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the joining of the two heroes and the composition of the whole book around the central feature of Fortuna is a literary device – 'rhetorical art' according to ZIEGLER – and it is as such that we have to evaluate it. Incidentally it is well possible that such an evaluation can provide the key to a well known crux regarding our book: the »Aemilius Paullus-Timoleon«, together with the »Sertorius-Eumenes« and the »Coriolanus-Alcibiades« are the only books of the Parallel Lives where the Roman biography is placed first⁶³. It is possible to attempt at least in our case to ascribe the order of the Lives to their literary structure. Each of the two Lives demonstrates the government of τύχη centred on a single episode in the life of the hero – the battle of Pydna and the liberation of Sicily respectively. In both cases there is a μεταβολή τύχης. In the first case the victory is followed by domestic catastrophe (the death of Paullus' sons) in the second the command of the Sicilian expedition is given to Timoleon after a long period in the political wilderness which followed on the domestic catastrophe of his having to collaborate in the murder of his brother the tyrant. This last episode is told in the Timoleon at some length, and in the (for ancient prose) quite extraordinary technique of flashback. Thus the interlude of the murder of Timophanes is put between the two dramatic climaxes of the book. The first half of the book passes from success to catastrophe, the second from disaster to victory: it is possible that Plutarch departed from his usual arrangement for the sake of the effect this provided.

To return to the main issue. Literary considerations played their part not only in the composition of the book of the Lives of Aemilius Paullus and Timoleon, but also enabled the inclusion of the book in the series. A Greek and a Roman were to be found whose careers were significant enough to rank among the other great statesmen and generals of the Parallel Lives and well-attested enough to provide the skeletons of biographies. Yet this in itself was not sufficient for Plutarch's moralistic purposes. Only the discovery of an angle that could serve these purposes enabled the incorporation of the two Lives in the series. It is as well to stress that the common denominator of the two Lives, stories centred on τύχη, on virtue and fortitude overcoming the blows of Fate, had a solid foundation in historical tradition and that Plutarch's sharp eye only discovered the literary use to which this historical tradition could be turned.

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city, since Q. Lutatius Catulus dedicated an Aedes Fortunae Huiusce Diei on the day of the battle of Vercellae (July 30th): Plu. Mar. 26, 3; 8; CIL I² p. 217, 219, 323. On the location of the two temples see PLATNER-ASHBY, Topogr. Dict. 216; the suggestion that the first shrine was erected by Aemilius Paullus: OTTO, RE 7, 32; ROSCHER I. 1514; I have not seen AUST, de aedibus sacris 26, where the suggestion was apparently first made.

⁶³ Cf. K. ZIEGLER, Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der vergleichenden Lebensbeschreibungen Plutarchs (1907) 29 ff.

THE TRAVELS OF Suetonius TRANQUILLUS

I. Writers of history tend to say very little about their occupations or peregrinations. Tacitus discloses exact knowledge of Gaul and the Rhineland. No post in those regions can be certified. For Asia an inscription registers the proconsulate, and traces of his sojourn have duly been sought in early books of the *Annales*.

Dignity and reticence advertise the senator composing Roman annals. A biographer's themes dispose him to become garrulous. Not so Suetonius. Distant and objective when chronicling enormities or trivia in the behaviour of the Caesars, he is a relentless collector. His own character comes out as confident, perhaps difficult as well. The writing avows no concern for provinces, for far lands or for foreign policy – and no sign of a local origin.

Silence on that count often marks an immigrant author. Early in the reign of Hadrian, Hippo Regius paid Suetonius the honour of a public dedication¹. After his name stands a priesthood, to be presumed local. Nothing is known to debar the African colony as the *patria* of the industrious polymath².

II. For any employment at Rome or abroad, only external evidence avails. First of all, letters of Pliny. In the year 101 the helpful friend made approach to Neratius Marcellus and secured a military tribunate. Suetonius declined (*Epp.* III. 8.). The missives to Marcellus are absent from the collection, and Pliny, as is his wont, refrains from naming the province governed by a consular legate. It happens to be Britain³.

The birth of Suetonius falls in the vicinity of 70, perhaps in that very year⁴. In the ages of equestrian officers a wide variation obtained⁵. Likewise the length of service and the nature of a man's prospects or ambitions. Pliny's uncle passed a dozen years with the Rhine armies⁶. For some other knights, with no aspiration towards a military career or hope of civilian posts thereafter, a single appointment sufficed.

¹ Published by E. MAREC and H.-G. PFLAUM, CRAI 1952, 78 ff., whence AE 1953, 73.

² Thus Tacitus (1958), 780, with the conjecture that Pisaurum might be the 'ultima origo' of the Suetonii. The nomen, made familiar through the biographer and the illustrious general (Suetonius Paullinus), happens to be a rarity.

³ A firm attempt was made to link him to Ostia. For example, following F. GROSSO, R. MEIGGS, Roman Ostia (1960), 515 f.: revoked in the second edition (1973), 584; 597.

⁴ CIL XVI. 48 (a diploma issued on January 19 of 103). His predecessor had arrived in 98 (XVI. 43).

⁵ As proposed in JRS LXXVII (1977), 44.

⁶ E. BIRLEY, Roman Britain and the Roman Army (1961), 135 ff.

⁶ F. MÜNZER, Bonner Jahrbücher CIV (1899), 67 ff. It is preferable to neglect K. ZIEGLER, RE XXI, 273 ff.

