατηγὸν ἐλέσθαι πρῶτον ἐκεῖνον μετ' Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ Λαμάχου

However Plutarch inconsistently refers later to Nicias as having been appointed second general :

λόγω μὲν ἑποδειχθεὶς δεύτερος ἡγεμῶν

(Nic.14.4)¹⁰

3.1.: language

huius consilio : For other examples of this expression, see Alc.4.7 (Alcibiades), Them.6.1 (Themistocles). The expression eius consilio occurs in Dion 1.3 (Dion) and Phoc.2.2 (Phocion).

Other examples in which the effect of a man's consilium is emphasised : Them.4.5, 7.4 (Themistocles), Alc.5.6 (Alcibiades and his fellow-generals), Iph.1.2 (Iphicrates) Tim.4.6 (Datames), Dat.11.5 (Datames), Ag.3.5, 6.2 (Agesilaus), Eum.1.6, 10.1 (Eumenes) Timol.3.6 (Timoleon) Han.8.3, 11.7 (Hannibal).

Consilium is also seen as a personal quality, possessed by Alcibiades (Alc.1.2), Pausanias (Paus.1.2) and Datames (Tim.4.5).

Other examples of consilium : Milt.3.5, 3.6, 5.3, Them.2.7, 3.1, Paus.3.3, 4.5, Lys.3.1, Thras.1.4, Con.2.3, 4.1, 4.3, Dion 3.1, 3.3, 8.3, 8.5, 9.2, Tim.3.2, Dat.6.3, 6.8, Epam.3.5, Pel.1.2, Ag.6.3, Eum.1.5, 5.3, 6.4, 7.2, 8.4, 9.3, 9.6, 12.1, 12.3, Phoc.3.4, Ham.1.4, Han.2.2, 9.2, Att.8.2, 8.4, 21.6, 22.3.

Nepos' frequent use of this word reflects the repetitiveness of his writing.

auctoritate : This quality is also linked with Miltiades (Milt.5.2, 8.4), Cimon (Cim.2.1), Pharnabuzus (Lys.4.1) Conon (Con.4.1, 5.2), Plato (Dion 3.3), Dion (Dion 4.1), Chabrias (Cha.4.1), Timotheus and his father-in-law (Tim.3.2, 3.4).

dux delectus est ; For Nepos' use of this vague expression to refer to the election of generals, see Arist.2.3, Lys.3.5, Epam.7.1. For other examples of dux see Milt.1.2, Arist.2.2, 2.3, Paus.1.2, Thras.1.4, 2.7, Con.4.3, 4.4, Iph.1.1, 2.2, 2.4, Cha.1.1, 1.2, 2.1, Tim.2.2, 4.4, Dat.5.1, 8.5, Epam.10.3, Pel.2.5, 3.3, 4.2, Ag.5.2, Eum.4.1, 8.2, 9.1, 13.1, Phoc.3.2, Timol.1.3, 2.1, 4.3, Reg.1.1, Han.11.2, Cat.3.4.

3.2. : id---deicerentur :

For parallel statements in other authors, see pg.53.¹¹ Nepos may be paraphrasing Thucydides, whom he cites several times and of whom he thought highly (Alc.11.1 Them.1.4, 9.1, 10.4, Paus.2.2). However, his wording is close to that of Diodorus and Plutarch. Diodorus' main source for the period was Ephorus (see references at end of Chapter 6). On several occasions Plutarch cites Ephorus (see note at the end of Chapter 6), and it is possible that he has used him here.. Nepos nowhere actually mentions Ephorus, but it is likely that he has used him as a source.¹² Other possible sources are Theopompus and Timaeus : Nepos actually cites them (11.1) as do Diodorus and Plutarch (see notes on Chapter 6(end),11.1).

The accounts differ in the details of the mutilation. In Diod.13.2.3, Plut.Nic.13.2 and Andoc.De Myst.34, 37,62 it is described in fairly general terms. In Aristophanes Lys.1094 the implication is that the phalloi were knocked off. In Thuc.6.27.1 and Plut. Alc.18.2f it is the faces which are mutilated. In Nepos' version the statues are overturned. This difference may be due to Nepos' following a different source (all evidence of which has disappeared) or more probably to his tendency to be careless or to overdramatize a situation.

Nepos Alc. 3.2

id cum appararetur
priusquam classis exiret

accidit ut una nocte
omnes Hermae

qui in oppido erant

Athenis deicerentur

Thuc.6.27.1

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ

ὅσοι Ἑρμαῖ ἦσαν
λίθινοι ἐν τῇ πόλει
τῇ Ἀθηναίων---μιᾶ
νυκτὶ οἱ πλείστοι
περικόπησαν τὰ
πρόσωπα

Diod.13.2.3

ἤδη δὲ τοῦ στόλου
πάρσκευασμένου

τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς τοὺς
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν
παμπληθεῖς ὄντας
συνέβη ἐν μιᾷ
νυκτὶ περικοπῆναι

Plut.Nic.13.2

ὡς ἔτε τῶν Ἑρμῶν
περικοπή, μιᾶ
νυκτὶ πάντων
ἄκρωτηριασθέντων

Plut.Alc.18.2f

γενομένων
ἑτοιμῶν πάντων
πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλου---
ἡ μέντοι τῶν
Ἑρμῶν περικοπή,
μιᾶ νυκτὶ
τῶν πλείστων
ἄκρωτηριασθέντων
τὰ πρόσωπα

Hermae---Athenis : Thucydides (6.27.1) explains that these figures were a national institution and that there were many of them in the porches of homes and temples :

εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον, ἢ τετράγωνος ἔργασια,
πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς

praeter---vicitatus est: This particular statue was an offering from the Aegeid tribe : See Andoc. De Myst.62 :

ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὃν ὁρᾶτε πάντες, ὁ παρὰ τὴν πατρώων οἰκίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὃ ἢ Αἰγῆς ἀνέθηκεν, οὐ περιεκόπη μόνος τῶν Ἑρμῶν τῶν Ἀθήνησιν

Cf. Plut. Nic.13.2 :

πλὴν ἐνὸς ὃν Ἀνδοκίδου κκλουσιν, ἀνάθημα μὲν τῆς Αἰγίδος φυλῆς

Andocides (De Myst.61f) explains that he had been injured after being thrown from his horse : Euphiletus took advantage of his condition and spread the story that Andocides' role in the affair was to mutilate the statue of Hermes next to the shrine of Phorbas. Andocides attempts to use the intact state of this statue as proof of his innocence.

3.2. : language :

una, unum : See notes on 1.4, 6.3.

omnes : See notes on 1.1, 2.1.

Hermae : On Nepos' use of Greek terms, see Pro1.1.7 (gynaeconitis), Milt.4.3 (hemerodromoe), 6.3 (Poecile), Them.4.1 (astu), 7.2 (ephoros), Paus.5.2 (Chalcioicos), Cim.3.1 (ὀστρακισμόν), Con.3.2 (chiliarchum), 3.3 (προσκύνησιν), Iph.1.4 (peltastae), Epam.1.2 (musicen), 2.1 (citharizare), 2.4 (ephebus), Ag.7.3 (dynastis), Eum.1.6 (Hetaerice), Timol.1.4.4 (Automatias), Att.13.3 (anagnostae), 13.6 (ephemeride), 14.1 (acroama---anagnosten), 21.2 (tenesmon). However, he is more inclined to apply Latin terms to non-Roman situations :

Mercurius : For other examples, which involve the names of deities see : Paus.4.4 (Neptuni), 5.2 (Minervae), Ag.4.6 (Minervae), Han.1.4 (Iovi optime), 9.3 (Dianae).
Nepos often applies the term praetor to non-Romans : Milt.4.4, 6.3, Them.2.1, Arist.2.1, Alc.5.3, 5.4, 8.1, Thras.3.1, 4.4, Con.1.1, 1.2, Tim.3.2, Epam.7.3, 7.4; also praefectus : Them.7.4, Lys.4.1, Dion 5.1, Cha.3.1, Tim.2.1, Dat.2.5, 6.3, Ag.2.5, Eum.5.7, 6.4, 11.1, 13.2, Phoc. 2.4, Reg.1.5, Ham.3.2.

For other examples of Nepos' tendency to view a situation in Roman terms , see : Arist.1.2 (testula - referring to ostracism), Cim.2.2 (colonia), Con.1.1 (coloniam), Ag.4.2 (comitio- referring to the Ephoreium).

See also notes on imperium (5.4), magistratus (4.3), optimates (5.3) and provincia (4.3).

3.3 : hoc---populi : Nepos' words are consistent with the detail in Thucydides and Diodorus that the event was seen as evidence of a revolution to overthrow democracy :

Thuc.6.27.3 : Τοῦ τε γὰρ ἑκπλου οἰωνὸς ἑδόκεε εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ Συνωμοσίᾳ ἕνα νεωτέρων πραγμάτων καὶ δήμου καταλύσεως γεγενῆσθαι

Diod.13.2.3 : ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων νομίσκει γεγενῆσθαι τὴν πρῶξιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν προ-ἔχόντων ταῖς δόξαις ἐπὶ τῇ καταλύσει τῆς δημοκρατίας

Plutarch (Alc.18.3) mentions the view held by some at the same time that the Corinthians were responsible for the deed. Syracuse was a Corinthian colony, and such an omen might dissuade the Athenians from embarking on the expedition. He adds, however, that most people rejected this view and thought instead that the event was a sign of conspiracy (18.4). Showing his usual love of omens, he give a dramatic account of the mood of fear : Someone mutilated himself at the altar of the twelve gods; at Delphi ravens pecked at the

image of Pallas ; the images of Adonis were taken out as if for burial ; Socrates' $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\nu\nu$ was aware of impending disaster (Nic.13.2f, Alc.18.3).

3.3 : language

magna : Like omnis , the word is overworked by Nepos :
Pro1.1.5, Milt.1.2, 4.4, 7.4, 8.4, Them.1.1, 6.1 (twice),
8.2, 10.2, Paus.1.1, 1.2, 3.6, 4.6, 5.3, 5.4, Cim.1.3,
2.1, 2.2, 2.4, Lys.1.1, 4.1, Alc.4.3, 7.3, 7.5, 9.2,
9.5, Thras.4.1, Con.1.1 (twice), 2.4, 3.1, 4.2, 4.4, (twice),
5.2, 5.3, Dion 1.2 (twice), 1.3, 2.2, 4.2, 5.2, 5.4, 6.4,
8.2, Iph.2.3, 3.1, 3.2, Cha.2.2, 2.3, 3.3, Tim.3.1, 3.2,
3.3, Dat.1.2, 3.3, 4.3, 5.2, 5.3, 6.1, 10.2, Epam.2.3,
4.1, 9.1, Pel.2.3 (twice), Ag.3.2 (twice); 3.3, 3.5, 7.2, Eum.1.1, 2.3
(4 times), 2.4, 3.3 (twice), 4.1, 8.2, 10.4, 11.5, 13.1,
13.2, Phoc. 1.1, 1.3, 2.1, 4.1, Timol.1.1, Reg.2.1, 2.3,
3.1 (twice), Ham.3.3, 4.1, Han.5.2, 9.2 (twice), 9.4, 10.5,
10.6, Cat.1.2, 3.1, Att.2.3, 2.4, 9.4, 10.1, 12.4.

See also notes on maior (2.1), maxime (3.4), maximus (3.5).

multorum : See note on 1.2.

consensione : There is one other example of this word in
Nepos : Att.8.4 (The meaning there is "group").

magnus ---timor est iniectus : For the expression, cf Dion 7.1.

multitudini : In three other places, this word refers to
the $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$: Milt.3.5, Arist.1.3, Phoc.4.4. The other
examples refer to military situations : Milt.2.1, 5.4,
Them.3.2, Dat.6.2, 7.3, Ag.5.2, Eum.5.3, 7.1, Han.8.4,
10.4, 12.4.

timor : On two occasions Nepos sees Alcibiades as causing
timor : 3.5, 5.1. Others who casue timor are Miltiades
(Milt.8.4), Dion (Dion 7.1), Callicrates (Dion 8.4). Further
examples of timor occur in Att.6.5, 10.5.

vis : For other examples with the meaning "violence", see Paus.4.3, Thras.4.1, Dion 6.2, 10.1, Eum.12.3. (See also note on 10.5.)

libertatem : See note on 9.4.

3.4. : hoc---existimabatur : Some of the confusion which surrounds the Hermae and Mysteries scandals may be due to a tendency among many writers to combine the two events.¹³ Nepos seems to treat Alcibiades' supposed involvement in these two scandals separately (see 3.6), but see the notes on 4.1 and 4.3.

Thucydides (6.28) explains that slaves and metics when questioned revealed nothing about the Hermae, but mentioned other cases in which statues had been mutilated and mock celebrations had been held in private homes. One of those accused was Alcibiades. According to Plutarch (Alc.19.1,2), the slaves and metics were brought forward by the demagogue Androcles. His hostility to Alcibiades is made clear in the words :

ἦν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐχθρὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου (19.2).
Androcles is represented as inciting the people. In Diodorus' account the evidence given by the private citizen (presumably Dioclides) refers to the Mysteries, not to the Hermae : Alcibiades was one of those seen entering the house of a metic at midnight (13.2.4).¹⁴ There was no evidence that he had been involved in the Hermae incident. In Andoc.De Myst. (the most detailed account of the Hermae and the Mysteries) Alcibiades' name is not found amongst those denounced by Teucrus (35) or by Dioclides (47) although he is mentioned in connection with the Mysteries (11-14).

The most coherent attempt to explain why Alcibiades was accused is found in Thuc.6.28.2 : His enemies were afraid of his power as it prevented them from being able to control the δῆμος. They thought that if they had him driven out, they would become leaders (πρωτοί).¹⁵

They therefore exaggerated the Hermae and Mysteries incidents, claiming that they were part of a plot to overthrow the democracy. The only evidence for Alcibiades' involvement was his unconventional and un-democratic way of life :

ἐπιλέγοντες τεκμήρια τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ
ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐ δημοτικὴν πικρανομίαν (28.2)

This may be the version that Nepos is following at this point. In which case his words would be a free paraphrase rather than an accurate translation.

In spite of the vagueness of the evidence, in most writers Alcibiades' name remained linked with both the Hermae and the Mysteries scandals : Demosthenes (Contra Meid.147) mentions the mutilation of the Hermae as one of Alcibiades' acts of ὕβρις : none of his acts, however, was as great as the ὕβρις of Meidias. Lysias (Contra Alc.14lf) asks the jury if it should spare such people as have performed mysteries and mutilated Hermae . [Lucian] (Amores 24) asks if it was right to love Alcibiades when he mutilated statues and parodied the Mysteries. Clement of Alexandria (Exhortation to the Greeks 2/11) also links Alcibiades' name with the two scandals, although in a rather vague manner : If he were to describe the Mysteries he would not leap about like Alcibiades ; while describing how sculptors make statues of the gods in the image of their favourites, he mentions the resemblance of the Athenian Hermae to Alcibiades.

multos---devinxerat : There are several references to the generosity of Alcibiades in other sources. In Xenophon's account the crowd that gathers at the Piraeus to welcome him back is aware of this quality :

ἐκείνου δὲ τὸ κοινὸν αὐξάνοντος καὶ ἄπο τῶν αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἄπο τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ Hell.1.4.13

Plutarch (Alc.16.3) mentions his generosity as one of the things that made people tolerant of him :

ἐπιδόσεις γὰρ καὶ χορηγίαι καὶ φιλοτιμήματα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὑπερβολὴν μὴ ἀπολείποντα

However, most of the examples given of his generosity are humorously presented : they reflect the writers' delight in anecdotes rather than their emphasis on an important quality in Alcibiades : In Alc.10.1 his entry into public life is connected with an act of generosity : He asked why there was applause coming from the assembly, and on being told that a contribution was being made to the state, went forward to make one himself. Amidst the applause he forgot about the quail he had been carrying in his cloak; it flew out but was eventually retrieved (cf. Mor 799D). There is also the story about Alcibiades giving Socrates a cake which Xanthippe trampled on (Ael.V.H. 11,12, Athen.14.643F, Epict.4.5.33). Finally there is the story in Plut.Mor. 762.C which presents his "generosity" in a rather different light: When he took half the goblets at a dinner hosted by Anytus and the guests were shocked at this act of ὕβρις, Anytus replied that he had acted φιλελευθέρως in not taking all of them (cf. Alc.4, Athen.12.534Ef).

plures-reddiderat : There are no other references to Alcibiades' help in the law-courts. At this point Nepos seems to have added a Roman touch to his picture of Alcibiades.

3.4 : language

maxime : This adverb is also found in Milt.1.1, 4.5, Them.2.6, Cim.3.1, Alc.7.3, 11.5, Con.2.2, Dion 2.1, Iph.2.3, 3.2, Cha.1.1, Tim.1.2, Dat.5.4, 11.2, Epam. 5.5, 6.4, 7.3, Eum.4.3, Phoc.2.3, 4.1, Timol.4.3, Reg.1.3, Ham.4.3. See also notes on magnus (3.3), maior (2.1) and maximus (3.5).

quod---existimabatur : An opposite situation is represented in Ag.4.2 : Agesilaus showed as much deference to the orders of the magistrates "--- ut si privatus in comitio esset Spartae" (cf. the reference to his house ; in nulla re differret <a> cuiusvis inopis atque privati (Ag.7.4)). Similarly, when Timoleon lays down his office ("privatus Syracusis---vixit" (Timol.3.4)).

potentior : Potens (including comparative and superlative forms) is applied to : Athens and Sparta (Cim.3.3), Chares (Cha.3.4), Jason of Thessaly (Tim.4.2), Lysander (Ag.1.5), MamerCUS (Timol.2.4), Antiochus (Han.2.1) and the enemies of Antony (Att.9.1).

maior : See note on 2.1.

privatus : For other examples of this word, see Milt.8.2 Epam.7.1, Timol.3.4, Reg.1.2, Cat.2.2.

multos : See note on 1.2.

liberalitate : This quality is also attributed to Cimon (Cim.2.1, 4.1) and Atticus (Att.2.6, 11.3, 11.5).

devinxerat : the only example of this word in Nepos.

plures : See note on 2.1.

opera : See note on 4.7.

3.5 : qua---converteret : When Thucydides introduces Alcibiades to the debate on the Sicilian expedition, he represents him as being in the public eye :

ὧν γὰρ ἐν ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄστυν (6.15.3)¹⁶

A similar impression is gained from Xenophon's and Diodorus' description of Alcibiades' return to the Piraeus after his exile (Hell.1.4.13, Diod.13.68.3: see note on 6.1).

Nepos' words are consistent with these three accounts.

neque---poneretur : There are several references in other sources to Alcibiades' superior status among the Athenians. Nepos' words here can be linked with those of Xenophon in his account of Alcibiades' return to the Piraeus :

λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς κράτιστος εἶη τῶν πολιτῶν
Xen. Hell.1.4.13

ὑπάρχειν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε
ἡλικιωτῶν πλεον ἔχειν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων
μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι 1.4.16

For references in other writers, see notes on 11.5, 11.6 and Chapter 1 (passim).

itaque---poterat :

spem---maximam : These words are close to Diod.13.53.4 :

πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ τὸν
Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀφηγεῖσθαι τῶν ἰδίων δυνάμεων

timorem : Compare the effect Alcibiades has on the Spartans : Neque---alienati (5.1). cf. Thuc.8.89.2 :

φοβούμενοι δὲ, ὡς ἔφασαν, τὸ τε τῆ Σάμῳ
στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην σπουδῆ πάνυ

(referring to the oligarchic leaders in Athens)

The contradictory effect which Alcibiades had on the Athenians is discussed by Thucydides, who may have inspired this remark in Nepos. According to Thucydides, Alcibiades was an excellent general, but his lifestyle made people afraid (6.15.4):¹⁷

φοβηθέντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τε
κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα παρκανομίας ἐς τὴν δίαίταν---

For this reason, Thucydides continues, they deprived him of power in so doing brought their city to ruin ἔσφηλκεν τὴν πόλιν ibid.).¹⁸

In his speech on the Sicilian expedition Alcibiades tries to defend himself against criticism of his lifestyle by emphasising the ways in which he benefited Athens.

He mentions as examples his sponsorship of choruses and his formation of an anti-Spartan coalition in the Peloponnese (6.16). For further discussion of Thucydides' view of Alcibiades' services to Athens, see notes on 5.4 and 7.2.

Alcibiades' services to Athens are also stressed in Dem. Contra Meid. 143 and in great detail in Isoc. De Big. (36-41). This is hardly surprising : Demosthenes was trying to show how much worse Meidias was than Alcibiades ; the bias in Isocrates' speech in favour of Alcibiades has already been noted (see note on 2.1).

3.5 : language :

omnium : See note on 2.1

spem : See note on 4.3. Spes and timor also occur together in Att.6.5.

maximam : The many examples of this word reflect both Nepos' repetitiveness and his tendency to exaggerate : Them.5.3, 8.6, Cim.2.3, Lys.1.3, 4.3, Alc.5.7, Dion 5.3, 5.6, 7.1, 7.2, 9.3, Iph.1.3, Tim.4.5, Dat.3.1, 4.1, 7.1, 8.2, Epam.3.1, 8.5, Pel.2.2, Ag.1.3, 4.2, 4.6, 7.3, Eum.9.4, 10.4, 12.2, Timol.2.4, 3.2, 5.1, 5.2, Reg.1.3, Ham.4.1, Han.2.4, 3.2, Att.9.5, 20.5, 22.4. (See notes on magnus (3.3) maior (2.1) and maxime (3.4).)

timorem : See note on 3.3.

plurimum : See note on 4.6.

3.6 : aspergebatur---Atheniensium : On Alcibiades' supposed involvement in the Mysteries, see the notes on 3.3, 3.4 and 4.1. Details of the way in which the Mysteries were parodied are given by Andoc. De Myst.11f, [Lysias] Contra Andoc.50f and Plut. Alc.19.1 According to Plutarch, Alcibiades assumed the role of the priest (τοῦ ἱεροφάντου).

In none of the accounts is Alcibiades said to have celebrated the Mysteries in his own house, as Nepos suggests. Perhaps this is another example of the author's carelessness. In Andocides' account, Pythonicus mentions an unspecified house as the venue (11). Andromachus states it was Polytion's house (12 ; cf. Isoc. De Big.6). There is also the statement by Agariste that Alcibiades was involved in a celebration of the Mysteries in Charmides' house (Andoc. De Myst.16).

idque---existmabatur : See note on 3.3. In Isoc. De Big. 5-7 the son of Alcibiades mentions how his father's enemies combined the charges of violating the Mysteries and of attempting to destroy the democracy. They claimed that in Polytion's house the Mysteries had been performed by members of a political club to which Alcibiades supposedly belonged.

3.6 : language

infamia : the only example of this word in Nepos.

nefas : This word is also linked with mos in Prol.1.4. For other examples see Paus.4.4, Epam.7.1 and Att.17.3.

more : See note on 11.4.

religionem : The term is applied to Agesilaus, who is presented as having had a keen sense of religious scruple : Ag.2.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8. On the other hand, Callicrates conspicuously lacked this quality (Dion 8.1, 8.5).

Religiose is applied to Atticus (Att.15.1).

coniurationem : The only other example of this word occurs in Dion 8.3.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 : Hoc---compellabatur : In Thucydides (6.28) the charges arise from information given by slaves and metics. Plutarch (Alc.19.1) mentions that these people were produced by Androcles (an enemy of Alcibiades). Plutarch also describes (19.2) in detail an impeachment brought by Thessalus (whose name is not mentioned in the other sources). Diodorus (12.2.3) refers to the evidence of a private citizen, who is presumably the Diocles of Andocides' account.¹ Androcides' account (De Myst.) is the most detailed. After the initial accusation by Pythonicus, evidence is given by Andromachus, Teucrus and Diocles (11f).²

It is not clear what Nepos means by hoc crimine. At the end of the previous chapter he has mentioned the Mysteries, and that may be what he is referring to here. But it is also possible that he could be referring to a general charge against Alcibiades, which might have included the Hermae (see note on 3.4).

Nor is it clear from Nepos' account exactly where Alcibiades was charged. Thucydides does not name a place either. However Andocides tells how during a meeting of the ἐκκλησία, while the people were listening to the generals, Pythonicus suddenly started accusing Alcibiades (De Myst.11).³ It is possible that by the words in contione Nepos means a meeting of the ἐκκλησία. (In Diodorus' account the private citizen gives evidence in the βουλή.)⁴ Thereafter, according to Andocides (De Myst.12) the prytanes cleared the meeting of non-initiates, fetched Andromachus and then listened to further evidence.

Here (and in 4.2, 4.6, 6.1 and 7.1) Nepos stresses the role played by Alcibiades' personal enemies (inimici). This is also emphasised by Thucydides, Diodorus and Plutarch (see note on 3.4). Plutarch (Alc.19.3f) describes how Alcibiades' enemies were depressed by his popularity and employed orators to have the trial delayed (cf. Thuc.6.29.3, Diod.13.5.1).

sed---proficiscendi : The imminence of the expedition's departure is also emphasised in other accounts.

Thucydides makes it clear that the preparations were complete:

ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπεπόριστο (6.29.1)
and that Alcibiades' enemies were insistent that there should be no delay :

οἱ ἔλεγον νῦν μὲν πλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ κατασχεῖν
τὴν ἀναγωγὴν. (6.29.3)

The orators mentioned by Plutarch were unhappy about the idea of playing for time :

ὕδωρ δικμετροῦντας ἀπολλύνασι τὸν καιρόν Alc.19.4

Andocides says that when the meeting took place (see previous note), Lamachus' ship was already offshore:

καὶ τριήρης ἡ στρατηγὸς ἤδη ἐξώρμηκε ἡ Λαμαχίου

id---consuetudinem : By consuetudinem Nepos may mean : "immoderata---nobiles" (4.4), or he may be referring generally to the Athenians' fickleness : this feature is given prominence in Alc.7.

Nepos emphasises Alcibiades' perceptiveness, and this is consistent with the sagacitas attributed to him in 5.2 : This is the quality which enables him to sense that the Spartans are plotting against him.

Alcibiades' perceptiveness is also emphasised by Plutarch (Alc.19.5) :

οὐκ ἐλάττωκε μὲν οὖν ἡ κακοθήκη τῆς ἀναβολῆς
τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην

Plutarch mentions in addition Alcibiades' popularity amongst the Argive and Mantinean troops : This encouraged him to demand an immediate trial :

ἀνεθέρρουν καὶ παρίσταντο τῷ καιρῷ πρὸς
τὴν ἀπολογίαν (Alc.19.3)

Plutarch also alludes to the popularity which Alcibiades' enemies feared he had amongst the δῆμος : hence they were afraid of holding a trial immediately :

ὥστε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πάλιν ἀθυμεῖν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι
μὴ περὶ τὴν κρίσιν ὁ δῆμος ἀμβλύτερος αὐτῷ
γένηται διὰ τὴν χρείαν (19.3)

Thucydides, on whom Plutarch has based much of his account,⁵ also emphasises Alcibiades' popularity in connection with his enemies' reluctance to have him tried immediately : the δῆμος would treat him leniently because of the popularity he had won in persuading the Argives and some of the Mantineans to fight for Athens (6.29.3). His popularity with them is alluded to in 6.61.1f (see below).⁶

Information of this kind on Alcibiades' popularity might have given Nepos' readers a better idea of why he had the confidence to demand an immediate trial.

postulabat---accusaretur : In Thucydides' account Alcibiades' willingness to stand trial before the departure of the expedition is stressed :

ἑτοῖμος ἦν πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν κρίνεσθαι (6.29.1)

He is unhappy about the idea of being attacked in his absence: Twice within a few lines reference is made to his demand for an immediate trial (6.29.1f).

He also points out the disadvantages to Athens of having such a large army in the command of a man who has a charge hanging over him :

σωφρονέστερον εἴη μὴ μετὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, πρὶν
διαγνώσει, πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτω στρατεύματι
(6.29.2)

Plutarch's version is similar , but more dramatically expressed :

ἔλεγε παριῶν ὡς δεινόν ἐστὶν αἰτίας ἀπολιπόντα
καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ διαβολὰς ἐκπέμπεσθαι μετέωρον
ἐπὶ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως (Alc.19.5)

Alcibiades goes on to speak of his fear of what informers will do during his absence (*ibid.*).

4.1 : language

inimicis : cf. 4.2.6.4. For other examples of the activities of inimici in Nepos' Lives, see : Them.9.4, Lys.2.2, Dion 8.2, Dat.5.4, 9.2, Eum.11.4, Att.9.2, 10.4. For other examples of this word, see : Paus.3.3, Pel.2.2, Eum.4.2, 6.3, Han.7.3, 12.2.

consuetudinem : See note on 11.5.

invidiae : cf. Alc.7.1 There are several people in Nepos' Lives who also suffer from the invidia felt by their fellows : Themistocles (Them.8.1), Cimon (Cim.3.1, 3.2), Dion (Dion 4.2, 6.4; cf. invisa 9.5), Chabrias (Cha.3.2, 3.4,), Datames (Dat.5.2), Epaminondas (Epam.7.1), several Theban commanders (Epam.7.3), Eumenes (Eum.7.1, 7.2, 10.2), Timoleon (Timol.1.5), Hannibal (Han.1.2). On the other hand, Thrasybulus was conspicuous for experiencing no invidia from his compatriots (Thras.4.1; cf. invideant 4.2). In Cha.3.3 Nepos explains that it is a common fault of states which are great and free that invidia should attend gloria.⁷ (In Tim.3.5 the adjective invidus is applied to the Athenian people.)

4.2 : inimici--fecerunt : Both Thucydides (6.29.3) and Plutarch (Alc.19.4 describe in detail how Alcibiades' enemies prevented the immediate holding of a trial (see previous note). This presumably is because, in Nepos' words, they realised that Alcibiades could not be harmed at that time.

Nepos says little about the details of the attacks on Alcibiades during his absence. The fullest account of them is given in Thuc.6.53 and 60,61. The situation as he describes is is an ugly one. : The evidence comes from scoundrels (διὰ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων 6.53.2), and the Athenians, influenced by tales of the rule of Pisistratus and his sons, are too ready to accept it.⁸ In the deteriorating situation, numerous arrests are made and one prisoner (identified as Andocides in Plut. Alc.21.2) is persuaded by a fellow-prisoner to admit that he and some others were involved in the Hermae mutilations. The δῆμος is delighted and the informer released with the unaccused, but the accused are executed. The Athenians now think they know the truth about the Hermae and are more inclined to believe stories about the Mysteries, in which Alcibiades was supposedly involved. Both Hermae and Mysteries incidents are seen as part of a plot against the democracy. Alcibiades' enemies exploit the situation. He is also blamed for the advance of a Spartan force up to the Isthmus and for a plot against the democracy in Argos. The success of the campaign waged by Alcibiades' enemies is indicated by the words :

πανταχόθεν τε περιειστήκει ὑποψία ἐς
τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην (6.61.4)

Plutarch, perhaps for the sake of coherence, reserves most of the details of the scandal for this part of the narrative. Like Thucydides, he is also sceptical about the evidence against Alcibiades:

καίτοι βέβαιον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἰσχυρὸν αἱ μηνύοντες
ἐδείκνυσαν.

(Alc.20.5)

He conveys a similar impression of the way in which Alcibiades' personal enemies stirred up the feelings of the δῆμος against him (Alc.20,21) The hostility of the δῆμος is expressed in strong terms :⁹

ἄπλλαγεῖς τῶν Ἑρμοκοπιδῶν ὥσπερ σχολάζοντι τῷ
θυμῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὅλος ἐρρύη (21.5)

The short account in Diodorus is similar to the accounts of Thucydides and Plutarch : Alcibiades' personal enemies use the mutilation of the statues as a pretext to accuse him of plotting against the democracy; these charges gain colour from the attempt by his friends (ἰδιόξενοι) to abolish the democracy in Argos (13.5.1f). The account in Diodorus may be oversimplified: Thucydides says that they were suspected of doing this (ὑπωπτεύθησαν 6.61.3). However Diodorus is less concerned than Thucydides and Plutarch to emphasise Alcibiades' innocence (see note on 4.4).

4.2 : language :

inimici : See previous note.

4.3 : nam---fecerunt :

absentem : This word occurs three times within a limited space. It may be an example of repetitive writing, or Nepos may be keen to emphasise the injustice of the attacks on Alcibiades : Compare the repetitive nature of Thuc.6.29.1, 2 :

εἴ τι τούτων εἰργασμένος ἦν
εἰ μὲν τούτων τι εἰργαστο
εἰ ἄδικεῖ

Here too the injustice of the attacks seems to be emphasised.

sacra violasset : The most obvious application of this expression would be to the Mysteries, but it is sufficiently vague to refer to the Hermae as well. In Thuc.6.53.1 and 6.61.1 Alcibiades' name is mentioned in connection with the

Mysteries rather than the Hermae. This also applies to Andoc. De Myst.(passim) and Diod.13.2.4 (see note on 3.4). In Plutarch's account, Alcibiades' enemies are said to have combined the Hermae and Mysteries under one charge :both are seen as part of the same conspiracy (Alc.20.3). But most of the details which follow apply to the Hermae.

