SVF	H. von Arnim (ed.), *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, 4 vols. (1903–24)
*Syll.*³	W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*³, 4 vols. (1915–21)
Syme, *AA*	R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (1986)
Syme, *HO*	R. Syme, *History in Ovid* (1978)
Syme, *RP*	R. Syme, *Roman Papers*, 7 vols. (1979–91)
TAM	E. Kalinka *et al.* (eds.), *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (1901–)
Teuffel⁶	W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*⁶, rev. W. Kroll, F. Skutsch, *et al.*, 3 vols. (1910–16)
Timpanaro	S. Timpanaro, *Per la storia della filologia virgiliana antica* (1986)
TLL	*Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (1900–)
Treggiari	S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (1969)
Wallace-Hadrill	A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius: The Scholar and His Caesars* (1983)
Watson	A. Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic* (1967)
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Wiseman, *RS*	T. P. Wiseman, *Roman Studies: Literary and Historical* (1987)
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INTRODUCTION

I. WHY *DE GRAMMATICIS ET RHETORIBUS*?

SOME time in the opening decades of the second century C. Suetonius Tranquillus (b. *c.*69–d. after 122) set out to sketch the lives of those who had been noteworthy figures in the literary culture of Rome over the preceding three centuries. Precisely when he did so we do not know: there is some reason to think that the project was completed in the last decade of Trajan's reign, after *c.*107 and before *c.*118, though the evidence for the latter *terminus* is not unequivocal, for the former more tenuous still.[1] In any case, the *De viris illustribus* (as the collection is conventionally called) was the work of a mature man who was himself a prime representative of the élite culture.[2] A member of the equestrian order, and so a person of independent means, he had been educated in the disciplines of 'grammar' and rhetoric—a fact that we could of course infer from his writings, even if he did not happen to record his recollection of a teacher's behaviour from his schooldays (4.6). His experience of the schools and their methods was to shape his own methods of research and composition, and it stamped him more generally as a *scholasticus* (Plin. *Ep.* 1.24): not a teacher by profession, but a 'scholar', one who bore the mark of the *schola*

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[1] The *terminus ante* is implied if Juvenal drew upon the work for his seventh satire, see at n. 39 below; the *terminus post* depends upon the identification of the rhetor Iulius Tiro—the latest of the teachers treated, listed after Quintilian in the *index rhetorum*—with C. Iulius Tiro Gaetulicus, who died in 107 or shortly before, see Plin. *Ep.* 6.31.7 ff. with 'Fragments' *ad fin.* in the commentary. Cf. also n. 5 below. Attempts at further precision falter: there is no compelling reason to assume that the work was completed before Pliny's death *c.*113 (rightly dismissed by Wallace-Hadrill 53 n. 5, cf. n. 9 below), and even less reason to assume that the work must be the one which Pliny urged Suet. to publish in 105 (*Ep.* 5.10); Brugnoli's belief that the *De gramm. et rhet.* was written near the end of Suet.'s life, after both *De vir. ill.* and *Caes.* (*SS* 57 ff.), is without foundation.

[2] On the title see Brugnoli, *SS* 41 ff. The data of Suet.'s own *vita* are soberly reviewed by Wallace-Hadrill 2 ff., and Bradley, *ANRW* II 33.5 (1991), 3704 ff., with full refs.; also useful is Birley, *JRS* 74 (1984), 245 ff.

in his interests, learning, and speech.[3] At the same time, Suetonius was thoroughly representative of the élite culture in another respect: for scholarly interests and attainments provided both useful literary skills and entry into relations with others of similar interests and attainments; and these relations, when formed with men of public standing, could provide the opportunity to combine literary skills with a public career. We can trace such relations directly, if episodically, in the letters of the younger Pliny, who encouraged Suetonius as an advocate and assisted him as a prospective landowner (*Ep.* 1.18, 24, both *c*.97), secured for him an appointment as military tribune (which Suetonius asked to be given instead to a relative: *Ep.* 3.8, *c*.101–3), encouraged him again as an author (*Ep.* 5.10, *c*.105), and gained for him—though childless—the privileges that belonged to a father of three children (*ius trium liberorum*: *Ep.* 10.94–5, *c*.110). Similar relations can be inferred in the case of Septicius Clarus, to whom Suetonius dedicated at least some of the *Caesares* (John Lyd. *De mag.* 2.6), as had Pliny the first book of his letters (Plin. *Ep.* 1.1), and who with Suetonius was dismissed from the emperor's service for an indiscretion involving the empress Sabina, when Septicius was praetorian prefect and Suetonius was responsible for overseeing the emperor's correspondence.[4] It is a plausible if unprovable assumption that Suetonius had gained this important secretariat through the patronage of the greater man whose fall he shared; and if it was not to Septicius then it was no doubt to another patron very much like him that Suetonius had also owed appointment, earlier in Hadrian's reign or—more likely—late in

[3] On the term *scholasticus* see 30.2 n., and cf. [Verg.] *Catal.* 5.3 f. for Varro included in the *scholasticorum natio*. That Suet. had been a schoolmaster has sometimes been supposed from *Suda* T 895, where he is termed γραμματικὸς 'Ρωμαῖος; but the same source also uses the term γραμματικός of (e.g.) Gregory Nazianzen (Γ 450), and it is likely in both instances that the term (if it is not merely applied ineptly as a professional title) retains its original force as a general epithet = 'educated man/man of letters/scholar' (see 4.3 n. and Kaster, *GOL* 454). John Lyd. *De mag.* 1.34 speaks of ὁ Τράγκυλλος . . . φιλόλογος, an epithet that Suet. would not have refused: cf. 10.4 (on Ateius Philologus' choice of *cognomen*), with n. ad loc.

[4] SHA *Hadr.* 11.3, implying a date of 122: on the controversy surrounding the date see Bradley 3710, Birley 246. *Hadr.* 9.4 f. and 11.3 together imply that Septicius was prefect from 119 to 122: if, as John Lyd. *De mag.* 2.6 states, Septicius was prefect when Suet. dedicated the *Caes.* to him (whether all the lives or only *Jul.* and *Aug.*: cf. Bradley 3724 n. 102), then the latter work can most probably be taken to postdate the *De vir. ill.* (cf. n. 1 above).

Trajan's, to two other posts in which 'scholastic' attainments and imperial service were joined, as literary advisor to the emperor (*a studiis*) and supervisor of the public libraries of Rome (*a bibliothecis*).[5] Contemporary patterns of education, patronage, and public service shaped the career of the man who was both a scholar and an imperial functionary. That such a man became the biographer both of *litterati* and of emperors causes no surprise.

In its original state the *De viris illustribus* (*DVI*) probably comprised well over 100 lives—of poets, historians, orators, philosophers, and teachers—distributed over four or five books.[6] From the greater part of the work only a scattering of remnants survive: to St Jerome, who mined it for his extension of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, we owe scores of brief excerpts that provide the clearest view of its original scope; and we happen to possess Suetonius' biographies of a few individuals—most notably, Terence, Horace, Lucan, and (in large part) Vergil—because they were extracted from the *DVI* and transmitted as part of the scholarly apparatus surrounding the man's work.[7] But one major segment chanced to survive independently into the ninth century, thereafter to be rediscovered in the fifteenth: *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* (*DGR*), 'On Teachers of Grammar and Rhetoric'. Though its last part was already lost when the single manuscript to preserve it was written, the surviving portion contains the bulk of the original text.[8] The work begins with four introductory chapters that broadly sketch the beginnings of formal 'grammatical' study—the study of language and poetry—at Rome. There then follow the brief biographies of twenty

[5] It is just possible that a remark at 20.2, on Iulius Hyginus' tenure as head of the Palatine library, hints at Suet.'s own experience as *a bibliothecis*: see n. ad loc.

[6] The most acute discussion of the *DVI* in relation to Suet.'s other interests and writings is that of Wallace-Hadrill 50 ff.: readers of the latter will recognize its influence throughout this introduction. The surveys of Reifferscheid 363 ff., and Macé 244 ff., still repay reading; the more recent surveys of Baldwin 379 ff., and Viljamaa, *ANRW* II 33.5 (1991), 3826 ff. (on the *DGR*) make no advance. Schmidt, *ANRW* II 33.5 (1991), 3794 ff., is valuable on the *Pratum* (the collection of Suet.'s *opuscula*) and its relation to the *DVI*. Benediktson, *CW* 86 (1993), 429 ff., provides a bibliography to the *DVI* and *DGR* for the period 1938–87.

[7] On Jer., see §4 below; the excerpts are collected by Reifferscheid, pp. 3 ff. On the lives of the poets see esp. Rostagni; Fraenkel, *Horace* (1951), 1 ff.; Naumann and Brugnoli, *Enc. Virg.* v/1. 570 ff. (on the Suetonian *vit. Verg.* and its descendants). Cf. also 24.1 n. (for the life of Persius attributed to Probus), App. 3 (for the life of the elder Pliny), Jones, *HSCP* 90 (1986), 245 ff. (for extracts from Suet. in the excerpts of *Probus Vallae* on Juvenal).

[8] On the transmission of the text see §4 below.

grammatici who taught in the capital, arranged in (rough) chronological order from the end of the second century BCE to the end of the first century CE. After the grammarians, another longish historical chapter follows, this time on the rise of formal rhetorical study; then the lives of the rhetors—sixteen in all, with a chronological range similar to the grammarians' lives, though only the first five still remained when the text was salvaged by the humanists of Italy. In the *DGR*, as in the *DVI* more generally, Suetonius appears to have treated only the deceased: though the last two teachers included—the *grammaticus* Valerius Probus and the rhetor Iulius Tiro—were probably still alive early in Trajan's reign, none of his subjects began his career after the time of the Flavians.[9]

As the most thoughtful recent study of Suetonius has noted, 'critics have scarcely been able to veil their disgust that it is the dull academics, not the poets, [whose lives] have been preserved'.[10] Any such sentiments might well be tempered, however, by the utility of these lives, and by an appreciation for the irony of their survival. Brief though the *DGR* is, it would be difficult to name another text of similar scope that is a richer resource for the study of Roman education and cultural history in the classical period. At the same time, the part of Suetonius' work to survive is also the part we should least expect him to have written, given the tradition in which he was working.[11]

We glimpse that tradition from a well-known passage of St Jerome, who not only used Suetonius' work in his supplements to Eusebius' *Chronicle* but also took it as the model for his own *De viris illustribus*, on noteworthy ecclesiastical writers. In his

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[9] That Probus survived into the opening years of the 2nd cent. is implied by Gell. 3.1.6, on which see 24.1 n. Since Tiro was treated after Quintilian, who was certainly still active in 95, he very likely was alive under Trajan and perhaps died *c*.107 (if he is C. Iulius Tiro Gaetulicus: see n. 1 above), though the greater part of his career (like Probus') would have fallen under the Flavians. The view that Suet. adopted the death of Domitian as his stopping-point in *DVI* as in *Caes.* is in essence correct, though it does not follow that Suet. observed the *terminus* in a mechanical fashion.

[10] Wallace-Hadrill 51.

[11] The following remarks on the tradition of 'literary biography' (i.e. the biography of literary figures) owe much to Leo, *GRB* (esp. 85 ff.), Dihle, *Studien zur griechischen Biographie* (1956), 104 ff., Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (1971), 65 ff., Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius* (1978), Fairweather 64 ff., and Geiger, *Cornelius Nepos and Ancient Political Biography* (1985), 51 ff.; on πίνακες, see 6.3 n.

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preface to the latter work Jerome acknowledged the urgings of his dedicatee that he 'follow Tranquillus' and do for writers on sacred Scripture what his precursor had done for 'the literature of the gentiles'; he then lists the names of those who 'did the same thing', first *apud Graecos*—Hermippus, Antigonus of Carystus, Satyrus, Aristoxenus—then *apud Latinos*—Varro, Santra, Nepos, Hyginus—ending as he began, with Tranquillus.[12] It is usually inferred that Jerome himself knew at first hand only his model, Suetonius, and that the other names were already embedded in a similar preface to Suetonius' collection, as an acknowledgement of his predecessors and—in the case of the Latin names—his sources.