Pliny solicited an army commander called Priscus, asking him to do something for Voconius Romanus (II. 13). Voconius was Pliny's close coeval, now about forty years old, tranquil in disposition and of studious habits. The correspondence (no fewer than eight epistles) nowhere shows him absent from his native Saguntum. As a point in his favour Pliny stated that Voconius had recently been high priest at the provincial capital. That honour, it should be noted, commonly marks and follows the termination of an equestrian career.⁷ Now Pliny had previously tried to get his friend a seat in the Senate (X. 4). In both petitions his zeal can be held excessive and ill-timed⁸. Qualities deemed appropriate in a military tribune find amiable exposition when Pliny commends a Transpadane worthy to Pompeius Falco: local standing, ample means and cultivated tastes, excellence as an advocate or as a jurymen (VII. 22. 2). Similarly, Sossius Senecio is vouchsafed assurance about Varisidius Nepos: *virum industrium rectum disertum* (IV. 4. 1).

In the latter instance a *sestertis tribunatus* is specified. The term is revealing. Sundry municipal knights hold a single post in what is called the *militia equestris*, namely a tribunate. All they wanted was local prestige, the annexing of a patron, foreign travel at government expense. The prime specimen is Junius Columella, the Gaditane agronomer⁹.

The father of Suetonius Tranquillus, tribune in XIII Gemina, was swept into notable events in the year 69 (*Otho* 10. 1). That was accident. He may have lacked other experience with the armies. Nor is there any sign in Pliny's letters that the son renewed his petition, for service in a more attractive country, or ever aspired to a military career¹⁰.

Suetonius made his earliest appearance as a barrister lacking confidence (I. 18). This *scholasticus*, for so he is styled (I. 24. 4), went on with literary pursuits and a contribution not yet given to the world (V. 10). The last epistle to his address concerns problems confronting Pliny in the recitation of poetry (IX. 34).

III. In 109, or perhaps rather in 110, Pliny took up appointment as Caesar's legate in Bithynia-Pontus, replacing the proconsul¹¹. One of his

⁷ For details and proof, G. ALFÖLDY, *Flamines Provinciae Hispaniae Citerionis* (1973), 54ff.

⁸ Voconius (it was clear) failed to enter the Senate, cf. Tacitus (1958), 83, n. 3; *Historia* IX (1960), 365 f. = Roman Papers (1979), 480. The contrary thesis entailed putting Pliny's letter (II. 13) in 98. That wrecks standard and valid assumptions about order and chronology.

⁹ ILS 2923 (Tarentum). For other specimens, Harvard Studies LXXIII (1968), 208 = RP (1979), 748; CP LXXIV (1979), 4 (discussing Juvenal).

¹⁰ It has been suggested that his admission to the *militia equestris* 'may have kept him out of Italy c. 103 - 6'. Thus SHERWIN-WHITE in his commentary (1966) on Epp. I. 18. According to F. DELLA CORTE, Suetonius had been a military tribune, 'certamente' (Suetonio, ed. 2, 1967, 143). These notions betray inadvertence to the nature and function of service with the Roman army.

¹¹ The 'traditional date' is 111. For 109, SHERWIN-WHITE in his commentary (1966), 80ff.

despatches requests a privilege for Suetonius, namely the *ius trium liberorum*, since *parum felix matrimonium expertus est* (X. 94. 2). Recounting his merits (no mention of any military service), Pliny appeals to friendship and approbation deriving long since from *contubernium*; and he continues *tantoque magis diligere coepi quanto nunc propius inspexi* (94. 1).

The word *nunc* is WINTERFELD's improvement for the vapid and inelegant *hunc* of the manuscripts. It is accepted by recent editors¹². And, accepted, it can be pronounced decisive: Suetonius went to Bithynia with his patron and friend¹³.

Another friend may accrue to the *cohors* of the governor. Writing in the vintage season, Voconius Romanus promised that he would take wing at once and join Pliny, *cum certius de vitae nostrae ordinatione aliquid audieris* (IX. 28. 4); and Pliny for his part declares *iam tibi compedes nectimus quas perfringere nullo modo possis*¹⁴. It cannot however be taken as certain that this sedentary person tore himself away from Saguntum, *fugitivum rei familiaris*, to embark on the distant peregrination.

Suetonius in Bithynia: there has been some hesitance to exploit or even accept the notion¹⁵. It has adventitious value. The imperial biographies yield no trace of a voyage that took the author to the province by way of Ephesus and Pergamum. Hence no grounds for disallowing other journeys.

IV. Pliny died before completing the second year of his mandate. Several of his friends came to signal favour late in the reign of Trajan - and some in the sequel of delay or retardation. About the year 107 Bruttius Praesens, residing at ease in Campania, received a message of gentle rebuke: he should come back to Rome, *ubi dignitas honor amicitiae tam superiores quam minores* (VII. 3. 2).

The language is enough to unmask an Epicurean¹⁶. Under the guise of exhortation, the epistle may in fact advertise the return of Bruttius Praesens to the career of public honours. In 114 he is discovered as legate commanding a

¹² DURRY (Budé, 1947); SCHUSTER (Teubner, 1952); MYNORS, OCT, 1963). In 1870 KEIL ejected 'hunc'.

¹³ As proposed in Tacitus (1958), 660; 779.

¹⁴ For the contrary inference, see SHERWIN-WHITE, ad loc.: 'the tone of the whole sentence better fits a private visit than an official mission'.

¹⁵ Some diffidence is expressed by SHERWIN-WHITE: 'if the ambiguous text of X. 94. 1 is to be trusted' (on I. 18). The passage earns only a footnote in DELLA CORTE, Suetonio² (1967), 21; and no comment in H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes* (1960), 219 ff. (where 'hunc' is retained).

