Re(dis)covering Imperial Biography and Reconstructing Plutarch's *Life of Augustus*

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Presented in the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 9, 2016

I, Amanda Louise Drummond, certify that the work in this thesis, entitled "Re(dis)covering Imperial Biography and Reconstructing Plutarch's Life of Augustus", has not been previously submitted for a degree, nor has it been submitted as part of the requirements for a degree, to any university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of work, and has been written by me. Any assistance I received during the course of my research and the preparation of the thesis itself has been appropriately acknowledged below.

In addition, I certify that all sources and publications used throughout the composition of this thesis are indicated at the appropriate instances, and in the bibliography provided.

Amanda Louise Drummond

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Preface

Plutarch's series of imperial biographies, the *Lives of the Caesars*, have not often been well-regarded in past scholarship. To my mind, this is an unfair assessment. Unfortunately, what has survived of the series does not immediately serve to recommend it as a work of scholarly depth; the two *Lives* which are extant, the *Galba* and *Otho*, are naturally compared to Plutarch's paired Greek and Roman *Lives* and are nearly always judged to be inferior, with regards to both content and style. It has been generally supposed that the seven lost βίοι from the *Lives of the Caesars*—the *Augustus-Nero* sequence and the *Vitellius*—were composed in a similar manner to the two which have survived. Yet this need not be—and indeed, probably was not—the case. The modern understanding of the biographical 'genre' likewise plays a significant role in the typically negative judgement of the *Caesars*: a vast amount of research into ancient biography was conducted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and biographical texts now tend to be examined with firm notions of what form a *Life* should take, what information it should contain, and what purpose it should serve. Suetonius' series of imperial *vitae*, from Julius Caesar to Domitian, have also been judged negatively in the past, for many of the same reasons that Plutarch's *Galba* and *Otho* are—though the series was clearly well received in antiquity.

We thus face a dual problem when it comes to understanding or identifying the original shape and purpose of Plutarch's *Caesars*—and with very little surviving text to examine, it is difficult to resolve the issue of how modern preconceptions force our consideration of this work in certain

directions. No preface or programmatic statement survives, meaning that Plutarch's intentions for the series must be surmised from statements made elsewhere. The *Galba* and *Otho* do not accord well with what Plutarch says of his methodology in other *Lives*; as a result, the series is often assumed to have been written to different ends than the *Parallel Lives*. Attempts to speculate on what information might have been included in the individual βίοι that comprised the *Caesars* are usually undertaken by comparative literary analysis, a process of comparing and contrasting what Plutarch says of the emperors in other treatises against the accounts given by alternate historiographic or biographic sources. This is the method most often employed for discussions of lost or fragmentary works from the ancient world. However, it is by nature a finite exercise—even within an oeuvre as vast as Plutarch's, there are only a limited number of references to any given historical figure. For those emperors he does not discuss elsewhere in the *Lives* or moral essays, comparative literary studies can never yield any great insight into his biographic treatment.

An alternative method exists for predicting both the structure and content of the missing βίοι, that of repertory grid analysis. Typically employed in the behavioural sciences, the repertory grid can be used to tabulate a given author's inherent theory of personality—that is, their unique understanding and interpretation of character, and the ways it is subsequently portrayed within their text(s). As will be demonstrated throughout the following thesis, the use of this method provides substantial insights into Plutarch's aims and methodology for the *Lives of the Caesars*, which could greatly aid future reconstructive efforts. As well, it simultaneously reinforces what can be gleaned from the traditional method of comparative literary analysis. Used together, the two methods form a symbiotic system of analysis, with each both supporting and enhancing the information that the other provides. It is my hope that combining them here will demonstrate firstly that Plutarch's

imperial sequence *did* have intrinsic worth (as do the two *Lives* which are now extant), and that the series as a whole should not be evaluated by the two βίοι which remain, and secondly, that a cross-disciplinary study of this nature can, in some cases, significantly advance our knowledge of lost or fragmentary texts—perhaps to the point where they can be partially reconstructed.

Inasmuch as it concerns two separate, but inter-connected, problems, the following study has been undertaken in two halves. The first, comprising Chapters One to Three, re-examines—and in some respects, redefines—the memorial literature of the ancient world. A particular focus has been given to literature from the fifth century BCE to the second century CE, as it is this material which most shaped the tradition in which Plutarch (and Suetonius) wrote. The first chapter discusses the past and current scholarship that has been devoted to ancient biographical literature, with the intention of isolating areas that require further research or consideration; the second analyses the general shape and purpose of our extant biographical texts, as well as the various ways in which their readers—both immediate and future—received and interpreted their contents. The third chapter then focuses upon our two most prominent biographers from antiquity, Plutarch and Suetonius, providing an overview of their contexts and methodologies, before examining in detail their aims and the portrayal of character within their respective βίοι and *vitae*.

The second half of the study, Chapters Four to Six, is devoted to a close analysis of Plutarch's understanding of personality, and the methods by which he constructed (both consciously and unconsciously) character, or ἦθος, throughout his *Lives*. The application of personality theory to ancient biographical literature is discussed in the fourth chapter; this provides an overview of the development of the repertory grid technique, and its use in the behavioural sciences and other fields, before moving to determine how it

may be suitably applied to Plutarch's *Lives*. The fifth chapter examines the results of the analysis and their implications as regards Plutarch's general methodology and the composition of his imperial βίοι. The sixth, and final, chapter combines the findings of the repertory grid study with those of a comparative literary analysis to reconstruct a possible framework for Plutarch's *Life of Augustus*, which inaugurated the series.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations & Editions

Throughout the following thesis, I have referred to the branch of ancient literature that was comprised of prose βίοι or *vitae* as 'literary biography'. This term is used interchangeable with 'prose biography', and should not be confused with the proposed sub-genre Joseph Geiger termed "literary biography"—which he used to refer to the *Lives* of authors, poets, or playwrights. I refer to this group only as 'intellectual biography'—i.e., the biographies of 'intellectual', as distinct from 'political', figures.

When discussing the emperor Augustus, I have followed the usual tradition of nomenclature: for the period from his birth to 27 BCE (i.e., prior to his acceptance of the title *Augustus*), he is referred to as 'Octavian'; for any events after this date, the references are to 'Augustus'. In my own discussion, the name 'Caesar' is only used with regard to Gaius Julius Caesar (d. 44 BCE). Where this name appears in a quotation from a source and is intended to refer to Octavian/Augustus, or another figure, I have indicated as such in square brackets.

References to ancient authors and their works are given using the standard scholarly abbreviations listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th ed.). References to classical journals are given using the standard abbreviations listed on L'Année Philologique; other abbreviations are detailed below. Plutarch's *synkriseis* are referred to as though they were a separate work (e.g. *Dion-Brut.* 1); the moral essays are referred to by their respective Latin titles. References to the *Apophthegmata regum et imperatorum* (*Ap. reg.*) include the apophthegm number alongside the passage reference. References to modern works are given using the Chicago style, with

abbreviations in the author (date) format. Where an author has published multiple works within the same year, the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, etc. have been appended.

Full bibliographic information for quotations taken from Greek or Latin critical editions is listed below. Where large sections of a source have been cited, I have also included an English translation. These are taken from the Loeb editions unless otherwise stated, and in each instance, include the name of the translator and year of translation.

Finally, a new and valuable collection of essays was published during the final stages of this thesis' composition—*Fame and Infamy: Essays for Christopher Pelling on Characterization in Greek and Roman Biography and Historiography* (Oxford, 2015). I unfortunately gained receipt of this volume too late to incorporate as many of the insights contained therein as I would have liked; nevertheless, I have attempted to indicate for their reader where this volume will provide useful further reading on the subjects of ancient biographical literature and the characterisation of biographical subjects.

Abbreviations

ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972–.

BNJ *Brill's New Jacoby*, edited by I. Worthington, et al. Brill Online, 2006–.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-jacoby/~

BNP *Brill's New Pauly*, edited by H. Cancik et al. Brill Online, 2006–.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/~

FGrHist *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, *Parts I-III*, edited by F. Jacoby. Brill Online, 2006–.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/die-fragmente-der-griechischen-historiker-i-iii/~

FGrHist IV *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker, Part IV*, edited by G. Schepens and S. Schorn. Brill Online, 2006–.
http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/fragmente-der-griechischen-historiker-iv/~

RE *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterumwissenschaft*, edited by A. F. von Pauly and G. Wissowa. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1894-1980.

Editions

Aristotle   *Aristotelis: Ethica Eudemia*, edited by F. Susemihl.
                             Leipzig: Teubner. 1884.

Augustus   *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and
                             Commentary*, edited by A. E. Cooley. Cambridge,
                             UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Catullus   *Q. Valerii Catulli: Carmina*, edited by L. Mueller.
                             Leipzig: Teubner, 1891.

Cicero   *M. Tulli Ciceronis: Epistulae ad Atticum*, Vols. 1-2,
                             edited by D. Shackleton-Bailey. Leipzig: Teubner,
                             1987.

                             M. Tulli Ciceronis: Epistulae ad Familiares, Vols.
                             1-2, edited by D. Shackleton-Bailey. Cambridge,
                             UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Damascius   *Damascius: The Philosophical History*, edited by P.
                             Athanassiadi. Athens: Apamea, 1999.

                             Damascii: vitae Isidori reliquiae, edited by C.
                             Zintzen. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1697.

Diogenes Laertius   *Diogenes Laertius: de vitis, dogmatis et
                             apophthegmatis clarorum philosophorum libri X*,
                             edited by H. G. Huebner. Leipzig: Teubner, 1828-
                             1831.

Dionysius   *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Three Literary
                             Letters (Ep. ad Ammaeum I, Ep. ad Pompeium,
                             Ep. ad Ammaeum II)*, edited by W. Rhys Roberts.
                             Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901.

Herodotus   *Herodoti: Historiae*, edited by H. B. Rosén.
                             Leipzig: Teubner, 1987.

Isocrates	*Evagoras*. In *Isocrates: Opera omnia*, Vol. 2, edited by B. G. Mandilaras. Leipzig: Teubner, 2003.
Nepos	*Cornelii Nepotis: Vitae*, edited by A. Fleckeisen. Leipzig: Teubner, 1898.
Polybius	*Polybius: Historiae*, edited by T. Büttner-Wobst, after L. Dindorf. Leipzig: Teubner, 1893.
Pliny the Younger	*Plinius, Epistulae*: *A Critical Edition,* edited by S. E. Stout. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962.
Plutarch	*Plutarchi Chaeronensis: Moralia*, Vols. 1-7, edited by W. R. Paton, et al. Leipzig: Teubner, 1857-1967.
	Plutarchi Chaeronensis: Vitae Parallelae, Vols. 1-3, edited by K. Ziegler. Leipzig: Teubner, 1957-1980.
Satyrus	*Life of Euripides* (*P. Oxy.* 1176). In *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part IX*, edited by A. S. Hunt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912.
Suda	*Suidae Lexicon*, edited by A. Adler. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928-1938.
Suetonius	*C. Suetoni Tranquilli: Quae supersunt omnia*, edited by K. L. Roth. Leipzig: Teubner, 1898.
Tacitus	*Cornelii Tacitii: Annales ab excessu divi Augusti*, edited by C. D. Fisher. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.
	De Vita Iulii Agricolae. In *Cornelii Tacitii: Opera Minora*, edited by H. Furneux*.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900.

Thucydides   *Thucydidis: Historiae*, Vol. 1, edited by H. S.
                     Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942.

Xenophon   *Agesilaus*. In *Xenophontis: Opera omnia*, Vol. 5,
                     edited by E. C. Marchant. Oxford: Clarendon Press,
                     1920.

CHAPTER ONE

Imperial Biography and the Biographic Tradition

Biography has long been a popular branch of literature, particularly when the subject is wealthy, powerful, or 'colourful'. As one scholar put it, "the desire to celebrate the lives of famous men … [is] a fundamental characteristic of human nature."[1] Yet as a literary art-form, ancient biography has tended to be less well-regarded than prose history, which is often deemed the more worthwhile or 'profound' field of study. The phenomenon is neatly illustrated by Ronald Syme's pronouncement that "Biography offers the easy approach to history … If the practice took its origin from the funeral oration, it was soon exploited by persons extraneous to the deceased, avowedly as a genre intermediate between oratory and history".[2] Such a view does a great disservice to a branch of literature that, in the ancient world, shared aims, methods, and goals with the (now) more lauded form of history.

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[1]   Osborne (1998), 7. See also Garraty (1957), 8-9: "people … have never had to be persuaded that the 'proper study of mankind is man'."

[2]   Syme (1958), 91-92; cf. Syme (1974), 481: "Biography offers an attractive approach to history, or a substitute." Biography, for Syme, seems to have only been acceptable if it were followed by more erudite pursuits; thus, he excused Tacitus—who had composed a *vita* of his father-in-law—from negative judgement (Syme, 1958: 121). Frances Titchener preferred to view biography as a 'supplement' to history, providing the personal facts about each individual that readers desired. See Titchener (2003), 87.

The close relationship of biography and history is evident from numerous sources. Tacitus—whose *Agricola* Syme allowed to be "not without some relevance" to his later *Histories*[3]—viewed historical writing in terms of threatening malefactors with the judgement of succeeding generations; this was both its role and his intention. His *Agricola* opens with a resonant phrase, echoing of the introduction of Cato's *Origines*: *Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere* (Tac. *Agr.* 1.1).[4] His *Annals* gives an even more explicit summary of the historian's task:

> *Exequi sententias haud institui nisi insignis per honestum aut notabili dedecore, quod praecipuum munus annalium reor ne virtutes sileantur utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit.* (Tac. *Ann*. 3.65.1)
>
> "It is not my intention to dwell upon any senatorial motions save those either remarkable for their nobility or of memorable turpitude; in which case they fall within my conception of the first duty of history—to ensure that merit shall not lack its record and to hold before the vicious word and deed the terrors of posterity and infamy." (trans. Jackson, 1931)

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3   Syme (1958), 121.

4   Syme (1958), 121 n. 3; cf. Whitmarsh (2006), 308: "The allusion to the beginning of Cato's *Origines* further underlines the generic trajectory towards high-minded moralism". The ambiguous form of the *Agricola*—which Whitmarsh described as "a *vita* sloping into encomium via funeral oration"—is discussed at 307-310. For the opening of the *Origines*, see especially Chassignet (2002). The key phrase (Frg. 2 Chass.) is preserved by Cicero, *Planc*. 66 (emphasis my own): *Etenim M. Catonis illud, quod in principio scripsit Originum suarum, semper magnificum et praeclarum putavi, clarorum virorum atque magnorum non minus otii quam negotii rationem exstare oportere*.

Plutarch, who explicitly distinguishes between his biographies and ἱστορία, nevertheless outlines an authorial purpose that at times bears remarkable similarities to Tacitus' own:

[1] Ἐμοὶ [μὲν] τῆς τῶν βίων ἅψασθαι μὲν γραφῆς συνέβη δι᾽ ἑτέρους, ἐπιμένειν δὲ καὶ φιλοχωρεῖν ἤδη καὶ δι᾽ ἐμαυτόν ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πειρώμενον ἁμῶς γέ πως κοσμεῖν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετὰς τὸν βίον. [2] οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλ᾽ ἢ συνδιαιτήσει καὶ συμβιώσει τὸ γινόμενον ἔοικεν, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐπιξενούμενον ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν μέρει διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ παραλαμβάνοντες ἀναθεωρῶμεν ὅσσος ἔην οἷός τε, τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα πρὸς γνῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων λαμβάνοντες. (Plut. *Aem.* 1.1-2 [=*Tim.* 1.1-2])

"[1] I began the writing of my 'Lives' for the sake of others, but I find that I am continuing the work and delighting in it now for my own sake also, using history as a mirror and endeavouring in a manner to fashion and adorn my life in conformity with the virtues therein depicted. [2] For the result is like nothing else than daily living and associating together, when I receive and welcome each subject of my history in turn as my guest, so to speak, and observe carefully 'how large he was and of what mien', and select from his career what is most important and most beautiful to know." (trans. Perrin, 1918)

The preservation of glorious deeds for succeeding generations is integral to even our earliest surviving prose histories. Herodotus had spoken of recording great and wondrous deeds ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται (Hdt. 1.1: "in order that so the memory of the past may not be

blotted out from among men by time"; trans. Godley, 1920). Thucydides expressed the hope that his readers would derive some use from studying the events of the past—events which he believed would inevitably repeat at some point in the future (Thuc. 1.22.4).[5] To rehearse these deeds, to hand down both achievements and morals from one generation to the next, competing in merit with one's ancestors, was a worthy goal to the historian and biographer alike. And history, in the sense that it must concern itself with the personal and human agency, can be viewed on a basic level as 'multi-biography'; our authors delineate not merely the deed, but the personality behind it, in order that their readers might better profit from its lessons.[6] The portrait of Tiberius that emerges from the *Annals* is a masterful example of the biographer's, as well as the historian's, art. Velleius Paterculus, too, showcases the close proximity of historical versus biographical treatises: we find such notations as the 'correct' placement for genealogical detail (Vell. Pat. 2.59.1), or that worthy men should—and would—always be memorialised through literature, whether it be their own or that of later writers (Vell. Pat. 2.64.3, 2.66.3-5). A number of scholars have noted Velleius' 'passion' for the biographical, and as a whole, the *Roman History* offers an excellent illustration of the crossover

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[5] Damascius acknowledged the same function some ten centuries later: μετριωτέρα γὰρ πειθὼ καὶ παραίνεσις τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων λόγων τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας (Damasc. Fr. 29A Athanassiadi [=Fr. 54 Zintzen]: "For the multitude the persuasiveness and guidance offered by history is more fitting than that provided by other forms of discourse"; trans. Athanassiadi, 1999).

[6] *Pace* Wallace-Hadrill (1983), 15-16. He felt that where history was "about the state, the *polis*, and its conflicts … [biography] had a different subject – the life, personality and achievements of an individual." We should be wary of envisioning so clear-cut a distinction; while it is certainly correct in some instances, numerous examples of overlap exist in texts from each 'genre'. See further the discussion at 10-29 below.

between the Roman commemoration of the past, the historiographical instinct, and the inclination to apportion praise or blame to individuals.[7]

Exactly who might be considered a figure worthy of study and emulation varied according to culture and era. Historical texts, understandably, revolve constantly around the political sphere. Biographers were afforded more choice in their subjects: poets, playwrights, and religious figures all feature amongst the surviving compilations of *viri illustres.*[8] Yet statesmen also fill a substantial proportion of our extant biographical texts, particularly those from later antiquity. Where Archaic and Classical societies found their exemplars in the heroes of mythology, those who lived during the Hellenistic and Republican periods looked increasingly to the political realm for noteworthy persons. For the Romans of the first and second centuries CE, the most famous—and in some cases, infamous—figures were undoubtedly the emperors, and imperial biography appears to have been quite popular indeed. A number of texts that document the lives of the emperors have come down to us more or less intact: Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*; the two remaining biographies from Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars*, *Galba* and *Otho*; Nicolaus' *Life of Augustus*; the partially-fragmented collection commonly referred to as

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[7]   On the role of individual characterisation in Velleius, see Steel (2011), 265-277. For his biographical approaches, see especially Elefante (1997), 32 and further, Schmitzer (2000), 157; Starr (1980), 292. Christopher Pelling recently underlined these, noting the implicit emphasis of the technique in Tony Woodman's titles *The Caesarian and Augustan Narrative* and *The Tiberian Narrative* (Pelling, 2011b: 157). He termed this approach "biostructuring"—a concept well worth keeping even if Pelling himself modestly labelled the word "unpleasing" (Pelling, 2011b: 172 n. 1; cf. Pelling, 1997a: 117-118).

[8]   It is perhaps unsurprising, given the preceding observance of Velleius' biographical interests, to find that he envisaged the commemoration of poets, philosophers, and other writers as having an appropriate place within his chronicle; see e.g. Vell. Pat. 1.5, 1.7.1, 1.16.3–17.4.

the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (henceforth, the *SHA*); and the *Epitome de Caesaribus*.[9]

The reception of these works appears to have been far more positive in antiquity than in the modern era. Suetonius, in particular, received praise for his skills as a biographer: the writer of the *Probus* (*SHA: Prob.* 2.7) commended his 'honesty', placing his worth above even Sallust, Livy and Tacitus.[10] Jerome (*Vir. Ill. Praef.*) and the writer of the *Maximus and Balbinus* (*SHA:Max. et Balb.* 4.5) both noted that they emulated his style for their own compositions.[11] Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni* was likewise modelled on the Suetonian format.[12] Similarly, Plutarch's *Lives* were consulted as sources by

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[9] Sometimes attributed to S. Aurelius Victor (e.g. *PRLE*, where both the *Liber de Caesaribus* and *Aurelii Victoris de Caesaribus Libri Epitome* are attributed to Aurelius), though probably not with any accuracy. See Baldwin (1993), 81-82; Banchich (2007), 308; Barnes (1976), 259 and (2002), 26; Festy (1999), xiv-xv; Schlumberger (1974), 1-16; Swain (1997), 23, 26; Teuffel (1873), 370-371.