Now it is certain that all the men thus named wrote biographies of one sort or another devoted to distinguished cultural figures, or biographies of 'illustrious men' more generally; whether any of them wrote 'on teachers of grammar and rhetoric' is another matter entirely. Mere chronology would not lead us to expect much in the way of precedent from the Greek authors mentioned, for they were all active in the fourth and third centuries, when the disciplines that were to emerge as 'grammar' and Hellenistic rhetoric had just begun to take shape as distinct fields of inquiry. And in fact they do not provide a precedent. Aristoxenus in the fourth century, and Antigonus in the third, concerned themselves with philosophers. So too did Hermippus and Satyrus, who also took up other categories: Hermippus, relying on Callimachus' researches, ranged widely among poets, orators, and sages, while Satyrus' *Life of Euripides*, cast in dialogue form and fragmentarily preserved on papyrus, is the earliest extant example of literary biography. Similar ground seems to have been covered by Greek authors who might have stood in Jerome's list but do not: for example, Hieronymus of Rhodes, in the middle of the third century, or Neanthes of Cyzicus, at its end, or Posidonius' nephew, Jason of Nysa, in the first century. More generally still, it is

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[12] Jer. *De vir. ill.* pr.: 'hortaris, Dexter, ut Tranquillum sequens ecclesiasticos scriptores in ordinem digeram et, quod ille in enumerandis gentilium litterarum libris fecit inlustribus viris, ego in nostris hoc faciam, id est, ut . . . omnes qui de scripturis sanctis memoriae aliquid tradiderunt tibi breviter exponam. fecerunt quidem hoc idem apud Graecos Hermippus peripateticus, Antigonus Carystius, Satyrus, doctus vir, et longe omnium doctissimus Aristoxenus musicus, apud Latinos autem Varro, Santra, Nepos, Hyginus, et—ad cuius nos exemplum provocas—Tranquillus.' Cf. id., *Ep.* 47.2 'scripsi librum de illustribus viris ab apostolis usque ad nostram aetatem imitatus Tranquillum Graecumque Apollonium.'

clear that from the third century on the impulse of Alexandrian scholarship stimulated further lives of the Greek poets and of authors in other genres, while the example of Callimachus' Πίνακες prompted production of annotated lists of authors and works, which might include some biographical information, particularly when it was relevant to determining a work's authenticity. We have at least traces of such catalogues of poets, orators, historians, and philosophers; and for philosophers we know of comparable catalogues that followed the lines of succession within the various schools: indeed, the surviving texts that are perhaps most similar to the *DGR* in form are two catalogues found among the papyri of Herculaneum (*PHerc.* 1018, 1021), with sketches of the leaders of the Academy, the Stoa, and their pupils, that may be the work of Philodemus. Among all these traces, however, there is but one known work that addressed 'grammarians', the Περὶ γραμματικῶν of Asclepiades of Myrlaea, who was himself a γραμματικός (late 2nd–early 1st cent. BCE).

A search for precedent among the remains of Suetonius' Latin predecessors mentioned by Jerome yields still fewer results. Varro cited the views of several early *grammatici* in the *De lingua Latina* and his other grammatical writings, and he included a book on *grammatica* in his survey of the various *Disciplinae*. But this book—like the corresponding books on geometry, astronomy, or medicine—was concerned with defining the elements of a field of study, something in which Suetonius displays no interest: Varro's efforts in literary biography were confined to the *De poetis*. Poets were also very probably included—along with orators (possibly) and historians (certainly)—in the sixteen or more books that Nepos devoted to the *viri illustres* of Rome and other nations; nor should we forget the life of Cicero that Nepos published separately.[13] Santra, a contemporary of Varro and Nepos, we know largely from Suetonius, who twice cites him as a source: both references have to do with poets—Terence and Lucilius—while a citation in Quintilian suggests that he interested himself in oratory and orators as well.[14] These three men were active primarily in the middle third of the first century BCE; a fourth, Hyginus, belonged to the next

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[13] On the range of Nepos' biographies see Geiger, 84 ff., rightly rejecting the notion (88 f.) that Nepos treated *grammatici* or rhetors; cf. also comm. 4.1, 27.2 nn.
[14] On Santra see 14.4 n., and cf. 2.2 n.(on the book-divisions in Naevius' *Bellum Punicum*).

generation, as a freedman of Augustus and one of the *grammatici* chronicled in the *DGR* itself. A devoted compiler of antiquarian lore, Hyginus composed at least one and probably two collections 'On Illustrious Men' (20.1 n.). As it happens, the surviving references concern, not figures from the literary culture, but statesmen of the Middle Republic, a fact which at least suggests that Hyginus followed Nepos in making a wide cast to net his *illustres*—not surprisingly, since Hyginus' other works make clear that he followed closely in the footsteps of both Varro and Nepos. And as in the case of the Greeks, so also in that of the Romans the list of predecessors named by Jerome can be augmented, most notably by the name of Asconius, who composed a life of Sallust.[15]

Surveying the exiguous remnants of Suetonius' antecedents, then, we find evidence for biographical treatments, of various sorts, for four of the cultural categories that Suetonius took up, the poets, orators, historians, and philosophers; but for the category that has survived—the scholars and teachers of language and literature—such evidence is scarcely found among the Greeks, and is non-existent among the Romans. It would of course be rash to conclude, solely from a survey of these ruins, that Nepos or Santra or Hyginus nowhere treated the life of an individual noted for his teaching or scholarship. There is, however, more than the argument from silence to suggest that Suetonius was not simply following a well-worn path in the *DGR*. Not only is there no direct evidence that the earlier Latin biographers took up this category, as one among several comparable categories of literary types, but there is also little reason for us to expect that they did so, and substantial reason to expect that they did not, given the cultural milieu of Rome.

First, the categories of poet, orator, historian, and philosopher were obviously all 'primary' categories in the literary culture: that is, categories consisting of writers, speakers, and thinkers who

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[15] Note also the elder Seneca's *Contr.* and *Suas.*, which (while not biographical in genre) included extended sketches of some noted declaimers, as Cicero's *Brutus* did of some orators; though Suet. seems not to have known Seneca's work (see App. 4), he did know Cicero's (3.1 n.). Suet. also drew, directly or indirectly, on other authorities whose works, if not strictly biographical, were none the less useful to a biographer, including Accius (*Didascalica*: *GRF* i. 25 ff., cf. comm. 1.2 n., on Livius Andronicus), Q. Cosconius (*GRF* i. 108 ff.), and Fenestella (*GRF* ii. 29 ff.): Accius and Fenestella were included in the *DVI* (Jer. *Chron.* s.a. 1878 = 139 BCE, 2035 = 19 CE); cf. §2 below, on the extensive overlap between Suet.'s sources and his subjects.

were the primary objects of study or emulation, and to whose words and thoughts much biographical writing itself served as an adjunct or critical apparatus. These primary categories had long-established histories before they reached Rome from Greece. By the middle of the first century BCE, at least poetry, oratory, and history had established traditions at Rome as well, extending back five generations or more, inviting or requiring careful study, inviting, too, an interest in the lives of the noted representatives of each category. By contrast, the systematic study of and instruction in language and literature—that is to say, grammar and rhetoric—not only constituted an obviously secondary category in the literary culture, subsidiary to and dependent on the texts of poets, orators, and historians; but in the time of Varro, Santra, and Nepos the representatives of this secondary category had been a significant presence in Rome for scarcely more than a generation. To treat them, in biography, as categorically on a par with poets or orators would surely have seemed bizarre.

Suetonius, of course, was as far removed in time from the first *grammatici* and rhetors as Varro had been from Livius Andronicus: the aura of antiquity had come to envelop even this secondary category of literary *illustres*, and the passage of time would have made a difference in itself. But not all the difference: far more important was an institutional development that had occurred. That development is signalled by a point Suetonius stresses twice, once before his account of the *grammatici* and again before his account of the rhetors: the men whose memory he is preserving are above all *professores*—'clari professores et de quibus prodi possit aliquid' (4.7), 'illustres professores et quorum memoria aliqua extet' (25.6). That is, the members of this category are *not* treated primarily as scholars of language and literature—though some were that as well, and Suetonius often notes their contributions as such. Rather, they win their places primarily because of their *professiones*—their public claims to teach certain forms of competence; and their teaching of this competence was by Suetonius' day the *sine qua non* of all other forms of literary endeavour, because of the development of the institutions of Roman education. Everything Suetonius says in this regard points in the same direction. He establishes that the two *professiones* were distinct, their labours largely differentiated, as they had not been in the first half of the first century BCE, when many men taught both

disciplines (4.4 and n.). He takes it for granted that the school of the *grammaticus* fed into the school of the rhetor, and the student of the former was expected to complete his studies with the latter before beginning his mature activities—something that (he says) had not uniformly been the case even in his father's generation (4.6).[16] And he shows how the schools of rhetoric were dominated above all by declamation, the phenomenon of verbal display that had gained momentum and influence over the whole course of the first century CE, virtually becoming a 'primary' form of literary activity in itself (cf. 25.3 f. and nn.).

In short, the *professiones* of the *grammaticus* and the rhetor had acquired a clearly articulated and acknowledged place at the centre of the élite culture more generally. In the age of Cicero it would have required a prophet to foresee the centrality of these men (and Cicero himself would surely have been appalled by the prophecy), while their consequence was not yet fully apparent even in the age of Augustus.[17] But all this was obvious, and could be taken for granted, in the age of Quintilian, Tacitus, and Suetonius. Indeed, Suetonius at one point implies that his audience would be hard put to imagine otherwise: while introducing the subject of rhetoric, Suetonius notes that its teaching had once been forbidden, and he seeks to support his statement by quoting the senatus consultum of 161 BCE and the censors' edict of 92 BCE, 'ne cui dubium sit'—as though his contemporaries would find the very idea improbable in the absence of documentation, so familiar had these teachers and their role in the literary culture become.

2. THE METHOD OF *DE GRAMMATICIS ET RHETORIBUS*

Suetonius' decision to include the *professores* among his notable *litterati* appears to have owed more to the cultural conditions of his own day than to the precedent of tradition. If that is so, it should follow that the *DGR* is very largely a work of original

[16] On the very gradual development of this *sequence* of education at Rome, as Suet. knew it and as it (consequently) informs the *DGR*, see the shrewd remarks of Fairweather 319 f.

[17] In fact, 12 of the 16 rhetors originally included in the *DGR* were of Augustan or post-Augustan date, and would not have been treated even by Hyginus, much less by Varro, Santra, or Nepos.

scholarship. For *this* category Suetonius would have had little opportunity to serve up potted accounts from one predecessor or another, or even to collate and synthesize the results of earlier researches: most of what he tells us he would have had to discover for himself by working through his 'primary sources'.