Nepos says nothing more about the Sicilian expedition or about Alcibiades' involvement in it once it had left. In Isoc. De Big.15 his activities in Sicily are included among his services to Athens. (As has been noted, the work is pro-Alcibiades in tone.) Full details of the size of the expedition are given in Thuc.6.43f (cf. Diod. 13.2.5, Plut. Alc.20.1) One strange anecdote has survived about Alcibiades' behaviour during the voyage : Cicero (Ad Att.6.1) mentions that according to Duris of Samos, he threw Eupolis into the sea.¹⁰

On arrival in Sicily a debate takes place on the strategy to be adopted.¹¹ Such is Alcibiades' influence that his plan is accepted (Thuc.6.47f, Plut.Nic.14.3, Alc.20.2). He manages to win over Messana (Thuc.6.48f) and Catana (Thuc.6.51, Plut.Alc. 20.2). The latter is won by trickery : The only Athenians allowed in are the generals ; but while Alcibiades is speaking in the assembly, some troops enter secretly. (Frontinus (Strat.3.2.6) makes Agrigentum the scene of these events.)

qua---rediret : Nepos' words can be linked with the two references in Thucydides to the dispatching of the state galley the "Salaminia" :

καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν Σαλαμινίαν ναῦν ἐκ τῶν
'Αθηνῶν ἠκούσαν ἐπὶ τε Ἀλκιβιάδην ὡς κελεύσοντας
ἀποπλεῖν ἐς ἀπολογία ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐνεκάλει, καὶ
ἐπ' ἄλλους τινάς --- (6.53.1)

πέμπουσιν οὕτω τὴν Σαλαμινίαν ναῦν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν
ἐπὶ τε ἐκείνον καὶ ὧν περὶ ἄλλων ἐμεμῆνυτο (6.61.4)

In the second passage the immediate background is the

anger of the people :

Βουλόμενοι αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν ἀνάγοντες ἀποκτεῖναι

Both Diodorus and Plutarch also treat the decision to summon Alcibiades as a product of the people's anger (Diod.13.5.2, Alc. 21.5). Diodorus mentions the role played by the demagogues :

δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν παροξυνθεῖς (13.5.2)

If Nepos has followed Thucydides or Diodorus' source Ephorus, his version is probably a summary. He says nothing of the people who according to Thucydides and Diodorus were to return with Alcibiades. A possible reason is that he has forgotten about them - he may be relying on his memory- or that since he is writing a biography, his main interest is in Alcibiades. Plutarch's version also omits the others who were accused, perhaps for the same reasons, although it is also possible that both Nepos and Plutarch derived their versions from a common source (now lost) in which only Alcibiades was mentioned.

In Thucydides' and Plutarch's accounts the instructions were that Alcibiades should return for trial, but should not be arrested (Thuc.6.61.5, Alc.21.5) The reason, as Thucydides puts it, was to avoid a disturbance amongst the troops, especially since the Athenians wished to keep the services of the Mantineans and Argives.¹² Plutarch rather dramatically writes of a fear of mutiny in the camp, and implies that Alcibiades could easily have brought this about :

ὁ ῥηδίων ἐν ἐξείργασατο βουληθεῖς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης (Alc.21.6)

He explains that the troops were depressed when he left (ibid.).

esset---administrandae : The other sources do not mention this idea, although it is a reasonable one to infer from the successes Alcibiades had already achieved in Sicily (see note on 4.3).

non---ascendit : According to Plut.Alc.22.1, just before Alcibiades left, he deprived the Athenians of Messana by revealing to the pro-Syracusan party that the pro-Athenian party was about to hand over the city.

Once again, because of carelessness or some of the other reasons mentioned above, Nepos seems to have simplified the story. According to Thucydides and Diodorus, Alcibiades did not actually board the "Salaminia", but sailed with the other accused people in his own ship and followed the "Salaminia" (Thuc.6.61.6, Diod.13.5.2). As before, Plutarch's version is similar to Nepos'. He does not make it clear how Alcibiades sailed away, but as he does not refer to any other ship, the "Salaminia" is a reasonable supposition:

ἔπιβας τῆς Τριήρους (Alc.22.1).

4.3 : language

magistratu : a word that Nepos uses several times and characteristic of his lack of precision. It also gives something of a Roman flavour to his writing (see note on 3.2): Milt.6.4, Them.2.2, Alc.7.3, Tim.3.1, Pel.2.2, 3.1, 3.2, Ag.4.2, Phoc.1.1, Han.7.2, 7.5, Att.18.6. On three other occasions he uses the term (as here) in the singular to refer to "the government": Them.7.4, Lys.4.3, Epam.4.3.

essetque in magna spe : For the expression, see Lys.3.3, Tim.3.2, Eum.10.4. For other examples of spes see Milt.3.2, Paus.3.7, Dat.8.3, Han.8.1, Att.6.5, 9.2, 21.6.

magna : See note on 3.3.

provinciae : another word that helps to give the narrative a Roman touch. See also Dat.1.1, 1.2, 10.2.

- 4.4 : ἡαc---subduxit : Nepos' mention of Thurii as the place where Alcibiades escaped is consistent with the accounts of Thucydides, Diodorus and Plutarch (Thuc.6.61.6, Diod.13.5.3, Plut.Alc.22.1).

On Alcibiades' fears, see Thuc.6.61.6 :

δείσαντες τὸ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ εἰς δίκην καταπλεῦσαι

Diodorus describes his fears in more general terms, and unlike Thucydides and Plutarch does not rule out the possibility of his guilt :

εἴτε καὶ συνειδῶς αὐτῷ τὴν ἁσέβειαν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης
εἴτε καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου (13.5.3)

According to Thucydides and Diodorus a search was mounted, but the "Salamina" had to return without Alcibiades (Thuc.6.61.7, Diod 13.5.3).

According to Plutarch, someone recognised Alcibiades shortly afterwards and asked him if he would not trust his own country (22.2). He replied that he would not even trust his mother to vote for his acquittal. Plutarch seems to have used his story as a convenient way of introducing what was probably a well-known saying (cf. Mor.186Df, Ael.V.H. 13.38).

In Nepos the emphasis is on the Athenians' prejudice against men of noble birth. This idea is neither developed by him nor consistent with his emphasis earlier in the chapter on the part played by personal enmity. Perhaps he is thinking of the situation in terms of a struggle between different orders in Roman society.

The detail about Alcibiades' escape from his guards is also unique (and for that reason perhaps suspicious), but it is at least consistent with his version which has Alcibiades on board the ship sent from Athens.

The expression "utilissimum---tempestatem" is dramatic and imprecise, but it probably refers to the order for Alcibiades to stand trial. This can be inferred from the words "reum---fecerunt" (4.3).

et---venit : In Thucydides' account Alcibiades arrived in Cyllene in Elis, where he was invited to Sparta by the Spartans (6.88.9). Diodorus (13.5.4) says simply that he went to the Peloponnese and found refuge in Sparta. According to Plutarch, he was in Argos when the sentence was passed, and fearing his enemies, went to Sparta (Alc.23.1). None of these accounts says anything about Alcibiades going to Thebes. In the commonplace in Athenaeus about his adaptability (see note on 11.3) there is an apparent reference to Alcibiades being in Thebes. However, the passage should not be regarded as a historical document¹³ so much as an illustration of his character.

4.4 : language :

multa : See note on 1.2

immoderata : the only example of this word in Nepos.

licentia : Two groups which display this fault are the famous phalanx of Alexander and contemporary Roman veterans - the two groups are compared (Eum.8.2f see note on luxuria 1.4). In Dion 7.1 licentius is applied to Dion's distribution of his enemies' property to his soldiers.

crudelitate : a fault attributed to : Lysander (Lys.2.1), the Thirty Tyrants and their ten successors (Thras.3.1) and Dionysius (Dion 1.3). On the other hand, Timoleon does not put Dionysius to death as he wants his victory to be conspicuous for clementia rather than crudelitas

(Timol.2.2). Crudelis and crudeliter are applied to Pausanias (Paus.3.3), Lysander (Lys.4.1), the elder Dionysius (Dion 1.4, 2.3, Reg.2.2), the younger Dionysius (Dion 3.3) and Olympias (Eum.6.3).

utilissimum ratus : Utilis is used with arbitror in Milt.5.4 and Tim.3.3 and with puto in Milt.3.5.

utilissimum : For other examples of utilis see: Them.7.6 and Epam.4.2.

ratus : Cf. Them.7.4, Dion 5.4, Han.7.6 (see note on 10.1).

impendentem---tempestatem : Nepos' images are rare, and therefore rather welcome, For other examples see :

Them.10.3: [Magnesia] quae ei panem praeberet---
Lampsacum autem, unde vinum sumeret,
Myunta, ex qua obsonium haberet (cf.Thuc.1.138.5)

Alc.5.3 :opes senescere

Dion 8.1 :ad fraudem acutus

Eum.11.1 :ut acerrimum---leonem aut ferocissimum
elephantum

Phoc.4.1 :ira exacuerentur

Cat.2.4 :incipiebat pullulare

Att.6.1 :civilibus fluctibus committeret

10.6 :quodsi gubernator

4.5 : postquam---demigravit : In Thucydides the sentence on Alcibiades and the co-accused is mentioned briefly :

οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐρήμῃ, δίκῃ θανάτου κατέγνωσαν
αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου (6.61.7)

Compare Diod. 13.5.4 :

τοῦ τε Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συμφυγόντων
τὰ ὀνόματα δίκην ἐρήμην κατεδέκασαν θανάτου

Plutarch's account is fuller (Alc.22.2f). He quotes the document of impeachment and mentions that Alcibiades' property was confiscated.¹⁴

In his version Alcibiades gives a spirited reply on hearing the news of his condemnation :

Ἄλλ' ἐγώ, εἶπε, δείξω αὐτοῖς ὅτι ζῶ (22.2)

(The same story is told in Ael.V.H. 13.38 and no doubt it has come from a common source.)

Eumolpides---publico : These were the priests who were in charge of the Eleusinian Mysteries (see Plut. Alc.22.3).

Plutarch writes (Alc.22.4) that a decree was issued to the effect that Alcibiades should be cursed by all priests and priestesses. However, one priestess (Theano) refused as she claimed that she was a "praying" priestess, not a "cursing" one (cf. Mor.275 D). (One feels that Theano would have made a good trade unionist.)

4.5 : language :

usu venerat : For the expression see 6.3, Han.12.3.

For other examples where usus means "custom , experience", see : Tim.3.2, Epam.2.4, Eum.3.4.

testator : the only example of this word in Nepos.

memoria : See note on 1.1.

4.6 : ibi---paruisse : When he arrived in Sparta, Alcibiades

secured a guarantee for his safety (ὑπόσπονδος

Thuc.6.88.9, cf. Plut.Alc. 23.1). This was seen as

necessary because of his anti-Spartan role in the

battle of Mantinea (Thuc.6.88.10). According to

Plutarch's account, he acquired prestige amongst the

Spartans largely because of his ability to adapt to

the Spartan way of life (Plut.Alc.23.3f, cf. Mor.52E).¹⁵

Once again Nepos dwells on Alcibiades' personal enemies, but now it is Alcibiades who does the attacking. The emphasis on his patriotism is also found in Chapters 6, 8 and 9 (see notes on 6.1, 8.2, 9.4). The same tone is adopted in the speech given to him by Thucydides

(6.89 - 92), which Nepos may be using. Throughout this speech, a skilful piece of sophistry,¹⁶ Alcibiades condemns the activities of his enemies, while justifying his own. He claims that he has been exiled by the wickedness of these who have driven him out : φυγάς τε γὰρ εἶμι τῆς τῶν ἐξελασάντων
πονηρῆς (6.92.3)

Such men, he claims are the real enemies of Athens :
Πολεμιώτεροι --- οἱ τοὺς φίλους ἀναγκάσαντες
Πολεμίους γενέσθαι (ibid.)

In explaining his apparent hostility to his own land he says that the real patriot is the man whose love for his country is so strong that he will try anything to recover it :

καὶ φιλόπολις οὗτος ὀρθῶς --- ὅς ἂν ἐκ παντὸς
τρόπου δὴ τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν πειραθῆ αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν
(6.92.4)¹⁷

The idea that Alcibiades' hostility was directed at his personal enemies rather than his country is also found in Xen.Hell.1.4.13 : On his return to Athens his supporters blame his enemies for his exile, rather than the δῆμος.¹⁸

On Alcibiades' "usefulness" to Athens, see the note on 3.6.

4.6 : language

patriam : Patriotism is a theme in Nepos' Lives : it is not surprising that this word occurs so often : Them.7.6, 9.2, Arist.1.3, 1.5, Paus.3.3, Cim.3.3, Alc.5.1, 6.4, 8.1, 8.5, 9.4, Thras.1.1, 1.2, 1.5, Con.2.1, 4.5, 5.1, Dion 4.5, 10.2, Tim.4.1, 4.3 (twice), Epam.4.2, 6.4, 7.1, 9.1, 10.1, Pel. 1.4, 2.1, 3.3, 5.1, Aq.4.3, 7.1, 7.2, Phoc.2.2, 3.2, Timol.1.1, 1.3, Ham.1.3, 1.5 (twice), 2.4, Han.1.3, 6.1, 6.2, Att.3.3, 4.4.

inimicos : See note on 4.1.

plurimum prodesse : For the expression, see 3.5 and Epam.4.6. Other examples of plurimum (adjective and adverb) are found in : Prol.1.4, Milt.3.6, Them.4.2, Paus.1.3, Cim.2.1, Thras.1.4, 1.5, 3.2, Con.5.4, Cha.3.3, 3.4, Epam.1.4, 1.5, 2.5, 4.1, Ag.3.1, 7.4, Eum.2.2, 8.7, Phoc.4.1, Han.10.4, Att.11.1, 13.3, 13.4 (See note on multus (1.2).)

plusque : See note on 2.1.

irae : Others in Nepos' Lives who show ira are Pelopidas (Pel.5.4) and the Athenians, whose ira is directed against Phocion (Phoc.4.1). On the other hand, Agesilaus is able to control ira (Ag.4.6).

utilitati : For other uses of this word, see Them.6.1, Epam.2.4, Att.13.3.

4.7 : itaque---tenuerunt : The speech attributed to Alcibiades in Thucydides' account is found in the context of the arrival in Sparta of representatives from Corinth and Syracuse. They urge action against Athens (6.8.10). (The omission of this detail in Nepos and Plutarch has the effect of exaggerating Alcibiades' initiative.)¹⁹ Alcibiades makes the rather grand promise that he will be as great a friend to the Spartans as he was previously an enemy (6.92.5 ;cf. Plut. Alc.23.1 for a more dramatic version).²⁰ However he also gives some practical advice. He urges them to send aid to Syracuse under a regular Spartan officer (6.91.4). If Sicily were to fall, he explains, Italy and the Peloponnese would be affected (6.91.3). He also urges them to open up the war, as this will intensify Syracuse's efforts against Athens and make it difficult for Athens to send reinforcements (6.91.5). Finally, they should fortify Decelea : this, he says, is the Athenians' greatest fear (6.91.6f). Thucydides says that the Spartans now became more confident about their war effort (6.93.1) ; they fortified Decelea (6.93.2, 7.18.1f) and sent an expedition to Sicily under Gylippus (6.93.2).²¹

Abbreviated versions of this account are found in Diod.13.7.1f and Plut.Alc.23.2f and Lys.3.1f. In Alc.23.2f Plutarch states that Alcibiades specified Gylippus as the Spartan commander. This may be due to a careless use of Thucydides, or it may reflect a desire to give dramatic emphasis to Alcibiades' initiative. Other writers in antiquity also stress his initiative in having Decelea fortified : Ael.V.H. 13.38, Lysias Contra Alc.1.30 and [Lucian] Amores 24 (The latter two writers also describe the general harm done by him to the Athenians while in exile.)

Some idea of the effect of fortifying Decelea can be gauged from Thuc.7.29 : The Athenians were in such dire straits that they had to dismiss their Thracian mercenaries.

There is no parallel in Thucydides, Diodorus or Plutarch to Alcibiades' arranging of an alliance between the Spartans and the Persian king. However, Thucydides does mention that Alcibiades was on the side of the Chians and the Persian satrap Tissaphernes who was supporting them in their revolt against Athens (8.6.1f). Later (8.18) he records the first treaty between the Spartans and the Persian king. It was concluded by Tissaphernes and Chalcideus. Alcibiades' role is not made clear, but a degree of involvement can be assumed from the co-operation which existed between himself and Chalcideus (8.12f). It is possible that again Nepos (or perhaps a source he is following) has exaggerated the role played by Alcibiades.²²

eiusdem---coeperunt : Thucydides describes how after Athens' defeat in Sicily, the whole of Greece turned against her : *πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων μεγάλην κακοπραγίαν εὐθὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες πάντες ἐπηρμένοι ἦσαν* (8.2.1)²³

The Spartan king Agis was approached by representatives from Euboea and Lesbos (8.5.1), whereas the Chians and

Erythraeans bypassed him and approached the Spartan authorities (8.5.4). Different names are given in the other sources : Diod.13.34.2 : Chios, Samos, Byzantium and many allies ; Plut.Alc.24.1 : Chios, Lesbos, Cyzicus.

The emphasis Nepos places on Alcibiades' role in the revolt of Athens' allies is paralleled in Thucydides' account, in which Alcibiades claims that he can easily persuade the Ionian cities to revolt and gives active support to Chios and Miletus (8.12.1, 14f). But a closer parallel is Plut. Alc.24.1, where he is credited with having brought most of Ionia to revolt :

ἔκπλεύσκει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄπεισθησεν ὀλίγου δεῖν
ἕκαστην Ἰωνίαν

Nepos' remark about Sparta's superiority is something of an overstatement : Sparta was defeated in the battle of Cynossema (Thuc.8.99f, Diod.13.39f).

4.7 : language

huius consilio : See note on 3.1.

amicitiam : See note on 5.3.

eiusdem opera : For the expression, see : Lys.1.3, Alc.3.4, 6.2, 6.4, Con.1.1, 3.1, Dat.1.2, 2.1, Epam.5.3, 8.1, Han.7.3, Cat. 1.2. The expression operam dare occurs in : Them.7.1, Con.5.2, Dat.3.1, Epam.2.4, Ag.2.3, Timol.3.3, Han.2.2, Cat.1.1, Att.4.3. Other examples of opera : Cim.4.3, Iph.2.2.

societate : In most of the examples of this word in Nepos, the meaning is "alliance" : Them.8.2, Arist.2.3, Paus.3.5, Con.2.2, Cha.2.3, Epam.6.1, Eum.2.4, Reg.3.2, Han.10.3. Elsewhere the word refers to sharing or participation : Milt.1.2, Dion 5.2, Timol.1.3.

multo : See note on 1.2.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 : Neque---instituerunt : Thucydides' account suggests that when he arrived, Alcibiades was on good terms with the Spartans : he was able to take advantage of the fact that some of his ancestors had had connections with the Spartans (τῶν δ' ἐμῶν προγόνων τὴν προσενίαν ὑμῶν --- αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνων 6.89.2). Thucydides mentions that Alcibiades' grandfather had been πρόξενος of the Spartans and that Alcibiades himself also wanted the position (5.43.2). In the speech which Thucydides attributes to him, he says that because of a misunderstanding the προξενία was given up, but that he himself took up the position again by his services to Sparta at Pylos (6.89.2). Plutarch carelessly writes that Alcibiades himself was the πρόξενος of the Spartans (Alc.14.1). His ancestral connection with Endius (ephor at the time of his arrival) must also have been an advantage (Πικτρικὸς - - - ξένος Thuc.8.6.3).¹ Later (8.12.1f) Thucydides describes how Alcibiades was able to use his influence with Endius and the other ephors to urge the undertaking of an expedition to Chios ; it was with him, he writes, that Alcibiades had discussions about the Ionian revolt.²

Diodorus does not say anything specific about Alcibiades' popularity with the Spartans, although this can be inferred from the remark that he did them services in war :

μεγάλως ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ χρείας παρέσχετο (13.37.2)

Plutarch, however, seems to leave his readers in no doubt about Alcibiades' popularity with the Spartans :

Εὐδοκιμῶν ἐκ δημοσίας καὶ θαυμαζόμενος οὐχ ἕττεν ἰδίᾳ τοὺς πολλοὺς κατεδημηγώγει (Alc.23.3)

He goes so far as to say that they were "bewitched" by him (κατεγοήτευε). However it should be noted that Plutarch has found this a convenient place

in which to introduce the commonplace on Alcibiades' adaptability (see notes on 4.4 and 11.2f).

Alcibiades' loss of popularity in Sparta is mentioned by both Thucydides and Plutarch. Diodorus (13.37.3) says only that he was keen to return to Athens. The difference in emphasis is not surprising : Plutarch is writing biography and Thucydides has a keen interest in individuals, particularly Alcibiades;³ on the other hand, Diodorus is writing a more general history in which there is less emphasis on the individual.

Thucydides (8.12.2) mentions the hostility of Alcibiades and Agis (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ τῷ Ἀγίδι αὐτὸς δικάφορος ὢν) as the explanation of Alcibiades' attempt to deprive Agis of gaining credit for the revolt of the Ionians from Athens and Sparta's alliance with Persia. Nothing further is said until 8.45.1, when we hear that after the death of Chalcideus, Alcibiades was held in suspicion by the Peloponnesians :

Ἀλκιβιάδης --- τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις ὑπόπιτος ὢν

This is followed by another reference to the hostility between Alcibiades and Agis and a general remark about the unreliability of Alcibiades :

ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῷ Ἀγίδι ἔχθρος καὶ ἄλλως ἀπίστος
ἐφ'αίνετο (ibid.)

Nowhere does Thucydides explain clearly why Agis or the Peloponnesians were hostile towards Alcibiades.⁴

Plutarch attempts some explanation (Alc.24.2) : Both Agis and other high-ranking Spartans were jealous of Alcibiades. But Agis was also angry with him for seducing his wife Timaea. The detail with which the affair is described reflects Plutarch's love of anecdotes (a common feature of biography) : Alcibiades apparently boasted that he had done the deed because he wanted Sparta to be ruled by his descendants (23.7f, cf. Ages.3.1f).⁵ The child born to Timaea was called Leotychides, although privately Timaea gave his name as "Alcibiades" (cf. Mor.467F).

Plutarch mentions him again in Lys.22 when he is discussing the problems of choosing a successor to Agis. (The Timaea episode is also mentioned in Athen.12.534Bf, 574D and Justin 5.2.)⁶

In his account of Alcibiades' departure from Sparta Nepos says nothing about any personal enmity between Alcibiades and Agis. He concentrates instead on the fears experienced by Spartans in general : "timore---pertimuendum". In particular they were afraid of his intelligence.

The element of fear is not specifically mentioned in Thucydides, although he does describe in detail Alcibiades' tendency to inspire fear in his fellow-Athenians (6.15.4 ; see note on 3.5). But in the matter of Alcibiades' departure from Sparta, it is Alcibiades who is said to have been afraid of the Spartans, rather than the other way round :

πρῶτον μὲν ὑποχωρεῖ δέσσης παρὰ Τισσαφέρην (8.45.1)

Plutarch also lays stress on Alcibiades' fear of the Spartans : He is described as having been afraid of Agis (φοβούμενος τὸν Ἄγιον 25.1), and after his escape, afraid that if the Athenians were overwhelmed, he would come into the power of the Spartans (25.2). In the Comp. of Alc. and Cor. (2.6) Plutarch describes how he went to Athens δὲ δέος ἄμα καὶ μῖσος αὐτῶν.⁷

Nepos refers again to Alcibiades' patriotism. (See notes on 4.6, 6 (passim), 8.1.) Patriotic motives are also ascribed to Alcibaides in Isoc. De Big. 19 : Alcibiades, says the speaker, preferred to suffer misfortune with his own country than to enjoy prosperity with the Spartans. The favourable attitude towards Alcibiades in this speech is no doubt responsible for this naive view.

Nepos mentions that the Spartans wanted to put Alcibiades to death. This is consistent with Thucydides and Plutarch. In Thucydides' account the Spartans send a letter to Astyochus with orders to put him to death (8.45.1), while Plutarch writes vaguely of influential Spartans who persuaded the magistrates to send orders to Ionia that he should be put to death (Alc.24.2). In the Comp. of Alc. and Cor. (2.6) he writes of a plot against Alcibiades' life.

Diodorus, whose account of Alcibiades' career at this stage is sketchy, says nothing about the order for Alcibiades' death.

5.1 : language

timore : See note on 3.3

acerrimi : The adjective acer is also applied to Eumenes (Eum.4.3, ut acerrimum---leonem 11.1) and to the Athenian people (Tim.3.5).

viri : cf. 6.2. In Epam.4.6 Nepos uses this word in the context of his biographical writing : vitam excellentium virorum : See also Tim.4.5 : Venio nunc ad fortissimum virum. Compare clarorum virorum (Att.18.2,18.4) where Nepos is referring to Atticus' Annals.⁸ Other examples of this word occur in : Prol.1.4, Them.5.3, 7.2, 8.7, Paus.3.7, Dat.4.3, 7.1, 10.1, 11.5, Epam.7.3, Pel.1.1, Ag.8.1, Phoc.4.3, Timol.1.1, Ham.3.2, 4.1, Han.9.2, 13.1, 13.2, 13.4, Att.5.4, 12.4.

prudentiam : This word is also applied to Miltiades (Milt.2.2), Themistocles (Them.1.3), Cimon (Cim.2.1), Thrasybulus (Thras.2.6), Antigonus (Eum.11.3) Hannibal (Han.1.1, 11.7), Atticus (Att.3.3, 10.6) and Cicero (Att.16.4). Prudens is applied to : Conon (Con.1.2, 4.3), Epaminondas (Epam. 3.1) and Atticus (Att.9.1).⁹

omnibus : See note on 2.1.

pertimuerunt : Nepos' only use of the word, but cf. perterriti (5.5).

caritate patriae : In the three instances where caritas occurs, it is linked with patria (cf.8.1, Epam.4.2). On patria see note on 4.6.

in gratiam rediret : For the expression cf. Dat.8.5, Att.17.1. On gratiam, see note on 9.5.

5.2 : id---cavendum : For Alcibiades' perceptiveness, see note on 4.1. There is a parallel to Nepos' description in Plutarch :

ὁ δ' ἡσυχῇ προγνοῦς καὶ φοβηθείς (Alc.24.3)

Plutarch explains that although he took part in all the Spartans' projects, he was careful not to fall into their hands (ibid.).

Nepos' words "praesertim---cavendum" may be intended as a contrast to his words in 1.4 (see note ad loc.).

5.2 : language

sagacitate : Nepos' only use of this word.

animum : See note on 1.4.

5.2 itaque--- 5.3 pervenisset : Thucydides describes

Tissaphernes as one of Darius' generals (8.5.4):

Τισσαφέρνους, ὃς βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ τῷ Ἀρταξέρξου
στρατηγὸς ἦν τῶν κάτω

Plutarch applies the term "satrap" to him (cf. Justin 5.2) :

Τισσαφέρνη δὲ, τῷ βασιλέως σατράπῃ (Alc. 24.3)

Diodorus rather carelessly writes :

ἔχων οὖν φιλικὴν πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον τὸν
Δαρείου σατράπην

(13.37.4)

However, the confusion is understandable: Alcibiades later took refuge with Pharnabazus and during the revolt of Athens' allies, Pharnabazus' role was similar to that of Tissaphernes. Thucydides mentions that the aims of both men were the same : to acquire tribute and to win the credit for the Spartan-Persian alliance (8.6.1).

From Thucydides' account it appears that Alcibiades may have been associated with Tissaphernes before he actually sought refuge with him : it is possible that he was involved in arranging the alliance between the Spartans and Tissaphernes (see note on 4.7).

In Thucydides' detailed account of Alcibiades' dealings with Tissaphernes (8.45-47) it appears that Alcibiades' aims were to do as much harm as possible to the Spartan cause :

ἑκάκου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσον ἐδύνατο μάλιστα τῶν
Πελοποννησίων τὰ πρᾶγματᾶ (8.45.1)

One of his motives was to have himself recalled to Athens :

ἄμκ δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κάθοδον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα
ἐπιθεραπεύων (8.47.1)

Thucydides explains that Alcibiades realised that his return to Athens depended on his being on good terms with Tissaphernes (*ibid.*). He describes Alcibiades as an advisor of Tissaphernes : *διδάσκων* (8.45.2).¹⁰

He advised Tissaphernes to reduce the pay of the Spartan sailors and to cancel the plan to bring in the Phoenician fleet (8.45.2f) : the aim was to prolong the war and to wear out both sides (8.46.1) . When requests for money came from various cities, Alcibiades apparently took the initiative and refused in the name of Tissaphernes (8.45.4). Thucydides says that on the whole Tissaphernes agreed with Alcibiades (8.46.5).

Diodorus' account is sketchy but follows similar lines : Alcibiades persuaded Pharnabazus not to send out the Phoenician fleet but rather to prevent the Spartans from becoming too powerful ; he urged a neutral attitude so that both sides would be equally matched and would continue fighting for a long time (13.37.4).

Plutarch describes Alcibiades' attempts to harm the Spartan cause in slightly stronger terms than Thucydides :

ἑκ ἄκου καὶ διέβριλλε πρὸς τὸν Τισσαφέρην
(Alc.25.1)

The advice Alcibiades gives is similar to his advice in Thucydides' account : Tissaphernes should not be too generous to the Spartans, but should through meanness wear out both sides and make them vulnerable to the Persian king (25.1). However in Plutarch's account, Alcibiades' influence over Tissaphernes is more personal : Tissaphernes is easily persuaded :

δηλὸς ἦν ἀγαπῶν καὶ θαυμάζων (25.2)

In fact, the relationship between the two men is described as operating at a very personal level. Tissaphernes is completely won over by Alcibiades' versatility and cleverness :¹¹

τὸ μὲν γὰρ πολύτροπον καὶ περιττὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς
δεινότητος οὐκ ὦν ἀπλοῦς, ἀλλὰ κακοήθης καὶ
φιλοπόνηρος, ἐθαύμαζεν ὁ Βάρβαρος (24.4)

In spite of his general hatred of Greeks, Tissaphernes is said to have surrendered himself to Alcibiades' flattery :

οὕτως ἐνεδίδου τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ κολλυκεύμενος
ὑπερβάλλειν αὐτὸν ἀντικολακεύων ἐκεῖνος

(24.5)

Tissaphernes also named his park after Alcibiades (ibid.).

This amusing description is no doubt highly exaggerated. Plutarch may be guilty here of the kind of sensationalism that characterises so much biographical writing. His narrative at this point has also been affected by his view of Alcibiades as a flatterer. In the discussion on flattery in Mor.52Af, he is represented as the supreme flatterer.¹²

Nepos' account at this point is matter-of-fact and unsensational: perhaps it is too brief to be otherwise. However the word intimam implies that Alcibiades' friendship with Tissaphernes was close.

et---videret : The devastating effect of the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily is stressed in Thuc.7.72f, 8.1, Diod. 13.18f, Plut.Nic. 25f,30. Thucydides (8.24.5) remarks that after the catastrophe not even the Athenians tried to disguise their desperate situation. Nonetheless, the period between the defeat in Sicily and Alcibiades' joining the Athenian army at Samos was marked by some Athenian successes : Thucydides (8.23f) mentions Chios and Miletus. (Diodorus' account is sketchy and repetitive - 13.36 is a doublet of 13.34, and Plutarch says nothing, presumably because he does not see any relevance in the events to Alcibiades.)

initio---fautor : Thucydides gives a detailed description of the complicated negotiations which eventually led to Alcibiades' return to Athens. (One can sympathise with Plutarch when he complains of a chatterbox "who will recite the whole eighth book of Thucydides---until Alcibiades is exiled twice" (Mor.513B).)

Alcibiades apparently took advantage of the oligarchic conspiracy of the Four Hundred (Thuc.8.45) and began corresponding with the Athenian officers at Samos : he said he would return only if an oligarchy were formed (8.47).

At Samos itself there had already been some political upheaval : shortly beforehand there had been a popular revolution supported by some Athenians (8.21).

One of the generals at Samos, Phrynichus, tried to oppose the idea of Alcibiades' return (8.48), pointing out that democracy and oligarchy were the same to Alcibiades :

ὅτι ἐρ καὶ ἦν , comments Thucydides (8.48.4).¹³

As a last resort he wrote to the Spartan commander Astyochus, but Alcibiades cleverly managed to turn the situation to his own advantage (8.50f). Pisander returned to Athens and pointed out the advantages of having Alcibiades recalled, whereupon the assembly voted to do away with the democracy (8.53). Pisander with ten others was sent out to continue negotiations with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes. Pisander also had Phrynichus removed from his command (8.54). But by the time that Pisander began negotiating, Alcibiades had become uncertain of his standing with Tissaphernes, and therefore broke off negotiations by making far-fetched demands (8.56.1f).¹⁴ Tissaphernes allied himself once more with the Spartans (*ibid.*). Pisander continued with the oligarchic revolution without Alcibiades' help and had oligarchies established in other cities (8.63f).

Diodorus' account of the conspiracy of the Four Hundred is very brief (13.34,36) and he says nothing of Alcibiades' involvement.

Plutarch's account (Alc.25, 26) includes several of the details found in Thucydides, but it is simplified, either because he has remembered Thucydides imperfectly, or because he does not wish to bore his readers with a lot of material not immediately relevant to the personality of Alcibiades, or for a combination of these reasons. He mentions the presence of the Athenian force at Samos (25.3) and Alcibiades' secret message to influential men there about the possibility of bringing Tissaphernes over to the Athenian side.

Alcibiades is represented as a strong supporter of oligarchy :

οὐ τοῖς πολλοῖς χεριζόμενος οὐδὲ πιστεύων
ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις (25.4)

(In Mor.513 B Plutarch mentions a letter sent by Alcibiades from Miletus.)