[10] Syme disregarded both the author's praise of Suetonius and his citations of other notable biographers, commenting that "[t]he artifice is patent, four fraudulent names appended to the two authentic biographers" (Syme, 1968: 99). David Magie, however, held that it was possible Marius Maximus, Fabius Marcellinus, and Gargilius Martialis were all genuine names; see his notes to the Loeb editions of *SHA:Hadr.* 2.10, *SHA:Sev. Alex.* 48.6, and *SHA:Sev. Alex.* 37.9 respectively.

[11] On Jerome, see Osley (1946), 17; on the *SHA:Max. et Balb.*, see Garraty, 53; Magie (1921), xvi.

[12] K. R. Bradley (1973), 259. François Paschoud also discussed the influence of Suetonius on Marius Maximus (Paschoud, 2009: 175-183), while Glen Bowersock and Gavin Townend noted that the *De vita Caesarum* was used as a model through the eighth century and beyond (Bowersock, 1998: 206-209; Townend, 1967: 96-108). Herbert Benario in fact described the series as "[the] standard for Latin biography" from the second century onwards (Benario, 1980: 2). On the concept of a *habitus Suetonianus*, see Fry (2010), 135-152; Meckler (1996), 364-366.

historians and biographers as late as the twelfth century CE.[13] More recent

scholars, however, have tended to disregard the surviving imperial

biographies as trivial or unworthy of in-depth study. Some criticism is no

doubt warranted: the *SHA* contains numerous factual errors, making it

difficult to utilise as a reliable source.[14] Many of these errors are the fault of

later scribes or editors (e.g. *SHA:Clod.* 13.3; *SHA:M. Ant.* 15.2-19.2;

SHA:Max. et Balb. 16.6ff; *SHA:Sev.* 17.5-20), though some indicate

carelessness on the author's part (e.g. *SHA:Avid.* 8.2-3; *SHA:Sev. Alex.* 66.1).

A number of *Lives* in the collection are quite short or generalised, and

questions have been raised as to whether these can really be termed

'biography' at all—the answers to which revolve around an issue at the core of

ancient biographical studies. The presence of lacunae throughout the text only

serves to complicate matters further. Nicolaus' *Life of Augustus* presents

contextual issues: the work was composed during Augustus' lifetime, possibly

as early as the late 20's BCE.[15] As a result, it is decidedly favourable towards

its subject—almost, at times, too favourable—and Augustan scholars tend to

utilise the historical narratives instead, presumably in the hope of more

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[13] Duff (1999), 3.

[14] Magie's introduction to the Loeb edition enumerates many of these problems, in

particular textual corruptions or interpolations, and the use of artificially

constructed 'letters' as documentary evidence (e.g. *SHA:Avid.* 1-3; *SHA:Pesc.* 3.1;

see Magie, xviii-xxi; cf. Garraty, 53). Syme regarded the *SHA* as a "nuisance", to

be studied only because it "cannot be evaded" (Syme, 1968: v and 1, respectively).

[15] Bellemore (1984), xxi-xxii; Bowersock (1965), 137. The date was first advanced by

Jacoby and has been largely accepted, as has his theory that Nicolaus made

extensive use of Augustus' autobiography for the composition of his text (see

especially Scardigli, 1983: 14-15). A recent, and persuasive, paper by Mark Toher

offers the much later alternative of post-4 BCE (Toher, 2009: 126-133). I look

forward to the forthcoming publication of Toher's translation and commentary of

Nicolaus.

objective information.[16] Partial fragmentation and errors in the manuscript tradition again complicate the use of the text.[17]

What of Plutarch and Suetonius? The latter has been dismissed with complaints that he was a sensationalist, that he lacked literary style and neglected "matters of high state … for intimate, even trivial, biographical details".[18] These opinions are typically driven by the comparison of the *De vita Caesarum* to other texts, particularly Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*; thus, we find such assessments as "The best criticism of Suetonius' *Divus Julius* is Plutarch's *Caesar*" or "… in comparison with the major writings of his contemporary, Tacitus, Suetonius' work can only be thought second-rate".[19]

However, Suetonius' skill as a biographer has been defended vehemently—albeit infrequently—by those who view these comparisons as

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[16] For example, Nicolaus is not included in the index of Werner Eck's volume on Augustus (Eck, 2003: 159-166), nor does he appear amongst the twelve authorities Phillip Matyszak consulted for his treatment of Augustus (Matyszak, 2006: 76-124).

[17] On the transmission of Nicolaus, see Bellemore, xvi-xxii.

[18] As Wallace-Hadrill (vii) observed in the preface to his reassessment of the biographer. For some of the typical criticisms, see Galand-Hallyn (1991), 3576-3622; Garraty, 49; Syme (1958), 91 and (1980), 111 [=1984: 1258].

[19] Baldwin (1983), 123 and K. R. Bradley (1991), 3701 respectively. This was not Baldwin's only criticism of Suetonius. Elsewhere he spoke of his "idiocy" and the 'hopelessness' of his attention to economic matters (1983: 493), and was doubtful as to whether Suetonius' varied approach towards imperial physiognomy and sexual appetites was to be commended or criticised (1983: 494-495 and n. 36, 501). Baldwin's conclusion was more positive (1983: 516-518), though his criticisms persisted (Baldwin, 1989: 368). Jeffrey Tatum has summarised the general scholarly attitude towards Suetonius neatly in a recent article: "Suetonius is *Not-Tacitus* and he is writing *Not-History*" (Tatum, 2014: 164).

unjustified.[20] As to Plutarch, although there is an abundance of Plutarchan scholarship from the past century alone, very little of it addresses his series of imperial βίοι. There is a valuable commentary on the *Galba* and *Otho* by Douglas Little and Christopher Ehrhardt, but few scholars have attempted to treat the overall series to which these *Lives* belonged.[21] Albrecht Dihle, for instance, acknowledged a "set of Roman Imperial biographies" in his discussion of Plutarch but focussed primarily on the *Parallel Lives*,[22] while Reginald Barrow spoke only of a "life of Augustus, no longer extant", listing the *Galba* and *Otho* as two of "four separate lives".[23] When discussed alongside Plutarch's paired *Lives*, the *Galba* and *Otho* are invariably branded inferior or superficial; Christopher Jones, while noting the importance of the *Caesars* for "an understanding of Plutarch's attitude to Rome", ultimately felt that it was "not the fruit of deep research."[24] It is only recently that the value of Plutarch's imperial βίοι has been reconsidered, with Philip Stadter's review

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[20] See for instance Gascou (1984); Lounsbury (1987); Macé (1900); M. G. Morgan (2004), esp. 305; Steidle (1951); and the authorities enumerated by Wallace-Hadrill (19-20 n. 28, 21-22 n. 32).

[21] Cf. Georgiadou (1988), 349-356. Georgiadou seems to isolate the core of this deficit in her note that "observations and suggestions about the lost *Lives* can only be speculative" (Georgiadou, 1988: 349). While speculation can of course be hazardous, it can also be beneficial, as Philip Stadter's discussions of the imperial *Lives* demonstrate (Stadter, 2005: 419-435 and 2014b, 18). It is a pity that few scholars have been inclined to do so.

[22] Dihle (1994a), 189.

[23] Barrow (1967), 51-53.

[24] Jones (1971), 72-80; cf. Geiger (2014), 292, 296 (quote at 292): "The *Lives of the Caesars* … were completed before the *Parallel Lives*, and neither the concept of a series of biographical rulers divined the originality nor their literary execution the full-blown artistry of the later work."

of the series concluding that the *Lives of the Caesars* was "an impressive work … [requiring] a significant commitment of time" on Plutarch's part.[25]

<u>Perceptions of Biography: Existing Studies and Modern Developments</u>

The comparative lack of scholarship regarding imperial biography, and the continuing negative attitude towards those works which are extant, is due largely to misconceptions surrounding the ancient biographic 'genre'.[26] With the renewal of interest in biographical studies at the end of the nineteenth century, scholars began to construct a set of criteria by which they defined 'true biography', and the sources have subsequently been evaluated according to these principles.[27] While these studies have advanced our understanding of ancient biography and biographers in many respects, the tendency to see early biographical texts as conforming to modern specifications has marred a number of otherwise insightful works. Ivo Bruns, George Misch, and Friedrich Leo were among the first to publish general studies on ancient biography and autobiography. All have been—and are still—recognised as "great names" in the field,[28] and their works provided the foundation for most subsequent scholarship. Yet, as others have noted, there are certain problems in the way these scholars understood and analysed ancient biographic material; problems which, owing to their great influence, have persisted throughout the

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[25] Stadter (2005), 419-421; see further Georgiadou (2014), 251-266; Keitel (1995), 275-276. Rhiannon Ash also reconsidered the value of the two surviving *Lives* from the *Caesars* series, noting that Plutarch "diverged from his usual technique" for a specific—and finely crafted—purpose (Ash, 1997: 191-214, quote at 191).

[26] The concept of genre, and the form and format of ancient biographical texts, are discussed at 32-97 below.

[27] Cf. Baldwin (1979), 100-101.

[28] Momigliano (1993), 10.

twentieth century.[29] Recent studies, notably those by Arnaldo Momigliano and Tomas Hägg, have conducted fresh examinations of the biographic tradition in an attempt to address and overcome these issues.[30] It will be useful at this point to consider briefly the key concepts of past genre theories alongside the more recent emendations in order to better appreciate the limitations one faces when attempting to define exactly what constituted a 'biography' in the ancient world.

Bruns' treatises, *Das literarische Porträt der Griechen im fünften und vierten Jahrhundert vor Christi Geburt* and *Die Persönlichkeit in der Geschichtsschreibung der Alten*, were not specific studies into ancient biography. Rather, Bruns examined the representation and judgement of the individual by ancient writers as a whole, before focussing on their representation by historians in his second volume. As will become apparent below, the practical differences between historical and biographical texts in antiquity were not always so very great, and Bruns raised several issues pertinent to the study of the latter. He felt that a clear dichotomy existed in the way ancient writers portrayed individuals, and identified two types of historians: those whose methods of characterisation he classified as indirect (that is, inferred via textual context, rather than explicitly stated), and those who characterised individuals directly by offering explicit opinions and judgements.[31] Bruns has been censured for his inattention to the origins of biography and autobiography, which were both "well within his chronological

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[29] See especially Geiger (1985), 10-15; Momigliano, 10-16; Hägg, 1-8.

[30] See also Erler and Schorn (2007); the essays that comprise this volume treat a number of issues arising from the overlap in ancient biographical, historical, and memorial compositions.

[31] Bruns (1898), v-viii, 1-2, 15-18, 69-71.

limits" and relevant to his aims.[32] However, his work contains some prudent observations on the processes of ancient characterisation that are of great assistance for determining the reality of a divide between historical and biographical composition.[33]

Misch's *Geschichte der Autobiographie* has been well received on the whole, yet suffers from exactly the problems that have been observed in Bruns' studies—it is simultaneously "too vague in one direction and too precise in another".[34] Misch described the work as a "history of human self-awareness",[35] aimed at "revealing the ways in which the individual's sense of personality has developed". [36] The historical scope was expansive: his evidence dated back as far as the third millennium BCE, and included such material as Egyptian tomb inscriptions and the tabulated deeds of the

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[32] Momigliano, 16-17; see also Stuart (1928), 10. Momigliano summarised Bruns' goal as determining "whether the ancient world knew and appreciated the individual, as the Renaissance … had done", and considered the omission to be "surprising". Elsewhere he acknowledged Bruns' general contribution to the field of biographical studies (Momigliano, 10, 16).

[33] Bruns noted, for instance, that while annalistic historians generally characterised their subjects indirectly, they did make use of direct characterisation on occasion. The outstanding example is Livy's portrait of M. Porcius Cato (Livy 39.40.3-10, and see Bruns, 1898: 49-52), a passage which demonstrates that historical method was still flexible several centuries after the form emerged. The same is likely true of all prose forms, and we should see no bar to biographers and historians utilising the same techniques, sometimes to the same ends, regardless of their separate 'genres'—as noted in the discussion of Velleius Paterculus' biographical interests (see 5 and nn. 7-8 above).

[34] Momigliano (on Bruns), 16.

[35] Misch (1950), 8.

[36] Misch, 3.

Assyrian and Babylonian rulers.[37] John Garraty, who used Misch's work as a foundation for his own, praised this approach; he, too, believed that the antecedents of formal biography lay in these early records.[38] Both were no doubt correct to do so: biographic and autobiographic examples exist from as early as Dynasty VI and continue to be found into Dynasty XXX.[39] However, Misch did not seek a definition for what constituted autobiography in the ancient world. He noted only the word's derivation and the fact that "its main implication is that the person whose life is described is himself the author"[40]— yet elsewhere he spoke of the "restricted place" autobiography held in post-Homeric Greece, implying that it was a recognised (if somewhat specialist) literary form. We should be extremely cautious in adopting this viewpoint. As Misch himself noted, autobiographical elements are fluid and readily adapted to a wide range of forms.[41] Despite the ever-increasing perception of the individual in Archaic Greek literature, formal βίοι—whether of the self or another individual—do not appear to have been as common as other literary forms, and were probably not yet at the stage where a standardised structure had emerged. As such, it is extremely difficult to evaluate autobiography as a discrete branch of literature.

The perils of considering early material according to its 'genre' can be clearly observed in Garraty's response to Misch's study: he believed that the majority of Misch's evidence was actually biographical, noting that the "almost total lack of individuality [of the Egyptian tomb inscriptions] makes it clear

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[37] Misch, 18-45.

[38] Garraty, 31-33.

[39] Gnirs (1996), 191: "Im Gesamt ägyptischer Textarten nimmt die Autobiographie nicht nur als ältestes und kontinuierlichstes Genre (Altes Reich – Römische Zeit)…"; see also Lichtheim (2006), Vols. 1-3.

[40] Misch, 8.

[41] Misch, 4; cf. Momigliano, 95.

that they were actually biographies prepared as part of burial ceremonies".[42] However, the tomb-inscriptions actually contain a great deal of individuality: though they are "preceded by the standard elements of tomb-autobiography— the prayers for offerings and for a good burial, and the catalog of virtues",[43] several provide detail specific to the life of the individual, and are comparable in some respects to later Roman autobiographies. We may see some parallels, for instance, between Augustus' *Res Gestae* and two biographical pieces from Dynasty VI. Weni's pronouncement that "His majesty sent me at the head of this army … I was the one who commanded them … I crossed in ships with these troops" (trans. Lichtheim, Vol. 1: 20) can be favourably compared to Augustus' assessment of his military career:

> [1] *mare pacavi a praedonibus* … [2] *iuravit in mea verba*
> *tota Italia sponte sua et me bel[li], quo vici ad Actium ducem*
> *depoposcit*
> "I freed the sea from pirates … The whole of Italy voluntarily
> took oath of allegiance to me and demanded me as its leader
> in the war in which I was victorious at Actium"
> (*RG.* 25; trans. Shipley, 1924)*.*

Likewise, Harkhuf's record of his achievements is strikingly similar in tone to Augustus':

> "The majesty of Mernere, my lord, sent me … to Yam, to
> open the way to that country. I did it in seven months; I
> brought from it all kinds of beautiful and rare gifts, and was
> praised for it very greatly"
> (trans. Lichtheim, Vol. 1: 25)

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[42] Garraty, 26 and 31; *contra* Misch, 21.

[43] Lichtheim (Vol. 1), 23.

[1] annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi. [2] eo [nomi]ne senatus decretis honorif[i]icis in ordinem suum m[e adlegit

"At the age of nineteen, on my own initiative and at my own expense, I raised an army by means of which I restored liberty to the republic, which had been oppressed by the tyranny of a faction. For which service the senate, with complimentary resolutions, enrolled me in its order"

(*RG.* 1; trans. Shipley, 1924).

Similar examples can be found in the chronologically-arranged autobiography of Amhose, from Dynasty XVIII.[44] Finally, the 'lack of individuality' that Garraty observed may speak to the pictographs' dual function as early *historical* records; as Garraty himself said, "one learns little of Inni [the subject of one inscription], but a great deal about life in the New Kingdom".[45] Thus, we arrive at the crux of the matter: while it cannot be said that every documentation of a life from the ancient world is an example of biography or autobiography, the fact remains that *any* reference to the life of the self or another can be interpreted as 'somewhat biographical'.

Leo attempted to overcome this problem, by specifically mapping the development and presentation of the written biography. *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer litterarischen Form* was widely regarded as the

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[44]   (Lichtheim, Vol. 2: 12-15; cf. especially the opening and closing passages with *RG.* 1, 35). For a fuller treatment of individuality in Egyptian memorial inscriptions, see Kanawati (2003), 4, 16, 151 and 171-173 (in which Kanawati discusses the biography of Weni) and Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (1999), 11-15, 20-51.

[45]   Garraty, 32. On the ambiguous position of Egyptian biographical composition— "zwischen Literatur und Historiographie"—see Gnirs, 191-219.

seminal work on ancient biography for the first half of the twentieth century.[46]

Leo divided ancient biography into what he termed the 'Plutarchean' and 'Suetonian' types, contending that both had initially developed simultaneously before proceeding along separate structural lines, with the former being chronological in format and the latter topical.[47] The distinction has long been subject to scholarly criticism: Duane Reed Stuart condemned Leo's study as "literally restricted";[48] Wolf Steidle felt that Leo had overestimated the formal divisions of ancient genres, while at the same time underestimating the

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[46] See, for example, Ingersoll (1914), 188; K. Müller (1903), 451-452; Fritz (1956), 326-327.

[47] Leo (1901), 315-323. Leo felt that 'Plutarchean' biography had its roots in the fourth century BCE, and stemmed from Aristotle's belief that a statesman's true character could be understood via his deeds; this explained both the chronological format of Plutarch's biographies and his focus on historical deeds (1901: 99-117, 189). The 'Suetonian' type, on the other hand, he believed had derived from an Alexandrian method for recording lives, which in turn owed its origins to the work of post-Aristotelian grammarians (1901: 286-69). As the subjects of these treatises were primarily artists, philosophers, and poets—men of whom few personal details were known—the 'biographies' were shorter, with much of the content revolving around the subject's creative output. Attempts to demonstrate personality were achieved through an analysis of the *oeuvre*, a technique which can be observed in the remains of Suetonius' *De viris illustribus*: Virgil's feelings for the youth Alexander are proven with Corydon's passion for Alexis, *delicias domini* (Virg. *Ecl*. 2.1; cf. Suet. *Virg.* 9), while the nymphs' grief for Daphnis (Virg. *Ecl.* 5.20) is Virgil's grief for his dead brother in another guise (Suet. *Virg.* 14). Cf. Geiger (1985), 20; Hägg, 78; Momigliano, 19, 70-71.

[48] Stuart, 10. Stuart felt that the origins of biography lay "a long time before … the literary historian", in the dirges and threnodies that commemorated the dead (15-16; cf. 6-7, 10). His criticism of Leo seems excessive, given that his own study also focussed primarily on literature from the fifth century BCE and later—earning Momigliano's subsequent disapproval (Momigliano, 21).

impact of Roman developments. [49] Discoveries such as the fragments of Satyrus' *Life of Euripides* also cast doubt over a number of Leo's conclusions. [50] Though most now consider the bipartite division to be flawed, the thesis of simultaneous development still has supporters. Brian McGing and Judith Mossman, following the position of Adolf Weizsäcker, recently concluded that the Plutarchan biographical scheme is not essentially different from the Suetonian. [51] There is some truth in Weizsäcker's argument. Despite Leo's belief that the Suetonian form rejected a chronological structure, many of Suetonius' topical subdivisions show distinct internal chronology, suggesting that *species* was not his sole criterion for the organisation of a *vita* (cf. Suet. *Aug*. 9.1); [52] conversely, not all of Plutarch's *Lives* were ordered chronologically. [53] Furthermore, there are pervasive similarities of structure between the early 'biographical' texts and the more fully-developed works by

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[49] Steidle, 1-12, 111-113. Steidle himself has been criticised for excess positivism towards Suetonius, and while his efforts to rescue Suetonius from scholarly disparagement have not gone unappreciated, he did not further the general understanding of ancient biography or its problems to any great degree. See especially Den Boer (1953), 171; Hopper (1953), 122; Raubitschek (1954), 63; in contrast, Hadas (1952), 183.

[50] Cf. Geiger (1985), 13; Hägg, 68; Polman (1974), 169. Leo addressed the format of Satyrus' βίος shortly after its discovery; at the same time, he laid greater emphasis on the non-chronological elements of Plutarch's *Lives* (Leo, 1960: 378-381). Polman felt that this redress was too limited, and that Leo was ultimately mistaken to see a connection between Plutarch's work and the Peripatetic style of biography (Polman, 170).

[51] McGing and Mossman (2006), xi; *contra* Geiger (1985: 13) and Momigliano (19-20).

[52] Cf. Hurley (2014a), 21-24. A further example of chronology operating within a Suetonian *vita* can be found in Appendix V: Chronological Progression in Suetonius' *Vita Vergili*.

[53] Weizsäcker (1931), 5-10, 34-35, 80-84. See also 56-65 below.