Indirect support for this view can be found, first, in two of the biographies that survive from the *De poetis*. The *vita* of Terence plainly had already attracted a substantial amount of learned discussion. Consequently, Suetonius was able to base his account not only on primary texts (e.g. the prologues of Terence's plays, or the verses of Afranius, Cicero, and Caesar, or the oratory of C. Memmius), but also on the inquiries of earlier biographers and antiquarians, whose assertions and inferences he repeatedly juxtaposes as variant reports (e.g. Fenestella vs. *quidam*, 26.7 ff. Reiff.; Fenestella vs. Nepos, 27.5 ff.; Nepos vs. Santra, 31.2 ff.; Q. Cosconius vs. *ceteri*, 32.13 ff.). In the biography of Horace, by contrast, there is virtually nothing of the latter sort: a 'variant' report occurs but once, in a contrast between Horace's own account of his origin and a less creditable version that 'has been believed' (44.3 ff. Reiff.), while another unnamed source, of indeterminate character, is once cited for his sexual habits (47.12 ff.). Every other detail in the *vita*—save the concluding notice that records the exact dates of Horace's birth and death and the character of his will (48.3 ff.)—Suetonius either explicitly derived or plainly inferred from his own reading—of Horace's verse, Maecenas' writings, Augustus' correspondence—and from his own inspection of other documents or sites (47.16 ff., cf. 48.8 f.). An extensive 'secondary literature', with its attendant controversies, had accumulated around the poet of the Middle Republic but was clearly not yet available for the Augustan. Here Suetonius was essentially on his own; and what is true of the Horatian *vita* is true of *all* the lives of the *professores*.[18]

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[18] Note that a 'variant' report occurs in only three of the chaps. on *grammatici*—7.1 'ut aliqui tradunt' (on the education of Antonius Gnipho, refuted by Suetonius), 11.1 'nonnulli tradiderunt' (on the origin of Valerius Cato, vs. Cato's own account), 20.1 'nonnulli . . . putant' (on the origin of Hyginus)—and in none of the surviving lives of rhetors. An explicit contrasting of learned authorities of the sort found in the Terentian *vita* does occur once, 1.3 'nonnulli tradunt' vs. 'iure arguit L. Cotta'; but the controversy there concerns another 2nd-cent. poet, Ennius, not a *professor*.

To inquire more closely into Suetonius' procedures let us take it *ex hypothesi* that he began by formulating his project *de viris illustribus* and defining his several categories, then embarked on a programme of reading, drawing on his predecessors where they could be helpful, and above all working his way through the library resources available to him. At this stage he will have been seeking out any writings by the persons who seemed to fit his categories, and other texts relevant to them, compiling his data as he read by entering apparently useful excerpts in his notebooks (*commentarii*). He will then have composed his segments *de grammaticis et rhetoribus*, *de poetis*, and so on, by sifting through these *commentarii* for material relevant to each segment and to each entry within a segment. The process will have left him satisfied that he had done a thorough job—that he had turned up the members of each category who were at least 'famous' enough to allow some account to be pieced together (see 4.7 n., cf. 25.6 n.).

This description of Suetonius' labours is of course speculative, in the sense that Suetonius nowhere tells us how he worked; but its main features should not be controversial.[19] Written-up versions of such excerpts are, after all, what Aulus Gellius claims to offer in his *Attic Nights* (pr. 2 f.); and a compilation very similar to the *DGR* in kind, if not in content—the elder Pliny's *Natural History*—was composed in precisely the way I have described, drawn from the notebooks that preserved the fruits of Pliny's constant reading. (His nephew inherited these notebooks, 160 in all, written in a small hand on both sides of the page: Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.16 f.) More to the point, the process I have described leaps out from the text of the *DGR* itself. A few examples can make plain how Suetonius worked—sifting through his excerpts, fitting the pieces together—and how the data collected for one category of *litterati* contributed to his other categories by a kind of cross-pollination.

Consider first the following lists, which present: (1) the authors whom Suetonius quotes or paraphrases as sources in the *DGR*; and (2) the Roman *litterati* whom Suetonius mentions in the *DGR* because their lives and work otherwise bear on the lives and work of the *professores*.[20] An asterisk denotes a man whose *vita* Suetonius

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[19] Cf. e.g. the discussion of Varro's working methods in Skydsgaard, *Varro the Scholar* (1968), 101 ff.

[20] Asinius Pollio and Cicero appear on both lists: thus, Cicero is both quoted directly as a source (14.2 f., 26.1, 29.2) and mentioned for his attendance at the *schola* of Antonius Gnipho (7.1, by implication also at 25.3, see nn. ad locc.).

is known to have treated, either in the *DGR* or (as Jerome's excerpts show) elsewhere in the *DVI*.

(1)*Asinius Gallus (22.3)
 *Asinius Pollio (10.2)
 Ateius Capito (10.2)
 *Ateius Philologus
  (7.3, 10.3, 5)
 Augustus (16.1)
 L. (Aurelius?) Cotta (1.3)
 *Aurelius Opillus (6.2 f.)
 M. Caelius Rufus (26.2)
 Clodius Licinus (20.2)
 *Cornelius Nepos (4.1, 27.1)
 Domitius Marsus (9.4, 16.1)
 *Furius Bibaculus (9.6, 10.3)

(Helvius) Cinna (11.2)
*Horatius (Flaccus) (9.4)
*C. (Maecenas) Melissus
 (3.5, 21.4)
*Orbilius Pupillus
 (4.3, 8.3, 9.3 *bis*)
*Pompeius Lenaeus (2.2, 10.2)
 Santra (14.4)
*Sevius Nicanor (5.1)
 Ticida (11.2)
*M. (Tullius) Cicero (14.2 f., 26.1,
 29.2)
*Valerius Cato (2.2, 11.1)
*(M. Valerius) Messalla
 Corvinus (4.2)

(2)*Asinius Pollio (10.6)
 *Cassius Severus (22.1)
 *Cornelius Gallus (16.1 f.)
 *Ennius (1.2 f., 2.2)
 *Livius (Andronicus) (1.2)
 *Lucilius (2.2, 14.4)

*(Munatius) Plancus (30.1)
*Naevius (2.2)
*Ovidius (Naso) (20.2)
*C. Sallustius (Crispus) (10.6, 15.2)
*(Sempronius) Atratinus (26.2)
*M. (Tullius) Cicero (7.1, 25.3)

As we would expect, the *professores* themselves are generously represented in the first list, with the writings of no fewer than eight exploited for the light shed on their own or their colleagues' lives.[21] Moreover, nearly half of the other names on that list— including one historian (Nepos), two poets (Bibaculus, Horace),

[21] A ninth, Scribonius Aphrodisius, could properly be added: though Suetonius' ref. to his *libri de orthographia* (19.2) does not quite constitute an explicit citation, the substance of the ref. makes plain that Suet. knew the work (n. ad loc.). Other, more general refs. to *professores*' writings imply Suetonius' first-hand knowledge of them: see 4.4 'commentarii feruntur', 10.5 '. . . ex commentariis eius [sc. Ateii Philologi] apparet, quamquam paucissimi extent', with nn.; cf. also the *dicta* reported at 9.5, 28.1, 29.1 (with nn.), derived either from C. Melissus' *libri Ineptiarum*—a collection of anecdotes and witticisms that Suetonius certainly knew (21.4 n.)—or from a collection very much like it. In a few instances the data reported—concerning a teacher's early life in the provinces (23.1, 24.2) or his subjective experience (what he 'perceived' or 'desired': 8.2, 21.2, 24.2)—are such that the teacher himself must be the *ultimate* source of the report, if it is authentic; in most of these instances, however, it is plain that the teacher cannot be Suetonius' *immediate* source, and in several instances the report's authenticity is debatable.

and four orators (the Asinii, Cicero, Messalla Corvinus)—belong to men who were certainly Suetonius' subjects, and several other names would probably have an asterisk beside them if we had more of the *DVI* than Jerome's spotty excerpts.[22] It is an obvious inference that Suetonius came upon the citations relevant to the *professores* while conducting his research for the lives of these men—research that would naturally have included reading at least some of their writings.[23] This inference is only corroborated by the names that appear in the second list. Here all the persons mentioned are known to have been the subjects of Suetonian biography, and it is plain in each case that they are mentioned because Suetonius, in gathering his notes for their *vitae*, came upon some datum that intersected with his concerns in the *DGR*: for example, the report that Livius Andronicus and Ennius had been teachers as well as poets (1.2), or the notices of the early 'scholarly' attention (allegedly) given the poetry of Naevius, Ennius, and Lucilius in the second century (2.2), or the anecdote recalling the discomfiture of the noted orator Munatius Plancus by the rhetor Albucius Silus (30.1). Taken together, the two lists suggest how data that first entered Suetonius' notebooks because they concerned other *litterati* in whom he was interested ultimately found a place in the *DGR*.

We can see how Suetonius typically set his data in place by briefly examining several passages. The first example comes not from one of the biographical chapters but from an introductory section where questions of terminology are at issue (4.1–3):

[22] Thus it is often, and probably correctly, assumed that M. Caelius Rufus was included in the *De oratoribus*, and Cinna is a strong candidate for the *De poetis*; other possible, if less likely, candidates include the poets Domitius Marsus and Ticida, and the consular historian Clodius Licinus (cf. Wallace-Hadrill 59). On the spottiness of Jer.'s excerpts from the *DGR* itself, see §4 below.

[23] Cf. 3.4 n.(on the *viri clarissimi* who wrote *de grammatica* in the 1st cent. BCE) and the nn. on the following passages, where Suetonius' sources, though not named, can plausibly be conjectured (an asterisk again denotes one of Suetonius' known biographical subjects): 3.1 (the high valuation of L. Aelius and Ser. Clodius) < *Cicero and *Varro; 3.2 (on Aelius' ghostwriting) < *Cicero and (on Aelius and Metellus Numidicus) < *Livy; 3.3 (on Clodius' gout) < *Varro or *Pliny the elder; 3.6 (on Oppius Chares) < C. Oppius (not a subject but a known source of Suetonius'); 4.1, 3 (on technical terminology) < *Varro; 6.2 (on Opillus and Rutilius Rufus) < *Livy; 21.1 f. (on Melissus and Maecenas) < Maecenas; 28.2 (on M. Epidius) < C. Epidius; 30.2 f. (on Albucius Silus) < the elder Seneca (probably not directly). Cf. also n. 15 above.

Appellatio grammaticorum Graeca consuetudine invaluit, sed initio
litterati vocabantur;

>Cornelius quoque Nepos libello quo distinguit litteratum ab erudito,
litteratos vulgo quidem appellari ait eos qui aliquid diligenter et
acute scienterque possint aut dicere aut scribere, ceterum proprie
sic appellandos poetarum interpretes, qui a Graecis grammatici
nominentur.

>eosdem litteratores vocitatos Messalla Corvinus in quadam epistula
ostendit, non esse sibi dicens rem cum Furio Bibaculo, ne cum
Ticida quidem aut litteratore Catone: significat enim haud dubie
Valerium Catonem, poetam simul grammaticumque notissimum.

sunt qui litteratum a litteratore distinguant, ut Graeci grammaticum
a grammatista, et illum quidem absolute, hunc mediocriter doctum
existiment.

>quorum opinionem Orbilius etiam exemplis confirmat: namque apud
maiores ait, cum familia alicuius venalis produceretur, non temere
quem litteratum in titulo sed litteratorem inscribi solitum esse,
quasi non perfectum litteris sed imbutum.

Suetonius is concerned with an alleged shift in usage, from the
Latin term *litteratus* to the Greek term *grammaticus*; with a matter
of synonymous usage, the equivalence of the terms *grammaticus*
and *litterator*; and with a distinction in usage, the difference
between the terms *litterator* and *litteratus*. Two main features
stand out in the paragraph's construction. First, its method is
basically lexicographical.[24] At the heart of the paragraph are two
related observations on matters of usage, concerning the similarity
between Lat. *litteratus* and Gk. γραμματικός on the one hand,
and the distinction between the Latin terms *litteratus* and *litterator*
(parallel to the distinction between Gk. γραμματικός and γραμ-
ματιοτής) on the other. These core observations are supplemented
or supported by excerpts from various texts that Suetonius thought
relevant—an otherwise unknown *libellus* of Cornelius Nepos, a
letter of Messalla Corvinus, and an unspecified writing of Orbilius.
Second, the excerpt in each case evidently reflects the reading that
Suetonius did for the biography of the man who is quoted—for
as remarked above, we know that Suetonius treated Nepos among
the historians and Messalla among the orators, while Orbilius

appears, a few chapters further on, among the *grammatici*, where
again his writings are cited. Note that the paragraph's method of
construction also produces another, subsidiary characteristic—a
certain lack of coherence—insofar as the final point of usage
(distinguishing *litteratus* from *litterator*) is not in perfect harmony
with the preceding (equating *litterator* with *litteratus/gramma-
ticus*), while Suetonius simply juxtaposes the two without com-
ment. We shall return to this feature (see §3 below). For the
moment it is appropriate to stress that the manner in which this
non-biographical paragraph is pieced together does not differ in
its essentials from the construction of the biographical entries
themselves.