¹⁶ *Historia* XVIII (1969), 352 = RP (1979), 774. Others of that persuasion are Caesarius Tiro, clearly, cf. Epp. VI. 21; IX. 5 - and probably Voconius Romanus.

legion in Armenia; and in 117 he was governor of Cilicia, with a consulship in prospect¹⁷.

Next, Erucius Clarus. The parent was equestrian, and cultivated: *vir sanctus antiques disertus* (II. 9. 4). The son, of exemplary promise and *eruditissimus*, acquired senatorial rank through Pliny's patronage but was in some danger of delay after the quaestorship, and a cause of solicitude. His name lapses from the correspondence thereafter. In 116 Erucius commanded an army corps in Mesopotamia, acceding the next year to the consulate¹⁸.

With Erucius goes Septicius Clarus, who married his aunt (II. 9. 4). To Septicius Pliny dedicated his epistolary collection — or at least the first instalment. In 119 he emerges as Prefect of the Guard, colleague to Marcus Turbo, as the Historia Augusta reports (*Hadr.* 9. 5). During his tenure of that office he received the dedication of *De Vita Caesarum*¹⁹.

Suetonius Tranquillus was also carried upward and onwards, perhaps in the wake of Septicius Clarus. The inscription at Hippo registers three posts in the imperial secretariat: [*a*] *studiis a bybliothecis ab epistulis* / [*imp.* *Caes. Traijani Hadrijani Aug.*].

The editors of the document assigned the first two posts to the early years of Hadrian²⁰. It has subsequently been argued with conviction that they belong to the last epoch of Trajan's reign²¹. Uncertainty might be allowed to subsist²². To the first hypothesis a rapid change of posts under a new ruler is no bar. There are more important problems — and on any count Suetonius was in office in 121.

V. In the early summer of that year Hadrian set out from Rome. He made for Gaul and Germany (*Hadr.* 10. 1 f.). A long digression follows, on military discipline (10. 2–11. 1). Thence Britain (11.2) in 122, and the building of a wall. Next, before Hadrian leaves for Gaul (12. 1), another digression. It opens with a remarkable notice:

Septicio Claro praefecto praetorii et Suetonio Tranquillo epistularum magistro multisque aliis, quod apud Sabinam uxorem in usu eius familiaris

¹⁷ For his career, AE 1950, 66 (Mactar); IRT 545 (Lepcis). For the Armenian episode, Arrian, fr. 85 Roos: deep snow and snow shoes in crossing the Taurus, cf. Strabo XI, p. 506.

¹⁸ PIR², E 96. Both Bruttius Praesens and Erucius Clarus ended with second consulships, but not from Hadrian: in 139 and 146.

¹⁹ Lydus, *De mag.* II. 6.

²⁰ As PFLAUM later, in Carrières (1960), 423. Likewise R. SYME, Tacitus (1958), 501; R. MEIGGS, Roman Ostia (1960), 515.

²¹ G. B. TOWNEND, Historia X (1961), 104: accepted by PFLAUM in an addendum (Vol. III (1961), 968). F. MILLAR suspends judgement (The Emperor in the Roman World (1977), 90).

²² Likewise for cumulation of the posts *a studiis* and *a bibliothecis*. Assumed by PFLAUM, Carrières (1960), 423, but left open in Tacitus (1958), 778; denied by TOWNEND, Historia X (1961), 103; reaffirmed by E. VAN'T DAK, ib. XII (1963), 183.

se tunc egerant quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat, successores dedit (11. 3).

The mention of Sabina leads on coherently to Hadrian's discord with his consort, to his habits of espionage, to an illustrative anecdote (11. 6), to his adulteries (11. 7).

To waive for the moment the misdemeanour alleged against the prefect and the secretary. A question arises. The whole passage is a patent insertion, added to the curtailed travel narration. Was it added at the proper place? Given the procedure of the compiler, that was worth asking, whatever the answer²³. At first sight there is no guarantee that the two officials incurred demotion while Hadrian was in Britain²⁴. A later date has been surmised. One hypothesis postpones the incident until the year 128, when Sabina acquired the title of Augusta²⁵. Hence, among other things, lengthy tenures for both Septicius and Suetonius.

Reflection intervenes to dissuade. No valid reason enforces doubt about the point of time, or recommends a later date²⁶. The narration, after taking Hadrian back to the Continent, and to Tarraco (12.3), resumes his tour of the western provinces, not unsuitably, with remarks about frontier defences (12. 6).

VI. So far so good. Wider perspectives now unfold. Septicius and Suetonius succumbed to their fateful error at the capital while the Emperor was absent in Britain, that has been the common assumption, perpetuated in standard works²⁷. Few are found to gainsay. Their brief observations tend to incur neglect or dispraisal²⁸. A sad phenomenon, since three reasons combine to put the incident in Britain.

²³ For wrong placing, *Hadr.* 6.6–8 (Hadrian to Moesia and the appointment of Marcus Turbo); 12.1 (a disturbance at Alexandria and the bull Apis).

²⁴ As stated in Tacitus (1958), 779; Emperors and Biography (1971), 115.

²⁵ J. A. CROOK, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* IV, 1956/7 (1958), 18ff.; followed by J. GASCOU, *Latomus XXVII* (1978), 442. GASCOU assigns the Hippo dedication to 128, when Hadrian in fact visited Africa.

Sabina, however, probably became Augusta long before 128 (the standard date): perhaps in 119, on the decease of Matidia. Cf. W. ECK, *RE Supp.* xv, 910f.

²⁶ As firmly stated by TOWNEND, *o. c.* 108f.