Great prominence is given in his account to the Phrynichus episode (25.2f) : the biographer clearly cannot resist an exciting story. He goes on to describe Pisander's trip to Athens : here he follows Thucydides fairly closely (26.1). But thereafter he writes rather vaguely of how the conspirators, once they had established the oligarchy, neglected Alcibiades (26.1f). The initiative which Alcibiades appears to take in Thucydides' account, in breaking off negotiations, does not feature at all.¹⁵

Nepos' detail about intermediaries (internuntios) is not found in the other sources. He has either found the detail in some other source (now lost) or has been a little careless in following Thucydides. But the difference between negotiating through intermediaries and writing a letter is a slight one. The main feature of Nepos' account is its extreme brevity and its failure to explain what was going on : He describes Alcibiades' political views in absolute, anachronistic terms (optimatum fautor).

In 5.4 the words "ab hoc destitutus" suggest that in Nepos' account, as in Plutarch's, Alcibiades does not take the initiative in breaking off negotiations.

5.2 (cont.), 5.3 : Language;

praefectum : See note on 3.2.

intimam : This word is used with familiaritas in Eum.1.4, Att.9.3, 10.1, 12.1. Other examples occur in : Con.2.2, Dion 1.3, Att.5.4.

amicitiam : In Alc.4.7, 5.6, Epam.6.1 and Han.2.4 this word is applied to alliances which are political or military. In Nepos' other uses of this word, there is no clear distinction made between alliances of this kind and personal friendship : Them.9.4, Alc.7.5, 9.3, Con.2.2, Dion 3.1, Dat.5.6, 8.5, 10.2, 10.3, 11.5, Eum.1.4, 1.6, 4.4, 11.2, Phoc.2.2, Reg.3.3, Att.5.3, 10.3.

opes : This word is used with some frequency by Nepos : Milt.5.5, 7.2, Alc.7.3, 7.5, 10.3, Thras.2.4, Con.4.3, 5.2, Dion 5.2, Iph.3.2, Epam.6.4, Pel.2.3, Ag.5.2, Eum.10.3, Timol.2.2, 3.4, Reg.3.4, Han.1.3, 10.2, Att.2.2, 2.4. The singular form is found in : Lys.3.1, Epam.7.2, Eum.6.3, Timol.2.1, Att.10.2.

senescere : the only example of this word in Nepos. See note on imagery (4.4).

praetore : See note on Roman terminology (3.2).

facit mentionem : See note on 2.2.

potentiae : See note on 9.3

optimatum : See note on 3.2. This term is also applied to non-Roman situations in : Dion 6.3, 7.2, Phoc.3.1.

fautor : Nepos' only use of this word.

- 5.4 : ab---Samum : See previous note. Nepos abruptly introduces Thrasybulus without explaining his relevance to the general political situation of Athens.¹⁶ Thucydides' description of the events is the most comprehensive: In spite of the progress of the oligarchic revolution (8.63f) and the assassination of popular leaders (for example Androcles (8.65) and Hyperbolus (8.73f)), democracy was preserved at Samos (8.73f). An oath had been taken by the army and the Samians to reconstitute the democracy (8.75). The generals were replaced, but Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus retained (8.76.2). The leaders at Samos, particularly Thrasybulus, were keen to have Alcibiades recalled and they managed to get the troops to accept their views, after which Thrasybulus sailed to Tissaphernes and brought Alcibiades to Samos (8.81). Thucydides attributes to

Alcibiades a speech in which he exaggerated the extent of his influence over Tissaphernes in order to make the oligarchy at Athens more afraid of him, to improve his standing amongst the army at Samos and to frustrate the Spartans (8.81). The troops' response was to elect him general, to send the representatives of the Four Hundred back home and to set sail immediately for the Piraeus (8.82.1). However, Alcibiades managed to dissuade them from the latter idea (8.82.2), an act which Thucydides describes as his first great act of service to Athens (8.86.4) :¹⁷

καὶ δοκεῖ Ἀλκιβιάδης πρῶτον τότε καὶ οὐδενὸς
ἔλασσον τὴν πόλιν ὠφέλησαι

Alcibiades then returned to Tissaphernes, where he used the Athenians to frighten Tissaphernes and Tissaphernes to frighten the Athenians (8.82.3). (The last point should not be taken too literally : it may be a neat antithesis rather than historical fact.)

Diodorus describes with lack of precision how the government of the Four Hundred was replaced by a citizen-controlled government :

Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐκ τῶν τετρακοσίων ὀλιγαρχίαν
κατέλυσαν καὶ τὸ σύστημα τῆς πολιτείας ἐκ
τῶν πολιτῶν συνεστήσαντο (13.38.1)

The role of Theramenes is given some emphasis (13.38.2). Diodorus mentions also the appointment of Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus as generals and says that they assembled the fleet at Samos and trained the troops for battle (13.38.3). He makes no attempt to link them with general political developments. His chronology differs from that of Thucydides : he places Alcibiades' arrival in Samos after the battle of Cynossema (13.4.4f ; battle : 13.39f, cf. Thuc.8.99f). The speech which Diodorus attributes to him is more general than the one in Thucydides' account : he discusses his return and offers to help his country:

διελέγετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς καθόδου,
 πολλὰ κατεπαγγελλόμενος χρήσιμος
 ἔσεσθαι τῇ πατρίδι (13.41.5)

He also defends his actions and weeps because he has had to take action against his own land (13.41.5).¹⁸

Plutarch's account strongly emphasises and in so doing probably exaggerates the popularity and leadership of Alcibiades : When the soldiers in Samos heard about what had been going on in Athens, they were keen to sail back to the Piraeus and for that purpose appointed Alcibiades as general :

τὸν Ἀλιβιάδην καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξαντες, ἐκέλευον
 ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ κατακλύειν τοὺς Τυράννους (Alc.26.3)

Like Thucydides, whom he probably has in mind at this point, Plutarch is full of praise for the way in which Alcibiades restrained the soldiers (26.4f). It is in this context that he mentions Thrasybulus: because of his loud voice he proved to be a useful helper to Alcibiades :

ἦν γὰρ, ὡς λέγεται,
 μεγαφωνότατος Ἀθηναίων (26.6)

Plutarch mentions Alcibiades' other main service to the Athenians : the diversion of the Phoenician fleet (26.6f).

post---Theramene : Thucydides (8.89f) includes Theramenes and Aristocrates among the leaders of the opposition to the Four Hundred. According to Thucydides, they were members of the oligarchy, and far from being supporters of Alcibiades, they were afraid of him. Thucydides describes their fears as well-grounded.¹⁹ Their idea was apparently not to abolish the oligarchy, but to broaden it by putting into effect the appointment of the Five Thousand. At Samos Alcibiades indicated a degree of support for the Five Thousand (8.86.6), who eventually replaced the Four Hundred (8.97.1).²⁰ One of the first acts of the new government was to have Alcibiades recalled :

ἔψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ ἄλλους
 μετ' αὐτοῦ κατιέναι (8.97.3)

Diodorus (13.42.1) describes how the troops at Samos gladly accepted Alcibiades' words and sent messages to Athens. The δῆμος then decided to acquit him of previous charges and to give him a share of the command :

ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τὸν ἄνδρα τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολῶσαι
καὶ μεταδοῦναι τῆς στρατηγίας (13.42.1)

According to Diodorus it was Theramenes, leader of the government, who had advised the people to recall Alcibiades :

Θηραμένης --- τῷ δήμῳ συνεβούλευσε κατάγειν
τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην (13.42.2)

At this stage Plutarch is rather vague. He says simply that Alcibiades' friends enthusiastically helped the democrats and that the citizens willingly had him recalled (27.1). Later (33.1) he mentions that the decree for Alcibiades' recall was moved by Critias :

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ψήφισμα τῆς καθόδου πρότερον ἔκεκέρωτο,
Κριτίου τοῦ Καλλιόσχρου γράψαντος

Nepos' version is closest to Diodorus' : it is possible that they have both followed a common source (see notes at the end of Chapter 6).

Nepos mentions that Alcibiades was given power along with Thrasybulus and Theramenes : it seems odd that he does not mention Thrasyllus, in spite of the active part which in other accounts he appears to have taken in the battles that followed (Thuc.8.100f, Xen.Hell.1.1.5f, Plut. Alc.29, Diod.13.45f). Perhaps Nepos has confused him with Thrasybulus - understandably, since the names sound alike : it may be significant that Diodorus (13.64) also confuses these two names.

5.4 : language :

praetor : See note on 3.2

imperio praeficitur : Compare Them.4.2 : summae imperii praeerat. Imperium is a favourite word of Nepos' :

Milt.2.3, 3.1, 6.4, 7.1, 8.2, Them.7.2, Arist.2.2, Cim.2.4, Lys.1.5, Con.3.2, 4.4, Dion 5.3, 6.4, Tim.2.1, 2.2, Dat.3.5, 4.2, Epam.7.3, 7.5, 10.4, Pel.2.4, Ag.1.2, 2.1, 2.3, 7.1,

Eum.2.3, 3.4, 4.1, 6.3, 7.1, 7.2, 11.3, Timol.2.3, 3.4, 3.5, Reg.1.2, 2.2, 3.1, Ham.2.5, 3.3, Han.3.1, 5.3, 7.3, 8.3, Att.3.3. Frequent use of the word gives many of the Lives a Roman flavour (see note on 3.2).

5.5 : horum---peterent : The only other sources to mention Spartan proposals for peace at this stage are Diodorus and Justin (5.4) : Alcibiades' hereditary friend Endius was appointed in charge of the delegation, and the context is the defeat by the Athenians at Cyzicus:²¹

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμονιοὶ, ὡς ἤκουσαν τὴν περὶ Κύζικον αὐτοῖς
γενομένην συμφορὰν, πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Ἀθήνας
ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ὧν ἦν ἀρχιπρεσβευτῆς Ἐνδιος (13.52.2)

This action of the Spartans is presented as a contrast to the joy of the Athenians (13.52.1f).

Both Xenophon and Plutarch give dramatic emphasis to the mood of despair by quoting the cryptic Spartan report of the battle :

Ἔρρει τὰ καλά· Μίνδαρος ἀπεσούα· πεινῶντε τῶνδρες·
ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν. (Xen.Hell.1.1, 23, cf. Plut.
Alc.28.6)

Diodorus writes that the Athenians rejected the proposals because of their faith in Alcibiades (13.53). Justin writes cryptically that the efforts to achieve peace were frustrated by those people to whom the war brought personal advantage (5.4).

victi---navalibus : Nepos' lack of precision makes identification of those battles difficult - it is not even clear what the exact period is that he has in mind. The other sources record the following Athenian victories from the time Alcibiades joined the Athenians to his return to Athens :

Cynossema : 411 (Thuc.8.103-6, Diod.13.39-40) :
a sea battle.

Abydos : 411 (Xen.Hell.1.1.5f, Diod.13.45f, Plut.
Alc.27.2f) : Fighting took place on land and at sea.²²

Cyzicus : 410 (Xen.Hell 1.1.18f, Diod.13.49f, Plut.
Alc.28): Fighting took place on land and at sea (see
note above). Frontinus (Strat.3.9.6) writes that at
Cyzicus Alcibiades was able to distract the attention
of the enemy by using trumpets on one side of the walls :
the troops then attacked from the other side . However,
Cyzicus was unwallled (Thuc.8.107.1). There is a reference
to the trumpeters in Plutarch's account of the capture
of Selymbria (Alc.30.3) : perhaps this is the town to
which Frontinus' story belongs.²³

Chalcedon : 408 (Xen.Hell.1.3.2f, Diod.13.66, Plut.
Alc.30) : blockaded on land. During the fighting,
the Spartan govenor Hippocrates was killed and the
men who were with him fled back to the town. The
Athenians agreed to spare it.

Selymbria : 408 (Xen. Hell.1.3.10f, Plut. Alc.30.2,
cf. M.L. 87 p267f) : fighting took place on land. In
Plutarch's account Alcibiades had to enter the city
earlier than expected, but he skilfully managed to come
to terms with the Selymbrians, took control of the town
and agreed not to do it any harm. It is not clear in
either source whether the Spartans were involved.

Byzantium : 408 (Xen.Hell.1.3.14f, Diod.13.66f, Plut.
Alc.31.2) : blockaded on land, but Diodorus and Plutarch
include a naval attack. The city was handed over during
the absence of the Spartan govenor Clearchus (details
given below).

in quibus---potestatem : There is a parallel to this
statement in Diodorus (cf. Justin 5.4) :

ἦγον γὰρ τῶν ἠλωκυῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔλκτους δεικκοσίων
(13.68.3)

Plutarch says that many captured ships were towed away, but that there were even more figureheads of destroyed triremes, namely 200:

ἔτι δὲ πλείω κομίζων ἀκροστόλια τῶν διεφθαρμένων
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κεκρατημένων· ἦσαν γὰρ οὐκ ἑλάττους
συναμφότερα διὰ κοσίων (Alc.32.1)

The fact that Nepos' and Diodorus' versions are simpler than Plutarch's may be due to over-abbreviation in a source which both of them used. On the other hand, Plutarch (or a source he has followed) may be guilty of overdramatisation.

5.5 : language

taeta commutatio rerum facta est : cf. Dion 6.1 :
consecuta est subita commutatio.

victores viquerant, perterriti pacem peterent : There are examples of alliteration or assonance in many of Nepos' sentences.²⁴ The most notable ones are found in :
Milt.1.2, 5.1, 7.6, Them.1.1, 10.3, Paus.2.1, Cim.1.4, 2.1, Alc.1.1, 4.6, Thras.4.2, Con.1.1, Dion 2.3, 8.3, Iph.1.4, Tim.2.3, 3.1, 3.5, 4.2, Dat.5.1, Epam.3.6, Pel.4.1, Timol.5.2, Reg.1.4, Han.2.2, 2.4, 5.2, 6.2, 9.3, 11.7, Att.6.2, 8.6, 9.4, 17.3, 21.3. This is one of the many rhetorical techniques used by Nepos to enliven his narrative.

viquerant : Nepos' only other example of this word occurs in a quotation in Pliny N.H. 9.137.

perterriti : For other examples of this word, see :
Milt.5.5, Them.4.2, Dion 8.4, Ag.6.2, Ham.2.3, Han.11.6. This verb occurs more often than the other per-compound verbs used by Nepos (pernoctare, pertimesco, perturbo, perverto, pervulgo).

in---venerant potestatem : For the expression, cf. Milt.4.1 Lys.1.2, Dat.3.4, Eum.2.2, 11.4. Compare Pel.5.1 :
in potestatem---redigere. For other examples of potestas see notes on 9.3, 9.5.

5.6 : Alcibiades---Asiae : Xenophon gives details of Athenian victories, but makes no specific statement about Athens' control of territory, except that just before the return to Athens Thrasybulus went to Thrace where he reduced all areas which had joined the Spartan side (1.4.9f). Compare Diod.13.64.3 : Thrasybulus brought the Thracian towns over to Athens. Diodorus also mentions that after the capture of Byzantium the Athenians took all the towns in the Hellespont except for Abydos (13.68f). Plutarch (Alc.28.6) says rather dramatically that after the victory at Cyzicus the Athenians not only had the Hellespont under firm control,²⁵ but also drove the Spartans from the sea. Nepos also seems to exaggerate the ease with which Athens recovered her possessions.²⁶ The Ionian campaign undertaken by Thrasyllus was anything but successful (see below).²⁷

quarum expugnarant complures : See note on 5.5.

Xenophon and Diodorus give various details about Athenian attacks on towns and devastation of territory.

In Xenophon's account (Hell.1.2.2f) Thrasyllus plunders the land near Pygela, attacks the wall of the town without capturing it, marches to Colophon, where the inhabitants give their allegiance, and conducts a raid into Lydia.

Diodorus describes how Alcibiades sacks Meropis (Cos ;13.43f), Theramenes plunders "enemy territory on the islands" (unspecified ; 13.47.6f) and Alcibiades and Thrasybulus plunder Pharnabazus' land (13.64.4).

in his---usi : Nepos' remark about Byzantium is not consistent with any of the other accounts:

In Xenophon, the Athenians won Byzantium by trickery : As they were unable to capture the city, they persuaded some Byzantines to hand it over (Hell.1.3.14f). After Alcibiades and the Athenians were let in, it appears that there was very little fighting. Xenophon's emphasis on Athenian deceit and the justice shown by the Spartans

during the trial of one of the traitors (1.3.18) may be evidence of pro-Spartan bias.

Plutarch's dramatic account (Alc.31.2f) emphasises the trickery of Alcibiades, who spread the rumour that he was leaving, but came to an agreement with the traitors. When he returned at night, he delivered a surprise attack on the harbour and in the confusion the city was handed over to him, although not without a fierce battle (κρῆτερὸς δὲ μάχης γενομένης 31.4). Plutarch repeats Xenophon's story about the trial.

Frontinus also mentions Alcibiades' trick, in a section on feigned withdrawals (Strat.3.11.3).

In Diodorus' account both trickery and treachery are used to take the city : The Athenians employ the stratagem (described by Plutarch) and during the battle Alcibiades saves the Athenians by announcing that the Byzantines should not be harmed. The Byzantines then join the Athenians in killing the Spartans (13.67).

For the clemency shown by the Athenians to the conquered, see the notes on Chalcedon and Selymbria. This is consistent with Nepos' words at this point. However, his use of vague expressions like "neque minus multas" and the lack of any names, suggest that he is unsure about the details. Perhaps he is more interested in a rhetorical type of antithesis between brute force and gentleness, than in historical accuracy. In general his account in 5.5 and 5.6 is oversimplified : no idea is given of any opposition to Athens resurgence. Yet at Ephesus Thrasyllus suffered a defeat which was sufficiently disgraceful for Alcibiades' soldiers to refuse to have anything to do with Thrasyllus' men (Xen.Hell.1.2.6f, Plut. Alc.29).²⁷

5.6 : language :

multas : See note on 1.2.

consilio : See note on 3.1.

amicitiam : See note on 5.3.

clementia : Timoleon was conspicuous for his possession of this quality (Timol.2.2), Pharnabazus for his violation of it (Alc.10.3). Epaminondas is described as clemens (Epam.3.2).

5.7 : ita---venerunt : See previous note on Athenians plundering. Diodorus (13.42.3) describes how after sacking Meropis Alcibiades distributed the plunder amongst the soldiers. The effect was to increase his popularity:

Πολλῶν δὲ συνκχθέντων λαφύρων, τοῖς τ' ἐν Σάμῳ
στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ διελόμενος τὰς ὠφελείας
ταχὺ τοὺς εὖ παθόντας εὐνοῦς ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασεν.

Xenophon (Hell.1.4.8f) mentions that before Alcibiades returned to Athens, he went back to Samos, collected money at the Ceramic Gulf and returned to Samos. Before his arrival in Athens he was elected general along with Thrasybulus and Conon.

5.7 : language :

maximis : See note on 3.5.

CHAPTER SIX

6.1 : His---advenisset : Neither in Nepos nor in Diodorus is there any specific mention of Alcibiades' desire to return to Athens at this stage. Xenophon however alludes to it in the context of Alcibiades' journey to Samos shortly beforehand :

Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπο-
πλεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου (Hell.1.4.8)

Plutarch expresses Alcibiades' desire in stronger terms, and he explains that his wish to be seen and admired in public was greater than his longing to see his home country:¹

Ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ἰδεῖν τε ποθῶν ἤδη τὰ οἴκοι, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον
ὀφθῆναι βουλόμενος τοῖς πολίταις νενικηκώς -- (Alc.32.1)

On Diodorus' and Plutarch's descriptions of the voyage back to Athens, see note on 5.5. Both authors describe how the Athenian ships were decorated with captured shields and spoils. Diodorus describes in bold terms the astonishment which greeted the generals' return :

εἶχε γὰρ πολλὴν κατάπληξιν τῶν στρατηγῶν
ὁ κατάπλους. (13.68.3)

Diodorus' and Plutarch's descriptions may sound dramatic, but they are restrained compared with the one apparently given by Duris of Samos : Alcibiades' oarsmen rowed in time to pipe-music played by a Pythian victor, while a tragic actor conducted, and the flagship was adorned with a purple sail (Plut. Alc.32.2). Plutarch rejects the details as there is no mention of them in Theopompus, Ephorus or Xenophon (32.3). He hints that Duris' claim to be a descendant of Alcibiades may account for what he would regard as an exaggerated description (32.2). He emphasises instead the fear felt by Alcibiades :

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ δεδιώς κατήγετο (32.3)

He goes on to say that Alcibiades did not disembark until he had caught sight of his cousin (ἄνεψιόν) Euryptolemus and some friends (ibid.).²

Alcibiades' fear is also emphasised by Xenophon, whom Plutarch may be using at this point.³

Xenophon mentions his fear of his enemies as the main reason for his initial hesitation to disembark (φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐχθρούς Hell.1.4.18) ; however, after catching sight of Euryptolemus and other relatives, he went to the city, but not without a bodyguard :

μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἄπειτα, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν
(Hell.1.4.19)

Xenophon also give the impression that before setting sail for Athens, Alcibiades had thought carefully about the attitude of the Athenians towards him. He would have been encouraged by the fact that he had been elected general and that his friends had been urging him to return (Hell.1.4.12).⁴

Both Xenophon and Plutarch add the dramatic touch that Alcibiades returned on the day when the Plynteria were celebrated : since no serious business was done on this day, his arrival was seen as a bad omen (Xen.Hell. 1.4.12, Plut. Alc.34.1). Plutarch, showing his usual interest in religious ritual, explains that since the ceremony involved covering Athene's statue, it was as if the goddess were veiling herself from Alcibiades (Alc.34.2).

Nepos refers to the huge crowd and their enthusiasm to see Alcibiades. This is consistent with other sources : see page 103. (Justin (5.4) goes so far as to say that the crowd looked on Alcibiades as if he had been sent from heaven.) Nepos' wording is similar to Xenophon's and Diodorus'. There is not such a close correspondence between Nepos and Plutarch, but both share an element which is not specifically stated in the other two sources, that the crowd ignored the rest of the generals. However, Xenophon and Diodorus imply that Alcibiades was the main

Nepos

His cum obviam universa
civitas in Piraeum
descendisset

tanta fuit omnium
expectatio visendi
Alcibiadis, ut ad
eius trirerem
vulgus conflueret

proinde ac si
solus advenisset

Xen.Hell.1.4.13

ὅ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς
καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως
ὄχλος ---

--- θαυμάζοντες καὶ
ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν
Ἀλκιβιάδην ---
--- ἠθροίσθη πρὸς
τὰς νηῦς

Diod.13.68.2,3

συνέδραμον δ' εἰς τὸν
Πειραιέα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν
ξένων, ἔτι δὲ παιδῶν
καὶ γυναικῶν ---

πλείστοι δ' ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἀλκιβιάδου θέαν συν-
έδραμον ἐπὶ τοὺς
λιμένους, ὥστε παντελῶς
ἐρημωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν

Plut. Alc.32.4

τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς
οὐδ' ὄραν ἐδόκουν ἀπαντῶντες
οἱ ἰνθρώποι, πρὸς δ' ἐκεῖνον
συντρέχοντες ἐβόων ---

focus of the crowd's attention.

6.1 : language :

universa : Nepos' frequent use of this word can be seen as evidence of his tendency to exaggerate. In four places the word is applied to Graecia : Them.2.4, 7.6, Epam.5.6, 8.4.⁵ Twice the word is applied to the Athenians' love of Atticus (perhaps a parallel to their attitude to Alcibiades at this stage) :

Att.2.3 : Hic ita vixit ut universis Atheniensibus merito esset carissimus (see note on 11.6)

4.5 : sic universa civitas Atheniensium prosecuta est, ut lacrimis desiderii futuri dolorem indicaret

For other examples of the word, see Them.4.2, 4.4, Thras.1.3, Dat.9.5, Epam.9.1, Ag.6.2, Timol.5.1, Han.11.4, Att.2.6.

omnium : See note on 2.1.

expectatio : the only example of this word in Nepos.

solus : For Nepos' use of this word to single out a person, see : Them.6.5 (Themistocles), Pel.1.3 (Thebans). More often he used the word unus (see note on 6.3).

- 6.2 : sic---potuerant : For the idea that Alcibiades was responsible for both good and harm to Athens, see notes on 3.5 and 7.2. The idea is present in Xenophon's account of the Athenians' reactions to Alcibiades' return. What he does, however, is to draw a distinction between the supporters of Alcibiades, who claimed that he had benefited the state, and his enemies, who claimed that all Athens' misfortunes were due to him (Hell.1.4. 13-17).

Xenophon gives a lot of space to the arguments of Alcibiades' supporters. They are at pains to emphasise both the harm that he suffered from his enemies (in the Mysteries affair) and his superiority to them:

λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς κράτιστος εἶη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ
μόνος οὐ δικκίως φύγοι, ἐπιβουλευθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
ἔλαττον ἐκείνου δυνάμενων μοχθηρότερὰ τε λεγόντων

(1.4.13)

His supporters contrast his enemies' concern for their own advantage with his generosity to the state :

καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων,
ἐκείνου αἰεὶ τὸ κοινὸν αὖξοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ (1.4.13)

Alcibiades, it is claimed, was forced to cultivate the friendship of his enemies, since his exile prevented him from helping Athens (cf. Diod. 13.41.5 quoted in 6.3). Finally, his natural superiority is again contrasted with the inferiority of his enemies : they gained power simply because they had killed the best men (1.4.16).⁶ The use in the passage of emotive language and dramatic contrasts suggests that Xenophon may be striving for rhetorical effect rather than historical accuracy.⁷

Diodorus (13.68.4) gives this explanation of the enthusiasm of the crowd: The leading Athenians wanted someone who would control the δῆμος :

ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ὑπερέχοντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων μόγῃς ἐνόμιζον
εὐρηκέναι δυνατόν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερώς καὶ θρασέως
ἀντιτάξασθαι τῷ δήμῳ δυνάμενον

whereas the poor thought that he would throw the city into turmoil and alleviate their poverty :

οἱ δ' ἄποροι ὑπειλήφεισαν συναγωνιστὴν ἔξειν ἄριστον
τὸν ἀπονενοημένως συντάρασσοντα τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν
ἐκυτῶν ἐπανορθώσοντα πενίαν

The view here of Alcibiades having the support of the two very different groups can perhaps be linked with Thucydides' account of how he negotiated with both oligarchs and democrats before his return to Athens (see notes on 5.3 and 5.4). However, Diodorus' account of these events is very sketchy and he does not make Alcibiades' role very clear. Here Diodorus may be more interested in emphasising his boldness (θρασέως) so that he can introduce a commonplace on him :

θράσει γὰρ πολὺ διέφερε τῶν ἄλλων --- κατὰ δὲ
τὴν τόλμαν πρακτικώτατος (13.68.5)

Boldness and other qualities listed here are commonly linked with Alcibiades (see notes on Chapter 1).

Diodorus then uses this commonplace to explain why all people had such faith in what his return could achieve for Athens :

καθόλου δὲ τηλικαύτην ὑπόληψιν εἶχον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, ὥσθ' ἅμα τῇ κείνου καθόδῳ καὶ
τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων εὐτυχίαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦκειν
διελάμβανον (13.68.6)

Their confidence in him was boosted by the fact that the Spartans had been successful while he was on their side (ibid.).

This is slightly at variance with the view which Plutarch has of Athenian attitudes to Alcibiades after the procession to Eleusis: his influence over the poor people was so great that they wanted him as τύραννος (Alc.34.6), but the more powerful citizens were afraid (35.1) (see note on 7.3). However Plutarch conveys an impression of general enthusiasm for him before the Eleusis episode.

Plutarch refers to what the Athenians believed they might have achieved if they had not driven Alcibiades into exile. His words are similar to those of Nepos :

λογιζομένοις ὡς οὐτ' ἂν Σικελίας διήμαρτον οὐτ' ἄλλο
τε τῶν προσδοκηθέντων ἐξέφυγεν αὐτοὺς ἐάσαντας
'Αλκιβιάδην ἐπὶ τῶν τότε πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς
δυνάμεως ἐκείνης (Alc.32.4f)⁸

Nepos' reference to the improvement in Athens' position after Alcibiades' appointment as general, is also paralleled in Plutarch :

ἀναστήσας οὐ μόνον τῆς θαλάττης τὸ κράτος
ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεζῇ νικῶσαν ἀποδείκνυσι
παντχοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους (32.5)⁹

Justin (5.4) writes that the crowds now spoke not of Syracuse, but of Ionia and the Hellespont.

Like Xenophon's account, Plutarch's is also dramatically expressed. He writes of tears mixed with joy (32.4):

Πολὺ δὲ καὶ δάκρυον τῷ χείροντι τῆς πόλεως ἀνεκέκρατο

and draws a vivid contrast between Athens' present good fortune and her wretchedness shortly before Alcibiades' return : Athens had been driven from the sea, was hardly in control of her own suburbs and was torn apart by factions (32.5).

Nepos' description is more straightforward. But the mention of Alcibiades being in charge of the army sounds far-fetched. Perhaps he is thinking ahead to the events mentioned in 7.1.

On the details of Athens' victories, see notes on 5.5.

6.2 : language :

secundas res : cf. secunda fortuna Milt.2.5, Ham.4.1

opera : See note on 4.7.

culpa---tribuerant : For the expression, cf.7.2.

virum : See note on 5.1.

exercitui praeesse : For the expression cf. Milt.4.4, Con.2.2, Iph.1.2, 2.1, Ag.4.2, Phoc.1.1, Ham.1.1, 3.3, Han.7.1. For other examples of this verb, see : Arist.3.2, Alc.6.3, Con.1.1, 4.3, 5.3, Dion 6.3, Cha.4.1, Dat.2.1, Epam.10.4, Eum.1.6, 13.1, Phoc. 2.5, 3.3, Han.3.1, 8.4, Cat.2.3.

6.3 : hic---prosequabantur : Nepos again emphasises how Alcibiades became the focus of the crowd's attention : see note on 6.1.

quamquam---Piraeum : On Theramenes and Thrasybulus see note on 5.5.

et, id---donabatur : The only other source to mention such decorations is Plutarch :

στειφάνοις μὲν ἑοστεφανώθη χρυσοῖς (Alc.33.2)

Justin (5.4) writes dramatically that Alcibiades received all human and divine honours.

ille---acerbitatem : Alcibiades' response here is like his response in Diodorus' account after his arrival in Samos :

ἀπολογησάμενος καὶ πολλὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σακρῦσας τύχην,
ὅτι τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἠνέγκασται
κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐνδείξασθαι (13.41.5)

At this point Diodorus simply writes that Alcibiades greeted the crowds kindly :

ἄσπασάμενος τὴν πλήθη φιλανθρώπως (13.69.1)

Apart from that, he says nothing about Alcibiades' feelings. Nor does Xenophon. Plutarch does not deal with Alcibiades' emotions until he actually addresses the assembly (Alc.33.2). Until then he concentrates rather on the emotions of the crowd (see previous note).

6.3 : language :

praefuerant : see note on 6.2

unum omnes : Nepos often uses the word unus to draw attention to an individual. This word and omnes are also juxtaposed in Milt.1.1, Con.1.1, Eum.3.1. Other examples where unus and omnes are contrasted : Alc.1.4, Dat.5.2, Eum.7.3, Han.10.5. Unus also occurs in Milt.4.5, Them.4.2, 5.3, Arist.1.2, Cim.2.3, 3.1, Lys.1.5, Alc.3.2, 7.1, 8.4, 11.1, Thras.1.2, Dion 2.1, 5.6, Tim.2.3, 4.2, Dat.6.8, 8.1, 11.2, Epam. 5.6, 8.2, 8.4, 9.1, 10.4 (twice), Ag.8.3, Eum.2.2, 3.2, 5.7, 9.6, 12.2, 13.1, 13.3, Phoc.2.4, Timol.1.1.1, Reg.2.2, Han.1.2, 3.3, 3.4, 4.4, 5.4, 12.1, Att.3.3, 8.4, 11.3, 18.6.

usu venerat : See note on 4.5.

benivolentiam : The term is also applied to Timoleon (Timol.3.5) ; Dionysius is conspicuous for his lack of benivolentia (Dion 5.3).

acerbitatem : The term is applied to : Athenian rule (Cim.2.4), and Dion, in his attempts to have Heraclides assassinated (Dion 6.5). Acerbus is used to describe Olympias (Eum.6.2) and the sorrow felt at the death of Cimon (Cim.4.4).

- 6.4 : postquam---damnasset : As in 4.1 (see note), Nepos writes simply that a public meeting was held : no precise details are given about the type of meeting.

Xenophon (Hell.1.4.20) has Alcibiades making his defence before the βουλή and ἐκκλησία. Whether there were two separate meetings or one is not made clear :

In Diodorus' account, Alcibiades appears to call a meeting of the ἐκκλησία himself:

ὁ δ' --- ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν
καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπολογησάμενος (13.69.1)

Plutarch simply has Alcibiades addressing the ἐκκλησία:
τότε δὲ τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης (Alc.33.2)

Nepos says nothing about the substance of Alcibiades' speech. In that respect his account is like that of Diodorus, who says only that Alcibiades made a long defence (see above).

In Xenophon's account Alcibiades denies having committed sacrilege and he complains that he has been unjustly treated :

ὡς οὐκ ἠσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς ἠδίκηται, λεχθέντων
δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων (Hell.1.4.20)

Plutarch mentions that Alcibiades dwelt at great length on the expectations of Athens' enemies and encouraged the Athenians :

Πλεῖστα δ' εἰς ἐλπίδας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸς τὸ
θαρρεῖν διαλεχθεὶς καὶ παρορμήσας (Alc.33.2)

However his account of Alcibiades' speech concentrates on emotional issues : Alcibiades laments his sufferings, and blames not the people, but an evil δαίμων of his own:

καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ πάθη κλαύσας καὶ ὀλοφυράμενος,
ἐγκαλέσας δὲ μικρὰ καὶ μέτρια τῷ δήμῳ, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν
ἀναθεὶς αὐτοῦ τινὶ τύχῃ πονηρᾷ καὶ φθοερᾷ δαίμονι
(ibid.)