Consider the next example, the sketch of the *grammaticus* M.
Pomponius Porcellus (c. 22):

M. Pomponius Porcellus,
sermonis Latini exactor molestissimus,

>in advocatione quadam—nam interdum et causas agebat—soloe-
cismum ab adversario factum usque adeo arguere perseveravit
quoad Cassius Severus, interpellatis iudicibus, dilationem petit ut
litigator suus alium grammaticum adhiberet, quando non pu-
ta<re>t is cum adversario de iure sibi, sed de soloecismo con-
troversiam futuram.

>hic idem cum ex oratione Tiberi verbum reprehendisset, adfirmante
Ateio Capitone et esse illud Latinum et si non esset futurum certe
iam inde, 'mentitur', inquit, 'Capito: tu enim, Caesar, civitatem
dare potes hominibus, verbis non potes'.

pugilem olim fuisse

>Asinius Gallus hoc in eum epigrammate ostendit: 'qui "caput ad
laevam!" didicit, glossemata nobis / praecipit. os nullum—vel
potius, pugilis'.

Again, the method is basically lexicographical: the man's name
stands first, as the lemma, then a phrase that defines the lemma—
'M. Pomponius Porcellus, an extraordinarily obnoxious overseer
of the Latin language'—followed by two excerpts that support the
definition by showing Pomponius in dispute over matters of
correct Latinity; then what amounts to a secondary definition—'an
ex-boxer'—with the excerpt on which it is based. And again, two
of the excerpts show the cross-pollination from Suetonius' research
for his other categories of *litterati*: Asinius Gallus, whose epigram
is quoted, appeared in the section *de oratoribus*, as did the advocate

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[24] Compare the entries in Suet.'s one surviving work of lexicography, strictly so
called, the Byzantine epitome Περὶ βλασφημιῶν ('On Insults'), ed. Taillardat
(1967), cf. Opelt, *Koinonia* 12 (1988), 181 ff.; and see Wallace-Hadrill 44.

Cassius Severus, whose acerbic *dicta*, of the sort found here, are quoted also by the elder Seneca and Quintilian. At the same time, the chapter demonstrates that Suetonius (of course) did not limit his reading *only* to the men he chose to chronicle.[25] His second excerpt, which shows Pomponius in the act of correcting Tiberius' diction, involves an anecdote that plainly enjoyed some notoriety, for it is told by Cassius Dio also (in very similar terms, but with greater circumstantial detail: 57.17.1 ff.). The similarities between the two accounts suggest that Suetonius and Dio were drawing on a common source, probably one of the early imperial historians (e.g. Aufidius Bassus, Servilius Nonianus).

Suetonius' manner of draping his excerpts from his lemma is particularly bald in this case.[26] It is, however, only slightly less obvious in most of the other lives—for example, the sketch of Aurelius Opillus (c. 6), who was active early in the first century BCE:

Aurelius Opillus, Epicurei cuiusdam libertus, philosophiam primo, deinde
 rhetoricam, novissime grammaticam docuit.
dimissa autem schola, Rutilium Rufum damnatum in Asiam
 secutus ibidem Zmyrnae simul consenuit
composuitque variae eruditionis aliquot volumina,
  ex quibus novem unius corporis, quae—quia scriptores ac poetas sub
   clientela Musarum iudicaret—non absurde et fecisse et <in> =
   scripsisse se ait ex numero divarum et appellatione.
  huius cognomen in plerisque indicibus et titulis per unam <L>
   litteram scriptum animadverto, verum ipse id per duas effert in
   parastichide libelli qui inscribitur *Pinax.*

The chapter begins in a more usual fashion, indicating the man's status—as Suetonius usually does when his subject was (or was alleged to be) of servile origin—then quickly ticking off the stages

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[25] For named sources who are not known subjects of Suetonian *vitae* see at n. 22 above. Unnamed sources (e.g. 'nonnulli', 'aliqui', 'sunt qui . . .') are cited for the few 'variant' reports that occur (n. 18 above) and commonly elsewhere, with formulae employing the verbs *aiunt* (7.2), *(ut) ferunt* (23.1 n., with 23.7, 28.2), *dicitur* (5.1, 7.1, 16.3, 27.1), *constat* (23.6 n., with 3.5), *adnotatum est* (1.2), and esp. *tradunt* (see 1.3 n.; cf. also the anonymous verses quoted at 11.1, 18.2). Though the writings of one or another of Suetonius' subjects very likely lurk behind some of these refs. (e.g. Varro at 4.3, Nepos among the anonymous *historici* cited at 25.3, see nn.), it would plainly be implausible to suppose that all these refs. are thus derived.

[26] See also e.g. the lives of the first four rhetors (cc. 26–9, with nn. ad locc.), each consisting of no more than the lemma + excerpts drawn from only two sources.

in his unusual teaching career, from Epicurean philosophy to rhetoric to grammar. In the first sentence the method of excerpting is lost from view: that is typical of these introductory sentences more generally, where Suetonius is usually least expansive, least anecdotal, and most simply informative. The next clause, which tells how Opillus accompanied Rutilius Rufus into exile, is different: here it happens that the parallel descriptions of Opillus by Suetonius and of Rutilius himself by Orosius (5.17.13) point to a common source, Book 70 of Livy's history (Livy was treated in the *De historicis*). The rest of the chapter derives from Suetonius' own inspection of the grammarian's writings. 'composuit . . . variae eruditionis aliquot volumina', Suetonius says, and then makes plain that he knew at least ten of these *volumina*. Nine of them made up a single work, a miscellany called *Musae*; and as the verb *ait* shows, Suetonius is quoting or paraphrasing Opillus' own explanation of the title, no doubt given in the preface to the work, just as Aulus Gellius explains the title of his miscellany in his preface (*NA* pr. 4). Here, perhaps, a doubt might stir, since this work was written some 200 years before Suetonius' time: had he really seen a copy, or was he simply cribbing the information from some earlier, intermediate source? As though anticipating such doubt, Suetonius goes on to add this precise bibliographic remark, concerning another *volumen* of Opillus: 'I notice that his *cognomen* is spelled with one L *in plerisque indicibus et titulis*, though he himself spells it with two in the acrostich that appears in the little book called the *Pinax*'. The term *titulus* refers to the inscription that stood above the first column of writing inside a papyrus roll; the term *index* could refer to library catalogues, but both the context and Suetonius' usage elsewhere suggest that he means the small label that was glued to the top edge of a papyrus roll and carried the name of the author and the title of the work, so that the book could be identified when it was rolled up and stored away (see n. ad loc.). The remark, in other words, provides direct evidence of autopsy: Suetonius had *seen* the acrostich in the *Pinax*, and he knew that it contradicted the labelling he had *seen* on other scrolls, both inside and out.[27] Not incidentally, this remark

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[27] For such inspection cf. esp. *Jul.* 55.3 'nam in quibusdam exemplaribus invenio . . .' (on the title of a speech attributed to Caesar), and for evidence of other kinds of autopsy, see 9.6 n.; see also the personal observations or reminiscences ('video . . . repeto . . . audiebam . . .') at 4.6 (n.).

again suggests how the process of cross-pollination would have worked, now from the *DGR* outward. It is tolerably clear that this *Pinax* was a 'catalogue' of the doubtful plays of Plautus (Gell. 3.3.1), and so the work of the grammarian sketched in the *DGR* may have contributed to Suetonius' life of Plautus in the *De poetis*.

A very similar pattern recurs in a final example, the chapter on Ateius Philologus (c. 10):

<L.> Ateius Philologus, libertinus, Athenis est natus.

hunc Capito Ateius, notus iuris consultus, inter grammaticos rhetorem, inter rhetores grammaticum fuisse ait.

de eodem Asinius Pollio, in libro quo Sallusti scripta reprehendit ut nimia priscorum verborum adfectatione oblita, ita tradit: 'in eam rem adiutorium ei fecit maxime quidam Ateius, praetextatis nobis grammaticus Latinus, declamantium deinde auditor atque praeceptor, ad summam Philologus ab semet nominatus.'

ipse ad Laelium Hermam scripsit se in Graecis litteris magnum processum habere et in Latinis nonnullum, audisse Antonium Gniphonem eiusque †haere† postea docuisse; praecepisse autem multis et claris iuvenibus, in quis Appio quoque et Pulchro Claudiis fratribus, quorum etiam comes in provincia fuerit.

Philologi appellationem adsumpsisse videtur quia—sic ut Eratosthenes, qui primus hoc cognomen sibi vindicavit—multiplici variaque doctrina censebatur.

quod sane ex commentariis eius apparet, quamquam paucissimi extent;

de quorum tamen copia sic altera ad eundem Hermam epistula significat: 'hylen nostram aliis memento commendare, quam omnis generis coegimus, uti scis, octingentos in libros.'

coluit postea familiarissime C. Sallustium et eo defuncto Asinium Pollionem; quos historiam componere adgressos,

alterum breviario rerum omnium Romanarum, ex quibus quas vellet eligeret, instruxit, alterum praeceptis de ratione scribendi—

quo magis miror Asinium credidisse antiqua eum verba et figuras solitum esse colligere Sallustio, cum sibi sciat nihil aliud suadere quam ut noto civilique et proprio sermone utatur vitetque maxime obscuritatem Sallusti et audaciam in translationibus.

Again, a very spare first sentence, noting the man's status and origin; then the juxtaposition of relevant excerpts. The first two excerpts are included because they are relevant to his teaching: they show that Philologus, like several of the other early *grammatici*, also taught rhetoric; and at least one of the two men quoted, Asinius Pollio, was another of Suetonius' biographical subjects,

treated in the section *De oratoribus*. Everything else in the chapter—save the gloss on the *cognomen* Philologus—is then derived from the literary remains of the grammarian himself. The man's broad learning 'is obvious from his *commentarii*', Suetonius says, 'though very few of these survive': the remark should imply that Suetonius knew at least some of those few, and it is in fact clear that he knew two sets of writings, probably three. Obviously there was some correspondence, from which Suetonius quotes two letters, both to a certain Laelius Herma, in which Philologus spoke of his scholastic career and his scholarship. And there were the learned aids that Philologus composed when he was cultivating the friendship of two literary notables: a summary of 'all Roman history' for Sallust, and advice on style for Pollio. The two texts are mentioned together: we might infer that Suetonius probably knew the epitome composed for Sallust, because the chapter's final clauses show that he certainly knew the stylistic precepts composed for Pollio. With those clauses, Suetonius begs to differ with a source, for the second and last time in the *DGR*:[28] referring back to his earlier excerpt from Pollio, which charged Philologus with supporting Sallust's archaizing excesses, he registers surprise at the charge—plainly because he had read the grammarian's stylistic admonitions to Pollio himself, and knew that they were anything but archaizing in their intent.

This stirring of Suetonius' critical impulses provides the opportunity to pass from the question of methods to the question of results. Why Suetonius took the step of including the *grammatici* and rhetors among his 'illustrious' *litterati* is tolerably clear. How he went about doing so—how he gathered and arranged his materials—is more evident still. What, then, did he achieve?

3. THE CHARACTER OF *DE GRAMMATICIS ET RHETORIBUS*

It is worth stressing first the main virtues of Suetonius that are displayed in the *DGR*, not least because Suetonius' virtues are often overlooked. As the preceding paragraphs suggest, he is well-read and learned, and he comes by his learning honestly. If

[28] For the other instance, see 7.1 n.; for the formula 'quo magis miror . . .' used in similar contexts elsewhere in *DVI* and *Caes.*, see 10.6 n.

