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A Survey of Suetonius Scholarship, 1938-1987

Author(s): D. Thomas Benediktson

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A SURVEY OF SUETONIUS SCHOLARSHIP, 1938-1987

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INTRODUCTION

More than fifty years have passed since the appearance of any comprehensive, annotated bibliography of Suetonius. Yet during this period his popularity with scholars has steadily grown, in part due to the discovery of a dedicatory inscription to him at Hippo Regius, in part due to increased interest in antiquarianism (not to mention totalitarianism), and in part because scholars have begun to realize that Suetonius, unlike the more celebrated Tacitus, did write *sine ira et studio*. There are now introductory studies to Suetonius of monograph length in many languages, and much has been done to recover Suetonius from nineteenth-century censure as an original writer and as a serious scholar. Each of these studies presents a different side of Suetonius, and while each of these sides is valid, a comprehensive and

synthetic account is yet to be written. IHM's standard Teubner text of the *Caesares* (4, below) received criticism after its publication for its valuation of the manuscripts (even the major ones), and this criticism has not been answered or really even discussed in the years 1938-1987. With the larger fragments we are more fortunate, possessing a Teubner text of *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* by BRUGNOLI (521) and a text with commentary of *De Poetis* by ROSTAGNI (527), but for many of the fragments we must turn to the very old (and extremely different) Teubner editions of Roth and Reifferscheid. There are now many good commentaries on individual *Vitae*, a trend likely to continue, and a perusal of the survey below will show that incredible efforts have been expended elucidating individual passages. The result is *disiecta membra*; and this survey has been compiled with hopes that all of this work will lead to a synthesis and better understanding of the man *in toto*.

Some will find fault with the arrangement here, in which items are gathered into rubrics, listed alphabetically, then discussed chronologically. This method appeared to me to be the only one possible, and moreover resembles that of Suetonius himself. Others will find the summaries of their work less than complete or not present at all. It is risky to summarize thousands of hours of work in a few sentences, and I have selected what seems most original and important. Nearly all items listed (or cross-listed) in *L'Année philologique* have been included, as have many not listed there. My intent has been to include all items which have as a central intention the elucidation of Suetonius. I have not included, except where absolutely necessary, books on the emperors, individually or collectively, or on authors other than Suetonius. Books and monographs as well as dissertations have been listed but not summarized; texts, translations and commentaries have been listed as to content only, although differentiation is made between notes (short, occasional annotations) and commentary. Editions without description here have not been examined. Book reviews also have been omitted. Articles listed but not discussed are inaccessible to me linguistically, physically or both. A few items which I discovered too late for incorporation are listed in the ADDENDUM. Suetonius is cited from the Teubner texts of IHM (4), BRUGNOLI (521) and ROSTAGNI (527), unless noted.

I would to thank the Office of Research, The Henry Kendall College of Arts and Sciences, and the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Comparative Literature, all of The University of Tulsa, for a grant during Summer 1988, for a paid sabbatical leave during Fall 1989, for defraying the costs of publication, and for personal support and advice. Interlibrary Loan at The University of Tulsa helped immensely. Professors Jerry Clack and Alexander G. McKay supported the project from the beginning, and Professor M. Gwyn Morgan generously read portions in draft and offered helpful advice, criticism and expertise. Remaining shortcomings, of course, are my own.

## I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Arrighetti, C., "La biografia antica negli studi dell'ultimo cinquantennio," *Cultura e scuola* 20 (1966) 38.
2. Gasparov, M., "New Foreign Literature on Tacitus and Suetonius," *VDI* 87 (1964) 188-91 (title translated into English by D. Gasperetti).
3. Hache, F., "Bericht über die Literatur zu einigen römischen Schriftstellern des 2. Jahrhunderts aus den Jahren 1918-1928," *JAW* 226 (1930) 208-32.
4. Ihm, M., *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Opera*, vol. 1, *De Vita Caesarum Libri VIII* (Leipzig 1908) ix-xvi.

5. Lammert, F., "Bericht über die Literatur zu den lateinischen Grammatikern, zur Scholienliteratur und Glossographie (1921-1925)," *JAW* 231 (1931) 52-58.

6. Lammert, F., "Bericht über die Literatur zu den lateinischen Grammatikern, zur Scholienliteratur und Glossographie (1926-1933)," *JAW* 252 (1936) 118.

7. Opitz, Th., "Bericht über die Literatur zu späteren römischen Geschichtsschreibern von 1891 bis einschliesslich 1896," *JAW* 97 (1898) 100-116.

8. Opitz, Th., "Bericht über die Literatur zu Suetonius von 1897-1906," *JAW* 134 (1907) 237-70.

9. Penndorf, J., "Sueton, Florus, Fronto, Justin. Bericht über das Schrifttum der Jahre 1929-1937," *JAW* 273 (1941) 49-78.

10. Wessner, P., "Bericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der lateinischen Grammatiker mit Einschluss der Scholienliteratur und Glossographie für die Jahre 1891-1901," *JAW* 113 (1903) 140-45.

11. Wessner, P., "Bericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der lateinischen Grammatiker mit Einschluss der Scholienliteratur und Glossographie für die Jahre 1901-1907," *JAW* 139 (1908) 106-7.

12. Wessner, P., "Bericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der lateinischen Grammatiker mit Einschluss der Scholienliteratur und Glossographie für die Jahre 1908-1920," *JAW* 188 (1921) 92-94.

IHM (4) contains general bibliography, without annotations, on the *Caesares* to 1907. OPITZ (7 and 8), HACHE (3) and PENNDORF (9) provide general bibliography, with copious summary and criticism, for the years 1891-96, 1897-1906, 1918-28 and 1929-37, respectively (1907-17 only in WESSNER [11 and 12] and a few items in HACHE [3]). WESSNER (10, 11 and 12) and LAMMERT (5 and 6) summarize scholarship on the grammatical works of S. from 1891-1901, 1901-1907, 1908-20, 1921-25 and 1926-33. GASPAROV (2) is in Russian and inaccessible to me; from the notes it seems to summarize some seventeen items since 1900, primarily books (with reviews) and articles on S.'s career. ARRIGHETTI (1) discusses some dozen works on ancient biography, including F. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form* (Leipzig 1901), a vastly influential work, and STEIDLE (31), but mainly addressing Greek biography from Herodotus to Plutarch. There is also bibliography in most of the BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS and TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARIES.

## II. BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

13. Almeida, J. M. de, *As Informações linguísticas de Suetônio nas "Vidas de Doze Césares"* (Lisbon 1959).

14. Anna, G. d', *L'idee letterarie di Suetonio* (Florence 1954).

15. Baldwin, B., *Suetonius* (Amsterdam 1983).

16. Brugnoli, G., *Studi Suetoniani* (Lecce 1968).

17. Brugnoli, G., *Sulle possibilità di una ricostruzione dei "Prata" e della loro attribuzione a Suetonio* (Rome 1954).

18. Brutscher, C., *Analysen zu Suetons Divus Julius und der Parallelüberlieferung* (Bern 1958).

19. Cizek, E., *Structures et idéologie dans "Les Vies des douze Césars"* (Bucarest/Paris 1977).

20. Conink, L. de, *Suetonius en de Archivalia* (Brussels 1983).

21. Corte, F. della, *Suetonio, eques Romanus* (Milan/Varese 1958<sup>1</sup>, Florence 1967<sup>2</sup>).

22. Erce, F. d', *Suétone. Vie d'un treizième César* (Paris 1969).

23. Fera, V., *Una ignota Expositio Suetoni del Poliziano* (Messina 1983).
24. Gardenal, G., *Il Politiano e Suetonio; Contributo alla storia della filologia umanistica* (Florence 1975).
25. Gascou, J., *Suétone historien* (Rome 1984).
26. Gugel, H., *Studien zur biographischen Technik Suetons* (Vienna 1977).
27. Lana, I., *Le vite dei Cesari, lezioni* (Turin 1972).
28. Lounsbury, R., *The Arts of Suetonius* (Zürich and New York 1987).
29. Mouchová, B., *Studie zu Kaiserbiographien Suetons* (Prague 1968).
30. Paratore, E., *Una nuova ricostruzione del De Poetis di Suetonio* (Rome 1946<sup>1</sup>, Bari 1951<sup>2</sup>).
31. Steidle, W., *Sueton und die antike Biographie* (Munich 1951<sup>1</sup>, 1963<sup>2</sup>).
32. Venini, P., *Sulla tecnica compositiva suetoniana* (Pavia 1975).
33. Wallace-Hadrill, A., *Suetonius: The Scholar and his Caesars* (London 1983).

There is not space to assess properly the larger books within the format here. K. R. Bradley's review article ("The Rediscovery of Suetonius," *CP* 80 [1985] 154-65) of BALDWIN (15) and WALLACE-HADRILL (33) provides a useful comparison of the merits and difference of approach in the two books, and some useful assessments of other works given in passing. BRUGNOLI (16) is a reprinting with revisions and addenda of articles not easily available (including BRUGNOLI [17]); each article is discussed in its proper place below.

### III. DISSERTATIONS

34. Bayer, K., "Der Suetonische Kern und die späteren Zusätze der Vergilvita" (München 1952).
35. Brogniez, Y., "Les Songes des Césars dans Suétone" (Liège n.d.).
36. Dru, J. le, "Le Portrait de Néron chez Tacite et chez Suétone" (Sup. Fac. de Paris n.d.).
37. Engelhard, R., "Medizinisches bei Livius, Sueton und Lucanus" (Düsseldorf 1940).
38. Four, M. J. du, "C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Tiberii: Chapters I to XXIII" (Pennsylvania 1941), reprinted with J. R. Rietra, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Tiberii—C. 24-C. 40 as: Suetonius on the Life of Tiberius* (New York 1979).
39. Gerbouin, A., "Le Réalisme chez Suétone (Ét. Sup. Paris 1941).
40. Heinz, K., "Das Bild Kaiser Neros bei Seneca, Tacitus, Sueton und Cassius Dio (Bern 1948).
41. Lambrecht, U., "Herrscherbild und Principatsidee in Suetons Kaiserbiographien. Untersuchungen zur Caesar- und Augustus-Vita" (Habelt 1984).
42. Lounsbury, R. C., "The Art of Suetonius (Texas at Austin 1979) (cf. LOUNSBURY [28]).
43. Loyd, J. O., "Books in Suetonius De Vita Caesarum" (North Carolina 1969).
44. Maurer, J. A., "A Commentary on C. Suetoni Tranquilli Vita C. Caligulae Caesaris, Chapters I-XXI" (Pennsylvania 1949).
45. McGrath, G. K., "Unknown Commentaries of Gasparino and Guiniforte Barzizza on Suetonius and Caesar in Barberinus Latinus 148" (Fordham 1969) (cf. MCGRATH [112]).
46. McGuire, M. E., "A Historical Commentary on Suetonius' Life of Titus" (Johns Hopkins 1978).
47. Vogt, W., "C. Suetonius Tranquillus. Vita Tiberii (Kommentar)" (Würzburg 1975).

48. Wall, J. L., "Prolegomena to the Study of the Manuscripts of Suetonius, and a Critical Edition of the Lives of Nero and Claudius" (London 1968).

49. Wittke, W., "Das Tiberiusbild und seine Periodisierung in der Tiberiusvita Suetons (Freiburg 1974).

#### IV. SUETONIUS' LIFE AND CAREER (see also BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS)

##### *Birth*

50. Baldwin, B., "Suetonius: Birth, Disgrace and Death," *AC* 18 (1975) 61-70.

51. Brugnoli, G., "Problematica Suetoniana," *Cultura e scuola* 9 (1964) 63-67 (= BRUGNOLI [16] 11-37, 207-8).

52. Sanders, H. A., "Suetonius in the Civil Service under Hadrian," *AJP* 65 (1944) 113-23.

53. Syme, R., "The Enigmatic Sospes," *JRS* 67 (1977) 44 (= *Roman Papers* 3, 1053).

54. Syme, R., *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) 778-82.

55. Townend, G. B., "The Hippo Inscription and the Career of Suetonius," *Historia* 10 (1961) 99-109.

SANDERS (52) dates S.'s birth to A.D. 70-71 rather than 68-69 (Macé) or 77 (Mommsen), BALDWIN (50) to 61-62, BRUGNOLI (51, which I have seen only in the long version) to 65-70. SYME (53) would have him born in 70 since he was given the name Tranquillus, based on the "tranquility" of Vespasian's reign. TOWNEND (55) thinks S. born at Hippo due to the inscription found there (first suggested by MAREC [59; see next discussion]), but SYME (54) suggests Hippo or Pisaurum.

##### *The Hippo Inscription*

56. Baurain, C., "Suétone et l'inscription d'Hippone," *LEC* 44 (1976) 124-44.

57. Corte, F. della, "Marmor Hipporegium Suetonianum," *Orpheus* 1 (1954) 133-36.

58. Grosso, F., "L'epigrafe di Ippona e la vita di Suetonio con i fasti dei pontifici di Vulcano a Ostia," *RAL* 14 (1959) 263-96.

59. Marec, E., "Le forum d'Hippone," *Libyca* 2 (1954) 391-92.

60. Marec, E., and H. G. Pflaum, "Nouvelle inscription sur la carrière de Suétone, l'historien," *CRAI* (1952) 76-85.

61. McDermott, W. C., "Pliny the Younger and Inscriptions," *CW* 64 (1971) 92-94.

62. Meiggs, R., *Roman Ostia* (Oxford 1960<sup>1</sup>, 1973<sup>2</sup>) 515-16, 584.

63. Mouchová, B., "De Novis ad Suetonii cursum honorum symbolis epigraphicis," *ZJKIF* 5 (1963) 177-84.

See also BRUGNOLI (51), SANDERS (52), and TOWNEND (55).

SANDERS (52) projects for S. a military career with Pliny the Younger in Syria in A.D. 68-88 and a series of military/civil offices in Rome from 101-102, culminating in *ab epistulis Latinis*. His surmise of a *bybliotheis* was confirmed by an inscription found in 1950 in Hippo in north Africa. The inscription was published by MAREC and PFLAUM (60 = *AE* [1953] # 73), who describe and reproduce the stones, edit the text and introduce the biographical considerations raised: namely, the addition to his titles *a studiis*, *a bybliotheis*; a pontificate of Vulcan and, apparently, a flamine of undefined nature. Two fragments subsequently found are published by MAREC (59), but do not change the edited text. DELLA CORTE (57) doubts the flamine and suspects that in lines 4-5 appeared offices relevant to Hippo. The pontificate gives new point to S.'s fascination with superstition. GROSSO (58) reedit the inscription and argues that the pontificate was served at Ostia. BRUGNOLI (51) assesses the inscription together with other sources: S. followed an academic career (*grammaticus*), alluded to less than enthusiastically by Pliny; was probably not "disgraced," and may have lost his position in the separation of *ab epistulis Latinis* and *Graecis*; and may have gone to Hippo after dismissal, perhaps as procurator; the *Caesares* might reflect a change in his interests from antiquarianism to political history, parallel to his rise in the imperial bureaucracy. The rest of the article introduces the other essays in the book: the *Prata* is a collection made posthumously; *De Grammaticis* was written late and after dismissal, and not a part of *De Viris Illustribus*. MCDERMOTT (61) also pieces the new evidence with Pliny's testimony, speculating on a government career stretching back to AD 102-103. BAURAIN (56) thinks line 3 definitely a flamine (pace DELLA CORTE [57]) and suggests *praefectus fabrum* for the lacuna.

### *Imperial Offices*

64. Alföldy, G., "Marcius Turbo, Septicius Clarus, Sueton und die Historia Augusta," *ZPE* 36 (1979) 233-53.

65. Baldwin, B., "Was Suetonius Disgraced?," *EMC* 19 (1975) 22-26 (= Baldwin [50] 67-70).

66. Crook, J. A., "Suetonius Ab Epistulis," *PCPhS* 4 (1956-57) 18-22.

67. Dack, E. van't, "A Studiis, A Bybliotheis," *Historia* 12 (1963) 177-84.

68. Gascou, J., "Nouvelles données chronologiques sur la carrière de Suetone," *Latomus* 37 (1978) 436-44.

69. Pflaum, H. G., "Épigraphie latine impériale," *AEHE* 1975-76, IVth sec. (1976) 373-74.

70. Syme, R., "The Travels of Suetonius Tranquillus," *Hermes* 109 (1981) 105-17 (= *Roman Papers* 3, 1337-49).

71. Tissoni, G. G., "Sul 'consilium principis' in età Traiana (gli 'Amici Principis' e il 'consilium')," *SDHI* 31 (1965) 222-45.

See also BAURAIN (56).

CROOK (66) notes that S. would have had access to archives also as a *studiis* and a *bybliotheis*, and tries to place the discharge of S. and Septicius Clarus in Africa as late as 128, when Hadrian visited Africa and Sabina became Augusta; hence the occasion for the Hippo inscription. BALDWIN (65) doubts the discharge story, and suggests that their disfavor might have been with Sabina and hence S. might have still had access to the archives.

VAN'T DACK (67) argues that the disappearance of the title *a bybliothecis* shows that the office was virtually annexed to *a studiis*; furthermore these offices were not part of a *cursus*, but sometimes were held jointly, as by S. under Trajan. TISSONI (71) lists S. among *comites/amici* of Trajan and Hadrian (# I.15 = 311a Crook), based on the Hippo inscription and on references in Pliny's letters. BAURAIN (56) sees the two posts with *ab epistulis* as "cumulation resulting from a *cursus*."

GASCOU (68), following PFLAUM (69, which I have not seen), interprets a new military diploma from Dacia (*AE* [1973] # 459) to imply that Clarus did not become Praetorian Prefect until after August 10, 123; therefore disgrace (and publication of the *Caesares*, dedicated to Clarus) must have been later, perhaps in Africa as CROOK (66) had argued. ALFÖLDY (64) shows that the diplomas can be interpreted as supporting the traditional date (119-22), since the diplomas imply that Turbo in 123 no longer had a special command in Dacia. SYME (70) takes S. to Bithynia with Pliny and with Hadrian to Germany and Britain, where, in 122, the discharge occurred, perhaps because of implied criticism of Hadrian in the *Caesares* or because of anti-intellectualism.

### *Composition of the Caesares*

72. Bowersock, G. W., "Suetonius and Trajan," in *Hommages à M. Renard* (Brussels 1969) I, 119-25.

73. Bradley, K. R., "The Composition of Suetonius' *Caesares* Again," *JIES* 1 (1973) 257-63.

74. Townend, G., "The Date of Composition of Suetonius' *Caesares*," *CQ* 9 (1959) 285-93.

TOWNEND (74) thinks S. drew on imperial archives for the *Aug.-Claud.* lives before dismissal. This would explain lack of primary sources and details from *Tib.* onwards, as well as increasing boldness on matters which might reflect badly on Hadrian. BOWERSOCK (72) answers the chronologies of TOWNEND and CROOK (66) that on the basis of vocabulary and structure the *Galb.-Dom.* lives were written before the Julio-Claudian lives, while Trajan was still emperor. BRADLEY (73) answers that the *Galb.* preface could not have introduced a set of lives and that the evidence of vocabulary and structure is inconclusive.

## V. CAESARES

### A. Texts, Translations and Commentaries

75. Adams, M. C., *C. Suetonius Tranquillus: Divi Augusti Vita* (London 1939): English introduction and analysis, Latin text, English commentary, English appendices on the *tribunicia potestas* and the games.

76. Arias, P. E., *Domiziano, saggio storico con traduzione e commento della "Vita" di Suetonio* (Catania 1945): Italian general introduction, bibliography, Italian introduction to *Dom.*, Italian translation, Italian commentary and general essays.

77. Badurina, N., *Vita Neronis* (Rome 1954).

78. Bassols de Climent, M., *Vida de los doce Césars*, 2 vols. (Barcelona 1964-1968).



79. Bessoni, L., *L'anno più lungo dell'impero. Antologia da Tacito e Suetonio* (Turin 1974).
80. Bradley, K. R., *Suetonius' Life of Nero: An Historical Commentary* (Brussels 1978): English introduction, English commentary.
81. Carter, J. M., *Suetonius: Divus Augustus* (Bristol 1982): English introduction and bibliography, Latin text, English commentary.
82. Gasparov, M. L., and E. E. Staerman, *Vies des douze Césars* (Moscow 1964).
83. Giebel, M., *Nero* (Stuttgart 1978).
84. Grassi, C., *Suetonio* (Brescia 1972).
85. Graves, R., *The Twelve Caesars* (Harmondsworth 1957; rev. imp. 1980): English foreword, English translation, English notes on coin illustrations; revised edition with introduction and bibliography by M. Grant (London 1979).
86. Grimal, P., *Suétone, Vies des douze Césars* (Paris 1973): French introduction, translation and notes.
87. Herouville, P. d', *Suétone, La Vie de Titus* (Liège 1944): French introduction, Latin text, French commentary.
88. Icart, J., *G. Suetoni Tranquilli, Vides dels dotze Cèsars, 5 vols.* (Barcelona 1966-1971): Catalan introduction, bibliography, Catalan summaries, Latin text, Catalan translation and notes.
89. Krueger, G., *Monumentum Ancyranum. Suetonius, Divus Augustus* (Stuttgart 1951).
90. Lambert, A., *Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus. Leben der Caesaren* (Lausanne 1951, Zürich 1955): German introduction, German translation, German notes, bibliography.
91. Levi, M. A., *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Augustus (De Vita Caesarum Liber II)* (Florence 1951<sup>1</sup>, 1958<sup>2</sup>): Italian introduction, Latin text, appendices on *Res Gestae* (including Greek/Latin text).
92. Martinet, H., *C. Suetonius Tranquillus, Divus Titus: Kommentar* (Königstein 1981): bibliography, German commentary.
93. Mottershead, J., *Suetonius: Claudius* (Bristol 1986): English introduction, bibliography, Latin text, English commentary, English appendices on Claudius' health and on 25.4 (*impulsore Chresto*).
94. Niemerska-Pliszczczyńska, J., et al., *Zwoty Cezarów* (Warsaw 1954<sup>1</sup>, Wrocław 1960<sup>2</sup>).
95. Rigutini, G., and C. Marchesi, *Suetonio, Vite dei Cesari* (Florence 1946): Italian introduction, Italian translation, Italian notes.
96. Schuster, M., *Suetonius. Das Leben des Kaisers Augustus* (Vienna n.d.).
97. Schuster, M., *Augustus und seine Wert. Das Monumentum Ancyranum nebst einer Auswahl aus Vergil, Horaz und Sueton* (Vienna and Leipzig 1939): German introduction, selection of Latin texts, German commentary.
98. Stahr, A., and W. Krenkel, *Kaiserbiographien. Über berühmte Männer* (Berlin 1965<sup>1</sup>, 1985<sup>2</sup>); rev. ed. M. Vosseler (München 1974).
99. Townend, G. B., *Suetonius: Divus Julius* (Bristol 1982): English introduction, bibliography, Latin text, English notes (revision of the Butler-Cary edition of 1927).
100. Vailland, R., *Les Pages immortelles de Suétone, Les douze Césars* (Paris 1962); cf. D'ERCE (691).
101. Venini, P., *C. Suetonio Tranquillo, Vite di Galba, Otone, Vitellio* (Turin 1977): Italian introduction, bibliography, Latin text, Italian commentary.
102. Vitali, G., *Caio Suetonio Tranquillo, Le vite di dodici Cesari, 2 vols.* (Bologna 1952): Italian introduction, Latin text, Italian translation, Italian notes.
103. Warmington, B. H., *Suetonius: Nero* (Bristol 1977): English introduction, bibliography, Latin text, English commentary.

## B. Manuscripts and Early Editions

See also DU FOUR (38), MAURER (44), MCGUIRE (46), and UYT-FANGHE (252); cf. ADDENDUM.

104. Billanovich, G., "Nella biblioteca del Petrarca, II, Un altro Suetonio del Petrarca," *IMU* 3 (1960) 28-58.

105. Billanovich, G., "Uno Suetonio della biblioteca del Petrarca (Berlinese lat. fol. 337)," *Studi Petrarqueschi* 6 (1956) 23-33.

106. Brugnoli, G., "La *Praefatio in Suetonium* del Poliziano," *GIF* 10 (1957) 211-20 (= BRUGNOLI [16] 187-203).

107. Cagni, G. M., "I codici Vaticani Palatini-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Gianozzo Manetti," *La Bibliofilia* 42 (1960) 41.

108. Cagni, G., "Le vicende di due manoscritti ex vaticani: lo Suetonio Pal. Lat. 897 e il Giustino Pal. Lat. 900," in *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro di Marinis* (Verona 1964) I, 217-40.

109. Dunston, A. J., "Two Manuscripts of Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum*," *CQ* 46 (1952) 146-51.

110. Dunston, J. D., "Studies in Domizio Calderini," *IMU* 11 (1968) 71-150.

111. Gariépy, R. J., "Lupus of Ferrières: Carolingian Scribe and Text Critic," *MS* 30 (1968) 102-3.

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115. Tibbetts, S. J., "Suetonius, 'De Vita Caesarum'," in L. D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford 1983) 399-404.

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See also ADDENDUM.

The studies of manuscripts of the *Caesares* have been peripheral to the problems in S.'s textual tradition. DUNSTON (109) describes Egerton 3055, which he calls *S* (Sigma) and traces from St. Benigne at Dijon in the twelfth century. Being copied from IHM's (4) *S* after correction (*s*<sup>2</sup>), the new ms. is only of historical value. BRUGNOLI (106) discusses the mss. used by Politian, his ground-breaking reconstruction of the biography of S. (using S. himself, the *S.H.A.*, the *Suda*, etc.) and his attack on Calderini. Politian appears correct, if extreme, in his criticism of Calderini, based on the latter's life of S. VERNET-BOUCREL (116) describes and discusses a manuscript at Louvain, copied by Tinti in 1411 and owned and used by such luminaries as Gianozzo Manetti and Gruter, but destroyed in 1939 (VERNET-BOUCREL had examined it prior to destruction). CAGNI (108) identifies the same manuscript as the lost *Pal. Lat.* 897 (= CAGNI [107] # 161, page 41 and note 4) from photographs taken of a few pages, and traces the history in much greater detail. BILLANOVICH (105) identifies the *Berlin Lat. Fol.* 337 as a ms. owned by Petrarch. The notes by him are few and imply youth (just beginning the *Africa*). BILLANOVICH (104) describes a ms. at Oxford (*Exeter College* 186) owned by Petrarch later than the Berlin ms. Especially detectable in comparing the Berlin ms. to the Oxford is the progress made in Petrarch's study of Caesar and of ancillary disciplines such as numismatics. GARIÉPY (111) mostly summarizes E. K. Rand, *HSCP* 37 (1926) 1-48. MCGRATH (112) assesses the marginal notes of Gasparino and Guiniforte Barzizza in *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 148 in the Vatican: Guiniforte's comments are

more extensive, varied and philological. DUNSTON (110) describes and reproduces Calderini's identifiable handwriting and his scholarship (ranging from brilliant to dishonest), as seen in his work, published and unpublished, on Statius, Martial, Juvenal and S. He also discusses other versions of the *Vit. Suet.* mentioned by BRUGNOLI (106) and the fragments of Calderini's commentary on S., which never reached publication. SAFFREY (114) describes a 1508 "counterfeit Aldine" (technically the Aldine Suetonius did not appear until 1516) published by Balthazard de Gabiano at Lyon. The edition is inferior to what has been believed, and the preface indicates poor scholarship. TIBBETTS (115) presents a thorough and readable introduction to the history of S.'s text, complete with bibliography of items published before the period covered in this survey. OLSEN (113) lists and describes 9th-12th century manuscripts of all works of S. in various libraries.

### C. General Studies

#### Sources

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 118. Cugusi, P., "Spunti politici e sociali in alcuni epigrammi latini," in *Studi di poesia latina in onore di Antonio Tovar* (Rome 1979) 879-87.

119. Lana, I., "Gli scritti di Augustus nelle 'Vite dei Cesari' di Suetonio," *StudUrb* 49 (1975) 438-58.

120. Townend, G. B., "C. Oppius on Julius Caesar," *AJP* 108 (1987) 325-42.

121. Townend, G. B., "The Sources of the Greek in Suetonius," *Hermes* 88 (1960) 98-120.

122. Townend, G. B., "Traces in Dio Cassius of Cluvius, Aufidius and Pliny," *Hermes* 89 (1961) 227-48.

See also TOWNEND (74); cf. FLACH (463) and TOWNEND (464).

ALLEN (117) discusses imperial mementoes mentioned by S., including letters and lost literary works (both in ms. form?), statues, objects owned by Alexander the Great and others, birth-place shrines, a sepulchre, clothing, dice, Tiberius' execution-place at Capri, and "tree portents." TOWNEND (74) argues that *Iul.* and *Aug.* were written while S. was *ab epistulis*, and some of the research on the next three books was completed, but the rest was written after dismissal. This is proven by the general lack of primary documents, by disappearance of proper names, and by a few references to Hadrian's policies. TOWNEND (121) notes that there is not much Greek in the last three lives, as his sources did not quote much. In *Calig.* the Greek is from Cluvius Rufus, whose unsympathetic account formed the basis of Josephus. The Greek from *Claud.* to *Oth.* also is Cluvius', sometimes misapplied. *Claud.* and *Ner.* blend Cluvius and Pliny, as does Tacitus. The Greek in *Aug.* and *Tib.* is perhaps from Tiberius Claudius Balbillus, Thrasyllus' son. TOWNEND (122) follows the previous article with attempts, in Dio, Tacitus and S., to distinguish sources (especially Cluvius and Pliny), primarily taking second introductions of characters as implying a change of source. LANA (119) examines the writings of Augustus consulted by S. (literary works, edicts, will, etc.). S. most frequently cites letters, especially in direct form. He also suggests changes in the edited collection of Malcovati and looks for sources of the fragments which S. does not cite. CUGUSI (118) construes the epigram on Bibulus (*Iul.* 20.2) as upper-class criticism of Caesar, similar to jibes in Cicero and Macrobius and at 80.2-3. The pun at *Ner.* 39 (*sustulit*) also has Ciceronian parallel (and probably inspiration). TOWNEND

(120) looks for Oppius in Plutarch and S., believing him to have written a pro-Julian work *per species* as in Plut. *Caes.* 15-17. Here then is the origin of the Suetonian pattern of structure and methodology in the *Caesares*.

