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SUETONIUS' DEDICATION TO SEPTICIUS CLARUS

The recent revival of scholarly interest in Suetonius¹ provides a good occasion to emend a long-standing crux in Joannes Lydus' description (*De Mag.* 2.6) of Suetonius' dedication of his *Vitae Caesarum* to his friend the praetorian prefect Septicius Clarus. The *codex unicus* Caseolinus (Parisinus suppl. gr. 257, s. X/XI) has *Τράγκυλλος τοίνυν τοὺς τῶν Καισάρων βίους ἐν γράμμασι † ἀποτίνων † Σεπτικίῳ, ὃς ἦν ὕπαρχος τῶν πραιτωριανῶν σπειρῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ.*² The conjectures *ἀποτεινῶν* by J. D. Fuss³ and *ὑποτεινῶν* by I. Bekker⁴ do little to improve the sense, and although W. Kroll's⁵ *προτεινῶν* gives the meaning required by the context (cf. Aristophanes, *Plut.* 1019), *προ-* would not easily have been misread as *ἀπο-*.

For *ἀποτίνων* read *ἀνατεινῶν*. For parallels compare *BGU* ii (1898), 613.3–4 Ἀνέτινα (= Ἀνέτεινα) βιβλ[ίδι]α τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ [ἡγεμόνι] in a papyrus from the reign of Antoninus Pius cited by LSJ, and several other passages, most of which I owe to the supplement to Preisigke and Kiessling's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* and to Dr Francisco R. Adrados of the *Diccionario Griego-Español: Sammelbuch* x (1971), 10527.5–7 [Ἀνέτει]νά σοι, κ[ύριε],... ἀναφόρ[ιον]... of A.D. 152–3, *P. Fouad* iii (1939), 26.5–10 (cf. *Sammelbuch* v (1934), 8252.5–10) Οὐ ἀνέτινά σου (= ἀνέτεινά σοι) τῷ κυρίῳ βιβλιδίου... ἀντίγραφον ὑπέταξα of A.D. 157–9, *P. Oslo*. iii (1936), 80.21 οὐ ἀνέτιναν (read ἀνέτειναν) βιβλιδίου... written sometime after March 7, A.D. 161, *Sammelbuch* iv (1931) 7472.3 Ἀνέτεινά [σοι, κύριε ἐπίτροπε, βιβλειδίου] of A.D. 164, *Sammelbuch* vi.3 (1961) 9339.24–7 (cf. a second copy in *P. Fouad* iii (1939) 13.5–7) οὐ ἀνέτειναμεν τῷ [κρατίστῳ ἀρχιερεὶ Οὐ]λίῳ Σερημιανῷ βιβλιδίου... [ἀντίγραφον ὑπέταξαμεν] from A.D. 178 or a little later, *P. Mich.* xii (1971) 616.13–14 τὰ δικάια μου βιβλειδίῳ ἐνγράψας ἀνέτεινα Νεμεσιανῷ ὄπως τα[ῦ]τα διαπέμψῃται [τῷ ἐπιτροπῷ] from ca. A.D. 182, *P. Cornell* 14.2–4 οὐ ἀνέτει[να τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατηγῷ Κλαυδίῳ [Ξενοφῶντι βιβλιδίου] from A.D. 180–92,⁶ Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* (1912) 461.3–5 Ο[ὐ] ἀνέ[τει]να τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ [ἡγεμόνι Κ]ρύντω[ι] Μαικίῳ Λαίτω βιβλιδίου... ἀντίγραφον ὑ[ποτάξας] from the beginning of the third century, and *Sammelbuch* v (1934), 8246.3–4 αἱ συνηγερούμεναι λιβέλλον ἀνέτιναν (= ἀνέτειναν) ἐπὶ τὴν ἑπαρχον (the author should have written *ἐπαρχικῆν*) ἐξουσίαν from A.D. 340. In these passages, as Dr Adrados observed, *ἀνατεινῶν*, literally 'to extend', 'to hold out', is used of respectfully 'presenting' a book, a document, a petition, etc., to a high-ranking official. Similarly, Joannes Lydus' *ἀνατεινῶν* may well be a rather literal rendition of an original Suetonian

¹ As exemplified by the recent publication of B. Baldwin's *Suetonius* (Amsterdam, 1983) and A. Wallace-Hadrill's *Suetonius, The Scholar and his Caesars* (London, 1983).

² The codex has the two slight errors *τράγκυλλος* and *σεπτικίῳ*, which were corrected by I. Bekker and K. L. Roth, respectively.

³ Joannes Lydus, *De Magistratibus Reipublicae Romanae Libri Tres* (Leiden, 1812), ad loc.

⁴ *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 31, Joannes Lydus (Bonn, 1837), ad loc.