Suetonius says that he saw something, we can take it that he saw it, if he cites a text, the probability is very high that he actually read it; and when he introduces each of his catalogues by claiming, in effect, to have done his best in searching out the *professores* 'of whom some record survives', the sources otherwise available to us do little to undermine the credibility of his claim (with one significant exception: see 4.7, 25.6 nn.). Some of his learning, moreover, is of a recherché and surprising kind: note especially the objection that he offers at 7.1, against the alleged connection between Antonius Gnipho and the Alexandrian mythographer Dionysius Scytobrachion, where the correctness of Suetonius' contention has only recently been confirmed by some fragments of papyrus (n. ad loc.). He is also by ancient standards rather generous in citing his sources, and he largely lacks the showy contentiousness of some other ancient scholars one could name, who parade borrowed learning as their own and most often cite their sources when they wish to prove them wrong.

Refreshing though these qualities are, however, they could take Suetonius only so far, for he was at base attempting to make bricks with little clay and no straw. The materials at his disposal were severely limited and unpredictably diverse: consequently, even the longer *vitae* are rather shapeless, as is apparent from c. 10 quoted above. After the initial statement of Ateius Philologus' origin and status, the first segments of the chapter move from information concerning his teaching of both grammar and rhetoric (drawn from Capito and Pollio) to information (drawn from Philologus himself) concerning his education and teaching. There is a rough chronological order visible in these segments, insofar as they take Philologus from his birth at Athens to his position as a teacher of the Claudii and other 'distinguished young men' at Rome, though such specific chronological markers as the account provides are provided almost accidentally and are in any case left entirely implied. Then Suetonius shifts his focus, to an explanation of Philologus' *cognomen* (an explanation that tacitly corrects the impression left by Pollio's remark half a dozen lines before), and that explanation in turn issues in the citation of testimony concerning the large number of Philologus' writings. At this point the chronological sequence that was suspended with the brothers Claudii is briefly resumed with the vague temporal adverb *postea*, which is itself the product of Suetonius' inference. The chapter then

concludes as the mention of Philologus' service to Pollio provokes Suetonius' critical glance back at the remark of Pollio previously quoted.

Though the account obviously does not present its data at random, it is equally obvious that their essential scrappiness prohibits the kind of order that could be produced either by a thorough and precise tracking of chronology or by composition *per species*, of the sort found in the *Caesares*.[29] And what is true of c. 10, one of the longest and most circumstantial *vitae*, is a fortiori true of the great majority of chapters, which run to no more than two or three sentences. The order present in each case is only that prompted by the disparate but apparently related items of information which Suetonius had at his disposal and which he attempted to juxtapose, each with the next, as coherently as he might (Capito with Pollio, on the teaching of both grammar and rhetoric; Pollio with Philologus, on the sequence of his career; Pollio on the *cognomen*, with the precedent of Eratosthenes; etc.). As the kinds of specific data that Suetonius found very largely differ from individual to individual, so too does the shape of each account. Among the 'biographies' of the *DGR* we cannot point to any one or any group as an example of Suetonius' 'typical' organization.

If the large majority of the *vitae* more closely resemble mosaics from which most of the tesserae are missing than 'lives' properly so called—portraits fully formed and carefully shaped—the fault is plainly due to the kind and quantity of material that Suetonius had at hand. Other failings, however, are more directly attributable to Suetonius himself. Errors of fact or interpretation are not infrequent, as texts are cited to support assertions that they cannot, or very likely do not, support.[30] Despite the wide reading that underlies the work throughout, there are striking examples of potentially useful sources that Suetonius either did not read at all

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[29] Such basic chronological markers as dates of birth and death are all but lacking in the *DGR*: in only a very few cases does Suet.'s account allow a teacher's beginning or end to be dated with any precision (see 7.1, 9.1, 11.1 nn.), and in no case does Suet. make such dates explicit. Only one chap. contains a hint of composition *per species*: see 23.1 n., on the distinct, if very brief, segments devoted to Remmius Palaemon's *arrogantia*, *luxuria*, *res familiaris*, and *libidines*.

[30] See esp. 25.2 n., on the misleading statements accompanying the quotation of the *senatus consultum* of 161 BCE and the censors' edict of 92 BCE; cf. also e.g. Suet.'s problematic interpretation of the verses cited at 9.6, 11.3, 16.3.

or read very carelessly indeed.[31] The sources that he did use are too seldom closely interrogated, and he is sometimes too ready to pass along data that are at least deeply suspect on their face (e.g. 15.3 n.), or to generalize broadly from data that are too few or too little pondered (see esp. 1–3, 2.2 nn.). The method of compilation itself—of juxtaposing apparently related bits of information—can lead Suetonius to juxtapose related but inconsistent bits of information, with no concern to reconcile or even remark the inconsistency. We have already seen this kind of loose construction in the poorly sorted paragraph on the terms *grammaticus*, *litteratus*, and *litterator* (4.1–3), and since the same method of compilation shapes both the introductory and the biographical chapters, it is not surprising that a similar looseness is also found in the latter. So, for example, the first segment of c. 8, on M. Pompilius Andronicus, concludes by depicting the man living a life of productive, scholarly leisure in Campania ('Cumas transiit ibique in otio vixit et multa composuit')—whereas the second segment, abruptly appended to the first from a new source, depicts the man as a pathetic victim of desperate poverty.

In such cases, however, the fissures in the construction at least have not been misleadingly papered over, but remain visible and open to critical inspection. More consequential are the instances where Suetonius succumbs to the opposite flaw, of dubiously or falsely inferring a close connection between disparate data and presenting the resulting combination as a simple matter of fact. Thus, for example, Suetonius reports (30.4 f.) that the rhetor Albucius Silus withdrew from forensic practice 'partly out of shame and partly out of fear', then corroborates the report by relating two anecdotes, the first concerning a case that Albucius botched in the centumviral court at Rome, the second involving an outburst of Albucius' temper before the proconsul L. Piso at Milan. We happen to know that the report of Albucius' withdrawal and the first supporting anecdote are derived ultimately from the elder Seneca's sketch of the man at *Controversiae* 7 pr. 6–7. The second anecdote, however, must be derived from a different context—either a lost portion of Seneca's work or (more likely) a different source entirely—where it can have had no bearing on the point that Suetonius seeks to illustrate. While combining

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[31] See esp. App. 4, on Sen. *Contr.* and *Suas.*, with App. 3, on Plin. *HN*.

his different tesserae in what seemed to be a coherent pattern, Suetonius roughly forced one of them into place, distorting its significance in the process. This and other distortions in the chapter on Albucius can be detected only because Seneca's account has chanced to survive independently.[32]

Any reader of the *DGR* must bear in mind the traits just surveyed (other examples will be noted in the commentary), though they are not peculiar either to this work (all could be paralleled from the *Caesares*) or to Suetonius. Other, more distinctive features of the account proceed equally from the perspective and emphasis Suetonius adopted and the nature of the material available to him. These features become apparent when we trace the one substantive thread that runs throughout the *DGR*. Suetonius approached grammar and rhetoric, not as intellectual disciplines or fields of inquiry, but as active *professiones*; he was interested in his subjects first and foremost as *professores*—persons engaged, not in the elaboration of esoteric doctrine, but in a *public* profession, as providers of skills that men in *public* life came to value for their practical advantage and prestige (cf. 25.3 'et praesidii causa et gloriae'). As suggested earlier, the importance of the professors' public activity and its centrality in the contemporary culture at least partly explain why Suetonius included the teachers in his work to begin with. It is therefore unsurprising that the public and the social combine to mark the path that runs from the introductory sections, where Suetonius traces the rise of grammar and rhetoric, throughout the biographical sections, which most consistently stress, along with an individual's teaching, his social status and his social relations.

Four main points emerge, the first three more or less explicit in Suetonius' introductory, historical remarks (cc. 1–3, 25.1 ff.), the fourth implied by the material found in the biographies themselves. These points can be summarized as follows. First, Rome emerged only late from a state of bellicose barbarism: this original state was not one of pristine virtue, from which later ages degenerated, but was simply *rudis*—ignorant and unskilled (1.1, 25.1). Second, Rome emerged from this rude state only gradually, and very largely thanks to the efforts of the Romans themselves,

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[32] For another set of consequential yet doubtful inferences drawn by Suet. see 2.2 n., on Crates and his supposed Roman 'imitators'.

when certain specific individuals, and then the leaders of society more generally, recognized the value of grammar and rhetoric and devoted themselves to their cultivation (3.1,4, 25.3). Third, this recognition and devotion created a vigorous market for the services of teachers (3.5, 25.3): heightened demand for these services increased the value placed upon them, and the increased value of the services stimulated the supply of men to provide them. Fourth, the vigorous market, once created, changed the social condition of teachers themselves: fortified by their skills they were able gradually to disengage themselves from positions of subordination to one or another great household, and sometimes gain wealth, honour, and significant leverage and independence relative to patrons and other notables. They were even able to gain these advantages despite the apparent handicap of low social status, despite lapses from conventional standards of decent behaviour and decorum, and even despite behaviour that was thoroughly despicable. Thus the high value placed on individual skill tended to weaken traditional forms of social cohesion and social control.

For example, in contrast to the early teacher Aurelius Opillus, whose loyal attachment to a single patron caused him to dissolve his school and follow the man into exile (6.2), there is the freedman Verrius Flaccus three generations later (17.1–2). Verrius' innovative methods made him the most distinguished teacher of his day, and Augustus therefore chose him as tutor to his grandsons, whereupon Verrius passed into the Palace 'with his entire cadre of students', but with the stipulation that he not take on any additional students thereafter. The stipulation proceeds from the conventional expectation of a patron who introduced a teacher into his own household as a tutor, namely, that he would have an exclusive claim on the teacher's services, and that the teacher would give up any other students. But the stipulation, combined with Verrius' retention of his existing *schola*, implies that the conventional commitment could not simply be assumed from *this* teacher. The account instead implies that a certain amount of negotiation had occurred, producing a compromise between Augustus' patronal expectations and Verrius' reluctance simply to dissolve his pre-eminently prosperous school. We can here glimpse the leverage that a successful teacher might have with even the most powerful patron. More striking still is the cool confidence displayed a generation later by Pomponius Porcellus in his confrontation with

Tiberius (22.2), when he did not scruple to call Ateius Capito, a Roman senator, a liar to his face, and to chastise the emperor's diction. And a climax of sorts is reached with Remmius Palaemon in the next generation (c. 23). A freedman who embodied all vices, Palaemon was despised for his arrogance and luxury, and mocked as a *cunnilingus* and *fellator*. Two Roman emperors publicly condemned him as an unsuitable teacher of youths because of his disgraceful behaviour, which should indeed have repelled any right-minded parent or patron. Yet Palaemon was by any material measure the most successful *grammaticus* of all. It is impossible to think of him following anyone into exile.

Thus the path we can trace in the *DGR* leads from a Rome that is ignorant and unskilled to a Rome in which the reprobate Palaemon flourishes; and that path takes a few odd turns along the way. One of the most conspicuous of these is plainly due to Suetonius' own choice of a thoroughly Romanocentric point of view in his historical introduction: the Romans are seen to pull themselves up by their own cultural bootstraps—but only because Suetonius virtually ignores the Greeks. It is true that the 'half-Greeks' Livius Andronicus and Ennius are mentioned as early teachers—but, Suetonius says, they were not really representatives of *grammatica*, truly so called, at all (1.2–3). It is also true that the Pergamene scholar Crates of Mallos is mentioned as the man who first introduced true grammatical study to Rome and offered himself as a model for the Romans to imitate—but, Suetonius says, the results of Crates' intervention were really quite limited (2.1–2). The *true* founders and elaborators of grammatical scholarship at Rome, who 'brought order and enrichment to every aspect of *grammatica*', were two Roman knights, men 'of extensive and varied experience in both learning and public life': Lucius Aelius and his son-in-law Servius Clodius, in the last years of the second century and the start of the first (3.1–3). After that point, the hellenophone world is mentioned only a handful of times, mostly as the source of a few technical terms, or as the source of slaves who are rapidly Romanized. The Greek background of Roman rhetoric receives even less acknowledgement in the corresponding sketch at c. 25. This is something less than a fully rounded view of the matter.