There is not really any information here : tears and references to δαίμονες are common ingredients of rhetoric. Plutarch says nothing specifically about the response of the crowd to Alcibiades' speech. In this respect he differs from the other accounts :

Xenophon does not say much about it, but his remark that the assembly would not have allowed anyone to challenge Alcibiades, suggests that he was overwhelmingly accepted :

οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνκοσχεσθαι
ἂν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (Hell.1.4.20)

Diodorus' account emphasises how Alcibiades' speech produced feelings of goodwill towards him and a sense of outrage at the way in which he had been treated :

εἰς τοσούτην εὐνοίαν τοὺς ὄχλους ἤγαγεν ὥστε
ὁμολογεῖν πάντας τὴν πόλιν αἰτίαν γεγονέναι
τῶν κατ' ἐκείνου ψηφισμάτων (13.69.1)

Nepos' description follows the same line as Diodorus' (derived from a common source ?) but by the use of words like ferus, lacrumarit and flebat, he has painted a much more dramatic picture. His remark about the apparent transformation of the Athenian people, emphasised by the contrasting words flebat and damnasset, is another example of his fondness for bold antithesis.

6.4 : language :

contione : cf. 4.1, Them.1.3, Timol.5.3.

ferus : not used elsewhere in Nepos.

inimicum : This is an important word in Nepos' account : see Chapter 4 and note on 4.1. The enmity which caused Alcibiades' exile is now directed at those who brought it about.

opera : See note on 4.7.

patria : See note on 4.6.

6.5 : restituta---praecipitatae : Xenophon does not record any of these details.

Diodorus mentions the return of Alcibiades' property :

διόπερ αὐτῷ τὴν τε οὐσίαν ἀπέδωκαν ἣν ἔδημευσαν

the casting of the stelae into the sea :

ἔπειτα δὲ τὰς στήλας κατεπόντισαν ἐν αἴῳ ἣν ἡ καταδίκη
καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ κατ' ἐκείνου κυρωθέντα

and the order for the Eumolpidae to revoke the curse :

ἔψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Εὐμολπίδας ἄρκει τὴν ἄραν
ἣν ἐποίησαντο κατ' αὐτοῦ καθ' ὃν καίρον ἔδοξε
ἄσεβεῖν περὶ τὰ μυστήρια.

(13.69.2).

Diodorus' and Nepos' wording is similar. The main difference is that in Nepos the stelae record only the curse, whereas in Diodorus they record the sentence of condemnation : the curse is not specifically mentioned, and the revoking of it is treated as a separate item. (Nepos' version may have resulted from over-summarising a source used by himself and Diodorus.)

Plutarch also mentions the return of Alcibiades' property:

ἔψηφίσαντο δὲ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ

and the revoking of the curse :

καὶ τὰς ἄρας ἀφοσιώσασθαι πάλιν Εὐμολπίδας καὶ
Κήρυκας, αἳ ἐποίησαντο τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος

but not the stelae (Alc.33.3). He includes an anecdote about the high priest Theodorus. When the other priests revoked their curses, he is reported as saying (cryptically):

Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ --- οὐδὲ κληρυσάμην αὐτῷ κακὸν οὐδέν,
εἰ μὴ δὲν ἄδικεῖ τὴν πόλιν (ibid.)

Justin (5.4) writes of how the Athenians made up for confiscations with gifts and for curses with prayers : these dramatic antitheses may have resulted from Justin's summarising of Trogus' original account.

One event not mentioned by Nepos or Diodorus is the procession led by Alcibiades overland to Eleusis so that the Mysteries could be celebrated. Xenophon (Hell.1.4.20) alludes briefly to the event and he explains that because of the war the procession had been going by sea. Far more prominence is given to the event in Plutarch's account (Alc.34. 1-5) : Alcibiades was about to sail off to war, but was seized by a desire to wait until the celebrations of the Mysteries :

ἐκπλεῖν ἔμελλε, φιλοτιμία τις οὐκ ἄγεννῆς
προσπεσοῦσα κατέσχευεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι μυστηρίων
(Alc.34.2)

Plutarch's approval of Alcibiades' behaviour here is implied by the words: οὐκ ἄγεννῆς. (φιλοτιμία is an important element in his picture of Alcibiades : see 6.3, 7.3, 11, 27.4, Nic. 9.2 -cf. Xen.Mem.1.2.14.)¹⁰ Alcibiades' intention was to escort the procession past enemy-controlled territory : if the procession was not attacked, Agis would appear to have been humiliated : if it was attacked, the gods would be on their side, and Alcibiades would be able to display his valour (Alc.34.4). Because he had been implicated in a scandal involving the Mysteries, there could have been no more effective way of clearing his name. Plutarch's narrative gives every indication of the success of the venture : The procession was not attacked, and Alcibiades was hailed as high priest and procession-leader :

ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ φθονούντων ἱεροφαντίκην καὶ
μυσταγωγίαν προσαγορευομένην (34.5)¹¹

Since it had been stated in Thessalus' impeachment (22.3) that Alcibiades had dressed himself in the high priest's robes and had called himself by that title, this was the supreme irony.

When one considers the brevity of the Lives, Nepos seems at first to have devoted a disproportionate amount of space to a single episode. This is a characteristic feature of his writing. Compare : Lysander's use of oracles (Lys.3.1f), the integrity of Thrasybulus (Thras.4.1f), Conon and Tithraustes (Con. 3.2f), the murder of Dion (Dion 9.1f), Iphicrates' military reforms (Iph.1.2f), Chabrias' death (Cha.4.1f), Datames' capture and exhibition of Thuys (Dat.3.1f), the plot against Datames (Dat.10.1f), Epaminondas and Diomedon (Epam.4.1f), the treatment of captive Eumenes (Eum.11.1f) and Phocion's fall from favour in Athens (Phoc.2.1f). However, before criticising him too severely, one should remember his own claim (Epam.1.4, Pel.1.1) that he is writing biography rather than history :¹² Concentration on particular episodes (or themes) is a common feature of biography, enhancing its readability. In Nepos' case many of the Lives are too short for an attempt at a comprehensive evaluation of character to be worthwhile (see note on 11.6) : Focusing on particular episodes is a reasonable solution to the problem. The description here is one of the finest passages in Nepos : it is unpretentious yet graphic.¹³

As has been shown, Alcibiades' return home has been given much prominence by Xenophon, Diodorus, Plutarch and Justin. The story seems to have been a favourite one in antiquity : see also [Lucian] Amores 31, Athen. 12.535 Cf. From Plutarch (Alc.32.2f) we know that it was also described by Duris of Samos, Theopompus and Ephorus (see note on 6.1).

What sources could Nepos have used for the episode ? Xenophon is a possibility. There are a number of similar elements, and although Nepos does not cite him here, he does so in Ag.1.1. Similarities between Nepos and Plutarch may be due to Nepos' having used Duris, Theopompus or Ephorus : It is significant that Diodorus, who shares a number of common elements with Nepos, also cites these three writers.¹⁴ The two places where Diodorus mentions Duris occur after the sections on Alcibiades, and Plutarch mentions Duris' account of Alcibiades' return to Athens simply to reject his absurd exaggeration. Hence it seems unlikely that the description of the event in either Diodorus or Plutarch has been much influenced by Duris. Nepos himself does not actually cite Duris, although it is not impossible that he might have used his work or a later one based on it. If so, this may help to explain some of the dramatic detail in Chapter 6. However, if Plutarch is to be believed, the dramatic element in Nepos would be slight compared with that in Duris. It would seem, then, that there is no particular reason to suggest that Duris has had much influence on Nepos at this point.

Ephorus and Theopompus are more likely sources. The frequency with which Diodorus cites them (especially in sections covering this period) implies that he has used them as major sources. In Alc.32.3 Plutarch indicates his approval of their worth as historians : it would be reasonable to assume that he has used them for this episode (see note on 11.1). On the likelihood that Nepos used Ephorus, see the note on 3.2. That Nepos used Theopompus seems clear from Alc.11.1 and Iph.3.2, where he is actually cited. In Cim.4 no source is named, but the passage is almost a translation of Frag.89.¹⁵ A few similarities here and elsewhere between Nepos and Justin may also be significant, if Troguus used Theopompus' Philippica for his own Historiae Philippicae.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.1 : Haec---recidit : Alcibiades' election as general with supreme power is recorded by the three main sources for this period :

Xen.Hell. 1.4.20 : ἀναρρηθεῖς ἀπάντων ἡγεμῶν
αὐτοκράτωρ

Xenophon emphasises the Athenians' faith in Alcibiades' ability to restore Athens' former power (ibid.) :
ὡς οἷός τε ἦν σωσαι τὴν προτέρην τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν

Diod. 13.69.3 : τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν
καταστήσαντες αὐτοκράτορα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
θάλατταν, ἀπάσας τὰς δυνάμεις, ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτῷ.

Diodorus' use of the expression τὸ τελευταῖον implies that he looks on the appointment as the climax to the honouring of Alcibiades.

Plut. Alc. 33.2 : ἤρεθον δ' ἅμα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ
κατὰ θάλασσαν αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγός

Diodorus is the only other source apart from Nepos to mention the appointment of Adimantus and Thrasybulus. Like Nepos, Diodorus indicates that the appointment was in accordance with Alcibiades' wishes :

εἶλκντο δὲ καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἑτέρους οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἤθελεν,
Ἀδείμαντον καὶ Θρασύβουλον (13.69.3)

A similar point is made by Plutarch, although he does not mention their names :

τὰ τ' ἄλλα ψηφισάμενοι καὶ συνάρχοντες οὓς
ἐκεῖνος ἠθέλησεν (Alc.35.1)

None of the other authors describes the powers received by Alcibiades in such exaggerated terms as does Nepos.

Nepos mentions Alcibiades' departure to Asia and his failure at Cyme, but says nothing of other incidents. According to Xenophon, Diodorus and Plutarch, Alcibiades' first campaign after his return to Athens was at Andros :

Xenophon explains that Andros had revolted from Athens, that Alcibiades landed at Gaurium, won a victory and put up a trophy (Hell.1.4.22f) . A description of the campaign is also found in Diodorus (13.69.4), who adds that the Andrians were helped by Peloponnesians who were guarding the city :

μετὰ τῶν παρὰφυλακτόντων τὴν πόλιν Πελοποννησίων

Plutarch also records the presence of the Spartans as well as Alcibiades' victory :

μάχη μὲν ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων---(Alc.35.1)

but he says that Alcibiades failed to capture the city : this failure was included among the charges brought against Alcibiades by his enemies (ibid.).

Only Diodorus mentions a subsequent journey by Alcibiades to Cos and Rhodes (13.69.5) :

ἐκπλεύσκει τὴν τε Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον ἐδήλωσε, καὶ συχνὰς ὠφελείας ἤθροισεν πρὸς τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διατροφάς
(Alcibiades' plundering is an element often stressed by Diodorus : see note on 5.6 and on Cyme (below).)

Nepos says nothing of two events which substantially affected Alcibiades' future : the appointment of Lysander and the financial help given by Cyrus :

The appointment of Lysander is recorded by Xenophon (Hell.1.5.1), Diodorus (13.70.1), Plutarch (Alc.35.4, Lys.3.2) and Justin (5.5). According to Xenophon, he replaced Cratesippides, whose term of office had expired. At Sardis he visited Cyrus, who made it possible to increase the pay of his sailors (Xen.Hell. 1.5.1f, Diod.13.70.3, Plut.Alc.35.4):

According to Xenophon and Plutarch the daily pay was increased from three to four obols. Diodorus mentions a gift of 10 000 darics for the troops' pay, but does not give details. In his account Cyrus urges Lysander not to feel inhibited about requests for money as it was his father's order (he claimed) to help the Spartans as much as possible (13.70.3). Xenophon's description of the situation is not quite so simple, and therefore more plausible : Lysander at first encounters opposition from Cyrus, who is reluctant to do anything contrary to his father's wishes : Lysander eventually gets his own way during a banquet with Cyrus (Hell.1.5.2f).

According to Xenophon (Hell.1.5.8f), the Athenians were depressed by these developments and tried to get Tissaphernes to speak to Cyrus on their behalf. Tissaphernes repeated the advice Alcibiades had given him (cf. Thuc. 8.46 ; see note on 5.3) that no single Greek state should be allowed to grow strong, but Cyrus refused to see them.

Plutarch contrasts Lysander's good financial resources with Alcibiades' lack of them, and thus explains why Alcibiades often had to go off in search of money (Alc.35.3) :

ἤναγκάζετο πολλάκις ἐκπλέων καὶ ἀπολείπων τὰ
στρατόπεδον μισθοῦς καὶ τροφῆς πορίζειν

It is in this context that he introduces the Antiochus episode (Alc.35.4f).

This event, another omission in Nepos, is also described by Xenophon, Diodorus and the Oxyrhynchus historian (Hell.1.5.11f, Diod.13.71.1f, Florence Papyrus IV Frag. Bcol.ii) :¹ Alcibiades left the ships at Notium in the charge of his steersman Antiochus with instructions not to fight until his return (from Clazomenae :Diod.). Antiochus, who is described by Diodorus as impulsive and ambitious,² disobeyed his instructions and challenged the

Spartans to a battle in which Lysander was victorious. On his return Alcibiades unsuccessfully tried to entice Lysander to fight again. Plutarch (Lys.4.5) explains that until Lysander was provoked by Antiochus, he had tried to avoid a naval battle, because Alcibiades had more ships and had been victorious so far.

The most dramatic accounts of the episode are found in Plutarch : Antiochus not only sails past the enemy ships' prows, but yells and gesticulates abuse :

καὶ παρὰ τῆς πρῶρας τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν πολλὰ
καὶ πράττων καὶ φθεγγόμενος ἀκόλαστον καὶ
βωμολόχον παρεξελκύνειν (Alc.35.5)

ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος οἷον ἐφουβρίζων τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ
θρασυνόμος ἐπέπλευσε δυσὶ τριήρεσιν εἰς τὸν
λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων καὶ παρὰ τὸν ναύσταθμον γέλῳτι καὶ
πατάγῳ χρώμενος σοβαρῶς παρήλαυεν (Lys.5.1)

Although Plutarch concedes that Antiochus was a good steersman, he is full of scorn for him as a person :

ἀνόητος δὲ τᾶλλα καὶ φορτικός (Alc.35.4)

Xenophon attaches great importance to the effect which the event had on Alcibiades' standing amongst the Athenians, He goes on immediately to mention the Athenians' anger at Alcibiades for his lack of discipline, and the appointment of ten new generals :

χλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ οἰόμενοι δι' ἀμελείαν τε
καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλέκεναι τῆς ναῦς (Hell.1.5.16)

Diodorus says nothing directly about the importance of the event, although the detail in which he describes it suggests that he (or his source) would have thought of it as one of the causes of Alcibiades' fall from favour.

Plutarch, like Xenophon, sees the event as having had a profound effect on Alcibiades' future, He gives much prominence to the accusations made by Thrasybulus (son of Thraso, not the famous general) :

Thrasybulus claimed that Alcibiades had handed over his duties to men who had won his confidence by drinking and by telling sailors' stories (Alc.36.1):

Παραδίδους τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀνθρώποις ἐκ πότηων καὶ ναυτικῆς σπερμολογίας δυνκμένοις παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον
In the meantime, he had sailed around collecting money, drinking and associating with prostitutes (36.2).³

In Lys.5.2 Plutarch says that the main significance of the battle between Lysander and Antiochus was the effect it had on Alcibiades' fortunes :

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν μάχην - - - ἡ τύχη δι' Ἀλκιβιάδην ὀνομαστὴν ἐποίησεν

Nepos concentrates on Alcibiades' apparently poor performance at Cyme. The only other source to mention a campaign at Cyme is Diodorus (13.73.3f) : Alcibiades set off from Samos to Cyme and laid false charges against the inhabitants as he wanted to plunder their land :

Βουλόμενος αὐτῶν μετὰ προφάσεως διαρπάσαι τὴν χώραν
After initial successes, Alcibiades and his men found themselves overwhelmed and fled to their ships. (Compare Justin 5.5 : Alcibiades' men were caught unawares while plundering.) He then brought in troops from Mytilene and tried without success to make the Cymaeans fight. Instead they sent a delegation to Athens to accuse him of attacking an innocent allied city :

σύμμαχον πόλιν οὐδὲν ἀδικήσασαν ἐπόρθησεν (13.73.6)

This is rather different from the idea in Nepos that Alcibiades achieved too little at Cyme. Although the setting is different, there is a parallel to this idea in Plutarch's account of his activities at Andros (see above).⁴

Nepos refers in general terms to Alcibiades' falling into disfavour. He does not mention as the other three sources do, his loss of popularity among the soldiers.

In Xenophon's words (Hell.1.5.17) :

Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν πονήρως καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος
Diodorus describes how a group of soldiers at Samos
sailed to Athens to accuse Alcibiades in the ἐκκλησίᾳ
(13.73.6) :

τῶν γὰρ ἐν Σάμῳ τινὲς στρατιωτῶν ἀλλοτρίως τὰ
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντες --- κατηγοροῦσάν ---
Plutarch describes his unpopularity in stronger terms
(Alc.36.1) :

τῶν δὲ μισούντων τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
He also mentions a journey undertaken by Thrasybulus
to Athens for the purpose of accusing Alcibiades :
His vitriolic attack on Alcibiades' character is
recorded in detail (see above). Plutarch describes
Thrasybulus as a personal enemy (ἐχθρός) of
Alcibiades. His frequent use of this term and the
prominent role which personal enmity plays in his
account, is similar to the emphasis which Nepos places
on Alcibiades' inimici (see notes on 3.4, 4.1, 4.2, 4.6,
6.4, 7.1).

Evidence from the other sources would suggest that the
period from Alcibiades' return to Athens to the defeat
at Notium was a crucial one in his career. Perhaps
Nepos' account is too brief to have given enough emphasis
to it.

7.1 : language :

laetitia : cf. Tim.2.2.

diuturna : Nepos' only use of the word.

omnes : See note on 2.1.

tota : As in the case of omnis and universus, Nepos'
frequent use of this adjective is symptomatic of his
tendency to exaggerate. Many of the examples refer
to countries or areas : Milt. 2.1, Dion 5.5, Cha.2.2,
Dat.2.5, Timol.1.1, 2.2, 3.2, 5.4, Ham.2.2, 2.4, 2.5,
4.2, Att.8.1.

On seven occasions the term is applied to Graecia :
Prol.1.5, Milt.6.3, Iph.2.3, Cha.1.3, Epam.5.6, 10.4,
Pel.2.4. Other examples occur in : Them.1.3, Alc.8.6,
Dion 2.3, Epam.7.4, Eum.13.4, Att.18.1.

unius : See note on 6.3.

arbitrio gereretur : For the expression cf. Con.2.2

ex sententia : For the expression, cf. Phoc.3.4, Ham.3.1.

invidiam : See note on 4.1. For a similar view of the
Athenian people, see Tim.3.5 :

populus---suspicious---mobilis, adversarius, invidus

7.1 : nihil---7.3 virtutis : Nepos' remarks here about the
tendency of people to view Alcibiades as a person of
exceptional ability can be linked with his description
in Chapter 1 (see notes there and on 3.5 and 6.2).
Compare Justin 5.4 (the context being Alcibiades'
return to Athens) :

tantum in uno viro fuisse momenti

Later (5.5) he mentions that the criticisms of Alcibiades
for his failure after his return were believed because
of his intelligence and undisciplined morals. However,
a closer parallel to Nepos is Plut. Alc.35.2 : see table
on page 122.

Has Plutarch possibly used Nepos for this passage ?

Plutarch cites him in Luc.43.1, Marc. 30.4 and Tib.Gr.21.2
However it is unlikely he has used him for Alc. He is
very particular about citing authorities : if he had
used Nepos for this Life, he would probably have mentioned
his name, if only to show off the wide extent of his
reading (cf. Alex.46 where fifteen sources are cited in
a discussion of a trivial incident). In any case, Nepos'
Alc. was too short to have been of much use to Plutarch :
there were plenty of detailed accounts on which he could
have drawn (see notes at the end of Chapter 6). For the
Roman Lives Plutarch used fewer sources than for the
Greek ones, and it is significant that the only Lives
in which he cites Nepos are Roman.⁵ At this point Plutarch
is probably quoting a commonplace about Alcibiades

Nepos

7.3 itaque huic maxime putamus
malo fuisse nimiam opinionem
ingenii atque virtutis

7.2 ex quo fiebat ut omnia minus
prospere gesta culpae
tribuerent, cum aut eum
neglegenter aut malitiose
fecisse loquerentur

7.1 nihil enim eum non efficere
posse ducebant

Plutarch

ἔοικε δ', εἴ τις ἄλλος,
ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης
καταλυθῆναι καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης.

μεγάλη γὰρ οὔσα καὶ τόλμης
καὶ συνέσεως γέμουσα ἔφ' ὧν
κατάρθωσεν, ὑποπτον αὐτοῦ τὸ
ἔλλειπον, ὡς οὐ σπουδάσαντος,

ἄπιστία τοῦ μὴ δυνηθῆναι πάρειχε.
σπουδάσαντα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν διαφυγεῖν.

which was also known to Nepos. The commonplace may have been inspired by Thuc.6.15.3f (see note on 3.5).

This main difference between Plutarch and Nepos here is context. Plutarch links the passage with the Athenians' inflated expectations of Alcibiades and their corresponding disappointment when he failed to take not only Andros and Chios, but the rest of Ionia (35.2). In Nepos the passage is linked only with Alcibiades' failure to take Cyme.

Nepos mentions a claim that Alcibiades did not take Cyme because he had been bribed by the Persian king. There is no other evidence for this : the closest parallel is the detail in Diod.13.73.6 that Alcibiades was accused in the ἐκκλησίᾳ of supporting the Spartans and forming an alliance with Pharnabazus :

ὅτι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονεῖ καὶ πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ἔχει φιλικὴν

This sounds like a stock charge against Alcibiades.

Chronology has been ignored : Alcibiades' involvement with the Spartans had ended by this stage. Also it is not clear whether the reference to Pharnabazus applies to the period before or after Alcibiades' return to Athens. After his return and subsequent fall from grace, Alcibiades took refuge with Pharnabazus : the problem is that Diodorus also writes (incorrectly) of Alcibiades' having been involved with him beforehand (see note on 5.3).

7.2 : language

omnia : See note on 2.1.

prospere gesta : cf. Tim.4.6 : quae prospere ei cesserant.

culpaē tribuerent : cf.6.2.

neglegenter, malitiose : Nepos' only use of these words.

7.3 : timebatur---concupisceret : There is a reference to the fear that Alcibiades might aim at tyranny in Diod.13.73.6 : Soldiers from Samos had gone to Athens to accuse him :

πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ἔχει φιλίαν, δι' ἧς ἐλπίζει καταλυθέντος τοῦ πολέμου καταδυναστεύσειν τῶν πολιτῶν

Diodorus adds that the people were suspicious of Alcibiades' boldness :

ὁ--- δῆμος ὑφορώμενος τὴν τᾶνδρὸς τόλμαν (13.74.1)

In Plutarch's account the question of tyranny is treated more specifically : After Alcibiades had led the procession to Eleusis and back to Athens, he was approached by some people about the possibility of becoming a τύραννος. Plutarch explains that Alcibiades' influence over the poor people was so great that they conceived a passion to have him as τύραννος :

Τοὺς δὲ φορτικοὺς καὶ πένητας οὕτως ἐδημαγωγῆσεν ὥστ' ἔρᾶν ἔρωτα θαυματοῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνου τυραννεῖσθαι (Alc.34.6)

The expression ἔρᾶν ἔρωτα is emphatic :

Throughout the Life Plutarch associates ἔρως with Alcibiades. In 1.3 he is described as ἐρώσιμος. In Socrates he has εἶδωλον ἔρωτος - - - ἀντέρωτα

(Alc.4.4, quoting Plato Symp.219E). On the golden shield which he has made for himself there is a picture of Ἐρως wielding a thunderbolt (16.2). The application of the term to his influence on the people (see above) can be compared with the description of how he stirred up enthusiasm for the Sicilian expedition :

ὁ δὲ παντάπασιν τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον ἀναφλέξας αὐτῶν (17.2)⁶

Other sources also reflect the fear that Alcibiades was aiming at tyranny [Andocides] (Contra Alc.) speaks of the tyrannies which are set up by such people as Alcibiades :

ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τᾶς τυραννίδας καθισταμένης (24)

The author complains that Alcibiades speaks as a leader of the people, but acts as a τύραννος (27):

Τοὺς μὲν λόγους δημαγωγοῦ τὰ δ' ἔργα τυράννου παρέχων

In Isoc. De Big. an attempt is made to defend Alcibiades from this type of charge : Alcibiades' son claims that many of the Athenians disliked Alcibiades as they thought he was planning to be τύραννος :

καίτοι πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν δυσκόλως εἶχον
ὡς πρὸς τυραννεῖν ἐπιβουλεύοντα (38)

Their belief (according to the speaker) was that all people aim at this kind of power but that he was the best one able to achieve it (ibid.; cf. Xen.Hell 1.4.13f: see note on 6.2). The speaker goes so far as to say that people should feel all the more grateful to him : although he was the only man powerful enough to be accused of having this ambition, he aimed only to have the same political power as his fellows (ibid.).

Several references to Alcibiades and tyranny are found in Thucydides, who may have inspired the idea in some other sources :⁷

ὡς τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμοῦντε πολέμιοι καθέστασαν (16.15.4)
καὶ παντὰ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἐπὶ ξυνωμοσίᾳ ὀλιγαρχικῇ
καὶ τυραννικῇ πεπρωθῆαι
(6.60.1; the reference is to the Mysteries)⁸

timebatur---diligebatur : For a similar reaction to Alcibiades, see 5.1.

quibus---substituerent : Xenophon (Hell.1.5.16) mentions that Alcibiades was replaced by Conon, Diomedon, Leon, Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, Thrasyllus and Aristogenes.

Diodorus (13.74.1) gives the same list with two exceptions ; Lysias in place of Leon, and Thrasybulus in place of Thrasyllus. (See note on 5.3 on Diodorus' probable confusion of these two names.) In his account Conon is given first place, and it is he who takes over Alcibiades' command (ibid.) :

ἐκ δὲ τούτων προκρίνας Κόνωνα ταχέως ἐξέπεμψε
παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ ναύτικον παρὰ κληψόμενον

Plutarch says that the Athenians believed the criticisms made of Alcibiades and appointed other generals in his place (Alc.36.3):

οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πεισθέντες ἑτέρους εἴλοντο στρατηγοὺς,
ἐνδεικνύμενοι τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὀργὴν καὶ κακονοίαν.

Instead of giving precise details of Alcibiades' successors, he concentrates rather on emotional aspects of the event.⁹

7.3 : language :

maxime putamus : In several places Nepos claims to express a personal view :

- 1) when he describes his aims and methods : Prol.1.1f, Lys.2.1f, Epam.1.2, Pel.1.1, Att.13.6.
- 2) when he evaluates his sources : Them.9.1, Con.5.4.
- 3) when he wishes to express his opinion of a person : Thras.1.1, Reg.1.2, Att.12.4, or of an action : Ag.4.2, Cat.1.4, Att.14.1, 18.5.

In Att.13.7 Nepos refers to his own close friendship with Atticus to assure the readers of his accuracy on a particular point.

maxime : See note on 3.4.

nimiam : cf. Pel.3.1 (fiducia), Eum.8.2 (licentia).

ingenii : cf. Alc.11.3, Dion 1.2, 4.1, Epam.1.4, 5.2, Eum.1.3, Att.1.3.

virtutis : The frequency with which this word occurs can be linked with Nepos' emphasis on morality. In the Prologue he uses the word in the context of biographical writing :¹⁰

aut in eius virtutibus commemorari (1.1)

in Graiorum virtutibus exponendis (1.3 ;cf. Pel.1.1)

Other examples occur in : Milt.2.2, 4.5, 5.5, Them.1.1, 8.1, Paus.1.2, Cim.3.2, Lys.1.1, 1.2, Alc.1.1, 11.4, Thras.1.1, 1.3, Dion 6.2, Tim.1.1, Dat.2.1, Epam.1.4, 10.4,

Pel.1.1, Ag.4.2, 5.3, 8.1, Eum.1.1, 1.2, 1.4, 10.2, 11.5, 13.1, Timol.1.5, Reg.1.2, 1.4, 2.3, Ham.1.4, 1.5, Han.1.1, 1.2, 12.5, Cat.2.4.

timebatur---diligebatur : Compare Dion 9.5 (referring to Dion) :

miseranda vita, quisè metui quam amari malunt
Timoleon is represented as being in the opposite position :
maluit se diligi quam metui (Timol.3.4)

secunda fortuna : For the phrase cf. Milt.2.5. On fortuna, see notes on 2.1 and 9.1.

magnis : See note on 3.3.

opibus : See 7.5. : Nepos may be implying that since Alcibiades became wealthy, the Athenians' fears were justified. See also note on 5.3.

elatus : For the expression, see Milt.7.2, Paus.1.3, 2.2, Lys.1.3, Dion 7.3, 10.3. The word has a literal meaning in Paus.5.4, Eum.4.3, Att.22.4.

tyrannidem : The words tyrannis and tyrannus occur with such frequency in Nepos that tyranny could be regarded as one of the themes of the Lives : Milt.8.1, 8.3, Alc.10.1, Thras.1.2, 1.5, 2.2, 2.5, 2.7, 3.1, Dion 1.1,1.2, 1.3, 1.5, 3.2, 3.3, 4.2, 5.2, 5.3, 5.6, 7.3, 10.2, Tim.4.2, Epam.6.4, Pel.5.1, 5.2, 5.5, Timol.1.1, 1.3, 1.4, 2.3, 2.4, 3.3, Reg.2.2, 2.3. (Most of the references are to the Thirty Tyrants and to the Dionysii.)

concupisceret : cf. Lys.2.2, Con.5.1.

absenti : Nepos stresses the fact that so many things were done to Alcibiades in his absence : see 4.1, 4.2, 4.3.

magistratum : See note on 4.3.

7.4 : id---contulit : According to Xenophon (Hell.1.5.17), after the election of the ten generals Alcibiades took a trireme and sailed away to his own stronghold in the Chersonese :

λαβὼν τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον
εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τεῖχην

The other two accounts are fuller. Diodorus is the only other source besides Nepos to mention that Alcibiades went to Pactye :

μετὰ δὲ τριήρους μιᾶς εἰς Πακτύην τῆς Θράκης
ἔπεχώρησε (13.74.2)

Diodorus gives as the reasons for this move, the wrath of the people and Alcibiades' fear of being charged in court :

Χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ὀργῆς καὶ τῆς
ἐπενηνεγμένκης αὐτῷ δίκης εὐλαβεῖτο (ibid.)

It is in this context that he mentions the affair of Diomedes and the team at Olympia (see Isoc. De Big., Plut. Alc.12, [Andoc.] Contra Alc.25f). He concludes the passage by stressing again Alcibiades' fear of punishment (13.74.4) :

ταῦτα δὴ πάντα διανοούμενος ἔφοβεῖτο, μήποτε
καιρὸν λαβόντες Ἀθηναῖοι τιμωρίαν ἐπιθῶσι περὶ
πάντων ὧν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἔξιμαρτεν

Alcibiades, he says, condemned himself to exile :

αὐτὸς οὖν αὐτοῦ κατέγνω φυγὴν (ibid.)

Diodorus may have derived these details from rhetorical works such as the ones mentioned above : Isoc. De Big. is a possibility as the Diomedes affair is the setting for the speech. However its favourable portrayal of Alcibiades is not consistent with Diodorus' hostility at this point. A closer parallel can be found in Lysias Contra Alc.1 : Various offences supposedly committed by Alcibiades against the Athenians are listed, culminating in the claim that while Alcibiades promised that the Persian king would give them money, he himself embezzled over 200 talents (37). Lysias concludes (38) :

οὕτω πολλὰ ἐνόμιζεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἡμαρτηκέναι ὥστε --
-- φυγὴν αὐτοῦ καταγνοῦς καὶ Θράκης καὶ πάσης
πόλεως ἐβούλετο πολίτης γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ
τῆς πατρίδος εἶναι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ¹¹

Plutarch also stresses the wrath of the people (see note on 7.3) and Alcibiades' fear (Alc.36.3) :

ἃ δὲ πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ δεδοικῶς ἀπήλθεν
He mentions Alcibiades' earlier construction of a fortress in Thrace near Bisanthe and describes how his accusers charged him for having prepared this refuge- place (36.2).
ἐνεκάλουν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευήν,
ἃ κατασκεύασεν ἐν Θράκῃ περὶ Βισάνθην αὐτῷ καταφυγὴν ὡς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μὴ δυνάμενος βιοῦν ἢ μὴ βουλόμενος.

ibique --- Graiorum: Nepos is the only authority for the detail about the three fortresses. The only parallel to his account at this point is to be found in Plutarch, who mentions that Alcibiades gathered a force of mercenaries and fought his own war against those Thracians who were not ruled by kings (Alc.36.3) :

συνκαγῶν ξένους ἐπολέμει τοῖς ἄβασιλεύτοις
Θραξῶν ἰδίᾳ

(The silence of Xenophon and Diodorus is not surprising. Since they are writing general history, their main interest at this point is the finishing stages of the Peloponnesian War.) Plutarch says nothing about Alcibiades having been the first Greek to enter Thrace : Nepos' claim is far-fetched.