²⁷ A. MACÉ, *Essai sur Suetone* (1900), 214; H. AILLOUD, in the Budé edition (1932), p. x; G. FUNAIOLI, *RE IVA*, 597 (Suetonius); A. STEIN, *IIA*, 1557f. (Septicius); W. ECK, *Supp.* xv, 911 (Vibia Sabina); A. CARANDINI, *Vibia Sabina* (1969), 65.

²⁸ Britain was proposed in Tacitus (1958), 779 ('why not') — and assumed, without argument, by PFLAUM, *Carrières* (1960), 220, cf. 224. Also in *HAC* 1968/69 (1970), 179. For SHERWIN-WHITE, however, only 'possibly' (on Epp. I 18). Observe further DELLA CORTE, *Suetonio*² (1967), 10: 'solo il Syme... ritiene che questo sia stato in Britannia'.

First, the Emperor on his travels in foreign parts is accompanied by his consort. Thus Pompeia Plotina, on attestation at the death-bed of Trajan in Cilicia. Though Sabina may not have proved congenial to Hadrian (gossip embroiled, and his other proclivities appeared to confirm), to leave the lady behind at Rome would merely publish disunion or magnify scandal. That Sabina was with Hadrian in Syria in 117 is an easy assumption: Matidia, her mother, accompanied Trajan and Plotina²⁹. On a later occasion Sabina shared the tour in Egypt in 130. Two elegant poems of Julia Balbilla bear witness, inscribed on the statue of Memnon³⁰. The presence of Antinous was no impediment.

Second, the secretary *ab epistulis*. His functions are known and important³¹. The ruler could not do without him. Absence was planned for at least two years (and lasted for four). Therefore Suetonius departed with Hadrian in 121³². An argument on the flank lends casual support. The two *quaestores Augusti* became superfluous. What happened to one of them is on record. Minicius Natalis went to join as legate his father, the proconsul of Africa³³.

Third, Guard Prefects. A pair was normal in most seasons: convenience as well as security³⁴. When the Emperor goes abroad, a prefect duly attends upon him. Thus Acilius Attianus attested with Trajan in 117 (*Hadri.* 5. 10), while his colleague Sulpicius Similis remained at Rome. Contrasted aptitudes in prefects came in useful. A ruler with Hadrian's tastes desiderated literary companions. Hence Septicius Clarus on the tour that embraced the western provinces and the frontier armies: in military matters Hadrian was his own expert. Marcus Turbo, the old and trusted friend, with long and multiple experience of warfare, stayed behind to supervise the capital, no doubt in concord with another steady man: Annius Verus (*cos.* II), the *praefectus urbi*. When appointed *praefectus praetorio* two years previously, Turbo came from an emergency command on the Danube, not inferior in rank and value (*Hadri.* 6. 7; 7. 3)³⁵.

²⁹ Sabina's presence from the beginning of the *expeditio Parthica* is assumed by H. TEMPORINI, *Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans* (1978), 88; 116.

³⁰ PIR², J 650, cf. A. and E. BERNAND, *Les insers. gr. et lat. du Colosse de Memnon* (1960), no. 29 and no. 30.

³¹ Statius, *Silvae* V. 1. 86 ff. (military correspondence).

³² Tacitus (1958), 780. Doubt by TOWNEND (o.c. 107 f.), but found 'not improbable' by F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), 90. Hadrian was 'a sort of walking capital' (ib. 39).

³³ ILS 1029; 1061. A circular argument thus assigns to 121/2 the tenure of the father (*suff.* 106) — which the parallel and full list for Asia supports.

³⁴ See now JRS LXX (1980), 64 ff.

³⁵ For Turbo's command and its brief duration, ib. 70 f. His name on the new Dacian diploma of August 10, 123 (AE 1973, 459) caused confusion in some quarters: not shared by M. M. ROXAN, *Roman Military Diplomas 1954–1977* (1978), no. 21.

VII. Crossing to Britain in 122, Hadrian had with him Septicius and Suetonius; and he brought Platorius Nepos from Germania Inferior to take the place as governor of Pompeius Falco³⁶. About the same time a fresh legion, namely VI Victrix, came over under the command of Tullius Varro³⁷. No other names of consequence can be ascertained³⁸.

It would be entertaining (but in no way indispensable to the thesis) if the Suetonian biographies could be induced to disclose some familiarity with Germany or Britain, either region or both. Three items may be presented, in due diffidence.

First, canals dug by Drusus, *quae nunc adhuc Drusinae vocantur* (*Claud.* 1. 2). Tacitus knows only one, which he styles *fossa Drusiana*³⁹. The biographer's insistence that the name survived down to his own day, *nunc adhuc*, might excite a mild curiosity.

Second, the polemical excursus concerning an emperor's place of birth (*Cal.* 8), lengthy and not necessary, since the author has the facts: *ego in actis Anti editum invenio*. Suetonius is at pains to cite the opinion of the elder Pliny: *in Treveris, vico Ambitario supra Confluentes*. Precision about a minor point of foreign topography, while emphasising research and accuracy, stands out against his normal manner and interests.

Third, documentation for the fame which Titus acquired *et in Germania et in Britannia* from his spell of service as a military tribune: *sicut apparet statuarum et imaginum eius multitudine ac titulis per utramque provinciam* (*Titus* 4.1). The phrase *sicut apparet* is precise, not casual. It conveys autopsy⁴⁰. Either Suetonius or an informant had visited both the Rhine and Britain. Titus had been a *laticlavus*, in Germania Inferior precisely, as appears from the *castranse contubernium* to which Pliny's uncle makes amicable appeal in the preface of his encyclopedia⁴¹. That fell in 57 or 58, towards the termination of the officer's third post with the armies of the Rhine⁴².