But other apparent oddities, of perspective and emphasis, Suetonius surely derived willy-nilly from the material available to him, which was eccentric almost by definition. One may think

here especially of the impression that is conveyed of the teachers' heightened independence, and of the correspondingly lesser weight that seems to attach to the conventions of social relations and correct behaviour. The picture that emerges appears strikingly modern in the emphasis it places on individual skill as the key to success in an open market. The picture is certainly different from the image conveyed by so many of the other documents that inform our understanding of patronage, documents that stress the importance of personal relations and the display of those virtues—*gravitas*, decorum, modesty, loyalty—that tended to underwrite the social hierarchy and the status quo.[33]

This is not at all to say that the picture is thoroughly false, merely that it is sufficiently striking to invite further thought.[34] And if we are inclined to ponder further, we should reflect that whatever focus Suetonius brought to his subject, and however thorough and inclusive he wished to be, the record on which he could draw was itself skewed in ways that were quite beyond his power to control. The record was skewed, first, chronologically, as the distribution of the *vitae* in the *DGR*'s two divisions shows: only three of the twenty *grammatici* treated had careers that postdated the reign of Augustus, whereas nine of the sixteen

[33] On the ethical qualities valued in the ideology of patronage see Kaster, *GOL* 64 ff., 210 ff. (concerning teachers), and more generally Hellegouarc'h, *Le Vocabulaire latin des relations et des parties politiques sous la République* (1963), 275 ff., Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (1982), 95 ff. Cf. the terms in which Pliny commended Suet. to Trajan—'probissimum honestissimum eruditissimum virum' (*Ep.* 10.94.1)—with Wallace-Hadrill's remarks (26) on their stereotyped character.

[34] The 'professional situation' of teachers in the late Republic and early Empire is a rich topic awaiting full and sophisticated discussion: for important contributions see Christes 179 ff., and Rawson 66 ff. The *DGR* also opens out on to other, broader questions not limited to the *professores* or even to the various categories of *litterati*. For example, recent studies of patronage have well described that institution as an efficient mechanism for the exchange of services and the distribution of advantages within a markedly hierarchical social system, and they have noted its function as a means of maintaining that hierarchy: but did the mechanism always work so smoothly? What were its limits, in what circumstances was it perceived as breaking down? Such questions are interestingly raised in C. Damon, '*Vetus atque Antiquus Quaestus*: The Art of the Parasite in Ancient Rome' (Ph.D. diss. Stanford, 1990). Or again: how tolerant were the Romans generally of personal eccentricity? How strong a force of social integration were the norms of decorum, how were violations of decorum sanctioned, and how effectively? Are there variations, over time or between social strata? If so, what does that reveal about the relative fluidity or rigidity of Roman society?

rhetors originally included were Tiberian or later (only four of the rhetors were pre-Augustan, as against eleven of the *grammatici*). The disparity is hardly to be explained by supposing that Suetonius was uninterested either in post-Augustan *grammatici* or in pre-Augustan rhetors. It is much more likely that the disparity reflects the state of the sources he consulted, and that the sources in turn reflected the far greater prominence that the rhetors came to enjoy, relative to the *grammatici*, in the course of the first century CE, when the cultural interests of the *grammatici* were diffused among members of the élite who were not teachers (the elder Pliny, for example, and Suetonius himself) while the rhetors—as teachers of a more publicly useful skill and as performing artists (i.e. declaimers)—began to engross the cultural spotlight, casting the members of the other *professio* in the shade.[35] More important, it is a simple fact that Suetonius could collect data on any given teacher—whether *grammaticus* or rhetor—for one of only three reasons, or some combination of the three. Either he had left writings that Suetonius happened to find; or he had come within the orbit of some more prominent man—one of the notable *litterati* or political *principes viri*—and had entered the written record because of that connection;[36] or he was remembered independently for behaviour that was somehow noteworthily peculiar—which might mean anything from pedagogically innovative (as in the case of Verrius Flaccus) to personally gross (as in the case of Palaemon).[37] Plainly, in none of these three cases was the person

[35] As they continued to do throughout later antiquity: see Kaster, *GOL* 104 f., 130 f., 204 f., 208. The phenomenon has less to do with an absolute 'decline' in cultural standing suffered by *grammatica* (as is sometimes asserted) than with the rise of rhetoric.

[36] Beyond the *litterati* who crossed paths with the *professores* (see §2 above) note the prominence in the *vitae* of such political figures as P. Rutilius Rufus (6.2), Sulla (12.1 f.), Pompey (14.1, 15.1 f., 27.2), Julius Caesar (7.2), the 'tyrannicides' Brutus and Cassius (13.1), Mark Antony and his son Iullus (18.3, 28.1, 29.1 f.), M. Agrippa (16.1), Maecenas (21.1 f.), and the emperors Augustus (16.1, 17.2, 20.1, 21.3, 28.1, cf. 19.1), Tiberius (22.2, 23.2), and Claudius (23.2).

[37] Cf. Caecilius Epirota, who was *both* pedagogically innovative (16.3 'primus dicitur Latine ex tempore disputasse, primusque Vergilium et alios poetas novos praelegere coepisse') *and* personally gross (16.1 'cum filiam patroni [sc. Attici] nuptam M. Agrippae doceret, suspectus in ea et ob hoc remotus'). Delinquent or obnoxious behaviour is also prominent in the case of Sevius Nicanor (5.2), Orbilius (9.4 f.), Curtius Nicia (14.1), Pomponius Porcellus (22.1 f.), and M. Epidius (28.1); notably loyal or honourable behaviour, in the case of Aurelius Opillus (6.2), Antonius Gnipho (7.1), Cornelius Epicadus (12.1 f.), Staberius Eros (13.2), Pompeius Lenaeus (15.2 f.), C. Melissus (21.1 f.), and Otacilius Pitholaus (27.1 f.).

very likely to be 'typical': the truly typical teacher was probably neither an *auctor*, nor a familiar of the great, nor memorably peculiar. And in the last case, especially, the instances of eccentric behaviour often raise difficult questions not just of typicality but of plain factuality: *was* Remmius Palaemon the degenerate parvenu he appears from Suetonius' account? We can be equally certain that the answer matters, and that it is not fully knowable. In this area too, the picture that we are offered provides something less than a clear and rounded view.

The *DGR* is an honest and original work of scholarship; it is also, clearly, a very imperfect work of scholarship. Suetonius could do no more than follow where his sources led, and when following them, he could attempt no more than to collect his data thoroughly, report them accurately, evaluate them critically, imagine responsibly the connections that might exist among them, and arrange them accordingly in plausible patterns. In none of these attempts was he entirely successful. In general it is probably true that his reports of the data are more reliable than the inferences he draws from them: thus, it is rather more likely that Albucius Silus in fact threw a tantrum before the proconsul L. Piso than that the episode hastened the end of Albucius' practice at the bar; similarly, it is rather more likely that Crates of Mallos in fact visited Rome in the mid-second century BCE than that the visit had the significance which Suetonius gives it. The distinction between report and inference, however, cannot always be clearly drawn, and it is at best only a crude guide even when it can; it is certainly not a substitute for the modern reader's exercise of critical judgement. While the *DGR* is a uniquely valuable document, it is also a document achieved by many of the same methods applied in modern historical-philological scholarship. It is accordingly subject to the same shortcomings as a comparable modern work, and requires no less sober scrutiny.

4. THE RECEPTION AND PRESERVATION OF *DE GRAMMATICIS ET RHETORIBUS*

The careers of distinguished cultural figures remained a topic of interest after Suetonius completed the *DVI*. Their lives continued to be compiled, at least in Greek—thus the freedman Hermippus of Berytus' survey of οἱ διαπρέψαντες ἐν παιδείᾳ δοῦλοι produced

later in the second century,[38] or the lives of the sophists written by Philostratus and Eunapius; and the circulation of the *DVI* itself is implied, in very general terms, by the survival of the individual lives that were excerpted from it. Though the ancient readership of the *DGR*, specifically, cannot be traced in great detail, we can identify four notable authors who certainly or very possibly knew it.

Juvenal may well have had the *DGR* (and the rest of the *DVI*) before him when he composed Satire 7, on the relations between *litterati* and their patrons. The poem takes up in turn the sorry lot of poets (36–97), historians (98–104), orators (105–49), rhetors (150–214), and *grammatici* (215–43)—that is, all the categories treated in the *DVI*, save the philosophers. More tellingly, Remmius Palaemon serves as Juvenal's primary (if somewhat inappropriate) *exemplum* in his sour remarks on the livelihood of *grammatici*, where at least three details can plausibly be thought to derive from the data recorded at *DGR* 23.[39] If Juvenal did indeed rely on Suetonius' work, and if Satire 7 can securely be dated early in Hadrian's reign (*c*.118–21),[40] it should follow that the *DVI* was published no later than the latter part of Trajan's reign (or *very* early under Hadrian), and the common opinion that Suetonius compiled the *DVI* before the *Caesares* would be corroborated.

Less ambiguous evidence is provided in the next generation by Aulus Gellius, who quotes (15.11.1–2) the senatus consultum of 161 BCE and the censors' edict of 92 BCE, the same measures that Suetonius quotes at 25.2, in the same order and with the identical text (save where the *DGR*'s corrupt archetype was more deeply flawed than the manuscripts of Gellius). It is in principle possible that Suetonius and Gellius drew independently on a common source (though it is not clear who that source would be); two considerations, however, should place the latter's dependence on

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[38] On Hermippus see Christes 137 ff.

[39] See 7.219 ff. (comparing Palaemon with a clothes-seller or a teacher of wool-carding) and 233 (the *grammaticus* harassed by foolish questions on his way to the baths), with Bonner, *EAR* 153, and 23.5 nn. below; these correspondences, and a few others less compelling, are also noted by Hardie, *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar*, 6 (1990), 174 ff., offering the most forceful argument for Juvenal's knowledge of *DVI*. The huge income of Palaemon, like the prosperity of Quintilian (another of Juv.'s *exempla*), tends to undermine the satire (cf. Courtney 348, 373 (on 186), 377 (on 215)), though that does not affect the matter at issue here.

[40] Cf. Courtney 2, 349, Hardie 179 (with refs.).

the former beyond reasonable doubt. First, the original collocation of the two measures was in all likelihood due to Suetonius himself, who juxtaposed them precisely because he thought they combined to prove a point he wished to impress upon his reader ('ne cui dubium sit . . .'), that teaching rhetoric had once been 'prohibited' at Rome. Second, the terms of Suetonius' citation are in fact doubly imprecise, since they imply that both measures were meant to prohibit the teaching of rhetoric by Latin teachers (only the SC of 161 amounted to a legal 'prohibition', while only the edict of 92 concerned Latin teachers)—and the imprecision latent in Suetonius' citation reappears as explicit error when the measures are quoted by Gellius, who merely drew out the (mistaken) meaning implied by his source.[41] That the unsleeping Gellius should have known the *DGR* is not in itself surprising, since he refers in his preface to the *Pratum*, the collection of Suetonius' antiquarian writings in which the *DVI* was probably incorporated;[42] but he seems not to have found in the *DGR* any other edifying morsels that met his criteria for inclusion.[43]

When St Jerome set about compiling his catalogue of famous Christian writers in Bethlehem late in 392, he was expressly following the *exemplum* of Suetonius' *DVI*, as we have already seen.[44] This was the second occasion on which Suetonius' work

[41] The error appears in Gell.'s opening sentence, 15.11.1 'C. Fannio Strabone M. Valerio Messala coss. senatus consultum de philosophis et de rhetoribus Latinis [*codd.*: Latinis *del.* Pighi] factum est', where Gell.'s editors regularly (but mistakenly) relieve him of the error by deleting the epithet *Latinis*: on Suet.'s imprecision and its apparent consequence for Gell., see 25.2 n.