Plutarch and Suetonius.[54] Leo's theory obscures these similarities, while at the same time misrepresenting how much scope for experimentation and improvisation was available to a biographical writer—a concept we might term, for ease of reference, 'genre fluidity'.[55]

Despite the few issues noted here, Leo's study was an excellent and comprehensive foray into ancient biography, and his thesis held for over fifty years before another attempt to seek the origins of formal biography was made. Albrecht Dihle's *Studien zur griechischen Biographie* was quite supportive of Leo's work, with Dihle acknowledging the difficulties that Leo had faced. Dihle himself felt that it was not possible to compile a thorough history of Greek biography, due to the fact that so much material was now lost,[56] but that non-biographical works could provide the key to determining when and how biography first arose. While he agreed that the Peripatos had had a lasting influence on the biographic tradition, he theorised that a great personality would have been needed to inspire formal biography.[57] For Dihle, the most likely figure was Socrates, and a significant amount of his discussion centred on Plato's *Apology*, which he felt was "das erster Werk der

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[54] See 53 (Fig. 1) below.

[55] It should be noted, however, that Leo did recognise the close relationship of biography and history, noting the "biographische Elemente" in Sallust and, similarly, the "historische Elemente" in Tacitus' *Agricola* (Leo, 1901: 232). For the general flaws in *Die griechisch-römische Biographie*, see Duff (1999), 6-7; Geiger (1985), 10; Momigliano, 19-20. The concept of genre fluidity is discussed in greater detail in chapter two, below.

[56] Dihle (1956), 88.

[57] Whereas Stuart (38) had seen it—quite correctly—as a gradual process: "There was no sudden, magical flowering [of biographical production]. Germination was … stimulated by many forces."

griechischen Literatur, das der Deutung eines einzelnen Lebens gilt".[58] The work met with mixed reviews. Some scholars accepted Dihle's proposals without hesitation; others questioned the validity of his 'proof'.[59] Like Leo, Dihle had a tendency to overstate the reality of genre divisions in ancient literature. There are too many common elements to accept, as he did, that Greek audiences perceived early biographical texts as totally distinct from *encomia*, *apologia*, or even *historia*.[60] Dihle also placed the rise of the individual in Greek thought quite late, ca. 400 BCE, despite the fact that writers were beginning to consider the importance of the individual versus the *polis* almost a full century before this.[61] Finally, the case to see Plato as an innovator required that Dihle be quite selective in his consideration of 'rival' pioneers and understate the importance of several texts, including Isocrates' *Evagoras* and Xenophon's *Agesilaus*. While neither are designated βίοι by their authors, both texts are centred firmly on the individual whose life they discuss, and there seems little reason to view them as any less integral to the

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[58] Dihle (1994b), 34.

[59] In support of Dihle, see Chambers (1957), 133; Fritz, 332. Against, see Gossage (1958), 140; Westlake (1957), 118-119.

[60] *Pace* Chambers, 132. His claim that "Biography cannot exist except in an attempt to treat the whole life of a man as a meaningful entity" is certainly valid by modern perceptions of the genre, but cannot be reconciled against the numerous βίοι from antiquity that do not treat the life in full, even after the development of a formal biographical form. Nor does it accord with Dihle's own perception of the *Apology* as a biographical forerunner—a text which Westlake (118) noted was "not biographical in form or in aim".

[61] Cf. Momigliano, 28-33.

development of biographical writing in the fourth century than Plato himself.[62]

Momigliano's *The Development of Greek Biography* was the first overview of the biographic tradition as a whole since Leo's. Utilising evidence that had emerged in the years following Leo's publication, it was intended by its author to shed new light on the ways in which biographical writing may have developed throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Momigliano's review of previous studies was comprehensive, and as a rule, cautious; he noted the problems of genre fluidity and source survival before offering an opinion as to what were "the truest antecedents" of Greek biography. He restricted his analysis to "works whose explicit purpose is to give some account of an individual … anecdotes, collections of sayings, single or collected letters, and apologetic speeches",[63] thereby avoiding the overly inclusive approaches of Bruns and Garraty without adhering to narrower viewpoints such as Leo's and Dihle's.[64] Overall, the work showed remarkable insight into what we should and should not perceive as ancient 'biography', not least because it challenged opinions that had long been accepted as facts.

As Leo's work was considered the defining study on biography in the early twentieth century, so too has Momigliano's been generally accepted as

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[62] The form and influence of the *Evagoras* and *Agesilaus* are discussed at 51-59 below. Westlake (119) and Momigliano (17) also felt that Dihle overstated the primacy of Plato; Momigliano further noted that Plato's *Apology*—while important to the development of the biographic tradition—was still not a "full" biography.

[63] Momigliano, 23.

[64] Geiger (1985: 14-15) criticised Momigliano's approach as too broad. However, his own insistence on defining biography by form as well as content risks overemphasis, or false creation, of genre boundaries; cf. 28 and n. 90 below.

the outstanding example of recent scholarship.[65] Yet dissenting voices may be found. One that deserves particular mention is Joseph Geiger's. His treatise, *Cornelius Nepos and Political Biography*, sought to isolate the point at which 'political biography'—as distinct from what he termed 'literary' or 'intellectual biography', the various *Lives* of artists, playwrights, and poets—emerged as a genre in its own right. It was Geiger's opinion that this γένος did not develop amidst the flurry of Hellenistic literature as had been previously assumed, but was instigated by Nepos in the first century BCE.[66] The dangers in dividing or subdividing ancient literature into discrete genres have already been acknowledged; however, as this is surely the branch of biographical writing from which imperial biography would have grown, it is a concept that merits some consideration. The degree to which form and content might be predetermined, and the willingness of an author to experiment or deviate from an accepted norm, are both affected by how long a form has existed and how standardised it has become. If Geiger was correct in seeing Nepos as the first 'true' biographer of statesmen, there are substantial implications for how we should interpret the later *Lives* and *vitae* of Plutarch and Suetonius.

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[65] The most recent overview of the biographic tradition is Tomas Hägg's *The Art of Biography in Antiquity*, which has much to recommend it. Hägg (xi) admitted to being uninterested in "delimiting genre or distinguishing sub-genre", noting correctly that such preconceptions cause more hindrance than help to the modern scholar. His focus was intentionally weighted towards the extant biographical texts, rendering the majority of the study a literary analysis. Proceeding chronologically, Hägg examined biographical elements in the surviving texts from Xenophon to Suetonius, interpreting how each might have contributed to the development of a formal biographic genre. The result is a clear, methodical analysis, in which the techniques used by ancient writers, and the gradual progression from personality sketches to full biographical portraits, are easily observed.

[66] Geiger (1985), 44-53; cf. Geiger (2014), 293.

Nepos' *De viris illustribus* survives in only a very limited percentage of its original form, and is generally considered to be a poor example of biographical writing.[67] Geiger's study marked one of the first attempts to treat it as a valuable contribution to, and influence on, the ancient biographic tradition. He drew attention to the extremely close relationship between historiography, political monographs, and encomia, and suggested that this *genus proximum* was precisely the reason that political biographies were so late to develop—because a medium already existed for documenting the deeds and characters of political figures.[68] Proof of this could be found in the dedicatory passages of Nepos' work: Geiger noted that the apology (Nep. *Praef.* 1-3) signified "the departure in subject matter from … previous books", and was only necessary because Nepos was writing contrary to established tradition. He felt that the *summi viri* whose lives Nepos documented were not the sort of men usually found in a work *de viris illustribus*; they were statesmen and deserved the appropriate "senatorial *gravitas*".[69] Thus, Nepos was obliged to defend his inclusions of such improper anecdotes as *quis musicam docuerit Epaminondam* (Nep. *Praef.* 1; cf. Nep. *Epam.* 1)—although *musica* was numbered among the standard inclusions in an intellectual biography, they would not have been included in the histories or monographs which dealt with political figures prior to Nepos' 'innovation'. [70]

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[67] For a comprehensive treatment of existing scholarship, see Pryzwansky (2009), 97-100. There were at least sixteen books in the original work: Charisius (*Ars* 179) reads *XV* with a lacuna following. If every book was paired—as Nepos' own text suggests (Nep. *Dion* 3; *Han.* 13; *Reg.* 1)—the notation must have been *XVI or XVIII*. With the exception of two *vitae*, the *Cato* and *Atticus*, the book on Greek generals is all that now survives.

[68] Geiger (1985), 16.

[69] Geiger (1985), 66-68, 113.

[70] Geiger (1985), 22, 113.

Geiger's arguments have some merit, yet do not seem wholly tenable when subjected to close scrutiny. The proposal that Nepos invented political biography required that no evidence be found for biographical treatments of statesmen prior to the Republican era, and in his review of Hellenistic biography, Geiger concluded that all *definite* biographical fragments concerned 'intellectual' figures. There are two main problems at hand: the first, source survival; the second, source selectivity. Examining the works of even a single author shows clearly that only a small percentage of Hellenistic literature has survived. Aristoxenus, one of the most prolific writers of the period, is credited with 453 books (*Suda* A3927). Of these, only 139 fragments survive, many of which are little longer than a sentence—hardly a representative sample of his work. The 'argument from silence' is no argument at all when so little material is extant. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that political βίοι existed as early as the third century BCE. Hermippus wrote a series entitled *Lives of Lawgivers*, which was later epitomised by Heracleides Lembus (*P. Oxy* 1367). [71] Athenaeus makes reference to two works by Satyrus, a *Life of Philippus* (Ath. 248c, 557c) and *Life of Dionysius* (Ath. 541c). Aulus Licinius Archias, a Nepotian contemporary (ca. 120-61 BCE), appears to have composed *res gestae* in verse form (Cic. *Arch.* 28).[72] Additionally, there are several attested autobiographies from the Republican era, including those by M. Aemilius Scaurus (163-89 BCE), P.

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[71] Both Aristoxenus and Hermippus are treated below; see the discussion at 63-70 and 75-77 respectively.

[72] Cicero refers to two additional works by Archias in a letter to Atticus, one on the Luculli and another on the Caecillii Metelli (Cic. *Att*. 1.16). Although he labels them only as *poema*, the complaint that *Archias nihil de me scripsit* must reference the composition which Archias is said to have begun, on the events of Cicero's consulship (cf. Cic. *Arch*. 28). This suggests that his poems for the Luculli and Metelli also functioned as a commemoration of deeds.

Rutilius Rufus (ca. 158-78 BCE), Q. Lutatius Catulus (149-87 BCE), L. Cornelius Sulla (138-78 BCE) and M. Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE).[73] Geiger dismissed many of these items as irrelevant; Hermippus' *Lawgivers* were deemed to be "non-political lives",[74] a concept which is hard to reconcile when writers such as Plutarch place them squarely within the political realm. His belief that the Republican autobiographies should be viewed as "a special case of the historical monograph"[75] rather than as biographical works is also troubling—particularly as Geiger himself had noted the high degree of overlap between these two forms.[76] He admitted to having no explanation for Satyrus'

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[73] The extant fragments were compiled most recently by Peter Scholz and Uwe Walter; in addition to the writers listed above, they add C. Sempronius Gracchus and Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, both preceding Scaurus, and M. Terentius Varro, following Cicero. See Scholz and Walter (2013), esp. 38-48, 169-173, and further, Marasco (2011).

[74] Geiger (1985), 43. Christopher Tuplin did likewise; he also eliminated monarchs and orators, thereby creating an even narrower 'genre' to allow Geiger's thesis to stand. In doing so, he precluded many obvious political biographies from being recognised as such. See Tuplin (2000), 126-132, and further, Stem (2012), 102.

[75] Geiger (1985), 80; contrast Scholz and Walter (22). It is interesting to note Geiger's view elsewhere that Thrasea Paetus' work on Cato "was clearly … a full-fledged biography" and that Paetus' use of Munatius Rufus' memoirs proved the "biographical" nature of his text (Geiger, 1979: 71).

[76] Geiger (1985), 16; see also Engels (1993), 21-22; H. I. Flower (2014); Stem, 103 n. 32. Geiger also dismissed the biographies of Julius Caesar and P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus by C. Oppius. The former he felt belonged "to the genre of *Memorabilia*"— a form which we should be incredibly wary of considering as a distinct 'genre'—and was in any case composed after Caesar's death, making the "priority of Oppius … by no means secure" (Geiger, 1985: 84). Townend, on the other hand, held that Oppius' work was biographical, and argued that it anticipated Suetonius in using the *per species* format; Townend (1987), 325-342. For Oppius, see 81 n. 214 below.

Dionysius and *Alcibiades*, but still did not feel that the works constituted βίοι, suggesting instead that they may have been examples of *problemata* literature or that the 'titles' were given by Athenaeus as descriptions of the works' contents.[77] These suggestions seem to be a way of avoiding the more likely scenario: that political biographies did indeed exist before Nepos composed his series of *vitae*. Whether the writers or audiences of these works formally distinguished between 'intellectual' and 'political' βίοι is another matter; the use of common techniques, and the permitted fluidity of composition and content, suggests that they probably did not. This, however, is not sufficient reason to believe the form non-existent.

Regarding Nepos himself, Geiger's arguments are equally problematic. The 'apology' in Nepos' preface, proposed to be an indication of uniqueness, actually conforms to a standard convention of historical and biographic texts; similar passages can be found as early as Thucydides (Thuc. 1.1) and continue throughout the Hellenistic and Republican eras (e.g. Polyb. 1.1-6; Diod. 3.1-8; D.H. 1.1-2, 2.1; and, most famously, Plut. *Alex.* 1.1-3).[78] The suggestion that dance, song, and other pleasurable past-times did not feature in the biographies of political persons seems odd, given that several fragments of politically-focussed Lives were preserved in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, a work whose primary concern was the *symposia* and leisure activity. Nepos' own statement, that only those unacquainted with Greek literature would find his work 'improper', further suggests that there was an existing tradition of political βίοι—and, moreover, that these topics were

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[77] Geiger (1985), 42.

[78] Cf. Stuart, 1-3: "motivation and apology … remain conventional features of [the biographical] technique".

indeed documented.[79] Furthermore, there is no reason to assume that Nepos'
minor literary innovations—enumerated by Geiger as universal history,
exempla literature, and comparative biography—naturally led to him
pioneering a new form.[80] Geiger stressed the importance of Nepos' *Chronica*,
praised by Catullus as *doctis … et laboriosis* (Cat. 1.7). The sincerity of
Catullus' compliment to Nepos has been debated at length;[81] his assignation
of primacy to Nepos' undertaking has not. Yet even if the *Chronica* was the
first Latin work to employ relative chronology (that is, the simultaneous
history of multiple cultures), the form itself was not new.[82] Likewise the

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[79] Cf. Moles (1989), 232: "… this passage presupposes not the non-existence of
Hellenistic political biography, but its pre-existence."

[80] *Pace* Stem, vii. Following Geiger, Stem argued that Nepos had pioneered a new
form, that of "serial political biography". Although he felt that this was a more
limited innovation than Geiger had proposed, he continued to term it a "genre" and
viewed it as distinct from "Hellenistic biographies of intellectual and literary figures
in serial form" (Stem, 96). The separation once again seems excessive and
arbitrary, particularly given Stem's acknowledgement that Geiger had made an
"unrealistic assumption of sharp generic boundaries" (Stem, viii; cf. 103-106).

[81] That the compliment was genuine, see Fordyce (1961), 83; Singleton (1972), 193-
194; Wiseman (1979), esp. 160-171; Woodman (2003), 192-196. That it was
forced or ironic, see Copley (1951), 204-205; Elder (1966), 144; Gibson (1995),
569-573. These opinions were recently synthesised by Stem (3-12), who believed
that Catullus' dedication was sincere (10-12). If indeed it is, it may represent the
shared literary interests of the two Transpadanes, and the fact that the aims of
poetry and history were not always disparate. Cf. Green (2005), 212; Tatum
(1997), 485; Wiseman (1979), 143-153, 157-159, 182.

[82] *Pace* Stem, 97. The note that Catullus stressed Nepos' work to be "the first of its
kind" seems to misinterpret his text. The *unus* of line five designates Nepos as the
first writer of a universal history in Latin—or perhaps only the first *Italian* writer of
one (cf. Virg. *Aen*. 8.628 for the separation of Roman peoples from Latin; I am

Exempla: Nepos may have been the first to organise these into a homogenous collection, but moral lessons had long been incorporated into literature and rhetoric, and were no doubt a concept familiar to Nepos' readers.[83] What Geiger and Stem termed innovation is in fact adaptation—and Geiger himself noted that it was difficult to assess the extent to which Nepos had altered Greek forms to suit his Roman audience.[84] It is more difficult still to determine Nepos' contribution to 'comparative' biographical literature. Varro's *Imagines*, a series of short biographical portraits of Greek and Roman figures, was published in 39 BCE but may have been underway by 44 BCE or earlier.[85] The only dates that can be assigned to Nepos' *De viris illustribus* place the composition of Books 13 and 14 in the years between 35 and 32 BCE. Momigliano and Hägg felt that Nepos' work had been influenced by Varro's; Geiger and Stem suggested that the reverse was equally likely—though their arguments naturally built upon the idea that the *Chronica* and *Exempla* represented a Nepotian innovation.[86]

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particularly grateful to Terry Ryan for his input regarding this interpretation). Woodman (2003: 193) saw the attribution as a mark of Nepos' "intellectual daring" (*contra* Copley's "dull and pedantic scholar"; Woodman, 2003: 193 n. 6), as did Tatum, who shared Wiseman's view that "the intrusion of a municipal author" into Roman historiography was remarkable (Tatum, 1997: 485; cf. Wiseman, 1987: 248-252). See further Geiger (1985), 66; Fordyce, 85; Horsfall (1989), xvii.

[83] On Nepos' primacy, see Geiger (1985), 73; Horsfall, xvii-xviii; Stem, 97. On Roman *exempla*, see especially Gowing (2009), 333-334.

[84] Geiger (1985), 74-75.

[85] Cicero refers to Varro's *peplographia* (Cic. *Att*. 16.11.3), which Marie Ledentu (after Della Corte) identified as the *Imagines*. The term refers to the *Peplos* attributed to Aristotle, "qui rassemblait des épigrammes sur les chefs grecs ayant assiégé Troie" and which Varro is thought to have imitated. See Ledentu (2004), 222 n. 82.

[86] Geiger (1985), 81-82; Hägg, 189; Momigliano, 97; Stem, 97-98, 109-113.

We should not dispute that Nepos contributed to the development of biographical literature at Rome. He lived at a time when writers were consciously attempting to bring Latin literature "up to par" with its Greek counterparts,[87] and as Momigliano observed, "Plutarch [is] unthinkable without Cornelius Nepos".[88] Yet this observation, although it has been used to advance the case for seeing Nepos as a biographical innovator, also demonstrates how limited his contribution to the field could have been. The examples offered as evidence of his innovation each show the adaptation of an existing Greek form. This is no criticism; the greatest works of Latin literature were also composed in accordance with existing literary traditions. It does, however, suggest that Nepos' biographies represent the introduction of Roman audiences to an existing branch of Greek literature, rather than the creation of an entirely new form.[89] Additionally, it has been noted that at least one of Nepos' biographies—the *Life of Atticus*—is apolitical, and that, rather than prove his point, Geiger's overly-refined definitions created a false sense of Nepotian originality.[90] His conclusion that there was at best a very small probability of Hellenistic political biography existing prior to Nepos should thus be treated with caution. 'Political biography', like the other biographical sub-branches recognised in modern scholarship, is more likely to have developed

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[87] Geiger (1985), 68-9, 72; cf. Horsfall, xvii-xviii, 117.

[88] Momigliano, 98.

[89] Cf. Moles (1989), 231-232.

[90] Horsfall, 10; see also Hägg, 191. To use Horsfall's example, Geiger (1985: 79) defined Voltacilius Pitholaus' writings as "monographical works centred round the personality of his patrons". Horsfall (11) agreed that we should see a distinction between "historical monographs concerned with the deeds of a single personality" and "[biographies] of political men", but rightly questioned Geiger's fastidiousness on where this line should be drawn. Momigliano (95) and Baldwin (1979: 101-102) accepted without question that Voltacilius' works were biographies.

gradually—alongside histories, encomia, and political monographs—than to have emerged from the pen of a single author. This does not preclude originality or experimentation, whether by Nepos or the biographical writers who followed, nor does it necessarily mean that the biographical form was fixed, even by the comparatively late dates that Plutarch and Suetonius wrote. It simply indicates that some expectations regarding the form will have developed, and that Greek and Roman readers will therefore have had certain preconceptions of what would be included in a βίος or *vita*. The question we must therefore answer is to what extent these expectations accord with our own.

CHAPTER TWO

Historicism and the Biographic Form

The recurring issue of most studies to date is the difficulty one faces when attempting to define what constituted a 'biography' in the ancient world. Scholars have typically analysed the extant biographical material with a view to defining the ancient 'genre' and demonstrating how this developed from, or alongside, other quasi-biographical forms of literature. The problems that inevitably arise from such an approach revolve around the concept of historicism, a factor that is crucial to this study—and indeed, the study of any ancient text. Although it is generally perceived as the "essence of the historical method",[91] an exact definition for historicism has been debated at length without much resolution. Alun Munslow described it as the act of perceiving historical periods on "their own terms rather than any imposed by the historian";[92] David Macey elaborated, defining it as "the belief ... that historical phenomena are situated and defined by their specific context and are therefore to be explained in terms of the contingent factors that gave rise to them."[93] In other words, if the study of a text is to yield valuable results, the content, structure and purpose of that text *must* be understood in the

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[91] Munslow (2000), 130; see further Popper (1960), esp. 1-12 on the general methodology of historicism.