Alone or together, none of the three notices can claim cogency. Nor does a peculiar and vacuous report about Nero belong in this place. Nero thought of

³⁶ As inferred from CIL XVI. 169 (of July 17, 122), which names both governors.

³⁷ ILS 1047.

³⁸ L. Aninius Sextius Florentinus (CIL III. 14148¹⁰; Petra) may have taken charge of IX Hispana about this time: on whom, cf. *Historia XIV* (1965), 356 = *Danubian Papers* (1971), 239. No evidence for the other two legates or for the *itridicus*.

³⁹ *Ann.* II. 8. 1, cf. C. M. WELLS, *The German Policy of Augustus* (1972), 111; 115 f. As that scholar notes, the form 'Drusinus' in the text of Suetonius is peculiar if not aberrant.

⁴⁰ As emphasized in Tacitus (1958), 779.

⁴¹ *NH*, praef. 3.

⁴² F. MÜNZER, *Bonner Jahrbücher CIV* (1899), 73 ff. Followed in *Harvard Studies LXXIII* (1968), 206 = *RP* (1979), 746 f.: divergent views are there cited.

withdrawing the Roman army from the island. He desisted — but only from *verecundia*, *ne obirectare parentis gloriae videretur* (Nero 18).

Scruple about the fame and memory of Claudius Caesar is anomalous in his irreverent heir. The fable possesses relevance to the biographer's own epoch, to the early years of Hadrian, incriminated because he relinquished through envy the conquests of his glorious predecessor⁴³. The charge, not explicit in the HA, comes out in a late author: *Traiani gloriae invidens*⁴⁴.

VIII. Another story, the demotion of Septicius and Suetonius, is dubious in more ways than one, even when the scene and the date is established. They came to grief through Sabina, from transgressing against the *reverentia domus aulicae*⁴⁵. Yet Hadrian, it was notorious, had scant care for rank and ceremony. Comment on Sabina is subjoined. Hadrian would have liked to discard her:

ut morosam et asperam dimissurus, ut ipse dicebat, si privatus fuisset (11.3).

No mention of Sabina in the *Vita* can evade suspicion. Even her marriage is equipped with a piece of questionable annotation: *favente Plotina, Traiano leviter, ut Marius Maximus dicit, volente* (2.10). Reporting her death, the author notes the *fabula* that she was poisoned by her husband (23.9). Another version of her end has Hadrian drive Sabina to suicide, adding her detestation of Hadrian: she refused to have a child by such a monster⁴⁶.

The source of those allegations, it appears, is none other than Marius Maximus. His topics of predilection are elsewhere on show⁴⁷. Being unable to bring up much to the discredit of Marcus, he libelled Faustina with lavish imputations. In the *Vita Hadriani* the consular biographer happens to be cited in four insertions of unfriendly annotation. Much more can be disengaged, notably the catalogue of friends whom Hadrian, ungrateful and capricious, turned against and maltreated in diverse fashions (15.1 — 13)⁴⁸.

⁴³ As argued in Tacitus (1958), 490. The destruction of the legion IX Hispana there assumed was an error. For the survival of the legion, E. BIRLEY in: *Soldiers and Civilians in Roman Yorkshire* (1976), 71 ff.

⁴⁴ Eutropius VIII. 6. 1.

⁴⁵ Hadr. 11. 3. The motive has found wide acceptance. Thus, with no hesitation, J. P. V. D. BALSDON, *Roman Women* (1962), 139. For extreme scepticism, B. BALDWIN, *Acta Classica* XVIII (1975), 67 f.

⁴⁶ Epit. 14. 8.

⁴⁷ *Emperors and Biography* (1971), 113 ff.; HAC 1970 (1972), 287 ff. For *ignotus* as the basic source of the earlier biographies of emperors down to Caracalla, see now T. D. BARNES, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (1978), 99 ff.

⁴⁸ For doubts about some of the items, JRS LXX (1980), 73 f.

IX. The dismissal of Suetonius could not fail to provoke curiosity among the learned, since it afflicted a scholar and an author. Hence a plethora of speculation⁴⁹. The Emperor and his secretary might have been at variance on matters of taste and language. For example, the biography of Caesar Augustus commended a plain style and expatiated on the folly of preciosity, of archaism cultivated to excess (*Aug.* 86). Hadrian, it is opined, would not have approved. Or again, imperial policy. Nero was negligent *augendi propagandique imperii*. All he did was to annex the Cottian Alps and Polemo's Pontus. The context is the story about Britain (*Nero* 18). In this instance, to expand Rome's dominion is assumed a virtue and an axiom. Hadrian took the contrary line, in his decisions and on principle⁵⁰.

Indeed and altogether, the new ruler was a disturbing phenomenon. Men of the time might see Nero come again. And the theme chosen by a civil servant was not perhaps as innocuous as some have believed⁵¹.

Various items of veiled criticism could be detected, so it appeared. A long indictment has been drawn up, to illustrate dissatisfaction on the part of Suetonius⁵². Personal resentment is divined consequent on his lapse from status and emolument⁵³.

Preoccupation duly concentrated on the biographer. The Prefect of the Guard also incurred disgrace, through some involvement or other with Sabina — and many other persons, according to the *Vita*. The theme encouraged romantic divagations, not confined to authors of fictional biography.