[42] *NA* pr. 8 '. . . est praeterea qui *Pratum* [sc. titulum fecerit]': most of the other *tituli exquisitissimi* that Gell. remarks on in the preface (4–9) demonstrably belong to his sources (e.g. Pliny's *Historia naturalis* and Favorinus' Παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία, mentioned immediately before the *Pratum*); the one work of Suet. that Gell. cites by title (9.7.3 'Suetonius . . . Tranquillus in libro *ludicrae historiae* primo') probably was also included in the *Pratum*, on which cf. n. 6 above.

[43] For those criteria see *NA* pr. 12. The trope elaborated at 19.13.3 ('fuisset autem *verbum* hoc a te *civitate donatum* aut in Latinam coloniam deductum, si tu eo uti dignatus fores') may echo directly the *dictum* of Pomponius Porcellus quoted at *DGR* 22.2 ('tu . . ., Caesar, civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbis non potes'), though the trope and the incident that provoked it were otherwise well known, see §2 above and n. ad loc. Finding other traces of the *DVI* is also problematic: on *NA* 15.28 (a point of Ciceronian chronology) see Wallace-Hadrill 58, and, more guardedly, Holford-Strevens 122 n. 45, the latter also tentatively suggesting 3.3.14 (on Plautus, cf. Jer. *Chron.* s.a. 1817 = 200 BCE), 13.2 (on Accius and Pacuvius, cf. ibid. s.a. 1878 = 139 BCE).

[44] Above, n. 12, for the preface, which implies that the *DVI* was also known to Jerome's dedicatee, Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, formerly procos. Asiae, soon to be praet. praef. Italiae (395: *PLRE* i. 251).

materially influenced Jerome's. The first, and for our purposes the more consequential, had occurred a dozen years earlier, at Constantinople. There Jerome undertook to produce a Latin version of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, carrying the work down to the year 378 from Eusebius' stopping point of 325, deleting some of Eusebius' material, and adding much new material, 'in Romana maxime historia' (6 Helm). Many of these insertions concern Roman *litterati*, and consist of material excerpted from the *DVI*. These excerpts are a great boon, since they provide, for the portions of the work now lost, a much fuller view than we should otherwise have, and they preserve, for the *DGR*, at least a glimpse of seven of the eleven lives that were already lost when the ancestor of our manuscripts was produced in the ninth century.

At the same time, the quality of these excerpts is at best very uneven. Jerome begs his dedicatees' indulgence for his 'hasty piece of work', dictated to the stenographer at breakneck speed (2 H.), and his request only confirms what we could otherwise infer: not only are the excerpts skimpy—by definition, and as the format of the *Chronicle* demanded—but their garbled content sometimes gives evidence of great haste.[45] There are also numerous omissions (15 of the 20 *grammatici*, including all of the first 12, and 6 of the 16 rhetors), which leave Jerome's principles of inclusion and exclusion quite opaque. Most of the teachers whom he does include are also mentioned in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, which he knew well, or in the tradition of scholastic commentary on Vergil—that is, their names were probably already familiar to Jerome from his other reading or from his time as a pupil of the Roman *grammaticus* Aelius Donatus.[46] Yet it seems clear that prior familiarity (or lack thereof) cannot by itself explain Jerome's decision to include (or

[45] e.g. the rhetor known to Jer. as 'Vultacilius Plotus' is mistakenly called a freedman of Pompey: see 27.1 n.

[46] Thus Verrius Flaccus (c. 17), Iulius Hyginus (c. 20), C. Melissus (c. 21), Remmius Palaemon (c. 23), Valerius Probus (c. 24), Plotius Gallus (c. 26), Albucius Silus (c. 30), Cestius Pius (fr. 1 = original c. 31), Porcius Latro (fr. 2 = c. 32), and Quintilian himself (fr. 7 = c. 40). The excerpt concerning Probus includes a characterization ('eruditissimus grammaticorum') that can hardly be based on Suet.'s text but very likely shows the influence of Jer.'s earlier education (see 24.1 n.). The excerpt concerning Palaemon is supplemented by a fragment of lore (a distinction between the words *stilla* and *gutta*) probably derived from one of the technical works that circulated under Palaemon's name (see 23.1 n.). In the case of the rhetor Iulius Gabinianus, Jer. elsewhere implies that he knew the man's own writings (*Comm. in Es.* 8 pr.: see fr. 6 n. = c. 39).

omit) a given teacher.[47] The most problematic feature of the excerpts, however, derives from a central requirement of Jerome's work that the text of the *DGR* simply could not meet, however systematically Jerome had proceeded. By its nature the *Chronicle* demanded that its contents be presented in entries for specific years, within a chronological framework that synchronized 'years of Abraham', Olympiads, and regnal years of Roman emperors. As already noted, very few of the *DGR*'s entries provided useful dates, and Jerome consequently was compelled to locate his excerpts arbitrarily. He generally followed the chronological order implied by the sequence of Suetonius' chapters, inventing what he hoped were plausible 'dates' along the way; typically, he would assign a given excerpt to the end of an Olympiad at what seemed a suitable interval after the previous excerpt. The results of his choices range from the harmlessly approximate through the puzzling to the plainly mistaken; detailed discussion of these problems will be found in the commentary.[48]

Finally, there is Ausonius, himself a *professor* of grammar and rhetoric before rising to high ministries of state and a consulship (379). Some time after 385 or 386 Ausonius composed the *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium*, the only work of Latin antiquity comparable to the *DGR* in its concern with the lives of *grammatici* and rhetors. This topical similarity might suggest—but by itself could hardly prove—that Ausonius knew the *DGR* and was prompted to the *Professores* by it; for in other respects 'the similarities are slight',[49] and Ausonius' poems—written in memory of men whom he knew as teachers, colleagues, or friends—are

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[47] Thus the 3 other men who are included—the rhetors 'Vultacilius Plotus' (c. 27), Statius Ursulus (fr. 3 = c. 36), and Clodius Quirinalis (fr. 4 = c. 37)—can hardly have been more than names known from the *DGR* itself (see nn. ad locc.), while the names of at least 3 teachers who are omitted should have struck a familiar note: the gramm. Antonius Gnipho (c. 7) and the rhetor Verginius Flavus (c. 35), both mentioned by Quintilian; and the gramm. Orbilius, whose name Jer. himself elsewhere invokes by a play on Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.70 (see *C. Rufin.* 1.30 with 9.4 n.). Brugnoli conjectured that Jer.'s copy of the *DGR* simply lacked cc. 1–16, and thus the first 12 *grammatici* (SS 131 ff.): this is of course possible, though a central prop of Brugnoli's conjecture—his belief that the archetype of our extant MSS was itself defective at the end of c. 16—is invalid (see Kaster, *STS* 93 ff.), and the conjecture in any case does not explain all the oddities noted.

[48] See e.g. 17.1, 21.1, 24.1, 30.1 nn.; for Jer.'s departures from the order of the *vitae* in the *DGR*, see fr. 3 n. Questions raised by Jer.'s datings are of course not confined to his use of the *DGR*: the fundamental discussion remains that of Helm.

[49] Green, *The Works of Ausonius* (1991), 329.

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certainly animated and informed in ways quite unlike the *DGR*. None the less, there are three details found in the *Professores* and elsewhere in Ausonius' œuvre that merit closer consideration. (1) In the first of his 'prefatory' poems (*Praef.* 1.20, written between 379 and 382 or 383) Ausonius identifies the *grammaticus* Valerius Probus as a native of Berytus—a fact otherwise attested only in *DGR* 24 and in Jerome's excerpt of that chapter at *Chron.* s.a. 2072 (= 56 CE). (2) Similarly, at *Prof.* 1.7 Ausonius identifies Quintilian as a native of Calagurris in Spain—a fact otherwise attested only in Jerome's excerpt from Suetonius' (lost) *vita* of Quintilian (fr. 7) and in one later passage of Jerome (*C. Vigil.* 1, *PL* 23. 355). (3) In the speech of thanksgiving for his consulship (delivered in the latter half of 379), Ausonius mentions Quintilian's receipt of the *ornamenta consularia*: though this fact is attested nowhere else, it is very likely that Suetonius also included it in his life of Quintilian (see fr. 7 n.), in view of both the general cast of his interests in the *DGR* and, especially, his generalizing remark that the professors of rhetoric so flourished that 'nonnulli . . . ad summos honores processerint' (25.3). These three items, admittedly, do not prove that Ausonius had read the *DGR*. It is chronologically possible, for example, that the first two recherché facts reached Ausonius, not directly from Suetonius, but by way of Jerome's *Chronicle*; and we do not know that the last datum was found in the *DGR*. These items, however, taken together with the unique topical similarity of the *Professores* and the *DGR*, surely make it more likely than not that Ausonius knew Suetonius' *vitae*, as he knew others of his works.[50]

After the late fourth century nothing is heard of the *DGR* for more than a millennium, beyond a faint but clear echo detectable early in the ninth century, when a collection of poems from the *Appendix Vergiliana* was compiled. The compiler of this 'iuvenalis ludi libellus' (as he termed it) prefaced his collection with a life of the poet, the so-called *vita Bernensis*, in which he identified the rhetor Epidius—a teacher of Augustus otherwise known only from *DGR* 28—as the teacher of both Augustus and his supposed *condiscipulus* Vergil. The identification, which proceeds from a set of mistaken inferences on the compiler's part, strongly suggests

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[50] See Green, pp. xxi, 294, 429, 557 f., 637.

that he knew the text of the *DGR*.[51] The date and perhaps the locale of the compiler's work can be inferred from the fact that at least two of the earliest manuscripts containing the *vita Bernensis* were written in the first half of the ninth century in the Loire valley.[52] As it happens, the manuscript that emerged six centuries later to insure the *DGR*'s survival was written at roughly the same time and (perhaps) in the same area.[53]

This manuscript—known as the codex Hersfeldensis, after the town in Germany where it was found—was solely responsible for transmitting both the *DGR* and Tacitus' minor works to the humanists of Italy, and thence to us.[54] Though its existence was reported as early as 1425 by Poggio Bracciolini, thirty years passed before it could be brought from Germany to Rome by Enoch of Ascoli. A description of the manuscript drafted by the papal secretary Pier Candido Decembrio late in 1455 shows that it contained the *Germania*, *Agricola*, *Dialogus de oratoribus*, and *DGR* (in that order). The segment of the description concerning the *DGR* runs as follows:[55]

> Suetonii tranquilli de grammaticis et rhetoribus liber. Incipit: 'Grammatica rome nec in usu quidem olim nedum in honore ullo erat. rudis scilicet ac bellicosa etiam tum civitate necdum magnopere liberalibus disciplinis vacante.' Opus foliorum septem in columnellis. finit perprius: 'Et rursus in cognitione cedis mediolani apud lucium

[51] On these inferences see 28.1 n. Note that the compiler twice names the rhetor as 'Epidius', omitting the *praenomen* 'M.': the archetype of our MSS at *DGR* 28 also omitted the *praenomen*, which is found only in the prefatory *index rhetorum*.
[52] Trier Stadtbibl. 1086, dated to s. IX$^{2/4}$ and assigned to Tours by B. Bischoff in Murgia, *Prolegomena to Servius* 5 (1975), 37 (cf. Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux* XIe *et* XIIe *siècles*, ii (1985), 774 f., 821); and Bern Burgerbibl. 172 + Paris. lat. 7929, written at Fleury and judged 'hardly . . . later than the middle of the ninth century' by Murgia, ibid. 9 (cf. Munk Olsen, ii. 705).
[53] Bischoff, *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens*, 92 (1981), 181 (cited at Murgia and Rodgers, *CP* 79 (1984), 146 n. 5), dating the Iesi fragment of the Hersfeldensis (below, n. 56) to s. IX$^{2/3}$, 'vielleicht an der Loire' (cf. Munk Olsen, ii. 580 f.). The necessarily approximate dating of the MSS leaves uncertain whether the compiler of the Bern *vita* knew the Hersfeldensis itself or an earlier medieval relative; that he drew on a wholly independent branch of the tradition is in the nature of the case unlikely.
[54] The following paragraphs summarize Kaster, *STS* 1 ff., where full refs. are given. The starting-point for all modern discussion of the *DGR*'s transmission in s. XV is Robinson, diss.
[55] Cited from Sabbadini, *RFIC* 29 (1901), 263. Decembrio quotes, for his *incipit*, the first sentence of the text proper and omits the preceding *index* of *grammatici* and rhetors.

pisonem proconsulem defendens reum. cum cohiberent lictores nimias laudantium voces, ita excanduisset. ut deplorato Italiae statu quasi iterum in formam provincie redigeretur. M. insuper brutum cuius statua in conspectu erat invocaret Regum ac libertatis auctorem ac vindicem.' Ultimo Imperfecto columnello finit: 'diu ac more concionantis redditis abstinuit cibo.' Videtur in illo opere Suetonius innuere omnes fere rhetores et Grammatice professores desperatis fortunis finivisse vitam.