The word p̄raeda in Nepos can perhaps be linked with the detail in Plutarch that Alcibiades collected a lot of money from captives (ibid.):

καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα συνήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλισκομένων
He goes on to say that Alcibiades gave the Greeks on the frontier protection against the βάρβαροι (ibid.):
καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἅμκ τοῖς προσοικοῦσιν ἄδεικν
ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πκρεῖχεν

Nepos also writes here of Greeks and barbarians, but the point he makes is quite different. It is possible that in a source common to both Nepos and Plutarch there was some point made about Greeks and barbarians, which Nepos has adapted or even distorted so that he can introduce a rhetorical type of antithesis. For a similar contrast, see Con.3.4 :

potius barbarorum quam illius more fungar

(Illius refers to Athens : the context is Conon's reluctance to perform προσκυήσις to the Persian king)

7.4 : language :

primus--- : cf. Cha.4.2 : primus studet---intrare

gloriosus : For other examples of gloriosus see Milt.6.2, Ag.4.3, Timol.4.2, Att.12.5.

7.5 : qua---pepererat : The only other reference to Alcibiades' increase in prosperity is in Plut.Alc.36.3 (see note on 7.4).

Alcibiades' alliances with Thracian kings are not mentioned elsewhere. However it is not unlikely that he came to some agreement with them. Such a step would have been necessary in order to establish a secure position in Thrace, particularly since he had fallen into disfavour among the Spartans and Athenians.

7.5 : language :

fama : Others who win fama are : Lysander (Lys.1.1), Dion's ancestors (Dion.1.2) and Chabrias (Cha.1.3)
Themistocles devotes himself to fama (Them.1.3).
Timotheus is described as fighting de fama (Tim.4.3).
Phocion had a fama for integrity (Phoc.1.1) ; in Phoc.4.1, the crowd is said to have pitied him as they thought of his past fama . Mnemon had a fama for justice (Reg. 1.4). In Eum.3.4, Nepos says that the Macedonians had the same fama for valour as the Romans of his own day.

Elsewhere the term has the meaning "report, rumour" : Them.2.6, 10.4, Dat.3.1, 6.1, Ag.2.1, 8.3, Han.9.2.

opibus : See note on 7.3.

magnam : See note on 3.3.

amicitiam : See note on 5.3.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.1 : Neque---recedere : As both Nepos and Plutarch are more interested in the life of Alcibiades than in the general course of the war, their accounts of his life omit the period 407-5. But since the events of the period do have some bearing on the battle of Aegospotami, a summary of them is given below :

Shortly after Antiochus was defeated, Lysander's term of office as admiral expired and he was replaced by Callicratidas (Xen.Hell.1.6.2, Diod.13.76.2f, Plut. Lys.5.5). In all three accounts Callicratidas is praised in glowing terms.¹ He seems to have been in a difficult position : Lysander was resentful and stirred up ill-feeling against him (Xen.Hell.1.6.2f, Plut.Lys.5.5f) ; he was also unable to get money from Cyrus (Xen. Hell.1.6.6f, Plut.Lys.6.5f). Eventually he got money from Miletus and Chios (Xen.Hell.1.6.8f), and was able to seize Methymna (1.6.12f, Diod.13.76.).² He was then in a position to blockade Conon in Mytilene (Xen.Hell.1.6.18f, Diod.13.77.2f) ; later, while Callicratidas was directing operations at Arginusae, Eteonicus was put in charge of the blockade (Xen.Hell.1.6.26, Diod.13.100.5). Conon managed to send a message to Athens to appeal for help (Xen.Hell.1.6.19f), and Diomedon was sent out with a fleet (1.6.22). However, Callicratidas attacked and captured ten ships and Diomedon escaped with the only two remaining ones (1.6.23).

Athens' response to the news was to send out an expedition which eventually amounted to 150 ships (1.6.24). The fact that slaves were also enrolled is an indication of the seriousness of the crisis (ibid.):

Τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντας ἀπκντας καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους
There is perhaps a parallel in Diod.13.97 : The Athenians conferred citizenship on the metics and other aliens who were prepared to fight with them (cf.Justin 5.6).

The battle which took place in the Arginusae area was a victory for Athens (Xen.Hell.1.6.29f, Diod.13.97f). Xenophon and Diodorus both write that 25 Athenian ships were sunk (Xen.Hell.1.6.34, Diod.13.100.3) and their figures for the Spartan losses are consistent. According to Xenophon, 9 Spartan ships and over 60 allied ships were sunk, according to Diodorus, 77 Peloponnesian ships (ibid.). Callicratidas lost his life (Xen.Hell.1.6.33, Diod.13.99.3f, Plut.Lys.7.1) : In Xenophon, he falls overboard as his ship rams an enemy ship ; in Diodorus he is killed by a large number of Athenians who board his ship.³ In fear Eteonicus withdrew from Mytilene (Xen.Hell.1.6.36f, Diod.13.100.5f).

The Athenian victory was marred by the fact that the men on board the disabled vessels were not rescued. Of the generals who had taken part in the battle, two escaped and the six who returned were tried (Xen.Hell.1.7.1f, Diod.13.10.1f). Callixenus proposed that a single vote should be taken on the execution of all the generals, but Socrates pointed out the illegality of such a step (Xen. Hell.1.7.15, Mem.1.1.18, 4.4.2, Plato. Apol. 32B).⁴ Euryptolemus indicated that it would be illegal to put the men to death without allowing them the chance to defend themselves (Xen.Hell.1.7.16f). In spite of these objections, the men were executed (1.7.34).⁵ Later, however, the people regretted their decision and charged Callixenus. According to Xenophon, he managed to escape before the trial (1.7.35), but according to Diodorus (13.103.1f), he was imprisoned without being allowed to defend himself, but then escaped.

Philocles : Nepos says nothing about the presence of any other Athenian commanders at Aegospotami. According to Xenophon (Hell.1.7.1), after Arginusae the Athenians deposed all their generals with the exception of Conon, to whom they gave as colleagues Adimantus and Philocles :⁶

πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἴλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ τρίτον Φιλοκλέα

Shortly before Aegospotami, three additional generals were appointed : Menander, Tydeus and Cephisodotus (2.1.16).

In Diodorus' account, after the execution of the generals, the command of the fleet was given to Philocles. He was then sent to Samos with the instruction that he and Conon were to share control of the resources :

ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔταξαν Φιλοκλέα, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν
αὐτῷ παραδόντες ἐξέπεμψαν πρὸς Κόνωνα, προστάξαντες
κοινῶς ἀφηγεῖσθαι τῶν δυνάμεων (13.104.1)

Diodorus writes that on the day of the battle of Aegospotami, Philocles was in command :

Φιλοκλήης ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀφηγούμενος (13.106.1)

In Alc. 36.4 Plutarch writes of a group of generals in command at Aegospotami, which included Tydeus, Menander and Adimantus :

οἱ περὶ Τυδέα καὶ Μένανδρον καὶ Ἀδείμαντον στρατηγοί

In Lys. 9.5 he writes that the Athenians were commanded by several generals, including Philocles :

ἑστρατήγου δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄλλοι τε πλείους
καὶ Φιλοκλήης

Nepos' account is closest to Diodorus'.

The sudden, extensive changes in the Athenian command after Arginusae must have contributed to Athens' poor performance at Aegospotami. In his description of the battle in Lys. Plutarch attributes the undisciplined state of the army to the inexperience of its commanders:⁷

Πορρωτάτω τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν ἡγουμένων (Lys. 11.4)
ὄντες

nam-----suam : The sailing of the Athenian fleet to Aegospotami was a response to the activities of Lysander (see below). According to Xenophon, at the time of the

capture of Cedreiae the Athenians raided the Persian king's land, sailed against Chios and Ephesus and made preparations for battle (2.1.16). They pursued Lysander, but without success (2.1.17f). Then they anchored at Elaeus in the Chersonese and after hearing that Lysander had taken Lampascus, stopped at Sestos for provisions, and thereafter sailed to Aegospotami (2.1.20f).

Diodorus says simply that when the Athenians heard that Lysander was besieging Lampsacus, they set out with their ships, and on hearing that the town had fallen, stationed them at Aegospotami (13.105.1f).⁸

Plutarch, like Xenophon, mentions the intermediate stops at Elaeus and Sestos (Lys.9.4).

neque longe---Lacedaemoniorum : As in the case of Philocles, Nepos applies to Lysander the term praetor without explaining his official position.

Lysander's successor Callicratidas had died at Arginusae (see above). Eteonicus made himself unpopular at Chios : After putting down a mutiny, he ordered the Chians to provide him with money. His idea was that once the sailors had received their pay, they would not revolt (Xen.Hell.2.1.5) :

ὅπως οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτέρισωσίν τε
The Chians and the other allies then met at Ephesus and decided to send an embassy to Sparta to report what had happened and to ask Lysander to be given the command of the fleet (2.1.6). A similar request came from Cyrus (2.1.7). But since the law forbade reappointment to the office of admiral, Lysander was sent out as vice-admiral under Aracus :

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδωκαν τὸν Λύσανδρον ὡς
ἐπιστολέκ, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἄρακον (ibid.)

That is Xenophon's account.

Diodorus also mentions the request from the allies assembled at Ephesus, but the reasons given for the appointment are more general than in Xenophon :

Lysander was regarded as the best man :

οὗτος γὰρ ἔν τε τῷ τῆς ναυαρχίας χρόνῳ καταρθωκῶς ἦν
πολλὰ καὶ ἐδόκει δικέρειν στρατηγία τῶν ἄλλων (13.100.7)

In his account Lysander is sent as a private citizen :

τὸν δὲ Λύσανδρον ἰδιώτην αὐτῷ συνέξεπεμψεν (13.100.8)

His version of the relevant law is rather imprecise :

He says that the law did not permit them to send the same man twice and they were reluctant to break the tradition :

νόμον ἔχοντες δις τὸν αὐτὸν μὴ πέμπειν καὶ τὸ
πάτριον ἔθος μὴ θέλοντος καταλύειν (ibid.)⁹

In Plutarch's version the allies feel that their cause will gain greater momentum if Lysander is in command :

ὡς πολὺ προθυμότερον ἀντιληφόμενοι τῶν πραγμάτων
ἐκείνου στρατηγοῦντος (Lys.7.1)

Cyrus makes the same request (7.2). Plutarch's version of the law is similar to Xenophon's, and Lysander is sent out as vice-admiral. But Plutarch emphasises that in effect Lysander was the supreme commander:

τὸν δὲ Λύσανδρον ἐπιστολέα τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ
κύριον ἅπᾶντων ἐξέπεμψεν (ibid.)

qui---duceret : The dragging out of the war is more clearly explained in Xenophon and Plutarch. In Xen.Hell. 2.1.14 Cyrus warns Lysander not to fight with the Athenians unless he has far more ships than they have:

οὐκ εἶα ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, εἰ μὴ πολλῶν
πλείους ναῶς ἔχη (2.1.14)

However, Cyrus assures Lysander that he will provide enough money for many ships (see below).

According to Plutarch, Cyrus summons Lysander to Sardis (Lys.9.1) and begs him not to fight until his return ;

he promises to bring back ships from Phoenicia and Cilicia (9.2).

Of Lysander's campaigns shortly before Aegospotami, Xenophon writes that he captured Cedreiae, an Athenian ally (Hell.2.1.15), sailed to Rhodes, and then along the Ionian coast to the Hellespont in order to prevent ships (grain ships, presumably) from sailing out, and to take action against the cities which had revolted from Sparta (2.1.16f). Finally he reached Lampsacus (another Athenian ally) and captured it (2.1.18f).

The details in Diodorus' account are slightly different : Instead of Cedreiae, he mentions the taking of Iasus (13.104.7). He alludes in passing campaigns in Attica, but claims that Lysander achieved nothing of importance :

ἐπὶ τῆν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πολλοὺς τόπους πλεύσας μέγα μὲν
οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἴσιον μνήμης ἔπραξε (13.104.8)

Finally he mentions the seizing of Lampsacus and the permission given to the Athenians to leave under truce (ibid.).

Plutarch represents Lysander as being in a dilemma. His forces are such that he is not able to fight or to remain inactive :

Λύσανδρος δὲ μήτε ναυμαχεῖν ἰσχυρότερον πλήθει
δυνάμενος μήτε ἰσχυρὸς καθέζεσθαι μετὰ νεῶν
τοσοῦτων (Lys.9.2)

In his account, Lysander's achievements before Lampsacus are seen as more significant than Diodorus' account would suggest : Apart from landing in Attica (9.3), he also overran Aegina and Salamis (9.2).¹⁰ (The actual taking of Lampsacus is seen as a joint operation between his ships and Thorax's land forces (9.4).)

quod---suppeditabatur : The other sources confirm this detail. The impression given by Xenophon's account is that Lysander at this stage had some difficulty in getting money from Cyrus : Cyrus' initial response to the request was that all the money set aside by the Persian king had been spent :

τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα εἶη, καὶ
ἔτι πλείω πολλῶ (Hell.2.1.11)

However, Cyrus agreed to provide more (ibid.) . Cyrus apparently went on to assure Lysander that his father had plenty of money which could be spent on ships. Cyrus was generous enough to give Lysander tribute from the cities under his control (2.1.14).

In Diodorus' account Lysander receives from Cyrus a large sum of money (χρήματα πολλὰ) with which to maintain his troops, as well as authority over the cities under Cyrus' control and their tribute (13.104.3f).

Plutarch mentions Cyrus' dramatic words (also found in Xenophon) that if his father would not provide money and everything else failed, he was prepared to cut up his gold and silver throne (Lys.9.1; the story occurs at an earlier stage in Xenophon : Hell.1.5.3). During Cyrus' absence, Lysander was to have both the taxes and control of his cities (Lys.9.2).

Pausanias' remark (9.32.7) that Lysander so captivated Cyrus (ἡμερώσατο---οὕτω Κῦρον---) that he only had to ask for money and it flowed in swiftly and in plenty, sounds slightly ludicrous. It can be rejected in favour of the more sober account of Xenophon, who had personal experience of serving under Cyrus.

contra---super : Nepos' remark about lack of resources can perhaps be compared with that of Diodorus (13.105.2) that at Aegospotami the Athenians could no longer acquire sufficient supplies:

Diodorus later refers to the state of famine which forced Philocles to stop avoiding battle any longer :

τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον σιτοδεία κατεῖχε (13.106.1)

But he is referring more to the difficulties of getting enough provision for the men at Aegospotami than to the general exhaustion of Athens. However, the two factors were doubtless linked : the difficulties in getting provisions would have been aggravated by the fact that there were now fewer towns under Athenian control.

naves : According to the main sources, the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami numbered 180 (Xen.Hell.2.1.20, Diod.13.105.1, Plut.Lys.9.4). Paus. 9.32.7 gives the number as 100.

Nepos says very little about the events immediately preceding the battle : According to Xenophon and Plutarch, for four days the Athenians sailed out against the Spartans. Lysander would not fight, but sent out some ships to find out what the Athenians did when they disembarked (Xen.Hell.2.1.22f, Plut.Lys. 10.1f ; cf. Polyaeus 1.45.2). Diodorus says simply that when the Peloponnesians refused to fight the Athenians were not sure what to do (13.105.2).

8.1 : language

a caritate patriae : See note on 5.1. On Nepos' use of patria see note on 4.6.

praetor : See note on 3.2

8.2 : Alcibiades---Atheniensium : On the visit of Alcibiades to the Athenian army, Xenophon says that he could see their poor position from his castle, and that he gave them his advice :

Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τευχῶν --- οὐκ ἐν
καλῶ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὀρμεῖν (Hell.2.1.25)

Diodorus says simply that Alcibiades went to the Athenians and offered assistance :

Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντος καὶ λέγοντος (13.105.3)

Plutarch says that Alcibiades, who was nearby, could see the disorder and rode to the Athenians to give his advice :

ἔγγυς ὢν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης - - - ἀλλ' ἴππῳ προελθὼς
ἔδίδασκε (Alc.36.5)

In Lys. 10.4 he explains that Alcibiades was living in his fortress in the Chersonese :

ἔτύγχανε γὰρ περὶ Χερρόνησον ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
τείχεσι δικιτῶμενος

Nepos links Alcibiades' visit with a patriotic desire to help Athens (8.1 : Neque---recedere). The wording is reminiscent of 5.1 (pertimuerunt---ductus). On Alcibiades' "patriotism", see note on 4.6.

Nowhere else is Alcibiades' patriotism at this stage quite as explicitly mentioned as in Nepos. In one source (Lysias Contra Alc.1.38f) an opposite view of Alcibiades is presented. Lysias claims that the surrender of the Athenian fleet was his worst act of villainy. However, since there is no evidence that he actually handed over the fleet and since the whole speech is an attack on him, the view need not be taken seriously.¹¹

However, there is a parallel to Nepos in Diod.13.105.4, where Alcibiades hopes that if he renders a service to his country, he will be able to return :¹²

ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔπραττεν ἐπιθυμῶν δι'
ἑαυτοῦ τῇ πατρίδι μέγα τι κατεργάσασθαι καὶ διὰ
τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τὸν δῆμον ἀποκαταστήσαι εἰς
τὴν ἀρχαίαν εὐνοίαν.

In Plutarch's two accounts no particular motive is ascribed to Alcibiades; although from Plutarch's words one can infer Alcibiades' feeling of irritation at the lack of any coherent strategy. He seems to be more like an experienced general giving a lesson in

the art of war, than a patriot :

οὐ περιεῖδεν οὐδ' ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ---
--- ἐδίδασκε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς (Alc.36.5)

ἤτιᾶτο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς (Lys.10.4)

ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διδάσκοντος (Lys.10.5)

φράσας τὸ δέον καὶ διδάξας (Comp. of Alc. and Cor.2.4)

However in the last reference Plutarch writes of the goodwill (εὐγνωμόνησε) shown by Alcibiades at Aegospotami.¹³

In Xenophon's account, Alcibiades simply gives his advice (Hell.2.1.25f).¹⁴

ibique---coepit : See previous note.

In both Xenophon and Diodorus, Alcibiades addresses which refers to the Athenians in general (Hell.2.1.25, Diod. 13.105.3 : see previous note). Nepos is the only writer who refers specifically to Alcibiades as addressing the "rank and file" (vulgo). This is in keeping with his tendency to see him as if he were at the centre of a crowd (see 1.4, 3.4, 6.1, 11.1f).

si---petere : In Plut. Alc. 37.1 there is a slight parallel to Alcibiades' claim that he could force the Spartans to fight :

ἔλεγεν ὅτι μὴ προπηλακισθεῖς οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν
στρατηγῶν ὀλίγαις ἂν ἡμέραις ἠνάγκασε Λακεδαιμονίους
δικαυμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς ἄκοντες ἢ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολιπεῖν

But Alcibiades is here not so much promising to help the Athenians as simply saying what he would have done if the generals had listened to him : hindsight or "sour grapes", perhaps. Plutarch goes on to say that some people regarded this as boasting, but that others thought he could have achieved it (Alc.37.2 ; see note on 8.3).

Lacedaemonios---valerent : This remark can be linked with Cyrus' advice (in Xenophon's and Diodorus' accounts) that Lysander should not fight until his return (see above). However the point there was that the Athenians had more ships than the Spartans. Nepos' remark sounds like a generalisation which applied more to the past than the situation at Aegospotami.

8.2 : language :

plus : See note on 2.1.

valerent : See note on 1.2.

8.3 : sibi---compositurum : There is a fairly close parallel to this statement in Diod.13.105.3, in which Alcibiades promises aid from the Thracian king Medocus and Seuthes :

Μήδοκος καὶ Σεύθης οἱ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλεῖς εἶσιν
κῦτῶ φίλοι, καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν ὡμολόγησαν δώσειν,
ἐκὼν βούληται διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις

In Plut.Alc.37.2, those who accept Alcibiades' claim (see note on 8.2) do so in the belief that he has only to bring Thracian spearmen and cavalry to attack the Spartans' camp :¹⁵

εἰ Θρακῆς ἐκ γῆς ἐπαγαγῶν πολλοὺς ἄκοντιστάς καὶ ἑππείς
προσμάχοιτο καὶ διακράττοι τὸ στρατόπεδον κῦτῶν

8.3 : language :

facile : another word which Nepos uses often. The adjective and adverb occur in Milt.3.2, 6.1, Them.1.4, 7.4, Arist.3.1, Lys.3.2, Alc.9.1, 9.5, Con.3.1, Dion 5.3, 8.2, 9.5, Tim.4.2, Dat.4.3, 5.4, 6.4, Epam.2.2, 3.2, 3.4, 6.4, Ag.8.7, Eum.3.2, 4.2, 13.2, Phoc.1.3, Reg.2.2, Ham.3.1 Han.10.3, 10.6, 12.3, 13.4, Cat.3.2, Att.8.3, 16.4, 20.5, 21.2 (see note on 9.1).

8.4 : id---reum : Of the reaction to Alcibiades' words, Xenophon says that the generals, particularly Tydeus and Menander, ordered him off as he no longer had authority :

οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένκνδρος,
ἄπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν στρατηγοῖν,
οὐκ ἔκεινον. (Hell.2.1.26)

In Plut. Alc. 37.1 the generals are indifferent, and Tydeus orders Alcibiades off. The slight difference may suggest that Plutarch is using Xenophon rather carelessly :

οὐ προσεῖχον οἱ στρατηγοί· Τυδεὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς
ὔβριν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποχωρεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἔκεινον,
ἀλλ' ἑτέρους στρατηγοῖν

The same point is made in Lys. 10.5 :

ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διδάσκοντος οὐκ ἐπέειθοντο, Τυδεὺς
δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὔβριν ἀπεκρίνατο, φήσας οὐκ ἔκεινον,
ἀλλ' ἑτέρους στρατηγοῖν.

In Diodorus "the generals" order Alcibiades to go (13.105.4 : see table on page 143). Their reasons for dismissing him are similar to those of Philocles in Nepos' account.¹⁶ Verbal similarities suggest that the two authors have used a common source.

8.4 : language

animadvertibat : There are several examples of this word in Nepos : Arist.1.3, Tim.4.1, Dat.9.1, Epam.7.4, 9.3, Pel.5.4, Ag.2.5, 6.2 (twice).

unum : See note on 6.3.

Nepos

quod sentiebat se Alcibiade

contra ea, si quid adversi
accidisset, se unum eius
delicti futurum reum

recepto nullius momenti apud
exercitum futurum et, si quid
secundi evenisset, nullam in
ea re suam partem fore

Diodorus

οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοί, νομίσκντες

τῶν μὲν ἐλαττωμάτων ἑαυτοῖς
τὴν μέμψιν ἀκολουθήσειν,

τὰ δ' ἐπιτεύγματα προσάψειν
ἅπαντας Ἀλκιβιάδῃ,

ταχέως αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν ἀπιέναι καὶ
μηκέτι προσεγγίζειν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ.

8.5 : ab---exercitus : The advice Alcibiades gives in this account on his departure is similar to the advice he gives in Xenophon and Plutarch before he is told to go. However, Nepos does not mention the main reason for advising the Athenians to move: He suggested that they go to Sestos, where they would have the advantage of a harbour and easy access to provisions : These would enable them to fight whenever they wanted to :

ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσκει εἰς Σηστόν παρήκει πρὸς τε λιμένα
καὶ πρὸς πόλιν· οὐ ὄντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν
βούλησθε (Hell.2.1.25)

Xenophon himself also mentions the troops' lack of discipline (2.1.27 : see below), but he does not include it in Alcibiades' message, as Nepos does.

In Plutarch's account, Alcibiades mentions both the poor positioning of the Athenian forces and their lack of discipline : They have to get supplies from far-away Sestos and they allow their crews, once ashore, to wander about at will :

πόρρωθεν ἐκ Σηστοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια λαμβάνοντες, καὶ
περιορῶντες τὸ ναυτικόν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς γένηται,
πλανώμενον ὅποι τις θέλοι καὶ δικασπειρόμενον (Alc. 36.5)

cf. Lys.10.4:

ἔπειτα πόρρωθεν ἐκ Σηστοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
λαμβάνοντες ἀμαρτάνειν

In Lys. Alcibiades does not say anything directly about the Athenians' lack of discipline, but he remarks rather pointedly that the Spartans are under the firm control of one man :

τῶν πολεμίων ἐφορμούντων στρατεύματι μοναρχουμένῳ
καὶ πάντα πρὸς φόβον ὀξέως ἀπὸ συνθήματος
ὑπηρετοῦντι (Lys.10.5)

Nepos places great emphasis here on the Athenians' lack of discipline : neque---fefellit (8.6). So too in Lys. 1.2 he says that it was the main cause of Lysander's victory.

That Alcibiades should have understood and explained the problem so clearly sounds a little too good to be true : perhaps once again Nepos has overdramatised his account.

quondam---exercitus : For Plutarch's version of Alcibiades' words on his departure, see note on 8.3.

In his two accounts Plutarch mentions that Alcibiades suspected treachery amongst the generals. The exact nature of the treachery is not explained :

ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ὑπονόησας τι καὶ προδοσίας
ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆει (Alc.37.1)

ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀλκιβιάδης ὑποπτεύσας τι καὶ προδοσίας
ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπηλλάττετο (Lys.11.1)

8.5 : language :

patriae : See note on 4.6

periculum : Nepos' frequent use of this word may suggest a tendency to dramatise events. However, in fairness to him, one should remember that many of the situations he describes are military ones, in which periculum is naturally an important element: Milt.3.4, Them.3.3 (twice), 6.2, 9.3, Paus.3.5, Con.2.1, Dion.5.2, 8.2, 8.4, 8.5, Tim.4.3, Dat.2.5, 5.3, Epam.8.1, Pel.2.3, 4.3, Eum.8.2, Phoc.2.3, 2.4, Ham.2.1, Han.9.2, Att. 2.1, 4.4, 6.2, 7.3, 10.1, 10.2, 10.4, 12.2, 12.5.

immodestia militum : The only other example of immodestia occurs in Lys. 1.2 : immodestia---adversariorum. (The reference is to the Athenian troops at Aegospotami.)

occasio detur : For other examples of the expression, see Milt.3.3, Dion 4.1, Ham.1.2.

8.6 : neque---delevit : There is no reference in any of the other sources to Lysander's gaining information through scouts. However, a similar idea is found in most versions: Lysander sent out ships to find out the movements of the Athenians once they had landed :

Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τάχιστα τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκβῶσι, κατιδόντας ὅτι ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἔσκαγγεῖλαι (Xen.Hell.2.1.24)
δύο καὶ τρεῖς τριήρεις, ἃς ἔπεμψε κατασκόπους (Plut.Lys.10.3)
Λύσανδρος δὲ κατόπιν πέμπει δύο τριήρεις (Poly.1.45.2)

In Diodorus, however, Lysander learns of the situation within the Athenian forces through deserters (13.106.2):

ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος παρὰ τινῶν αὐτομόλων ταυτ' ἀκούσας
This does not necessarily contradict Nepos : scouts could have gained some of their information from deserters.

According to Xenophon and Plutarch, Lysander made his attack on the fifth day. The attack began when the commanders of the scout-ships, who were on their way back, hoisted a shield (Xen.Hell.2.1.27, Plut.Lys.11.1, Poly.1.45.2). The Athenians were taken unawares : Conon tried to get his men into their ships, but as they were scattered, he had little success :

αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον (Xen.Hell.2.1.27)
διεσκεδασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων (2.1.28)

Xenophon explains that the Athenians moved more freely each day because they were bringing provisions from a distance and because they scorned Lysander for not attacking them (2.1.27). The result was that many ships were not properly manned (2.1.28) :

αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, καὶ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί

The only ships to be properly manned were Conon's and seven others (2.1.29).

Plutarch stresses the suddenness of the attack (Alc.37.2) :

ἄφνω γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτως τοῦ Λυσάνδρου προσπέσοντος
and the desperate attempts by Conon to have the ships
manned :

Κόνων --- ἐξάφνης ἀνεβόησεν ἐμβάλλειν, καὶ περιπαθῶν
τῷ κακῷ τοὺς μὲν ἐκάλει, τῶν δ' ἔδειτο, τοὺς δὲ
ἠγκύκλιε πληροῦν τὰς τριήρεις. (Lys.11.3)

He then describes graphically the total disorganisation
of the Athenians : As soon as they disembarked, they
seemed to do everything but prepare for battle :

ὡς γὰρ ἐξέβησαν, εὐθύς, ἅτε μηδὲν προσδοκῶντες,
ἠγόραζον, ἐπλανῶντο περὶ τὴν χώραν, ἐκάθειδον ὑπὸ ταῖς
σκηναῖς ἠριστοποιοῦντο, πορρωτάτω τοῦ μέλλοντος..(11.4)

The Athenians' lack of preparedness is also emphasised
by Diodorus :

οὕτω δὲ τῶν τριήρων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πεπληρωμένων
θόρυβος κατεῖχεν ἅπαντας διὰ τὴν ἀπροσδόκητον
ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν πολεμίων. (13.106.3)

and by Polyaeus (1.45.2) :

οἱ μὲν ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλό τι ἔδρα γυμνοὶ πάντες.

Pausanias describes how Lysander waited for the moment
when the sailors dispersed to fetch water and provisions
(9.32.7):

εἶλεν αὐτῶν τὰς πλείους ἐσκεδασμένους ἐπὶ τε
ὔδωρ τοὺς νεύτας καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγορὰν φυλάξας

Nepos also emphasises the fact that the Athenians went
ashore for provisions and that the attack was unexpected.

The one source whose description of the battle is
conspicuously different from those of the others, is
Diodorus (13.106.1f) . Whereas in the other accounts
the Spartans start the attack while the Athenians are
ashore, in Diodorus the Athenians appear to take the
initiative :¹⁷

Philocles sets out with 30 ships, but is driven by Lysander towards the other (unmanned) ships. Diodorus' explanation of Philocles' action is that the enemy refused to fight and the Athenians were starving (13.106.1 : see note on 8.1). But he does not make it clear what Philocles was trying to do. One possibility is that the Athenians could not afford to delay fighting any longer. However, it would have been absurd to launch an attack by sea while most of the ships were unmanned. Another possibility is that Philocles and his force set out to find provisions rather than to attack the enemy. That being so, Diodorus' account would not be so radically different from the others. The main difference then would be that Diodorus views the battle as a type of amphibious operation: Lysander directed the sea forces and Eteonicus the land forces (13.106.4),¹⁸ whereas according to the other accounts the actual battle took place solely on land.

The main difference between Nepos' account and the others is that Conon does not feature in it. In Con.1.2 Nepos goes so far as to claim that he was not actually present and that this was the reason for the Athenian defeat :

sed tum afruit, eoque peius res administrata est
This is completely at variance with the other accounts, in which Conon escapes from the scene of battle and finds refuge with Evagoras of Cyprus (Xen.Hell.2.1.29, Diod. 13.106.6, Plut. Alc.37.2, Lys.11.5, Justin 5.6). Presumably the detail was an embarrassment to Nepos (or his source) : his Life of Conon is a very flattering portrait.

eoque---delevit : Nepos, Diodorus and Plutarch give more emphasis than Xenophon to Lysander's role in ending the war.¹⁹ With this statement compare Lys.1.1:

Atheniensis enim <in> Peloponnesios---bellum
gerentes confecisse apparet

Diodorus also refers to Lysander's prominence in
Sparta through his ending of the war (14.13.1):

περίβλεπτος ἦν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ. καταλύσας γὰρ
τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον---

In Plut. Alc.37.2f Lysander is seen as responsible
for both the victory at Aegospotami and the capture
of Athens. A closer parallel to Nepos' statement is
found in Lys.11.6f where the victory of Aegospotami is
seen as Lysander's magnificent ending of the war :

ἔργον ἐλαχίστῳ πόνῳ μέγιστον ἔξειργασμένος, καὶ
συνήρηκώς ὥρῃ μιᾷ χρόνου μήκιστον καὶ ποικιλώτατον
--- ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐβουλίας καὶ δεινότητι συνήρητο.
διὸ καὶ θεῖόν τινες ἠγήσαντο τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον.

The last remark, which is similar to one in Lysias'
Funeral Oration 58 about the possible causes of the
disaster at Aegospotami (εἴτε ἡγεμόνος κακία
εἴτε θεῶν δαυνοία), introduces a detailed
discussion on the portents which supposedly occurred at
the battle (Lys.12.1f, cf. Mor.397 Ef). In view of
the lengthy digression which follows, it may be a
pretext for Plutarch to display the extent of his
knowledge. He writes that some claimed that the
Dioscuri appeared, others that a huge stone fell from
the sky (cf. Pliny N.H.2.149f, who mentions that the
stone could be seen in his own time).

Soon after the battle Philocles was executed (Xen. Hell.
2.1.31, Diod.13.106.7, Plut. Lys.13.1f) : According
to Xenophon, the Spartan allies were angered by the
Athenian decision that if they won, they would cut
off the right hand of every captive, and by the fact

that Philocles had had the crews of an Andrian and a Corinthian ship thrown overboard. In Plut. Lys. 9.5, 13.1f it is claimed that Philocles persuaded the people to pass a decree by which each captive would have his right thumb removed. Plutarch gives a dramatic account of the dignity with which Philocles submitted to his execution. (According to Xen.Hell. 2.1.32 Adimantus was spared because he had opposed the decree.)

What became of the Athenian forces ? According to Xenophon and Plutarch they were executed (Xen.Hell. 2.1.32, Plut. Alc.37.2f, Lys.13.1f). Diodorus, however, says that most of them fled to Sestos and that Lysander allowed them to leave under truce (13.105.6,8). (In Xenophon's account, Lysander does this at Byzantium and Chalcedon (Hell.2.2.1, cf. Plut.Lys.13.2) : see note on 9.3.)