### *Language and Style*

123. Bassols de Climent, M., "Commentario a unos pasajes de Suetonio," in *Homenaje a Antonio Tovar ofrecido por sus discípulos, colegas y amigos* (Madrid 1972) 65-70.

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130. Luque Moreno, J., "Aproximación a los procedimientos de ilación narrativa en los historiadores latinos," *Emerita* 45 (1977) 355-77.

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133. Pauw, D., "Impersonal Expression and Unidentified Spokesmen in Greek and Roman Historiography and Biography," *AClas* 23 (1980) 83-95.

134. Pennacini, A., "Strutture retoriche nelle biografie di Plutarco e di Suetonio," *Sigma* 17 (1984) 103-11.

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139. Sage, P., "L'Expression narrative dans les *XII Césars* de Suétone: analyse d'une structure de phrase," *Latomus* 38 (1979) 499-524.

140. Sage, P., "Quelques aspects de l'expression narrative dans les *XII Césars* de Suétone," *RB* 57 (1979) 18-50.

141. Służanski, D., "Suétone-critique littéraire. Problèmes de vocabulaire," *Actes du XXII<sup>e</sup> Conf. Eirene* (1972) 115-19.

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Cf. ADDENDUM.

To PARATORE (132), Tacitus is restrained in his portrayal of the younger Agrippina, talking of thirst for power rather than lust. Dio is hostile, Suetonius moderately so. Tacitus describes her political ambition and ability, using multiple sources (including perhaps her own account). PARATORE (131) reexamines S. in light of the studies of STEIDLE (31) and DELLA

CORTE (21), particularly as to style in the *Claud.* and *Ner.* S. can rise to the Tacitean style (*Ner.* 2-5) and the favorable reporting of historical events (7-19), but sink to the cataloguing of vices (19-40), in adapting from his sources a basically good man who turned bad. There is both the moralism of Plutarch and the "cut and paste" remnants in his work. The death of Nero is narrated successfully in the Tacitean manner, but in the *Claud.* peripatetic moralism has again led to a catalogic situation. The "Wendepunkt" here is ascent to power. Therefore Tacitean technique must have existed in the sources of S.; his value is not as historian, writer or philosopher, but in the unbiased presentation of information. CIZEK (124) argues the reverse of PARATORE (131): by his arrangement of material S. conveys to the reader his personal views. In the *Ner.* there is a progression from smaller to greater vices, the greatest being the fire (38); the progression is more effective than chronological narration. Similar progressions appear in the *Calig.* and the *Dom.* To LEUMANN (129), *taxare* (= *aestimare*) is Silver, although Cicero uses *taxatio*; *taxare* ("Schähen") appears only in S. Festus derives it from *maledictis tangere*; S. may have taken it from Roman comedy. CROISILLE (125) also responds to the sort of criticism raised by PARATORE, and defends the "art" of S., again discussing the *Claud.* and *Ner.* The latter is a bipartite "monster structure", the former connected by verbal repetition and by contrasting sections or chapters, which mirrors the mind of Claudius. Following the progression of evils noted by CIZEK (124) comes a kind of tragedy (40-end) acted by Nero. In fact the motif of acting dominates the *Ner.* LANA (128) notes that the three words *civilis*, *civiliter* and *civilitas* acquire specialized meaning in the imperial period as seen in S. and Tacitus: behavior of emperor and family as citizens themselves, possible plans to restore the republic, freedom of speech (in S. only), hesitation in adopting titles, observance of Roman clothing, testamentary laws and magisterial procedures. SADDINGTON (138) assesses the literary terminology and evidence for *auxilia*. S.'s command of technical terms is accurate and Augustan. BASSOLS DE CLIMENT (123) discusses various passages where the language is influenced by popular speech: in the epigram at *Iul.* 20 the humor lies in the doubt as to whether *Bibulo*. . . *consule* is accusative (-*m* not pronounced) or ablative; at *Aug.* 5 and *Dom.* 1, *ad c.* accusative = *in c.* ablative; at *Galb.* 1 *ad c.* accusative looks to medieval usage (= nominative) and seems semantically negligible. Also, *Ner.* 39.2 is based on Greek numerology, which may have played a decisive role in Nero's behavior. SAGE (140) differentiates S.'s style from that of prose narrative: lack of historical infinitive, infrequency of historical present, placement of verb at the end, lack of parataxis, frequency of participles and ablatives absolute over temporal clauses, repetitive patterns of syntax, failure to create syntactic "suspense." S. uses temporal adverbs often, but *statim* (common in S.) is used in weakening fashions and all of them tend to emphasize things other than speed. SAGE (139) explains an apparent exception to his earlier argument: in postposition of subordinated constructions S. resembles Tacitus. But in S. the postponed elements are repetitions, afterthoughts, irrelevancies, or qualifications of each other rather than the main clause. LUQUE MORENO (130) statistically compares the narrative styles of S. (*Iul.*), Caesar, Sallust, Livy and Tacitus. Judging from the transitional words in opening sentences of chapters, biography seems different from history in the type of connectives used (e.g. preference for conjunctions over pronouns, adverbs, etc.). EKTOR (126), comparing Tacitus and S. on Nero, argues that Tacitus often shows emotions, while S. does not. S. also does not use details, cross-references, speeches, etc. to raise emotions, as Tacitus can. Rather the inclusion of disgusting details by S. hinders emotional involvement by the reader. S. is "objective" because he never forms a coherent picture of the emperors. To SYME (142), S. is different from Plutarch in his inclusion of Julius. Like Plutarch, he uses one source and ignores the *Hist.* of Tacitus. Possibly S. planned to write only of the

Julio-Claudians but his "incompetence and haste" preclude certainty; the last six lives, then, would have been written later, and do seem to reflect criticism of Hadrian. PAUW (133) examines the use of impersonals and unidentified sources from Herodotus to S. Not surprisingly, it is found that Herodotus and Thucydides are fair in attribution of rumor, while Tacitus uses it for "negative" portrayal, S. for "caution" or for the same reason. Plutarch uses the techniques when discussing people of bad character. PENNACINI's two pieces (134 and 135) sketch the background of Plutarch in Aristotelian ethics and contrast the diachronic method of S. The result in S. is facts, not actions, structured like a Ciceronian *locus a forma generis* (the *species* allowing the *genus* to be understood). Both Plutarch and S. build to a climactic moment, the death of the central figure. PICIRILLI (136) distinguishes [Marcellinus] *Vit. Thuc.* from biographical styles of Plutarch and S.: it is a "third type", "scholastic", more resembling S. in its topical arrangement but too disorganized and full of information from scholia.

### *Suetonius on Law, Politics and Economics*

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149. Reekmans, T., "La Politique économique et financière des autorités dans les Douze Césars de Suétone," in *Historiografia Antiqua: Commentationes Lovanienses in Honorem W. Peremans Septuagenarii Editae* (Louvain 1977) 265-314.

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151. Tomulescu, C. St., "Les Douze Césars et droit romain," *BIDR* 80 (1977) 129-58.

152. Vassileiou, A., "Deux remarques sur l'anneau d'or," *AC* 40 (1971) 649-57.

LA ROSA (150) criticizes Mommsen's view that *custodia* for Roman citizens was abolished by the *lex Iulia de vi publica*. Proof is provided by passages in S., Tacitus and Dio. VASSILEIOU (152) examines S.'s use of *anulus* to show the correctness of traditional views that equestrians wore one ring stated in the plural (*anuli*) and that the ring signified equestrian status. RAMONDETTI (148) matches the use of technical terminology of senatorial process in S. to epigraphical records. S. is consistent in his language with the epigraphical sources, even on procedures garbled by other ancient sources. S.'s use of the terms is stylistically varied and well-considered, and shows the decline of senatorial power. REEKMANS (149) gathers and discusses S.'s statements on imperial economic activities, which come under rubrics such as "greed." S. does not understand the fiscal responsibility, for example, of

Tiberius, does not provide an inordinate amount of numerical data (considering what must have been available to him), and reflects policies in the Hadrianic period. ALFÖLDY (143) uses S. to argue that for the Romans "Gesellschaftsdenken" was almost synonymous with "Staatsdenken." An examination of the Latin social/political terminology shows that social relationships parallel political relationships; that S.'s conception of society was based narrowly on class structure at Rome; and that S. understood the transformation from *res publica* to *res privata*, from *urbs* to *orbis*. BAUMAN (144) explores S.'s lists, "concise" and "diffuse," of laws in the *Caesares*. The *Iul.* has a comprehensive list, the *Aug.* one based on moral reform, the *Tib.* none at all. Information is good in the *Calig.*, *Claud.* and *Ner.* (the second perhaps conflated from two sources). Material declines again in the first two Flavian lives but the *Dom.* is quite perceptive. Generally BAUMAN finds S. more reliable than had TOMULESCU (151, which I have not seen), although he finds some of the lives marked by "carelessness" or lack of structure or rushed in composition. S.'s techniques, including expanded discussion of one law in a list, reappear in the *S.H.A.* BRUGNOLI (145) examines S.'s views on wealth and social climbing. S. seems to have viewed men as social permutations of an original virtue/vice equilibrium in a presocial state: men make history rather than vice versa as in Tacitus. Hence S. is interested in omens, births and deaths and wealth. BRUGNOLI supports the "philequestrian" theory of DELLA CORTE (21); S. shows the sociological views of Hadrian: success can come even to the lower classes.

### *Religion and Games*

153. Bradley, K. R., "The Significance of the *Spectacula* in Suetonius' *Caesares*," *RSA* 11 (1981) 129-37.

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156. Lührmann, D., "Superstitio, die Beurteilung des frühen Christentums durch die Römer," *ThZ* 42 (1986) 203-5.

157. Picón García, V., "Suetonio y la religión en Hispania," in *La religión romana en Hispania* (Madrid 1981) 155-63.

158. Picón García, V., "Superstitio, un indicio de la romanidad de Suetonio," *Eclás* 26 (1984) 323-28.

159. Pociña, A., and J. F. Ubiña, "El evergetismo imperial en Suetonio," *Latomus* 44 (1985) 577-62.

HAMMAN (155) sees S.'s views of Christians as more reliable than Tacitus' and Pliny's. At *Claud.* 25.11 Chrestus is an anachronistic Christ and the expulsion for evangelism and disorder represents transferred antisemitism; at *Ner.* 16.3 S. uses *Christianus*, *superstitio* ("foreign religion"), *nova* (Christianity distinguished from Judaism) and *malefica* (oriental magic). CIZEK (154) surveys the many references in the *Caesares* to the theatre. It is hard to see if S. found theatre important, but the structures of the lives reveal dramatic interest. BRADLEY (153) justifies S.'s preoccupation with *spectacula*, which formed an important part in the emperors' relationships with the people. S. puts them in the "favorable" parts of his lives, and so *spectacula* were one way for S. to measure the success of an emperor's *liberalitas*. PICÓN GARCÍA (157) discusses various prodigies in S. which happened to Caesar (7.2) and Galba (8.2, 8.3, 9.5-6) in Spain; they are of native character and

testify to pre-Roman practices such as the cult of Heracles and divinations, which S. Romanizes. PICÓN GARCÍA (158) examines the term *superstitio* in S.: it can mean prodigy, religious fear, unofficial or foreign religions, or private cults. The word overlaps with *religio* and reflects S.'s "Romanness." POCIÑA/UBIÑA (159) study S.'s statements on bequests: political motives (Caesar); settlement of soldiers and grandiose patronage resulting in collection of funds (Augustus); restraint with occasional assistance (Tiberius); unrestrained benefactions and collections (Caligula); *moderatio* (Claudius); again lack of restraint, including building (Nero); personal greed (Galba); return to fiscal integrity combined with generous building and patronage but a reputation for greed (Vespasian); overspending (Titus and Domitian) and plunder (Domitian). S.'s account is marked by "naturalidad": S. assesses the gifts as a normal fact of economic life, and shows the institution as an instrument of maintenance of the economic status quo. LÜHRMANN (156) discusses various passages in the context of Roman views of the Christians: *Ner.* 16.2, Christians punished *superstitutionis novae*; *Claud.* 25, Christus = Christ?; *Dom.* 15, Clemens and Domitilla punished as Christians?

### Other Themes

160. Alsina, J., "El arte del retrato en Suetonio," in *Roma en el siglo II. Trabajos de la Sección latina del II Simposio de la Sociedad española de Estudios Clásicos. Sección de Barcelona, Villanueva y Geltru, abril, 1970* (Barcelona 1975) 59-62.

161. Bartelink, G. J. M., "Suetonius over het taalgebruik van einige Romeinse keizers," *Hermeneus* 53 (1981).

162. Berthet, J.-F., "La Culture homérique des Césars d'après Suétone," *REL* 56 (1978) 314-34.

163. Best, E. E., "Suetonius: The Use of Greek among the Julio-Claudian Emperors," *CB* 53 (1977) 39-45.

164. Bradley, K. R., "Ideals of Marriage in Suetonius' Caesars," *RSA* 15 (1985) 77-95.

165. Bradley, K. R., "Imperial Virtues in Suetonius' Caesars," *JIES* 4 (1976) 245-53.

166. Carney, T. F., "How Suetonius' Lives Reflect on Hadrian," *PACA* 11 (1968) 7-24.

167. Couissin, J., "Suétone physiognomoniste dans les *Vies des XII Césars*," *REL* 31 (1953) 234-56.

168. Evans, E. C., "Physiognomics in the Roman Empire," *CJ* 45 (1950) 277-82.

169. Krenkel, W. A., "Sex und politische Biographie," *WZRoStock* 29 (1980) 65-76.

170. Newbold, R., "Suetonius' Boundaries," *Latomus* 43 (1984) 118-32.

171. Parker, E. R., "The Education of Heirs in the Julio-Claudian Family," *AJP* 67 (1946) 29-50.

172. Ramondetti, P., "Il sentimento della paura nell' Agricola di Tacito," *AAT* 108 (1974) 381-434.

173. Stern, M., "Jerusalem, The Most Famous of the Cities of the East (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, V,70)," in *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period. Abraham Shalit Memorial Volume*. ed. A. Oppenheimer et al. (Jerusalem 1980) 257-70.

174. Wardman, A. E., "Description of Personal Appearance in Plutarch and Suetonius: The Use of Statues as Evidence," *CQ* 17 (1967) 414-20.

See also ADDENDUM.



PARKER (171) studies the evidence for male education of the Julio-Claudians, primarily using S. as evidence. CARNEY (166) interprets S. as an "authoritarian personality," criticizing Hadrian's actions and personality for inconsistency, Hellenism, sexual behavior, etc. S.'s vocabulary implies criticism of Hadrian's coinage slogans. S. was fired not for courtly impropriety but for his criticism, in print and (probably) in person. BRADLEY (165) responds to CARNEY that word-counting is not enough; words may have no relationship to Hadrian or even to the 12 Caesars. Contextual examination shows historical accuracy behind many uses, not allusion to Hadrian. Furthermore most of Hadrian's coinage slogans stretch back into the first century; S.'s virtues and vices, drawn from a variety of sources, are used to analyze the character and rule of his Caesars. BEST (163) uses evidence in S. to argue that although Greek bilingualism had hit its high point with Cicero, the Julio-Claudians avidly studied Greek, especially Tiberius, Claudius and Nero. EVANS (168) places S. in the physiognomic tradition. He was aware of the science, and uses terminology from it in the *Peri Blasphemiôn*. Augustus is portrayed as a lion-type, Caligula as panther/goat; Tiberius' physical appearance mirrors his mixture of good and bad character traits. COUISSIN (167) shows that S. has selected his physical traits of the emperors so as to conform to their characters, as suggested by ancient physiognomy. Here is a basic contribution by S., who gives a "scientific" study rather than a compilation of erudition. ALSINA (160) emphasizes the ethical aspect, based on the peripatetics and (in S.) influenced by physiognomy; in S., outer appearance is a key to personality. According to WARDMAN (174), Plutarch uses statues occasionally as evidence of character and believes in a connection, sometimes noting disparity between character and appearance. S. gives more details, but not any clear instance of use of statues to support relationship of character and appearance. S. discusses statues and their roles in imperial lives and attitudes; neither S. nor Plutarch is strictly a physiognomist. BERTHET (162) argues that S.'s attributions of Homeric phrases to the Caesars shows acute utilization of sources and perception of imperial character. It is an original contribution by S., who preferred the *Iliad* to the *Odyssey*, like other Roman philologists. KRENKEL (169) argues that sexual rumor and innuendo were a normal part of party political discourse at Rome. Passages from S. and the *S.H.A.* are translated, discussed and catalogued. NEWBOLD (170) examines S. in light of the structure "Barrier/Penetration." S. is found to have a Low Barrier personality, who feels the human body is penetrable. S.'s characters are inactive or "sudden" in their actions. BRADLEY (164) looks for an "imperial" conception of marriage in the *Caesares* to which the emperors are compared. Homosexuality and adultery are censured by S., who has a traditional, Roman ideal of marriage as seen perhaps in Trajan and Plotina and as recommended perhaps to Hadrian.

### Miscellaneous

175. Antò, V. d', "Sviste ed errore nei dati cronologici di Suetonio e di altri biografi minori," *AFLN* 7 (1957) 117-43.

176. Cizek, E., "O anumită tehnică literară în cîvita biografii ale lui Suetonius," *Analele Univ. din Bucuresti Ser. St. Soc.* 9, 18 (1963) 305-18.

177. Croce, B., "Della biografie. Variazioni intorno a Suetonio," *Critica* 14 (1949) 10-17.

178. Dehamers, R., "De betrouwbaarheid van Suetonius," *Kleio* 4 (1974) 9-21.

179. Flach, D., "Zum Quellenwert der Kaiserbiographien Suetons," *Gymnasium* 79 (1972) 273-89.

180. Fol, A., "C. Suetonius Tranquillus, une source peu connue pour l'histoire de la Thrace antique," in *Acta Antiqua Philopopolitana. Studia Historica et Philologica*. ed. B. Gerov et al. (Sofia 1963) 99-107.
181. Gasco, J., "Suéton et l'ordre équestre," *REL* 54 (1976) 257-77.
182. Hengst, D. den, "De romeinse Keizerbiografie," *Lampas* 17 (1984) 367-80.
183. Marchesi, C., "Suetonio biografo dei Cesari," in *Divagazioni* (Venice 1951) 41-51.
184. Morgan, J. D., "Suetonius' Dedication to Septicius Clarus," *CQ* 36 (1986) 544-45.
185. Townend, G. B., "Suetonius and his Influence," in *Latin Biography*, ed. T. A. Dorey (New York 1967) 79-111.

MARCHESI (183) offers general observations on Suetonian style (appropriate to methods and goals), personality (well perceived by Pliny) and intent (inner palace life exposed to the public). The suicide of Otho, where Otho is personally exalted, is revelatory of S.'s method, while the *Tiberius* shows him influenced by popular anti-Claudian propaganda. D'ANTÒ (175) documents S.'s looseness with numbers, especially in imperial lifespans. Some of the fault lies in copyists, some in the author's use of numbers (rounding to higher number, misuse of cardinal) or sources; a variety of passages in S. are discussed, including *De Poet.* FOL (180) assesses S.'s comments *passim* on events in Moesia and Thrace. S.'s interest in the area was small, but his information sometimes well researched and helpful. TOWNEND (185) discusses S. generally, suggesting that the *Iul.* and *Aug.* were written while S. was employed by Hadrian, the other lives after discharge, and that S.'s specific contributions were quotations of primary documents and *divisiones* followed by *per species* discussion. Also TOWNEND suggests that Einhard uses S. (especially the *Iul.* and *Aug.*) almost alone among medieval and Renaissance authors. FLACH (179) revives the arguments of Leo against STEIDLE (31). S.'s use of rubrics causes chronological mistakes, mistaken generalizations and misinterpretations of events. Instead of well-considered pictures of emperors we have "Zettelkastenverfahren." S.'s value is as preserver of primary sources, as scholarly investigator of facts and issues, and in the creation of a style appropriate to his purposes. GASCOU (181) disagrees with DELLA CORTE's (21) argument that imperial attitudes toward the equestrian class were a large part of the author's views of the emperors. In fact S. points to benefits/advantages for all classes, and does not even exhibit an equestrian "class consciousness" (which seems not to have existed at all) but rather treats the class structure as a given. His praise of Domitian is due not to the latter's treatment of equestrians but to the high quality of administration under him. MORGAN (184) emends the dedication to the *Caesares* preserved by Joannes Lydus (*MAG.* 2.6) from †*apotinônt*† to *anateinôn*, "presenting," perhaps representing *exhibeo* in S.'s original Latin.

#### D. *Divus Iulius*

186. Drexler, H., "Suetons Divus Iulius und die Parallelüberlieferung," *Klio* 51 (1969) 223-66.
187. Herrmann, L., "M. Octavius Ruso," *REA* 40 (1938) 384-86.
188. Liberanome, M., "Alcune osservazioni su Cesare e Antonio," *RFIC* 96 (1968) 407-18.
189. Lossau, M., "Suetons Clementia Caesaris," *Hermes* 103 (1975) 496-502.

190. McDermott, W. C., "Comments on Suetonius and Lucan," in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* (St. Louis 1953) II, 678-85.
191. Müller, W., "Sueton und seine Zitierweise im 'Divus Iulius'," *SO* 47 (1972) 95-108.
192. Shackleton Bailey, D. R., "Notes on Suetonius," *CJ* 78 (1983) 316.
193. Sumner, G. V., "Suetonius *Divus Iulius* 86.2 and 88.2," *CP* 68 (1973) 291-92.
- Cf. BEIKIRCHER (196).

LIBERANOME (188) asks whether the source of Antonian politics was really Caesar. Caesar's actions tended in fact to moderation, until rumors of permanent *regnum* spread. At the funeral Antony, too, behaved "moderately" (84.2, etc.) and worked with the senate; when in the East he also mirrored Caesar's divinization pattern and attempted to bind Rome and Egypt. DREXLER (186) attacks the analyses of STEIDLE (31) and especially BRUTSCHER (18): the narrative "Gestaltung" is really built into the subject (the lives of the historical persons). In Plutarch and S. one finds not philosophical history but "legend" and "cliché." BRUTSCHER overestimates their use of primary sources. DREXLER offers his own analysis of the lives of Caesar, concluding that S. is a compiler, often leaving out names. BRUTSCHER's analysis is based on a faulty view of history. MÜLLER (191) examines four methods of citation (in verse, in quotation, in indirect discourse, and without named source) as proof of artistic arrangement by S. The first type appears in climactic contexts; the second slightly less striking type also marks climaxes, to climactic verse citations, or effects transitions; the final, "least intense" type only is used climactically when other types are not present in the context. S.'s art is illustrated by analysis of the citations in 30.2-7, which are tied to earlier motifs in the life and which build to a peak using all four methods of citation. LOSSAU (189) notes that *clementia Caesaris* (*Dom.* 10.1) became a key word of imperial rule from Nerva on. S. uses the term in 73-75 (an artfully arranged sequence) which, in view of the previous military section, shows *clementia*, combined with *severitas*, as a part of Caesar's personal and political agenda. Here S. perhaps looks to Hadrian's reign.

SHACKLETON BAILEY (192) thinks at 13 *maximum* was lost after *pontificem*. MCDERMOTT (190) defends *nepotem* as feminine form at 26.1. This is supported by Lucan 9.1049, and at *Ner.* 35.1 *abnepotem* should be read. HERRMANN (187) reconstructs a M. Octavius Ruso (also called Naso), anti-Caesarian historian, from various references and finds him at 49, which he repunctuates; 53, where he emends to *Ruso* (*Vas* mss., *Naso* edd., *Varus* Deutsch [*CJ* 17 (1921) 161]; and 9, where he reads *M. Octavius Naso* for *M. Actorius Naso*. SUMNER (193) fills the lacuna at 86.2 between *cavere* and *solitum* with *maluisse. quidam illud dicere*; following the scribe of *r* (rho) and Roth. In the second passage Estienne's *primos consecratos* is recommended, the vulgate *primo consecratos* indicating a historical error by S.

### *Early Years (1-30)*

194. Allen, W., Jr., "Caesar's *Regnum* (Suet. *Iul.* 9.2)," *TAPA* 84 (1953) 227-36.
195. Badian, E., "Two Roman Non-entities," *CQ* 19 (1969) 200-204.
196. Beikircher, H., "quando (zu Suet. *Iul.* 28, 2)," *MH* 26 (1969) 52-55 (= *Lemmata. Donum Natalicium W. Ehlers Sexagenario a Sodalicibus Thesauri Linguae Latinae Oblatum* [Munich 1968] 6-12).

197. Giovannini, A., "Le Solde des troupes romaines à l'époque républicaine," *MH* 35 (1978) 258-63.
198. Gruen, E., "Pompey, the Roman Aristocracy, and the Conference of Luca," *Historia* 18 (1969) 71-108.
199. Heyne, L., "Who Went to Luca?," *CP* 69 (1974) 217-20.
200. Jackson, J., "Cicero, *Fam.* 1.9.9 and the Conference of Luca," *LCM* 3 (1978) 175-77.
201. Last, H., "Cinnae Quater Consulis," *CR* 58 (1944) 15-17.
202. Lazenby, J. F., "The Conference of Luca and the Gallic War: A Study in Roman Politics 57-55 B.C.," *Latomus* 18 (1959) 67-76.
203. Luibheid, C., "The Luca Conference," *CP* 65 (1970) 88-94.
204. Raaflaub, K., "Zum politischen Wirken der caesarfreundlichen Volkstribunen am Vorabend des Bürgerkrieges," *Chiron* 4 (1974) 293-326.
205. Rhodes, P. J., "Silvae Callesque," *Historia* 27 (1978) 617-20.
206. Sealey, R., "Habe Meam Rationem," *C&M* 18 (1957) 75-101.
207. Stevens, C. E., "Britain and the Lex Pompeia Licinia," *Latomus* 12 (1953) 14-21.
208. Ward, A. M., "The Conference of Luca: Did it Happen?," *AJAH* 5 (1980) 48-63.

LAST (201) suggests that Caesar didn't necessarily marry Cornelia in 84 B.C. (Cinna's fourth consulship), since *Cinnae quater consulis* (1.1) means "of Cinna four times consul," not "of Cinna in his fourth consulship," which would require *quartum* or *quarto*. According to ALLEN (194), S. thought (9.2, 49.2, 30.5, 79-80) that Caesar sought monarchy from his aedileship, but *regnum* in the Ciceronian period meant "excessive power in a republic." Hence 9.2 is not to be construed as proof that Caesar participated in a "First Catilinarian Conspiracy." RHODES (205) defends the explanation for 19.2 of Balsdon (*JRS* 29 [1939] 180-83): insignificant provinces were to be assigned (before election) to the consuls of 59 BC in case they were needed in Gaul against the Germans and Helvetii; S. then is in error when suggesting that the assignment was made from fear of Caesar. BADIAN (195) argues that the L. Antistius in 23 is L. Antistius Vetus who, at least temporarily, was then (late 58-early 56) leaning toward the Optimates.

The Luca conference (24) has been a source of great controversy. STEVENS (207) tries to reconstruct the events of 56-55 BC, including the invasion of Britain, without laying much stress on agreements at Luca. LAZENBY (202) thinks little was determined at Luca beyond Pompey's support for decisions made at Ravenna (Ptolemy Auletes, *imperium* for Caesar). The consulships of 55, and consequently the proconsular provinces, were not agreed upon. LUIBHEID (203) responds that it is clear from sources other than Dio (emphasized by LAZENBY), including S., that a "deal" was made, that the consulships of 55 were determined (Pompey/Crassus), and that an extension of Caesar's command was supported. GRUEN (198) views the conference in the context of dwindling aristocratic support of Pompey and of tensions between Pompey and the other two triumvirs. It was at least agreed at Luca to restrain Cicero, and other issues were no doubt discussed. Reactions to the conference can be discerned at Rome, but not a total concession to the triumvirate. HEYNE (199) discusses possible praetors and promagistrates who might have been at the conference, adding five probables to the two named in the ancient sources. JACKSON (200) accepts Cicero's evidence that Crassus met Caesar at Ravenna but not at Luca. WARD (208) believes that the conference of Luca took place, but not at the same time as the visitation by a large number of lictors and senators, which probably occurred at Ravenna and involved promagistrates on their way to provincial commands. The probable source of S. (and Appian and Plutarch) is Asinius Pollio, an eyewitness.

GIOVANNINI (197) tries to reconstruct the statements made on military pay: Polybius describes the situation before the Julian reform (S. 26), prior also to a second reform (under Augustus?). SEALEY (206) supports Mommsen's theory for 28.2: Caesar's first *imperium* in the Spains ran for five years (Mar. 1, 59—Mar. 1, 54) and was renewed for five more by the *lex Pompeia Licinia*. The law of the ten tribunes (in 52 BC) allowed Caesar to run for consul *in absentia* and to hold *imperium* until elected, and his opponents ordering him to return in 49 for elections forced him to cross the Rubicon. S. (28.2) refers to M. Marcellus' attempts to stop the special privileges and to Pompey's assistance of Caesar, who thus had law on his side. BEIKIRCHER (196) also discusses 28.2 and the oft-emended *nec*. Like SEALEY (whom he doesn't seem to know), thinking Pompey not to have opposed Caesar, BEIKIRCHER defends *nec*, takes *quando* as concessive, emends *plebi scito* to *plebi scitum*, and defends *abrogasset* (sometimes emended to *obrogasset*). RAAFLAUB (204) discusses the statement of S. (30.1) that the treatment by the senate of Caesar's tribunes was only a pretext for crossing the Rubicon. Rather S.'s source is antiCaesarian: Caesar attempted to compromise and a series of events regarding the tribunes occasioned the crossing. Still restoration of the tribunes was probably not the main reason for the crossing.