[92] Munslow, 130.

[93] Macey (2002), 184.

context of its author and intended audience.[94] Barbara Scardigli touched on this issue in her volume on Plutarch, noting that Plutarch's choice of structure and methods of composition for the *Parallel Lives* could not be truly understood unless fuller attention was paid to the traditions of ancient historiography and biography.[95] The same is also true of Suetonius: rather than weighing the value of the *De vita Caesarum* by modern biographical standards, or even by comparison to Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, the series must be evaluated as a product of its author's cultural and social environs.[96]

In many ways, the search for a definition of ancient 'biography' is doomed to fail. The act of definition presupposes a 'true' biographic form, yet a distinct genre theory did not exist at the outset of the written biography—as with all literary genres, the theory developed around the sources, and as a result of them.[97] Our ancient authors were neither so rigorous nor so strict as many of those who have evaluated their work. Moreover, the ancient 'genres' frequently overlapped one another, as noted above—quite often to a substantial degree.[98] There is no doubt that there *were* generally accepted

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[94] To borrow from Lia Formigari's contemplation of the idea of a Chain of Being, historicism, "like all ideas developed through a process of elaboration lasting centuries, can be defined only by retracing its historical development in all its varied and often contradictory complexity" (Formigari, 1968: 325). Limitations of space unfortunately preclude an exercise of that nature here; the following chapter focuses primarily on texts and their contexts from the fifth century BCE to second century CE.

[95] Scardigli (1995), 1. See also Dench (2009), 399-405 on the need for historical texts to be viewed in context, rather than exploited as a purely 'factual' source, and Marincola (2009), 11-23 on the general reception of historiographic texts.

[96] T. J. Power (2014a), 2-3.

[97] So Geiger (1985), 12-14; Hägg, 68; Russell (1981), 148-149; Whitmarsh, 307.

[98] See further Cooper (2002), 309-310; Garraty, 1; Hägg, 1-3; Pelling (2011a), 13-15; T. J. Power (2014a), 12-14.

boundaries for the various literary disciplines; Aristotle enumerates several poetic classes, which he clearly viewed as separate entities, in his *Poetics* (Aristot. *Poet.* 1447a). A boundary, however, does not necessarily equate to a definition, and applying this type of genre theory to prose literature is fraught with difficulty. Aristotle's treatise relates directly to poetic and dramatic forms, both of which had restrictions of language and metre that prose did not (cf. Aristot*. Rhet.* 1404a). Furthermore, the *Poetics* was composed long after the forms it discussed had developed; the earliest surviving poetic texts pre-date Aristotle by up to five centuries, and these compositions relied on forms that had emerged even earlier still.

It is both unreasonable and misleading to expect that concrete literary theories existed for the biographic form in the early stages of its development. [99] The most widely-accepted date for the emergence of biographical literature in the ancient world is the fifth century BCE, though it was suggested that the form was not prominent until the fourth century and did not become "a precise notion" until the third century. [100] If theoretical discussions of prose literature had taken a similar length of time to develop as those of their poetic counterparts, we might expect generic definitions for prose works to appear around the first centuries BCE and CE—and indeed, instances of prose theory and criticism were published during this time. Cicero, for example, separates the art of oratory from four other schools of writing:

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[99] Cf. Farrar (1988), esp. 1-3. Farrar set out to examine the reality of a democratic political theory in fifth-century Athenian thought—a theory which she noted scholars had denied or ignored, "[o]n the assumption that political theory must be abstract". She believed that such denial was governed primarily by modern beliefs on how genre theory should operate and felt that, in its early stages at least, Greek thought—and its resulting literature—was substantially more fluid than is typically allowed.

[100] Momigliano, 12, 38, 43.

philosophy, sophistry, history, and poetry (Cic. *Orat.* 19-20). Explicit discussions of prose theory, however, tend to be few and far between. Donald Russell, in his extensive study of ancient literary criticism, found little development in either this field or that of genre theory between the fourth century BCE and third century CE[101]—significantly later than most of the sources used to elucidate the ancient biographic tradition. The implications of these findings are manifold. Necessity dictates that certain aspects of biographical writing were probably standardised reasonably early but biography was, quite simply, not a rigidly defined γένος in the Classical or Hellenistic ages. It may not even have been so by the time Plutarch and Suetonius wrote.[102]

The absence of a defining theory for biographical literature raises a particularly important question: how did the writers of such texts intend them to function? βιογραφία and βίοι were not interchangeable concepts in antiquity. The primary, and most straight-forward, meaning of βίος is 'life', in the sense of the course of a life, one's manner of living, or the means of one's livelihood. This is perhaps all that the earliest βίοι documented. βιογραφία is literally "the art of writing the manner of life" (βίος+γράφη), and is not attested as a description for written Lives until the ninth century CE.[103] The distinction may seem overly semantic, but there is a very practical difference between

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[101] Russell (1981), 169.

[102] So T. J. Power (2014a), 1: "the word 'biographer' … implies that readers had stable expectations for the genre of biography in Suetonius' day, which they did not."

[103] Geiger (1985), 11, 13; Momigliano, 12. The word is not attested until the fifth century CE, where Damascius uses it to describe the tenor of his *Vitae Isidore reliquiae* (Damasc. Fr. 6A Athanassiadi [=Fr. E8 Zintzen]). Damascius survives largely due to the epitome made by Photius in the ninth century CE; see Athanassiadi (1999), 19, 60-62, 64-69.

composing a βίος and practising the art of βιογραφία; the latter, like any art-form, implies a certain amount of stylistic nuance and authorial agenda.[104] While some of our extant material is admittedly closer to βιογραφία than βίοι, it cannot—and should not—be assumed that the two were identical.

The exact purpose of individual βίοι is often revealed in authorial prefaces. Their more general function may be surmised from their reception throughout antiquity. For an evolving literary form, audience expectations must either be naturally broad, with minimal restrictions placed on structure and content, or must constantly alter to accommodate each new development. As we have already established that no concrete theory for biographical writing existed until at least the first century BCE, a flexible reception seems far more probable. The modern reader demands that certain details appear for a work to be considered 'biographical': birth and ancestry; the progression from childhood to adulthood; discussion of the career or field of expertise; relationships with others; personal strengths and weaknesses; and the details of death where applicable.[105] The extant sources for ancient biographical writing suggest that their immediate audiences had rather different expectations. Several of the topic areas listed above recur throughout our βίοι (and pseudo-biographical texts), but exactly how many of these, if any, *needed* to be included in a work to meet the ancients' perception of a βίος is a matter of some debate. Plutarch's apology at the beginning of the *Alexander* implies that authors were free to include whatever material they deemed necessary to portray the character of their subject and excise the remainder (Plut. *Alex.* 1.3). Conversely, Polybius' treatments of Philopoemen suggest

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[104] Cf. Hägg, x: "the *art* of biography ... has attracted less attention than it merits"; and T. J. Power (2014a), 4: "The question of what ancient biography is *not* has received ample space; less attention has been paid to the features that define it".

[105] Cf. Geiger (2014), 300.

that certain topic areas were expected, and that even ἱστορίαι required such details as ancestry, education, and the tabulation of deeds if the reader were to derive benefit from the work (Polyb. 10.21.4-7). It is true that Polybius refers to his treatise on Philopoemen as an ἐγκώμιον rather than a βίος, though his emphasis of this term is primarily to highlight the restrictions of annalistic composition. [106] Unlike his earlier registration of Philopoemen's deeds, he must here give a 'truthful', unbiased report (Polyb. 10.21.8). Standardised length, another defining factor in the modern definition of biography, is also questionable. Most scholars have cited Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* as the outstanding example of the prose biography,[107] but there is a substantial amount of variance in the extant texts—including amongst individual Plutarchan *Lives*. Accepted fluidity of form would allow for these variances. It would also go some way to explaining the seemingly contradictory authorial statements regarding the purpose of the biographical 'genre'.

Plutarch distinguishes between his βίοι and ἱστορία on more than one occasion. The most notable instance, and one which has been taken as the "clearest statement of Plutarch's aims",[108] is found in the opening of the *Alexander*:

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[106] The point is not that the three-book volume was an encomium, but that authors of encomia—and of biographic texts in general—were able to summarise or elaborate upon their subjects' personal achievements in order to praise or criticise elements of their character. In this, encomia are scarcely different to βίοι; cf. Hägg, 96.

[107] See, for instance, Baldwin (1983), 82, 123; Garraty, 43, 49-50; Gossage (1967), 45; Momigliano, 5; Stuart, 64.

[108] Hamilton (1969), xxxviii. Interestingly, another significant registration of the difference between ἱστορία and βίοι is given in the *Galba* (Plut. *Galb.* 2.3)—a *Life* that, as noted above, is generally held in quite low regard.

οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι πάντως ἔνεστι δήλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ παιδιά τις ἔμφασιν ἤθους ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόνεκροι καὶ παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων … (Plut. *Alex.* 1.2)

"For it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives; and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of virtue or vice, nay, a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall …" (trans. Perrin, 1919)

Hamilton felt that Plutarch stated his case plainly: he was a biographer, not an historian. And even 'biographer' is qualified further; Plutarch "was not a biographer in the fullest sense, but an essayist; his *Parallel Lives* are moral essays". Ultimately, "facts which would be relevant to history [did] not concern him".[109] Yet Plutarch speaks freely of researching and writing *history* on several occasions (e.g. Plut. *Cim.* 2.5; *Fab.* 1.1; *Thes.* 1.4-5), and despite his repeated protestations that the *Lives* differed from ἱστορία, he frequently recounts large sections of historical narrative—particularly the μάχαι that he,

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[109] Hamilton, xxxviii; cf. Georgiadou (2014), 257. Hamilton here quoted Arnold Gomme, who felt that Plutarch could not be termed a biographer, as his aim was "not to describe a man's career, still less to give him his place in history … He was primarily an essayist whose principal interest was character and moral conduct" (Gomme, 1945: 54-55). Plutarch's own stance on the matter is given at *Nic.* 1 (which Hamilton also adduces; xxxviii): he entreats his readers not to expect the sort of narrative history composed by Thucydides and Timaeus, for his purpose is to examine only those deeds which evidence Nicias' character (Plut. *Nic.* 1.5).

and Hamilton, deemed unnecessary for βίοι.[110] Timothy Duff, when discussing the programmatic statements of Plutarch's *Lives*, observed that ἱστορία "could be used in a general sense to mean any kind of narrative"; his examples included a number of texts that were variously referred to in antiquity as histories, encomia, affairs, or lives.[111] It seems clear, then, that both author and audience understood that βίοι could function as 'history'—and that history could likewise be biographical.[112] If there were elements specific to the biographic 'genre'—and we should continue to use that word with the loosest possible definition in mind—they were almost certainly not as rigorously demanded as those that form a modern biography.[113]

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[110] E.g. Plut. *Alex.* 15.1-17.8; *Caes.* 20.1-22.5, 42.1-46.2; *Luc.* 7.1-9.5, 12.1-19.7, 24.1-28.6; *Sulla* 12.1-14.6, 16.1-21.4, 27.1-30.3; cf. Hamilton, xxxviii n. 2.

[111] Duff (1999), 17, and see also 17 n. 13, 18-20. The defining criterion of ἱστορία, according to Plutarch, was the narration of great and noble deeds for the reader (Plut. *Non Posse* 1093b, with explicit reference to Herodotus; cf. Duff, 1999: 19)—a purpose shared by his own βίοι. For Plutarch as an 'historian', see Badian (2003), 26-27, 44; Dihle (1994a), 190; Kaessar (2004), 362; Pelling (1990a), 21, 25-26.

[112] Cf. Momigliano's remarks on Theopompus' *Philippica*, 62-63, and the discussion of Velleius Paterculus above (4-5 and nn. 7-8). Cooper, on the other hand, theorised that Plutarch's distinction between βίοι and ἱστορίαι indicated "that an ancient audience knew a category of historiography called *Lives* which had its own features that made it recognizable to them" (Cooper, 312). On 'generic expectations' and their fluidity, see also Pelling (2007), 80; Schorn (2012), 187.

[113] So Pelling (2011a: 13): "By the time of Plutarch we can at least assume that 'life-writing' was a familiar concept … but that does not mean that there was anything like a firm expectation of exactly what the genre might contain."

Reconciling and Redefining Ancient Biography

"Alle Versuche in diesem Bereich müssen als moderne Definitionen bewertet werden, und es bleibt somit bis heute eine Grundfrage … ob und in wieweit die antike bzw. altgriechische 'Biographie' überhaupt als eine klar umrissen Gattung definiert werden kann."[114] This recent observation by Guido Schepens highlights the most critical, and persistent, issue of ancient biographical studies. As noted above, prose genre divisions in antiquity were probably more fluid than many past studies have allowed. To judge the extant biographical material by modern expectations does a great disservice to both the content of the work and the aims of its author. Moreover, there is a considerable risk of mistaken assumptions regarding the structure and content of such works; we can consider as an example the dialogue form of Satyrus' *Life of Euripides* (*P. Oxy.* IX.1176). Prior to its discovery, βίοι were accepted without question to be prose compositions, yet there are several examples of Lives in dialogue format from late antiquity.[115] Satyrus may well have been an exception to the rule at the time he wrote, but with so little surviving material, we simply cannot accept the prose format as a given.

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[114] "All attempts in this area [i.e., defining biography] must be seen as modern definitions, and therefore, the fundamental question to the present day … [is] whether and to what extent, if at all, ancient—that is ancient Greek—'biography' can be defined as a clearly delineated genre" (Schepens, 2007: 340; the translation is my own).

[115] Three examples of hagiography in dialogue form are extant: the *Dialogus de Vita S. Chrysostomi* (ca. 408 CE) by Palladius Helenopolitanus, the *Dialogorum Libri Tres* (ca. 404 CE) by Sulpicius Severus, incorporating a Life of St. Martin of Tours, and the *Dialogorum Libri Quattuor* (ca. 593 CE) by Gregorius Magnus, the second book of which contains the Life of St. Benedict of Nursia. On these, see especially Coleman-Norton (1926), 388-395 and further, Momigliano (1993), 80; Stuart, 180.

To apply fully the principles of historicism, it is necessary to evaluate—as best as we are able—texts that we would regard as 'biographical' in the same manner as their original audiences would have. [116] Authorial consideration of the reader could affect both the content and the structure of literary compositions. Plutarch himself demonstrates the significance of the reader in relation to the text. In the *Demetrius* he claims to have only introduced examples of 'bad' behaviour or character into his *Lives* to further impel his readers to emulate the 'good' (Plut. *Demetr.* 1.5), while in the *Pericles* he explains that the soul is naturally "possessed of a great fondness for learning and fondness for seeing" (Plut. *Per.* 1.2; trans. Perrin, 1916), and that the study of virtuous deeds inspires in the reader a desire for imitation (*Per.* 1.4; cf. *Per.* 2.1-4). Plutarch's wish to be 'useful' for his readers is also expressed in the *Theseus* (*Thes*. 1.3), the *Nicias* (*Nic*. 1.1, 1.4-5), and the *Aemilius Paulus* (*Aem. Paul.* 1.1). [117] The general perception of a βίος by readers in the first century CE will therefore have had a hand in shaping Plutarch's biographies—at least to a certain extent.[118] Though Suetonius never makes a programmatic statement comparable to Plutarch's, his *vitae* also must have been influenced in part by the expectations of his readers. And just as our ancient writers were influenced by those who preceded them, so too will their audiences' expectations have been informed by those of previous

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[116] The concept lies at the heart of philosophical hermeneutics, and while there is insufficient space here to elaborate upon the developments of this branch of study within the last century, it is worth noting the important work by Hans-Georg Gadamer on the theories of objective and subjective communication. See especially Gadamer (1975), 153-341, 460-498.

[117] This passage is given as the opening of the *Life of Timoleon* in the Loeb edition; that it was displaced from the *Aemilius*, see Duff (2011), 30 n. 50.

[118] On the impact of the audience, see especially Momigliano, 56-57; Pearson (1954), 139-140.

generations. In order to judge effectively the reception of first-century βίοι, we must take into account the ways in which biographical works—and particularly those which were concerned with political figures—were constructed and received throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

An exhaustive re-examination of the extant material is not necessary; this has been done recently, and thoroughly, by Hägg.[119] However, an additional examination of key sources, with a particular eye to their reception, is quite useful for understanding how first-century βίοι and *vitae* followed the patterns of "pre-existing literary traditions".[120] Considering those works which are generally identified as the primary influences on the biographic tradition, it soon emerges that the ancient biographical form was both fixed *and* fluid. A basic framework is found very early in the literature's development and remains largely unchanged throughout the Classical and Hellenistic ages. At the same time, there are numerous instances of experimentation, including variances in length, focal area, and tone, and even in who might be deemed a suitable biographical subject. It is vital to recognise at this point that standardisation and experimentation are not mutually exclusive elements; the biographical 'skeleton' represents only the *minimum* expectation that authors and audiences would attach to βίοι, in accordance with Polybius' statement regarding necessary topics (Polyb. 10.21.5-8). This in no way prohibits or discourages an author from altering the structure or comprehensiveness of their text—which is exactly what Plutarch implies in the opening of the *Alexander*, and precisely the reason why a series of βίοι by a single author can vary so wildly from one another in appearance.

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[119] Hägg treated a range of biographical material from the fourth century BCE to the third CE, with the specific intention of demonstrating the constants of "structure, literary topoi, rhetorical schemes, [and] means of characterization" (Hägg, x).

[120] Scardigli (1995), 1.

The beginnings of biographical literature, inasmuch as we are aware of them, can be covered fairly quickly. The generally accepted opinion is that biographical compositions started to appear during the fifth century BCE, with possible roots in the sixth century. Skylax of Caryanda (late sixth/early fifth century BCE), Ion of Chios (ca. 490-420 BCE), and Stesimbrotus of Thasos (ca. 470-420 BCE) are generally posited as biographical pioneers,[121] though some scholars have challenged the idea that these men composed anything biographical. Dihle especially felt that the forerunners of literary biography did not appear until at least the fourth century BCE.[122] This seems rather unlikely. The Greek interest in individual character appears extremely early in the literary tradition. Themes of individuality are present in the *Iliad*,[123] and the *Odyssey* combines elements of biography and autobiography within its narrative.[124] Individualism also features extensively in poetry from the seventh and sixth centuries BCE: Solon used elegy as a vehicle for defending his constitutional reforms (e.g. Aristot. *Ath. Pol*. 12.1-5 [=Sol. Frgs. 5-6, 34, 36-37 West]; Plut. *Sol.* 14.8 [=Sol. fr. 32 West]), while Alcaeus wrote of personal hardship in war and exile (e.g. fr. 70 Campbell [=*P. Oxy.* 1234 fr. 2, 1-13]; fr. 73 Campbell [=*P. Oxy.* 1234 fr.3]; fr. 130B Campbell [=*P. Oxy*. 2165 fr. 1]). The three centuries between these poets and our first attested 'biographers' seems a more than plausible length of time for the Greek

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[121] See especially Garraty, 36; Hägg, 14-15; Leo (1901), 92; Momigliano, 29-30.

[122] Dihle (1994b), 9-12, 35-56.

[123] Chambers, 133; cf. Garraty, 33; Jenkinson (1967), 2; Osley, 7.

[124] The most extensive examples are at *Il.* 6.119-211, 9.434-489 and *Od.* 9.15-11.332, 11.378-12.453. See also *Od.* 1.179-212, 3.130-200.

interest in the individual to develop to the point where a dedicated literary form would start to emerge.[125]

It is a reasonable assumption, then, that writers of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE had at least the opportunity to compose literary treatises with the individual in mind, if not biographical literature specifically. Determining the structure of such works, or the ways in which they were received, is another matter entirely, and one which must rely heavily on speculation. None of the works attributed to Skylax, Ion, or Stesimbrotus is extant. Though Skylax is mentioned by several ancient authorities, it is usually in the context of his geographical writings (*FGrHist* IV 1000 [=*BNJ* 709]). A problematic entry in the *Suda* credits him with a work on Heracleides of Mylasa (Τά κατὰ Ἡρακλεὶδην τὸν Μυλασσῶν βασιλέα; *Suda* Σ710), which was accepted as biographical by Momigliano and Philip Kaplan[126]—yet, as Guido Schepens noted, the only indication to its content is the title, which does not assure a biographical focus.[127] Ion is cited by numerous authors, Plutarch

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[125] Cf. Pelling (2007), 84-85, responding to Momigliano's claim that "[it] never dawned upon the mind of any Greek historian of the fifth century" to treat historical events in a biographical manner (Momigliano, 40).

[126] Kaplan, *BNJ* 709 T 1; Momigliano, 29, 36-38. The same *Suda* entry also designates Skylax as a μαθηματικός καὶ μουσικός—a probable confusion with the later Skylax of Halicarnassus, known to Cicero as an astrologer (Cic. *De Div.* 2.42). This has led some, including Jacoby, to doubt whether the work on Heracleides was correctly attributed to the Caryandan (see especially Schepens, *FGrHist* IV 1000 T 1). On Skylax generally, see Gisinger, *RE* 3A s.v. Skylax (2) von Karyanda, cols. 619-646.