A recent specimen deserves to be cited, for instruction and delight⁵⁴. There was a certain 'cercle littéraire' at Rome, 'dirigé' (that is the word) by Pliny. On his decease Septicius Clarus took over the management. The group espoused and promulgated a political doctrine, namely *concordia ordinum* after the Ciceronian fashion, between senators and knights. That was not at all to the liking of Hadrian.

⁴⁹ A. MACÉ, *Essai sur Suétone* (1900), 215 f.

⁵⁰ The imputation against Hadrian in *Nero* is given full value by G. B. TOWNEND, *CQ* IX (1959), 292. Suetonius, however, must be held inadvertent or inconsistent. The passage comes near the end of the favourable rubric. *Observe* 19, 3: *haec partim nulla reprehensione, partim etiam non mediocri laude digna*. The fable about Nero's proposal to evacuate Britain is taken seriously and evokes a lush bibliography. See now K. R. BRADLEY, *Suetonius' Life of Nero. A historical commentary* (1978), 110 ff. That scholar states that 'the withdrawal was apparently debated in the winter of 54/5, perhaps advocated by Seneca and Burrus' (ib. 113).

⁵¹ TOWNEND, *o.c.* 291 f. For the view that the *Vitae* carried no political danger see Tacitus (1958), 502.

⁵² T. F. CARNEY, *Proc. Afr. Class. Ass.* II (1968), 7 ff.

⁵³ CARNEY may seem to accumulate too much. In reference to a number of items TOWNEND had declared 'signs merely of a petty vindictiveness, such as are to be expected of the disgruntled polymath in retirement' (*o.c.* 293).

⁵⁴ E. CIZEK, *Structures et idéologies dans les 'Vies des Douze Césars' de Suétone* (1977), 189.

It will be suitable to interpolate a comparable notion, to be found in a work of finished style not devoid of pretensions of another order⁵⁵. While Hadrian was abroad, Suetonius insinuated himself into the graces of Sabina and became a regular member of 'ce petit cercle de conservateurs mécontents'.

In the face of fantasy it were best to renounce. If a prosaic imagination be conceded some license, a modest explanation offers. That is, persons not doctrines. Travel generates friction and annoyances, not least among devotees of arts and letters — and add to that a summer in northern England. Scholars enlisted to instruct or amuse an erudite ruler encounter vexation and hazards. The dinner parties on the island Capreae bear painful testimony⁵⁶. Hadrian had a strong and violent propensity to omniscience: *professores omnium artium semper ut doctorisit contempsit obtrivit* (15.10). Conflicts are on record, for example with Favorinus the sophist and Apollodorus the architect⁵⁷.

X. Autocrats are prone to haste or imprudence in their choice of agents, sometimes with calamitous results. Septicius and Suetonius, neither was perhaps good enough. The capacity of the Guard Prefect is covered if not rescued by total ignorance obscuring his previous occupations. His military experience was perhaps remote or minimal. More was not demanded in the high urban appointments. Attius Suburanus, Trajan's first prefect, could look back to only the command of an auxiliary regiment nearly thirty years previously⁵⁸.

Septicius Clarus might have been *praeffectus vigillum* at some time or other⁵⁹, although not in passage directly to the Guard in 119. Haterius Nepos had the post in that year before acceding to Egypt⁶⁰. The other equestrian patron of polite letters on high show in the early years of Trajan is Titinius Capito. Described and praised in three letters of Pliny (but the recipient of none), Capito ended his career as commander of the Vigiles⁶¹. As an author he wrote about the deaths of illustrious men (VIII.12.4). Septicius earns praise for his sterling character (II.9.4), and four epistles — but no products of his pen noted anywhere.

⁵⁵ M. YOURCENAR, *Mémoires d'Hadrien* (1951), 131 f.

⁵⁶ Tib. 70. 3, cf. 56 (the fatal error of Seleucus, a classical scholar).

⁵⁷ Hadr. 15. 12f.; Dio LXIX. 4. For the dubious report about Heliodorus (i. e. Avidius Heliodorus) see JRS LXX (1980), 74. Hadrian's quarrels and enmities have been much exaggerated, cf. G. W. BOWERSOCK, *Greek Sophists and the Roman Empire* (1969), 50 ff.

⁵⁸ AE 1939, 60 (Heliopolis).

⁵⁹ As supposed in Tacitus (1958), 87 n.10.

⁶⁰ ILS 1338.

⁶¹ ILS 1448.

More is known about the personality of Suetonius Tranquillus, and enough to suggest or support grave dubitations. His first entrance was unpromising. When he had to plead in the courts, he took alarm from a menacing dream and begged Pliny to get the case adjourned (I. 18): one observes that he subsequently became a jurymen⁶². Next, when Pliny's good offices assist in the purchase of a modest estate, a *praediolum*, in the suburban vicinity of the capital, emphasis goes to his craving for ease and repose (I. 24). Before long he refuses a tribunate in the army of Britain with the anxious request (*tam sollicitae petis*) that it be consigned to a kinsman (III. 8).

That is not all. By the year 105 a literary composition had been achieved. Pliny announced it in a poem, but the author was reluctant to publish. The bland mentor proffered encouragement and evinced understanding for a fellow writer: *sum et ipse in edendo haesitator* (V. 10. 2)⁶³. He also issued a demand, at first sight peremptory: *rumpere iam moras*. The over-powerful epic phrase softens the rebuke and conveys a humorous note⁶⁴.

The work in question may well be *De viris illustribus*. Such at least is the general and painless belief. Authorship and erudition, what better commendation for a high post in the civil service? On the lowest count, those pastimes exact regular habits and care for accuracy. Suetonius was assiduous in compilation (an enormous mass of miscellaneous productions). For all that, scrutiny of the biographies brings out a large number of errors. Further, the hasty generalisations, the vague plurals, the defects of judgement⁶⁵.