*Rubicon (32); Literary Works (55-56)*

209. Balsdon, J. P. V. D., "The Veracity of Caesar," *G&R* 4 (1957) 19-28.  
 210. Bartolini, G., "La lettera prefatoria di Irzio all'VIII libro del B.G.," in *Lanx Satura Nicolao Terzaghi Oblata* (Genoa 1963) 77-88.  
 211. Bickel, E., "Catulli in Caesarem Carmina," *RhM* 93 (1949) 23, n. 1.  
 212. Bickel, E., "Observationum Satura I. Iacta Alea Est," *Paideia* 7 (1952) 269-73.  
 213. Canfora, L., "Cesare continuato," *Belfagor* 25 (1970) 419-29.  
 214. Guarino, A., "Duo Anticatones," *AAN* 94 (1983) 165-70.  
 215. Hohl, E., "Cäsar am Rubico," *Hermes* 80 (1952) 246-49.  
 216. Lossmann, F., "Zur literarischen Kritik Suetons in den Kapiteln 55 und 56 der Caesarvita," *Hermes* 85 (1957) 47-58.  
 217. Marcović, M., "Was hat Caesar bei Rubico eigentlich gesagt," *ZAnt* 2 (1952) 53-64.  
 Cf. RAAFLAUB (204).

BICKEL (211) recommends *iactam aleam volo* as better Latin than *est* (mss.) or *esto* (Erasmus). MARCOVIĆ (217) is in Serbian with German summary. According to the summary, the article defends the authenticity of Caesar's words (*anerriphthô kubos*); this should be translated as by Erasmus with *esto*, and was either mistranslated by S. into *est* or corrupted by a scribe. The proverb could have several meanings. HOHL (215) notes the peculiar *ostentum* (the huge flautist) which incited Caesar to cross the Rubicon, and asks whether the report came from Asinius Pollio (Carcopino). In the similar 30.4 S. records Pollio's Latin translation of Caesar's Greek, and the same probably happened here; S. took *iacta alea est/esto* from Pollio's translation of Caesar's Greek, addressed to his staff rather than his troops. The *ostentum* and other quotation, not in Plutarch, are not from Pollio, and when S. combined the stories he changed *esto* to *est*. BICKEL (212) argues that Titinius wrote in a *fabula togata* named *Tibicina: decreta res est. aleam iactam volo* (translation of Menander's *Auletris*). S.'s text read *est*, since *esto* would be poor style. BICKEL also argues against HOHL that Pollio translated with imperative or subjunctive; the proverbial phrase passed into Latin due to Titinius.

BARTOLINI (210) considers S.'s comments on Hirtius: *B.G.* 8 (and *B.Alex.*, if Hirtian) was written with Caesar still alive, perhaps in 46; S. can be used to emend and bracket parts of the confusing letter of Hirtius in the preface of *B.G.* 8. CANFORA (213) thinks 56.3 an interpolation; hence we have no reliable ancient authority for attributing *B.G.* 8 to Hirtius. Moreover, Hirtius had neither the time to write *B.G.* 8 nor the knowledge to write the letter to Balbus. The perfects in the letter also badly fit Hirtius (nor are Thuc. 5.26.1 and Ov. *Tr.* 2.549-50 good parallels). In fact the writer of the dedication to *B.G.* 8 may have read S. rather than vice versa; the author of *B.G.* 8, whoever he was, seems to be creating a continuous edition of all the *Commentarii*. Both BALSDON (209) and LOSSMANN (216) focus on Pollio's questioning of Caesar's veracity. BALSDON finds examples of omission in his version of the failed reconciliation at Brundisium (Jan. 49 BC) and in his (missing) account of the revolt at Placentia (*Iul.* 69). Much is unclear, including the true threat posed by Ariovistus, the reason for the senate's charge to Caesar, and even the purpose in writing the *Commentarii*. LOSSMANN considers the passage in the context of Chapters 55-56, recommending *excepta. . edita* at 55.3 (Augustus judged the *pro Marcello* spurious since not of Caesar's style, but based on notes). S.'s language over "publication" is here inexact, and the criticisms usually attributed to Pollio in 56.4 belong to S., not Pollio.

#### *Later Years (42-80)*

218. Castelin, K., "L'Or de la Gaule et César," *CahNum* 14 (1977) 62-68.  
 219. Cawthorne, T., "Julius Caesar and the Falling Disease," *ProcRoy-SocMed* 51 (1958) 27-30.  
 220. Clausen, W., "Bede and the British Pearl," *CJ* 42 (1947) 277-81.  
 221. Deroux, C., "À propos de l'attitude politique de Catulle," *Latomus* 29 (1970) 608-31.  
 222. Dragotti, G., "Furono epilettici Cesare e Napoleone?," *Policlinico* 65 (1958) 271-73.  
 223. Jocelyn, H. D., "Latin Popular Song and a Pompeian Graffito," *LCM* 6 (1981) 145-48.  
 224. Linderski, J., "Suetons Bericht über die Vereinsgesetzgebung unter Caesar und Augustus," *ZRG* 79 (1962) 322-28.  
 225. McDermott, W. C., "Caesar's Projected Dacian-Parthian Expedition," *AncSoc* 13-14 (1982-83) 223-31.  
 226. McDermott, W. C., "Suetonius and Cicero," *CW* 64 (1971) 213-14.  
 227. McDermott, W. C., "Suetonius, *Iul.* 74,2," *Latomus* 6 (1947) 173-75.  
 228. Pólay, E., "Der Kodifizierungsplan des Julius Caesar," *Iura* 16 (1975) 27-51.  
 229. Sutherland, C. H. V., "Monetae Peculiares Servos Praeposuit: Julius Caesar and the Mint of Rome," *NC* 145 (1985) 243-45.

LINDERSKI (224) tries to clarify S.'s statements on the restructuring of clubs by Caesar (42) and Augustus (*Aug.* 32). In the latter passage apparently the *collegia antiqua* are those existing before Caesar; the *legitima* are those growing up legally after Caesar's reform; and the *nova* were probably formed according to Caesar's measures and allowed to stay by Augustus, who continued Caesar's policy. Cf. ADDENDUM. PÓLAY (228) assesses the attempted legal reform mentioned by S. (44.2) and Isidore (5.1.5). Apparently the idea of reform occurred to him after Pompey's abandoned reform (AD 52?) but crystallized in the last two years of his life. The first clause in S. shows that codification was probably to be of private law and involved the

“Juristenrecht,” probably the *ius respondendi* for matters of trade; in the second clause the reference is to a plan to integrate the laws with his monarchic plans as accomplished by Augustus, which was not entrusted to Ofilius. According to MCDERMOTT (225), Caesar probably wanted to attack primarily the Getae, the Parthians being pursued only for revenge and not to expand the borders beyond the Euphrates. Caesar may have foreseen the dangers in overexpansion. CAWTHORNE (219) doubts the statements of S. (45.1) and others that Caesar had epilepsy; rather he revives Wherry’s diagnosis (*Notes and Queries* 10, 40 [1909] 243, which I have not seen) of Menière’s Disease (aural vertigo), based on Shakespeare’s testimony that Caesar was deaf in his left ear. Epilepsy is vigorously supported by A. Esser, *Cäsar und die Julisch-Claudischen Kaiser im biologisch-ärztlichen Blickfeld* (Leiden 1958) 25-29, 201-203. DRAGOTTI (222) thinks there is not enough evidence to diagnose either epilepsy or Menière’s Disease; Shakespeare is certainly not adequate authority for deafness. CLAUSEN (220) traces Bede’s overvaluation of British pearl to his source Solinus and, indirectly, to Solinus’ sources Pliny (and perhaps Mela) and S. (47). He argues that Pliny knew the pearls in the thorax dedicated to Venus Genetrix were not British, but that S. was misled by Caesar’s statement that they were. JOCELYN (223) points out that *CIL* IV.10004 (*Eupla laxa landicosa*) is part of a trochaic tetrameter catalectic, similar in tone to the *versus quadrati* cited by S. (49.4, 51). The “phrasal structure” is also reminiscent of obscene graffiti and affected literary style. In his second article MCDERMOTT (227) suggests that S. kept the account of the Gallic Wars (24.2-25) brief in accordance with Cicero’s advice not to re-treat the wars (*Br.* 262; cf. *Iul.* 55.2-3). According to his third study (226), when Caesar in the impiety trial of P. Clodius *negavit se quicquam comperisse*, he was criticizing Cicero, who used the word *comperisse* frequently in his speeches and letters with reference to Catiline. DEROUX (221) finds a slowly developing political motivation in Catullus’ criticisms of Caesar and his men, culminating in c. 29 with its political terminology. S. attests to the damage caused by the poems and to a “reconciliation” (73), although DEROUX thinks the reconciliation at best an uneasy truce. SUTHERLAND (229) comments that the only “proof” that emperors controlled coinage is S. 76.3, which states that Caesar gave control of the mint to his slaves. Probably the slaves were administrators, not workers, and presumably this was done in the forties BC. The *procuratores monetarum* of Hadrianic date and later are the natural inheritors of this administration of the mint, although for a time in Nero’s reign the senate seems to have temporarily taken away control of the types.

### Assassination

230. Bömer, F., “Über die Himmelserscheinung nach dem Tode Caesars,” *BJ* 152 (1952) 27-40.

231. Braun, R., “Honeste cadere, Un topos d’hagiographie antique,” *Bull. du centre de romanistique et d’antiquité tardive* 1 (1983) 1-12.

232. Cogrossi, C., “Pietà popolare e divinizzazione nel culto di Cesare del 44 a.C.,” *CISA* 7 (1981) 141-60.

233. Dubuisson, M., “Toi aussi, mon fils,” *Latomus* 39 (1980) 881-90.

234. Gugel, H., “Caesars Tod (Sueton, Div. Iul. 81, 4-82, 3),” *Gymnasium* 77 (1970) 5-22.

235. Kassel, R., “Ista quidem vis est,” *ZPE* 44 (1981) 172.

236. Kennedy, G., “Antony’s Speech at Caesar’s Funeral,” *QJS* 54 (1968) 99-106.

237. Lyons, M., and H. C. Montgomery, “Friends, Romans, Countrymen,” *CB* 44 (1968) 37-39, 41.

238. Scott, K., "The *Sidus Iulium* and the Apotheosis of Caesar," *CP* 36 (1941) 257-72.

GUGEL (234) offers a summary of scholarship on S. and laments the failure to take STEIDLE (31) seriously; what is important is not S.'s sources but what he selects from them. In the description of Caesar's death, the stage is artfully set, suspense is added by the detailing of omens and other possible snags in the plot, and motifs are picked up from earlier in the life. The death scene, then, "ties into a knot" the whole life, and S. has given an artful picture of Caesar. KASSEL (235) compares 82.1 to one passage in Goethe and one in Aristophanes. BRAUN (231) traces the "morte pudique" from Euripides to the Medieval period. Oddly S. (82.2) applies the genre to a male; to the literary reasons given for this by GUGEL can be added that of emphasizing Caesar's effeminacy. DUBUISSON (233) accepts Cicero's date for Brutus' birth (85 BC) and doubts that Brutus was Caesar's son. *teknon* would be a "term of endearment," put in Greek as was Caesar's custom and as he also did when he counterattacked Casca. A response in Greek would be expected for bilinguals who learned Greek first, and this proves that the words were actually said, contrary to skepticism by S., Dio and moderns. LYONS/MONTGOMERY (237) find Shakespeare's oration more in touch with the "human" and "dramatic" aspects than any of the ancient sources (including S. 84.2). To KENNEDY (236) Cicero, Plutarch and the other sources agree that Antony spoke a *laudatio*, then gave *miseratio* (and perhaps *cohortatio*). Appian's speech is "dramatized" but close to the accounts and probably from Pollio; Dio's is not. In KENNEDY's opinion, S.'s account (84), praised by Deutsch (*UCSCP* 9 [1926-1929] 127-48, which I have not seen), is overly "compressed" and specific on details and needs much interpretation and supplement to match the other sources, which seem to be more authentic than S. COGROSSI (232) starts from discrepancy between Greek and Roman (e.g. S. 85) statements about the shape and location of the monument and rites for Caesar. It was a column, and the rites described in the sources are funeral rites, not divinization. SCOTT (238) discusses generally the literary accounts of the apotheosis (incl. S. 88), and compares representations on statues, coins and gems. For BÖMER (230), S., in distinction to Pliny, states that the comet was believed to be Caesar's spirit (a *catasterism*). The symbolic star goes back to Ennius, and under the influence of Greek models is developed by Ovid, etc., into the *catasterism*. S. could be restored to the same meaning as Pliny by emending *recepti* into *receptam*.

#### E. *Divus Augustus*

239. Bardon, H., "Notes sur la littérature impériale I, Influence littéraire des *Res gestae* d'Auguste," *Latomus* 3 (1939) 250-53.

240. Clarke, M. L., "Three Notes on Roman Education," *CP* 63 (1968) 44.

241. Daicovicu, H., "Coson sau Cotiso," *Acta Musei Napocensis* 2 (1965) 107-10.

242. Grassi, E., "Inediti di Eugenio Grassi," *A&R* 15 (1970) 23-24.

243. Grimal, P., "Suétone historien dans la Vie d'Auguste," *VL* 83 (1981) 2-9.

244. Hanslik, R., "Die Augustusvita Suetons," *WS* 67 (1954) 99-144.

245. Herrmann, L., "Suétone, *Divus Augustus* 45, 6," *Latomus* 21 (1962) 860.

246. Kraft, K., "Zu Sueton, *Divus Augustus* 69,2. M. Anton und Kleopatra," *Hermes* 95 (1967) 496-99.

247. Malcovati, E., "Domus Domuos Domus," *A&R* 15 (1970) 181-83.



248. Morgan, M. G., "Suetonius and Swimming: A Note on *Div. Aug.* 64.3," *CP* 69 (1974) 276-78.
249. Müller, G., "Zum Hofamt *A Memoria* (Sueton Aug. 79,2)," *RhM* 124 (1981) 361-62.
250. Ors, A. d', "Cleopatra uxor de Marco Antonio," *AHDE* 49 (1979) 639-42.
251. Reinhold, M., "Augustus' Conception of Himself," *Thought* 55 (1980) 36-50.
252. Uytfanghe, M. van, "L'Individu et l'histoire. Réflexions didactiques sur les Douze Césars de Suétone," *DCGand* 20-21 (1980-1981) 437-58.

According to BARDON (239), the *Res Gestae* were not imitated by Seneca, Tacitus or Velleius. S. used the text as a source but primarily in chapters 21, 22 and 43, and it did not provide a structure for the life. Furthermore the writers of the *S.H.A.* took from S., not from the *R.G.* GRIMAL (243) places S. in the context of the failure of annalistic writing to interpret imperial history. S. writes in a genre based on the "hero" in the tradition of Sallust. There is a natural (if not strictly chronological) order to the rubrics; in these rubrics chronology plays a role. One of S.'s main goals is to find the private man behind the public man (or god). S. then is trying to rejuvenate the genre of history, and is not simply applying Greek models to his Roman subject. HANSLIK (244) applies the work of STEIDLE (31) to the *Augustus*, which is intended to be read with the *Iulius*. An overall structure appears based on Augustus' names (Thurinus, C. Caesar and Augustus), as Augustus passes from youth, to avenger/imitator of Julius, to model emperor. Many examples of careful structuring are adduced, including occasional bending of facts to support S.'s conception of Augustus' personality and development. REINHOLD (251) views Augustus (largely with evidence from S.) within the framework of modern psychological theories of the leadership personality: his urge for power was motivated by insecurity and his equestrian background. UYTFANGHE (252) recommends S. for teaching by the "kulturgeschichtlich" method in secondary schools. He reviews S.'s career and work, critics and defenders, and tries to show in 94.1-6 and 28 (both printed in Latin and French translation, with commentary) a "dialectique entre le collectif et le personnel." The passages reveal religious milieu and imperial ideology, respectively.

HERRMANN (245) transposes 45.4 (*nec tamen. . . exegit*) onto the end of 45.2 without punctuation, also continuing 45.3 *scaena nam histrionum* with punctuation. He also omits 45.3 *vetere* without comment (by mistake?). DAICOVICIU (241) is in Romanian and inaccessible but includes a French summary (p. 110). *Cosoni* is preferred to *Cotisoni* at 63.2 on grounds numismatic, palaeographical and historical: Cotison was a hostile king of the Dacians, not the Getae, whose king was apparently Coson. CLARKE's (240) third note argues that *natare* at 64.3 should be emended with Bentley to *notare* and interpreted as "arithmetical notation" as at *Galb.* 5.2. MORGAN (248) defends *natare*: *notare* cannot mean "to write in cipher" or "to write in shorthand," and it is probable that Augustus wanted the imperial family to swim and himself instructed Gaius and Lucius. KRAFT (246) seeks the significance and date of Antony's letter to Augustus (69.2) stating, of Cleopatra, *uxor mea est*. His solution is to place a question mark after *est*. MÜLLER (249) argues against an Augustan *a memoria*, suggested by 79.2 as emended by Lipsius (*et a memoria*: so Roth and Ailloud) and conjectures *etiam memor*; Marathus was then biographer rather than bureaucrat. GRASSI (242), in marginalia of his text of Augustus' works, had preferred *pro domus* to *pro domuos* at 87.2. The preferred reading had appeared in late mss. and early editions, but had been supplanted by IHM (4) and other modern editors.

MALCOVATI (247) answers GRASSI that *domuos*, being *difficilior*, should be retained.

*Ancestry, Youth, Civil Wars (1-19)*

253. Baldwin, B., "A Joke in Minucius Felix (Oct. 14.1)," *LCM* 12 (1987) 23.

254. Bieber, M., "The Velletri Sarcophagus Carved for the Family of the Octaviani," *AJA* 70 (1966) 65.

255. Magnino, D., "Una testimonianza dall'Autobiografia di Augusto," *Athenaeum* 44 (1986) 501-4.

256. Martz, D., "A Note on Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 17," *CB* 59 (1983) 27.

257. Susini, G., "Gratia Coniurandi (Suet., Aug. 17,2)," in *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevocchi*, ed. E. Bresciani et al. (Bologna 1981) 393-400.

258. Vasto, F. di, "Il soprannome di Augusto e un' osservazione sull' itinerario di C. Ottavio," *PP* 40 (1985) 39-40.

BIEBER (254) suggests that the sarcophagus from Velletri was commissioned for the Octaviani; in fact the scenes there depicted "might well be used as illustrations to the report of Suetonius" (1-6). BALDWIN (253) explains the baker joke at Min. Fel. *Oct.* 14.1 as based on Augustus' grandfather the baker (4.2). MAGNINO (255) uses S. (8.3) to confirm the ms. reading at Nic. Dam. *Aug.* 24; both authors used Augustus' *Commentarii de Vita Sua*. VASTO (258) speculates that C. Octavius, as well as campaigning successfully at Thurii against Spartacus' and Catiline's followers, passed through Thurii on his way to Macedonia in 61. SUSINI (257) sees the Gallus papyrus referring to Augustus in 32 BC as reflected in 17.2: consensus against the Antonians had not yet developed, and Bologna held old commercial ties to Antony. MARTZ (256) translates *gratiam fecit coniurandi* as "he granted (them) the favor of joining," the reverse of the usual interpretation ("of refusing to join"—Rolfé).

*Administration (20-50)*

259. Aymard, A., "Les Otages barbares au début de l'empire," *JRS* 51 (1961) 136-42.

260. Boyancé, P., "Properce aux fêtes de quartier," *REA* 52 (1950) 64-70.

261. Cahn, H. A., "Zu einem Münzbild des Augustus," *MH* 1 (1944) 203-8.

262. Ceaușescu, P., "Das programmatische Edikt des Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 28, 1)," *RhM* 124 (1981) 348-53.

263. Ferrara, G., "Commenti al dopoguerra aziaco (II)," *Cultura* 7 (1969) 452-67.

264. McDermott, W. C., "Suetonius and the Second Proscription," *Gymnasium* 79 (1972) 495-99.

265. Nicolet, C., "Le Cens senatorial sous la république et sous Auguste," *JRS* 66 (1976) 20-38.

266. Schwartz, J., "L'Ombre d'Antoine et les débuts du principat (à propos de commentaires perdus d'Horace)," *MH* 5 (1948) 155-67.

267. Susini, G., "Miseno e Ravenna; parallelo critico delle fonti," *CCAB* 14 (1967) 367-79.

268. Thompson, L. A., "The Concept of Purity of Blood in Suetonius' Life of Augustus," *MusAfr* 7 (1981) 35-46.

269. Tränkle, H., "Zu Cremutius Cordus fr. 4 Peter," *MH* 37 (1980) 231-41.

Cf. LINDERSKI (224).

Augustus, according to S., attempted new hostage policies including the holding of women and the right of recovery (21.2). AYMARD (259) points out that others had taken women as hostages, so S. must be thinking of the recent Roman past and perhaps of practices learned from the Germans; as to the ease of recovery, surely substitute hostages were demanded. MCDERMOTT (264) argues that the name of Cicero is omitted from the proscribed at 27.1-2 out of S.'s high opinion of the orator. Further the later regret noted by S. for Vinius' proscription is supported for Veranius by *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> p. 99, elog. 29. FERRARA (263) believes that Greek philosophy was not a factor in the "new settlement." Augustus himself was in doubt (28), still pained by Antony's criticism and by Antonians (characterizing themselves as republicans) at Rome. CEAUŞESCU (262) argues that *sede* at 28.2 should not mean "basis" but Rome itself; hence the subsequent (28.3 and following) discussion of public works. Architectural words have attained technical political meanings. SCHWARTZ (266) traces passages in John of Salisbury and similar Horatian scholia to a lost commentary of Helenius Acro, which used, like S. (e.g. 30) and Dio, the lost history of Cremutius Cordus. CAHN (261) compares *denarii* minted in 16 BC by C. Antistius Vetus to other representations based on the Palatine Apollo. The coins portray a wreathed altar and a pedestal under which are three containers, which must contain the Sibylline books as described by S. (31.1). S.'s *duobus* may be a mistake, as may be his chronology. TRÄNKLE (269) focuses on the allusion to Cremutius Cordus in 35 and Augustus' behavior at the *lectio senatus* in 18 BC (confused by S. with that of 29 BC). The passage indicates that Tacitus may have used Cordus as an anti-Augustan source. NICOLET (265) argues that in the later republic senators first belonged to the equestrian class and hence were subject only to that census. This was raised (18 BC?) to one million HS (S. is mistaken at 41.3), and Augustus created a "senatorial class" (35) to which one entered by birth or imperial permission (38.2). According to THOMPSON (268), 40.3, usually taken as implying a "racialist" attitude in Augustus' program (contrary to that observed in his actual policies), really refers to "moral and cultural" objections to foreigners and slaves. BOYANCÉ (260) explains the peculiar allusion to theaters and streetcorners at Prop. 2.22.3-4 by reference to dramas enacted by Augustus *vicatim* (43); these according to BOYANCÉ were acted in 29 BC in the triumph for Actium. SUSINI (267) discusses the topography and history of the two ports established at Misenum and Ravenna by Augustus (49.1), as reconstructible from literary and archaeological sources.

### *Private Life (51-92)*

270. Bahn, P., "A Divine Antiquarian?," *Antiquity* 59 (1985) 55.

271. Barbu, N., "Une observation stylistique de Suétone," *Limba si literat* 1 (1955) 7-11.

272. Bejarano, V., "Augusto Escritor," *HispAnt* 4 (1974) 87-109.

273. Cavallaro, M. A., "Un liberto 'prega' per Augusto e per le gentes. *CIL* VI 30975 (con inediti di Th. Mommsen)," *Helikon* 15-16 (1975-76) 146-86.

274. Coccia, M., "Note di lettura," *RCCM* 17 (1975) 307.

275. Flambard, J. M., "Suétone, Dion Cassius et les étrennes du prince," *REL* 60 (1982) 40-42.
276. Geiger, J., "An Overlooked Item of the War of Propaganda between Octavian and Antony," *Historia* 29 (1980) 112-14.
277. König, I., "Der doppelte Geburtstag des Augustus: 23.24. September (Suet., *Aug.* 51,1)," *Epigraphica* 34 (1972) 3-15.
278. Pisani, V., "Due comparazioni indo-Latine," *RSO* 32 (1957) 765-68.
279. Rapke, T. T., "Julia and C. Proculius: A Note on Suetonius *Augustus* 63.2," *LCM* 9 (1984) 21-22.
280. Slater, W. J., "Pueri, Turba Minuta," *BICS* 21 (1974) 122-40.
281. Verdière, R., "À propos d'un souper régence d'Octavien," *LEC* 40 (1978) 294-301.
282. Verdière, R., "Un Amour secret d'Ovide," *AC* 40 (1971) 623-48.

KÖNIG (277) notes that Sept. 23 is surely Augustus' birthday, and asks about the persistence of Sept. 24. S. (57.1) says the second birthday was celebrated by the equestrians, and hence was originally a "private" holiday, as confirmed by inscriptions and made plausible by Augustus' special connection with equestrians. FLAMBARD (275) sees the *eikones* at Dio 59.6.4 not as *sigillaria* but as *strena principis*, as at 57.3. According to RAPKE (279), C. Proculius could not have been among the *equites* considered by Augustus to marry the widowed Julia in 12 BC (63.2). VERDIÈRE, in his second entry (282), believes Ovid was banished because Augustus was his rival for Corinna. Corinna then is identified (from 69.3 and other sources) as Terentia, wife of Maecenas. In his first entry, VERDIÈRE (281) assesses the *cena* and poetry at 70.1. Emending *cenat* into *caelat* and *Mallia* into *Mania*, he finds some, but not enough, linguistic support for the Ovidian attribution of the poetry (L. W. Garlow, *CJ* 32 [1936] 103-5). PISANI (278) compares *manus* ("pots" in gambling) at 71.3 (in a letter of Augustus) to a Sanskrit text, finding them a calque. BAHN (270) assesses Augustus' antiquarian collection at 73.2, apparently dinosaur bones and stone axes, and notes that Augustus had opened Alexander's tomb (18.1). According to GEIGER (276), Augustus' moderation in drink shown at Mutina (77) is probably a response to Antony's propaganda, perhaps in *De Ebr. Sua*. Nepos may have treated the subject as well. BEJARANO (272) considers Augustus as writer, primarily using S. (84-88) as a source. Augustus' style, writing/speaking habits, literary works, letters, epigrams and will are discussed; the preserved fragments are consistent with the comments of S. To SLATER (280), the *pueri minuti* at 83 are *delicia*, "small children. . .to provide amusement and company," parallel to the artistic interest in Amorini. The same characters turn up in Prop. 2.29A, Cat. 55 and Verg. *Aen.* 1.683-89. COCCIA (274) adds the letter of Augustus at 86.3 as a reference to *votubilis verborum* in Petronius (in his *Le interpolazioni in Petronio* [Rome 1973] 105).

### *Omens, Death (93-end)*

283. Bauer, J. B., "Das Prodigium bei Sueton, Augustus 94, 3," *Hermes* 102 (1974) 124-27.
284. Grandet, P., "Les Songes d'Atia et d'Octavius. Note sur les rapports d'Auguste et d'Égypt," *RHR* 203 (1986) 365-79.
285. Manfredini, M., "L'asinario di Azio," *ASNP* 16 (1986) 481-83.
286. Martin, R. H., "Tacitus and the Death of Augustus," *CQ* 49 (1955) 123-28.
287. Monaco, G., "Spectatores, Plaudite," in *Studia Florentina Alexandro Ronconi Sexagenario Oblata* (Rome 1970) 255-73.

288. Nicolet, C., "Plèbe et tribus: Les Statues de Lucius Antoninus et le testament d'Auguste," *MEFR* 97 (1985) 799-813.

289. Questa, C., "La morte di Augusto secondo Cassio Dione," *PP* 14 (1959) 41-55.

290. Rocca-Serra, G., "Une formule culturelle chez Suétone (Divus Augustus 98,2)," in *Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à P. Boyancé* (Rome 1974) 671-80.