[127] Schepens felt the work was most likely a prototype of the historical monograph (*FGrHist* IV 1000 T 1). The use of Skylax by writers of ἱστορία may tempt us into viewing it as an historical piece but this, ultimately, cannot be substantiated; later biographers routinely made use of historical and philosophical treatises, while

amongst them, but never as a writer of βίοι; Plutarch appears to know him as a poet (e.g. *Cim.* 5.3; *Per.* 5.3; *Thes.* 20.2), though he is also aware of prose compositions by Ion (e.g. Plut. *De Fort. Rom.* 316d [=*BNJ* 392 F17a]).[128] Stesimbrotus, also utilised by Plutarch as a source, may offer something slightly more tangible: one of his works is said to have been titled περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους (Ath. 589d-e [=*BNJ* 107 F10a, *FGrHist* IV 1002 T2]), and to have included information on Pericles' alleged sexual misconduct—a subject that often arises in biographic texts.[129] Citations in Plutarch suggest that Stesimbrotus also used anecdotal evidence to demonstrate character (Plut. *Cim.* 14.4), and that he recorded information about his subjects' education (Plut. *Cim.* 4.4; *Them.* 2.3) and their famous sayings (Plut. *Them*. 8.1). Again, these are typical inclusions in later, more

historians likewise utilised biographical and autobiographical sources. On the helpfulness, or lack thereof, of titles, see Hägg, 7-8; Leo (1901), 108-109.

[128] Ion's (auto)biographical interests are generally inferred from the title of one attested work, the Ὑπομνήματα (*BNJ* 382 T2, identified with the Ἐπιδημίαι of *BNJ* 382 F4-8; see Katsaros, *BNJ* 392 T 2), and are supported by Plutarch's use of Ion as an authority for the *Lives*. Katsaros (*BNJ* 392 T 8) saw further proof that Ion was a biographical writer in the presence of certain character traits attributed to the author, noting that Athenaeus' statement regarding Ion's fondness for love affairs "may be … derived from Ion's works (a typical strategy of poetic biographies)". See also Dover (1988a), esp. 9, and for Ion generally, Diehl *RE* 9 s.v. Ion (11) of Chios, cols. 1861-1868.

[129] Numerous examples can be found in Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*; see also Plut. *Brut.* 5.1-2; Plut. *Cato min*. 24.1-2; Suet. *Vit. Hor.* (*Ad res Venerias intemperantior traditur…*); *SHA:Hadr*. 14.5-7. Sexual relations are notably absent from Plutarch's *Caesar*, which Jeffrey Beneker perceived as being due to "the influence of his *Alexander* … Plutarch could not plausibly have made Caesar refuse to look at beautiful women or condemn his own sexual urges … Instead, he focuses on Caesar's single-minded, relentless ambition" (Beneker, 2012: 140).

fully developed, biographies. This combination of evidence would suggest that Stesimbrotus' work, if not a biographic sketch *per se*, had at least a biographical focus.[130] As Johannes Engels noted, however, fragments of other Stesimbrotean works indicate that he was "a performer of and expert on epics"; the fragments preserved in Plutarch's *Lives* may therefore be more indicative of Plutarch's own interests than the general character of the περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους.[131]

Tracing the content and reception of specific works thus proves impossible—but what of the more general expectations of fifth-century literature? While this, too, must remain largely speculative, it does seem possible to glean hints as to how readers anticipated biographic treatments of individuals. It will be remembered that Geiger proposed that political biography—that is, a text treating the life, character, and deeds of a political figure—did not exist prior to the first century BCE, on the basis that biographers needed no separate genre to achieve their aims. He did, however, accept that the "aims and attitudes" of biographic and historic writers probably coincided. [132] There is a good degree of logic in this conclusion. The predominant literary genres of the fifth century BCE were poetry and history; the latter is political by nature.[133] Most biographies, even to judge by the fully-developed versions of the first and second centuries CE, were

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[130] Cf. Engels, *FGrHist* IV 1002, T 1-5: "… there can be no question about it that the work is a precursor of fully developed Greek biography … S. chooses a title which has a [clear] biographical implication"; Momigliano, 30.

[131] Engels, *FGrHist* 1002 T 1-5.

[132] Geiger (1985), 22-24.

[133] Farrar, 126-128; Geiger (1985), 16, 19-21; Momigliano, 38-39.

comparatively short and might be easily subsumed into larger treatises.[134] It requires no great stretch of the imagination to believe that some political figures of this era received no further treatment than a section within a longer, historically-focussed work. If so, we might expect that fifth-century readers held similar expectations of biographical texts *relating to political figures* as they did for historical pieces—which would then account for both the numerous 'biographical' digressions found in Herodotus, such as his treatment of Cyrus in Book 1,[135] and the perceived 'lack' of early political βίοι.

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[134] E.g. Cic. *Fam.* 5.12. Here Cicero advocates that Lucceius separate the account of Cicero's own deeds from the main narrative of his *History*, so that they might have a greater effect upon the reader. See also Cic. *Fam.* 5.12.6.

[135] Cf. Avery (1972), 529-546; Homeyer (1962), 75-85; Immerwahr (1966), 89-93, 161-167. Herodotus, as Avery noted, professes his interest in Cyrus' character and personality (Hdt. 1.95; cf. Avery, 529), and Homeyer's suggestion that the passages detailing Cyrus' life represented "ein Zweiges der später Biographien" is compelling. The 'biography' develops in three separate, chronological, sections: ancestry, birth, and childhood (1.107-130); select deeds (1.177-188); final campaigns and death (1.205-214; cf. Homeyer, 76-77 and Lang, 1967: 81)—a structure which is similar to that used in later biographical texts. Avery further observed that Cyrus was used by Herodotus as "a sort of moral abstraction—a model or exemplar" (Avery, 529; see also 530-531). This is exactly the technique we find being employed by later biographers, Plutarch included. For further discussion of Herodotus' biographical interests, see Gammie (1986), 171, and for a similar use of characters as *exempla* in Thucydides, see Lang, 79-81.

Its nearness to ἱστορία is not the only means by which we might gauge the reception of ancient biographical works. The prevalence of biographical writing appears to have grown rapidly throughout the fourth century CE, with themes of the individual and his importance permeating "all aspects of literature".[136] Momigliano—who was cautious to note again our relative degree of ignorance for literature of such early provenance—suggested that "fifth century experiments in biography came to a sudden end and … in the fourth century biography and autobiography made a fresh start."[137] This new approach may be linked to the development of the literary encomium; if so, we must question how extensively the reception of biographical works during this time might have altered from that of the previous century.

The connection between βίοι and encomia has long been noted, and several scholars began their search for the emergence of biography with the prose encomium.[138] Unlike the later biographers, encomiasts typically made no pretence at impartiality. Their works were memorials, designed to glorify an individual rather than reveal the entire truth about his character (cf. Isoc. *Evag*. 4, 8; Polyb. 10.21.8). Yet, similarly to ἱστορία, there are comparable elements between the aims and attitudes of the early encomiasts and the biographers who followed them. As noted above, the earliest themes of individuality are found primarily in poetry, much of which had a memorial

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[136] Momigliano, 43; cf. Jones (1971), 72.

[137] Momigliano, 44.

[138] See, for instance, Garraty, 38ff.; Hägg, 19ff.; Jenkinson (1967), 2-5; Momigliano, 47ff; and on the influence of encomia on the development of biography, Dihle (1956), 10-12; Garraty, 36-38; Hägg, 16, 19-30; Jones (1971), 72; Momigliano, 17, 43-64; Stuart, 31.

purpose.[139] This same purpose had been adopted by writers of history: Herodotus introduced his text with the idea that human achievement should be remembered (Hdt. 1.1), as did Thucydides (1.1.1), Livy (*Praef*. 3) and the elder Pliny (1.16). Tacitus noted that deeds should be placed 'on record' so that they might be adjudged by posterity (Tac. *Hist.* 3.65.1). There is no reason to doubt that commemoration was a principal function of biography also (e.g. Nep. *Att.* 19; Plut. *Arat.* 1.3; Tac. *Agr.* 1.1). As such, it is a reasonable assumption that there were general similarities in the reception of the two forms. The surviving encomia tend to support this idea, as even the earliest texts show strong similarities to the fully-developed biographies of the first centuries BCE and CE. Two works in particular are useful for illustrating this phenomenon: Isocrates' *Evagoras* (ca. 365 BCE) and Xenophon's *Agesilaus* (ca. 360BCE). With the exception of a small lacuna at Xen. *Ages.* 2.20, both encomia are complete, allowing for a thorough analysis of their structures and themes. Both are also focussed on a single individual, just as the dedicated biography was. Though neither can be considered in-depth character studies, they do provide valuable insight into the development of the biographic form and the expectations readers might have placed upon it.

Our first clue to determining the typical expectations of fourth-century BCE audiences can be found in one of the signifying features of the literary biography: the exploration and explanation of character. The notion that a person's character, or ἦθος, could be ascertained through an examination of his deeds is a concept that is central to Plutarch's *Lives*, where the links between deed and character are stated explicitly on several occasions (e.g. Plut. *Aem.* 1.2-5, the frequently cited *Alex.* 1.3, and *Per.* 2.1-2). This same theory can be seen operating in both the *Evagoras* and *Agesilaus*. Isocrates

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[139] Cf. Gaunt (1969), 164; Toohey (1992), 2-3.

notes more than once that Evagoras' actions are proof of a particular character trait,[140] and the text itself is introduced with the following claim:

> ὁ δὲ λόγος εἰ καλῶς διέλθοι τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις, ἀείμνηστον ἂν
>
> τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Εὐαγόρου παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσειεν
>
> (Isoc. *Evag*. 4)
>
> "[T]he spoken words which should adequately recount the deeds of Evagoras would make his virtues never forgotten among all mankind …" (trans. Van Hook, 1945).

Xenophon, too, stresses the idea explicitly:

> καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ εἴρηται ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ἔργων μετὰ πλείστων
>
> μαρτύρων ἐπράχθη … νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν
>
> πειράσομαι δηλοῦν, δι᾽ ἣν ταῦτα ἔπραττε καὶ πάντων τῶν
>
> καλῶν ἤρα καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἐξεδίωκεν (Xen. *Ages.* 3.1)
>
> "Such, then, is the record of my hero's deeds, so far as they were done before a crowd of witnesses … But now I will attempt to show the virtue that was in his soul, the virtue through which he wrought those deeds and loved all that is honourable and put away all that is base …"
>
> (trans. Marchant, 1925)[141]

A similar, though more subtle, use of the concept can be found in Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*, when he explains his choice of a rubric structure:

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[140] E.g. Isoc. *Evag*. 29, where Evagoras' return from exile demonstrates his resolve; Isoc. *Evag*. 43-47, where his good government proves his justness, humility, honesty and benevolence; and Isoc. *Evag*. 65-70, where his actions in war showcase his courage, wisdom and virtue. Cf. Hägg, 36.

[141] Note the repeated emphasis at *Ages.* 4.1, 6.1, 6.4, 7.1. On the biographical elements in Xenophon, see Reichel (2007), 25-43, esp. 28-31 for the *Agesilaus*.

> *Proposita vitae eius velut summa partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar, quo distinctius demonstrari cognoscique possint* (Suet. *Aug.* 9)
>
> "Having given, as it were, a summary of his life, I shall now take up its various phases one by one, not in chronological order, but by categories, to make the account clearer and more intelligible … " (trans. Rolfe, 1998)

In all three instances, it is not the enumeration of the subject's deeds that is of primary importance, but the *character* of these deeds—and the reader's ability to understand (and thence emulate) them.

The theory of understanding character through deeds has in the past been attributed directly to Aristotle or his successors. Isocrates' use of the technique suggests otherwise. At the time the *Evagoras* was published, Aristotle was in his early twenties and had only just begun to study at the Academy. Nor does it appear to have been an innovation by Isocrates himself: he states that he was the first to compose encomia of contemporary historical persons in prose (prior to this, encomia were composed in poetic metre and were focussed primarily on mythological figures; see Isoc. *Evag*. 5-8),[142] yet he makes no attempt to persuade his audience that the use of deeds to elucidate character was a valid technique. The two are simply equated as a matter of course (e.g. Isoc. *Evag*. 4-7, 30, 33), suggesting that this was already an established practice at the time he wrote. Logic might direct us to consider Plato, Aristotle's teacher, as the innovator, but as he and

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[142] Cf. Hägg, 31-34. This contradicts an implication from Herodotus that texts already existed in the fifth century which glorified their subject and his deeds, rather than documenting simple facts (Hdt. 1.95; cf. Homeyer, 76). Osley (9) also questioned the validity of Isocrates' claims to innovation, but reconciled them with the note that "What Isocrates probably meant … was that he was the first to combine an account of the man's actions with praise of his character".

Isocrates were close contemporaries he cannot be definitively named as the source of the technique either. We must therefore conclude that the practice of demonstrating character through deed had already begun to develop by the mid-fourth century BCE—and although its form here is novel, the expectation may not have been. One link between ἱστορία and ἐγκώμια has already been observed; the recording of historic deeds must surely represent another. If so, we cannot discount the possibility that fifth-century historians and their readers had also forged a connection between an individual's deed and his character. Indeed, a passage in Herodotus tends to suggest that they had: a 'letter' from Darius to Histiaeus states deeds, rather than words, attested to his true character (Hdt. 5.24). If this statement is indicative of the broader fifth century mindset, our encomiasts' use of the same technique may be the explicit acknowledgement of an already implicit expectation.

A second means by which we might determine the general reception of early biographic texts is the standardisation of form. There is a common tendency to assign the majority of biography's development to the Peripatetics, as Edna Jenkinson did in her review of biographic writing prior to Nepos. She felt that Plutarch's *Lives* were composed in a classically Peripatetic manner, following "a fixed formula: the subject's birth, youth and character, achievements and death … all to an *obbligato* [sic.] accompaniment of ethical reflection". [143] As noted above, there is evidence to suggest that basic 'standards' for biographical writing emerged well before the Peripatos took an interest in biography. The *Evagoras* and *Agesilaus* follow this 'Peripatetic' structure almost exactly. Each encomium is initially arranged around a chronological nucleus, beginning with ancestry (Isoc. *Evag*. 12; Xen. *Ages*. 1.2), and moving through omens of greatness (Isoc. *Evag*. 21; Xen. *Ages*. 1.5), the subject's early life (Isoc. *Evag*. 22; Xen. *Ages*. 1.6) and his career

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[143] Jenkinson (1967), 6.

(Isoc. *Evag*. 23ff.; Xen. *Ages*. 1.13ff.). Yet while they are chronological, neither is annalistic; the events Isocrates and Xenophon record are separated distinctly in time, often with quite large gaps between each.[144] The overall structures are similar—and in several places, identical—to those found in a typical Plutarchan βίος, or in the chronological sections of a Suetonian *vita*. This can be observed quite readily by comparing the structural subsections of the *Evagoras* and *Agesilaus* against Plutarchan and Suetonian examples. Using Plutarch's *Agesilaus* and Suetonius' *Augustus* as comparatives,[145] we find that all four texts have a remarkably similar structure.

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[144] This is more obvious in the *Evagoras*, which has fewer historical passages. Hägg noted that the temporal shifts in the *Agesilaus* were more easily observed when compared directly with the *Hellenica*; there Xenophon covered Agesilaus' career "with very different degrees of detailedness" (Hägg, 46-47).

[145] Although it is unusually long and attentive to detail, the *Augustus* is a fairly accurate representation of the typical Suetonian structure. Few of Plutarch's works deviate from his regular pattern (for this, see Appendix VI: The Arrangement of Content in Plutarch's Late Republican *Lives*); the *Agesilaus* has been chosen here solely to demonstrate the differences between an 'encomiastic' and 'biographical' treatment of the same subject. It is somewhat atypical, in that there is no explicit, and separate, discussion of Agesilaus' primary virtues, nor any notation of omens preceding his death. Omission of the latter, however, is not uncommon where the subject dies a natural death; see further 349 and n. 808 below.

Isocrates	Xenophon	Plutarch	Suetonius
Opening address	Opening address		
Birth and ancestry	Birth and ancestry	Birth and ancestry	Birth and ancestry
Omens of greatness	Omens of greatness	Childhood	
Childhood		Omens of greatness	Childhood
Entry to public life			Entry to public life
Ascendency to power	Ascendency to power	Ascendency to power	Ascendency to power
Historical deeds	Historical deeds	Government	Historical deeds
Government	Government	Historical deeds	Government
			Public works
			Legal reform
		Benefactions	Benefactions
	Discussion of virtues		Discussion of virtues
		Personal life	Personal life
		Historical deeds	
		Discussion of vices	Discussion of vices
Reiteration of virtue			Reiteration of virtue
			Habit and appearance
			Legacies
			Omens of greatness
			Omens of death
Death	Death	Death	Death
Authorial apology	Reiteration of virtues		Honours after death
Closing address			

Fig. 1: Biographical structures in encomiastic and biographic texts

As the above table demonstrates (Fig. 1), the opening sections of each text are near-identical in structure; the only elements that are not found in the biographies are the prefatory rhetorical addresses (Isoc. *Evag*. 1-11; Xen. *Ages.* 1.1); Suetonius' *Augustus* also lacks the section on omens. In each case, however, these omissions are easily explained by authorial aims. The opening address is a matter of simple necessity. Over half of Isocrates' introduction (Isoc. *Evag*. 5-11) is spent in justifying his novelty, the composition of an encomium in prose. Xenophon, writing around ten years later, does not devote any space to this justification, presumably as the prose encomia was no longer an unseen technique. Plutarch and Suetonius, writing several centuries later, had no reason to justify their methods of composition[146]— though when occasion requires it, both employ a similar type of proem. Suetonius, for instance, opens the *Galba* with a prefatory discussion of the end of Julio-Claudian rule at Rome (Suet. *Gal.* 1-2), and the *Vespasian* with a similar observation of the new Flavian dynasty (Suet. *Ves.* 1.1). Plutarch frequently attaches 'meta-statements' to the *Life* that opens a book (i.e., the first in the pair); thirteen of the twenty-two pairs include a formal address in the opening passages.[147]

The registration of omens of impending greatness is not missing entirely from the *Augustus*, it is simply repositioned at the end of the text. This alternate location is the result of Suetonius' predominantly topical

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[146] Hägg, 32-33.

[147] See also Duff (2011), 217-218 and (2015), 333-334; Stadter (1988), 276. These thirteen include the *Aemilius Paulus* and *Sertorius*, both of which are thought to have preceded their Greek counterparts, the *Timoleon* and *Eumenes* respectively (Stadter, 1988: 276). Duff (2011: 218, 2014: 333 and n. 5) felt that the *Themistocles-Camillus*—whose opening is "almost certainly corrupt"—may also have contained a prologue, bringing the total to fourteen. Plutarch's use of proemial material is discussed in greater detail below; see 257-259.

structure: for the Julio-Claudian emperors, his final topic before the traditional chronological close is usually an examination of the emperor's attitude towards the divine and supernatural; this incorporates any relevant omens concerning the their death (*Aug.* 90-97.1; *Tib.* 74; *Cal.* 57.1-4; *Cl.* 46; *Nero* 40.2-3, 46.1-3).[148] Suppressing those portents which foretold Augustus' 'great destiny' until this point of the *vita* effects a neat segue into its final chapters:

> *Et quoniam ad haec ventum est, non ab re fuerit subtexere,*
>
> *quae ei prius quam nasceretur et ipso natali die ac deinceps*
>
> *evenerint* … (Suet. *Aug.* 94.1)
>
> "Having reached this point, it will not be out of place to add
>
> an account of the omens which occurred before he was born,
>
> on the very day of his birth, and afterwards…"
>
> (trans. Rolfe, 1998)
>
> *Mors quoque eius, de qua dehinc dicam, divinatasque post*
>
> *mortem evidentissimis ostentis praecognita est.*
>
> (Suet. *Aug*. 97.1)

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[148] On Suetonius' treatment of omens, see Krauss (1930). Krauss noted that, despite Suetonius' frequent attention to the supernatural, he "nowhere directly suggests his own views" and that the "absence of comment indicates that he did not consider such phenomena of sufficient importance to justify his personal discussion" (Krauss, 29) This 'absence of comment' seems more reflective of Suetonius' literary style than his belief in superstition; authorial intrusion is exceedingly minimal throughout his *vitae*, regardless of the topic. His regular treatment of omens should, in fact, be considered proof that Suetonius held these to be 'important' (cf. Livy 24.10.6, which Krauss himself notes [29-30]; the number of prodigies reported at any given point is said to be proportional to the general degree of belief such items). A comment from the younger Pliny (*Ep.* 1.18.1-2) in fact suggests that Suetonius considered omens to be quite significant indeed; a dream was apparently cause enough for him to request *pauculos dies … excusem* in a legal case, despite the fact that no adjournment was possible (Plin. *Ep.* 1.18.6). See also Mooney, 19-23.

"His death too, of which I shall speak next, and deification after death, were known in advance by unmistakable signs."