A diffident character or hesitance to take decisions counts for merit in a minor official. In the secretary *ab epistulis* that comportment was no less likely than zeal or obstinacy to provoke impatience and exasperation. Why look further? Basic antipathy, that is too much⁶⁶.

Found incompetent and burdensome, or an innocent victim of intrigue, Suetonius reverted to the life of a scholar, *otio quod pertinaciter amet*: a polite formula of that type normally ushered an official into retirement — and some may in fact have been happy to go⁶⁷. Whether *Caesaris ira* further

⁶² The Hippo inscr. is restored to yield (l. 5. f.) *adlecto iunifer selectos a Divo Tr[] a iano Parthico*. See the plate facing p. 104 in *Historia X* (1961).

⁶³ The word *haesitator* happens to occur in only one other author, viz. Sidorius Apollinaris (IX. 13. 4), in patent imitation of his model. Read therefore *haesitantior* in Pliny.

⁶⁴ For *rumpere moras*, Aen. IV. 569; IX. 13.

⁶⁵ For these inadequacies see now D. FLACH, *Gymnasium LXXIX* (1972), 273 ff. That scholar leads off with a vigorous protest against recent overvaluations. For a 'deliberate policy of concealing names and often multiplying individuals into vague plurals', beginning significantly with the *Vita Tiberii*, see TOWNEND, *CQ IX* (1959), 289.

⁶⁶ CARNEY asserted 'the certainty of mutual antipathy' (o. c. 23).

⁶⁷ The phrase quoted comes from Pliny, relating the departure of an anonymous Prefect of the Guard (Pan. 86. 2).

entailed either a retreat from the capital or debarment from the public libraries, those are questions to be relinquished to the curious⁶⁸. Nor is it clear that but for his *error* Suetonius stood in any prospect of rising higher in the administration⁶⁹.

His tenure was perhaps brief as well as abridged. A common assumption has assigned Suetonius' promotion to 119, suitably parallel to that of Septicius Clarus. It does not have to be so. There is nothing to disprove 120 or the spring of the next year. Suetonius possessed independent claims as an author — and the influence of Septicius did not depend solely on his high office.

The matter concerns the dates at which Suetonius became *a studiosus* and *a bibliothecis*⁷⁰. That is, whether before or after 117. Either post (not merely his subsequent eminence) would permit access to the imperial archives, so it is not rash to conjecture. Hence relevance to a larger problem: when were the biographies composed? It now grows more intricate. A curt statement must suffice.

XI. The books *De Vita Caesarum* were dedicated to Septicius Clarus during his tenure of the Guard. Here uncertainty begins. Perhaps not all twelve biographies, within the limits of 119 and 122, but only the first two⁷¹. A similar doubt touches the dedication of Pliny's letters.

The *Vitae* exhibit divergence in length and scope, in technique and quality; and there is a declension after Caesar Augustus, perceptible already in the second half of the biography of Ti. Caesar⁷². Various reasons might be canvassed. For example, the author's interest flagged or he was in a hurry to finish the task.

One feature cannot fail to strike any reader. Suetonius quotes from the letters of Augustus (numerous and precious items), but not from the correspondence of subsequent rulers. The consequence has been drawn and fully exploited: the secretary *ab epistulis* used the imperial archives, composing and publishing at Rome the first two biographies, but his disgrace foreclosed that source of information⁷³.

⁶⁸ TOWNEND, CQ IX (1959), 286.

⁶⁹ Thus DELLA CORTE, Suetonio² (1967), 13, cf. 190 — with the added remark 'la schelta di Suetonio era stata felice, il suo orientamento sicuro.'

⁷⁰ Waiving the question of cumulation, cf. above, p. 108 n. 22.

⁷¹ TOWNEND o. c. 293. Also in Latin Biography (ed. T. A. DOREY, 1967), 88.

⁷² Thus MACÉ, o. c. 361: 'Suetone s'intéresse surtout aux deux premiers Césars.'

⁷³ TOWNEND, o. c. 73.

XII. The question takes on a different aspect once it is recognised that Suetonius went abroad with the Emperor in 121. Sundry opinions, whether confident or tentative, are annulled.

The first instalment of *De vita Caesarum* may have come out before then (? in 119 or 120); it might even have contributed to Suetonius' promotion. Later biographies, it could follow, belong to the period of his retreat. Searching and ingenious scrutiny has detected a number of passages that appear to betray disappointment, or rancour against Hadrian⁷⁴.

On that note of dubiety, the enquiry verges to a summary end. Not without brief epilogue. Six Caesars of the dynasty from the Dictator to Nero, that is a unitary and coherent theme. As the author declares: *progenies Caesarum in Nerone defecit*. He duly adds a list of omens and prodigies in support.

That now stands as the exordium of the *Vita Galbae*. Perhaps a vestige, the concluding rubric of the author's original design. A conjecture cannot be evaded: the second sequence (Galba to Domitian) was in fact a sequel, composed a number of years later⁷⁵. Writing or compilation alleviates the tedium of retirement. Suetonius may have gone on for quite a long time.

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⁷⁴ Thus CARNEY cf. above, p. 113 n. 52.

⁷⁵ As conjectured in Tacitus (1958), 780, with appeal to the statement *Domitia persancte iurabat* (Titus 10. 2.) and the date of her death. See further Mus. Helv. XXXVII (1980), 117 ff.