291. Traina, A., "Primus Dies Natalis," *Maia* 18 (1966) 279-80.

GRANDET (284) discusses the *Theolegomena* (30-27 BC) of Asclepiades of Mendes, as used by S. (94.4-5) and Dio; the dreams, based on Egyptian cult, evoke the birth of Alexander and suggest that Roman/Augustan propaganda was the purpose and use of Asclepiades' work. BAUER (283) notes similarity in the anecdote from Julius Marathus on the portent before Augustus' birth (94.3) and the Biblical story in Matt. 2:1-18. S. probably refers to a birth of a child with defomed *genitalia (natura)*. ROCCA-SERRA (290) notes the religious language and style (including a pun on the name "Zeus") in the story of the Alexandrian sailors at 98.2; the reference is to an acclamation of liturgical style, taken from a divinizing Greek/Egyptian source (Asclepiades of Mendes?), and parallel to Acts 17:28a. MANFREDINI (285) discusses the donkey and driver at 96.2 and (slightly different) in Plutarch, and their statue, apparently the one testimonied later as transported to Byzantium and melted for money. MARTIN (286) is primarily a study of Tacitus' similar accounts of the accessions of Tiberius and Nero, which are drawn from various sources but given a Tacitean stamp. He argues that Tacitus used the same sources as S. (*Claud.* 44; *Aug.* 98; *Tib.* 21-22) and that the authors have verbal parallels, evidently from the shared source. The same is true, he suggests, of Dio and *Claud.* 44. QUESTA (289) on the contrary argues that the best account of the death of Augustus is in S. (99.1) and in Velleius (S. also preserves the best details on Claudius' death). Dio's version, having grown in the second century AD, replaced the better one in S. and Velleius. MONACO (287) examines the fragment of Greek New Comedy quoted by Augustus before dying (99.1), in the context of similar Plautine and Terentian endings. Apparently the call for applause, with reference to the "moral" of the plot, arose in New Comedy (as evidenced by the *Dysc.* and by S.) and passed on to Rome. NICOLET (288) evaluates the bequest at 101.2 and in Tacitus and Dio; all figures can be reconciled if Augustus gave 100,000 sesterces to each of the 35 *tribus*. TRAINA (291) applies 100.3 to Lygdamus 5.17-18; S. seems to support La Penna (Lygdamus means the day of birth) rather than Paratore (the first birthday).

Cf. ADDENDUM.

## F. Tiberius

292. Abel, E. L., "Were the Jews Banished from Rome in 19 A.D.?", *REJ* 127 (1968) 383-86.

293. Bringmann, K., "Zur Tiberiusbiographie Suetons," *RhM* 114 (1971) 268-85.

294. Dobroiu, E., "Allusions à l'empereur Tibère dans le *Satyricon*," *Limbi Clasice* 18 (1969) 17-45.

295. Döpp, S., "Zum Aufbau der Tiberius-vita Suetons," *Hermes* 100 (1972) 444-60.

296. Giua, M. A., "Sulla biografia suetoniana di Tiberio: tradizione e struttura," *Athenaeum* 56 (1978) 329-45.

297. Herrmann, L., "Sénèque et la 'superstitione'," *Latomus* 29 (1970) 389-96.

298. Pippidi, D. M., "Tacite et Tibère, Une Contribution à l'étude du portrait dans l'historiographie latine," *ED* 8 (1938) 282-95, 291-93 (also in *Autour de Tibère* [Bucarest 1944]).

299. Smallwood, E. M., "Some Notes on the Jews under Tiberius," *Latomus* 15 (1956) 314-29.

Cf. SHACKLETON BAILEY (192) 316-17.

Three scholars assess the *Tiberius* in terms of STEIDLE (31), who argues that S.'s use of rubrics rather than chronological treatment marks his literary originality. BRINGMANN (293) argues that S., Dio and Tacitus all use the same annalistic source, who gave a psychological view of Tiberius' decline. S. separates the life into three periods and the traits into rubrics, and associates Tiberius' decline with the move to Capri. Hence S. "falsifies" his source and belittles Tiberius' benefactions and good characteristics to illustrate flaws as operative throughout his life. Thus BRINGMANN restores S.'s originality but as a historical bungler, and concludes that the *Tib.* offers no help to STEIDLE's theory. DÖPP (295), working independently, reaches essentially the same conclusions. S.'s main argument, that retreat to Capri brought the change of Tiberius' character, is never clear, and contradictions between the early part (1-39, to AD 26/27) and the remainder make the events and their motivations unclear, as material from each part of the life undercuts that of the other. Chronological division and application of rubrics is flawed, not allowing Tiberius' character to develop as in the accounts of Tacitus, Dio and, presumably, their common source. GIUA (296) responds to the two Germans that the contradictions in S. are also apparent in Tacitus' treatment of Tiberius, although they are made more obvious by S.'s use of rubrics. Their common source(s) must have contained the same problems, although Tacitus is better able to hide them. PIPPIDI (298) pauses in his long study of Tacitus to criticize S., in the tradition of Leo, for uncritical listing of anecdotes in rubrics in a Hellenistic vein. To PIPPIDI, S. has misunderstood the emperor and confused the issue. Tacitus is an "artiste," S. a "compilateur," although both follow the same tradition of moral change in Tiberius' character. DOBROIU (294) tries to identify Trimalchio with Tiberius, based *inter alia* on similarities to *convicia* and anecdotes in S. The *Satyricon* was written, in part at least (57-58), during 35-37 AD.

SHACKLETON BAILEY (192) emends two passages in the *Tib.* He finds *putant* at 15.2 odd because implying diffidence in his account; omission of *fame* as gloss is the simplest solution. At 73.2 he wants to delete *in-* from *instare*. HERRMANN (297) compares *Tib.* 36 to the other sources on expulsion of the Jews in AD 31. Transposing *coactis* . . . *comburare* to after *dedit*, he refers the burning of clothes, etc., and the phrase *ea superstitione*, to astrologers rather than Jews. He also thinks Dio correct on the cause (proselytizing), but the proselytizing primarily Christian, especially by St. Paul. SMALLWOOD (299: more than a textual note) had also found the expulsion motivated by proselytizing, though not by Christians, but dated the event to AD 19 and denied a role to Sejanus. ABEL (292) concludes from Tacitus and S. that proselytes, probably freedmen and foreigners rather than citizens, were the ones banished, not those born to Judaism, and were sent to Sardinia to be separated from born Jews.

*Early Career (1-15)*

300. Badian, E., "The Thessalian Clients of Tiberius Nero," *CR* 24 (1974) 186.
301. Goudineau, Ch., "Note sur la fondation de Lyon," *Gallia* 44 (1986) 171-73.
302. Hermon, E., "La Loi agraire de Saturninus de 100 av. J.C. et la colonisation latine de la Narbonnaise," *Iura* 23 (1972) 67-103.
303. Krämer, K., "Zur Rückgabe der Feldzeichen im Jahre 20 v. Chr.," *Historia* 22 (1973) 362-63.
304. Levick, B. M., "The Beginning of Tiberius' Career," *CQ* 21 (1971) 478-86.
305. Levick, B. M., "Drusus Caesar and the Adoptions of A.D. 4," *Latomus* 26 (1966) 227-44.
306. Oliver, R. P., "Thrasyllus in Tacitus (Ann., 6.21)," *ICS* 5 (1980) 130-48.
307. Seager, R. J., "The Return of the Standards in 20 B.C.," *LCM* 2 (1977) 201-2.
308. Suolahti, J., "Claudia Insons: Why Was a Fine Imposed on Claudia Ap. f. in 246 B.C.?", *Arctos* 11 (1977) 133-51.
309. Suolahti, J., "M. Claudius Glicia, Qui Scriba Fuerat, Dictator," *Arctos* 10 (1976) 97-103.
310. Wiseman, T. P., "Monuments and the Roman Annalists," in *Past Perspectives*, ed. I. S. Moxon, J. D. Smart and A. J. Woodman (Cambridge 1986) 82-100.

WISEMAN (310) finds S.'s censure of Tiberius' ancestor Claudius Russus (Drusus mss.) at 2.2 based on a "misinterpretation" of Russus' triumphal monument; the laurel wreath with *lemnisci* was interpreted as a *diadema*. The mistake was intentional and occurred in the period 59-40 BC. SUOLAHTI's entries discuss Claudians in 2.3. The first (308) compares the story of Claudia to the accounts of Livy, Gellius and Valerius Maximus. All four used the same source, and reveal that she was innocent but evidently charged and fined, probably by political opponents of the Claudii. SUOLAHTI's second entry (309) suggests the Pulcher's appointment of Glicia was not Claudian arrogance; perhaps the senate called for a dictator to prevent the elections of 249 BC, and Glicia was appointed to foil the senate's move. HERMON (302) addresses the *lex* of Saturninus (100 BC) in relation to the foundation of Narbonne, attributed by S. (4) to Tiberius' father. The law created Latin *coloniae*, and was not soon repealed; the father of Julius Caesar the Dictator (or Strabo) may have been involved as *decemvir*. GOUDINEAU (301) gives a new theory of Lyon's founding based in part on *Tib.* 4, where an ancestor of Tiberius had resettled legions in Gaul, apparently including one from Vienna which ultimately came to Lyon. LEVICK (304) tries to establish the chronology for Tiberius' speeches in chapter 8. She argues that chapters 7-9 are both topical and chronological: Archelaus (26 BC), Trallians (25), other cities (24). Since Tiberius' ties were ancestral, the speeches would prove some continuation of the patron/client structure of the Republic. BADIAN (300) is troubled by LEVICK's explanation and date for the Thessalians, and points out that it, too, could be a client *patrocinium*, inherited from Appius Claudius Nero, praetor 195 BC. According to KRÄMER (303), Gelzer is right to doubt S.'s report (9.1) that Tiberius was there to accept the standards; he would not have been able to be there at that time. SEAGER (307) argues against chronological difficulties, and suggests that the silence of Velleius Paternus can be explained either by assuming a lacuna or as an implicit criticism of Tiberius.

OLIVER (306) finds truth in Tacitus' anecdote in that Thrasyllus predicted his own danger from Tiberius' behavior. Dio's account is less credible and based on an anti-astrological source. S. (14.4) confuses the story in Tacitus with the one, also in Dio, of the timely arrival of the ship. LEVICK (305) observes that *Tib.* 15 implies that Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus were to assume power together, just as Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Germanicus and Drusus, and Drusus' twin sons. The career of Drusus shows that Tiberius retained Augustus' principles of succession.

### *Letters of Augustus*

311. Birch, R. A., "The Correspondence of Augustus: Some Notes on Suetonius, *Tiberius* 21. 4-7," *CQ* 31 (1981) 155-61.

312. Malcovati, E., "Tiberio e le Muse," *Athenaeum* 50 (1972) 385-89.

313. Shaw-Smith, R., "A Letter from Augustus to Tiberius," *G&R* 18 (1971) 213-14.

314. Verdière, R., "Auguste, lecteur de Thucydide," *AC* 24 (1955) 120-21.

VERDIÈRE (314) supports Roth's conjecture for the corrupt Greek at *Tib.* 21.6, comparing the Greek in Augustus' letter with Xerxes' letter to Pausanias (Thuc. 1.129.3). SHAW-SMITH (313) emends the same to *emois aisiois oiðnois strategôn*, the first three words translating *meis auspiciis* in the *Monum.Ancy.* SHAW-SMITH does not cite VERDIÈRE, but criticizes Roth's reading. MALCOVATI (312) for the same passage defends her own reading in her edition of Augustus' letters (*systrategôn*) as a reference to Hor. C. 4.14. BIRCH (311), apparently without knowledge of the others, emends the same passage to *tais emais sais te strategôn*, dates the letter of 21.4 to AD 4 or 5 based on the emendation *nomimôtate* and the reference to the newly betrothed/married Germanicus and Drusus. At 21.5 he accepts Pithou's reading (*apothumian*) and dates to 5 or 8/9; 21.7 is dated to 7/8, and it is suggested that the use of Greek at 21.4 etc. is for "tact."

### *Agrippa Postumus and Clemens*

315. Allen, W., Jr., "The Death of Agrippa Postumus," *TAPA* 78 (1947) 131-39.

316. Detweiler, R., "Historical Perspectives on the Death of Agrippa Postumus," *CJ* 65 (1970) 289-95.

317. Jameson, S., "Augustus and Agrippa Postumus," *Historia* 24 (1975) 287-314.

318. Levick, B. M., "Abdication and Agrippa Postumus," *Historia* 21 (1972) 674-97.

319. Mogenet, J., "Le Conjurateur de Clemens," *AC* 23 (1954) 321-30.

320. Paladini, M. L., "La morte di Agrippa Postumo e la congiura di Clemente," *AFLMilano* 7 (1954) 313-29.

321. Pappano, A. E., "Agrippa Postumus," *CP* 36 (1941) 30-45.

PAPPANO (321) offers a general biography of Agrippa based on all sources (including *Aug.* 19, 51 and 65; *Tib.* 15, 22 and 25), believing Agrippa sane and Tiberius uninvolved in his death. Rather the death was an attempt to quell the rallying of the "Julian party" to make Agrippa emperor. ALLEN (315) accounts for problems in Tacitus' account of Agrippa's death with a



theory that he died peacefully, and that Sallustius Crispus was imported from the death of the impostor Clemens. Therefore Crispus does not appear in *Tib.* 22, although Tacitus and S. apparently shared sources. DETWEILER (316) finds fault with all modern reconstructions (including PAPPANO and ALLEN), and agrees with the ancient sources that Tiberius is to blame for the execution of Agrippa. MOGENET (319) concludes that S. dates the beginning of the plot of Clemens to AD 14, Dio to the actual outbreak in 16. Audasius and Epicadus, to MOGENET, were not involved, and Tacitus' account is factually suspect but valuable as psychological insight. PALADINI (320) surveys the main sources on Agrippa's death. S. is less hostile to Tiberius and Livia than Tacitus and Dio. All agree, against ALLEN, that he passed away in violence, and Tiberius seems culpable (as evidenced by S.'s account of Clemens). LEVICK (318) reaches a new understanding of *abdiciatio* ("renunciation or disowning of a child after due process. . .taking effect through the technique of *emancipatio*"), and applies this new understanding to the problematical situation of Agrippa Postumus. JAMESON (317) argues against LEVICK that *abdiciatio* is not *emancipatio*: Agrippa was never *emancipatus* and never left *patria potestas*. The SC against Agrippa (*Aug.* 65) was *interdictio* (or *deportatio*) rather than *relegatio*. JAMESON blames the murder on Sallustius Crispus.

#### *Middle and Late Years (32-end)*

322. Andrén, A., "Un portrait de Tibère à la Villa San Michele, Anacapri," in *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna* (Brussels 1957) 59-60 and Pl. 16.

323. Cardini, R., "Contributo ad una vexatissima quaestio. Maris expers (Pers. VI,39; nonchè Se. nat. quaest. 1,16,7, Suet, Tib. 45)," in *Tradizione classica e letteratura umanistica. Per Alessandro Perosa*, ed. R. Cardini et al. (Rome 1985) 693-776.

324. Dubuisson, M., "Purisme et politique: Suétone, Tibère et le grec au Sénate," in *Hommages à Josef Veremans* (Brussels 1986) 109-20.

325. Giaccherio, M., "Note storiche di numismatica giulio-claudio I: Le cause immediate e remote della crisi finanziaria Tiberiana: Tacito e Suetonio sulla *inopia rei nummariae*," *RIN* 81 (1979) 63-82.

326. Heuron, J., "Une calomnie sur Tibère enfant (Suet., Tib. 57)," *AFLNice* (1985) No. 50, 401-5.

327. Hubaux, J., "Tibère et le grammarien de Rhodes," *Latomus* 5 (1946) 99-102.

328. Kullmann, W., "Medeas Entwicklung bei Seneca," in *Forschungen zur römischen Literatur. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Karl Buchner* (Wiesbaden 1970) 158-67.

329. Levick, B. M., "The *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum," *JRS* 73 (1983) 97-115.

330. Malavolta, M., "A proposito del nuovo "SC" da Larino," *MGR* 6 (1978) 347-82.

331. Monti, S., "Una nota Tacitiana (*Ann.* VI 61, 1)," *RAAN* 28 (1953) 141-44.

332. Rogers, R. S., "*CIL* VI 903, A Note on Tiberius' Itinerary A.D. 37," *CW* 38 (1944-45) 183.

333. Townend, G. B., "The Trial of Aemilia Lepida in A.D. 20," *Latomus* 21 (1962) 484-93.

334. Turner, A., "A Vergilian Anecdote in Suetonius and Dio," *CP* 38 (1943) 261.

335. Vattuone, R., "Tre note a Suetonio *Vita Tiberii* 52," *RSA* 13-14 (1983-84) 213-35.

Cf. ADDENDUM.

HUBAUX (327) argues that Diogenes, the *grammaticus* at 32, was a rabbi, and Tiberius' retort, preserved by Tiberius himself, was a witty reference to the Sabbatical Year. The incident, then, would have happened probably in the Sabbatical Year AD 26/27. MALAVOLTA (330) and LEVICK (329) both assess the new SC of AD 19, alluded to at 35.2. Both offer (slightly different) text and commentary and survey of the relevant social history, LEVICK a translation as well. The SC curbs the incurring of *infamia* by the upper classes to escape punishment for appearing on stage or in the arena. MALAVOLTA also thinks the SC to have restrained registration by *matronae* as prostitutes to escape punishment for adultery, as implied by S., but LEVICK thinks this must have been in a different SC. KULLMANN (328) traces Medea's growing levels of evil in Seneca and compares them to Senecan (Stoic) philosophy and to Tiberius in Tacitus and S.: Tiberius' decline has five stages in Tacitus, and S. also believes him as evil by nature and gradually revealing it. This psychological theory appears to be based on the Roman emperors and to have appeared as early as Nero's time. CARDINI's (323) lengthy study treats Persius 6.39 and Casaubon's view that *maris expers* means "effeminate"; at *Claud.* 33.2 the phrase means "heterosexual." CARDINI also criticizes Housman's use of *Tib.* 45 to support his interpretation of Sen. *N.Q.* 1.16.7: S. refers to *cunnilingus*, not *fellatio*. GIACCHERO (325) considers the financial causes of the shortage of coinage in circulation in AD 33 (48.1-2), and concludes that the shortage was caused by the great influx of wealth after Actium, followed by expensive campaigns. The minting of coins slowed and a shortage developed. According to TOWNEND (333), S.'s account of the trial of Lepida (49.2, amidst other dubious exempla of Tiberius' greed) emphasizes the charge of poisoning, although Tacitus implies that she was innocent of the charge and that Tiberius did not inherit. S.'s account is drawn from the hostile M. Servilius Nonianus, Tacitus' from Nonianus and the more neutral Aufidius Bassus, and hence the confusion in Tacitus. VATTUONE (335) connects Tiberius' response to the *Ilienses* (52.2) with the Trojan legation to discuss asylum in 23 BC. The remark would also criticize them for receiving Germanicus, who in visiting Troy was motivated by *imitatio Alexandri*. The same motivated his trip to Egypt, and the famine of 52.2 probably reflects a later justification. In the third note VATTUONE comments with regard to STEIDLE (31) that S. here gives unique information, that the chapter is skilfully structured, and that it illustrates S.'s power to select information which supports his hypotheses; here then is his originality. TURNER (334) points to Vergil's story about Priam and Pyrrhus as a parallel to the story of Tiberius and the messenger to Hades in Dio and S. (57.2). MONTI (331) compares 67.1 and Tac. *Ann.* 6.61.1: Tacitus' quotation of the letter of Tiberius has minor scribal errors, and furthermore Tacitus has revised the letter for rhetorical reasons. ANDRÉN (322) describes a bust of Tiberius of AD 8-10 from Capri, which remarkably exhibits the traits described at 68. DUBUISSON (324) explains the curious aversion of Tiberius to the use of Greek in the senate (71): actually it was part of an anti-Hellenic linguistic politics, although S. has made it look like a personal idiosyncrasy on the part of Tiberius. ROGERS (332) applies *CIL* VI.903, from Antium, to the trip by Tiberius from Capri to near Rome and back to Misenum where he died (72-73.1). On this trip he must have passed through Antium, and hence the inscription with gratitude for his games.

### *Moral Vices*

336. Baldwin, B., "Aquatic Sex," *LCM* 6 (1981) 25.

337. Buttrey, T. V., "The *Spintriae* as a Historical Source," *NC* 13 (1973) 52-63 and Pl. 3-4.

338. Cameron, A., "Sex in the Swimming Pool," *BICS* 20 (1973) 149-50.  
 339. Cazzaniga, I., "De Atalantae Tabula Parrhasiana," *ASNP* 4 (1974) 1301-6.  
 340. Hallett, J. P., "*Morigerari*: Suetonius, *Tiberius* 44," *AC* 47 (1978) 196-200.  
 341. Stewart, A. F., "To Entertain an Emperor: Sperlonga, Laokoon and Tiberius at the Dinner Table," *JRS* 67 (1977) 76-90 and Pl. IX-XII.

BUTTREY (337) dismisses S.'s account of Tiberius' sexual vices as "pure canard," and suggests that the *Spintriae* tokens (sexual scenes on obverse, Roman numerals or the name of the imperial family on reverse), minted during Tiberius' stay on Capri, were the "source" of S.'s stories. STEWART (341) makes the stories more credible. He reconstructs the grotto at Sperlonga which collapsed on Tiberius in AD 26 (39). He finds the Odysseus sculptures there, and their artistic setting, remarkably similar to Tiberius' tastes in art, literature and entertainment. CAMERON (338) and BALDWIN (336) both focus on "swimming." Housman (*Class. Pap.* 1183) thought *natare* at 44.1 and *Dom.* 22 referred to group sexual activity similar to swimming, but CAMERON finds the activity taking place in water. BALDWIN minimizes the difference between the two positions: Housman's group-sex took place in water. He produces more ancient parallels, and even suggests that *Calig.* 54.2 refers to sexual activity, with S. either "joking" or "misinterpreting his source"; but see MORGAN (248). CAZZANIGA (339) and HALLETT (340) assess the painting by Parrhasius on Tiberius' bedroom wall. The former, troubled by a lack of sexual parallels for Atalanta and Meleager, considers emending *ore* but instead decides that Atalanta's reputation must have declined during the Hellenistic period. An easy solution, suggested by Wilamowitz, would be that S. made a mistake (Meleager for Milanion, repeated e.g. by Allen, *PAPA* 70 [1939] xxviii). HALLETT knows the error, and concentrates instead on the content of the painting: in the "position" described there is both *fellatio* and *cunnilingus*, and this is supported by allusions to the myth in Ovid. Tiberius' behavior, in accepting the painting, would have suggested both "self-gratification" and "accommodation to others," just as in his beloved painting.

### G. Caligula

342. Ceașescu, P., "Caligula et les legs d'Auguste," *Historia* 22 (1973) 269-83.  
 343. Funke, H., "Sueton, Cal. 26.4," *Hermes* 105 (1977) 252.  
 344. McDermott, W. C., "Suetonius, *Caligula*, 50, 3," *Latomus* 31 (1972) 527.

CEAȘESCU (342) notes that the earlier years were marked by respect for Augustus, the later by anti-Augustan remarks and actions. In Caligula's treatment of Actium, in his religious policy and even in his restoration of banned writings can be detected Antonian imitation of Dionysus, Heracles, Alexander etc. Caligula was playing off anti-Augustan feeling in an attempt to bring together east and west. There are two textual notes on the *Calig.* FUNKE (343) reads *quattuordecim* for *decimas*, since the *lex Roscia* specified that equestrians sit in rows 1-14. Caligula had given away their seats before they had had time to claim them. MCDERMOTT (344) argues for "invocare et identidem examen atque etiam expectare lucem consuemat," based on the

corrupt and ignored "vocare et identidem ex amatque etiam expectare"; *examen* is translated as "crowd."

*Youth, Family, Rule and Divinization (1-35)*

345. Bird, H. W., "Germanicus Mytheroicus," *EMC* 17 (1973) 94-101.  
 346. Burian, J., "Caligula und die Militärrevolte am Rhein," in *Mnema Vladimir Groh*, ed. J. Česká and G. Hejzlar (Prague 1946) 25-29.  
 347. Enking, K., "Minerva Mater," *JDAI* 59-60 (1944-45) 111-24.  
 348. Erce, F. d', "La Mort de Germanicus et les poisons de Caligula," *Janus* 56 (1969) 123-48.  
 349. Fishwick, D., "The Annexation of Mauretania," *Historia* 20 (1971) 467-87.  
 350. Gatti, C., "Considerazioni sul culto imperiale nel quadro della politica di Gaio," *CISA* 7 (1980) 161-73.  
 351. Kajava, M., "The Name of Cornelia Orestina/Orestilla," *Arctos* 18 (1984) 23-30.  
 352. Linderski, J., "The Mother of Livia Augusta and the Aufidii Lurcones of the Republic," *Historia* 23 (1974) 463-80.  
 353. Oliver, J. H., "Lollia Paulina, Memmius Regulus and Caligula," *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 150-53 and Pl. 43.  
 354. Taylor, A. E., "An Allusion to a Riddle in Suetonius," *AJP* 66 (1945) 408-10.  
 355. Versnel, H. S., "Destruction, *Devotio* and Despair in a Situation of Anomy: The Mourning for Germanicus in a Triple Perspective," in *Perennitas: Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome 1980) 541-618.  
 356. Wiseman, T. P., "The Mother of Livia Augusta," *Historia* 14 (1965) 333-34.

D'ERCE (348) argues that the symptoms of Germanicus in S. (1) and other sources, including the noninflammable heart, show that he was poisoned by arsenic. This might explain the story in Pliny of Caligula's attempted distillation of gold from auripigmentum, an arsenic compound. BIRD (345) thinks "mythical" treatments of Germanicus in Tacitus and S. were written with an eye toward Trajan. Tacitus contrasts Germanicus with Tiberius; S., who has read Tacitus (to BIRD's satisfaction), contrasts Germanicus with Caligula. VERSNEL (355) follows the line of BIRD but in much more breadth and depth, incorporating anthropological and sociological materials. VERSNEL focuses on 5 and the reactions to Germanicus' death: Germanicus is the ideal prince, equated with the state; his death is a foiled Golden Age, and the "devotional phenomena" which follow parallel social anarchy after the death of a king, and despair when societies have lost their orientation. Germanicus is to be seen as a messianic figure, Piso as a scapegoat, and Roman society as in a state of anomy. BURIAN (346) examines passages describing the revolt in AD 14 after the death of Augustus. Dio's version, in which Agrippina the Elder and Caligula were held hostage, would explain the wild scheme of Caligula in 48.1; Tacitus' account, similar to 9.2-3, is more probable but easily explained as growing from the popularity of Caligula with the troops. S. keeps both versions. To TAYLOR (354), the elegiac couplet at 8.1 is a "formula in riddling." GATTI (350) traces Caligula's divinization program from deification of Drusilla in 38, to assumption of heroic roles, to full divinization as Juppiter Latiaris (with planned transfer of the power to Antium).

WISEMAN (356) and LINDERSKI (352) discuss the mother of Livia, whom S. (23.2) tried to clear of Caligula's charge *ignobilitatis* with the statement that Aufidius Lurco served office at Rome rather than Fundi. Inscriptions give Livia's gentile name as *Alfidius*. WISEMAN thinks Alfidia from Marruvium rather than Fundi and probably not senatorial. LINDERSKI thinks Caligula right: Livia descended from Fundian nonsenatorial Alfidii, and Aufidius Lurco was not related to Livia. KAJAVA (351) and OLIVER (353) discuss the second and third wives of Caligula, respectively (25.1-2). KAJAVA concludes that the name was probably Cornelia Orestilla, Livia being a mistake by S., and Dio's Orestina (in spite of *CIL* IV.6812) probably a scribal error. Groag's Cornelia Livia Orestina would postulate the earliest double-*nomina* for women. OLIVER emends both [*Lollian*] and *mn[ês]t[ên]* into *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.4176, the Achaean Fasti. This would imply that Lollia was married to Memmius by *enguêsis* and that Caligula's seizure of her would not have been unlawful or outlandish behavior. ENKING (347) explains Caligula's behavior with his daughter and Minerva (25) as Etruscan in origin. On Etruscan artifacts Minerva is shown receiving children, and she apparently had earth-mother associations in Etruria. FISHWICK (349) suggests a new chronology for Ptolemy's execution at 35.2: Ptolemy was arrested between AD 37 and 39 in connection with the institution of the rites of Isis at Rome, and summoned to Lyon and executed there in early 40, perhaps in connection with the failed conspiracy of Gaetulicus.

#### *Anecdotes (27-42)*

357. Bernardi, A., "L'interesse di Caligola per la successione del *rex nemorensis* e l'arcaica regalità nel Lazio," *Athenaeum* 31 (1953) 273-87.  
 358. Braun, E., "Harena sine Calce (Zu Sueton., Calig. 53,2)," *JOEAI* 38 (1950) 230-31.  
 359. Braun, E., "Zum Carcer Romanus (Sueton. Calig. 27,2)," *JOEAI* 37 (1948) 175-77.  
 360. Grisart, A., "Suétone et les deux Sénèques," *Helikon* 1 (1961) 302-8.  
 361. Guey, J., "Les Bains d'or de Caligula, *immensi aureorum acervi* (Suétone, *Cal.*, 42,3)," *MEFR* 89 (1977) 443-46.  
 362. Lambrechts, P., "Caligula dictateur littéraire," *BIBR* 28 (1953) 219-32.  
 363. Simpson, C. J., "The Cult of the Emperor Gaius," *Latomus* 40 (1981) 489-511.

BRAUN (359) rejects Till's popular explanation of Caligula's quip *a calvo ad calvum* as referring to bald men at each end of a line and the suggestion that the saying was proverbial; rather all prisoners' heads were shaved. SIMPSON (363) finds that in all ancient sources, including 22 and 33 (except Dio, who seems mistaken), Caligula did not equate himself with Juppiter. There was only one temple for Caligula's cult at Rome, and it was to his *numen*. BERNARDI (357) argues that Caligula's finding of a replacement for the *rex* (35) was demanded by ancient rites as described by Frazer: if the king dies a natural death so does the people, but if killed then the strength of the king (and of the people) can be passed on. Parallels are found in *regifugium*, *poplifugium*, and regal history of Rome. BERNARDI does not seem to know the similar argument of L. Morpurgo, *Historia* (1933) 589-99, which emphasizes Egyptian parallels. GUEY (361) finds Egyptian parallels for Caligula's rolling in gold, which was believed to be the "flesh of the gods," and hence concludes that the behavior was not motivated by *avaritia* as think S. and Dio. BRAUN (358), GRISART (360) and LAMBRECHTS (362) assess

Caligula's views on literature. LAMBRECHTS explains Caligula's censorship of Vergil and Livy (34) as pro-Antonian, also seen e.g. in his prohibition of the celebration of the Actian and Sicilian victories (23). Homer was to be banned because he denigrated Egypt by not sending Helen there; Caligula apparently decorated his Isis-room with a scene of Helen and Paris in Egypt. BRAUN interprets *harena sine calce* as "race course without a goal line," rather than the customary "sand without lime," since Seneca's discourse never reaches its point. BRAUN also recommends retention of *commissiones* ("Prunk-oder Schaustucke"); Caligula meant again that there was no contest involved, unlike with his own oratorical *telum*. This forms a neat chiasmus even if *harena sine calce* is understood literally. GRISART argues that Seneca Rhetor is meant at 53.3 as at *Tib.* 73.4. The Seneca of the *Ner.* (7.2; 35.11; 52.1) is Philosophus, not considered as a writer. Hence the Seneca at *Verg.* 23.111-15 Rost. must also be Rhetor.