(trans. Rolfe, 1998)

This is a reasonably isolated instance, however. Six other *vitae* from the series match the pattern observed in the encomia, giving omens concerning the emperor's future in the early passages of his respective biography.[149] A seventh might be found in the *Vitellius*: while this *vita* lacks traditional omens, the horoscope that 'horrified' Vitellius' parents is included in the section typically reserved for omens (Suet. *Vit.* 3.2; cf. *Nero* 6.1-2, where the *praesagium* is woven around the child's horoscope) and as such, can be considered an acceptable replacement. Three of the twelve *vitae* omit portents concerning the future entirely—the *Caligula, Claudius*, and *Domitian*—but again, this is probably the result of Suetonius' textual aims.[150] When all is considered, the displacement of omens from the beginning of the

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[149] Suet. *Tib.* 14.1-4; *Nero* 6.1-2; *Gal.* 4.1; *Otho* 4.1; *Ves.* 5.1-7; *Tit.* 2. It is something of an irony that four of these *vitae* belong to the *Galba-Domitian* sequence, given that this set in particular is criticised for lacking 'style'.

[150] Caligula was born into an established family dynasty, and there seems no question that he was intended to succeed Tiberius; Suetonius queries only the method, not the accession itself (Suet. *Cal.* 12-13; compare the portents at *Aug.* 94.5 and *Tib.* 14.2, occurring in 63 BCE and 42 BCE respectively). Claudius, on the other hand, was purposely excluded from the political sphere (Suet. *Cl.* 4.7). The inclusion of any omen predicting that he would one day govern would negate the impact of his forced—and bumbling—acceptance of the principate (*Cl.* 10.2-4). The absence of omens from the *Domitian* may be due in part to an oblique reference concerning the length of the Flavian dynasty in the earlier *Vespasian* (*Ves*. 25)*.* Readers of the *Domitian* may have been expected to recall this; Suetonius is a demanding author and makes use extensive of inter– and intratextual themes throughout the twelve *vitae*. See 149-155 below and on the general use of inter– and intratextual allusions in Latin literature, Marincola (2010), 260-266; O'Gorman (2009), 231-242.

Augustus is no bar to suggesting that Suetonius' biographies do indeed utilise the same underlying structure as the early encomia—especially when omens have such a regular appearance in the remainder of the *De vita Caesarum*.

Continuing through the texts, we find that Isocrates' *Evagoras* retains a chronological structure throughout, as does Plutarch's *Agesilaus*. Xenophon, on the other hand, employs chronology only to a point, beyond which he employs a topical structure (Xen. *Ages.* 3.1-11.13)—a technique also found in the Suetonian *vitae* (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 9.1-96.2, *Cal.* 22.1-57.4, *Nero* 19.3-40.3). Both Xenophon and Suetonius reason that these topical passages will facilitate the demonstration and understanding of their subjects' lives (Xen. *Ages.* 3.1; Suet. *Aug.* 9.1). It has been theorised that Xenophon's division of his ἔπαινος into two distinct sections was an innovation on his part.[151] If a connection between deed and character already existed in Greek thought, as seems to be the case, this innovation may represent a (successful, if we judge by Suetonius' later use of the same technique) literary experiment by Xenophon, responding to fourth-century expectations that character-centric literature would explore this connection.

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[151] Hägg, 44, 46-47. It is perhaps of interest to note here that a distinction between 'narrative' and 'topical' approaches also existed in early Egyptian biographical writing. Gnirs (204) observed four 'types' of autobiography: the *Handlungsbiographie*, reported in "chronologischen und sinnvollen Zusammenhang"; the *Ereignisbiographie*, which focussed closely on a particular aspect of the subject's life and which could either be narrative or expository; the *Reflexionsbiographie*, which focussed on "die Einbindung des einzelnen in das ethische und soziale Wertesystem" and often contained a direct appeal to the reader (the function sounds remarkably similar to that of Plutarch's *Lives*); and the *Bekenntnisbiographie*, a combination of narrative and expository, treating "individuelle Erfahrungen göttlicher Macht". See further Gnirs, 204-206.

As a final note, we should consider the extent to which biographical writers were yet required to give factual or truthful accounts of their subjects. If early βίοι were judged in the same manner as ἱστορία, as suggested above, we might expect this to be the case; Thucydides in particular had stressed that historical reporting should be unbiased and free from thematic devices or details which could not be confirmed (Thuc. 1.20.1). However, the apparent kinship between encomiastic and biographic texts implies that fourth-century βίοι may also have been expected to conform to encomiastic ideals. This period may have seen a subtle shift in the general perception of encomia: Isocrates' adoption of a traditionally historical format (prose) for a traditionally poetic end effectively fused two hitherto separate forms—and presumably, to a certain extent, the expectations attached to each. Yet Isocrates did not take this fusion so far as to adopt historical principles, as his report of Evagoras' death clearly attests. Evagoras had been assassinated, a fact that had "no natural place in an encomium".[152] Rather than contravene established expectations and include this information, Isocrates shaped his content to suit the usual demands of an encomiastic piece (Isoc. *Evag*. 71). Likewise, Xenophon—who incorporated a comparatively large amount of historical material into his *Agesilaus*[153]—excised elements that would not normally be included in an encomium. He provided simple anecdotes with a view to 'proving' Agesilaus' primary character virtues (e.g. Xen. *Ages.* 1.10-13,

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[152] Hägg, 34, 39; cf. Garraty, 36.

[153] Cf. Cox (1983), 7-9; Hägg, 45.

4.5-6, 5.4-6, 8.3-4),[154] but minimised or omitted any mention of the actions for which Agesilaus might have been criticised (e.g. Xen. *Ages.* 2.21, 2.23).

Overall, there appears to be a distinct relationship between early Greek encomia and the later biographical form—a relationship that goes beyond simple coincidence or concurrent literary development. When all four works are considered together, they show an obvious temporal progression from the basic life sketch to the complete character portrait, and though the *Evagoras* and *Agesilaus* are not βίοι themselves, they may well mark the point at which a standardised 'biographic' form began to emerge. This in turn suggests that broad expectations regarding the content of biographic or character-centric texts also existed fairly early in the literary tradition. With the emergence of prose encomia in the fourth century, these expectations may have shifted slightly to accommodate the new form; if so, the accurate reporting of facts may not have been considered as crucial a component of the text—assuming it had been previously. The increasing use of historical material, however, and the continuance of the techniques and concepts found within fifth-century literature suggest that βίοι were still received, in most instances, similarly to historical texts.

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[154] The term 'anecdote' is used here, and throughout the thesis, in the same sense that Jørgen Mejer identified—as a means for the ancient writer to represent a characteristic element of their subject's personality—rather than in the modern sense of "a short narrative with a witty … final point, often told to express a particular moral view" (Mejer, 2007: 436). Anecdote in antiquity could certainly be used for moralising, but equally it could be used to highlight the 'small' indications of character—a fact that Mejer conveys quite neatly when he connects the ancient understanding and use of anecdote to Plutarch's programmatic statement in the *Life of Alexander* (Mejer, 436).

Many scholars have suggested that the third century saw the beginning of an integrated biographic form. Among the most recent to discuss the phenomenon was Hägg, who believed that dedicated biography was established in the last years of the fourth century BCE and developed throughout the centuries that followed.[155] His analysis of the extant texts tends to confirm this: anecdotal evidence becomes increasingly more frequent; the anecdotes themselves become longer and more detailed; and a greater interest is taken in distinct periods of the subject's life, such as the transition from childhood to adulthood.[156] One feature in particular emerges from Hägg's review: the growing use of 'truthful' reporting in biographic literature. It had been said that Greek biographers were "more eager to produce a perfectly organized and polished essay than to achieve a truthful portrait",[157] but a re-examination finds that authorial focus in the late fourth and early third centuries begins to shift from the generic to the specific, from idealism to realism. We must therefore ask: did this shift alter the general reception of biographic texts, or were the changes in compositional methods actually driven by audience expectations?

A number of factors could account for the developments in the fourth and third centuries BCE. Society may have gradually demanded a more 'human' portrait of its leading citizens; as Kenneth Dover noted, "most of us are neither great nor signally good, [and] we take particular pleasure … in communications which reveal to us that the apparently great and good are in

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[155] Hägg, 51, 67. He felt that Xenophon's *Memorabilia, Agesilaus*, and *Cyropaedia* exemplified three basic biographical forms which subsequent writers of βίοι could "merge and develop" (10).

[156] See especially Hägg, 67-93, 187-232.

[157] Garraty, 35; see also Hägg, 32-34.

fact dishonest, selfish, greedy".[158] This is almost certainly part of the reason for the enduring appeal of Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*, twentieth century criticisms aside. The inclusions of a subject's 'improper' or reprehensible behaviours and associated character traits could equally represent the dominance of historical expectations (i.e., full and 'impartial' reporting)[159] over encomiastic—if indeed the reception of biographic and character-centric texts had altered in the previous century to accommodate these themes. Alternately, it may simply reflect the ongoing closeness of the biographic and historic forms. The search for 'truth', or at least an objective viewpoint, appears in third century BCE βίοι and ἱστορία alike. Aristoxenus (fl. 335 BCE) composed, among other works, 'objective biography', *Lives* which portrayed their subject via illustrative anecdotes and which often focussed on the less-exemplary aspects of his subject's character.[160] We find the same in what remains of Theopompus' *Philippica*: Theopompus appears to have devoted the majority of the text to Philip's lesser qualities, notably his philandering, his

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[158] Dover (1988b), 49. Dover's "we" is contemporary, but he goes on to observe the same interest in 'scandalous' material—whether true or otherwise—by Hellenistic and earlier writers (Dover, 1988b: 49-50).

[159] That historical treatises should include not only a comprehensive account of events, but also of persons, social customs, and lives (βίοι ἀνδρῶν)—including details of historical deeds (πράξεις), death (τέλος), and general fortunes (τύχαι)—see Dionysius' *Letter to Gnaeus Pompey* (D.H. *Pomp*. 6.3-6). Dionysius here applauds Theopompus for his attention to these very details in the *Philippica*, noting that they are of the highest value to students of philosophic rhetoric (D.H. *Pomp.* 6.5; cf. 66 n. 172 below for the possibility that the *Characters* was a practical handbook). See further Corcella (2013), 6693-6695; Pownall (2004), 147-151.

[160] Cf. Hägg, 76-77.

infidelity, and his drunkenness (Polyb. 8.9.1-5).[161] Polybius, who utilised the *Philippica* for his treatment of Philip II in the *Histories*, censured Theopompus for the inclusion of these negative anecdotes, claiming both that they were false and that they contradicted Theopompus' own programmatic statement that Europe had never before produced a man 'of such kind' as Philip (Polyb. 8.9.1). Some scholars have since proposed that the original work was not as malicious as Polybius suggests; others, however, believe that Theopompus always intended the *Philippica* to be a work of criticism and that Polybius either misinterpreted, or deliberately misconstrued, the opening passage.[162] It has also been suggested that Polybius took issue with the content of Theopompus' work, as he derides the historian for changing his plan to write 'a history of Greece' from the point at which Thucydides stopped and then abandoning this συνεγγίσας τοῖς Λευκτρικοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων (Polyb. 8.11.3, "just when he was approaching the battle of Leuctra and the most brilliant period of Greek history"; trans. Paton, 1923). In Polybius' opinion, no sensible writer would exchange such a worthy project

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[161] Though not a βίος, the *Philippica*—like Polybius' works on Philopoemen—seems to have preserved a number of personal details, including Philip's ancestry. For the idea that these topic areas were considered standard inclusions in biographical *and* historical works, see 35-36 and n. 106 above. For Theopompus' treatment of Philip's lineage, see Shrimpton (1991), 162-164.

[162] Polybius appears to have taken the qualifying τοιοῦτος as a positive (i.e., 'so great a man'). That he misinterpreted Theopompus' intentions, see Connor (1967), 137-139; M. A. Flower *(*1994), 98-115; Grant (1970), 139; Shrimpton (1977), 123-127; against this theory, see especially Hammond (1991), 503 and nn. 24-25.

for the βίος of a king (Polyb. 8.11.5) [163] Ill-founded or otherwise, his contention with Theopompus' work illustrates neatly that the paramount concern of historical literature—for author and reader—was ἀληθής (cf. Polyb. 8.10.2-11.2).

An additional cause for the increased realism of third century biographical writing may be found in a more unusual sphere. In 322 BCE, Aristotle was forced to flee Athens and designated his student Theophrastus as his successor at the Lyceum. Aristoxenus, whom the *Suda* states had won great distinction under Aristotle's tutelage, is said to have been incensed at being overlooked for the position and to have formed his own school, whereupon he heaped insults upon Aristotle after the latter's death (*Suda* Α3927). Aristoxenus' βίοι have consequently been termed "debunking *Lives*",[164] and are suggested to have been motivated primarily by spite or revenge. However, this view was questioned as early as 1916,[165] and recent analyses of the Aristoxenean fragments have found that his use of anecdotal evidence was in fact quite balanced, "even through the filter of Christian

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[163] Cf. M. A. Flower, 101. As Flower noted (104), the battle of Cnidus was "twenty-three tumultuous years" prior to that of Leuctra; "the evidence as we have it [suggests that] Theopompus placed Philip at the centre of his work because he was a unique phenomenon and the primary causative force behind the events of that time … whether for better or worse, he fundamentally changed the course of world history" (M. A. Flower, 115).

[164] Garraty, 40. The view seems to have arisen, like many other modern opinions, from Leo's work; he felt that Aristoxenus composed his *Lives* "in Affekt", out of intense hatred or admiration for his subjects, rather than from a neutral viewpoint (Leo, 1901: 102; cf. Momigliano, 75-76).

[165] Mess (1916), 99-100; for a recent summary of similar arguments, see Schorn (2012), 179-180.

selection".[166] Indeed, Aristoxenus' anger may not even have been a factor in his choice to include negative anecdotes within his *Lives*; as noted above, factual reporting was considered to be a cornerstone of historical writing, and we should expect at least some insistence by an author of βίοι that his work present a 'true' representation of the subjects' character (cf. Plut. *Cim.* 2.3). Nevertheless, the effects of this division within the Peripatos, and its potential impact upon both Aristoxenus' compositions and the later biographic tradition, should be considered.

As the new head of the Lyceum, Theophrastus seems to have retained most of his predecessor's doctrines; Aristotelian sentiment appears throughout his treatises on logic, epistemology, rhetoric, and ethics.[167] It has been argued that Theophrastus was more interested in the human condition than was his immediate predecessor,[168] and indeed, the preface to the *Characters* (Ἠθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες, ca. 322-317 BCE) suggests that this was so. Aristotle introduced the *Eudemian Ethics* with abstractions (Aristot. *Eud. Eth.* 1214a);[169] Theophrastus, on the other hand, designated his work as a study

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[166] Hägg, 75; see also Schorn (2012), 187-192.

[167] Fortenbaugh, *BNP* s.v. Theophrastus §VII, and see also §III, §V, §VIII; cf. Furley (1953), 56; Lane Fox (1996), 155; Fortenbaugh (1994), 29-32.

[168] Furley, 56: "Aristotle in the *Ethics* is interested in the concept, Theophrastus in the *Characters* is interested in the man; the outlook of the *Ethics* is scientific, that of the *Characters* is aesthetic."

[169] See also Fortenbaugh (1994), 29-32, and Furley, 57-59, who concluded his study of *Nic. Eth.* 1122a with the statement that "the *Ethics* and the *Characters* show a fundamental difference in method".

into both 'good' and 'bad' character types (Theophr. *Char.* Proem. 2).[170] Yet, in spite of his professed interest in 'character', Theophrastus' attention to personality seems somewhat limited, especially when compared with the earlier examples of life-writing. There is no obvious continuation of the biographical development observed in Xenophon's writing; anecdotal evidence in the *Characters* is reduced to a bare minimum, and Theophrastus does not delineate the separate periods of his subject's lives. The understanding that deeds would reveal personality is present (e.g. Theophr. 1.1-2, 2.4-6, etc.), but those who perpetrate the deeds are never personalised. And although Theophrastus sometimes seems to have specific persons in mind,[171] he makes no attempt to incorporate any biographic detail into the anecdotes he gives; thus, we can determine only that the garrulous character has spoken publicly in the Assembly (Theophr. *Char.* 7.7-8), and that the 'fraud' had served under Alexander and Antipater (Theophr. *Char.* 23.2-6), nothing more.

The *Characters* may have been intended as a morally educative tool, or a practical handbook on character virtue, but while Theophrastus seems have perceived the same link between ἦθος and ἔργα that the biographers,

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[170] All of the character types in the extant *Characters* are of the φαῦλος type; the ἀγαθοί may have appeared in a companion volume that has not survived (so Edmonds, 1929: 7-8, 39), though James Diggle rejected this suggestion in his recent edition of the text (Diggle, 2004: 18-19). The authorship of the proem (which sets out the intended purpose of the work) and summaries has been repeatedly called into question: see especially Diggle, 17; Furley, 60; Lane Fox, 127-128; contrast Edmonds, 39 ("a genuine preface or prefatory sentence was once here") and Webster (1951), 32. Furley (60) felt that it was the author of the proem and summaries, rather than Theophrastus himself, who viewed the work as morally educative (cf. Webster, 32). On the date of the *Characters*, see Boegehold (1959), 17-19; Giangrande (2003), 94.

[171] Cf. Lane Fox, 129.

historians, and encomiasts of earlier centuries had, what survives of his text has little in common with any of the character-centric literature considered thus far.[172] This is interesting indeed. Leo had argued that all biography ultimately stemmed from developments within the Peripatos, utilising Aristotle's theories on φύσις and ἦθος; it is for this reason that chronological narrative biography is typically referred to as 'Peripatetic'.[173] Yet to judge by Theophrastus' text, and by what we know of other Peripatetic writers, the school does not appear to have had an overt interest in advancing the techniques of life-writing in the late fourth or early third centuries BCE.[174] If there was indeed a Peripatetic influence on the development of the biographic tradition, it must date from a later era of the Peripatos than Aristotle's immediate successors.

Where, then, did biography continue its development after Xenophon? The works of Aristoxenus provide a tempting answer. The *Suda* credits him

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[172] On its probable purpose as a 'handbook' for those studying character, see Diggle, 13; Furley, 56-60; Kosmetatou (2013), 6693; Valčenko (1986), 156-162; Fortenbaugh (1994), 19, 26-28, 34-35. Stephen Halliwell deemed the work "intriguing but elusive … a cross between the ethical categorizations of Aristotelian philosophy and the sharply projected character-types of Attic comedy, but with a large sprinkling of unclassifiably curious observations thrown in for good measure" (Halliwell, 2006: 127).

[173] Cf. Cooper, 307-309; Hägg, 82; Momigliano, 73-74.

[174] *Pace* Osley (10), who saw the major developments of fourth century biography in Aristotle's "corpus of scientific and philosophical writings". These, as Osley noted (11), were impersonal and didactic; their tone is far removed from the intimate anecdotes of Aristoxenus. As Aristoxenus' biographies appear to have been written after his departure from the Peripatos (Schorn, 2012: 178), we cannot consider him an example of a 'Peripatetic' biographer. The first member of the Lyceum that is known to have written βίοι of individuals is Aristo of Ceos, head of the school in the late third century BCE (cf. esp. Arrighetti, 1964: 7-12; Momigliano, 76, 79, 81-83).

with an enormous literary output, some 453 works in total (*Suda* A3927). Very few passages from this mass of work survive, but those that do speak to his biographical interests. *Lives* of Pythagoras, Archytas, Socrates, Plato, and Telestes are attested—though not in the Suda entry—and Jerome includes Aristoxenus in his list of notable Greek biographers (Hier. *Vir. Ill. Praef.* [=Fr. 10b Wehrli]; cf. Frgs. 6, 9a-c, 13, 20b, 25 Wehrli).[175] It is true that Jerome only refers to Aristoxenus using the standard epithet *Aristoxenus musicus*, yet this need not preclude any biographical interests. The adjective μουσικὸς could be used more generally to refer to a scholar or 'cultivated' person.[176] Plutarch in fact uses this epithet for Aristoxenus (Plut. *Arist*. 27.2, Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς), and cites him as a biographical source on multiple occasions; in one instance, he states explicitly that Aristoxenus composed βίοι ἀνδρῶν (Plut. *Non Posse.* 1093c).[177] Since Plutarch is at pains to point out the differences between ἱστορίαι and βίοι elsewhere, it does not follow that he would refer to Aristoxenus as a writer of Lives unless it was meant in accordance with his own perception of the biographical form.

What survives of Aristoxenus' βίοι is extremely fragmentary, making it nigh impossible to determine the original form of these works. There are, however, indications that Aristoxenus not only utilised the biographic

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[175] That Jerome's list was illustrative or outstanding, rather than exhaustive, see Bollansée, *FGrHist* 1026 T 1 and Geiger (1985), 32. Telestes has been identified with Telestes of Selinus, a dithyrambic poet of the fifth century BCE; see T. Power (2012), 132 n. 5; Wehrli (1967), 84.

[176] *LSJ* s.v. μουσικός.