Evidently copied from a defective manuscript, the Hersfeldensis' text ceased, in the middle of a column, after the life of Albucius Silus (c. 30), the fifth of the sixteen rhetors originally surveyed (thus the *index rhetorum*). The text breaks off at the same point in all our extant manuscripts.

There is no evidence that the works of Tacitus and Suetonius contained in the Hersfeldensis were generally known or copied until after Enoch's death in December 1457. By that time the *Agricola* appears to have been separated from the *Germania*, *Dialogus*, and *DGR*, thereafter to have a history distinct from that of the latter three; the fate of the Hersfeldensis itself is unknown.[56] It seems clear, however, that when the remaining texts began to circulate, the *Germania* followed a path that sometimes overlapped with, sometimes diverged from, that of the other two; while the *Dialogus* and the *DGR* were very commonly copied together (of the twenty-six known manuscripts of the *DGR*, sixteen also contain the *Dial.*), with the result that the general outlines of their paradoses appear to be in all relevant respects identical.[57] The fundamental analysis of the *DGR*'s transmission was conducted over seventy years ago by R. P. Robinson, whose study embraced all nineteen of the manuscripts then known, together with the three incunabular editions, ed. Incerta (1471?), ed. Ven. (1474), ed. Flor. (1478).[58] If Robinson's conclusions are re-examined and (in a few

[56] A quaternion and a (palimpsested) unio of the Hersfeldensis *Agricola* survived into the 20th cent. in cod. Aesinas lat. 8, though the identification of this fragment as part of the Hersfeldensis has been contested: for refs. see Kaster, *STS* 3 n. 6.
[57] The earliest dated MS of both works (and of *Germ.* as well) is Leid. Periz. Q. 21 (= L), written by Giovanni Pontano in March 1460; but L very probably descends from another extant MS, Vat. lat. 1862 (= V), see ibid. 14 ff.
[58] The seven MSS more recently discovered contain no new information that is either inconsistent with Robinson's findings or useful to an editor: see ibid. 4 n. 8, with 147 ff.
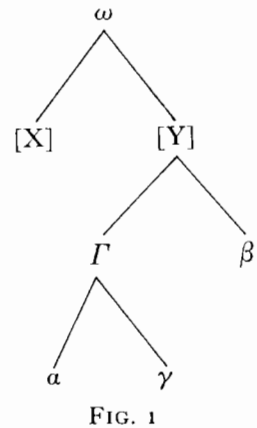
Fig. 1

particulars) refined, with the assistance of more recent studies of the paradosis of the *Dialogus*, a pattern valid for both texts can be discerned (Fig. 1): from the archetype (ω) the tradition split into two branches, represented by the (lost) hyparchetypes X and Y; the hyparchetype Y in turn gave rise to three more families, $αβγ$; and while $β$ descended directly from Y, the descent of $αγ$ was mediated by a common ancestor, $Γ$. The manuscripts of the *Dialogus* offer compelling evidence that the common ancestor (ω) of X and Y for that work was not the Hersfeldensis itself but a fifteenth-century copy—that is, either a copy taken directly from the Hersfeldensis or (more likely) a copy of a copy.[59] The manuscripts of the *DGR* do not provide direct evidence of a similar sort; but since the pattern of its descent appears in all other relevant respects to be identical with that of the *Dialogus*, the likelihood is plainly very great that the *DGR* too was transmitted *via* a fifteenth-century archetype derived from the Hersfeldensis.

A version of the stemma just described informs the critical apparatus of the present edition, in which only the most important witnesses are cited (see Fig. 2): the hyparchetype X is represented by its only known descendants, O and W; in the

[59] The evidence consists of errors that must already have stood in ω and derived from the use of abbreviations common in the 15th cent. but unknown in the 9th: see ibid. 8 ff.

Fig. 2
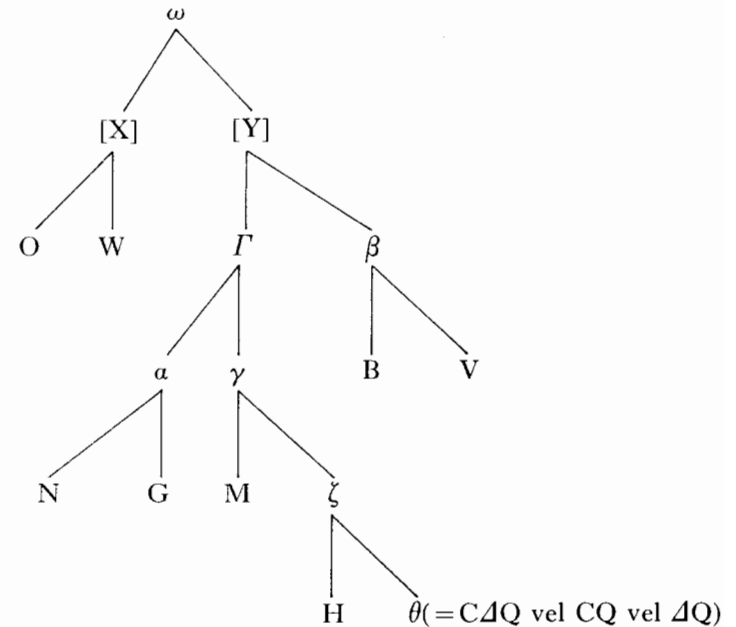
three families ($αβγ$) descended from Y, B and V are independent witnesses to $β$,[60] N and G are independent witness to $α$,[60] and M and $ζ$ are independent witnesses to $γ$.[61] The six manuscripts OWNGBV, which among themselves account for all the recoverable readings of the archetype, are cited regularly throughout; the descendants of $γ$, which constitute the most corrupt (and the most densely populated) family of manuscripts, are cited individually only when they uniquely provide a good

[60] An ancestor of N (either $α$ itself or a copy of $α$) received several variant readings by contamination from an X MS: as a result, N sometimes has an $α$ reading (shared with G) in its main text, with the corresponding X reading written as a suprascript variant in the same hand, while at other times the X reading stands in the main text and the $α$ reading appears as the variant, again in the same hand; see Robinson, diss. 113 ff. The same pattern is found in N's text of the *Dialogus*.
[61] The lost MS $ζ$ is reconstructed from the consensus of H and another subfamily of *deteriores*, $θ$. For the relations of the other known MSS to the families $αβγ$, see Kaster, *STS* 4 n. 8, 32 (fig. 3), and the *conspectus siglorum* below.

correction.[62] Nor (finally) should any reader doubt or forget how frequently good corrections are needed. Though the text of the archetype can be reconstructed, with certainty or a high degree of probability, for nearly all of the *DGR*, it is plain that the archetype was a very poor witness indeed.[63] In scores of places the words that Suetonius wrote are reclaimed (if they can be reclaimed at all) only by conjecture.

[62] See ibid. 34 n. 59. Beyond MHθ two other γ MSS (US) are very occasionally worth citing, esp. at 29.2 (a quotation of Cic. *Phil.* 2.42 f. that was wretchedly corrupt in ω); similarly helpful here and there are two β MSS, L (which contains a number of good conjectures by Pontano) and D (which uniquely remedies some of ω's flaws at 14.2, a quotation of Cic. *Fam.* 9.10.1). The 11 other MSS (*conspectus siglorum*, ad fin.) give no cause for citation at all. I report OWNGBVHL from my own collations; for the other MSS I have relied on the reports of Robinson and Brugnoli.

[63] In this regard it makes no difference whether one equates ω with the Hersfeldensis itself or with a 15th-cent. apograph: see Robinson's warning, '. . . ne nimiam bonitatem libro Hersfeldensi attribuamus' (diss. 60), with Kaster, *STS* 35 ff.

SIGLA

ω archetypon codicum XY

  X hyparchetypon codicum OW

    O Vat. Ottob. lat. 1455

      O^1 codex eadem manu correctus

      O^m lectio eadem manu in margine notata $\Big\} W^1, W^m, W^2$, etc.

      O^2 codex altera manu correctus

    W Vindob. lat. s. n. 2960 (olim 711) (an. 1466)

  Y hyparchetypon codicum $\beta\Gamma$

    β hyparchetypon codicum BV

      B Bodl. Canon. Class. Lat. 151

      V Vat. lat. 1862

    Γ hyparchetypon codicum $\alpha\gamma$

      α hyparchetypon codicum NG

        N Neap. iv. C. 21

        G Guelf. Gud. lat. 93

      γ hyparchetypon codicum $M\zeta$

        M Marc. Lat. xiv. 1. (4266) (an. 1464)

        ζ hyparchetypon codicum $H\theta$

          H Lond. Harl. 2639 (ante an. 1465 script., fort. 1462: J. Delz, *IMU* 11 (1968), 311 ff.)

          θ hyparchetypon codicum $C\Delta Q$

            C Berol. lat. 8° 197

            Δ Vat. lat. 4498

            Q Berol. lat. 2° 28 (an. 1477)

codices $OWBVNG$ separatim laudantur. de codicibus e γ (fonte pravissimo) profluentibus, nisi viam ad codicem Γ consensu suo monstrant aut singuli (ut nonnumquam fit) coniecturam bonam aliudve auxilium praebent, siletur (de his rebus vide Kaster, *STS* 1 ff.).

  alii sunt qui aliquid boni hic illic praestant:

    de codice β derivati, L Leid. Periz. Q. 21 (an. 1460)

                       D Haun. Gl. Kgl. S. 1629 4°

de codice γ derivati,   *U* Vat. Urb. lat. 1194
                         (post an. 1482 script.)
                         S Neap. IV. B. 4. bis
ceteri non sunt digni qui laudentur:
  de codice α derivati,   *I* Vat. lat. 1518 (gemellus codicis *G*)
                         Vat. Ottob. lat. 1434 (apographon
                         codicis *I*)
                         Vat. Ottob. lat. 3015
  de codice γ derivati,   *K* Ambros. H. 29 sup. (gemellus
                         codicis *M*)
                         P Paris. lat. 7773 (apographon
                         codicis *H*)
                         F Laurent. plut. (Gadd.) 89. inf. 8.1
                         (apographon codicis *C*)
                         T Vat. lat. 7190
                         E Vat. Borg. lat. 413
                         Univ. Notre Dame 58
                         Colker ms. 11
                         Bibl. Riccard. 3595

TEXT AND
TRANSLATION

C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS

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