### *Acting, Games and Military Conquests (34-53)*

364. Bicknell, P. J., "The Emperor Gaius' Military Activities in A.D. 40," *Historia* 17 (1968) 496-505.

365. Bicknell, P. J., "Gaius and the Sea-shells," *AClass* 5 (1962) 72-74.

366. Davies, R. W., "The 'Abortive Invasion' of Britain by Gaius," *Historia* 15 (1966) 124-28.

367. Erce, F. d', "La Tour de Caligula à Boulogne-sur-Mer," *RA* 1 (1966) 89-96.

368. Gagé, J., "L'Étendard d'Eutyclus; sur un mot de Cassius Chaerea, le meurtrier de Caligula," in *Hommages à M. Renard* (Brussels 1969) II, 275-83.

369. Schmidt, V., "La ruina du mime Mnéster," *Latomus* 42 (1983) 156-60.

GAGÉ (368) examines Cassius Chaerea's reference to the "standard of Eutyclus" (Joseph. *AJ* 19.4), suggesting that Chaerea had been assigned to building the stables of Incitatus (55.3). He also believes that Eutyclus, driver for the Greens (55.2), was the same as Herod Agrippa's driver, and that he became "royal driver" for Caligula, as symbol of imperial political partisanship. SCHMIDT (369) considers the play performed by Mnéster, as reported by S. (57.4) and others, and concludes that *ruina* must be abl. of separation rather than manner: the actor did not fall in the ruins of a building but voluntarily, while escaping, evidently after an unsuccessful crucifixion. BICKNELL (365) offers in explanation of Caligula's behavior at 46 and in Xiphilinus that Arminius, son of Cunobelinus (Cymbeline), had suggested to him that he attack Britain; when this did not come to pass, Caligula suggested that the sea-shells be picked up as a demonstration, as per Gallic custom, of domination over the sea. DAVIES (366), who doesn't seem to know BICKNELL, returns to the "war games" theory of Balsdon, but does not believe that invasion of Britain was even contemplated. BICKNELL (364) responds to DAVIES with literary and epigraphic evidence of a planned invasion in AD 39. He also argues that the military activities of 40 occurred in Lower Germany, not on the Channel, and that the stories represent Caligula's behavior after a poor showing by his troops. D'ERCE (367), like BICKNELL, sees Caligula's behavior at Gesoriacum as an abandoned invasion of Britain. The tower was a monument and also a preparation for a later invasion, being strategically placed at the crossroads of Britain, France and Germany. D'ERCE also describes the appearance and history of the tower, including use by Charlemagne, until its collapse in the eighteenth century.

*Personality*

370. Katz, R. S., "The Illness of Caligula," *CW* 65 (1971-72) 223-25.  
 371. Katz, R. S., "Caligula's Illness Again," *CW* 70 (1976-77) 451.  
 372. Lucas, J., "Un Empereur psychopath, Contribution à la psychologie du Caligula de Suétone," *AC* 36 (1967) 159-89.  
 373. Massaro, V., and I. Montgomery, "Gaius (Caligula) Doth Murder Sleep," *Latomus* 38 (1979) 699-700.  
 374. Massaro, V., and I. Montgomery, "Gaius—Mad, Bad, Ill, or All Three?," *Latomus* 37 (1978) 894-909.  
 375. Morgan, M. G., "Caligula's Illness Again," *CW* 68 (1973) 327-29.  
 376. Morgan, M. G., "Once Again Caligula's Illness," *CW* 70 (1976-77) 452-53.

LUCAS (372) argues that Caligula was not affected by *grand mal* epilepsy during his reign, but rather by psychopathy: maladjustment, aggression, dependence, viscosity, etc. This might have been aggravated by epilepsy, as it certainly was by environment and heredity, and there are traces of schizophrenia but no grounds to diagnose him as schizoid. KATZ (370) argues that Caligula's symptoms ("his restlessness, his insomnia, his thinness") point to thyrotoxicosis, perhaps heightened by his illness of AD 37. MORGAN (375) responds to KATZ that S.'s physical description (50) is unreliable and in any case shows hollow eyes, while thyrotoxicosis would seem to call for protruding eyes, and that furthermore the illness of 37 did not contribute to the deterioration of Caligula's character. KATZ's response (371) is that MORGAN emphasizes physiognomic characteristics and ignores those not physiognomic ("restlessness, hyperkinesis, sleeplessness. . . appetite"); Caligula's thyroid problem would have been aggravated by his ascent to power. MORGAN (376) counter-responds that the evidence is weak for thinness and for appetite, and the other traits are not limited to hyperthyroidism. There was no medical change in AD 37. MASSARO/MONTGOMERY (374) maintain that Caligula suffered from anxiety rather than alcoholism (Jerome), thyrotoxicosis (KATZ) or psychopathy (LUCAS). Mania is also a possibility, although Caligula might have been too "phobic" for this. Their second entry (373) adds to the earlier argument that Caligula's sleep patterns support anxiety or mania rather than thyrotoxicosis.

*H. Divus Claudius*

377. Herrmann, L., "Suétone, *Divus Claudius*, XXVIII," *Latomus* 27 (1968) 437.  
 378. Herrmann, L., "Suétone, *Diuus Claudius*, 40, 6," *Latomus* 21 (1962) 861.  
 379. Hošek, R., "Drusus Pompeius Puber (Suet. Claud. 27)," *Eirene* 9 (1971) 87-88.  
 380. Mattingly, H. B., "Suetonius *Claud.*, 24,2, and the 'Italian Quaestors'," in *Hommages à M. Renard* (Brussels 1969) II, 505-11.  
 Cf. SHACKLETON BAILEY (192) 317-18.

SHACKLETON BAILEY (192) emends two passages. At 10.2 he emends *minore* to *maiore* following Perizonius and Ernesti. At 21.4 he reads *incondictamque* for *condictam*, taking *in-* as privative. MATTINGLY (380) emends 24.2 *Gallica provincia* to *callium provincia*, removing our sole reference to this third Italian quaestorial province. HERRMANN (378)

emends *Telegonius* to *Pelegonius* at 40.6, as a reference to Claudius' eunuch Pelagon. Later in the same sentence, HERRMANN (377) reads <illus> *trium reginarum maritum*. HOSEK (379) believes the text of 27.1 sound. *pompeius*, formed with the Greek suffix *-aios*, means *triumphalis*; Claudius bestowed the *ornamenta triumphalia* early and often (24.3).

*Ancestors, Early Life, Accession (1-10)*

381. Fishwick, D., "Claudius *Submersus*," *AJAH* 3 (1978) 76-77.  
 382. Gracianskaja, L. I., "Athénadore chez Strabon," in *Problèmes de l'étude des sources antiques*, ed. E. D. Frilov et al. (Moscow 1986) 153-59.  
 383. Jung, H., "Die Thronerhebung des Claudius," *Chiron* 2 (1972) 367-86.  
 384. Krappe, A. H., "Der Tod des Drusus," *Zs. für dt. Altertum* 75 (1938) 290-96.  
 385. Narducci, E., "Cesare e la patria (Ipotesi su Phars. I 185-192)," *Maia* 32 (1980) 175-78.  
 386. Simpson, C. J., "The Birth of Claudius and the Date of Dedication of the Altar *Romae et Augusto* at Lyon," *Latomus* 46 (1987) 586-92.  
 387. Simpson, C. J., "The 'Conspiracy' of A.D. 39," *StudLatLitRomSoc* 2 (1980) 347-66.  
 388. Sterckx, C., "Claudius Palliolatus (Suétone, *Claude* 2, 5)," *Latomus* 28 (1969) 477-78.

According to KRAPPE (384), the story of the woman appearing to Drusus is more authentically told in S. (1.2-3) than in Dio. The story has parallels in German, English and Persian folk tales, and in geographical writers. The story probably grew as a "hybris" motif among his troops from the east after his death. To NARDUCCI (385), Lucan's vision to Caesar before the Rubicon (not given by S. at *Iul.* 31) is epic and rhetorical, and possibly based on "the same typology" as Drusus' vision in S. and Dio. SIMPSON (386) defends S.'s comment (2.1) that Claudius was born and the altar at Lyon dedicated on Aug. 1, 10 BC. The date of 12 given by Livy's epitomator is a confusion with the cultic "constitution." STERCKX (388) points out that Claudius' illness in youth (2.3) had as a symptom extended fevers, as parodied in the *Apocol.* SIMPSON (387) minimizes the evidence for a *Lepidi et Gaetulici coniuratio* (9.1): Lepidus is not named elsewhere as conspirator, and the only corroborating evidence for Gaetulicus the *AFA* (Oct. 27, AD 39). Furthermore, there is no evidence of participation by Caligula's sisters, C. Calvisius Sabinus (whom SIMPSON thinks prosecuted for his wife's sexual misconduct) or the suffects (dismissed for celebrating Actium). Caligula went to Germany to restore military security; Gaetulicus and Lepidus were executed, respectively, for "utter incompetence and adultery with the emperor's sisters." For FISHWICK (381), the throwing of Claudius into the Rhône at Lyon (9.1) and the similar treatment of the losers in the oratory contest (*Calig.* 20) may "mimic" a local Celtic burial custom, described by Eusebius. JUNG (383) questions the negative views surrounding Claudius' ascent to power. S. (10) overstates the fortuitous aspects of the choice of Claudius and the "negative" side of his character. Claudius clearly had earlier political support and involvement in government, as indicated by Dio and Josephus, the latter even reflecting a "Claudian" view in his source.



*Administration, Public Policy (11-25)*

389. Benko, S., "The Edict of Claudius of A.D. 49 and the Instigator Chrestus," *ThZ* 25 (1969) 406-18.
390. Béquignon, Y., "Un trait d'esprit de l'empereur Claude," *RA* 25 (1946) 228-29.
391. Bruce, F. F., "Christianity under Claudius," *BRL* 44 (1962) 309-26.
392. Cels-Saint-Hilaire, J., "Les Libertini, des mots et des choses," *DHA* 11 (1985) 354-61.
393. Devijver, H., "The Career of M. Porcius Narbonensis (CIL II 4239)," *AncSoc* 3 (1972) 165-91.
394. Devijver, H., "Suétone, Claude, 25, et les milices équestres," *AncSoc* 1 (1970) 69-81.
395. Dingel, J., "Ein Urteil des Claudius (Suet. Claud. 15,2)," *Hermes* 104 (1976) 382-84.
396. Fasciato, M., "Note sur l'affranchissement des esclaves abandonnés dans l'île d'Ésculape," *RD* 27 (1949) 454-64.
397. Haley, E. W., "Suetonius *Claudius* 24, 1 and the Sons of Freedmen," *Historia* 35 (1986) 115-21.
398. Leon, H. J., "Morituri Te Salutamus," *TAPA* 70 (1939) 46-50.
399. May, G., "La Politique religieuse de l'empereur Claude," *RD* 17 (1938) 1-46.
400. Mócsy, A., "Das Namensverbot des Kaisers Claudius (Suet. Claud. 25,3)," *Klio* 52 (1970) 287-94.
401. Philipsborn, A., "L'Abandon des esclaves malades au temps de l'empereur Claude et au temps de Justinian," *RD* 28 (1950) 462-63.
402. Picard, Ch., "L'Eleusinisme à Rome au temps de la dynastie julio-claudienne," *REL* 28 (1950) 77-80.
403. Sirks, A. J. B., "A Favour to Rich Freed Women (*libertinae*) in 51 A.D.: On Sue. *Cl.* 19 and the Lex Papia," *RIDA* 27 (1980) 283-94.
404. Tronskij, I. M., "Chrestiani (Tacit., Ann. XV,44,2) i Chrestus (Sueton., Div. Claud. 25,4)," in *Antiquité et temps modernes, pour la 80<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de Fédor Aleksandrovič Petrovskij*, ed. M. J. Graber-Passek *et al.* (Moscow 1972) 34-43.
405. Volterra, E., "Intorno a un editto dell'imperatore Claudio," *RAL* 11 (1956) 205-19.
- Cf. ADDENDUM.

DINGEL (395) assesses the strange legal decision of Claudius (15.2) that the mother and son disputing their relationship marry: the case resembles [Quint.] *Decl.* 306, and Claudius probably took his decision from a rhetorical theme. SIRKS (403) discusses the reforms of Claudius due to grain shortage in 51 AD (18), including the *ius IIII liberorum* (19), a right to bequeath more, which would have applied only to freedwomen. LEON (398) discusses the famous salute in S. (21.6) and Dio which, he argues, was uttered only on one occasion and not by gladiators in general, and there only by *naumachiarum*—condemned criminals. BÉQUIGNON (390) agrees with LEON and focuses on Claudius' response *aut non*, which he thinks Claudius intended to modify *salutant* (modifying the good faith of the *naumachiarum*) rather than *morituri*, as the *naumachiarum* took it. After all, the anecdote is listed among Claudius' bad jokes. To CELS-SAINT-HILAIRE (392), *libertinus* should refer to a citizen who has just attained that status. S.'s correction of Claudius' use of the word (24.1) is "polemical" and not supported by other sources. HALEY (397) defends S.'s correction. The same correction was probably offered in the senate, and the word probably did mean "sons of freedmen" prior to 217 BC, when the *ius praetextae* was conceded.

DEVIJVER's two entries assess Claudius' equestrian military reform (25.1). The second entry (394) points out that *cursus* inscriptions substantiate the reform. Claudius seems to have considered the *tribunatus legionis* as the apex of an equestrian career, but the office *praefectus equitum* tended to succeed it; hence Claudius' reform did not become permanent. The first entry of DEVIJVER (393) argues that M. Porcius Narbonensis is to be dated to the Claudian period and that his career (*praefectus orae maritimae, praefectus alae, tribunus militum legionis*) is exactly that of Claudius' reform. FASCIATO (396) notes that Claudius' action regarding ill slaves (25.2) was innovative in extending homicide laws by analogy, but cannot be considered an act of humanitarianism. PHILIPSBORN (401) corrects a detail in FASCIATO: Claudius was acknowledging the lack of medical care on the island; the master "abandoned" his slave there, without expectation of true medical care being provided. To VOLTERRA (405), Claudius would have codified the Greek practice of dedicating a slave to the divinity of a temple. The second part of the reform (killing a sick slave = homicide) is probably less accurately described by S., and references to the reform in later legal codes would have omitted the part relevant to the pagan cult. MÓCSY (400) notes that Claudius' measure to restrain taking of *gentilicia* by non-citizens, as described by S. (25.3), involves many problems, especially as to definition and determination of *gentilicia*. Thus the reform (an attempt to keep non-citizens from pretending citizenship) would have been doomed to failure and abandoned. MAY (399) details Claudius' religious policy (22, 25, etc.): preservation of Roman cults, welcoming and pacification of foreign ones. The information in S. is useful and reliable, if badly organized and presented. The expulsion of the Jews (25.4) was due to disorderly conduct and formation of *collegia*; S. incorrectly ascribes it to Christ (Chrestus). BRUCE (391) also thinks Chrestus to be Jesus; S., less knowledgeable than Tacitus, perhaps believed Jesus to have visited Rome and caused disturbances. BENKO (389) suggests that the riots leading to the edict of Claudius (25.4), which he dates to AD 49, were provoked by a Jewish Zealot Chrestus, not by Christ or Christians. PICARD (402) compares S.'s statement (25.5), that Claudius tried to move the Eleusinian rites to Rome, to the silver patera of Aquileia and other artifacts. It would seem that Claudius' Eleusinism was Alexandrian rather than Attic.

### *Private life (26-end)*

406. Calder, W. M., III, "Suetonius, *Claudius* 28," *LCM* 8 (1983) 100.
407. Cern'ak, A. B., "Tacitus on the Death of Claudius," *VDI* 157 (1981) 161-68.
408. Flach, D., "Die taciteische Quellenbehandlung in den Annalenbüchern XI bis XVI," *MH* 30 (1973) 90-93.
409. Hemmerdinger, B., "Que César n'a pas brûlé la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie," *BollClass* 6 (1985) 76-77.
410. Herrmann, L., "La Révolution des idiots (*Môrôn epanastasis*)," *Latomus* 10 (1951) 143-45.
411. Kajava, M., "Livia Medullina and CIL X 6561," *Arctos* 20 (1968) 59-71.
412. Kilpatrick, R., "Apocolocyntosis and the Vision of Claudius," *CJ* 74 (1979) 193-96.
413. Spaeth, J. W., Jr., "Martial's Equestrian Cobbler," *CW* 37 (1943-44) 171-72.

KAJAVA (411) discusses Claudius' second betrothed, called Livia Medullina and Camilla by S. (26.1), Medullina Camilli f. by *CIL* X.6561. Probably she was given the name Medullina by her father to commemorate the ancient Furi, and she may have assumed the name Livia when betrothed, possibly accompanied by adoption. According to CALDER (406), the *hasta pura* given to the Eunuch Poseides (28) was a "pun" on the pristine nature (*pura*) of Poseides' *mentula* (= *hasta*). SPAETH (413) concludes that Martial's cobbler, who gave gladiatorial games, must have been worth 400,000 sesterces and must have been equestrian; the former is deduced from Tacitus, the latter from S. (28), who states that special exemption was given to Harpocras. HERRMANN (410) thinks the book cited at 38 is a Menippean dated to about AD 41 and written by Seneca (from whom HERRMANN elsewhere has taken away the *Apocol.*). KILPATRICK (412) thinks *apocolocyntosis* means "removal of pumpkins," i.e. restoring Claudius' vision from myopia. FLACH (408) considers Tacitus' use of variant sources, e.g. on the death of Claudius as compared to the variants in S. (44-45). Tacitus knew the variants, either at first or at second hand via a source who had synthesized them.

### I. Nero

414. Beaujeu, J., "La mare rubrum de Tacite et le problème de la chronologie des Annales," *REL* 38 (1960) 234-35.

415. Billerbeck, M., "Hercules Bound: A Note on Suetonius, *Nero* 21.3," *AJP* 102 (1981) 54-57.

416. Borthwick, E. K., "Suetonius' *Nero* and a Pindaric Scholium," *CR* 15 (1965) 252-56.

417. Bradley, K. R., "Suetonius, *Nero* 16.2: Afflicti Suppliciis Christiani," *CR* 22 (1972) 9-10.

418. Deubner, L., "Nero als gefesselter Hercules," *Philologus* 94 (1939) 232-34.

419. Gallivan, P. A., "Some Comments on the *Fasti* for the Reign of Nero," *CQ* 24 (1974) 290-311.

420. Gallivan, P. A., "Suetonius and Chronology in the 'De Vita Neronis'," *Historia* 23 (1974) 297-318.

421. Hind, J. G. F., "The Middle Years of Nero's Reign," *Historia* 20 (1971) 488-505.

422. Lesky, A., "Neroniana," *AIPhO* 9 (1949) 385-407.

423. Nelson, N., "The Value of Epigraphical Evidence in the Interpretation of Latin Historical Literature," *CJ* 37 (1942) 281-90.

424. Shaw-Smith, R., "A Note on Suetonius, *Nero*," *CQ* 37 (1987) 535.

425. Verdière, R., "À verser du dossier sexuel de Néron," *PP* 30 (1975) 5-22.

426. Verdière, R., "La Baiser d'adieu de Néron," in *Hommages à L. Herrmann* (Brussels 1960) 774-76.

427. Wankenne, J., "Faut-il réhabiliter l'empereur Néron?," *LEC* 49 (1981) 135-52.

Cf. MCDERMOTT (190); SHACKLETON BAILEY (192) 318.

NELSON (423) uses inscriptional evidence of Nero's reign as a test case for S.'s historical accuracy. She concludes that many details in S. are confirmed, sometimes at the expense of Tacitus or others generally considered more reliable, and that sometimes S.'s account is explained or supplemented by epigraphy. LESKY (422) assesses the medieval story of Nero giving birth to a frog. There are parallels to the story in folktales, but historical parallels in Nero's behavior and dramatic roles. HIND (421) reconsiders the *quinquen-*

*nium Neronis*, generally attributed to the first five years of his reign (Burrus and Seneca) or to the last five (buildings) or the middle five (Neronia). HIND opts for the middle period, based on a successful foreign policy, lavish building program, the *ludicra*, and even literary production. Literary sources like S. misappraise this period due to overemphasis on trials, executions, etc. BEAUJEU (414) uses S. (47.1 and 52, rejoinders to Tacitus) as “terminus ultimus ante quem” for appearance of the *Annales*. The first entry by GALLIVAN (419) tries to evaluate all the evidence for consuls under Nero. S. is generally in agreement with epigraphical and other literary evidence, but GALLIVAN corrects two passages in S. as to fact (14) and interpretation (43.2). GALLIVAN’s second entry (420) discusses chronological matters in 62 passages from the *Nero*, presented in commentary format. Events mentioned in the *vita* are dated, and where necessary S. is corrected. VERDIÈRE (425) assesses the sexual exploits of Nero. While accepting the traditions of sensuality, incest and bisexuality, VERDIÈRE thinks the actual number of incidents inflated by “doublet” anecdotes (e.g. the Doryphorus of S. [29.1] = Pythagoras of the other sources). The homosexual marriages have odd correspondences to religious rites (e.g. of Cybele). WANKENNE (427) doubts the attempts by French scholars to raise our estimation of Nero’s character and behavior. Rather he played emperor as an artistic role.

At 1.2 SHACKLETON BAILEY (192) takes *cor* as “brains” rather than “heart.” SHAW-SMITH (424) emends *circa* at 15.2 to *citra*. See now the defense of the ms. reading by C. F. Conrad, “*Circa* or *Citra*? On Suetonius, *Nero* 15.2,” *CQ* 38 (1988) 569-70. BRADLEY (417) defends Stephanus’ emendation *affecti* for *afflicti* at 16.2, citing parallels in S. and Orosius. BORTHWICK (416) proposes *se suffriniturum* at 20.2 (= *hypoteretizein*, which appears in a scholium on Pindar). Nero implies that his singing will be like the cicadas’, who also drink a little (dew) before singing (*subbibisset*). DEUBNER (418) defends *ornari* (21.3); Nero’s chains, as Dio clarifies, were of gold rather than iron. BILLERBECK (415), apparently unaware of DEUBNER’s argument, defends the emendation *onerari* (*anon. ap. Burmann*). VERDIÈRE (426) emends *papillas* at 34.3 to *pupillas* (Nero kissed his mother’s eyes), based on Dio, who had a better text of S. than we.

### *Individual Passages (1-19)*

428. Borleffs, J. W. Ph., “Institutum Neronianum,” *VChr* 4 (1950) 129-45.  
 429. Gallivan, P. A., “Historical Comments on Suetonius, *Nero* 6,” *Latomus* 33 (1974) 385-96.  
 430. Herrmann, L., “Le *De Clementia* de Sénèque et quelques faits historiques,” *StudClass* 2 (1960) 243-46.  
 431. Lesuisse, L., “Suétone et l’aspect juridique de l’avènement de Néron,” *LEC* 29 (1961) 383-90.  
 432. Sansone, D., “Atticus, Suetonius and Nero’s Ancestors,” *StudLatLitSoc* 4 (1986) 269-77.  
 433. Thornton, M. K., “The Roman Lead Tessera,” *Arch. News* 5 (1976) 65-70.  
 434. Townend, G. B., “Tacitus, Suetonius and the Temple of Janus,” *Hermes* 108 (1980) 233-42.  
 435. Vassileiou, A., “Sur la date des Thermes de Néron,” *REA* 74 (1972) 94-106.  
 436. Voisin, J.-L., “Ex oriente sole (Suétone, Nér. 6). D’Alexandrie à la Domus Aurea,” in *L’Urbs: espace urbain et histoire (1<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.C.)* (Rome 1987) 509-43.  
 Cf. BOWERSOCK (72).

SANSONE (432) explains *septem* in 1.1 (a mistake for nine) by searching for a genealogical source prior to 16 BC (the eighth consulship). T. Pomponius Atticus is most likely the source of this and other "favorable" and accurate information in the life. Atticus may have written a genealogy at the request of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and may also be the source for *Tib.* 1.1-2. GALLIVAN (429) provides an extended, virtually line by line commentary on *Nero* 6. LESUISSE (431) examines the accession of Nero; without legal process and essentially military in nature, this accession led to the chaos of AD 69. S. (8) emphasizes the senate's willingness to bestow all titles, even *pater patriae*, on a sixteen year old boy, within four hours of his hailing as emperor. HERRMANN (430) concludes from 10.3 (which he believes to refer to the apostles Peter and Paul) and passages in other works, primarily using the criterion of verbal similarity, that *De Clem.* was written in late AD 58. According to THORNTON (433), S. (11) indicates that *tesseræ frumentariae* could be redeemed without one's name on the bronze *tabulae*. Other passages in S. and the pieces themselves suggest that we should consider them as money rather than tokens. VASSILEIOU (435) considers the problematical date of the Thermae. They were apparently built in 66, since not mentioned by Tacitus. S. (12.3) implies them anterior to Nero's singing debut in 64 and in fact after the 2nd Neronea in 66 (21.3); Apollonius of Tyana offers support for spring/summer 66. To BOWERSOCK (72), the *quinquennium Neronis* (Vict. *De Caes.* 5.2, Epit. 5.2-4) comes from a misconstruction of 12.3 (*quinquennale certamen*). For TOWNEND (434), S.'s comments (13) on Nero's activities in AD 66 seem documented by inscriptions and coins, but the coins can be dated to 64. The closing may have been delayed for two years and, if we believe Orosius' quotations of lost portions of Tacitus, never materialized at all. It is more likely that a late closing took place, the suppression of which by the Flavians was believed by Tacitus. BORLEFFS (428) protests citation of Tertullian to prove that a law was passed against Christians; the references descend from Athenagoras. There is in fact no evidence of a specific law; Tertullian used S. (16.2), where it is not clear that *instituta* means "laws."

### *Vices (20-39)*

437. Baldwin, B., "Polyphagus: Glutton or Crocodile?," *AJP* 98 (1977) 406-9.
438. Bessone, L., "Pitagora e Sporo, non dorifori," *GFF* 2 (1979) 105-14.
439. Boëthius, A., "Nero's Golden House," *Eranos* 44 (1946) 442-59.
440. Bradley, K. R., "Nero and Claudia Antonia," *SO* 52 (1977) 79-82.
441. Giancotti, F., "Il posto della biografia nella problematica seneciana. Sopra il ritiro e la ricchezza di Seneca," *RAL* 11 (1956) 105-19.
442. Grimal, P., "Sur deux mots de Néron," *Pallas* 3 (1955) 15-20.
443. Frazer, R. M., Jr., "Nero the Artist-criminal," *CJ* 62 (1966) 17-20.
444. Higgins, J. M., "Cena Rosaria, Cena Mitellita: A Note on Suetonius *Nero* 27.3," *AJP* 106 (1985) 116-18.
445. Holson, P., "Nero and the Fire of Rome: Fact and Fiction," *Pegasus* 19 (1976) 37-44.
446. Littman, R. J., "The Meaning of *Polyphagus*," *AJP* 97 (1976) 369.
447. Mayer, R., "What Caused Poppaea's Death?," *Historia* 31 (1982) 248.
448. Merkelbach, R., "Navigium Isidis in Neapel," in *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevecchi*, ed. E. Bresciani (Bologna 1981) 217-19.

449. Mingazzini, P., "Tentativo di ricostruzione grafica della coenatio rotunda della domus aurea," in *Saggi di storia dell'architettura in onore del Professore Vincenzo Fasolo* (= *Quad. dell'Ist. di Storia dell'Architettura* Ser. 6-8, Fasc. 31-48 [1961]) 21-26.

450. Morford, M. P. O., "The Distortion of the *Domus Aurea* Tradition," *Eranos* 66 (1968) 158-79.

451. Peters, W. J. T., "Tacitus en Suetonius over het park van Nero's Domus Aurea," in *Noctes Noviomagenses J. C. F. Nuchelmans XIII Lustris pr. Kal. Sept. Anno Domini MCMLXXXV Feliciter Peractis Rude Donato ab Amicis Oblatae* (Weesp 1985) 105-17.