[177] Perrin felt it probable that the citation of Aristoxenus at *Arist.* 27.2 was taken wholly from Panaetius, though Plutarch's attested use of Aristoxenus elsewhere in his corpus makes this Pyrrhonism unnecessary. See Perrin (1901), 58, and for Plutarch's other citations of Aristoxenus, Helmbold and O'Neil (1959), 12.

framework observed in our fourth century BCE literature, but further developed it. The most extensive set of fragments, collected by Wehrli under the heading 'Pythagoreisches', demonstrates this clearly. The comparison of sources above (Fig. 1) found eight distinct topics, or *species*, common to both fourth century BCE and first to second century CE biographical texts, with a ninth (childhood and education) being common to three of the four.[178] Five of these topics are present in the so-called Pythagoreisches (Frgs. 11-41 Wehrli). Aristoxenus' interest in Pythagoras' deeds is quite evident (e.g. Frgs. 24, 25, 29a Wehrli), particularly with regard to Pythagoras' ideological pursuit of freedom and his rebellion against tyranny (e.g. Frgs. 16, 17, 32). Aristoxenus also devoted attention to Pythagoras' methods of teaching—which we could reasonably view as an equivalent to 'governing' in the Life of an intellectual figure—and his moral convictions (e.g. Frgs. 17, 18, 23 Wehrli). The establishment of the Pythagorean school (Fr. 16 Wehrli) fills both the 'entrance to public life' and 'ascendency to power' sub-sections. There is some tentative evidence to suggest that Pythagoras' youth and education were also discussed.[179] Three sections of the basic biographical framework remain:

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[178] Birth and ancestry, omens, entrance to public life, ascent to power, historical deeds, method of governing, virtues or vices, and death. See 53 (Fig. 1) above.

[179] Diog. Laert. 8.8 [=Fr. 15 Wehrli] could theoretically derive from a discussion of Pythagoras' education prior to opening his school—*or* from a section treating Pythagoras' moral virtues. Hägg felt that Aristoxenus had covered Socrates' childhood to some extent in his *Life* of that philosopher; the passage he examined (Fr. 54b Wehrli) is brief and utilises the 'proleptic' method of characterisation, in which the child is shown to possess attributes that have been observed in the adult (Hägg, 75; cf. Hägg, 6. Plutarch uses the technique frequently). This could well suggest that Aristoxenus had an interest in documenting the formative years of his subjects—a practice for which we find precedent in Xenophon's *Cyropedia*. If so, we can reasonably expect that Aristoxenus will have included similar information in his *Life of Pythagoras*.

omens of greatness, birth and ancestry, and death. There is no reason to assume that the latter two topics were not discussed within the original text— particularly if we accept that Plutarch's description of Aristoxenus as a writer of βίοι was made via comparison to his own work. Aristoxenus is said to have mentioned Pythagoras' city of origin (Fr. 11 Wehrli), which tends to suggest that he also documented his birth or ancestry.[180] Likewise, he almost certainly made reference to his death; there are preserved passages that record the details of death for other persons,[181] and as evidenced by Isocrates' *Evagoras*, death had an especial importance within a biographical text. All that therefore remains from our basic framework is the section covering 'omens of greatness', which may not have been deemed a necessary element for the *Life* of a philosopher—though it should be noted there are isolated examples of this, too, in other biographical works.[182]

So much for Aristoxenus' adherence to the proposed biographical 'standard'; now to his developments of it. The extant fragments which treat Pythagoras' life reveal that, in addition to the usual biographical topics, Aristoxenus also documented more personal information. He found, for instance, a place in his narrative to record what Pythagoras ate and why. This information had apparently been obtained *a familiari suo* (Gel. 11.4-7 [=Fr. 25 Wehrli]; cf. Diog. Laert. 8.20 [=Fr. 29a Wehrli]), and is not typically found amongst early biographical examples—it is only in later βίοι that the topic appears with regularity (e.g. Plut. *Ant.* 28.1-3; *Caes.* 17.9; *Luc.* 41.1-6). As

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[180] Cf. Hägg, 71.

[181] Diogenes Laertius draws one version of Pherecydes' death from Aristoxenus' writing (Diog. Laert. 1.118 [=Fr. 14 Wehrli]).

[182] See, for example, Diog. Laert. 1.109, where Epimenides is revealed to be θεοφιλέστατος, or the πολλὰ … θαυμάσια told about Pherecydes (Diog. Laert. 1.116-117).

well, Aristoxenus appears to have recognised that personality could at times be contradictory. Fragments from the *Life of Socrates* in particular indicate that he attempted to portray this concept within his βίοι. The recognition of conflicting personality traits is another technique that is not found in earlier biographic texts. Its presence here greatly strengthens the idea that biography was "professionalised" during the third century, quite possibly by Aristoxenus himself.[183] Socrates' negative traits are given alongside anecdotal 'proof'; Aristoxenus says, for instance, that Socrates was capable of both utterly charming and highly unpleasant behaviour, and that he was σφοδρότερος in his romantic liaisons (Fr. 54b Wehrli). Passages such as these are most frequently adduced as examples of Aristoxenean spite; however, just as in the fragment cited here, Aristoxenus' negative judgements are often mitigated with a simultaneous reference to the positive side of his subject's personality. Both Hägg and Schorn, in their respective examinations of the extant fragments, noted that Aristoxenus is polemical against the *legendary* Socrates only, the "idealized master" that the Socratics sought to preserve in their literature. [184] Even Plutarch, who openly criticises Aristoxenus on occasion (Plut. *De Herod.* 9 [=Fr. 55 Wehrli]),[185] says that his *Lives* provided pleasure for their reader because they provided truth (Plut. *Non Posse* 1093a-c [=Fr. 10a Wehrli]. Despite the fact that he was schooled in the same techniques, and by the same teacher, as Theophrastus, these fragments strongly suggest that Aristoxenus' character-centric texts were written according to different principles, and to very different ends.

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[183] Hägg, 70; Momigliano, 75.

[184] Hägg, 75; Schorn (2012), 188.

[185] Plutarch's implication here is that Aristoxenus' praise was simply a rhetoric technique to 'disguise' his malice and persuade his readers to accept slander as fact.

We thus return to our original question: why did the third century see such a marked shift towards 'truth' in biographical reporting? Authorial motivation is difficult to determine. Even in a complete text motives can be obscured; in one as fragmentary as Aristoxenus', they are all but invisible. It is only with some caution that we could link the feud between Aristoxenus and the Peripatetics to the emergence of 'objective' biography, and the subsequent development of this discipline throughout later antiquity. Yet the fact remains that it *is* possible to observe a rift in the way that ancient writers chose to present character and personality during this era. It is this rift which Leo isolated in his search for the origins of literary biography, and it is from this rift that Leo's theory of the dual 'strands' of biography developed. A certain amount of causation may be attributed to the existing closeness between the biographical and historical forms. The gradual incorporation of historical methods and content into prose memorial literature, noted in the works of Isocrates and Xenophon, could also have culminated in third century biographical writers adopting an historical aim, the search for 'truth'—or alternately, in the readers of biographical works *expecting* more objective documentation. Any (or perhaps all) of these factors, in conjunction with the animosity Aristoxenus felt towards the Peripatos, could ultimately foster the development of a biographical form where writers were both more willing and more able to portray both the positive *and* negative aspects of their subjects' characters. The willingness to acknowledge contradictory aspects of character is exemplified in Plutarch's *Lives*; it is therefore hardly surprising to see it first occurring in an author who is thought to have influenced Plutarch's own sources.[186]

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[186] Aristoxenus' probable influence on the biographers who followed him—including Hermippus, of whom Plutarch made extensive use—is explored in detail at 66-71 below, but see also Bollansée (1999), 45 n. 83; Cox, 10; Jenkinson (1967), 4; Schorn (2004), 150 and n. 6, 363.

Regrettably, the two centuries in which prose biography may have seen its most rapid development are also the two for which our evidence is most fragmentary. Little can be determined of how the genre developed, and was received, between Aristoxenus and the biographers of the first century BCE. The Peripatetics who followed Theophrastus are believed to have engaged in some biographical writing; although his immediate successor Strato is not credited with any biographical output, Speusippus of Athens (ca. 408-339 BCE), Demetrius of Phalerum (ca. 350–280 BCE), Clearchus of Soli (ca. 340-250 BCE), and Phaenias of Eresus (sometimes 'Phanias'; fl. 320 BCE) are all suggested to be possible continuators of the school's interest in human nature and character.[187] The extent of their biographical interests is difficult to ascertain. Clearchus is specifically stated to have written books of *Lives*, in at least eight volumes (Athen. 548d), and an encomium of Plato is attributed to Speusippus (Diog. Laert. 4.5 [=*FGrHist* IV 1009 T2]). If written according to the traditional encomiastic format, this would have contained similar elements to the *Evagoras* and *Agesilaus*, studied above—and thus, similar elements to βίοι. Speusippus is also credited with an extensive literary output, amongst which we find several works with ambiguous titles that could have taken any number of genres, biography included (Diog. Laert. 4.4).[188] Demetrius may have written biographies in addition to his works on rhetoric: Dionysius of

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[187] Momigliano, 77.

[188] Els Theys isolated at least three works in addition to the Πλάτωνος ἐγκώμιον that were possibly biographical in nature: the Περὶ φιλοσοφίας, the Φιλόσοφος, and the Πρὸς Γρύλλον. He felt that the Πλάτωνος περίδειπνον cited at Diog. Laert. 3.2 [=*FGrHist* IV 1009 F1a] was identical with the Πλάτωνος ἐγκώμιον of 4.1.5; see Theys, *FGrHist* IV 1009 T 2.

Halicarnassus refers to a βίος of Demosthenes (D.H. *Dem.* 53); Diogenes and Plutarch both speak of a *Socrates* (Diog. Laert. 5.81; Plut. *Arist.* 1.2, 27.3);[189] and Diogenes further lists a number of works whose titles are simply names (Diog. Laert. 5.80-81). As with Speusippus' text, these could have taken any form. Diogenes himself merely says that some were ἱστορικά, others πολιτικά (Diog. Laert. 5.80)—neither of which are attributes that preclude the works also being 'biographical'.[190] As to Phaenias, Plutarch utilised him as a source for the *Themistocles* and *Solon*; while he refers to him only as a φιλόσοφος, he also states that he was well-versed in historical literature (Plut. *Them.* 13.3). As already noted, ἱστορία was a broad term, and was not applied solely to prose histories. The fact that Plutarch twice quotes Phaenias in conjunction with Neanthes, the man to whom the first Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν is attributed,[191] suggests at least a minimal biographic interest on his part.

With the exception of Clearchus, the evidence for any biographic output from our Peripatetic writers is based largely on supposition. There is no

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[189] Momigliano (77) felt that this was not a biography but a misattributed title, and that Demetrius had simply discussed "episodes of Demosthenes' life in his books on rhetoric"; Hans Gottschalk argued that it was a defence of philosophy in civic life (Gottschalk, 2000: 367-380). Diogenes also refers to an *Apology of Socrates* by Demetrius, which Momigliano (77) suggested "might have been an answer to [Aristoxenus' *Life of Socrates*]". He equated this with the *Socrates* cited by Plutarch, as did Peter Stork, Jan Max van Ophuisjen, and Tiziano Dorandi in their critical edition of Demetrius (Stork, Ophuisjen, and Dorandi, 2000: 189-197).

[190] See especially the fragments collected by Stork, Ophuisjen, and Tiziano, 197-201. These include such information as Demetrius' criticism of Pericles for excessive spending (Cic. *De Off.* 2.17.60 [=Fr. 110 Stork]), and his defence of Lycurgus against claims that he was 'war-like' (Plut. *Lyc.* 23.2 [=Fr. 113 Stork]). Both items could easily have derived from a biographical treatise.

[191] Cooper, 309 n. 10; Momigliano, 71.

way to tell whether Demetrius, Phaenias, or even Speusippus documented entire lives in prose, if they incorporated 'balanced' anecdotes into their work as Aristoxenus appears to have done, or what their aims and purposes were. Leo felt that, regardless of title, there was nothing to prove conclusively that the Peripatetics were composing 'lives of men'.[192] Momigliano acknowledged that the Aristotelians were interested in "anecdotes illustrating virtues and vices" and in "individual writers", but felt this was to philosophical ends only.[193] Aside from the description of later biographers as 'Peripatetic', there is no preserved text to show whether the concept of an objective or 'truthful' biography actually took hold within the Peripatos. It certainly seems to have done so outside the school—suggesting in turn that there was an audience for, and perhaps expectation of, such material.

If we accept that the list of biographers cited in Jerome's *De viris illustribus* is illustrative, rather than exhaustive, the most highly esteemed biographers of the third and second centuries BCE would appear to be Antigonus of Carystus (fl. late third century BCE), Hermippus of Smyrna (fl. ca. 200 BCE), and Satyrus (before ca. 180 BCE).[194] Neanthes of Cyzicus ('the Younger'; fl. early third century BCE) also seems to have composed biographical works; his Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν is thought to have been a series

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[192] Leo (1901), 105; cf. Arrighetti, 7-21; Momigliano, 65-73.

[193] Momigliano, 69.

[194] See 67 and n. 175 above. Regarding the dating of Satyrus, our only certain fact is that he lived prior to Ptolemy VI (186-145 BCE), during whose reign Heracleides Lembus epitomised the biographies of both Satyrus and Hermippus; see Hunt (1912), 125; Momigliano, 80; Tronson (1984), 117; West (1974), 284. More recent scholarship has simply labelled him "Hellenistic"; e.g. Hanink (2010), 543.

of short biographical sketches, not dissimilar to later collections such as the *SHA*, Nepos' *De viris illustribus*, and the work of Jerome himself.[195]

Very little can be said regarding Antigonus or Neanthes. Only five fragments exist for the former (*FGrHist* 816) and twenty (quite short) for the latter (*BNJ* 171).[196] Satyrus and Hermippus are better represented, with in excess of ninety fragments preserved from Hermippus (*FGrHist* IV 1026).[197] Both men are referred to as Peripatetics, though this does not necessarily mean they followed the teachings or techniques of that school. Hermippus was in all likelihood a student of Callimachus,[198] and it has been suggested that he and Satyrus were called 'Peripatetic' simply because they wrote

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[195] The precise identity of 'Neanthes the biographer' is uncertain. Two figures, both apparently from Cyzicus but living around a century apart, have been isolated. The earlier, referred to as 'Neanthes the Elder' appears to be the rhetor attested in the *Suda* (N114 [=*FGrHist* 84]), active ca. 400 BCE. Several testimonies and fragments from this entry in *FGrHist* are also included in 'Neanthes the Younger' (*BNJ* 171 [=*FGrHist* 171]; see especially *BNJ 171* TT1-2, F1). Stephan Schorn argued that the only attested work which did *not* belong to the elder Neanthes was the Περὶ Ἄτταλον Ἱστορίαι (*BNJ* 171 F4); Jan Stronk, on the other hand, felt that all the historical works and most importantly the Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν were best attributed to the younger figure. See Schorn (2007), 117-119, 151; Stronk, *BNJ* 171. On the format of the Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν, see Burkert (2000), 76-77; Cooper, 309 n. 10; Momigliano, 71; Schepens (1997), 159.

[196] At least one of the fragments attributed to Antigonus is uncertain (H. Beck, *BNJ* 816 F 3). Most of the fragments from Neanthes derive from either Athenaeus or Diogenes Laertes; many are only a single line long.

[197] The extant fragments of Satyrus were collected most recently in Schorn (2004).

[198] Bollansée, *FGrHist* 1026 T 2; Momigliano, 79.

"popular" biography rather than philosophical treatises proper.[199] Where the Peripatetics seem to have been interested primarily in writers and philosophers, Hermippus and Satyrus considered a broader range of subjects—Hermippus' work included at least six books on lawgivers,[200] and Satyrus is believed to have written about several political figures, including Philip II of Macedon and Alcibiades.[201] Unlike Aristoxenus, both appear to have made life-writing their primary focus.[202] The surviving fragments suggest that these works were closer in style to an Aristoxenean, rather than Aristotelian, format; Hermippus in particular is said to have been ἀνὴρ περὶ

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[199] Bollansée (1999), 9-11; Garraty, 41; Hägg, 82; Plezia (1981), 486. Arrighetti (7) questioned whether Hermippus had written "biografia" at all, suggesting that it was Heracleides Lembus who imposed a biographical structure on Hermippus' writing. This seems at odds with Plutarch's use of Hermippus for his biographies in particular (cf. Helmbold and O'Neil, 34), and with Jerome's inclusion of Hermippus amongst the Greek 'biographers' (Hier. *Vir. Ill. Praef.*). Osley (17) accepted that Hermippus' works were βίοι, seeing in them an "intimate anecdotal touch"—the same quality which was earlier noted of Aristoxenus (see 66 n. 174 above and further, 67-70)—while Plezia (485-486) felt that Hermippus' biographical qualities were easily identifiable. Regarding Satyrus, West (281-282) saw no bar to an association with the Peripatetic school; Schorn (2004: 63) felt that Satyrus was indeed a member of the Peripatos, but differed from the majority of its members in the style of biography he chose to write.

[200] *FGrHist* IV 1026 T7d. See also Bollansée (1999), 24; Hägg, 85; Momigliano, 79.

[201] Hägg, 83; Hunt, 125-26.

[202] Hägg, 83; *pace* Geiger (1985), 41-42. Geiger argued that Satyrus did not write biography at all, on the basis that a) the titles were not assured; and b) the dialogue form would be "even more difficult to accord with political *Lives* than with literary Lives". I am unconvinced that "the economy of the work" would prevent it from being biographical in nature, as Geiger's conclusion seems to imply (Geiger, 1985: 42-43).

πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν ἐπιμελής (*FGrHist* IV 1026 T4b) and is often quoted by later writers as the authority for a variant tradition (e.g. Plut. *Demosth.* 5.7, 30.1-2; *Lyc*. 23.1-4; *Vit. Dec.* 849c; *Suda* Σ355, Φ359).[203] The fragments of his works show a reliance on anecdotal evidence (e.g. *FGrHist* IV 1026 T15c, F8a, F13, F17, F20), quotations in direct speech (*FGrHist* IV 1026 F4), and a tendency to name his witnesses explicitly (*FGrHist* IV 1026 F4). Hermippus seems to have had a particular interest in *exitus* scenes, which Hägg felt demonstrated that his works were "built as life stories".[204] Most other elements from the 'standard' biographical framework also feature amongst the extant fragments, including ancestry (*FGrHist* IV 1026 F19, F28), career (*FGrHist* IV 1026 F23), appetites (*FGrHist* IV 1026 F12a), and personal habits (*FGrHist* IV 1026 T15c). Osley was so convinced of Hermippus' biographical interests that he summarised his style as a "more rudimentary form [of] the Plutarchian biography".[205] Indeed, the similarities between the two authors, and the fact that Plutarch was obviously well-acquainted with Hermippus' texts (e.g. Plut. *Sol.* 2.1, 6.3, 11.2), may provide a good indication as to the general reception of Hermippus in antiquity and his impact upon the biographical writers who succeeded him.

The extant passages of Satyrus' *Life of Euripides* (*P. Oxy*. 1176) provide us with a benefit that no biographical or character-centric text examined thus far has—continuity. Several of the fragments are quite lengthy; the final three preserve around five near-continuous pages of text. As Hägg demonstrated, it is possible to determine from these fragments at least the basic elements of the original composition.[206] Despite being

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[203] See also the testimonia and fragments collected in *FGrHist* IV 1026. For Hermippus' overall style, see especially Bollansée (1999), 1-7, 15-18; Hägg, 85-89.

[204] Hägg, 85, 95.

[205] Osley, 18.

[206] Hägg, 77-82.

presented in dialogue form, Satyrus appears to have constructed his *Euripides* in a similar manner to the early encomiastic texts. A number of familiar techniques are utilised: Satyrus devotes discrete sections of the work to Euripides' literary corpus (Frgs. 1-8), his adult character (Frgs. 9, 39.IX-X) and old age (Fr. 39 XVII), and ends with his death (Fr. 39 XX-XXI) and the posthumous honours which were awarded to him (Fr. 39 XIX).[207] Hägg theorised that a section on ancestry and birth or childhood would have been included as well;[208] given the similarities between what survives of the *Euripides* and the biographic works we have already examined, this seems a sound conclusion. There is, for instance, a marked transition between Euripides' work and his personality (Fr. 8 II.9-21).[209] If Euripides' literary output is considered to be the equivalent of a statesman's role in the military and political spheres, this division can be equated to the transition between public career and private life observed in the biographical framework above.[210] There seems to have been a substantial amount of quotation and anecdote in the original text (e.g. Frgs. 38 II, 39 IV-VI, VIII, XI, XIII-XIV),[211] and though examples are perhaps less frequent than in a Plutarchan βίος or Suetonian *vita*, there are at least as many instances of anecdote amongst Satyrus' fragments as there are in the entirety of Xenophon's *Agesilaus*. The nature of the Aristoxenean fragments obviously makes a detailed comparison between his *Lives* and Satyrus' *Life of Euripides* impossible—yet there is evidence to suggest that Satyrus adopted some of the techniques used by Aristoxenus. The *Euripides* certainly includes anecdotes regarding the less-pleasant elements of the playwright's character: Satyrus mentions Euripides'

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[207] Hunt, 124.

[208] Hägg, 78, 81.

[209] Hägg, 78; Hunt, 171.

[210] See 53 (Fig. 1) above.

[211] Cf. Hägg, 78, 81; Hunt, 126-128.

use of poetry to attack the gods (Fr. 10), his disregard for anything that was not great or revered (Fr. 39 IX.16-18), and his general δυσομιλία (Fr. 39 X.5) to name a few. Taken alongside the fragments of Hermippus' works, the *Life of Euripides* tends to confirm that anecdotal evidence became more frequent, and probably more expected by readers, in the centuries after Aristoxenus wrote—and additionally supports the idea that audiences increasingly expected 'truth' or objectivity in biographical texts.