The news of the defeat came to Athens via the "Paralus", which had escaped from the battle (Xen.Hell.2.1.29). When her allies heard the news, they all revolted except for Samos (2.2.5f). The siege of Athens began. In Xenophon's account the land forces were led by the one king Pausanias (2.1.7f) - the role of the other king (Agis) is not made clear : it is simply mentioned that he was at Declea (2.2.7). In the other accounts, both Pausanias and Agis commanded the land forces (Diod.13.107.2, Plut. Lys.14.1). In the meantime, Lysander entered the Piraeus and started a naval blockade (Xen. Hell.2.2.9, 23f, Diod.13.107.2, Plut. Lys.14.3). The Athenians were forced by famine to sue for peace (Xen.Hell.2.2.11, Diod.13.107.4, Plut.Lys.13.8, 14.3, Mor.229Af, Justin 5.7f). The negotiations are treated in some detail by Xenophon (Hell.2.2.11f), who emphasises the part played by Theramenes (2.2.16f, cf. Lysias Contra Agor. 9f). Then, to the music of pipes, the Long Walls were pulled down (Xen.Hell.2.2.23f, Plut. Lys.15.4).²⁰

8.6 : language :

neque---fefellit : For the expression, cf. Dion 5.4, Ag.3.5, Eum.11.5,

inanes : Nepos' only use of the adjective.

totum : See note on 7.1.

CHAPTER NINE

9.1 : At---posse : There is a fairly close parallel to this statement in Plut. Alc.37.3. Plutarch writes that Alcibiades went to Bithynia :

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φοβηθεῖς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔρχοντάς
ἤδη καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς
Βιθυνίην μετέστη

That Alcibiades' fears were justified, is confirmed by the events described in Chapter 10. (On the details of Sparta's control of Greece, see note on 9.3.)

fortunam : In 2.1 Alcibiades is described as being favoured by fortuna, and in 7.3 the Athenians are said to be afraid of what his good fortune might inspire him to do. But here and in 9.4 he is dissatisfied with his fortuna. There may be a parallel to this idea in Plut.Alc.33.2 : Having returned to Athens after his exile, he blames τύχη and δαίμων for his sufferings :

Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἐκείθις αὐτοῦ τινὶ τύχῃ πονηρᾷ
καὶ φθονερῷ δαίμονι

However, Alcibiades or Plutarch is probably using a rhetorical commonplace. A more relevant point is the one made in 35.2 that Alcibiades' reputation for success ultimately harmed him : When he failed, people became suspicious of his motives (see note on 7.1f).

9.1 : language :

tuta arbitrans : This expression also occurs in Tim.4.3. For other examples of tutus, see note on 9.3.

arbitrans : There are several other examples of this verb in Nepos : Milt.5.4, Tim.3.3, Dat.11.1, Epam.1.1, 3.2, Pel.5.1, Ag.6.3, 8.5, Att.6.4, 8.3, 15.1.

facillime : This superlative adverb is also found in Milt.3.2, Epam.3.2, Eum.13.2, For the use of facilis with intellegi posse see Milt.6.1, Epam.2.2, Eum.2.2, 4.2 (cf. Han.13.4 : quo facilius---possit iudicari).

For other examples of facilis, see note on 8.3.

fortunam : This word seems to refer primarily to wealth in : Han.9.3, Att.2.3, 14.2, 19.2, 21.1, and to good luck here and in : Milt.2.5, 3.3, Cim.2.2, 4.2, Alc.2.1, 7.3, 9.4, Thras.1.1, 1.4, 1.5, Con.5.1, Dion 6.1, 9.2, Cha.3.3, Tim.3.4, 4.1, Dat.5.4, Pel.5.1, Ag.5.2, Eum.1.1, 6.5, Phoc.2.1, Timol.1.2, 2.2, Ham.4.1, Han.13.3, Att.3.3, 9.5, 10.1, 10.2, 10.5, 11.2, 11.6, 19.3. In Att.9.5 both the meanings wealth and good luck seem to be present. This may also be the case in Cim.4.2, Alc.9.4, Cha.3.3, Timol.2.2.

Nepos alludes to the fickleness of fortuna in Dion 6.1 and Tim.4.1, and possibly in Thras.1.4, Dion 6.2, Timol.1.2, Att.10.1, 10.2.

Some of the characters in Nepos are on the whole favoured by fortuna : Miltiades (Milt.2.5, ? 3.3), Pausanias (Paus.2.2 - felicitas), Cimon (Cim.2.2), Lysander (Lys.1.1), Hamilcar (Ham.4.1), Nepos (because he survives Atticus : Att.19.1) and Octavian (Att.19.3). Perhaps Alcibiades' name should be included here.

Others are treated unkindly by fortuna : Thrasybulus (Thras.1.1f), Dion (Dion 6.1f), Timotheus (Tim.4.1), Pelopidas (Pel.5.1) and Eumenes (Eum.1.1, 6.5).

Fortuna's treatment of Phocion and Timoleon is ambiguous : Phocion prospers until his downfall in his 80th year (Phoc.2.1f). Timoleon has to struggle against fortuna, but enjoys "incredible good fortune" (incredibili felicitate) in driving Dionysius out of Sicily (Timol.1.2, 2.1).

Nepos is especially interested in the way in which people use fortuna or felicitas : in particular he feels that they should not rely on it too much : Miltiades uses as much prudencia as felicitas (Milt.2.2).

Pausanias enjoys the benefits of felicitas, but then behaves arrogantly (Paus.2.2). Conon shows less wisdom in good fortune than in bad (Timol.1.2). Chares has too much faith in fortuna (Tim.3.4).

In Eum. and Att. Nepos makes some important generalisations : A man's greatness is measured by virtus rather than fortuna (Eum.1.1). People should create their own fortuna (Att.11.6, 19.1f) : As an example of someone who did just that, Nepos mentions Atticus.¹

9.2 : falso---potuerunt : The incident is also mentioned in Plut. Alc. 37.4 :

ἐν δὲ Βιθυνίᾳ πάλιν οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἰδίων ἀπολέσκει
καὶ περικοπείς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ Θρακῶν

Plutarch, like Nepos, also stresses the extent of the loss (37.3) :

πολλὰ μὲν ἄγων χρήματα πολλὰ δὲ κομίζων

However, his version is a little less dramatic as he mentions that Alcibiades had left an even larger amount in his fortress (ibid.) :

ἔτι δὲ πλείω κατακλιπῶν ἐν οἷς ὤκει τείχεσιν

9.2 : language :

magna : See note on 3.3.

9.3 : ille---Lacedaemoniorum : This statement about Sparta's control of the Greek world after Aegospotami can be compared with Diod.14.2.1 :

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ περιποιησάμενοι τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἀρχὴν ἀναμφισβήτητον

The process had actually started earlier, in 408, when Lysander, who was based at Ephesus, summoned representatives from the towns on the Asiatic coast and organised factions of his supporters. To these factions he promised power once the Athenians had been defeated (Diod.13.70.4, Plut.Lys. 5.3).

The details of Lysander's organisation of Greece after Aegospotami are found in Xenophon (Hell.2.2.1f) : First he gained control of Chalcedon and Byzantium. The Athenian garrison was allowed to return to Athens and Sthenelaus was installed as harmost (2.2.1, 2). Next he captured Lesbos, while the Thracian coast was secured by Eteonicus (2.2.5). Samos, the only ally of Athens which did not join the general revolt against her after Aegospotami (2.2.6), proved to be troublesome, but was eventually captured (2.3.6f).

The other sources describe in more general terms the system of placing each city under the control of a harmost and a board of ten (decarchy)(Diod. 14.10.1f, Nep.Lys.1:5,2.1, Plut.Lys.13.3f). Both Nepos and Plutarch emphasise that the decarchies usually consisted of Lysander's personal friends. Ill-feeling was caused by this tendency and by the exclusion of the opposition. (Nep.Lys.1.5, Plut.Lys.13.4). According to Plutarch (ibid., 19.3), there were also massacres in various cities.² As an example of Lysander's treachery, Nepos singles out the false promise of an amnesty which he gave to Thasos (Lys.2.1f, cf. Polyaeus 1.45.4). A similar incident is described by Plutarch, but set in Miletus (Lys.8.1f, 19.2f).³

According to Diodorus, the Spartans also aided the regime of Dionysius in Syracuse. Aristus was sent out "ostensibly to overthrow the government, but in actual fact to strengthen the tyranny" (14.10.2f).

Meanwhile, the Athenians were greatly distressed at their loss of power :

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν ἔφερον καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερηθέντες (Plut. Alc. 38.1)

Plutarch writes of how their feelings were combined with remorse for their treatment of Alcibiades : they hoped that as long as he was alive, their cause was not lost (Alc.38. 1, 2). Athens itself was controlled by the Thirty Tyrants,

whom Lysander supported (Xen.Hell.2.3.11f, Diod.14.2.1f, Plut. Alc.38.1), as well as by a Spartan garrison which the Thirty persuaded him to send, with Callibius as harmost (Xen.Hell.2.3.13f, Diod.14.4.4). According to Diodorus (ibid.), the Thirty won the support of Callibius by bribery. Various people were arrested and tried, including the moderate Theramenes (2.3.15f) who opposed Critias' policy of large-scale executions. After Theramenes' execution, Critias was able to assert a large measure of control over Athens (Xen.Hell.2.3.56, Diod.14.5.1f).⁴

ad---transiit : Diodorus' narrative suggests that Alcibiades was involved with Pharnabazus from as far back as 412 (13.37.4). However, Diodorus was probably confusing him with Tissaphernes (see note on 5.2).

The Spartans' involvement with Pharnabazus seems to date from 411. They were approached simultaneously by envoys from Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, both of whom independently had the same motive : to collect tribute for the Persian king and to gain credit for bringing about an alliance with Sparta (Thuc.8.5.4f, Plut.Alc.24.1). From 411, when the Spartans were becoming annoyed with Tissaphernes for not paying their troops, Pharnabazus gave them enthusiastic help (Thuc.8.99f) : for example, he was involved with them at Abydos (Xen.Hell.1.1.6, Diod.13.46.5f) and at Cyzicus (Xen.Hell.1.1.14f, Diod. 13.49.3f).

Alcibiades' first known contact with Pharnabazus was anything but friendly : He and the Athenians drove Pharnabazus from Abydos (Xen.Hell.1.2.16). Diodorus records that they raided his territory (13.64.4). Later (408), Alcibiades and the Athenians captured Chalcedon from the Spartan Hippocrates and Pharnabazus (Xen.Hell.1.3.5f). Shortly afterwards, during the siege of Byzantium, the Athenians came to an agreement with Pharnabazus. In return for their sparing Chalcedon, Pharnabazus would give them 20 talents and conduct their ambassadors to the Persian king, and Chalcedon would be

returned to Athens (Xen.Hell.1.3.9f). Plutarch mentions in addition the clause that Pharnabazus' land was not to be ravaged (Alc.31.1f). At the time Alcibiades was collecting money in the Hellespont and Chersonese (Xen.Hell.1.3.8). He and Pharnabazus each at first refused to take an oath to observe the agreement unless the other did so as well (Xen.Hell.1.3.11f). Eventually both agreed to do so (1.3.12). Pharnabazus set off with the Athenian ambassadors and on the way to the king met Cyrus and some Spartan ambassadors. Cyrus persuaded him to delay the mission (1.4.1-7).

Like Nepos, Plutarch also mentions that Alcibiades took refuge with Pharnabazus after being robbed (Alc.37.4). In Diodorus' account, he goes to Pharnabazus specifically to tell him of Cyrus' plot (see note on 9.5) .

quem---antecederet :

humanitate : This detail seems consistent with the description of Alcibiades in 1.3 : affabilis, blandus. (See notes on 1.3 and 5.3.).

amicitia :cf. 5.3 : in intimam amicitiam : the reference is to Alcibiades' friendship with Tissaphernes (see note there).

Alcibiades is in a rather similar predicament to Themistocles (see Nep.Them.9.1f, 10.1, Thuc.1.137f, Plut. Them.27f). Alcibiades' use of Pharnabazus as an intermediary between himself and the king (a notable feature of Plutarch's account-see below) is reminiscent of Themistocles' attitude to Artabanus in Plutarch's Them. Nepos does not directly compare Alcibiades and Themistocles, but comparisons are found in ancient authors : Plutarch (Alc.37.4) says that in offering his services to the king, Alcibiades wished to prove that he was just as capable as Themistocles. Another comparison is found in Aeschines Embassy 9.⁵ Athenaeus (12.535 E) writes of how Alcibiades learnt the Persian language just as Themistocles did. But the

two characters are also contrasted : In Plut.Alc.37.4 Alcibiades is made to contrast his own patriotism with Themistocles' hostility towards his own country (see note on 9.4). Perhaps there is also a contrast intended in Pliny's reference (N.H.34.12) to the erection of a statue to Alcibiades as the bravest Greek. If that is so, Alcibiades' prestige does not benefit from the comparison, because Pliny expresses surprise that anyone could have been thought braver than Themistocles.⁶

namque---capiebat : Plutarch writes simply that Alcibiades supported Pharnabazus and was honoured by him :

συνδιήγε θερραπέων ἄμα καὶ Τιμώμενος (Alc.37.4)

There is another instance of Grynium being offered as a gift : Gongylus the Eretrian receives it as a reward for supporting the Persian cause (Xen.Hell.3.1.6).

The gift of Grynium brings to mind the gift of Magnesia, Lampsacus and Myus to Themistocles (Nep.Them.10.3, Thuc. 1.138.5, Plut.Them.29.4f).

9.3 : language :

tutum : For tutus with locus, see 9.1, Them.8.4, Ag.6.3. The adverb tuto is used in Con.2.1, Epam.4.4, 4.5, Timol.2.2, and the phrase in tutum in Cha.4.3. For other examples of tutus see Milt.3.4, Them.8.3, Dion 7.1.

potentiam : For other examples of this word, see Milt.8.1, Paus.3.5, Alc.5.3, Dion 9.5, Tim.3.5, Pel.2.3, Cat.2.2, Att.12.1. Nepos more often uses the word potestas (see notes on 9.5).

humanitate : The term is also applied to Miltiades (Milt.8.4), Dion (Dion 1.4) and Atticus (Att.4.1, 16.1 : In each reference Nepos describes the effect of Atticus' humanitas on Sulla.). It is also applied to Athens (Att.3.3).

amicitia : See note on 5.3.

antecederet : See note on 11.4.

9.4 : qua---contentus : The idea that Alcibiades was dissatisfied with his lot is not found elsewhere, apart from the reference in Alc.33.2 (see note on 9.1). Nepos may be referring very obliquely to Alcibiades' greed (see note on 3.4). However the main emphasis in the sentence is on his patriotism.

neque---cogitatione : Here, as in 8.1, Nepos is eager to emphasise Alcibiades' patriotism. This is consistent with the picture that emerges from some of the other sources (see notes on 4.6, 6.1, 8.2). In Plut. Alc.37.4 he is made to emphasise his patriotism (see note on 9.3), but the point is not as strongly made as in Nepos. However in the next chapter, Plutarch mentions the view of the Athenians that if his means were sufficient, Alcibiades would not tolerate the arrogance of the Spartans or the insanity of the Thirty :

οὔτε νῦν, εἰ τὰ κκθ' ἑαυτὸν ἱκανῶς ἔχει,
περιόψεται Λακεδαιμονίους ὑβρίζοντας καὶ τοὺς
τριάκοντα πικρονοῦντας (Alc.38.2)

9.4 : language :

fortuna : See note on 9.1.

contentus : This word is also used in Ag.7.4, Ham.2.5, Att.6.4, 19.2.

patriam : See note on 4.6.

liberandam : Liberation is something of a theme in Nepos' Lives : hence the frequent use of this verb. It is used with patria in Thras.1.2, Pel.3.3, tota Graecia in Milt.6.3, Epam.5.6, Graecia in Milt.3.3, Them.5.3, Con.4.4, and civitas in Pel.2.2. For other examples of the verb, see: Them.9.3, Arist.2.1, Cim.2.1, Tim.1.3, Epam.7.2, Pel.1.3, 4.1, Phoc.2.3, Timol.1.1.

Libertas is also used with some frequency : Milt.3.6, 8.3, Paus.3.6, Alc.3.3, Thras.1.2, 2.1, 2.4, Dion 3.3, Epam.8.1, 8.4, Pel.3.3, Timol.1.3, 3.2, 5.2, 5.3.

Liberator occurs once and is linked with patria (Dion 10.2).

Liber occurs in Them.1.2, 7.4, Dion 7.3, Cha.3.3.

omni : See note on 2.1.

cogitatione : the only example of this word in Nepos.

- 9.5 : sed---potestatem : The Persian king referred to here is Artaxerxes (Mnemon), who succeeded to the throne on the death of Darius in 405 (Xen.Anab.1.1.1,3, Diod.13.108.1). In his brief sketch of him in Reg., Nepos mentions his reputation for justice (1.4).

Plutarch's account of the episode gives the impression that Alcibiades' main concern was to meet Artaxerxes : Pharnabazus was used simply as the means whereby he could make contact with the king (37.4). But in Nepos' account, Alcibiades forms a close friendship with Pharnabazus : if anyone is to be used, it is Artaxerxes, and the purpose Alcibiades has in mind is the liberation of Athens. This means that when Pharnabazus is ordered to put Alcibiades to death, he is in a great dilemma (see note on 10.3).

nam---videbat : No mention is made in Plutarch's account of Alcibiades' giving information to Artaxerxes about Cyrus. However Diodorus (citing Ephorus, 14.11.1) tells of how Alcibiades, when he had heard of Cyrus' intentions, went to Pharnabazus and told him the details of the plot. Alcibiades also asked to be taken to Artaxerxes, because he wanted to be the first to break the news of the plot (14.11.2) :

Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ διὰ τινῶν αἰσθόμενον τὴν Κύρου
προκίρεσιν ἔλθεῖν πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον καὶ περὶ
τούτων ἐξηγήσασθαι κατὰ μέρος, ἄξιῶσκι δὲ αὐτὸν
ἀναβάσεως ὁδηγὸν πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην.

Similarity of detail between Diodorus and Nepos suggests a common source (Ephorus ?), but the rest of Diodorus' account (which describes the death of Alcibiades) is quite different.⁷

Details of Cyrus' involvement with the Spartans are given by Xenophon and Diodorus : In 407 Cyrus was sent by Darius to rule over the coastal cities and to give support to the Spartans. One of his first services to them was to ensure that Pharnabazus prevented the Athenian envoys from reaching the king (Xen.Hell.1.4.3f, Diod.13.70.3, 14.12.8, 14.79.1 ; see note on 9.3). Cyrus proceeded to give considerable support to Lysander (Xen.Hell.1.5.1f, Diod.13.70.3). Lysander's successor Callicratidas was far less well treated (Xen.Hell.1.6.6f.)⁸ The Spartans in turn supported Cyrus when he asked for help in his campaign against Artaxerxes and sent a succession of commanders : Samius (Xen.Hell.3.1.1f, Samus in Diod.14.19.4f), Thibron (Xen.Hell.3.14 ; cf. Anab.7.6.1f).

9.5 : language

facile : See note on 8.3.

potestatem : See notes on 5.5, 9.3. There are other examples where this word has the meaning "opportunity" : Diod.2.5, Ag.2.2, Han.9.1, Att.11.1, 12.1. Elsewhere the word means "power" : Milt.1.4, 2.5, 3.2, 3.5, 4.1, 8.3, Paus.2.4, Cim.2.1, Lys.1.2, 1.4, 1.5, 2.1, 3.1, 3.5, Con.1.1, Dion 5.5, Dat.3.4, Pel.1.4, 5.1, Ag.3.6, Eum.2.2, 11.4, Phoc.1.2, Reg.1.2, Cat.2.3, Att.6.1.

magnam : See note on 3.3.

gratiam : See note on 5.1. The term is applied to : Conon's standing with Pharnabazus (Con.2.1), the reconciliation between Datames and Artaxerxes (Dat.8.5) and the fact that Atticus never had to be reconciled with his mother (Att.17.1). (In Them 10.2 Themistocles' promise to the Persian king is described as gratissimum.)

Two people in the Lives who appear to possess gratia as a quality are Antony (Att.12.2) and (not surprisingly) Atticus (Att.2.4, 6.2, 12.1) : Over the 77 years of his life, Atticus' gratia increases (Att.21.1). (The adjective gratus is also applied to him : Att.9.5.)

Gratia refers to thanks or repayment in Them.8.7, Eum.6.5, Timol.4.3, Han.7.2.

Gratia has the meaning "for the sake of" in Cim.4.1, Con.3.2, Dion 9.3, Han.7.6.

Gratus occurs in : Them.10.2 (see above), Epam.1.2, Han.7.3, Att.7.3, 9.5(see above), 11.5.

CHAPTER TEN

10.1,2 : Hoc---tradidisset : According to Xenophon, Alcibiades had been declared an exile, along with Thrasybulus and Anytus (Hell.2.3.42). Thereafter there is no further reference to him in Hell.

For background on Critias and the Thirty, see note on 9.3.

Plutarch, like Nepos, also represents Critias and the Thirty as the instigators of Alcibiades' death. Their action seems to be prompted by fears that he may return (Alc.38.3) :

ὅποτε καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα φροντίζειν ἔπειτα καὶ
διαπυθάνεσθαι καὶ λόγον ἔχειν πλεῖστον ὧν
ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττε καὶ διανοεῖτο

Plutarch has just described the hopes of the people (ὄνειροπολεῖν τοὺς πολλοὺς 38.3) that Alcibiades may rescue them from the present regime : Perhaps it was the awareness of Alcibiades that moved Critias and the Thirty to take action.

In Diodorus' (i.e. Ephorus' : 14.11.1f) account, Pharnabazus is seen as the main instigator of the deed. Alcibiades tells Pharnabazus about Cyrus' plot and asks to be taken to the king so that he can be the first to break the news (see note on 9.5). Pharnabazus does not provide escorts but sends his own men to break the news to the king. Alcibiades then sets out to the satrap of Paphlagonia to ask him for an escort. In the meantime, afraid that the king will find out what has happened, Pharnabazus sends assassins to kill Alcibiades on his journey (14.11.2f).

In Athenaeus, Pharnabazus is also seen as the man responsible for the death of Alcibiades :

ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου (13.574E)

In Nepos' account, a certain amount of prominence is also given to the role played by Lysander in Alcibiades' death. This is consistent with the account of Plutarch (see below) and with the remark at the beginning of Diodorus' account (just before he gives Ephorus' rather different version) that Pharnabazus had Alcibiades put to death, wishing to please the Spartans :¹

Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον συλλαβῶν ἀνεῖλε,
χαρίσασθαι βουλόμενος Λακεδαιμονίοις (14.11.1)

Plutarch also has an account of the dealings between the Thirty in Athens and Lysander (Alc.38. 3,4). His account is less dramatic than Nepos', and therefore perhaps nearer the truth. In both accounts, the Thirty stress the threat which Alcibiades poses to Athens, but in Plutarch this is made subordinate to the point that as long as Athens is a democracy, the Spartans will not have secure control of Greece. Lysander remains unmoved by their arguments until he receives instructions from the authorities in Sparta, who seem to take a more active part than Lysander himself : it is they, rather than Lysander, who are alarmed about Alcibiades.² However, in Nepos' account, Lysander is more personally involved : The threat that his achievements will be reduced to nought, immediately rouses him to action, which involves issuing a very direct threat to Pharnabazus. (Once again, Nepos may have sacrificed the truth to tell an exciting story.)

At the end of the Life, Plutarch gives an alternative version of the causes of Alcibiades' death (39.5) : According to some (unspecified) sources (ἐνίοις --- ὁμολογοῦσι),³ Alcibiades' death was caused not by Pharnabazus or Lysander or the Spartans, but by himself: He had seduced a well-born girl and it was her brothers who set fire to the house and killed him. As is often the case, Plutarch does not state a preference for either

version. If he does accept the second version, his intention is probably to stress the ὕβρις of Alcibiades :⁴

τοὺς δ' ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ γυναιίου τὴν ὕβριν οὐ
μετρίως φέροντας

10.1,2 : language :

tyranni : See note on 7.3

certos homines ---miserant : For the expression, cf. Eum.9.3.

ratum : See note on 4.4. Here the word means "established", a sense which it does not have elsewhere in Nepos.

accuratius : For the use of accuratus, see Lys.4.1, 4.2, Att.20.4.

10.3 : non---interficiendum : In Nepos' dramatic account, Pharnabazus has been placed in a particularly invidious position : He dare not refuse Lysander's request, and yet he has formed a close friendship with the man he has been told to kill. To appease his conscience, he gets Susamithres and Bagaesus to do the deed. Nothing more about them is said here, but Plutarch identifies Susamithras as Pharnabazus' uncle and Magaeus as his brother (Alc.39.1).

cum---compararet : Plutarch says nothing about Alcibiades' being on his way to the king. In Alc.37.4 we find Alcibiades staying with Pharnabazus. His request to be escorted to the king is mentioned, but nothing more is said about it. Then, without any explanation, we find him living in a village in Phrygia (39.1) :⁵

ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης
τότε δικάζομενος

In spite of differences of detail, Nepos' account at this point does have something in common with Diodorus' (14.11.3). In Diodorus' version, although Alcibiades' immediate aim is to reach the satrap of Paphlagonia,

he is in effect on his way to the king. The word iter in Nepos can be linked with κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν in Diodorus. As in Plutarch's account, Alcibiades is staying in a village in Phrygia (4.11.4):⁶

αὐτὸν τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν τινὶ κώμῃ κατεσκηνωκότα

10.3 : language :

clementiam : See note on 5.6.

opes : See note on 5.3.

interficiendum : cf.10.4, 10.6. Of Nepos' verbs to denote death, this is the one most frequently used : Arist.2.1, Thras.1.5, 4.4, Dion 6.5, 7.1, 8.3, Cha.4.3, Dat.1.2, 2.2, 2.3, 6.4, 9.1, 10.1, 11.5, Epam.6.2, Pel.1.4, 3.3, 5.5, Eum.2.5, 4.3, 5.1, 11.3, 12.2(twice), 13.1, Timol.1.4, 2.1, 2.2, Reg.3.4, Han.3.1, 5.3, 8.2, 10.4, 10.6, Att.2.1, 2.2.

10.4 : missi---interficiant : Again, Nepos may be writing an exciting story rather than accurate history : Throughout the chapter, one has the impression that the succession of people who are ordered to kill Alcibiades are afraid of confronting him directly. Finally Susamithres and Bagaesus commission the local inhabitants to do the actual killing.

In his account Plutarch does not make it clear who the actual killers are, but he mentions Alcibiades' dream about Magaeus and his followers :

τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μαγαῖον (Alc.39.2)

In Diodorus' account, Pharnabazus simply sends assassins :

ἐπαποστείλαι τοὺς ἀνελοῦντας (14.11.3)

illi---diffidebant : In Nepos, Diodorus and Plutarch, the attack is made at night : Alcibiades' dwelling-place is surrounded with fire, and then he is shot down (Alc.39.2f, Diod.14.11.4). Diodorus' account emphasises

that his death was caused by both fire and weapons :

κρατῆθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός καὶ τῶν εἰς
αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων τελευτήσκει (ibid.)

Nepos strongly emphasises the cowardice of the assassins. The same kind of emphasis, although not quite as strong, is found in Plutarch : They did not dare enter his dwelling-place (Alc.39.2):

οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν εἰσελθεῖν
and the very appearance of him caused them to scatter
(39.3) :

καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀφθεῖς διεσκέδασεν

10.4 : language :

interficiant : See note on 10.3.

superari : See note on 11.2.

10.5 : ille---transiit : Nepos' description is dramatically expressed : ut sonitu flammae est incitatus. The corresponding word in Plutarch is simply αἰσθόμενος (Alc.39.3).

In both Nepos' and Plutarch's accounts, Alcibiades draws a dagger. In Plutarch the weapon is presumably his own :

τῇ δεξιᾷ σπασάμενος τὸ ἐπιχειρίδιον (ibid.)

Additional details in Nepos have the effect of building up tension. The reader imagines Alcibiades' alarm as he discovers that his own weapon is not there. The reader is then surprised to find that he is able to use a weapon belonging to a friend. Although it is natural to assume that Alcibiades would have been accompanied by a bodyguard at this perilous stage of his life, Nepos' attempt to identify the "friend" nevertheless seems awkward and interrupts the flow of the description. (There is no mention of him in any of the other sources.)

The details about throwing clothes onto the flames is also found in Plutarch (Alc.39.3) :

τῶν μὲν ἱματίων τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τῶν στρωμάτων
συναγαγὼν ἐπέριψε τῷ πυρὶ

In his account too, the clothes enable Alcibiades to come safely through the flames :

ἔξέπεσεν ἀπαθῆς ὑπὸ πυρὸς πρὶν ἢ
διαφλέεσθαι τὰ ἱμάτια

(ibid.)

Justin (5.8) writes very dramatically that Alcibiades was burnt alive. In Nepos the idea is given some emphasis (particularly by the juxtaposition of vivum and interimendum), but it is no more than the intention of the assassins (see below).

10.5 : language :

familiaris : The word is used as a noun in Eum.2.1, Att.5.1, 8.3, 9.2, 9.3, and as an adjective or adverb in Ag.1.1 (Agesilaus, Xenophon), Eum.4.4 (Eumenes, Craterus), Phoc.4.3 (Phocion, Euphiletus), Att.5.3, 16.2 (Atticus, Cicero), 8.2 (Atticus, Brutus).

Familiaritas is used in : Epam.2.2 (Epaminondas, Lysis), Eum.1.4 (Eumenes, Philip), Att.9.3 (Atticus, Cicero), 10.1 (Atticus, Cicero, Brutus), 12.1 (Agrippa, Octavian), 13.7 (Atticus, Nepos), 19.2, 19.4 (Atticus, Octavian).

vim : For the meaning "violence", see note on 3.3.

For other examples with the meaning "force", see :

Milt.7.1, Them.3.7, Cim.2.3, Dion.10.1, Han.3.2, 11.4, Att.21.3 Here the singular form is used. The plural occurs in Alc.11.3, Thras.1.4, Dion 9.3, Epam.2.4, 5.2, Eum.11.5.

10.6 : quem---rettulerunt : There is no specific reference in Plutarch to the decapitation of Alcibiades, although there is an allusion to it in one of the accounts of the dream which he is supposed to have had (Alc.39.2) :

ἰδεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνοντάς --- καὶ τὸ σῶμα
καίόμενον

at---comparatum : Plutarch, who identifies the woman as Timandra (Alc.39.1f), says that she wrapped Alcibiades' body in her clothes ; he also stresses the magnificence of the funeral which she provided (39.4) :

Τοῖς αὐτῆς περιβαλοῦσα καὶ περικαλύψασα
χιτωνίσκοις, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐκήδευσε λαμπρῶς
καὶ φιλοτίμως

Nepos concentrates rather on the ironic fact that what was originally intended as the means of his death, became the means of his funeral (see below).

Athenaeus, in the section on Alcibiades' numerous, complicated affairs with women, writes that he was buried in Melissa by Theodote (13.574E).⁷

Valerius Maximus also has an account of a dream Alcibiades had about his death : his body was covered by his (unnamed) mistress' cloak, but left unburied (17.9).⁸

sic---supremum : According to Athen.13.574Df, there was a monument to Alcibiades in Melissa, which he claimed to have seen (εἶδομεν). He mentions the annual sacrifice there, ordered by Hadrian, who is also said to have put up a statue of him in Parian marble.

Alcibiades' age was about 47 (see note on 1.2). Here, as elsewhere, Nepos may be giving a convenient round number : He also mentions the ages attained by Agesilaus (80, Ag.8.2), Eumenes (45, Eum.13.1), Phocion (80, Phoc.2.1), Hannibal (70th year, Han.13.1), Cato (about 80, Cat.2.4), Atticus' mother (90, Att.17.1) and Atticus himself (77, Att.21.1).

In two of the Lives, Nepos quotes the last words spoken by the character (Epam.9.4, Att.21.5f).

In only one Life does Nepos describe the scene at the death-bed (Att.21.2f).⁹ Many of the other Lives are too short to warrant it. But the main difference is that in Att. Nepos is writing about a close personal friend : he may himself have been present at the scene he describes.

In several of the other Lives Nepos mentions or describes funerals : Them.10.3, 10.5, Paus.5.5, Dion 10.3, Ag.8.7, Eum.4.4, 13.4, Phoc.4.4, Timol.5.4, Att.17.1, 22.4. Emphasis of this kind brings to mind the relevance of death and funerals to the development of Roman biography.¹⁰ The irony of 10.6 has a parallel in Paus. 5.5 : Orders are given for the temple in which Pausanias has taken refuge, to be blocked up : it virtually becomes his tomb.

Some of the characters in Nepos are given fairly elaborate funerals: Dion (Dion 10.3), Craterus (Eum.4.4), Eumenes (Eum.13.4) and Timoleon (Timol.5.4). Others go to their rest more humbly : Themistocles (Them.10.5), Phocion (Phoc.4.4 : see below) ; Atticus' request for a simple ceremony is doubtless intended to be seen as a sign of his modesty (Att.22.4).

In a few of the Lives, as in 10.6, Nepos emphasises the role of friends or relations in arranging the funeral. Themistocles and Agesilaus are buried by their amici (Them.10.5, Ag.8.7). Craterus is buried by Eumenes, a former friend who became an enemy (Eum.4.4). Atticus' mother is buried by her son (Att.17.1). Phocion, on the other hand was so hated that he has to be buried by slaves (Phoc.4.4).