452. Rogers, R. S., "Isidorus the Cynic and Nero," *CW* 39 (1945-46) 53-54.

453. Townend, G., "The Circus of Nero and the Vatican Excavations," *AJA* 62 (1958) 216-18.

454. Ward Perkins, J. B., "Nero's Golden House," *Antiquity* 30 (1956) 209-19.

MERKELBACH (448) sees 20.2 as a reference to the Navigium Isidis, a shipping festival at Naples on March 5; S.'s words echo those in Apuleius' description. TOWNEND (453) argues that the circus "Gai et Neronis principum" of Pliny (cf. *Ner.* 22.2) unexpectedly not found under St. Peter's was never built as a permanent structure other than Caligula's obelisk. HIGGINS (444) thinks that the *cena rosaria* (27.3) was a part of the Floralia, the *cena mitellita* (from the diminutive of *mitra*) a parody, perhaps by homosexuals, of the rites of the Bona Dea. BESSONE (438) thinks Doryphorus at 29 to be really Pythagoras as in the other sources. Nero's marriages to Pythagoras and Sporus were not rites of Cybele or Mithra. BOËTHIUS (439) argues that the rotunda concept (31.2) did come from Parthia, as l'Orange had suggested, and that *aurea* would have connoted the sun, but that the populace would not have made these connections. WARD PERKINS (454) believes the populace was upset by the Golden House not because of ostentation, as S. would lead us to believe, but because so much living space was taken. MORFORD (450) concentrates more on other ancient sources critical of Nero, believing S.'s statements discredited by BOËTHIUS and WARD-PERKINS. The sources are tainted by aristocratic propaganda, as can be seen even in other passages in S., which like the other later sources are built on declamatory models. MINGAZZINI (449) analyzes the words in 31.2: *circumageretur* refers to a ceiling rotated hydraulically, acting as a planetarium. He then reconstructs a plan from known ancient technology and from what he believes to be a picture of it from Stabia. GRIMAL (442) discusses the "mots" of Nero recorded at 31.4 and 49.1. The former is explained by such texts as Philo's discussion of "the first man," of Stoic origin. *artifex* in the latter passage, then, means "cosmocrator." In the usual view, Seneca's request for withdrawal from public life is told twice by Tacitus; but GIANCOTTI (441) compares Tacitus to S. (35) and Dio, discusses other scenarios, and concludes that in AD 62 there was a partial donation of property to Nero, in 64 a complete one. S.'s *saepe* supports Tacitus. MAYER (447) suspects the story in S. (35.3), Tacitus and Dio that Nero kicked the pregnant Poppaea, causing death: like other stories of Nero, it resembles too closely the stories about Periander. For BRADLEY (440), the marriage proposal at 35.4 would date to late 65/early 66, and the purposes would have been to produce a domestic heir and to foil any marriage of her to a possible revolutionary. LITTMAN (446) takes *polyphagus* at 37.2 as "crocodile." BALDWIN (437) rejects the argument: the word meant "glutton," perhaps referring to performers; a "noble glutton" of Neronian date is mentioned by a late author as well. According to FRAZER (443), what we know of Nero's character and artistic pretensions makes probable his "artist-arsonist" role in

the burning of Rome (38) and some of his other crimes; e.g. Rufrius Crispinus' murder (35.5) would resemble the fishing death of Palamedes (39.3). ROGERS (452) follows a different interpretation of 39 than FRAZER, arguing that the chiasmic witty comment of Isidorus was a reference to the story of buried treasure by Caesennius Bassus in AD 65. Nero's play at the second Neronia must have been the Nauplius, and the plot there must have been Palamedes' death after being lured into a well.

### Death

455. Bessone, L., "Gallis e Galliis in Suet. Nero 40,1," *GFF* 5 (1982) 53-57.

456. Bessone, L., "Suet., Nero, XL, 7 e gli inizi del *bellum Neronis*," *RSA* 6-7 (1976-77) 343-49.

457. Bradley, K. R., "A *Publica Fames* in A.D. 68," *AJP* 93 (1972) 451-58.

458. Frings, U., "Nero's Tod. Sueton, Nero 47-49," *Anregung* 31 (1985) 229-38.

459. Gallivan, P. A., "The False Neros: A Re-evaluation," *Historia* 22 (1973) 364-65.

460. Lorenzo, E. di, "A proposito dell'espressione Neroniana *qualis artifex pereo* (Suet., Nero 49)," in *Studi salernitani in memoria di R. Cantarella*, ed. I. Gallo (Salerno 1981) 523-35.

461. Raoss, M., "La rivolta di Vindex ed il successo di Galba," *Epigrafica* 20 (1958) 64-73.

462. Thomasson, B. E., "Post Aurea Tecta," in *Hommages à M. Renard*, ed. J. Bibauw (Brussels 1969) II, 715-17.

BESSONE's first article (455) defends *Galliis* (Bentley) for *Gallis* (mss.) at 40.1. While Vindex only served in one Gaul (probably at Lugudunum), the use of singulars/plurals in such matters is lax among the sources. RAOSS (461) marshals the evidence, literary (including S. 9, 40-47, *Galb.* 9 and *Oth.* 12.2) and primary, and argues that Vindex' revolt was directed at Nero rather than Rome or the imperial system. He finds S. unhelpful beyond giving chronological information and helping to interpret Plutarch. To BESSONE (456), the alarming letter received at dinner by Nero (40.7) would refer not to actions of Vindex or Verginius Rufus but to those of Galba, whom Nero had ordered to be killed (*Galb.* 9.5). Nero's delay, then, was to await events in Galba's camp. BRADLEY (457) attempts to explain the famine (45.1) apparently occurring in 68 at the time of the revolt of Vindex. The famine seems to have been caused from Africa by L. Clodius Macer and Crispinilla in a separate revolt. THOMASSON (462) discusses the forged inscription in elegiac couplet on the church of St. Paul in Rome. The author (as well as the author of the inscription below it) borrowed from S. (48) the details of Nero's death, although they mistook the location of it. DI LORENZO (460) doesn't find GRIMAL's (442) Stoic thesis probable, and argues that *artifex* at 49 refers to acting (including singing, dancing and playing of musical instruments) as translation of Greek *technitês*. Traditionally two false Neros have been accepted, one in AD 69 and one in 80; GALLIVAN (459) argues for a third, based on S. (57.2), who remembers one as an *adulescentulus*, which he would not have been yet in 80, and on Tacitus.

J. *Galba, Otho, Vitellius*

463. Flach, D., "Die Überlieferungslage zur Geschichte des Vierkaiserjahres," *Anc Soc* 4 (1973) 157-76.

464. Townend, G. B., "Cluvius Rufus in the *Histories* of Tacitus," *AJP* 85 (1964) 337-77.

465. Venini, P., "Sulle vite di Galba, Otone e Vitellio," *RIL* 108 (1974) 991-1014.

Cf. RAOSS (461).

FLACH (463) and TOWNEND (464) discuss the mutual sources of S., Tacitus, Plutarch and Dio. TOWNEND argues that while Plutarch uses Pliny as a source for the events of AD 69, Tacitus uses both Pliny and a "more lurid," anti-Galban, anti-Othonian and anti-Vitellian Cluvius Rufus. S. and Dio also use both, and occasionally follow Cluvius even where Tacitus prefers the account in Pliny. FLACH, not persuaded by TOWNEND, looks for passages where S., Tacitus, Dio and Plutarch all independently use a common source. This source in turn used literary sources (including at least Cluvius, Julius Secundus and others), and apparently wrote under Vespasian. S., Tacitus, Plutarch and Dio also all occasionally use supplementary sources.

*Galba*

466. Barrett, A. A., "Did Galba Visit Britain in A.D. 43?," *CQ* 33 (1983) 243-45.

467. Haffter, H., "Interpretationen zur römischen Volkspoesie," *Hermes* 87 (1959) 98-102.

468. Mouchová, B., "Suetonius und Tacitus über die Todesumstände Galbas," *ZJKF* 8 (1966) 5-8.

469. Mrosek, S., "À propos du 'Marbre de Thorigny', salarium in auro (CIL. XIII, 3162) (résumé)," *SFN* 28 (1973) 335-36.

470. Murison, C. L., "Galba in Germany, A.D. 43?," *Historia* 34 (1985) 254-56.

471. Roux, P. le, "Galba et Tarraco: À propos de Suétone, *Galba*, XII, 1," *Pallas* 31 (1984) 113-24 and 192 (English summary).

472. Sutherland, C. H. V., "The Concepts *Adsertor* and *Salus* as Used by Vindex and Galba," *NC* 144 (1984) 29-32.

HAFFTER (467) suggests that the *septenarius* at 6.2 was funny due to puns: *Galbe* = green, effeminate; *Gaetulicus* = purple, wild. BARRETT (466) argues that Galba did not go to Britain. *Galb.* 7 says only that Claudius delayed the expedition on his behalf; more likely Galba stayed in Germany to protect against attacks from across the Rhine. MURISON (470) responds that Galba most likely was not in Germany in 43. He had joined Claudius' *cohors amicorum* and was probably with Claudius and became ill in Gaul. Galba did not go to Britain, however, because he did not win *ornamenta triumphalia* there. According to MROZEK (469), the money carried by Galba (8) must have been gold by reason of sheer weight. In other passages, however, including the inscription of Thorigny, gold signals special distinction. SUTHERLAND (472) examines coins of AD 68 with anti-Neronian slogans. Apparently Galba was asked by Vindex to be *assertor humani generis* (10.1, 10.3), but Galba's response was *edicta* in the more tame style of the coins (e.g. *Salus Generis Humani*). LE ROUX (471) examines the technical vocabulary of 12.1, which is more coherently written than most have thought.



S.'s point is that Galba's treatment of the provincials mirrored his government at Rome; S. has been misunderstood due to a failure to read his administrative language with proper care.

### *Otho*

473. Balsdon, J. P. V. D., "The Salii and Campaigning in October," *CR* 16 (1966) 146-47.

474. Heubner, H., "Der Prätorianertumult vom Jahre 69 n. Chr.," *RhM* 101 (1958) 339-53.

475. Mouchová, B., "Ausgewählte Parallelen aus der Lebensbeschreibung Kaisers Othos bei Sueton und den Historien des Tacitus," *LF* 89 (1966) 257-61.

MOUCHOVÁ (475) takes up DELLA CORTE's (21) thesis that S. gives a more favorable treatment of Otho (under whom his father fought) than Tacitus does. An examination of parallel passages (4.3, 5.5, 6.6, 10.5, 12.4-5) indicates that he does so by glossing over or emphasizing certain details and by rearrangement of the material. BALSDON (473) thinks Otho might have been a Salius in early March 69 and that this would explain the inauspiciousness of his departure for March campaigning, which per se was not inauspicious (8). HEUBNER (474) examines the confusing accounts of the Praetorian revolt in 8 and elsewhere. The traditional account of Hohl is wrongly based on a misunderstanding of Plutarch and Tacitus and an overvaluation of the account in S. Furthermore the incident was not connected to Otho's planned invasion of Gallia Narbonensis; Tacitus has transposed the incident chronologically because of its dramatic foreshadowing of Otho's fall.

### *Vitellius*

476. Brugnoli, G., "Un luogo della Vita Vitellii di Suetonio (I,2)," *Maia* 5 (1952) 113-17.

477. Cizek, E., "La Mort de Vitellius dans les 'Vies des Douze Césars' de Suétone," *REA* 77 (1975) 125-30.

478. Engel, R., "Das Charakterbild des Kaisers Vitellius bei Tacitus und sein historischer Kern," *Athenaeum* 55 (1977) 345-68.

479. Koenig, I., "Exire de imperio, cedere imperio," in *Sodalitas. Scritti in onore di Antonio Guarino* (Naples 1984-85) 1, 295-314.

Cf. ADDENDUM.

BRUGNOLI (476) recommends reading *elogium* (1.2., with *Gudianus* 268) and omitting *libellus quo continetur* as interpolation. Here as often S. cites from sources praising (as here) or blaming (as in the following part of the *Vit.*) the subject. The enclitic *-que* is epexegetic. ENGEL (478) tries to rehabilitate, as has been done with other emperors such as Tiberius, the thoroughly negative picture of Vitellius in Tacitus and other sources (including S.). There is evidence, he finds, in literary sources and on coins of Vitellius' military competence and lack of greed for imperial power, his control over the lust of his troops, and his lack of cruelty. The charges of "laziness and cowardice" must be qualified. Traces of a pro-Vitellian source are present in Tacitus and Dio, but Tacitus chose the hostile picture because he wanted to emphasize Vitellius' lack of *virtus*. CIZEK (477) shows that the only favorable trait of Vitellius in S. (5.2, his proconsulate) was used to emphasize his

religious offense which follows. This hostility is only partially explained by S.'s use of sources, his dislike for Neronian politics and his favorable view of Otho; S. was repelled by his disgraceful death, in which the gods had given him (and the Romans) his just due. Tacitus expresses no such attitude toward the event.

### K. *Divus Vespasianus; Divus Titus; Domitian*

480. Castritius, H., "Zu den Frauen der Flavier," *Historia* 18 (1969) 492-502.

481. Jones, B. W., "La Chute de M. Arrecinus Clemens," *PP* 27 (1972)320-21.

CASTRITIUS (480) tries to resolve some prosopographical and historical issues regarding the Flavian daughters and wives: Julia Titi belongs to the *gens Julia* because descended from Titus' first wife Arrecina Tertulla and so is not the daughter mentioned at *Tit.* 4.2; the divorce and prompt reconciliation of Domitian and Domitia Longina were due to political causes ("party politics"), not to love and popular demand, as S. (*Dom.* 3.1) and historians would believe. To JONES (481), S. mistakenly states (*Tit.* 6) that Titus was the first senatorial praetorian praefect; Clemens, Titus' brother-in-law, had preceded. S. tells of Clemens' disgrace (*Dom.* 11) but doesn't give the offense. Perhaps Clemens, uncle of Julia the first wife of Titus (cf. CASTRITIUS), was unhappy with Domitian's relationship with their niece.

### *Divus Vespasianus*

482. Berchem, D. van, "Un banquier chez les Helvètes," *Ktèma* 3 (1978)267-74.

483. Casson, L., "Unemployment, the Building Trade, and Suetonius, *Vesp.* 18," *BASP* 15 (1978) 43-51.

484. Derchain, Ph., "La Visite de Vespasien au Sérapeum d'Alexandrie," *Chronique d'Égypte* 28 (1953) 261-79.

485. Derchain, Ph., and J. Hubaux, "Vespasien au Sérapeum," *Latomus* 12 (1953) 38-52.

486. Eck, W., "Die Legaten von Lykien und Pamphylien unter Vespasian," *ZPE* 6 (1970) 65-75.

487. Fishwick, D., "Vae Puto Deus Fio," *CQ* 15 (1965) 155-57.

488. Frassinetti, P., "I resoconti dei miracoli di Vespasiano," in *La struttura della fabulazione antica* (Genoa 1979) 115-27.

489. Griffiths, J. G., "Tacitus, *Hist.* 5. 13.2 and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RhM* 113 (1970) 363-68.

490. Henrichs, A., "Vespasian's Visit to Alexandria," *ZPE* 3 (1968) 51-80.

491. Herrmann, L. "Divus Vespasianus, 12,5 et 14,3," *Latomus* 21 (1962)860.

492. Herrmann, L., "Basilides," *Latomus* 12 (1953) 312-15.

493. Hudson-Williams, A., "Suetonius, *Vesp.* 22," *CR* 2 (1952) 72-73.

494. Morenz, S., "Vespasian, Heiland der Kranken. Persönliche Frömmigkeit im antiken Herrscherkult," *WJA* 4 (1949-50) 370-78.

495. Rossi, R. F., "Tracce di lotta politica nel senato di Caligola," *RFIC* 99 (1971) 164-71.

496. Zinn, T. L., "A Pun in Suetonius," *CR* 1 (1951) 10.

Cf. ADDENDUM.

VAN BERCHEM (482) restores *CIL* XIII.5138, from Avenches, to “Dis Manibus Pompeiae Gemellae Pompeia Dicaea Liberta et Primulia Serva Educatrici Augusti Nostri.” Vespasian’s father would have returned to Switzerland in the 40s to make money as a banker (1), bringing his freedmen and slaves to Avenches. Vespasian himself, who served near there in AD 41, would have encouraged him to come there. The *Augustus noster* of the inscription, then, would be Titus rather than Vespasian. ROSSI (495) seeks explanation for Vespasian’s sudden electoral success as praetor (2.3) in a senatorial response to Caligula’s literal mud-slinging at Vespasian as aedile (5.4). Vespasian might have been the only official elected by the comitia in 38 when electoral privilege was temporarily shifted there. GRIFFITHS (489) looks for the “ultimate Jewish or Oriental source” of the prophecies mentioned by S. (4.5) as well as Tacitus and Josephus. Material similar to Tacitus’ appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls, although the intermediate source (Vespasian’s *Commentarii*?) more likely refers to the Old Testament (e.g. Daniel 2:44).

FRASSINETTI (488) assesses the miracles in 5.2-8 but especially the Serapis incident so well attested by S. (7.1). Here S. is found superior to the stylized and even self-contradictory Tacitus, although the latter may have consulted eye-witnesses. FRASSINETTI concludes that it is impossible to judge whether the healing be fact or propaganda. DERCHAIN/HUBAUX (485) find S.’s account of the events at the Serapeum indicative that Basilides was a priest (and even more suggestive of the account of Vespasian and Apollonius of Tyana in Philostratus) and that disguised here is a sacred “investiture” by Sarapis. DERCHAIN (484) fleshes out the parallels to Egyptian “investiture.” Vespasian’s behavior is close to those of Piankhy the Ethiopian and Alexander, and S. seems to be describing the ritual of ‘la toilette royale’ in the offering of *verbenae*, *coronae* and especially *panificia*. In the detail of the arrival of the letter might be a garbled version of the magic practice used against enemies. HERRMANN (492) argues that the Basilides at Mt. Carmel is the same as the Basilides at the Serapeum. HENRICHS (490) thinks the accounts in S. and Tacitus taken from a source which in turn borrowed details from Alexander’s visit to Ammon. S. narrates not the ritual washing described by DERCHAIN (which does not fit Sarapis) but rather a vision sent by Vespasian after incubation. In Vespasian’s healing feats (e.g. 7.2) the emperor “was Sarapis” (as in a papyrus he is explicitly called). MORENZ (494) examines Vespasian’s healing in 7 as parallel to similar phenomena in inscriptions. The sick would have been referred, for political reasons, to Vespasian at the Serapeum, apparently as if he were a divine ruler/healer.

ECK (486) draws the career of Sex. Marcius Priscus from appointment by Nero in Lycia and his support for Vespasian and continued service as legate there to his return to Rome in 71/72. S. 8.4, then, would refer to the reorganization in 74. HERRMANN (491) emends *nam* at 12.5 to *iam* and transposes to precede 14.3, also beginning with *nam*. ZINN (496) takes *adamato* at 22 as Greek, meaning “unsubdued” (cf. *expugnatus*) and “unseduced”; Vespasian, then, did not succumb to the woman’s advances, and *pro concubitu* means “rather than lie with her.” HUDSON-WILLIAMS (493) responds that ZINN misunderstands *expugnatus* and *pro-*, both of which imply fulfilment of *concubitus*. Rather the pun lies in entering Vespasian’s name into the imperial accounts rather than the woman’s. To CASSON (483), Vespasian’s comment at 18 cannot refer to the need to create jobs (since slaves would have performed the work anyway); rather perhaps the “engineer” had suggested using the plebs as labor to earn their dole. FISHWICK (487) thinks Vespasian’s last words as recorded by S. (23.4) not poking fun at Julio-Claudian apotheoses but rather seriously meant. Vespasian had encouraged

worship of himself in eastern provinces and established cults in Gallia Narbonensis, Baetica and Africa Proconsularis.

### *Divus Titus*

497. Bajoni, M. G., "La virtù del principe dal Seneca pedagogo a Suetonio biografo di Tito," in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi flaviani, Rieti, settembre 1981* (Rieti 1983) II, 189-94.

498. Garuti, G., "Sulla docilitas ed extemporalitas dell'imperatore Tito," in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi flaviani, Rieti, settembre 1981* (Rieti 1983) II, 307-12.

499. Levi, M. A., "Amore e delizia del genere umano," in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi flaviani, Rieti, settembre 1981* (Rieti 1983) I, 161-70.

500. Levi, M. A., "La clemenza di Tito," *PP* 9 (1954) 288-93.

501. Luck, G., "Über Suetons 'Divus Titus,'" *RhM* 107 (1964) 63-75.

502. Marastoni, A., "La biografica suetoniana di Tito e il discorso sulla regalità," in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi flaviani, Rieti, settembre 1981* (Rieti 1983) I, 105-23.

503. Mosino, F., "Tito a Reggio (Suet. Titus 5)," in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi flaviani, Rieti, settembre 1981* (Rieti 1983) II, 355-56.

504. Price, H., "Titus, *Amor ac Deliciae Generis Humani*," *CW* 39 (1945-46) 58-61.

505. Veneroni, B., "Da Suetonio (Tit. 9,2,3) al Metastasio," in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi flaviani, Rieti, settembre 1981* (Rieti 1983) II, 393-97.

PRICE (504) thinks the characterization in 1.1 warranted. There was, however, probably not a quick behavior modification after becoming emperor; rather the earlier reputation was due to "youth and the necessity for severity in assisting to establish a new order after the civil wars." LUCK (501) is intrigued by the inclusion in S. of material contradictory to his highly favorable judgment of Titus. S. portrays Titus enigmatically: how did the hated praetorian praefect become the loved emperor? Apparently it was accomplished by *ars, ingenium and forma* (Luck reads *formae for fortuna* at 1.1), much like Germanicus (*Calig.* 1-7). Maybe here S. alludes to the (lost) Tacitean account. LEVI (500), departing from the same phrase as PRICE, describes the structure of the book, which is seen as designed to highlight the Flavian political and religious program (the suspected *alius Nero* becomes a good prince). Also LEVI details good views of Titus prior to ascending to the principate as documented on coins; the eastern emphasis in the praetorian praefect period gives way to the Augustan and religious iconography associated with *clementia*. BAJONI (497) also departs from 1.1: in S.'s picture Titus was the model Stoic king as in Seneca's *De Clem.*, exhibiting all the requisite virtues. LEVI (499) looks hard for information critical of Titus (Neronism; ignoring of Vespasian's will and rejection of diarchy, apparently a "deal" with the senate); Titus did exhibit good traits, but the brevity of his reign obscures their extent. GARUTI (498) addresses Titus' *docilitas* and *extemporalitas* (3). The former (with *memoria*) refers to "ability to learn" and also, for the first time in Latin, "willingness to learn"; the latter word, rarely attested, becomes also a rhetorical virtue. MOSINO (503) argues that Rhegium became an important port, as evidenced by S. (5) and Acts 28:13. VENERONI (505) discusses Titus' clemency generally and especially the anecdote at 9.1, where Titus exhibits the classic aspects of *clementia*; in the seventeenth century Titus, like Augustus, became a dramatic hero of political clemency. MARASTONI

(502) notes the structure of Book 8, from rise (Vespasian) to fall (Domitian). S.'s conception of Titus transcends time and is modelled on Hadrian and on the Hellenistic idea of the "best king" (Philodemus, Chrysostom, Philostratus), especially in 7-9.

### Domitianus

506. Ambrosio, F. G. d', "End of the Flavians: The Case for Senatorial Treason," *RIL* 114 (1980) 232-41.

507. Brind'Amour, P., "Problèmes astrologiques et astronomiques soulevés par le récit de la mort de Domitien chez Suétone," *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 338-44.

508. Brunt, P. A., "Pay and Superannuation in the Roman Army," *PBSR* 5 (1950) 50-71.

509. Canole, P., and B. W. Jones, "Sallustius Lucullus," *Latomus* 42 (1983) 629-33.

510. Cappelletto, R., "Origine e fortuna di un toponimo di Biondo Flavio, Amm. XVI, 10,14 e Suet., *Dom.* 5," *QS* 9 (1983) 169-83.

511. Herrmann, L., "Suétone, *Domitianus* 21,2," *Latomus* 21 (1962) 860.

512. Keresztes, P., "The Jews, the Christians, and the Emperor Domitian," *VChr* 27 (1973) 1-28.

513. Smallwood, E. M., "Domitian's Attitude toward the Jews and Judaism," *CP* 51 (1956) 1-13.

514. Sordi, M., "La persecuzione di Domiziano," *Riv. di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 14 (1960) 1-26.

515. Thouvenot, R., "Sur une inscription latine fausse," *BSAO* 6 (1961-62) 70-72.

516. Vassileiou, A., "Crispinus et les conseillers du prince (Juvénal, *Satires*, IV)," *Latomus* 43 (1984) 27-68.

517. Watson, G. R., "The Pay of the Roman Army: Suetonius, Dio and the *quartum stipendium*," *Historia* 5 (1956) 332-40.

THOUVENOT (515) publishes an inscription purporting to be from July 19, AD 88 and mentioning several events discussed by S. (e.g. *subsiciva*. 9.3) but judges it forged on palaeographical, stylistic and historical grounds. The forger based his text on Caesar (*B.C.* 3.53) and S. (*Iul.* 68.7) and wrote apparently in the late 18th century, to glorify the town of Ostra. VASSILEIOU (516) provides an extended prosopographical study of Crispinus in Juvenal and Martial, generally believed praetorian praefect under Domitian. VASSILEIOU doubts that he so served, and believes Crispinus the *puerulus coccinatus* of 4.2 (*puerulus* = "esclave de format réduit"); Crispinus sat in the *consilium principis* in spite of his background and stature. CAPPELLETTO (510) argues that Biondo Flavio's emendation of Amm. Marc. *Methodium* is from *Dom.* 5 (*et exmetodeum X*). WATSON (517) defends S. (7.3) against BRUNT (508, which I have not seen): Domitian did add a fourth *stipendium*, as seems to be verified by P. Gen. Lat. 4 (an account of a soldier's *deposita*). CANOLE/JONES (509) identify the Sallustius Lucullus of 10.2-3 as L. Lucullus (also in Pliny), whom they think to have succeeded Agricola roughly 84-91 until he expressed unhappiness with Domitian's policy. To SMALLWOOD (513), Domitian (12.2) cracked down on two types of people: apostate Jews and converts hiding their practice of Judaism. New taxes, then, had been imposed on converts and nonpracticing Jews. SORDI (514) uses 15.1 (Flavius Clemens, Domitilla), 12.2 etc. with other sources to show that there actually was Christian persecution under Domitian (wrongly considered Jewish persecution by SMALLWOOD). KERESZTES (512) tries to work out details of the *fiscus Iudaicus* in S. (12.2: included were both

proselytes and circumcized Jews; cf. SMALLWOOD and SORDI) and other sources. BRIND'AMOUR (507) considers the reference to Aquarius and the fifth hour in 16. By modern calculation, the moon would have left Aquarius at 10.23-10:40 AM, the fifth hour; Saturn (a violent death star) was in Aquarius at Domitian's birth. The anecdote, then, was created by an astrologically knowledgeable person. HERRMANN (511) transposes the clause *ut. . .sumeret* in 21.2 into 21.3 between *occasum* and *nec*.

## VI. OTHER WORKS

### A. Texts, Translations and Commentaries

518. Abeal López, J., and Adrio Fernández, *Biografías literarias, Suetonio, Valerio Probo, Servio, Focas, Vacca, Jerónimo* (Madrid 1985).

519. Bione, C., *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus Liber* (Palermo 1939<sup>1</sup>, 1941<sup>2</sup>): Italian introduction, Latin text and notes, Italian appendices on structure and chronology.

520. Braidotti, C., *Le vite antiche di M. Anneo Lucano* (Bologna 1972).

521. Brugnoli, G., *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Praeter Caesarum Libros Reliquiae*, pars 1 (Leipzig 1960<sup>1</sup>, 1963<sup>2</sup>): Latin introduction, Latin text.

522. Brugnoli, G., *Vita di Orazio* (Rome 1967<sup>1</sup>, 1968<sup>2</sup>): Italian introduction, Latin text, Italian translation, commentary and appendix on the shorter lives of Horace.

523. Corte, F. della, *Vite di grammatici e di retori* (Genoa 1947<sup>1</sup>, Rome 1954<sup>2</sup>, Rome 1968<sup>3</sup>): Italian introduction, Latin text, Italian commentary.

524. Dooran, T. J. van, and A. Grisart, *Donat-Suétone, Vie de Vergile* (Brussels 1961).

525. Enos, R. L., "When Rhetoric Was Outlawed in Rome: A Translation and Commentary of Suetonius's Treatise on Early Roman Rhetoricians," *SM* 39 (1972) 37-45: English introduction, translation, commentary and "summary."

526. Naumann, H., *Vergils Hirtengedichte* (Munich 1968).

527. Rostagni, A., *Suetonio De Poetis e biografii minori* (Turin 1944, repr. New York 1979): Italian introduction, Latin text, Italian commentary.

528. Szelest, H., "G. Swetoniusz Tranqwillus, O Gramatykach I Retorach," *Meander* 30 (1975) 305-19: Polish introduction, Polish translation, Polish notes (all inaccessible to me).

529. Szelest, H., "Biografie Lukana," *Meander* 29 (1974) 78-82: Polish introduction, Polish translation, Polish notes (all inaccessible to me).

530. Taillardat, J., *Suétone, Peri Blasphêmion. Peri Paidion* (Paris 1967): French introduction, Greek text, French commentary, bibliography.

Cf. STAHR/KRENKEL (98), STEFFEN (638), and ADDENDUM.

### B. Manuscripts and Early Editions

531. Alvarez Delgado, J., "Un ignorado De Viris Illustribus de Varrón en nuestra Biblioteca Universaria," *Rev. de Hist. Canaria* 30 (1965) 3-18.

532. Braidotti, C., "La vita suetoniana di Lucano nel Reginensis 1634," in *Litterature comparate. Problemi e metodo. Studi in onore di E. Paratore* (Bologna 1981) 713-18.

533. Brugnoli, G., "De IV Codicibus Libellum Suetonianum de Grammaticis Continentibus Nuperrime Adinventis," *GIF* 13 (1968) 346-50.