⁵ Apud R. Wünsch [ed.], *Ioannis Lydi de Magistratibus Populi Romani Libri Tres* (Leipzig, 1903), ad loc.

⁶ In 1926 W. L. Westermann and C. J. Kraemer, Jr. published lines 2–4 of this papyrus as

about 15 letters]σεωσουανετει
10 to 12 letters τῷ ἐπιστρατηγῷ Κλαυδίῳ
Ξενοφῶντι? βιβλιδίου καὶ ἤς ἐτυχον ὑπο-

S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen in *P. Oslo*. iii (1936), 80.21 n., and Kraemer and N. Lewis, *TAPH* 68 (1937), 382, realised that the last 8 letters of line 2 represent οὐ ἀνέτει[να]. The supplement -να at the beginning of line 3 thus reduces the gap to 8–10 letters, which I have filled with *κρατίστῳ*, which is virtually certain, for we learn from line 14 that the papyrus was addressed τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατηγῷ.

exhibeo; the *ThLL*⁷ cites several passages where the younger Pliny uses *exhibere librum*, etc., of presenting a long-awaited work (*Epist.* 1.2.1, 2.5.1, 3.10.4, 4.27.5, 7.2.2); Suetonius' notorious slowness to publish (Pliny, *Epist.* 5.10) would have made very appropriate his use of *exhibeo* in the dedicatory letter with which he presented his *Vitae Caesarum* to Septicius Clarus.⁸ How easily Joannes Lydus' ἀναρείων might be corrupted to ἀπορίων is illustrated by P. Viereck's misreading of Ἀρέτινα as Ἀπέτινα in the *editio princeps* at *BGU* ii (1898), 613, an error which was corrected five years later by U. Wilcken in the 'Berichtigungen und Nachträge' in *BGU* iii (1903).⁹

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⁷ *ThLL* v.2 (1939), 1418.29–40, s.v. *exhibeo*, where similar passages in later Latin authors are also cited.

⁸ Cf. how Statius uses *trado* and *mittitur* in the dedicatory epistles prefixed to *Siluae* 2 and 3.

⁹ It is a pleasure to thank Dr Adrados for generously providing references for the usage of ἀναρείων, and the editors of *CQ* for helpful comments on this note.

TOT INCASSVM FVSOS PATIERE LABORES?

Honorificentiae tuae litteras legi, quibus factum nostrum culpabile iudicas, et periculosam expeditionem aegrius fers et ut inrationabilem reprehendis, adserens Deum ubique esse et omni loco coli posse et superuacue per alias prouincias quaeri, qui a pie uiuentibus et tota ei deseruire mente cupientibus in propriis possit habitationibus reperiri. Constat quidem ubique Deum esse, et quod nulla creatura ab eius habitatione sit uacua...

Thus begins a letter of an anonymous Pelagian, printed in *Patrologia Latina*, Suppl. 1.1687–94 from the edition of C. P. Caspari in *Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten* (Oslo, 1890), 3–13. *habitationibus* is Caspari's emendation for the MSS' *laboribus*; it gives the right sense, but clashes with *habitatione* in the next sentence, and is palaeographically unconvincing. J. Baer, *De operibus Fastidii, Britannorum episcopi* (diss. Nürnberg, 1902), 31–2 for these reasons suggested *litoribus*. *laboribus* itself is not quite impossible, in the sense 'fields', 'estates' (see *T.L.L.* s.v. 2 *labor* 795, 49–59; E. Löfstedt, *Late Latin* (Oslo, 1959), 147–8, following on *Eranos* 44 (1946), 347–50). But this usage is late and unrespectable, unless we count the fifth-century Cyprianus Gallus, *Gen.* 1323 'patrios seruare labores'. And we should consider the possibility that our Pelagian wrote *laribus*.

One parallel is Valerius Maximus 7.7.3 'in proprio lare', where *lare* is Madvig's emendation for *iure*.¹ More intriguing is a series of passages in Jordanes' *Getica*.

- (a) ...omnibusque Scythiae et Germaniae nationibus ac si propriis lauoribus imperauit. (120 = p. 89, 4–5 Mommsen)
- (b) ...quatenus prouincias longe positas...Halaricus...sibi tamquam lares proprias uindicaret. (153 = p. 98, 1–4)
- (c) Theodahadum...accersitum a Tuscia, ubi priuatam uitam degens in laribus propriis erat, in regno locauit. (306 = p. 136, 19–20)

In (a) Mommsen took *labores* to mean *praedia*, as his Index s.v. shows (I do not

¹ *T.L.L.* s.v. *lar* 966.42 seq. provides further parallels (in the plural) from Cassiodorus (*Var.* e.g. 1.17.4 and 6.1.6) and Rufinus (*Hist.* 8.17.10). Where the ablative is used, *laboribus* is several times a variant.