10.6 : language

interfecerunt : See note on 10.3.

mortuum : For Nepos' use of morior, see : Them.10.4, Paus.5.5, Cim.3.4, Iph.3.2, Epam.9.4, Ag.1.4 (twice), Eum.2.2, 13.4, Han.13.1.

interimendum : cf. Eum.6.3, Reg.1.5.

diem obiit supremum : For the expression, see: Milt.7.6, Dion 2.5, Timol.5.4, Reg.1.2, ; cf. diem obiit (Dion 10.3).

Nepos shows variety in his expressions for death :

acquiesco : Han.13.1

animam efflo : Paus.5.4

cado : Paus.1.2, Dat.1.2, 6.1, 8.2, Eum.4.1, 11.4, Reg.1.2, Cat.1.2.

caedo : Dat.6.4, Ag.5.2

concido : Dat.8.3, Epam.9.1, Pel.5.4

decedo : Arist. 3.2, 3.3, Ag.8.6, Eum.11.5, Timol.1.6, Reg.2.3, Att.2.1, 22.3.

exanimo : Epam.9.1

intereo : Milt.3.4 (twice), Paus.5.2, Dat.2.3, Reg.2.2, Ham.2.4, 4.3, Han.13.1

occido : Lys.3.4, Epam.9.1, Reg.2.1, 3.2, Ham.3.3, 4.2, Han.4.4, Att.8.1.

pereo : Con.5.4, Cha.4.1, 4.3, Reg.3.3

See also :

morbo consumptus : Reg.2.1

perfunctus laboribus : Han.13.1

vita privatus : Reg.3.4

Nepos uses the following nouns or phrases to denote death :

exitus : Phoc.4.3

exitus vitae : Eum.13.1

interitus : Epam.8.4, 10.4, Att. 11.2

letum : Reg.3.2, Att.22.2

mors : Them.10.4, Paus.5.4, Cim.4.4, Dion 10.2, Cha.4.2,
Tim.4.1, Dat.6.1, Epam.7.5, 8.3, Eum.3.1, Phoc.4.3,
Timol.1.6, Ham.3.3, Att.11.4

obitus : Tim.4.4, Reg.3.1, Han.3.1

occasus : Eum.13.3

CHAPTER ELEVEN

11.1 : Hunc---plerisque : With these words compare the comments in Athenaeus about the hostility of Plato, Antiphon and Antisthenes (11.506. Cf, 12.525 Cf, 5.219Bf). Most of the surviving sources present an unfavourable picture of Alcibiades : Many of the complimentary remarks about him are found in Isoc. De Big.¹ However, the degree of hostility in the sources may not actually be as great as at first appears. Some writers, especially Plutarch and Athenaeus, may take more pleasure in telling colourful anecdotes than in condemning him : It is significant that in the Comp. of Alc. and Cor., where Plutarch is not relating anecdotes, a fairly balanced picture of him emerges (see note on 8.2).

Even the hostility in [Plato] Alc.1, which probably reflects embarrassment about the fact that Socrates was closely involved with Alcibiades, is tempered by the awareness which Socrates seems to have of Alcibiades' potential (134 Bf, 135E). And in Plato's Symp. (219.Bf) Alcibiades does at least appreciate Socrates' worth. No doubt for Plato and the author of Alc.1, these were ways of defending Socrates (see note on 2.2). From their writings there emerges the view that there must have been something good about Alcibiades for Socrates to have been involved with him.

tres---consuerunt : Thucydides praises Alcibiades for his ability as a general (6.15.4), although the point is not fully developed, possibly through lack of revision (see note on 3.5). In 8.86.4f he places great emphasis on Alcibiades' service to Athens by his prevention of an immediate journey to the Piraeus, and on the fact that he was the only person capable of controlling the mob (see note on 5.4). However, Thucydides' attitude to Alcibiades

is by no means one of complete praise, as Nepos implies : It is possible that in 5.43.2f the emphasis placed on Alcibiades' ending of the peace suggests a degree of criticism by the author. In 6.15.2f and 6.28.2 there is a direct criticism of the extravagance and lawlessness of his private life. There lay the problem : Because of these faults, the control of Athens was entrusted to men who were incapable of doing the job (6.15.4). Either Nepos has used Thucydides carelessly, or he has not understood the subtlety of Thucydides' explanation, or possibly he has not read Thucydides directly, but knows of him at second hand.²

As their writings are lost, it is not possible to check the accuracy of what Nepos says of Theopompus' and Timaeus' attitude to Alcibiades.³

Nepos' description of these two writers as gravissimi is consistent with the praise of them in some other ancient authors : Theopompus is considered by Strabo (14.1.35) as having been among the ἐλλόγιμοι of Chios. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Ep. ad Cn.Pomp.6) praises him for his thoroughness and accuracy. Plutarch (Alc.32.3) links him with Ephorus and Xenophon and rejects Duris' extravagant description of Alcibiades' homecoming as there is no mention of the details in these three writers. Cicero admires his elevated style (Brut.66) and his lively personality (Brut.204).⁴

Timaeus is praised for his attention to chronology and the extent of his knowledge (Diod.5.1.3), and for his veracity -(21.17.1f). Cicero describes his style in very complimentary terms (De Orat.2.58, Brut.325).⁵

But ancient sources are also critical of the two historians : Theopompus is criticised for his inaccuracy (Polyb.16.12.6f, Diod.1.37.4, Plut. Them.31.2, Demosth.4.1), his over-ornate language (Plut. Ages.31.3, ? Dem.18.3) and the introduction

of fables into his writing (Cic. De Leg.1.5,⁶ Ael.V.H.3.18). Most of all he is criticised for his slander (Polyb.8.9.1f, Plut. Demosth.14.3, 21.2). In Lys.30.2 Plutarch remarks that Theopompus is more to be trusted when he praises than when he blames, as he takes so much pleasure in the latter :

ὥ μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦντι πιστεύσειεν ἄν τις ἢ
ψέγοντι, ψέγει γὰρ ἴδιον ἢ ἐπικνεῖ

Here Nepos is expressing a similar thought. Lucian (Historia 59) describes Theopompus as a prosecutor rather than a recorder of events :

ὡς κατηγορεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορεῖν τὰ πεπραγμένα

Similar criticisms are levelled at Timaeus. Polybius (his main critic) points out a tendency to be inaccurate (2.16.15, 12.3.1, 12.4, 12.7, 12.10.4, 12.25 ; cf. Diod.13.90.5f, Plut. Dion 31.2). There are numerous references to his slander, especially of Philistus and Agathocles (Polyb.8.10.12, 12.4f, 12.7, 12.8, 12.15, Diod.5.1.3, 13.40.6f, 21.17.1f, Plut. Dion 35.5, 36.1). Diodorus explains (21.17.1f) that Timaeus' slander of Agathocles was due to his bitterness at having been banished by him. Diodorus (5.1.3) also mentions Timaeus' nickname Ἐπιτίμκιος (cf. Athen.6.272B).⁷ Timaeus is also accused of the opposite fault - exaggerating a person's qualities - in his portrayal of Timoleon (Polyb.12.34.4). Other faults attributed to him are : innumerable descriptions of dreams and prodigies (Polyb.12.24.5), a general tendency to overdramatise (Plut. Nic.28.4),⁸ lack of vividness (Polyb.12.25^h), the use of irrelevant speeches (12.25^c), excessive use of paradox (12.26^{ef}), lack of first-hand experience (12.25^df, 12.25^ef, 12.27.1f) and a ridiculous ambition to rival Thucydides (Plut. Nic.1.1f).

Nepos' description of Theopompus and Timaeus as maledicentissimi seems to reflect a universally held and perhaps justified views of these two historians.

qui---natus : In Them.9.1 Nepos praises the value of Thucydides as a source, stressing the fact that he was closer than other writers to being a contemporary of Themistocles.

11.1 : language :

infamatum : the only example of this word in Nepos.

gravissimi : The adjective is applied to one other person : Epaminondas (Epam.3.1). It is also applied to : a wound (superlative, Dion 6.2), disease (Han.4.3), battle (Ag.4.5), punishment (comparative, Ag.4.8), civil disturbance (Att.10.6), a repugnant situation (Con.3.3, 3.4,). Gravitas is applied to the Spartans (Paus.4.3) and Atticus (Att.15.1 : his gravitas is balanced by felicitas).

historici : The term is applied to : Dinon (Con.5.4), Philistus (Dion 3.2) and historians in general (Pel.1.1). Nepos also uses the term auctor (Them.10.4) and scriptor (Epam.4.6, Ag.1.1). On expressions for recording history, see note on 1.1.

summis laudibus : cf.11.5. The expression is applied to Lysander (ironically, Lys.4.2) and Iphicrates' soldiers (Iph.2.4).

Maxima laus is used of Miltiades (Milt.8.4) and Agesilaus (Ag.4.6) . Praecipua laus is applied to the physical appearance of Artaxerxes Macrochir (Reg.1.4) and indirectly to Atticus (Att.10.6).

laudibus extulerunt : Laus is used with fero or a compound of fero in : Lys.4.2, Dion 7.3, Att.10.6. Laus and duco are used together in : Prol.1.4, Epam.1.2.

summis : The frequent use of summus reflects Nepos' tendency to exaggerate. The adjective is used in a variety of contexts :

For summus applied to biographical writing, see : Prol 1.1 : summorum virorum ; cf. clarorum virorum Att.18.3,4, referring to Atticus' works on genealogy. (The latter phrase may be an echo of Cato's Origines : see note on 5.1.)

Summus is applied to Alcibiades himself (imperator, Alc. 1.2), and to Cimon (viro, Prol.1.4), Agesilaus (ducem, Con. 2.3, Cha.1.2) and to Chabrias and other military leaders (Cha.1.1, Eum.13.1).

Summus is applied to the following features or qualities possessed by individuals : aequitas (Miltiades, Milt.2.2), humanitas (Miltiades, Milt.8.4), industria (Themistocles, Them.1.3), liberalitas (Cimon, Cim.2.1), genus (Alcibiades, Alc.2.1), fides (Agesilaus, Ag.2.4), religio (Agesilaus, Ag.4.7), suavitas (Atticus, Att.1.3).

Summus is applied to the following powers possessed by individuals : imperium (Lysander, Lys.1.5 ; Tissaphernes, Ag.2.3; Phocion, Phoc.2.4,) potestas (Theban sympathisers, Pel.1.4; Phocion, Phoc.1.2), magistratus (Phocion, Phoc.1.1).

Summus is also used with : caerimonia (Them.8.4), fastigium (Att.10.2), honor (Them.7.3), ignominia (Tim.4.1), imitator (Att.18.1), offensio (Att.7.2), paupertas (Phoc.1.3), periculum (Timol.5.2), Att.10.2), res (Eum.7.2, 9.2, 10.4), senectus (Att.5.1), timor (Att.10.5), virtus (Alc.11.4, Eum.1.3).

laudibus : The word is also applied to the following people : Dion (Dion 7.3), Timotheus (Tim.2.3), Pelopidas (Pel.4.1), Agesilaus (Ag.4.6), Timoleon (who hears his praises sounded, Timol.4.3), Cato (Cat.2.4), Cicero and Hortensius (who compete for it, Att.5.4), Atticus (Att.10.6). Other examples of laus : Prol.1.4, 1.5, Epam.1.2, 2.3, Timol.1.5.

aetatis : See note on 1.2.

maledicentissimi : Nepos' only example of this adjective.

uno : See note on 6.3

laudando : The verb is also applied to Miltiades (Milt.3.6), Agesilaus' troops (ironically, Ag.6.2) and Atticus (who does not do what others "praise", Att.9.7).

11.2 : namque---amplius : Nepos' language here is imprecise, and his meaning unclear. The words "ea---praedicarunt" seem to be a vague acknowledgement that he has used Thucydides, Theopompus and Timaeus as sources for this Life.

Strictly speaking, the words "atque hoc amplius" should mean that what follows is found in all three sources. If that is so, it is incorrect, for there is nothing like the above passage anywhere in Thucydides. The closest he comes to saying anything about Alcibiades' adaptability is to emphasise the contrast between his ability as a general and the recklessness of his private life (see note on 11.1). However, what Nepos probably means is this: "The following picture has emerged from a collection of details in Thucydides, Theopompus and Timaeus." We do not know enough about the latter two, but it is possible to determine how much may have come from Thucydides :

In his speech (6.12.2) Nicias stresses Alcibiades' desire to be admired :

ὅπως θαυμασθῆ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἵπποτροφίας

This can be linked with Nepos' words in 11.5 : "ut---
-admirarentur". Similarly Alcibiades' stress on his own prestige (in his speech 6.16.1f) can be linked with the prominence which Nepos claims he achieved : princeps
poneretur (11.6). But that is as far as it goes:
Thucydides could not be described as a main source for
this description.

Closer parallels to Nepos are found in other writers :
Plato (Gorgias 481A) mentions the changeable nature of
Alcibiades and describes philosophy as being less
changeable. Valerius Maximus (6.8.4) sees Alcibiades
as having had a dual nature : "quasiduae fortunae"
(cf.3.1.3 : see note on 1.1). Often Plutarch alludes
to the diverse nature of Alcibiades. In Nic.9.1 he
likenes it to the strong currents which flow towards good
and evil :

ἡ Ἀλκιβιάδου φύσις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω πολλὴ ῥυεῖσθαι
καὶ λαμπρὰ

At the beginning of Alc. Plutarch emphasises the varieties and inconsistencies which he showed, and he links them with the varied events of his life (2.1) :

τὸ δ' ἦθος αὐτοῦ πολλὰς μὲν ὕστερον, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν
πραγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ τύχαις πολυτρόποις, ἀνομοιοτήτας
πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπέδειξεν

Later he refers to the Athenians' confusion about

Alcibiades because of the inconsistency of his φύσις (16.6):

οὕτως ἄκριτος ἦν ἢ δόξα περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς
φύσεως ἀνωμαλίαν

He describes him as a chameleon (23.4, see note on 1.1).

In 23.5 he goes to some trouble to explain the paradox about his nature :⁹ It wasn't that his ἦθος actually changed, but when he saw that his φύσις was annoying the people he was with, he would assume more appropriate manners :¹⁰

οὐδὲ πᾶσιν δεχόμενος τῷ ἦθει μεταβολὴν, ἀλλ' ὅτι
τῇ φύσει χρώμενος ἐμέλλε λυπεῖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντάς, εἰς
πᾶν αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐκείνοις σχῆμα καὶ πλάσμα
κατεδύετο καὶ κατέφευγεν

Nepos' concluding sentence (11.6) is consistent with this portrait. Here, what he seems to be doing is to reproduce a commonplace :

Very similar descriptions are found in Plut. Alc.23.3f, Mor.52E, Athen.12.534Bf, Julian 1 Constant 13Bf. There are close verbal similarities between Athenaeus and Nepos (see below). Athenaeus gives his source as Satyrus : It is possible that Nepos used the latter, although there is no definite evidence. However, the word λέγεται in Athenaeus implies an earlier original.¹¹ Possibly Theopompus or Timaeus was the original source.

Alternatively either or both of them might have used an earlier version of this commonplace : Nepos might have used either or both for his version of it.¹²

cum---vitae : For Alcibiades in Athens, see 1.1f, 5.7f. The only other source to include his lifestyle in Athens in the description of his adaptability, is Plut. Mor.52E :

Ἀθήνησι μὲν σκώπτων καὶ ἵπποτροφῶν καὶ μετ'
εὐτραπελίας ζῶν καὶ χάριτος

Stress is laid here on the light-hearted, dazzling, charming side of Alcibiades. The dazzling quality is alluded to in Nepos' splendore ; however, the sombreness of dignitate conveys a rather different impression from Plutarch's account.

Plutarch explains that Alcibiades' generosity and all-round excellence led the Athenians to condone his wrongdoings (Alc.16.3). In the Comp. of Alc. and Cor.3.2 he writes of how because of his friendly manner and charm, he continued to be acceptable to the Athenians : there was even a certain charm about his transgressions :

καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἔνικα πολλάκις χάριν εἶχε
καὶ ὤραν

These details can be compared with the great admiration which Nepos describes Alcibiades as winning amongst the Persians (11.5).

splendidissima civitate : There are parallels to this favourable view of Athens elsewhere in Nepos :

Alc. 1.2 : amplissima civitate

Thras.2.1 : clarissimae civitatis

Att.3.3 : civitatem---quae antiquitate, humanitate, doctrinaque praestaret omnes unus ei fuit carissimus (His praise is also directed towards Atticus.)

There are parallels in other sources on Alcibiades :

Compare [Plato] Alc.1.104A :

οὕση μεγίστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων

Plutarch (Dem.1.1), writing of Alcibiades, claims that the first requirement for happiness is birth in a famous city. On the other hand, Fabius describes how Athens,

Elsewhere the verb refers to situations of physical or military conflict: Alc.10.4, Con.3.1, Epam.8.3, Ag.3.6, 4.3, Timol.2.4, Ham.1.3, Han.1.2, 10.4, 11.7.

vitae : See note on 1.3.

- 11.3 : postquam---inserviunt : On Alcibiades' ability to endure hardship, see note on 1.4. The reference to Thebes can be linked with the detail found in Nepos, but not in any other account, that Alcibiades went to Thebes before arriving in Sparta (see note on 4.4). Perhaps Nepos (or a source used by him) has invented this sojourn in Thebes in an attempt to make the events of Alcibiades' life consistent with the details in the commonplace about his versatility.

There is a slight parallel to Nepos' words in Plut. Alc.2.5 : the young Alcibiades scorns the inability of the Thebans to converse :

οὐ γὰρ ἴσασι διαλέγεσθαι

However, Nepos' words are close to Athenaeus' and the sense is the same : this suggests the use of a common source (see page 183).¹⁴ Athenaeus' wording reminds one of the exaggerated descriptions of Themistocles being more Persian than the Persians themselves (see Plut. Them.27f, Nep.Them.10.1).¹⁵

omnes---inserviunt : Again, Nepos writes in exaggerated terms. He makes the same kind of point about Thebes in Epam.5.2 :

plus inest virium quam ingenii

Other examples of the physical/mental contrast (a rhetorical commonplace) occur in Them.4.5, Ag.8.1, and Eum.4.2. However, in Iph.3.1, Epam.3.1 and Att.14.1 the two elements are combined, rather than contrasted.

Nepos
postquam inde expulsus
Thebas venerit, adeo
studiis eorum inservisse,
ut nemo eum labore
corporisque viribus
posset aequiperare

Athen.12.534B

ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ συνασκῶν
καὶ γυμναζόμενος
τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὐτῶν
μᾶλλον Βολώντιος

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εἶτα Ἀθηναίους (μιμησοῦσθαι)

11.3 : language

studiis : The word is applied to study, pursuits in :
Cat.3.2, Att.2.2, 12.3, and to eagerness, rivalry in :
Dat.4.1, Epam.2.5, Eum.2.3, Att.1.4, 16.4.

inservissee, inserviunt : the only examples of this word in
Nepos, but compare :

Alc.1.3 : temporibus callidissime serviens

Them.1.3 : diligentius amicis famaegue serviens

(a close parallel to the situation in Alc.11)

Epam.2.4 : non tam magnitudini virium servivit
quam velocitati

labore corporisque viribus : This detail is closely
related to the description of Alcibiades in 1.3 as
laboriosus. However, in the matter of mental labor
he is quite different (see 1.4).

Labor is also associated with Conon (Con.2.1), Timoleon
and his men (according to Timoleon's claim, Timol.5.2)
and Atticus (Att.12.3). Lack of labor is shown by
Iphicrates (Iph.3.2) and Phocion (Phoc.1.1).¹⁶
Other examples of the word occur in Them.4.4 and Han.13.1
(see note on expressions for death 10.6).

corporis : The word is applied to the physical appearance
of : Dion (Dion.1.2), Iphicrates (Iph.3.1), Thuys (Dat.3.1),
a man who resembles Datames (9.3), Epaminondas (Epam.3.1),
Agesilaus (Ag.8.1), Eumenes (Eum.11.5), Artaxerxes
Macrochir (Reg.1.4). (See note on 1.2.) The word also
refers to bodyguards : Dat.9.3, Eum.7.1. Other examples
occur in : Paus. 5.5, Iph.1.4, Eum.4.2.

viribus : See notes on 3.3 and 10.5.

omnes : See note on 2.1.

firmitati corporis : The same expression is used in
Epam.3.1.

ingenii acumini : This is the only example in Nepos of
acumen. On ingenium see note on 7.3.

11.4 : eundem---vinceret : For Alcibiades' stay in Sparta, see 4.5f.

See the synopsis on page 186: Nepos' version is again closest to Athenaeus'.

There is a reference to the Spartans in [Plato] Alc.1.122Cf : The traditional Spartan values are mentioned, but a different point is made : Socrates reminds Alcibiades that in the matter of wealth, the Spartans are superior to the Athenians (see notes on 11.5 and 1.2).

fuisse---antecessisse : For Alcibiades' stay in Thrace, see 9.1f. See synopsis on page 186 . All but one of the accounts allude to Thracian drinking. Once again, Nepos' account is close to that of Athenaeus. Nepos' reference to sex is not found in the other sources : perhaps he is trying to make his description more exciting to the reader.

11.4 : language :

moribus : Frequent use of this word is consistent with Nepos' interest in different customs : Pro1.1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5 (rather excessive repetition), Epam.1.1, 1.2. Other examples are found in : Them.7.3, Paus.3.1, 3.2, 3.4, Alc.2.2, 3.6, Thras.3.1, Con.3.2, 3.4, Cha.3.4, Dion 1.3, 3.1, Dat. 4.3, 10.1, Epam.1.4, Ag.1.2, Phoc.4.2, Ham.3.2, 3.3, Cat.3.5, Att.5.3, 6.2, 11.6, 14.2, 18.1, 19.1. (cf. consuetudo 11.5)

summa : See note on 11.1.

virtus : See note on 7.3.

patientia : Again, there is a close connection with the first chapter : See 1.3. The word is also applied to Eumenes (Eum.1.3) and Epaminondas (Epam.3.2, 7.1). On the other hand, Iphicrates lacks this quality (Iph.3.2).

duritiae: the only example of the word in Nepos. (Durus is applied to Cimon's youth (Cim.1.1).)

parsimonia: the only example in Nepos.

Nepos 11.4

eundem apud
Lacedaemonios,
quorum moribus
summa virtus in
patientia ponebatur,
sic duritia se
deditisse, ut
parsimonia victus
atque cultus omnes
Lacedaemonios
vinceret

fuisse apud Thracas,
homines vinolentos
rebusque veneriis
deditos: hos
quoque in his
rebus antecessisse

Plut. Mor. 52E

ἐν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνι
κείρομενος ἐν χρεῶ
καὶ τριβαινοφορῶν
καὶ ψυχρολουτῶν

ἐν δὲ Θράκη
πολεμῶν καὶ πίνων

Plut. Alc. 23.3f

23.3 τῇ διαίτῃ
λακωνίζων, ὥσθ'
ὄρωντας ἐν χρεῶ
κουριῶντα καὶ
ψυχρολουτοῦντα---

23.5 ἐν Σπάρτῃ
γυμναστικός,
εὐτελής, σκυθρωπός

ἐν Θράκῃ
μεθυστικός

Athen. 12.534B

ἐν Σπάρτῃ δὲ
καρτερίαν καὶ
ἀφέλειαν ἐπι-
τηδεύων ἐνίκᾳ
τοῦς Λακωνῆς

ὑπερῆρεν δὲ καὶ
τὴν τῶν Θρακῶν
ἄκρατοποίησιν

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ὥς καὶ μιμήσασθαι
πρῶτον μὲν τὴν
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
ἐγκράτειαν, ἐπειδὴ
Σπάρτιάτης
αὐτὸν ἐδεδώκει

καὶ Θράκῃς ὕστερον
(μιμήσασθαι)

Nepos 11.5

venisse ad Persas,
apud quos summa laus
esset fortiter venari,
luxuriose vivere:
horum sic imitatum
consuetudinem,
ut illi ipsi eum in
his maxime
admirarentur.

Plut. Mor. 52E

ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς
Τισσαφέρνην
ἠφίκετο, Τρυφῆ
καὶ ἄβρότητι
καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ
χρῶμενος

Plut. Alc. 23.5

ἐν Ἴωνίᾳ χλιδανός,
ἐπιτερπής, ῥέθυμος--
Τισσαφέρνη δὲ τῷ
σατράπῃ συνῶν
ὑπερέβαλεν ὄγκῳ
καὶ πολυτελείᾳ
τὴν Περσικὴν
μεγαλοπρέπειαν

Athen. 12.534B

ὅτε ἐν Ἴωνίᾳ
μὲν ὧν Ἴώνων
ἔφαινετο
Τρυφερώτερος

Julian 1 Constant. 13C

καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει
τὴν τῶν Περσῶν
Τρυφὴν
(μιμήσασθαι)

victus : See 1.3. The term is also applied to : Dion's son (who is unable to change from his former victus, Dion 5.4), Agesilaus (who does not change his victus, in spite of the honours which are lavished upon him, Ag.7.3) and Eumenes (who as a prisoner is deprived of his daily victus Eum.12.3).

cultus : The term is also used in : Paus.3.1 (Pausanias abandons his country's cultus), Dat.3.1 (Thuys is dressed regio cultu), Att.13.4 (cultus domesticus: the running of a house) and Att.14.2 (cotidiano cultu : Atticus'daily habits).

omnes---vinceret : The expression also occurs in Ag.4.5, Eum.1.3. In the latter reference, the verb refers to a general superiority : Eumenes excels all in cura. Elsewhere the word refers to military superiority : Ag.4.5 (Agesilaus), Ham.1.4 (Carthage), Han.3.3 (Hannibal) ; in three instances it is used with consilio to convey the idea of "outwitting" : Iph.1.2 (Iphicrates), Ag.3.5 (Agesilaus), Eum.10.1 (Eumenes).

vinolentos : cf. Pel.3.3.

veneriis : the only example of the word in Nepos.

antecessisse : See 9.3. There are several other examples of this word : Thras.4.3 (Thrasybulus), Epam.2.2 (Epaminondas), Eum.2.2 (Craterus and Antipater), Reg.2.1 (Philip and Alexander), Han.1.1 (Roman people).

Other ante-compounds used by Nepos are : anteo (Thras.1.3, Cha.4.1), antefero (Them.1.1, Epam.5.3, Ag.1.5, 4.6, Timol.1.3, 3.6), antepono (Epam.1.4, 2.2, Eum.1.3), antesto (Arist.1.2).

11.5 : venisse---admirarentur : Two of the other sources describe Alcibiades' ability as a rider amongst the Thessalians : Plut. Alc.23.5, Athen.12.534B.

For his contact with the Persians, see notes on 5.2f, 9.3f and the synopsis (page 187). (Because of similarity in theme, Plutarch's and Athenaeus' descriptions of Alcibiades in Ionia are included in the synopsis.)

All the accounts emphasise luxury. On this occasion Nepos' account is closest to Plut.Mor.52E.

Once again, an opposite kind of point is made in [Plato] Alc.1.122Cf : Alcibiades is told by Socrates that in birth and education he is inferior to the Persians (see note on 11.4).

None of the other accounts says anything (as Nepos does) about energetic hunting : again he seems to be making a contrived contrast.

The detail about Alcibiades being "admired" can be seen as part of Nepos' presentation of him as being at the focus of other people's attention : see notes on 1.2, 3.4, 3.5, 6.1, 8.2, 11.6.

11.5 : language :

summa laus : See note on 11.1.

fortiter venari : cf. fortissime pugnare (Thras.2.7, Cha.4.2, Epam.9.1).

Fortis (as an adjective or adverb) is applied to : Themistocles (Them.9.4 : He describes himself to Xerxes as fortem inimicum), Mardonius (Paus.1.2), Cimon (Cim.3.2) Critias (Thras.2.7), Conon (Con.4.3), Chabrias (Cha.4.2), Datames (Tim.4.5, Dat.7.1), Datames' father Camisares (Dat.1.1), Epaminondas' (Epam.3.1, 9.1), Pelopidas (Pel.7.3), the Macedonians and Romans (Eum.3.4), Eumenes (speaking of himself : Eum.11.5), Artaxerxes Macrochir (Reg.1.4), Dionysius (Reg.2.2), Hannibal (Han.13.1). (In Dat.7.1 and Epam.7.3 fortis is linked with strenuus.) Other examples occur in Thras.2.4, Dat.4.3.

Fortitudo is associated with Thrasybulus (Thras.2.6) and the Roman people (Han.1.1).

luxuriose : This word is applied to Alcibiades himself (1.4) and Pausanias (Paus.3.2). On the other hand, Dionysius is free of the vice (Reg.2.2) .

Luxuria is applied to Dion's son (Dion 6.2) and the Macedonian soldiers (Eum.8.3). Agesilaus, however, is conspicuously free of it (Ag.7.4). Phocion expresses horror at the possible luxuria of his children (Phoc.1.4). Cato, as censor, controls it (Cat.2.3).

consuetudinem : This word also occurs in Milt.8.2, Alc.4.1, Iph.2.2, Dat.5.4, Epam.1.2, 2.3, Eum.9.4, Han.12.4, Att.1.4, 12.3, 14.2. (See note on mos 11.4 .)

maxime : See note on 3.4.

admirarentur : Again there is a close parallel¹ with the first chapter : see 1.4.

Others who are admired are : Themistocles by the Persian king (Them.10.1), Dion by the Carthaginians (Dion 1.5) and by Plato (2.3), Agesilaus by those who knew his qualities (Ag.8.1). The verb also refers to Epaminondas' kindness (admirandum in modum : Epam.3.2) and to noteworthy events (Cat.3.4).

In two places the verb has a negative sense : Epam.6.3 : Epaminondas is amazed at the stupidity of the Athenian Callistratus ; Eum.12 : The soldiers wonder at the delay. (cf. perhaps Prol.1.3)

Admiratio is applied to Iphicrates' appearance (Iph.3.1) and admirabilis to Dion's success (Dion 5.3) and the fact that Agesilaus is unaffected by luxuria (Ag.7.3).

11.6 : quibus---carissimus : On Alcibiades' prestige as the foremost achiever, winner or leader, see note on 11.5. Here Nepos' word princeps can be compared with Diodorus' πρῶτος in his description of the qualities which made Alcibiades unsurpassed (13.37.2f). However, Diodorus is referring to Athens, whereas Nepos' application is more general. Compare Isocrates' remark in Busiris 5 that Alcibiades was better than all his contemporaries, and Plato's words in Rep.6.494B :

ἐν πασιῖν ὁ τοιοῦτος πρῶτος ἔσται ἐν ἅπασιν
which may refer to Alcibiades.

Yet in Thras.1.3 Nepos appears to view Alcibiades' prestige with a degree of cynicism : Thrasybulus often won victories without the help of Alcibiades, but Alcibiades never without his help. But by some inborn gift (naturali quodam bono), Alcibiades won the credit for everything. However, Nepos once again may have distorted both the truth and his own portrait of Alcibiades by making an exaggerated contrast : his overwhelmingly favourable view of Thrasybulus may account for this exaggeration. (Compare his treatment of Conon : See note on 8.6.)

The fact that Nepos ends what he has to say about Alcibiades with the word carissimus suggests that he wishes his readers' impression of him to be favourable :¹⁷ It is significant that carus is often applied to his beloved friend Atticus (see below).

11.6 : language :

princeps : For instances where this word refers to leading citizens, princes, generals and men of rank, see: Milt.3.1, Them.8.3, Cim.3.1, Cha.3.4, Dat.5.1, Epam.1.2, 5.4, Pel.1.4, 2.4, Han.2.6, 9.3, Att.3.1, 8.2, 8.3, 16.4, 19.2, 20.5. (In Att. 17.3 it refers to the foremost philosophers.)

In Eum.13.3 it has a negative sense (leaders in a crime).

The sense of "first, beginning" is found in : Thras.1.5, Ag.1.2, Ham.3.3, Att.8.3, (See note on primus 7.4.)

Principatus is used in connection with Cimon (Cim.2.1), Scipio (Cat.2.2) and Hortensius (Att.5.4). Various people compete for it : Aristides and Themistocles (Arist.1.1), Heraclides and Dion (Dion 6.3), the Athenians and Spartans (Them.6.3, Tim.2.2).

habereturque carissimus : For the other example of this expression, see Att.10.5 (Atticus' affection for Cicero) ; cf. Att.15.2 : habebat carius. Carus is also applied to Timotheus (Tim.4.2) and Atticus (1.4, 2.3, 3.3, 6.5, 16.2) : the last reference is to Cicero's affection for Atticus. Apart from 10.5, the superlative is also used in 2.3, 3.3.

sed---ordiamur : Again, Nepos is anxious not to be longwinded : see note on 2.3. His words here are similar to Han.13.4 :

sed nos tempus est huius libri facere finem et
Romanorum explicare imperatores----

Nepos ends the Life with an evaluation of Alcibiades' character (11.2f, esp.11.6). Compare : Milt.8.4, Paus.5.4, Cim.4.1f, Iph.3.1f, Tim.4.2f, Dat.11.5, Epam.10.4, Eum.13.2f, Ham.4.1, Han.13.1, Cat.3.1. Nepos may also be giving a type of final evaluation in Arist.3.2, Thras.4.1f, Dion 10.2, Timol.5.1. However, he more often makes such comments at the beginning of the Life (see note on 1.4).

Passages of this kind are not found in the Lives of Plutarch or Suetonius. In fact, many of Plutarch's Lives end abruptly, including Alc. However, Plutarch does attempt a kind of evaluation in the Comparisons. Suetonius may have thought that in view of his systematic approach to the different areas of the subject's life and character,¹⁸

there was no particular need for it. In any case he seems on the whole to have provided the information and left it to the reader to form his own opinion. As for Nepos, with the exception of Att., sheer brevity has led to the type of generalisations found at the beginning or end of many of the Lives.