534. Brugnoli, G., "Suetoniana II: Il titolo 'de viris illustribus'," *AFLC* 28 (1960) 363-80 (= BRUGNOLI [16] 41-60).

535. Brugnoli, G., "La vicenda del codice Hersfeldense," *RCCM* 3 (1961) 68-90 (= BRUGNOLI [16] 63-94).
536. Colker, M. L., "Two Manuscripts of Suetonius' *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*," *Manuscripta* 27 (1983) 165-69.
537. Finch, C. E., "Suetonius' Catalogue of Animal Sounds in Codex Vat. Lat. 6018," *AJP* 90 (1969) 459-63.
538. Lagorio, V. M., "Three More Vatican Manuscripts of Suetonius' Catalogue of Animal Sounds," *Scriptorium* 35 (1981) 59-62.
539. Lenchantin, M., "I manoscritti Blandiniani e la vita suetoniana di Orazio," *SIFC* 18 (1941) 75-88.
540. Marcovich, M., "Voces animantium and Suetonius," *ZAnt* 21 (1971) 399-416.
541. Robathan, D. M., "Another Fifteenth-century Manuscript of the *Germania*," *AJP* 71 (1950) 225-38.
542. Stok, F., "Le vicende dei codici *Hersfeldensi*," *MAL* 28 (1985-86) 277-319.
543. Ullman, B. L., "Pontano's Handwriting and the Leiden Manuscript of Tacitus and Suetonius," *IMU* 2 (1959) 309-35.
544. Winterbottom, M., "De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus," in *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford 1983) 404-5.  
Cf. OLSEN (113).

ROBATHAN (541) describes *Ottobobianus* 1434, similar to *Vat. Lat.* 1518 (I), in the *sigma* branch of the *alpha* family of *Y*. Both are copied from a (now lost) manuscript, so the new find adds little to the textual tradition. ULLMAN (543) argues, against *communis opinio*, that *L* was copied and annotated by Pontano. The hand is similar to other Pontano mss. and shows his characteristic emendations. BRUGNOLI (534) notes that the title *De Vir. Ill.* lacks manuscript authority and should not be used, the title given to *S.* by the humanists. Pontano wrongly made *De Gram. et Rhet.* part of *De Vir. Ill.*; it should be separated from the other biographies. The title *Catalogus Virorum Illustrium* is acceptable, and the order of works was probably *de Poet.*; *de Hist.*; *de Orat.*; *de Phil.* *De Gram. et Rhet.* was a late work (post-121), the *Catalogus* early. BRUGNOLI (533) comments on the same ms. as ROBATHAN and three others, which he used in his edition (521). *Vat. Lat.* 7190 (*T*) is in the *gamma* family of *Y*, and is replete with interpolations and conjectures. *Borg. Lat.* 413 (*E*) is of the *zeta* group with many conjectures. Readings of both mss. were registered in the edition because of their uncertain value in the textual tradition. *Vat. Ott.* 1434 and 3015 (neither in his sigla) can be ignored as virtually useless, the former as a descendant of *I* (not merely related to it as ROBATHAN thought), itself a conflated ms., the latter as derived from multiple traditions (sample readings in his edition, pages XXVI-VII). BRUGNOLI (535) traces the history of the *Hersfeldensis* (lost save one section), from which apparently all extant mss. derive. The ms. was not from Fulda, as Pralle had argued, but from Hersfeld. It was brought to Italy by Enoch of Ascoli (ULLMAN). The ms. came apart, and hence the various orders of the works. The regathering of the texts and their copying in and around Rome was due largely to Pope Pius II (Piccolomini). COLKER (536) discusses two mss. unknown to BRUGNOLI: a late fifteenth century codex in the Notre Dame (U.S.) library, which he designates as *J* and places in the inferior *zeta* branch of the *gamma* family, and one of the same period in COLKER's own library, designated *R* and apparently derived from a printed edition (Robinson's *Inc.*). WINTERBOTTOM (544) is less thorough than the discussion of the *Caesares* by TIBBETTS (115) in the same book, summarizing with slight correction the argument of R. P. Robinson.

LENCHANTIN (539) compares the texts of the life of Horace in the early editions (Nannius, Muretus and Cruquius) with those in the mss. (the *K* and

*sigma* redactions). Nannius' ms. (*Bl. vetustus*) was different from Muretus'/Cruquius' (*Bl. vetustissimus*), but both mss. descend from the same hyparchetype. *K* descends from a second hyparchetype; from *K* descend *sigma* and Polenton. BRAIDOTTI (532) discusses *Reg. Lat.* 1634, which transmits the life of Lucan in the middle of Book 6 (after line 119, the text resuming after the life with repetition of 118). The life there has some variant readings and an omitted passage. BRAIDOTTI then makes textual comments on the life in context of the variants in this ms.

FINCH (537) shows that by *cod. Patav.* 281 Reifferscheid apparently meant *Pal. Lat.* 281. *Pal. Lat.* 6018, apparently unknown to Reifferscheid, resembles his *F* group of similar collections. FINCH edits the list in 6018 and notes the differences from the *F* group. MARCOVICH (540) corrects some misunderstandings of FINCH and suggests some changes in his edition of *Vat. Lat.* 6018 (*V*). Furthermore *V* is from Phocas' *Lib. Gloss.* but with added verbs, apparently from Aldhelm of Malmesbury. Hugutio of Pisa, the catalog used by Reifferscheid, is from Osbern of Gloucester, in turn from Phocas. Since neither of the latter attributes the list to *S.*, we should be cautious in doing so. LAGORIO (538) discusses generally the ms. problems involved in editing the catalogues, and specifically three new Vatican mss. of the *G* list (from the *V* family): *Reg. Lat.* 1007, *Ottob. Lat.* 2231, and *Pal. Lat.* 1773 (apparently the source of Mai's edition of 1834).

### C. *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*

545. Bione, C., "Note critiche ed esegetiche a Suetonio 'De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus'," *RFIC* 19 (1941) 19-33.

546. Brugnoli, G., "Suetoniana I; de grammaticis et rhetoribus," *AFLC* 28 (1960) 337-61 (= BRUGNOLI [16] 97-127, 131-34).

547. Brugnoli, G., "Coniectanea XI-XX," *RCCM* 5 (1963) 256-57, 263-65 (= BRUGNOLI [16] 97-127, 131-34).

548. Cizek, E., "Structure du *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*," *REL* 52 (1974) 303-17.

549. Kolendo, J., "Intellectuels et couches serviles: le cas des grammairiens chez Suétone," *Index* 8 (1978-79) 214-26.

550. Vacher, M. C., "La Vie des professeurs à Rome," *ALMarv* 8 (1981) 49-57.

BIONE (545) and BRUGNOLI (546 and 547) offer textual criticism and elucidation of various passages. For BIONE: 3, *multoscedo doceret* is damaged and lacunose, and perhaps best emended to *ut Oscae doceret*; 5, the second quoted verse should read "Sevius Postumus idem. .ac Marcus docebit" (the lacuna being irreparable), and should not refer to the author of satire; 9, Varro Murena is not well specified, and *Murena* probably an interpolation; 11, the verse *unum. .nomen* is weak but textually sound; 22, *os nullum* is possible but perhaps improvable; 23, *sed maxime. .abligurire* is sound as a reference to fellatio; 24, *omnino abolita* is hyperbolic; *De Rhet.* 1.6 (= 25.6), *publice quoque bis antea* is possible if loose, and 1.9 (= 25.9) *appellationes Graece syntaxis*, some word should replace *appellationes*, but *Graece* and *syntaxis* seem sound; 3 (= 27), Voltacilius Pilutus is perhaps Voltacilius Pitholaus; perhaps he used both names; 4.2 (= 28.2), *aureis* should be retained. BRUGNOLI (546 and 547), which I have seen only in the combined form (= BRUGNOLI [16] 97-127, 131-34) discusses thirteen passages: 1.3, *augurali* (Wessner) should be read for *augurandi*; 4.2, the citation from Nepos is not from *De Vir. Ill.*; 10.3, read *heredem postea docuisse*; 11.2, the *textus receptus* of the two lines generally ascribed to



Bibaculus can be defended by translating *facit* as "makes" and *legit* as "criticizes"; 13.1, *Eros* † *ometra* should be emended to *Eros nomine, Thrax*; 18.2, read *mimographos* for *mimographus*; 21.4, read *scribuntur* with some mss.; 23.4, read *parsisse*; 23.5-6, the text is essentially sound and to be interpreted in some way similar to Housman; 24.5, retain *nimis*; 25.9 (= 1.9), *appellatione* is to be removed; 28.2 (= 4.2), transpose *ac. . comparuisse* and *paulo. . . extitisse*; 29.1 (= 5.1), read *extrivisse*. BRUGNOLI also considers the citations from *De Gram. et Rhet.* in Jerome: our text is disfigured, especially between chapters 16 and 17, which might explain Jerome's silence on 1-16.

CIZEK (548) assesses the philosophical outlook of S. in *De Gramm. et Rhet.* based on anecdotes (as in his monograph on the *Caesares* [19]). Positive and negative anecdotes are blended as in the style of the New Academy, and S.'s views on literary style can be perceived (as a "classicist" he opposes the "modernists"). KOLENDO's (549) primary interest is what *De Gram. et Rhet.* tells us about slavery (place of origin, mode of enslavement and manumission, types of names, client relationships with former owners, financial arrangements, etc.). There is some information in S. on how the men viewed their slavery, varying from concealment to apparent preference for it. VACHER (550) gives a history and overview of professorial activity and personal life at Rome, primarily drawn from S. Academics were caught between a low social life (small businessmen) and a high one (respected intellectuals).

#### *De Grammaticis*: individual passages (1-11)

551. Badian, E., "Coo for the Teacher?," *LCM* 4 (1979) 139-43.  
 552. Bower, E. W., "Some Technical Terms in Roman Education," *Hermes* 89 (1961) 462-77.  
 553. Collart, M. J., "Histoire d'un père fouettard, le *plagosus* Orbilius de Horace," *REL* 31 (1953) 71-72 (abstract) = *BFS* 32 (1953-54) 124-25.  
 554. Ferraro, V., "La scuola di Orbilio," *RCCM* 9 (1967) 234-38.  
 555. Herrmann, L., "La Satura de M. Seius," *AC* 15 (1946) 257-61.  
 556. Herrmann, L., "Trois poèmes de P. Valerius Cato," *Latomus* 8 (1949) 111-44.  
 557. Holford-Stevens, L. A., "Laevius and Melissus," *LCM* 6 (1981) 181-82.  
 558. Killeen, J. F., "Suetonius' De Gramm. ix," *WS* 3 (1969) 233-34.  
 559. Kinsey, T. E., "Should Apuleius be sent to Cos? (Suetonius, de gramm. 3)," *LCM* 4 (1979) 79.  
 560. Lebek, W.-D., "Eine pollionische Bemerkung Suet. Gramm. 10,1 (Rob) und der Name des Ateius Philologus," *Hermes* 98 (1970) 127-28.  
 561. Loomis, J. W., "M. Furius Bibaculus and Catullus," *CW* 63 (1969) 112-14.  
 562. Puccioni, G., "M. Pompilio Andronico e la letteratura della 'confutazione'," *SRIL* 2 (1979) 141-51.  
 563. Rawson, E., "M. Aeficius Calvinus and his grammaticus (Suetonius, de gramm. 3)," *LCM* 4 (1979) 53-58.  
 564. Ronconi, A., "Quaeque notando (nuova serie)," *SIFC* 29 (1957) 124-30.  
 565. Terzaghi, N., "Facit poetas, À propos de l'épigramme sous Valerius Cato attribuée à Furius Bibaculus," *Latomus* 2 (1938) 84-91.  
 566. Watt, A. S., "Facessat Mutusca," *LCM* 4 (1979) 167.

HOLFORD-STEVENS (557) thinks Laevius (mss. *levius*) Melissus at 3 a freedman of the poet rather than the poet himself. RAWSON (563) recom-

mends reading at 3 (*mutoscedo doceret* [X]) instead *ut suos Cnido* or better either *multos* or *suos Coo doceret*, and tries to identify Aeficius with the *eparchus* (or his father) whose wife/daughter-in-law appears in a Samian inscription and whose daughter/granddaughter appears in an Athenian one. KINSEY (559) responds with a defense of *conductum ut multos edoceret* (G). BADIAN (551) rejects RAWSON's (563) *Coo* (or *Cnido*) as grammatically incorrect: the locative would be *Coi*. Instead, he suggests *Mutuscae* [= the Sabine town Trebula Mutuesca, where later an Apuleius is attested] *doceret*. WATT (566) answers RAWSON and BADIAN by reading "conductum ut suae domi doceret." Cf. BIONE (545). BOWER (552) assesses the terminology discussed by S. in chapter 4; evidence for technical use of *litteratus* (= *grammaticus*) is weak, and the first *grammatici* were probably called *litteratores*; cf. BRUGNOLI (546 and 547). According to HERRMANN (555), the lines of M. Seivus Nicanor (5) are by the author of the *Moretum* cited by Macrobius, as are some verses in Varro. The lines in S. should read "Seivus Nicanor Marci libertus necabitur/Seivus Nicator idem post hac Marcus docebit." COLLART's (553) abstract points to the favorable side of Orbilius, his scholarship and teaching career, which has been obscured by Horace's censure *plagosus*. FERRARO (554) bases his interpretation of 9.2 on Tacitus' *Dial.*: Orbilius spoke out, in a treatise *peri alogias* (Turnebus) or less likely *peri alogou*, against the practices by students' parents which were undermining the educational system. KILLEEN (558) explains Orbilius' response to Murena (9.4) as meaning that he teaches; *gibberosi* refers to pathic students. Cf. BRUGNOLI (546 and 547). LEBEK (560) recommends in Pollio's quotation (10.1) that *quidem* (Jahn) be read for *quidam* and *praetextatis* (X) *nobis* (X, della Corte) for *Praetextatus nobilis*. TERZAGHI (565) defends against Klotz his earlier interpretation of the lines of Furius quoted by S. (11) as "who reads and interprets poets": in the previous lines he is called *grammaticus*, and *lectio* was the "first duty" of the *grammaticus*, while *facit* refers to the other duties (*interpretatio*). RONCONI (564) criticizes PARATORE's (30) and TERZAGHI's (565) interpretations of *legit et facit*, and emends *legit* to *lacit*. LOOMIS (561) argues that the Furius in Catullus is the Furius Bibaculus whose poems are quoted at 11; her support is drawn from similarities of meter as well as word placement and usage. Cf. VAN BERCHEM (615). HERRMANN (556) finds metrical fragments of the *Indignatio* (11.1), which he believes literary criticism, e.g. attributing the works of Terence to Scipio, and critical of Sullan land distribution. The *Lydia/Dirae* are reconstrued, translated and argued as Catonian; HERRMANN believes both from a collection also called *Lydia*. Cato's Callimachean *Diana* included the Carme episode in the *Ciris*. Cato's poems were obviously influential.

#### *De Grammaticis*: individual passages (14-24)

567. Böhm, R. G., "Eine Lanze für Cicero, gegen Sueton: Cicero, *ad Atticum* XII, 26," *RCCM* 24 (1982) 80-85.

568. Bower, E. W., "Ineptiae and Ioci," *Latomus* 33 (1974) 523-28.

569. Fraenkel, E., "Fragmentis Poetarum Latinorum Addendum?," *Eranos* 53 (1955) 78.

570. Frassinetti, P., "La conversione di L. Crassicio Pasicle," *GIF* 4 (1951) 309-18.

571. Grisart, A., "Valerius Probus de Beyrouth," *Helikon* 2 (1962) 379-414.

572. Grosso, F., "Il caso di Pleminio," *GIF* 5 (1952) 251-53.

573. Jocelyn, H. D., "The Annotations of M. Valerius Probus," *CQ* 34 (1984) 464-72.

574. Kolendo, J., "Gramatyk Kwintus Remmiusz Palemon," *Meander* 39 (1984) 407-18.
575. Lebek, W. D., "Festinare (Suet. gramm. 23,6; CIL IV 4758; Hor. epist. 1,1,85)," *ZPE* 45 (1982) 53-57.
576. McDermott, W. C., "Suetonius, *De Grammaticis* 15," *Mnemosyne* 35 (1982) 346-48.
577. Scarcia, R., "Osservazioni critiche," *RCCM* 6 (1964) 294-98.
578. Wiseman, T. P., "Who Was Crassicius Pansa?," *TAPA* 115 (1985) 187-96.

BÖHM (567) denies S. (14) as parallel for restoring *Ad Att.* 12.26.2, which he believes wrongly restored by scribes from abbreviations; S. used a different version of the letter anyway. FRAENKEL (569) reconstructs a line of a satire by Lennaeus (*lastaurus lurco nebulo. . . popino*) from S. (15). MCDERMOTT (576) suggests that the alphabetical insults may have been from a list of such compiled by Ateius Philologus. To WISEMAN (578), Crassicius Latinized his name apparently on being freed, and may be the grammarian cited by Charisius, etc., as well as the *collusor et sodalis* of M. Antonius. He definitely followed the sect of Q. Sextius, and may have been a personal secretary to Augustus. Cf. BRUGNOLI (546 and 547). According to BOWER (568), Melissus' book was not a joke-book but "light verse," as *ineptiae* certainly came to mean later; render "books of *Ineptiae* (such as are) now called *Ioci*," and keep *scriptum*; cf. BRUGNOLI (546 and 547). GROSSO (572) identifies the Claudius Licinius, antiquarian writer and source of Livy, with the man mentioned in 20.2. KOLENDO (574) is in Polish and not accessible to me. According to the Latin summary the article discusses Palaemon as grammaticus and farmer, using statements in S., Pliny the Elder and Columella. SCARCIA (577) recommends (*contra* BIONE [545]) Housman's obscene rendering of *festinantem* at 23.6 based on Greek usage, and finds some support for the emendation of *mulieres* to *mares* (Jernstadt/Mazzarino). LEBEK (575) also supports Housman with the word *festinabiliter* (CIL IV.4758); both passages bring out the double-entendre in Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.85. Cf. BRUGNOLI (546 and 547). JOCELYN (573) discusses the view that Probus "edited" classical texts. S. (24.3) is vague about this matter which he perhaps underestimated. Probably some aspect of editing is involved but not what we would call "publication."

#### *De Rhetoribus*: individual passages

579. Bonner, S. F., "Rhetorica I: De gramm. et rhet. c. 25," *CR* 61 (1947) 84-86.
580. Booth, A., "Rhéteur d'orge," *Glotta* 60 (1982) 125-29.
581. Cavarzere, A., "Hordearium Rhetorem (Cael. frg. 34, p. 485, Malcovati<sup>3</sup>)," *AAPat* 85 (1973) 209-18.
582. Glaser, K., "Curtius und Claudius," *WS* 60 (1942) 87-92.
583. Jenkinson, E. M., "Further Studies in the Curriculum of the Roman Schools of Rhetoric in the Republican Period," *SO* 31 (1955) 122-30.
584. Lana, I., "Dell' epoca in cui visse Quinto Curzio Rufo," *RFC* 77 (1949) 50, 70.
585. Lebek, W. -D., "Zur Vita des Albucius Silus bei Sueton," *Hermes* 94 (1966) 360-72.
586. Lewis, R. G., "Pompeius' Freedman Biographer: Suetonius, *De Gramm. et Rhet.* 27 (3)," *CR* 16 (1966) 271-73.

587. Moussy, C., "Bolus et iactus, De l'emprunt au calque sémantique (à propos de Suétone, De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, 25,9)," *REL* 61 (1983) 227-40.

588. Rocca, S., "Acumen Stili," *Maia* 31 (1979) 259-61.

589. Sumner, G. V., "Curtius Rufus and the 'Historiae Alexandri,'" *AUMLA* 15 (1961) 30-39.

590. Treggiari, S., "Pompeius' Freedman Biographer Again," *CR* 19 (1969) 264-66.

GLASER (582), LANA (584) and SUMNER (589) attempt to specify the Q. Curtius Rufus who appears in S.'s catalog of rhetors (the actual life is lost). GLASER (582) thinks it possible that the Rufus in S. is the same as the Alexander historian, and likewise that the latter is the same as the Proconsul in Africa, but that it is difficult to conceive of all three being one man. LANA (584) thinks that the equation of Curtius rhetor in S.'s list with the Alexander historian is matched with other evidence. JENKINSON (583) examines 25.8 (= 1.8) and other passages not in S. which suggest that the *thesis* was predominant in the Republican rhetorical curriculum. Cicero had at first disqualified the *thesis* but later changed his mind, although it tended to be replaced by *hypotheses* (specific situations rather than general principles). BONNER (579) emends 25.9 (= 1.9) *syntaseis* (Robinson) to *systaseis* and defends the ms. *appellationes* as meaning "court cases"; cf. BIONE (545) and BRUGNOLI (546 and 547). MOUSSY (587) assesses the two senses of *bolus* at 25.9 (= 1.9). *bolus* ("potential catch") is called *iactus* in similar stories in Valerius Maximus and Apuleius, but (along with *bolona*, a Latin term formed by analogy to Greek) was a regular term, borrowed from Greek but referring to a Latin practice. The second *bolus* ("gain") indicates that *bolus* was more easily extended metaphorically (e.g. by Plautus) than *iactus*. To BOOTH (580), the insult of Caelius against Plotius and Atracinius at 26.2 (= 2.2) is that they were *ludi magister* and student, barley being a standard word for "fake bread"; CAVARZERE (581, which I have not seen), then, had overinterpreted the passage from Varro in suggesting *rusticitas* as the point of the insult. LEWIS (586) argues for identification of L. Voltacilius Pilutus (27 = 3) with the anti-Caesarian M. Voltacilius Pitholaus/Pitholeon, whose name might actually have been M'. Otacilius Pitholaus. TREGGIARI (590) doubts the identification: their slave careers seem different, and S. would probably have made the connection if it were likely. Cf. BIONE (545). ROCCA (588) illuminates the cruel "joke" of Clodius directed at Fulvia (29.1 = 5.1: *stilus* as tool of orator and of physician/torturer) with an anonymous biography of Demosthenes on papyrus. LEBEK (585) assesses 6 (= 30) on Albucius Silus. Seneca is one ultimate source for the life, which is chronologically deceptive (the case in Milan preceded the parental oath case involving L. Arruntius, cos. AD 6) and in fact is contradicted by Seneca's contemporary account, which is preferable: the Milan case had nothing to do with the retirement, caused by *ira*, not *pudor*.

#### D. *De Viris Illustribus*

591. Brugnoli, G., "Rota Figuli," *RCCM* 9 (1967) 226-29.

592. Jones, C. P., "Suetonius in the Probus of Giorgio Valla," *HSPH* 90 (1986) 245-51.

593. McDermott, W. C., "Suetonius and Cicero," *Gymnasium* 87 (1980) 485-95.

594. Townend, G. B., "Suetonius and Literary Biography," *PCA* 69 (1972) 27 (abstract).

TOWNEND (594) argues that *De Vir. Ill.* began with short lives (*De Gram. et Rhet.*) and then progressed to the more detailed information in *De Poet.* (as in the early *Caesares*), “in exactly the reverse order to that in Juvenal’s seventh satire.” Little of interest on literature has been lost, since S. is “more interested in people than in books.” BRUGNOLI (591) thinks the anecdote in Apuleius (*Apol.* 45) from S.’s life of Nigidius Figulus, which in turn may have drawn from Varro. MCDERMOTT (593) argues that S., in addition to the *Cic.* in *De Vir. Ill.*, planned a large-scale work on the career of Cicero, and that the information gathered turns up *passim* in S., but never materialized into the full work. JONES (592) argues that a scholium in Valla’s edition of Juvenal citing Probus is from *De Vir. Ill.* This is concluded on the basis of style, prosody and vocabulary; the life was probably from the *De Orat.*, as the life of Passienus Crispus also cited but revised by Valla.

### *De Poetis*

595. Anna, G. d’, “Contributo alla cronologia dei poeti latini arcaici I, I cronica di Cornelio Nepote fonte secondaria di S. Girolamo,” *RIL* 86 (1953) 211-32.

596. Martina, M., “Isidoro, ‘De Poetis’ (Orig. 8.7),” *CCC* 4 (1983) 299-322.

597. Naumann, H., “Gab es eine römische Dichter-Biographie?,” *Sileno* 2 (1976) 35-50.

598. Naumann, H., “Lücken und Einfügungen in den Dichter-Viten Suetons,” *WS* 13 (1979) 151-65.

599. Rostagni, A., “Del prendere il fresco in Suetonio e del malcostume che ci infesta,” *RFIC* 79 (1951) 89-93.

600. Rostagni, A., “Il proemio di Suetonio *De Poetis* presso Isidoro alle luce dell’antica precettistica,” in *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature, et d’histoire ancienne offerts à J. Marouzeau par ses collègues et élèves étrangers* (Paris 1948) 509-23.

601. Sánchez-Marín, J. A., “Prodigios, elementos eróticos y retrato físico en las biografías de poetas,” *Emerita* 53 (1985) 291-308.

Cf. D’ANTO (175).

ROSTAGNI (600) believes *Etym.* 8.7.1-11 from S.’s introduction to *De Poet.* (itself Aristotelian via Varro). Scholars since Casaubon had stopped the attribution to S. after section 2, but ROSTAGNI sees all as Suetonian/Aristotelian in character, especially his jibe at Lucan as historian rather than poet. ROSTAGNI (599) responds to a review of his edition (527) by Giulio Puccioni (*ASNP* 18 [1949] 252-58 [which I have not seen]), who had criticized him for mistakes in Latin grammar and interpretation. D’ANNA (595) argues, based on nonSuetonian errors, that Jerome used Nepos’ *Chronica* as well as S. Jerome is similar to Gellius’ chronology, which is from Nepos. NAUMANN (597) supports Leo against Büchner’s assertion that a Roman genre of poetic biography existed in the Augustan period and before. The *Ter.* derives from the plays, the *Hor.* from various works and not from a *vita* of Horace’s time; Gellius and Favorinus are dependent on S. NAUMANN (598) examines purported lacunae/interpolations in *De Poet.*: neither exists in the *Hor.*; the *Lucan* can be supplemented from Vacca; Donatus did not greatly abridge or enlarge the *Ter.* or *Verg.* (where 37-38 do not prove extensive addition), as analysis of style and content shows. MARTINA (596) attacks the view of ROSTAGNI (527 and 600) that Isidore used S. directly: the fragment of S. in Isidore does not come from *De Poet.* SÁNCHEZ-MARÍN (601) notes the frequency of portents, erotica and physical description in *De Poet.* and other

ancient lives of poets; these themes are drawn from rhetoric. S. chooses and arranges his material carefully and alone gives erotica, and in S. physical descriptions are consistent with physiognomic theory.

### Terence

602. Abbott, K. M., "A Rediscovered Fragment of C. Julius Caesar L.F. (Vopiscus)?" *CJ* 58 (1962) 68.
603. Abbott, K. M., "O dimidiat Menander, An Echo from a Roman Schoolroom?" *CJ* 57 (1962) 241-51.
604. Alfonsi, L., "Ancora sul 'dimidiatus Menander'," *RFC* 24 (1946) 32-43.
605. Anna, G. d', "Sulla vita suetoniana di Terenzio," *RIL* 89 (1956) 31-46.
606. Beare, W., "The Life of Terence," *Hermathena* 59 (1942) 20-29.
607. Bickel, E., "C. Caesar, L.F.," *RhM* 100 (1957) 1-41.
608. Brožek, M., "De Vita Terentii Suetoniana," *Eos* 50 (1959-60) 109-26.
609. Calboli, G., "Un frammento di C. Laelius Sapiens?," in *Poesia latina in frammenti. Miscellanea filologica* (Genoa 1974) 141-72.
610. Corte, F. della, "Suspiciones, II," in *Antidōron U. E. Paoli Oblatum* (Genoa 1956) 82-95.
611. Ferrarino, P., "Il *Limon* di Cicerone," *SIFC* 16 (1939) 51-68.
612. Fraenkel, E., "Porcius Licinus über Terenz," *MH* 19 (1962) 223.
613. Herrmann, L., "Cicéron et Térence," *Latomus* 13 (1954) 595-96.
614. Schmid, W., "Terenz als Menander Latinus," *RhM* 95 (1952) 229-72.

FERRARINO (611) doubts the attribution of Caesar's lines (8.116-21 Rost.) to Cicero by L. Herrmann (*MB* 34 [1930-32] 243-45, which I have not seen). Textual readings are suggested: *quidquid* (mss.) rather than *quiddam*, *vocibus* (mss.), *despecta* (mss.) . . . *iaceret* (ed. princ.), placing of comma after *vis* (*comica* then taken with *virtus*). Little besides this passage is known of the *Leimon*, and nothing of the genre before Cicero. BEARE (606) suggests that the scholarly controversies in the *Ter.* (quoted by Donatus) were drawn merely from the plays themselves and from the prologues and manuscripts of the plays. Thus the information is of questionable worth and requiring our reevaluation. ALFONSI (604) defends against Herrmann the mss. attribution of the lines of verse to Caesar. Caesar's lines are ironic criticism of Cicero, who had censured the Atticists for lack of *vis* and then praised Terence's *tenuitas*. S. may have obtained both fragments from the same source, perhaps even from the *Leimon*. SCHMID (614) also defends the attribution to Caesar the Dictator and analyzes the terminology: *sedatis* refers to inappropriate emotion (*motibus* or *vocibus* being unimportant); *lecto* and *come* refer to the *genus mediocre* (*reddens* being a possible reading); *vis* is not used technically and goes with *comica*. To Caesar, Terence needs a "mixed" style with "comic force." HERRMANN (613) answers criticism by various scholars of his earlier argument that the verses attributed to Caesar are by Cicero (the *Leimon*); his arguments are stylistic coherency and Ciceronian phraseology in the lines. D'ANNA (605) thinks the chronological evidence of Fenestella to be superior to Nepos'. Furthermore Varro was not the main source of the *Ter.* There are not large-scale Donatan interpolations in the first part of the life, as PARATORE (30) had argued. In the verses at the end, the later lines are not from Cicero (HERRMANN) but Caesar's response (SCHMID). BICKEL (607) changes his earlier attribution of the lines of C. Caesar from the Dictator to C. Julius Caesar L.f. (Strabo). BICKEL also comments on the style of the poem (*dimidiat* is a pun, other aspects are appropriate to the Sullan period),

his alleged *cognomina* (Strabo, Vopiscus, Sesquiculus) and the source (both poems from Cicero's *Leimon*). Finally he discusses the *corpus* of C. Caesar L.f. generally. BROŽEK (608) treats the life generally. S. (or his sources) follows chronology in citation of sources, does not ascribe a praenomen (which would have been C., not P.), and guesses about his appearance, death and coauthorship with Scipio and Laelius from references in the plays. ABBOTT (603) thinks Caesar's lines poor in quality but definitely Caesarian. Both fragments seem to be from catalogic poems offering stylistic criticism, perhaps as exercises under the grammaticus M. Antonius Gniphio. ABBOTT's other piece (602) adds a refutation of BICKEL's argument that the Caesar mentioned is Vopiscus. Rather Vopiscus was known as an accomplished writer; the lines were written by the Dictator when young. FRAENKEL (612) suggests *altum* for line 5 of the Porcius Licinius fragment (8.21 Rost.), seeing the whole line as suggestive of the Ganymede myth. CALBOLI (609) denies the verse at 8.70 to have been written by C. Laelius Sapiens (although the passage is Suetonian). Rather it is indicative of propaganda, probably like that of Gracchans and specifically Porcius Licinus.