MISZELLEN

ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ

Process-product Ambiguity in Thucydides VI

One of the most frequently found types of linguistic ambiguity in both Greek and English is process-product ambiguity; that is some nouns do not mark a distinction between whether they convey an action or the result of an action¹. The ambiguity appears in a limited number of nouns, e.g. in English -tion nouns reveal the ambiguity, in Greek -sis nouns, but in neither language does the ambiguity appear exclusively in specific types of nouns: the words 'work' and έργον for example or 'thought' and δόξα are also process-product ambiguous. In some cases the ambiguity is not simply between process and product, but between two senses of the product, namely product as a state and product as a concrete object. The English word 'preparation' will conveniently serve as an introduction to the Greek παρασκευή. Process-product ambiguous nouns like 'preparation' then have at least two distinct senses: 'preparation' can mean both 'the thing prepared' and 'the preparing', where, however, the first may be understood either as a state or an object. The resolution of the inherent ambiguity depends for the most part on syntax and context; sometimes either is sufficient to resolve it, sometimes both are necessary. In other cases the ambiguity is not resolved. Thus:

1. The army exhibited an attitude of product (a state of preparedness) preparation.
2. Preparation(s) went on all day. process (the preparing)
3. Preparation is the best road to ambiguous between 1 and 2 success.
4. The preparation(s) blew up in the product (object) lab.

The purpose of this study is to examine briefly the ambiguity of the word παρασκευή in Book VI of the 'History'. The word occurs more often there

¹ This kind of ambiguity was first discussed by M. BLACK, *Critical Thinking* (New York 1952) 187f., 194-5. W. SELLARS, *Science and Metaphysics* (New York 1968), makes use of the ambiguity in 'representation' to talk about appearances (32-36). Linguists currently deal with ambiguity primarily in order to resolve issues of syntax and semantics. See N. CHOMSKY, *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* (The Hague 1964) 49f. and *Syntactic Structures* (The Hague 1969) 49; H. K. ULATOWSKA, *Psycholinguistic Approach to the Study of Ambiguity*, *Papers in Linguistics* 4:2 (1971), 347f., 366 for discussion of devices for 'disambiguating' words and phrases, and W. V. O. QUINE, *Word and Object* (New York 1960) 129. The present study is derived from my dissertation 'Preparation (Paraskeue) in Thucydides' (Pittsburgh 1974). Process-product ambiguity is covered at length on pages 37-51 and in Appendix II.

than in any other book of the 'History': Book I has 12 instances of παρασκευή, II 16, III 8, IV 11, V 10, VI 31, VII 13, and VIII 3². Further, παρασκευή seems to have embodied an idea important for Thucydides' view of war and military power, for he uses it far more than any fifth- or fourth-century author³. This, to be sure, is in keeping with his fondness for abstract nouns, but it is notable that the word is far less common in works by other historians; that is to say, the historical nature of the subject matter does not adequately account for the frequent occurrences of παρασκευή in Thucydides⁴.

Below is a summary of the use of παρασκευή in Book VI in respect to process-product ambiguity. I have divided the book into sections which parallel the thematic role of preparation: 1-26, arguments and preparations for the expedition; 27-44, departure of the forces from Athens and their arrival in Sicily; 45-105, decreasing preparation through ineffective actions. Note in the list below that παρασκευή in Book VI is used most often of the Athenians (26 times). I have marked the 5 instances where it refers to the Syracusans with an S⁵.

Chs. 1-26 Noun: 11 Athenians; 1 Syracusans

2 Product (1, 1; 25, 1)

4 Process (8, 3; 9, 1; 24, 2; 25, 2)

6 Ambiguous (6, 2S; 19, 2; 21, 2; 23, 3; 26, 2 twice)

Chs. 27-44 Noun: 12 Athenians; 2 Syracusans

10 Product (30, 1; 31, 1 [cf. 31, 2], 4; 34, 4, 5; 37, 1, 2; 43, 1; 44, 1, 2)

2 Process (29, 1; 31, 3)

2 Ambiguous (34, 9S; 37, 2S)

Chs. 45-105 Noun: 3 Athenians; 2 Syracusans

1 Product (91, 2)

1 Process (65, 1S)

3 Ambiguous (68, 1; 79, 3; 86, 3S)

By way of comparison, here are the figures for Book VII:

Noun: 6 Athenians; 7 Syracusans

6 Process (12, 1S; 36, 1S; 40, 5S; 43, 2; 62, 1S; 63, 3)

7 Ambiguous (5, 4S; 42, 1; 48, 5S; 55, 2; 65, 1; 67, 2S; 67, 4)

² Note against VI the very few occurrences in VIII, where Athenian παρασκευή, which had before resided in ships and money, is in serious difficulty, even when we find that Athens sends out the largest naval contingent of the war. Verbal and adjectival forms are discussed throughout the dissertation.

³ Παρασκευή appears 104 times, about two and a half times the next author's, regardless of the size of the corpus: Herodotus 5, Xenophon, 'Hellenica' 4; Xenophon corpus 12, Pseudo-Xenophon 0, Demosthenes 44, Lysias 9, Plato 20, Euripides 2, Aristophanes 1, Antiphon 3, Andocides 1, Lycurgus 2, Dinarchus 1, Isocrates 10, Isaeus 4, Gorgias 1.

⁴ I have argued that preparation is the basis of power in the 'History'. It is the generic notion under which belongs money, ships, league hegemony, constitutional stability, i.e. the components of preparedness (see especially 52f., 163f. and 198-202).

⁵ The figures here are given greater detail in the dissertation (104, 110, 121, 141-142, and a summary on 160).