NOTES ON CHAPTER ONE

1. One of the main difficulties is that the intervals between generations are too long. The ostraka published by Vanderpool (Hesperia 21 (1952), 1f) show that the grandfather of Alcibiades, also called Alcibiades, was the son of a Clinias, and that his ostracism belongs to the period after the Persian Wars, not to 485 (according to Aristotle Ath.Pol.22.6). The amended stemma is :

```
Alcibiades 1      (ally of Cleisthenes)
  |
Clinias 1         (who fought at Artemisium)
  |
Alcibiades 2      (ὁ Παλαιός - Plato Euthyd.275A)
  |
Clinias 2         (who was killed at Coroneia)
  |
Alcibiades 3
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For a full discussion, see Gomme's Commentary, 49, Davies Athenian Propertied Families, 9f, Vanderpool art.cit. and Hesperia 43 (1974), 190f .

2. pace McCarty CW 67 (1974), 388.
3. See Hatzfeld Alcibiade, 27f, 62f, Gomme's Commentary, 38f, Davies op.cit., 17f.
4. cf. Philostratus Apol.8.29 : The beauty of Apollonius in his old age was greater than the beauty of Alcibiades in his youth.
5. The wording is similar to Suet. Jul.45.1, Aug.79.2, Tib.68.1, Gaius 50.1, Nero 51, Galba 21, Otho 12.1, Vesp.20, Titus 3.1, Domit.18.1.
6. See Wardman CQ 17 N.S. (1967), 414f.
7. cf. Christodorus of Thebes in Egypt 82f.
8. This line is quoted in Plut. Alc.16.2 along with Frogs 1431-2.
9. In Brut.29 Cicero says that the best idea of the style of Alcibiades, Critias and Theramenes can be gained from the writings of Thucydides.
10. There is, however, a textual problem here.

11. Εἶτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης εἶπε πρὸς με τραυλίσκας
ὄλξος Θέωλον; τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει.
ὀρθῶς γε τοῦτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐτραύλισεν. (Wasps 44f)
(Because of Alcibiades' lisp, "crow" comes out as
"flatterer".)
12. As Russell (Plutarch 95f, 124) points out, versatility
is one of the characteristics of a flatterer.
13. The accumulation of pejorative terms in Paus. and Lys.
is consistent with Nepos' unfavourable treatment of
these two men : See McCarty art.cit., 388.
14. Many of the faults attributed to Alcibiades are
traditionally associated with the "tyrant figure" :
See note on 7.3.

NOTES ON CHAPTER TWO

1. See Thompson GRBS 11 (1970), 27f, who suggests that a statement in a common source may account for the mistakes of Diodorus and Nepos, to the effect that Pericles as a relative on the mother's side (μήτρως) acted as Alcibiades' guardian : Diodorus understood the word as "uncle" (cf. Gellius A.N. 15.17.1 avunculus) and Nepos confused it with μητρειός ("stepfather"). However, Nepos' use of dicitur may suggest that he inherited the actual mistake from an earlier source. (See also Davies op.cit., 18 n.1, Bicknell Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy, 77f.)
2. It is unlikely that Alc.1 is entirely the work of Plato : See Bluck CQ N.S. 3 (1953), 46f, who points out similarities between it and the early works of Aristotle. However, Clark (CQ N.S. 5 (1955), 231f) suggests that most of Alc.1 is the work of a pupil or follower of Plato, but that Plato himself wrote the final section.
3. The story "belongs to the mythology of the causes of the war." (Russell PCPhS N.S. 12 (1966), 41)
4. The group of anecdotes in Plutarch's account, to which this one belongs, illustrates τὸ φιλόνηκον καὶ φιλόπρωτον, an important element in Alcibiades' character. See Russell art.cit., 38 and note on 6.5.
5. See Burn CQ N.S. 4 (1954), 138f.
6. For a discussion on the wealth of this family, see Davies op.cit., 260f.
7. On the authorship of [Andoc.] Contra Alc. and the relationship of this work to Plutarch's Alc., see Raubitschek TAPhA 79 (1948), 191f, Burn art.cit., Russell art.cit., 41f.
8. It is possible that around 416 B.C. Alcibiades was having financial difficulties : his request for a further 10 talents may be linked with them See Hatzfeld op.cit., 136f, Davies op.cit., 19f.
9. On the subtlety with which Plato attempts to clear Socrates of any guilt which his association with Alcibiades might have brought him, see Henderson Alcibiades and the Ancient Historian, 6f. In Symp. Plato tries to stress the spiritual rather than the

physical side of Alcibiades' relationship with Socrates. Yet in view of various remarks in Gorg., Protag. and Alc.1 and the prevalence of pederasty in education in classical Greece, it is likely that the relationship was a physical one : See Littman TAPhA 101 (1970), 271f, Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, 50f. On the presentation of Socrates and Alcibiades in Symp. see Gagarin Phoenix 31 (1977), 22f.

10. On the two works De Alexandri Fortuna in Plutarch's Moralia see Hamilton Plutarch:Alexander : A Commentary, xxiiiif.
11. There are close verbal similarities between Plato Symp. 215Ef and Plut.Alc.6.1 : See Russell art.cit., 40.
12. This is similar to the recent reaction by Bloedow in Alcibiades Re-examined to the praise which Alcibiades has won from modern scholars for his ability.
13. See Littman art.cit. 263f.

NOTES ON CHAPTER THREE

1. For detailed discussions on Alcibiades' role in these events, see Hatzfeld op.cit., 91f, Gomme's Commentary, 48f, Seager CQ N.S. 26 (1976), 249f, Henderson op.cit., 9f. It seems at first strange that the Spartan delegation should have negotiated with Alcibiades, who was known to be opposed to the Peace of Nicias. However, Alcibiades made them an important offer : the restoration of Pylos (Thuc. 5.45.2. See Henderson op.cit., 10).
2. On the difference between the accounts in Nic. and Alc. see Russell art.cit., 44f, op.cit., 120f. In Alc., understandably, more prominence is given to the initiative of Alcibiades.
3. See Westlake Historia 9 (1960), 385f, Gomme's Commentary, ad loc.
4. See Gomme's Commentary, 220f.
5. An interesting feature of Alcibiades' speech is its reminiscences of some of the words and policies of Pericles : See Gomme JHS 71 (1951), 70f, Gomme's Commentary, 246.
6. For other references in which Carthage is linked with the Sicilian campaign, see Thuc.6.34.2, 6.90.2, Aristoph. Knights 1303f. See also Gomme's Commentary, 241.
7. See Westlake CQ 35 (1941), 58f, Individuals in Thucydides 171f, 219f. He describes the portrayal of Alcibiades throughout Thucydides' account as "strikingly personal" (259).
8. On the associations of ἔργω with Alcibiades in Plutarch's Alc., see note on 7.3.
9. In Nic.13.1 he describes how the seers employed by Alcibiades gave a favourable view of the forthcoming campaign. Compare the way in which Themistocles ensured that oracles and portents before the battle of Salamis were favourably interpreted (Herod.7.141, Plut.Them.10).
10. There was no difference in status between the generals. The tendency to represent generals in terms of subordination seems to have been a Hellenistic one : See Dover JHS 80 (1960), 73, Gomme's Commentary, 224.

11. For detailed discussion of the mutilation of the Hermae and the parodying of the Mysteries, see MacDowell Andokides on the Mysteries, Gomme's Commentary, 264f.
12. Bradley (The Sources of Cornelius Nepos : Selected Lives, passim) shows that Nepos made direct and extensive use of Ephorus.
13. See Dover CR N.S. 15 (1965), 247f, Gomme's Commentary 275f.
14. See Dover art.cit., 249.
15. Compare Alcibiades' view as expressed in Xen.Hell.1.4.13, that he was the victim of plotting by men who had less ability and who were motivated by personal gain.
16. Cf. 5.43.2 : see note on 1.2.
17. Their main fear was that he would aim at unconstitutional power (Τύραυυυις : 6.15.4, 6.53.3), In 6.29.3 his personal enemies are said to have been afraid of his popularity.
18. For various reasons, the main one being that Alcibiades achieved most of his military successes towards the end of the war, it seems likely that this passage was written after the war had ended. See Westlake CQ N.S.8 (1958), 102f, Andrewes Historia 10(1961), 7f, Gomme's Commentary, 242f.

NOTES ON CHAPTER FOUR

1. See note on 3.4.
2. For detailed commentary see MacDowell op.cit., ad loc.
3. It is not clear what the original purpose of the meeting was, but it was obviously not to accuse Alcibiades. (There are no references to such a meeting in the other accounts.)
4. Cases arising from εἰσαγγελίαι came before the βουλή or the ἐκκλησία, and the final decision was made by the ἐκκλησία or the law-courts : See Hignett A History of the Athenian Constitution, 200.
5. On Plutarch's extensive use of Thucydides for Alc. as well as for Them., Per., Nic., see Stadter in The Speeches in Thucydides, 109f.
6. See note on 4.3. It is possible that Thucydides is sceptical about Alcibiades' popularity amongst the Argives and Mantineans : their motives in fighting for Athens are mentioned in 6.69.3, 7.57.9. See de Romilly Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism, 197 note 5, Gomme's Commentary, 290.
7. Tacitus begins Agr. with the emphatic statement that virtus can triumph over invidia (1.1) : in the chapters that follow, Agricola's virtus is seen to do exactly that.
8. On the relevance of the digression on Harmodius and Aristogiton (Thuc.6.54-59) to the main narrative, see Gomme's Commentary 325f.
9. The contrast between the people's hostility to Alcibiades and their supposed "need" of him (19.3) is dramatic : Plutarch may be trying to emphasise their fickleness.
10. Cicero writes that although Eratosthenes showed that the tale was untrue, this was no reason to scorn Duris as a historian.
11. See Liebeschuetz Historia 17(1968), 289f, who argues that the capture of Syracuse was not part of the original strategy.
12. See note on 4.1.
13. Westlake almost does this in JHS 58 (1938), 31f. See note 15.

14. See M.L. 79 240f.
15. Plutarch should not be taken too literally here : he has used Alcibiades' arrival in Sparta as a suitable context for the introduction of the commonplace on his adaptability.
16. If, as Dr. Johnson is supposed to have said, "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel", Alcibiades appears here as a brilliant scoundrel.
17. This sentence begins with the words *τό τε φιλόπολι*
The repetition of this word reflects the emphasis Alcibiades places on his "patriotism". For a discussion of the speech, see Pusey HSPh 51 (1940), 215f.
18. It is difficult to determine how much of this was actually said, and how much is rhetorical elaboration by the author. However, it would be reasonable to suppose that Alcibiades would not wish to antagonise the *δῆμος* especially if he felt insecure about his return : see note on 6.1.
19. Brunt (REG 65(1952),71) rightly criticises the tendency to exaggerate Alcibiades' initiative (cf. Bloedow op.cit. 18f).
20. Compare Themistocles' words to the Persian king (Thuc. 1.137.4).
21. It seems puzzling that a year should have passed before the Spartans fortified Decelea. Wilamowitz (Hermes 60 (1925), 297f) suggests that Thucydides may have included in Alcibiades' speech advice which he actually gave later. However, there would have been good reasons for delaying : Sparta needed to be sure of her military superiority in Attica, and a great deal of material and effort would have been necessary to set up and maintain the *ἐπιτειχισμός* (See Adcock CR 21 (1947), 2f.)
22. Yet it would be wrong to have absolute faith in Thucydides : His account of the negotiations which led to the treaty may be incomplete. In fact from 4.50.3 to 8.5.4 the Persians are hardly mentioned, although there is evidence of their involvement in Greek affairs during this period. See Andrewes Historia 10 (1961),1f, who suggests that books 6 and 7 were written soon after the Sicilian campaign, before Thucydides was fully aware of the relevance of Persia to the war .
23. cf. Justin 5.1.

NOTES ON CHAPTER FIVE

1. Endius used "Alcibiades" as one of his names (ibid.).
2. Alcibiades' relationship with Endius is discussed in detail by Kebric (Historia 25 (1976), 249f, Mnemosyne 29 (1976), 72f). One of the main problems is to reconcile their close co-operation from 415/4 onwards with the fact that in 420 Alcibiades deceived the Spartan mission to Athens, of which Endius was a member (see Chapter 3 note 1). Kebric suggests that Endius worked together with Alcibiades in thwarting the mission. (The reconstruction is ingenious, but not conclusive.) On the other hand, Endius and Alcibiades may simply have buried their differences when Alcibiades came to Sparta in 415/4. (See Gomme's Commentary, 51f.)
3. See Westlake Individuals in Thucydides, (passim). In his view the increased interest in individuals shown in the second half of Thucydides' account is largely due to the impression made on him by the career of Alcibiades (319). In parts of book 8, the narrative seems almost to have been presented from Alcibiades' point of view : Brunt (REG 65 (1952), 59f) and Delebecque (Thucydides et Alcibiade, 195) go so far as to suggest that Thucydides may have had personal contact with Alcibiades towards the end of the war. However, there is no evidence that the two men ever met.
4. Alcibiades' association with Endius may have been linked with Agis' hostility to Alcibiades. See Kebric (Historia 25 (1976), 249f, Mnemosyne 29 (1976), 75f) on Endius' ambitions and his hostility to Agis. Westlake (JHS 58 (1938), 31f) reconstructs the events of 413f and suggests that Agis' hostility to Alcibiades arose over the failure of the joint operations in northern Greece. Again the problem is lack of reliable evidence : Westlake has attached too much importance to the commonplace on Alcibiades' adaptability (see Chapter 4 note 13). For further doubts about the existence of the "Northern Plan", see Hatzfeld op.cit., 214 note 1, Bloedow, op.cit., 21.
5. An absurd thing to say if it were true ! However the story may be intended as an illustration of Alcibiades' outrageous boldness (see note on 1.4).
6. Alcibiades is unlikely to have been the father of Leotychidas : see Littman Phoenix 23 (1969), 269f, TAPhA 101 (1970), 269.

7. αὐτῶν refers to the Spartans. Similarly, in his description of Alcibiades' arrival at the Piraeus, he emphasises the element of fear (see note on 6.1). Comments of this kind are useful in countering exaggerated views of Alcibiades' effect on others. Compare the different impression of his abilities as a public speaker in Plutarch with that in other accounts : see note on 1.2.
8. The same phrase, found also at the beginning of Tacitus' Agr., recalls the opening words of Cato's Origines (Cicero Planc.66 ; see Ogilvie and Richmond Corneli Taciti De Vita Agricolae, 126).
9. In Att.9.1, 16.4, prudentia is linked with divinatio.
10. Compare Alcibiades' role at Aegospotami : see note on 8.2.
11. Compare Justin 5.2, where Alcibiades' eloquence is given special emphasis. As in the other accounts, Alcibiades advises Tissaphernes to keep both the Athenians and the Spartans weak.
12. cf. Comp. of Alc. and Cor. 1.2f, [Plato] Alc.1 120B. See also Russell op.cit., 117f and note on 11.2.
13. cf. 8.64.5. On Thucydides' approval of Phrynichus' views, see Westlake Individuals in Thucydides, 242f. Compare perhaps Lysias (Contra Alc.1.36) who says that Alcibiades effected his return through deceit : ὅμως ἐξᾶπατήσας κατῆλθε.
14. In Thucydides' narrative Alcibiades seems at first sight to take the initiative in breaking off negotiations, although there is evidence in the account (esp.8.56.1) of his feelings of uncertainty : in reality he may have been forced to break off negotiations. See Westlake (JHS 76 (1956), 99f) on the shrewdness of Phrynichus and his partial success in thwarting Alcibiades.
15. See note 14.
16. Nepos' Thras. is not particularly helpful either. This very brief work concentrates on the period after the Peloponnesian War.
17. Westlake (CQ N.S. 8 (1958), 109 note 1, op.cit., 253 note 1) argues that Thucydides' meaning is that this was the first act of service in recent months rather than throughout the war (as suggested by Gomme JHS 71 (1951), 72). The problem is that Thucydides does not refer here to any particular period.

There is a great difference between this passage and Justin 5.3, where Alcibiades actually threatens to march on Athens.

18. See note on 6.3.
19. σπουδῆ πᾶντι (8.89.2). For other instances where Thucydides seems to express a personal view, see notes on 5.3, 5.4, and note 20.
20. Thucydides views the new regime favourably as it provided for a reasonable combination of the two different systems :

μετρία γὰρ ἦ τε ἔς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς
ἑὺκράσις ἐγένετο (8.97.2)
21. Grote (A History of Greece vol.7, 364f) accepts the story and suggests that the aim of this mission was "to sound the temper" of Athens. What was Endius' position at this stage? That would depend on the vexed question of re-election to the ephorate. The view of A.H.M. Jones (Sparta, 26) and Westlake (GRBS 17 (1976), 343f) is that ephors could not be re-elected.
22. Thereafter, according to Xen.Hell.1.1.9f and Plut. Alc. 27.5f, Alcibiades went to Tissaphernes, who imprisoned him. He escaped 30 days later.
23. Bloedow (op.cit., 55) points out that it is "erroneous to speak of Cyzicus as Alcibiades' naval victory" (my emphasis) : Alcibiades shared the credit with Thrasybulus and Theramenes.
24. Nepos' use of alliteration and assonance is so frequent and at times so extravagant that it must be to some extent deliberate. (See Norden Die Antieke Kunstprosa, 207f, Goodyear The Annals of Tacitus vol.1, 337, note 3.) It is uncertain what effects he intends to create : nowhere have I found any obvious examples where "sound echoes sense". (The significance of the device is in any case a controversial matter.) He may be doing little more than to attract the attention of the reader while at the same time indulging in a personal taste for the repetition of sounds. Jenkinson (in Latin Biography, 13) describes his love of alliteration as "almost childish".
25. Plutarch (Mor.345D writes of Alcibiades' "spirited adventures" (νεανιεύματα) in the Hellespont.

26. There was a long period (spring 410 to winter 409/9) when Alcibiades and his colleagues appear to have done nothing in the Hellespont. The suggestion by Hatzfeld op.cit., 277f) that Alcibiades was in Thrace does not fully solve the problem : see the solution offered by Andrewes (JHS 73 (1953), 2f) : Alcibiades, Theramenes and perhaps Thrasybulus were not included among the new generals. However the business of replacing these men would have been difficult : Alcibiades and Thrasybulus had been chosen by the fleet and Theramenes was enjoying prestige from the victory at Cyzicus. In the event, the democrats in Athens neither recalled them nor sent them reinforcements. In the meantime, in an attempt to improve their own position and prestige, the democrats organised an expedition to Ionia under Thrasyllus.
27. However, the possible rivalry between the generals of the Hellespont campaign and the democrats may also account for the tensions between the two groups of soldiers (see previous note).

NOTES ON CHAPTER SIX

1. See note on Alcibiades' "patriotism" (4.6). Plutarch also mentions the possibility that his motives in supporting Tissaphernes may have been patriotic :

εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία μὴ φθαρῆναι τῆς Ἀθήνας παντάπασιν
ποθῶν κατελθεῖν ἔθεράπευε (Comp. of Alc. and Cor. 2.7)

Plutarch's narrative at this point also reflects the love of honour (φιλοτιμία) which he sees as an important part of Alcibiades' character : see note on 6.5.

2. On the identification of Euryptolemus, see Thompson TAPhA 100 (1969), 583f.
3. Xenophon is cited earlier in the sentence.
4. On the cautiousness of Alcibiades when he returned to Athens, see Bloedow op. cit., 67f.
5. Compare the association of universus with the Britons throughout Tacitus' Agr.
6. Westlake (Essays on Greek Historians and Greek History, 225) points out Xenophon's failure throughout Hellenica to recognise an individual's ability. This passage he sees as something of an exception. However Xenophon may be doing little more than quoting a generally accepted view of Alcibiades : there is no clear indication that he held this view himself. (On the other hand, Bloedow op.cit., passim) argues that Alcibiades' ability has tended to be exaggerated : cf. Chapter 2 note 12.)
7. The same may also be true of his account of the debate which followed Arginusae (1.7.1f) and the clash between Agesilaus and Lysander (3.3.3f). (See Westlake op.cit., 221.)
8. A link could be made between this passage and the problematic Thuc.2.65.11, where the Athenian defeat in Sicily is attributed largely to the Athenians' failure because of their personal disputes, to give proper support to the expedition. (See Gomme JHS 71 (1951), 70f, Westlake CQ N.S. 8 (1958), 102f.)
9. Compare the view in Plut.Mor.349E that Athens, suffering because of the disaster in Sicily, was revived by Alcibiades' victories.

10. cf. φιλοδοξία (Alc.6.3), τὸ φιλόνεικον (2.1 ; cf. φιλόνηκος Plato Protag.336D), τὸ φιλόπρωτον (2.1). (See Russell PCPhS N.S. 12 (1966), 38f.)
11. In the account of this episode "we see Alcibiades once more master of the myth" (Bloedow op.cit., 71).
12. The difference between biography and history is also emphasised in Polybius 8.10, 10.21, Tacitus Agr.3.3, Plut. Alex.1.1.
13. Jenkinson (in Latin Biography, 11) writes : "[Nepos] is at his best when he expresses himself in the short, simple sentences which are most appropriate to his unpretentious subject-matter." This passage is quoted as an illustration.
14. Duris : 15.60.6, 21.6.1-2.
Theopompus : 1.37.4, 4.1.3, 7.17.1, 13.42.5, 14.84.7, 16.3.8, 16.71.3.
Ephorus : 1.9.5, 1.37.4, 1.39.7f, 4.1.3, 5.1.4, 5.64.4, 12.41.1, 13.41.3, 13.54.5, 13.60.5, 13.80.5, 14.11.1-4, 14.22.2, 14.54.5, 15.60.5, 16.14.3, 16.76.5.
15. See note on 11.2 and Connor Theopompus and Fifth Century History, 26.

NOTES ON CHAPTER SEVEN

1. The Florence Papyrus is remarkable for its close agreement with Diodorus : See Bruce An Historical Commentary on the "Hellenica Oxyrhynchia", 21,35f. There is no evidence that the Oxyrhynchus historian had any direct influence on Nepos, Diodorus or Plutarch, but he may have influenced them indirectly, especially Diodorus (Bruce, 21, passim).
2. ὧν τῇ φύσει πρόχειρος καὶ σπυεύδων δι' ἑαυτοῦ
τι πρᾶξι λαμπρόν (13.71.2).
3. This story is surely a distortion of the truth and typical of many of the slanderous stories about Alcibiades : see for example Athen. 12.525Bf, Lysias Contra Alc.1.38f : see note on 8.2 and Littman TAPhA 101 (1970), 264f.
4. See note on 5.5 for the way in which the context of a story varies from one source to another. In Alc., as in other Lives, Plutarch often uses anecdotes to suit his own biographical purpose : see Russell PCPhS N.S. 12 (1966), 39, Plutarch 118f.
5. There may have been fewer sources available for the Roman Lives. Also Plutarch may not have had enough facility in Latin to make full use of the available material : he himself admits that he learnt Latin at a late stage and did not acquire an absolute mastery of the language (Dem.2). See Rose The Roman Questions of Plutarch, 11f, Russell JRS 53 (1963), 21f, C.P. Jones Plutarch and Rome, 81f.
6. Perhaps the stories of his amorous escapades inspired people to view him in this way.
7. However, many of the remarks found in the sources about Alcibiades' supposed desire to be tyrant are rhetorical commonplaces, and several of the terms associated with Alcibiades (e.g. βίαιος, ὑβρῆς) are traditionally associated with tyrants : See Seager Historia 17 (1967), 6f. Domitian suffered a similar fate at the hands of Tacitus : See Dunkle CW 65 (1971), 12f.
8. cf. 6.28.2, 6.53.3, 8.47.2.

9. Again, this kind of sensationalism is typical of biographical writing.
10. Compare the frequency with which virtus occurs in Tacitus' Agr. In 1.1 the term is linked with his biographical purpose.
11. The description is, needless to say, distorted. Throughout the speech Lysias tries to discredit the younger Alcibiades by emphasising the "crimes" of his father.

NOTES ON CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Callicratidas, like Hermocrates (Xen.Hell.1.1.27f) represents Xenophon's ideal of the "patriotic gentleman" : Anderson Xenophon, 65,70.
2. Diodorus also mentions the seizing of Delphinium in Chios and the plundering of Teos (ibid.).
3. Again Xenophon's and Diodorus' accounts are not necessarily contradictory.
4. The only reference to Socrates in Hell. occurs at 1.7.15. Henry (Greek Historical Writing,194) contrasts this with the prominence which Socrates' role in the trial is given in Mem. and suggests that Xenophon did not know Socrates well at this stage. This was not necessarily the case : The reason that Xenophon does not say more about Socrates' action in Hell. may be that it had no effect on the general course of events (see Anderson op.cit., 47f). Even in that one reference, Xenophon places great emphasis on Socrates' refusal to act against the law.
5. On the profound impression which the execution of the generals had on Xenophon, see Anderson op.cit., 49f.
6. cf. Justin 5.6. In his attack on Alcibiades in Contra Alc.1.38f for his "surrender" of the fleet, Lysias links his name with that of Adimantus. (See note on 8.2.)
7. The fact that the army consisted partly of ex-slaves might have contributed to the lack of discipline : see above.
8. For discussion of the battle see Ehrhardt, Phoenix 24 (1970), 225f.
9. Here too Diodorus' account is not necessarily inconsistent with those of Xenophon and Plutarch.
10. "This flying visit of Lysander across the Aegean to the coasts of Attica and Aegina is not noticed by Xenophon, but it appears both in Diodorus and Plutarch" (Grote op.cit., vol.8, 6 note 3). However, Xenophon may be referring to this event in 2.2.9, after the account of the battle of Aegospotami : here he mentions Lysander's restoration of Aegina to the Aeginetans, and his ravaging of Salamis.

11. Compare Fabius' speech in Livy 28.41.17, in which Alcibiades is blamed for the defeat of Athens.
12. However, according to Ehrhardt's view, in Diodorus' account, "Alcibiades appears, not as a high-minded patriot with banal advice, but in a role familiar from Thucydides, Book VIII, bent on 'working his passage' back to the top at Athens" (art.cit.225f).
13. Plutarch compares his goodwill with that shown by Aristides at Salamis. (Apart from some serious faults mentioned in 5.2, the Comp. of Alc. and Cor. presents a favourable picture of Alcibiades.)
14. Xenophon's account of the battle is viewed from the Spartan side, Diodorus' from the Athenian side : see Ehrhardt art.cit. and Henderson Alcibiades and the Ancient Historian, 15.
15. The practical difficulties of bringing troops from the other side of the Hellespont in the face of Lysander's fleet are pointed out by Grote (op.cit., 8, note 2).
16. The remark sounds more like an over-dramatic, contrived antithesis than a serious statement of fact.
17. But see note 14.
18. Compare Plutarch's description of the capture of Lampsacus in Lys. 9.4 : see note on 8.1
19. The role of Lysander is emphasised in M.L. 95 (p 287f).
20. Philostratus (Lives of the Sophists 501) lists among Critias' crimes the pulling down of the Long Walls
διὰ Λυσάνδρου.

NOTES ON CHAPTER NINE

1. Nepos has a practical approach to fortuna : He is more concerned with how people use it than with any philosophical notion about the term. In fact many of his remarks about it may be little more than rhetorical commonplaces. Jefferis (CPh 38 (1943), 50) goes so far as to say that he "probably had no very clear idea in his own head of exactly what he meant by the word."
2. In general Lysander has been unfavourably presented in ancient sources : great emphasis is placed for example on his dishonesty (see note 3). However on one occasion (De Senec, 59) Cicero describes him as vir summae virtutis, although in De Offic. 1.109 he includes him in a class of men who will do anything to get what they want. Mention is made several times of Lysander's poverty and his ability to resist the temptation to enrich himself: Plut. Mor. 141Df, 190Ef, 229Af, Lys. 30, Ael. V.H. 6.4, 10.15. Theopompus apparently praised his self-control and his capacity for hard work (Athen. 12.543 Bf).
3. Lysander's policy of "cheating boys with knuckle-bones, but men with oaths" (Lys. 8.4) is also mentioned in Mor. 229Af and Ael. V.H. 7.12. Aelian says that the remark was attributed by some to Philip of Macedon.
4. On Xenophon's growing disenchantment with the Thirty, see Anderson Xenophon, 50,66.
5. ὡς περ Ἀλκιβιάδην ἢ Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνων
6. In Athen. 12.535 E a comparison is also drawn between Alcibiades and Pausanias (see note on 10.6) : Alcibiades is described as having imitated the Persian habits of Pausanias.
7. However, the reason for this could be that one of them is now following another source.
8. See Chapter 8 note 1.

NOTES ON CHAPTER TEN

1. Here Diodorus may be expressing a commonly accepted view : Compare Isoc. De Big.40, where it is claimed that his death was caused by Lysander and the Spartans.
2. Plutarch also mentions the possibility that they were aiming to please Agis : see note on 5.1.
3. This is a favourite expression of Plutarch's.
4. See note on 1.4.
5. Plutarch's account at this point seems inadequate : from 37.4 to the end there is an abruptness about it.
6. Possibly Plutarch has derived this detail from Ephorus or from a common source.
7. According to Athen.13.574E, Alcibiades used to travel with two courtesans, Damasandra and Theodote. Littman (TAPhA 101 (1970), 269) suggests that Damasandra is another name for Timandra : "man-tamer" for "man-honourer".
8. For an attempt to blend the details from different sources into a single coherent account of Alcibiades' death, see Grote A History of Greece, vol.8, 115.
9. See note 10.
10. Roman biography seems to some extent to have had its origins in tombstone inscriptions (e.g. CIL i² 7,9,10, 11,15) and dirges (neniae) : a detailed description of the latter was apparently to be found in Cato's Origines (Cicero Brut.75, Tusc. Disp. 4.3 ; see Nepos' reference to this work in Cat.3.3). Later, entire books were written on the deaths of famous men, for example by Capito and Fannius (Pliny Ep.8.12.4f, 5.5.3) : Tac. Agr. 45.3-5 is perhaps an example of this genre.

Another important element in the development of Roman biography was the laudatio funebris. The prominence which Suetonius gives it in the Lives of the Caesars (Jul.6, Aug.8, Tib.6, Gaius 15, Nero 9) may give one some idea of its importance in Roman political life : the delivery of it accompanies, possibly even symbolises, the speaker's entry into political life. One biography which is itself a type of laudatio is Tacitus' Agricola. The author bitterly regretted the fact that he was not in Rome when his father-in-law died (45) : although the work is varied in its aims, Agr. probably included things which Tacitus might have said at the funeral.

(Shortly before it was written, he delivered a laudatio in honour of Verginius Rufus : Pliny Ep. 2.1.6.) Nepos' Epam. (and to a lesser extent Ag.) could be seen as a type of laudatio. However, these works would be more closely linked with the encomium of Greek literature (e.g. Xen.Ag., Isoc. Evagoras).

NOTES ON CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. See notes on 2.1 and 3.5. There is no reason to believe that Isocrates himself viewed Alcibiades so favourably : In another work he writes of Alcibiades as having brought Greece to ruin : Philip 58f.
2. However, Nepos seems to have made direct use of Thucydides in his Lives of Themistocles and Pausanias (see esp. Them.1.4, 9.1, 10.4, Paus.2.2), and Them.10.3 is very close to Thuc.1.138.5.
3. On Nepos' use of Theopompus, see note at the end of Chapter 6.
4. Brut. 66 : elatione atque altitudine orationis suae
Brut. 204 : acerrimo ingenio
5. De Orat. 2.58 : longe eruditissimus
Brut.325 : sententiis non tam gravibus et severis quam concinnis et venustis
6. innumerabiles fabulae
7. One feels at times that the term should be applied to Polybius because of his remarks about Timaeus. However, in view of Polybius' excellence as a historian, there is no good reason to doubt that his criticisms were justified. But see note 8.
8. However, the statistics which Timaeus gives for battles tend to be lower than those given by other sources, especially Ephorus : see Diod.13.54.5, 13.60.5, 13.109.2, 14.54.6. Similarly in 20.79.5 Timaeus' account of a story is less dramatic than other accounts.
9. This passage perhaps reflects the general tendency in antiquity to see a man's personality as something fixed : hence the need to explain the apparent inconsistencies in Alcibiades' behaviour. Similarly, the inconsistencies which Tacitus and Suetonius saw in Tiberius were explained by emphasising his "pretence".
10. cf. Mor. 52E. Russell (Plutarch, 124) translates ἦθος as "character" and φύσις as "nature". For a discussion of Alcibiades' personality, see 123f. The passage is linked with Plutarch's view of Alcibiades as a flatterer : see note on 5.3.

11. Σάτυρος ἱστορῶν, λέγεται, φησὶν, ὅτι --- (12.534B)
See Westlake JHS 58 (1938), 31.
12. In Cim.4 Nepos uses a passage from Theopompus in provide the end of the Life with a convenient evaluation of Cimon's character : perhaps he has done the same thing in Alc.11.
13. These words reveal Nepos' apologetic attitude to biography : see Jenkinson in Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt I,3, 703f. Compare Plut.Alex.1, where biography as a genre is more confidently defended.
14. See note on 11.2. Could Athenaeus be using Nepos ? This is unlikely : he has already cited Satyrus, and nowhere makes reference to Nepos.
15. See note on 9.3.
16. Phocion was more famous for the integrity of his life than for rei militaris labor.
17. See McCarty CW 67 (1974), 388.
18. In three of the Caesars Suetonius maintains a clear division between career and character : Jul.44.4, Aug.61.1, Gaius 22.1. (In the other Caesars the division is less obvious or non-existent.) Throughout the Caesars his treatment of his subject tends to be by topic (per species) rather than chronological. In Aug.9 he gives a clear indication of his technique. A similar technique, apparently used by Varro in his Imagines (see Stuart Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography, 196), is also found in Nepos' Epam.

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