### *Vergil*

615. Berchem, D. van, "Poètes et grammariens, Recherche sur la tradition scolaire d'explication des auteurs," *MH* 9 (1952) 79-87.
616. Giaccotti, F., "Sulla cronologia e sulla dedica del Culex," *Maia* 4 (1951) 70-76.
617. Lyne, R.O.A.M., "The Dating of the Ciris," *CQ* 21 (1971) 233-53.
618. Naumann, H., "125 Jahre Vita Donatiana des Vergil. Zur Geschichte einer Fehlzuwissen," in *Et Scholae et Vitae. Humanistische Beiträge zur Actualität der Antike für Karl Bayer zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. F. Maier et al. (Munich 1985) 33-40.
619. Naumann, H., "Noch einmal: Suetons Vergil-vita," *Philologus* 118 (1974) 131-44.
620. Naumann H., "Suetonius' Life of Vergil: The Present State of the Question," *HSPH* 85 (1981) 185-87.
621. Naumann, H., "Suetons Vergilvita," *RhM* 87 (1938) 334-76.
622. Naumann, H., "Was wissen wir von Vergils Leben?," *AU* 24 (1981) 5-16.
623. Naumann, H., "Wert und Zusammenhang der jüngeren Vergil-Viten," *WS* 8 (1974) 116-23.
624. Paratore, E., "Ancora sulla vita Donatiana di Vergilio," *Philologus* 121 (1977) 249-63.
625. Paratore, E., "Emendo in Suetonio-Donato," *RCCM* 7 (1964) 137-59.
626. Rostagni, A., "Questioni biografiche," *RFC* 25 (1947) 201-17.
627. Scarcia, R., "Il testamento di Vergilio e la leggenda dell'Eneide," *RCCM* 5 (1963) 303-21.
- Cf. SCARCIA (577) 292-93, and ADDENDUM.

NAUMANN (621) tries to lay out the materials for thorough study of the Donatan life. That it is Suetonian can be seen from content and style, with the exception of 23.159-68 Rost. Other versions come primarily from Donatus and are not useful biographically (although Jerome has seen S. independently). A tentative stemma of the various lives is drawn. ROSTAGNI (626) argues that *scripta sua* (23.174 Rost.) refers to all Vergil's works, hence to the *Catalepton*. The epigram in the Donatan life (23.163-68 Rost.) and in the Proban is by Servius Sulpicius Varus (*Carthaginiensis* being excised). GIACCOTTI (616) examines the passage on Vergil's youthful work (23.64-74 Rost.): probably the

*Culex* was written in Vergil's early twenties, but the exact year is irrecoverable from the mss. or other sources. VAN BERCHEM (615) seeks the source of the schema applied to Vergil in the lives by Donatus and Servius (*titulus, causa, intentio*). Eustathius and other late writers exhibit similar structures, which seem to go back to Hellenistic Greece (Alexandria and Pergamum); it can be seen in the verses on Cato (*De Gramm.* 11). SCARCIA (627) thinks there are many Donatan interpolations in the life. The interpretation *scripta* = *Aeneid* (pace ROSTAGNI [626]) was S.'s reading of Vergil's will after reading the biography by Varius and knowing the oral tradition. The passage, then, cites the will verbatim (which speaks not of burning but of nonpublication) and adds S.'s own commentary from Varius. The anecdote is suspect since coming from Varius. SCARCIA (577) notes that in 29 S. has Seneca (Elder?) give notice of Vergil's *recitationes*. LYNE (617) dates the *Ciris* to after Statius; the list of *Vergiliana* in the Donatan life, then, is largely interpolated. NAUMANN (619) refutes the argument of Büchner that the Donatan life is not by S. but a later creation. Similar arguments to those in his earlier study (621) are presented. Excisions since 1938 (BAYER [34], PARATORE [30]) also cannot be supported on arguments of style and content. PARATORE (624) answers NAUMANN (619) that his excisions were based on sound philological principles: contradictory content, non-Suetonian style. Furthermore NAUMANN has missed the typical Donatan disorder in the life, focuses too narrowly on individual words and constructions and avoids larger problems, e.g. on the passage in land distribution (23.75-84 Rost.), which shows clear Donatan marks. NAUMANN (623) considers the lives from Probus (partly Suetonian, partly from other sources, not of value as an independent source of information), from the *Libellus-Vita* (= *Vita Bernensis*) (also derived from S. and the grammarians and so of no value for biographical information). NAUMANN (620) summarizes the arguments for the life being entirely Suetonian; it passes the tests of vocabulary and style, even in sections 37-38. NAUMANN (622) argues that S. (the Donatan life) is really all we have of a Vergilian biography, and S. knew very little (contra SCARCIA [627], even the will being not verbatim and there being no biography from Vergil's time). Our best source is Vergil's own works, which are ultimately the source of most of the biographical tradition.

### Horace

628. Armstrong, D., "Horatius Eques et Scribus. Satires 1.6 and 2.7," *TAPA* 116 (1986) 255-88.
629. Bickel, E., "Zum Maecenas-Epigramm in Suetons Horazvita," *RhM* 99 (1956) 380.
630. Clarke, M. L., "Horace, *Epistles* i. 13," *CR* 22 (1972) 157-59.
631. Ferri, S., "Esigenze archeologiche e ricostruzione del testo," *SCO* 2 (1952) 102-3.
632. Kruszelnicka, M., "Elementy Autobiograficzne W Poezji Horacego A Antyczne 'Vitae Horatii'," *Meander* 41 (1986) 265-86.
633. Kurfess, A., "Zur Horazvita des Sueton," *WS* 59 (1941) 147-48.
634. Lenchantin, S. C. M., "Su qualche luogo della vita suetoniana di Orazio," *RIL* 74 (1941-42) 281-86.
635. McCartney, E. S., "Augustus Compares Horace to a Sextarius," *CJ* 44 (1948) 55-56.
636. Nötzel, W., "Zum Maecenas-Epigramm in der Horazvita," *Gymnasium* 64 (1957) 27.
637. Pasoli, A. (E.), "Suet. *Vit. Hor.* 38-43 Rostagni," *Latinitas* 13 (1965) 278-81.



638. Steffen, W., "Kritische Bemerkungen zu Suetons Vita Horatii," in *Römische Literatur der augusteischen Zeit*, ed. J. Irmischer *et al.* (Berlin 1960) 18-25.

639. Tovar, A., "Augustus Ridicules Horace's Shortness: A Comment on the Word *Sextariolus*," *AJP* 89 (1968) 334-41.

LENCHANTIN (634) comments textually on various passages: 24.3 Rost., Nannius' *cupito* is defended; 15, *mimulo* is read for *mimio*; 35-36 *pessimum penem* (mss.) is defended; 36, *appellat* as perfect was written by the redactor, not S.; 62-64 the mirrored bedroom is defended as Suetonian; 74-75 Reifferscheid's lacuna is defended and tentatively filled. MCCARTNEY (635) explores the humor in Augustus' comment on Horace (55-61); the humor comes from the diminutives, Greek words and the equation of Horace's stomach to a *sextariolus*. MCCARTNEY also collects examples, Shakespeare to present, of liquid containers being compared to human bodies. KURFESS (633) questions Klingner's emendation of the mirrored bedroom passage (62-64), defending the ms. reading (although excising *scorta* [= *scortator*] as a gloss on *Sat.* 2.5.75). FERRI (631) doubts the mirrored bedroom anecdote, which he believes to refer to obscene paintings rather than mirrors. NÖTZEL (636) emends line 3 of Maecenas' poem (24.15 Rost.) to *Tithono videas*, which he sees as an allusion to Hor. *Carm.* 2.16. BICKEL (629) in spite of the date of publication supports NÖTZEL's emendation with a further parallel, *Eleg. in Maec.* 119-28. STEFFEN (638) offers emendations (*omnino* for *nimio* in Maecenas' epigram [15]; Lachmann's *expresserit* before citation of *Ep.* 2.1 [48]; *appellavit* for *appellat* [36]; *aculeatum* for *accusantem* [56]; *ogkōdestatos* sound [60]; "specula toto [Glaser] cubiculo *serta* [*scorta* mss.] dicitur habuisse [disposita]," the rest of the sentence as in mss. [62-65]; probably no list of genuine works lost) and a newly edited text, which he considers basically intact. PASOLI (637) argues against E. Fraenkel's deletion (*perpetua*) and two insertions (*ei* and *illustrandam*) in the passage referring to Augustus and the *C.S.* (38-40). TOVAR (639) provides commentary on the passage discussed by MCCARTNEY (635) from Augustus' letter; the text is sound as transmitted, as an unhappy response to the Letter to Augustus. *sextariolus* refers to a "brand of papyrus," of very poor quality. CLARKE (630) interprets Augustus' anger with Horace mentioned by S. in light of Horace's "indirect approach" in *Ep.* 1.13. ARMSTRONG (628) defends Horace's equestrian status based on passages in *Sat.* 1.6 and elsewhere, thus reinforcing S.'s assertion that he bought a position as *scriba quaestorius*. KRUSZALNICKA (632) is in Polish, to which I have no access; according to the Latin "argumentum" at the end, the article examines Horace's biographical comments in light of S., Porphyrio and Pseudo-Acro.

### Other lives

640. Avery, W. T., "The *Vita* of Tibullus: Authorship and an Emendation," *CP* 55 (1960) 24-27.

641. Avery, W. T., "The Year of Tibullus' Birth," *CJ* 55 (1960) 205-9.

642. Camilloni, M. T., "Una ricostruzione della biografia di Cecilio Stazio," *Maia* 9 (1957) 115-43.

643. Friedrich, W. H., "Einzelheiten, III," *Hermes* 70 (1942) 224.

644. Kurfess, A., "Zur Tibullvita," *WS* 58 (1940) 132.

645. Martin, J., "Lukrez und Cicero," *WJA* 4 (1949-50) 325-29.

646. Martina, M., "Le vite antiche di Lucano e di Perseo," *CCC* 5 (1984) 155-89.

647. Panzerhielm-Thomas, S., "Hermeneutica: XIV," *SO* 18 (1938) 102-4.

648. Plinval, G. de, "Une insolence de Lucain," *Latomus* 15 (1956) 512-20.

649. Rostagni, A., "Ricerche di biografia lucreziana II, La 'Vita Borgiana'," *RFIC* 17 (1939) 113-35.

650. Schwartz, J., "Sur quelques anecdotes concernant César et Cicéron," *REA* 50 (1948) 264-71.

Cf. SCARCIA (577) 298-302.

SCHWARTZ (650) considers several anecdotes on Publilius Syrus and Laberius in Macrobius, which have a ring of authenticity and refer to opposition to Caesar in 46. One is from the *Vita Liberii* of S., another perhaps from Tiro via Asinius Pollio, or from a collection of *dicta* using both; or all three anecdotes came from S. and a collection of *dicta*.

PANZERHIELM-THOMAS (647) accepts both *Vit. Tibull.* and Hor. *Ep.* 1.4: Horace was said to be both from Gabii and from the nearby *regio Pedana*. He also prefers *oratorems insignem* to Rostagni's *oratorems insigniter*, and *nitidae* to Rostagni's *utiles*, and emends *Taranti* to *Rudiis* in *Vit. Enn.* KURFESS (644) rejects PANZERHIELM-THOMAS' *insignem* and prefers *notabiles* (or vulgate *utiles*) to PANZERHIELM-THOMAS' *nitidae*. AVERY (640) thinks *ante alios*. . . *dilexit* to be Suetonian phraseology, and emends *originem* to *amore insigni*. AVERY (641) thinks Tibullus lived past 19 BC, in spite of Marsus' verses preserved from the Suetonian *Tibull.*; Ovid implies that he lived past publication of the *Aeneid*, and *comes* in Marsus refers to relationship in the underworld, not to date of decease. Tibullus did die by 12 BC, perhaps by 16.

CAMILLONI (642) takes seriously Jerome's apparently Suetonian report on Caecilius Statius, including his *fl.* in 179. He then was born ca. 230 and captured 200-194, did not live with Ennius in the temple of Minerva but rather attended him as student (*contubernalis*), and died in 168.

DE PLINVAL (648) seeks a new explanation of the dispute between Lucan and Nero (31.11-20 Rost.), based on the *receptus*: Lucan acted indiscreetly in the presence of the senate at a recitation by Nero (cf. *Ner.* 10 and 23). Lucan here imitated Thræsea Paetus, and hence his censure, apparently in AD 62. DE PLINVAL also tries to repair the text of S. regarding Lucan's instructions on posthumous editing of the poem, seeing S. as reproachful of Lucan. To FRIEDRICH (643), the poetry by Nero in the *Lucan* (20) would be from a Bacchic context, dependent on Aeschylus. MARTINA (646) argues that [Vacca]'s *Lucan* does not descend from S., since it differs substantially from Jerome. [Vacca] lived in the late 1st century AD prior to Domitian. On Persius, MARTINA enters the thorny issue of whether the "Proban" Persius comes from Probus or S. In fact the life is a compilation of two lives of the types in the lives of Lucan by [Vacca] and S. respectively (a "familiare" supplemented by one of Suetonian nature, the former a native Roman genre).

ROSTAGNI (649) tries to claim authenticity for part of the *vita* which appeared in the 1502 reprint of the Venice 1492 edition. Some information is not from Jerome or deducible from other material available in the period of Borgia, and some information has been added to the original base. Since Jerome's life comes from S., this one must be from Probus. MARTIN (645) doubts the reports of insanity and Ciceronian editorial activity on *De Rerum Natura*. Jerome could have taken the former from Lucretius himself, the latter from the *Ad Herennium*. Cicero may have done textual work on Lucretius, but did not produce an edition.

SCARCIA (577) compares the possibly Suetonian *Persius* with Donatus' *Vergil*. Some of the *Persius* seems to be late interpolated imitations of the *Vergil*. The Suetonian *Persius* would have to be reconstructed by external means.

E. Fragmentary and Derivative Works (*Prata*)

651. Biville, F., "Ciconiarum crotolare (Suétone, frag. P. 251) ou les dénominations du cri de la cigogne en latin," *RPh* 57 (1983) 59-65.

652. Brugnoli (17) = Brugnoli (16) 137-84, 208-10.

653. Corte, F. della, "Le opere minori di Suetonio e l'enciclopedia dei *Prata*," *RAI* 2 (1940) 202-11.

654. Detienne, M., "Le Phoque, le crabe et le forgeron," in *Hommages à M. Delcourt* (Brussels 1970) 219-33.

655. Maselli, G., "Hapax legomena nella tradizione del *Peri Blasphêmion*," *SIFC* 51 (1979) 169-79.

656. Nielsen, K., "Remarques sur les noms grecs et latins des vents et des régions du ciel," *C&M* 7 (1945) 100-3.

657. Taillardat, J., "Mots comiques chez Suétone, *Peri Blasphêmion*," *REG* 66 (1953) x-xi (summary).

658. Waszink, J. H., "Varro, Livy and Tertullian on the History of Roman Dramatic Art," *VChr* 2 (1948) 224-42.

Cf. DELLA CORTE (610).

DELLA CORTE (653) and BRUGNOLI (17 = 16, 137-84, 208-10) both assess the probability of a *Prata* or catalogic work by S., as postulated by Reifferscheid. DELLA CORTE hypothesizes a twenty-book version of the *Prata* from the entry in the *Suda* and other references. The *Prata* must have been an early production of S., and perhaps is the volumes mentioned by Pliny. BRUGNOLI's short monograph builds on DELLA CORTE, but rejects his twenty-book structure. The evidence for the title is weak, and it would have had a fluid structure and may in any case have been a posthumous compilation of *Suetoniana*. The list of titles in the *Suda* is corrupt. *Peri Paidion* was written in Greek, while the treatise on games mentioned with it was in Latin. Many other works passed down by title (e.g. on clothes, animals, kings, and even the *Peri Blasphêmion*) do not belong to the *Prata*. Reconstruction of the work is probably impossible. BRUGNOLI also comments on Casaubon's division of the *Caesares* into eight books. Rather twelve should be accepted (with Lydus tentatively emended). NIELSEN (656) places within a larger discussion of the names of winds and regions an assessment of S.'s contribution (pages 228-33 Reiff.): S. has two new Latin names (*austroafricanus* and *euroauster*) whose authenticity is verified by *CIG* XIX.1308 and XIV.906 (= *CIL* X.6119). These inscriptions also bear out his use of *vulturinus* as E.N.E. (= *kaikias*). In Tertullian's *De Spect.* WASZINK (658) finds material of Suetonian derivation (the *Lud. Hist.*), as had Reifferscheid and others, and argues for Varro (most likely the *Ant. Div.*) as ultimate source of S. as well as of Livy, Valerius Maximus and Vergil. Varro apparently wrote his history of drama analogously to the accounts of the Greek genres. TAILLARDAT (657) finds the source of S., in one passage at least, to be Didymus, also used by a scholiast on Aristophanes. There is in fact Aristophanic similarity to many of the words in the passage. DETIENNE (654) uses *Peri Blasphêmion* page 54 Taillardat (530) to explore the Telchines and their metallurgy. The picture in S. is based on the seal, a mammal with threefold nature, "fish, quadruped, man." MASELLI (655) discusses the words printed by TAILLARDAT (530) based on *M* rather than on Eustathius and which hence are hapaxes: Eustathius' readings are generally preferable. In any case the dictionaries should now incorporate the *Peri Blasphêmion*. BIVILLE (651) derives *crotolare* in the catalogue of bird sounds (and the other variants) from *\*crotolare* ("to play the *crotalia*"); many Romance words have derived from these words and the further derivative *crot(u)lare*.

## VII. SUETONIUS' INFLUENCE

*Late Antiquity*

659. Bertinelli Angeli, M. G., "I dodici Cesari nell'Historia Augusta (confronto con Tacito e Svetonio)," in *Studi di storia antica in memoria di Luca di Regibus* (Genoa 1969) 145-66.

660. Bird, H. W., "Suetonian Influence in the Later Lives of the Historia Augusta," *Hermes* 99 (1971) 129-34.

661. Chastagnol, A., "L'Histoire Auguste et les 'Douze Césars de Suétone'," in *Bonner-Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1970* (Bonn 1972) 109-23.

662. Chastagnol, A., "Le Supplice inventé par Avidius Cassius. Remarques sur l'Histoire Auguste et le lettre 1 de St. Jérôme," in *Bonner-Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1970* (Bonn 1972) 95-107.

663. Corte, F. della, "I 'Caesares' di Ausonio e Mario Massimo," *StudUrb* 49 (1975) 483-91.

664. Elia, S. d', "Note su Mario Massimo," *StudUrb* 49 (1975) 459-81.

665. Fossatelli, R., "Mario Massimo," *RCCM* 15 (1973) 75-80.

666. Franceschi, F., "Censorino e Varrone," *Aevum* 28 (1954) 414-18.

667. Jones, B. W., "Suétone et Aurelius Victor," *PP* 25 (1970) 346-47.

668. Lande, F. de, "Une relecture de la Vita Pii de l'*Histoire Auguste*," *CEA* 20 (1987) 73-85.

669. Niccoli, G., "Tradizione biografica suetoniana e orientamenti ideologici nei necrologi imperiali di Ammiano Marcellino," *CS* 13 (1976) 610-20.

670. Schwartz, J., "L'Histoire Auguste, Suétone et Juvénal," in *Romanitas-Christianitas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der römischen Kaiserzeit. Johannes Strauss zum 70. Geburtstag am 18. Oktober 1982 gewidmet*. ed. G. Wirth et al. (Berlin 1982) 634-44.

671. Szelest, H., "Kilka Uwag O *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*," *Meander* 15 (1960) 141-54.

672. Szelest, H., "Ausonius und Suetonius," *ZAnt* 26 (1976) 433-42.

673. Tandoi, V., "Ael. Lampr. *Comm. Ant.* 10, 3," *A&R* 16 (1971) 126-30.

674. White, P., "The Authorship of the Historia Augusta," *JRS* 57 (1967) 115-33.

675. Wilshire, L. E., "Did Ammianus Marcellinus Write a Continuation of Tacitus?," *CJ* 68 (1972-73) 221-27.

FOSSATELLI (665) discusses Marius Maximus, continuator of S. and source of the *S.H.A.* Apparently he wrote twelve lives, Nerva-Elegabalus, and used primary sources which he treated with skepticism. He also explored imperial psychology. D'ELIA (664) thinks that reconstruction of Marius Maximus by analogy to S. has been excessive: lives might not have been in strict sequence; his style was more prolix; he mixed genres; and he preserved large original documents. But Marius resembles S. in his penchant for "gossip", in his "seriousness" and in his use of material. DELLA CORTE (663) describes Ausonius' work, twelve Caesars drawing on S. and twelve not; the latter were drawn also not from the *S.H.A.* but from Marius Maximus, while imitating the bipartite structure of S. (Julio-Claudians/Galba-Domitian). SZELEST (672) assesses the *Commemoratio* of Ausonius, similar to and influenced by *De Gram. et Rhet.* in structure, style and content, but innovative, encomiastic and poetic.

In support of single authorship of the *S.H.A.*, WHITE (674) points to uniform borrowing/divergence from S. BERTINELLI ANGELI (659) considers direct use of S. and Tacitus by the *S.H.A.* Marius Maximus is often the source for the rather conventional material; there seems to be evidence of

direct use of S., but use of Tacitus is less obvious. BIRD (660) argues that Vopiscus wrote the *Quad. Tyr.* in imitation of S.'s lives of AD 69, the final three lives in imitation of S.'s Flavians; further borrowing of details, themes and even characters from S. can be found. Perhaps this was designed to criticize Ammianus, also then writing. CHASTAGNOL (661) argues that the *S.H.A.* followed S. in *brevitas* and "sincere veracity" and in direct verbal reminiscence; 69 such reminiscences are listed, showing most influence in the *Hadr.*, *Macr.*, *Eleg.*, *Alex. Sev.*, *Gord.*, *Max. et Balb.* BIRD then has overstated his case. TANDOI (673) emends *Comm. Ant.* 10.3 *praedixisset* to *pro eo dixisset*, which he believes to be based on *Calig.* 27.3 and 14.2 (comparing *Calig.* 25.5 and 27.5 to *Comm. Ant.* 10.5). DE LANDE (668) argues that the *S.H.A. Pius* has an overt Suetonian structure but a deep structure (structure in the Lévi-Straussian tradition) of a different kind. Here is communicated the ideology of Pius' reign. SCHWARTZ (670) notes that S. was used both by the *S.H.A.* and by a scholiast on Juvenal of the same period, the *S.H.A.* also using the scholia; perhaps the scholiast was one of the *scriptores*. FRANCESCHI (666) ends his study of Censorinus' *De Die Nat.* with a consideration of whether Censorinus used Varro or S. There is material from S., but also some conflicting with the Suetonian material in other late classical writers; Censorinus may have used both. To WILSHIRE (675), Ammianus did not "continue" and imitate Tacitus. Rather he is to be seen as a good writer transcending (but using as a source) the Suetonian tradition exemplified by Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, etc. Tacitean influence is minor, the structure of the work following S. NICCOLÌ (669) sees the necrologies in Ammianus as influenced by S. rather than by Tacitus or rhetoric, as has been thought: discussions by rubrics of physical and moral traits, not as unified as in S. but splintered into confused personalities. There is a concept of a "bourgeois" "theology of imperial power" behind the political virtues/vices. JONES (667) argues from verbal similarity between *Tit.* 9.3 and *De Caes.* 10.11 that Aurelius Victor used S. as a source.

### Middle Ages

676. Beer, J. M. A., "A Medieval Cato—Virtus or Virtue?," *Speculum* 47 (1972) 52-59.

677. Ceresa-Gastaldo, A., "Le tecnica biografica del De viris illustribus di Girolamo," *Renovatio* 14 (1979) 221-36.

678. Courcelle, P., "La Culture antique d'Absalon de Saint-Victor," *JS* (1970) 281.

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ROCCA (683) notes the Suetonian nature of Cassiod. *Var.* 3.51: the treatment there of *Ludi Romani* (origin, Augustan improvement, correspondence of circus to cosmos as microcosm to macrocosm) are from two sources, Varro and S.'s *Lud. Hist.*; some of the material even echoes passages in the *Caesares*, especially *Ner.* 22.2. ROUGÉ (684) looks at views of Nero at the end of the fourth century, noting that Orosius and Augustine used S. MIKOLETZKY (681) delves into the history of biography. S.'s tendencies to dwell on the private and anecdotal are developed by Einhard into high political biography. Biography is the basic element from which history proper must be reconstructed. MEHL (680) compares the sources on Claudius' amnesty, concluding that Orosius has used S. (11.1) and a second source, not Cicero but Claudius' speech, maybe via the lost treatment in Tacitus' *Annales*. NAUMANN (682) looks at Donatus' work in relation to Servius' adaptation. The latter jumbles the order and adds details. In the Servian *Vergil*, then, Servius did not have sources better than S. (Donatus) but has reorganized and added material of his own. SILVESTRE (687) suggests that Jerome's comments on Matt. 21: 12-16 were influenced by *Aug.* 79. LUCK (679) questions the general belief that the saints' lives are modeled on S. The schemata in the lives are not Suetonian; although S. was familiar with them, there is no use for some of the rubrics and no documents to research. To SHEERIN (686), the quotation of Turpilius in the *Vit. St. Oswaldi* is from Jerome, who in turn borrowed from S. or from Flavius Caper. SCHNEIDER (685) denies that S. influenced Wipo's *Gesta Chuonradi II*, as argued by Bresslau in his edition *Die Werke Wipos* (1915). COURCELLE (678) surveys Absalon de St. Victor's († ca. 1203) knowledge of pagan culture: he knew S. (*Aug.* 25.6) but used the quotation laxly. BEER (676) argues that the "translator" of S. and other authors (*Le Fêt des Romains*) adapted his classical works to a 13th century audience's expectations, as e.g. with Cato Uticensis from Lucan and Sallust, where Stoic ideals become Christian.

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GIBSON (693) notes the extensive use of S.'s *Dom.* by Philip Massenger in his play *The Roman Actor*. S. is generally transformed and supplemented by other classical writers (Dio Cassius, Juvenal, etc.) and by Ben Jonson. The character Philargus is a spin-off from S.'s Domitian. SCANLAN (695) finds in Rousseau a strong linguistic allusion to S.'s account (*Jul.* 82.2) of Caesar's assassination, and other evidence that Rousseau knew S. BOWERSOCK (689) recounts the interest in S. from Casaubon into the eighteenth century. S. was considered a writer of impartiality, and the influence of S. can be seen in Johnson, especially in the physical description of the *Life of Savage*. Influence is even more evident in Duclos, and can be seen in the *Confessions* of Rousseau. D'ERCE (691) provides a caustic review of VAILLAND (100), a kind of "remake" of S.'s "roman-à-clef" about "Caesarisme." D'ERCE faults Vailland's theory (inapplicable to Julius), documentation (unfamiliarity with S. and others) and even style (repetition of Suetonian clichés), finding it a scarcely veiled diatribe against Mussolini.

STRAUSS (697) traces the parallels between Camus and S. (*inter alios*) and notes the transformation from Suetonian *monstrum* to existential hero aware of the absurdity in the world. CLAYTON (690) examines two Suetonian passages in the *Carnets*, the killing of the *cultrarius* and the mantle of Ptolemy, concluding that Camus was not interested in individual psychology, like S., but in metaphysical consciousness, in revolt and disdain, and, in the ultimate draft of *Caligula*, in absurdity. The two incidents were consequently removed and replaced by passages with symbolism of the moon. FREEMAN (692) sees Camus in the tradition of French mythological plays and views his Caligula as a mythological figure. Camus' contributions, for FREEMAN, are his emphasis on the influence of Drusilla's death on Caligula and the application to Caligula of Nietzschean thought. GILLIS (694) tries to catalog Camus' borrowings by how he transforms them: modifications to fit Camus' logic of character, establishment of new relations between anecdotes, intellectualization of anecdotes, better dramatization, modification of meaning, consideration from different points of view, augmentation, symbolization.

SCHÄFER (696) considers the Caesars as similar to Greek mythological figures. Absurdity appears even in S., or at least suggested itself to Camus, and mythological features can be seen even in the emperors' lifetimes.

### VIII. ADDENDUM

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University of Tulsa  
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D. THOMAS BENEDIKTSON