Later Forms: The First Century BCE and onwards

The several authors considered above are generally agreed to have had a substantial influence upon later biographers. In each case, what survives of their texts supports the theory that a) the basic framework of a literary βίος, and b) the generic expectations surrounding βίοι or character-centric texts were standardised quite early in the form's development. The examination of the structures and techniques used during the fifth to second centuries BCE reveals a clear pattern, highlighting not only numerous advances in biographical writing, but also a surprising degree of stasis in the form as a whole. The length and detail of works tend to increase, and the use of anecdotal evidence becomes more extensive, but ultimately there are only a few differences between the fifth century 'predecessors' of biography and what we can determine of the fuller second century works. If audience expectations did indeed play a significant role in the writers' organisation of their material, then these, too, must have remained quite stable; the most significant change from the earliest examples of biographic literature is the seemingly apparent increase in demand for biographic detail, and the inclusion of objective, or 'truthful', information. With these main trends in mind, we can now turn to Plutarch and Suetonius' nearest contemporaries, to observe what was 'standard' in the years before they composed their works.

By the first century BCE, biographical and autobiographical texts were common in both Greece and Rome. Several writers are attested: M. Terentius Varro (116-27 BCE), Cornelius Nepos (ca. 99-24 BCE), Santra (ca. first century BCE), C. Julius Hyginus (ca. 64 BCE—AD 17), Nicolaus of Damascus (b. ca. 64 BCE), Gaius Oppius (fl. ca. 44 BCE), and Marcus Tullius Tiro (d. ca. 4 CE).[212] Encomiastic and polemical treatises also abounded; we know of at least six separate documents on Cato the Younger, several of which were composed in the wake of his death.[213] Unfortunately, much of this literature is now lost. Very little can be said regarding Oppius' βίος of Caesar or Tiro's *vita*

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[212] The first four authors—Varro, Nepos, Santra, and Hyginus—are listed in Jerome's preface as Suetonius' predecessors, and as discussed, probably represent only the 'outstanding' examples of Latin biographers; see 67 n. 175 and 74 above.

[213] Plut. *Caes.* 54.5 refers to Cicero's encomium of Cato and Caesar's responding *Anticato* (Plut. *Caes.* 54.6-7); Suetonius states that Brutus also wrote a pamphlet in praise of Cato (which Cicero derided as ill-informed; Cic. *ad. Att.* 12.21) that Augustus responded to in his later years (Suet. *Aug.* 85.1; Geiger, 1979: 48). Munatius Rufus and P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus both composed βίοι of Cato, though the exact form and purpose of the former has been questioned. Geiger felt that Munatius' text clearly belonged to the γένος of memorabilia literature, and was perhaps modelled on Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (Geiger, 1979: 56-57); Miriam Griffin, on the other hand, deemed Geiger's suggestion implausible, and classified Munatius' work as a biography (Griffin, 1994: 713 n. 131). Plutarch cites both authors, though he never states explicitly what form their works took and, additionally, may only have accessed Munatius via Thrasea Paetus (so Geiger, 1979: 49. Geiger's presumption is plausible, though it should be noted that Plutarch's citations do not categorically exclude his direct use of Munatius; cf. Plut. *Cato min.* 25.1, 37.1). For Plutarch's use of Munatius and Thrasea, see Helmbold and O'Neil, 52, 71. Comprehensive bibliographies on the Catonian literature can be found at Geiger (1979), 48 n. 1 and Stem, 107 n. 50.

of Cicero;[214] likewise, Hyginus' *De vita rebusque illustrium virorum*.[215] With the exception of the *De lingua Latina* and *Rerum rusticarum*, most of Varro's works exist only as fragments or titles; Santra is simply a name.[216] Nepos and Nicolaus have fared somewhat better; what survives from their texts reveals a good deal about the state of the biographical form and its reception immediately prior to our two imperial biographers.

Nepos' primary focus, like Hermippus and Satyrus, appears to have been the writing of Lives. Aside from the various biographies credited to him, his only attested works are a (very short) 'universal' history, the *Chronica*,

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[214] For Oppius, see Fündling, *BNP* s.v. Oppius, C.; Münzer, *RE* 18 s.v. Oppius (9), C., cols. 729-736; Smith and Cornell (2013), 380-382. For Tiro, see Drummond (2013a), 402-403; Groebe, *RE* 7A s.v. Tullius (52) M. T. Cicero, cols. 1319-1325.

[215] See especially Diehl, *RE* 10 s.v. Iulius (278) C. Iulius Hyginus, cols. 628–636; Fordyce, *OCD²* s.v. Hyginus (1); Schmidt (2001), 173-187 and *BNP* s.v. Hyginus, C. Iulius. On his *Exempla*, see especially Diehl, *RE* 10 s.v. Iulius (278) C. Iulius Hyginus, col. 633, 46–634, 8; on the *De familiis Troianis*, col. 634, 9–22; cf. Toohey (1984), 5-28. Schmidt (2001, 181-182; *BNP* s.v. Hyginus, C. Iulius, §I) revised the theory by Georg Friedrich Unger that one book from Hyginus' biographical series had survived—the *De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium*, now attributed to Nepos. This does not seem to have gained widespread acceptance, however (cf. Hägg 189 and n. 4, and note the lack of discussion in both Stem's and Pryzwansky's recent works).

[216] For Varro, see Dahlmann, *RE* Suppl. 6 s.v. M. Terentius Varro (84), cols. 1172–1277; Sallman, *BNP* s.v. V. Terentius, M. (Reatinus); Enk, *OCD²* s.v. Varro (2). On the *Hebdomades vel de imaginibus*, see especially Dahlmann, cols. 1227, 19–1229, 45. For Santra, see Kaster, *BNP* s.v. Santra; Keune, *RE* 1A s.v. Santra, cols. 2301-2302, and on the biographical work in particular, col. 2302, 15-24.

and *exempla* in five books.[217] It has been noted that many scholars regard Nepos' work as inferior; Jenkinson called it a "happy hunting ground" for historical inadequacy.[218] However, while it is true that Nepos makes a number of factual errors, the predominantly negative opinions of his text are also often based on an unfavourable comparison to the lengthier biographies of Suetonius and Plutarch. When considered on their own merits, the quality of Nepos' *Lives* is no more lacking than many of the biographic sources covered thus far. His style and vocabulary are the products of his own particular cultural sphere,[219] but his format conforms almost exactly to the proposed pattern of ancient βίοι.[220] Taking the longest of his preserved texts, the *Life of Atticus*, we find a familiar arrangement of topics: ancestry and childhood; adult life; political activity and actions performed in war; character virtue; old age; and death. Atticus' upright character is presented extensively via his deeds (e.g. Nep. *Att.* 2.4-6, 3.1-2, 4.4; almost every passage of the *Life* illustrates one of Atticus' virtues); direct quotations and anecdotes feature as

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[217] Hägg, 189; Jenkinson (1967), 1; Stem, 2-30. Evidence from the letters of Pliny the Younger suggests that Nepos may also have published a book of poetry (Pliny, *Ep.* 5.3.6; cf. Geiger, 1985: 67).

[218] Jenkinson (1967), 10 and cf. (1973), 713. Hägg countered this commonly-held opinion, noting that Nepos had been "singularly unlucky regarding [what survived of his work]: the non-Roman military commanders were no doubt the figures farthest from his competence … The lost book on Roman commanders may have shown different talents" (Hägg, 196; cf. Geiger, 1985: 104).

[219] Hägg, 196; Titchener, 90. Both were responding to criticisms made by Horsfall (8), that Nepos had "no capacity for elegance".

[220] In addition to the *Life of Atticus*, examined here, Jenkinson (1967: 6-7) noted that Nepos' *Aristides* and *Cimon* followed a regular pattern. She identified this as the "fixed formula" of "Peripatetic biography"; it is, in fact, almost identical to the framework which underlies the encomiastic and biographic literature of the Classical and Hellenistic periods (see 41, 47-50, 67-70 above).

well (*Att.* 4.2, 8.4, 17.1, 21.5).[221] As a testament to the general reception of biographic works in the first century BCE, the *Atticus* suggests that audience expectations had not altered significantly from previous centuries. It is a somewhat unusual treatise, in that it was composed during its subject's lifetime; the technique is not found amongst earlier literature and Nepos may have priority in describing "the private life of a distinguished contemporary".[222] While it is extremely hard to determine the initial reception of an ancient work, Nicolaus' use of the same technique a few years later might suggest that the innovation was not poorly received.[223] As a whole, however, Nepos' biographies tend to conform to the styles observed in earlier works. His readers' expectations probably did likewise.

The use of Nicolaus to determine the general trends in Republican and Imperial biographical writing is difficult, not in the least because he was both geographically and culturally removed from the subject of his *Life*.[224] More concerning, however, is the nature of the text that has been preserved under his name. The extant version of his *Life of Augustus* is, in all likelihood, a conflation of two originally separate texts: Nicolaus' *Universal History* and his ἀγωγή τοῦ βίου Καίσαρος (cf. *Suda* N393).[225] The ἀγωγή, a shorter biographical text that typically discussed the period from birth to early

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[221] Jenkinson (1967), 7.

[222] Horsfall (1989), 9; cf. Geiger, 1985: 95; Hägg, 193.

[223] The *Atticus* was largely composed, if not published, prior to Atticus' death in 32 BCE (Hägg, 193 and n. 16). Bellemore (xxii) proposed that Nicolaus' ἀγωγή was most likely composed between 25-23 BCE.

[224] For Nicolaus' status as an 'outsider', and the effect this had upon his βίος, see especially Yarrow (2006), 67-77 and 157-161.

[225] Bellemore, xvii-xxi; Nicolaus' texts had been excerpted into digests during the tenth century, to provide "important literature" for the reading public. For ease of referencing, the surviving text will continue to be referred to as the *Life of Augustus*.

adulthood, is thought to be the provenance of §1-36 of the current text;[226] for Nicolaus' attitude and approach to biographically-styled writing, we should therefore look primarily to these sections. They are not without their problems. Foremost is the question of selective bias: the Byzantine manuscript from which the extant material derives was intended to illustrate "various moral points" and the excerptor would thus have chosen passages to accord with this theme.[227] Some extracts are thought to be significantly abridged; further, they contain several factual errors, the most obvious being the misplaced account of Octavian's adoption.[228] However, it is the overall style of the work that is most important for observing the continuing development of biographical writing—and in spite of the issues covered here, enough of the text survives to suggest that Nicolaus adhered to roughly the same format as our previous biographical sources.

The *Life of Augustus* begins with an overview of Augustus' virtues and achievements, not dissimilar to the opening addresses in the early encomia (Nic. *Aug*. 1; cf. Isoc. *Evag*. 1-8 and Xen. *Ages*. 1.1), then goes on to record a statement of intent (Nic. *Aug.* 2). The overall tone tends towards laudation but this is not unexpected, given the nature of Nicolaus' sources and the time at which he wrote. The section on ancestry is quite short, which may be due to the use of Augustus' own autobiography as a source; the latter had "not

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[226] Bellemore, xi. From §37 onward, the text is more historically-focussed in both tone and content, and probably derives from Nicolaus' *History*.

[227] Bellemore, xxiii.

[228] Bellemore, xxiii. The adoption appears too early in Octavian's life (Nic. *Aug*. 17; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.59.2-60.2; Suet. *Jul.* 83.2). Bellemore (81, 86) suggested that a scribe mistook Nicolaus' "anachronistic reference forward to the adoption" for a factual reference. Other simple errors are noted in §1 and §5 (Bellemore, 71 and 74 respectively); the former is thought to be the mistake of the excerptor, the latter, Nicolaus himself.

much to say" on his family.[229] Several of the key 'biographic' elements examined above feature throughout, such as the proleptic attribution of character traits (Nic. *Aug.* 4-5), the use of deeds to prove virtues (Nic. *Aug.* 14, 16, 18-19, 23-24), and anecdotal episodes (Nic. *Aug.* 16, 33, 36). We also see an interest in the more personal aspects of his Octavian's life: his mode of dress is mentioned (Nic. *Aug.* 11) and, though he is never physically described, his 'fine appearance' is referred to on more than one occasion (Nic. *Aug*. 9, 12, 13).

Although Nicolaus composed his work in Greek, his attention to appearance may represent an element of biographical writing hitherto particular to the Roman cultural sphere. The description of a subject's physical appearance is now considered an inherent aspect of biography, but it is conspicuously absent from earlier biographical sources and does not appear to have been a typically Greek concern. Plutarch's βίοι, though fuller than most examples of the form, do not suggest that their writer had the same level of interest in physical appearance as do the *vitae* by Suetonius.[230] The topic arises in several Plutarchan *Lives*, but Plutarch's attention to appearance is

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[229] Bellemore, xxii-xxiii, 72; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 2.3. This passage, previously identified as a citation from Augustus' autobiography [Fr. 1 Peter; Fr. 3 Malcovati] was more recently held to be a "probable fragment" (=Fr. 11 Smith; see Smith, 2009: 10). Nicolaus' brevity may indeed be the result of deficiencies in his source material, though abridgement of his work should be considered as an equally likely cause. His close attention to such details as Octavian's step-father Phillipus—who is not mentioned at all by Suetonius—as well as the campaigns of Caesar, suggests that Nicolaus' original text was more substantial than the version we now have.

[230] See also Evans (1935), 44 and (1941), 104-105; Georgiadou (1988), 355-356; Gladhill (2012), 319-322; Kaesser, 363-365; Tatum (1996), 135-136; Wardman (1967), 417-418; Wardle (2014), 470-471; *pace* Geiger (2014), 293, who felt that Plutarch "displayed great interest in the physical appearance of his heroes".

neither comprehensive nor uniform. Rather, his aims are physiognomic; the relevant details of his subjects' appearance are linked explicitly to their characters.[231] There are exceptions where Plutarch does provide descriptive indicators (e.g. *Cato mai.* 1.3, *Sull.* 2.1). As a general rule, however, Plutarch's treatment of his subjects' physical characteristics tends more towards the abstract than the specific. Brevity or generic descriptions may on occasion be excused as unavoidable—we do not know how long Plutarch was in Ravenna, for instance, or how closely he examined the statue of Marius (*Mar.* 2.1). Yet the same brevity is found in the *Themistocles* (*Them.* 22.2), the *Flamininus* (*Flam.* 1.1), and the *Lucullus*—whose statue had been erected in Chaeronea's agora (*Cim.* 2.2-3). There is no question as to Plutarch's familiarity with this final item, yet an exact description is still not included.[232] Suetonius' approach to appearance is quite different: he registers height, skin tone, hair and eye colour, bearing, and often the manner of dress for each of his subjects. While some detail is clearly physiognomic, other elements are superfluous to this aim, suggesting that both Roman authors and audiences

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[231] Cf. Georgiadou, 1988: 355 and n. 26; Wardman, 15; n. 232 immediately below. Notable examples can be found at Plut. *Brut*. 1.8 (cf. *Dion-Brut.* 5.2), *Mar.* 2.1, Suetonius, by comparison, seems to record aspects of appearance as simple matters of fact—compare, for instance, Plut. *Mar.* 2.1 or *Pyrr.* 3.4 with Suet. *Aug.* 79.2 and Suet. *Nero* 51.

[232] See also his treatment of appearance at *Per.* 3.2. The more exact indications of Cato's and Sulla's features may be related to the epigrams Plutarch includes in each of their *Lives*, rather than to his innate interest in the topic. See especially Georgiadou (1992), 4618-4620; Mossman (1991), 98-119. Cf. 152 n. 405 below for Suetonius' casting of appearance in the language of *deformitas*.

expected some account of appearance to be included in biographical treatises as a matter of course. [233]

An examination of Greek and Roman commemorative practice strengthens the case for seeing the biographical notation of appearance as a primarily Roman interest. Roman memorial traditions had developed concurrently, rather than sequentially, with their Greek counterparts. Cicero offered the opinion that the Greek style was not suited to discussing Roman matters, nor preferable to the *laudes* of Roman writers (Cic. *Brut.* 112), and while he speaks here only of literary style, it is the highly visual aspect of Roman memorial that offers the most striking contrast to the typical Greek practice. Art and performance were used extensively for commemoration.[234] Suetonius refers to *laudationes funebres* being delivered from the *rostra* when notable persons died (Suet. *Jul.* 6.1; *Aug.* 8.1; cf. Polyb. 6.53.1), and of the impressive public processions that marked a popular emperor's death (*Jul.*

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[233] Compare, for example, the *Claudius*—where every feature described is connected to his overall character (Suet. *Cl.* 30)—and the *Tiberius*, which has very few explicit parallels between appearance and character (*Tib.* 68.1-68.3). See further Gladhill, 324-326; Gascou (1984), 593-616; Rohrbacher (2010), 94-104 and especially 102-103; Vout (2010), 266-268.

[234] Cf. H. I. Flower (2004), 322: "Roman culture was … above all a visual culture, a culture of seeing and being seen, both on special occasions and in everyday life". Agnès Molinier-Arbò drew attention to the idea that family members were themselves a sort of physical commemoration, portraying the son as a living monument of his father (Molinier-Arbò, 2009: 83-94). A striking example can be found in Nero's presentation of himself as bearded on his coinage, despite the fact that he was clean-shaven, in order to visually commemorate his 'real' ancestors, the Domitii Ahenobarbi (Griffin, 1984: 121). Cf. also the hopes expressed for the 'future' Torquatus at Cat. 61.214-223.

84.1-5; *Aug.* 100.2-3; *Cl.* 45; *Tit*. 11).[235] Polybius, Livy, and Pliny the Elder all speak of the *imagines*, ancestral portraits made from wax, which formed an integral part of the Roman funereal process and which Cicero describes explicitly as having a memorial function (Cic. *Rab. Post.* 16; cf. Sal. *Jug.* 85.23). These wax models were displayed in the *atria* of noble families (Polyb. 6.53.4-5; cf. Ovid *Fast.* 1.591-92; Sen. *Ben.* 3.28.2);[236] each *imago* was labelled with the deceased person's name and the offices they had held (Livy 10.7.11).[237] Except in cases where the figure had been deified (Dio 47.19.2), an *imago* would be worn during funeral processions by the family member who most resembled the deceased (Polyb. 6.53.6). These 'actors' would also put on a toga in accordance with their 'character's' position in life and process to the rostra accompanied by the appropriate insignia (Polyb. 6.53.8). Visual commemoration did not end here; genealogies were displayed in the *atrium* (Plin. *NH.* 35.6), and busts and statues were also made. Pliny notes the introduction of portrait busts in libraries during the first century BCE (Plin. *NH.* 35.10-11), while Suetonius tells of an *imaguncula* representing Augustus, which Hadrian kept among his private *Lares* (Suet. *Aug*. 7.1).

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[235] Unpopular, or 'bad', emperors were not accorded the same honour; c.f. Suet. *Tib.* 75.1-2*; Cal.* 59; *Ner.* 57.1; *Dom.* 23.1. On the importance of the funeral, see especially Flaig (2003), 49-68; H. I. Flower (2004), 331-336.

[236] A full compilation of the literary testimonia relating to *imagines* can be found in H. I. Flower (1996), 281-325. For Cicero and other 'new men', *imagines* provided a vehicle to discuss the traditional conception of *nobilitas* and its place within the political sphere, as only those who had attained at least a curule aedileship were permitted to display an *imago* (H. I. Flower, 1996: 53; cf. Kaplow, 2008: 409-416). On the more general function of the *imagines*, and their role in Roman memorialisation, see Baroin (2010), 19-48.

[237] Cf. H. I. Flower (1996), 185-186, 207; Shelton (1998), 61 n. 9, 95; Stuart, 200.

This is not to suggest that the Greeks did not memorialise through visual or performance art. Homer attests to both funereal songs (e.g. *Il.* 24.725-775) and commemorative artworks (e.g. *Il.* 18.483-607, where the shield of Achilles is presented as a memorial to the eternal cosmos, and the past deeds of gods and men). The Epicureans are said to have commissioned a vast array of statues and other images with which to celebrate their founder. [238] *Lekythoi*, funerary vases or flasks for grave offerings, were common during the Classical period;[239] these were typically decorated with mythological scenes relating to death.[240] A sub-class with a markedly different style arose during the second half of the fifth century BCE; termed white-ground *lekythoi* (for their light coloured backgrounds), these vases almost exclusively depict realistic funerary scenes, such as tomb-side ritual or family members mourning their dead.[241] However, white-ground *lekythoi* were not popular outside Attica and Euboia,[242] and do not appear amongst surviving archaeological evidence after the fifth century BCE.

While Hellenistic funereal art continued to depict mythological figures and scenes,[243] Roman memorial practice focussed on historicity, representing ancestors about whom facts could be verified. Attention to physical

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[238]See especially Frischer (1982), 90-92. This was not typical; Frischer, and others before him, noted that the Epicurean 'approval' of representative imagery was "unique among all the philosophical schools" (Frischer, 91, after Geffcken).

[239] Boardman (2006), 38; Osborne, 115.

[240] Boardman, 41; Osborne, 190. Heracles' battles, Perseus and Medusa, and Achilles and Penthesileia are common motifs.

[241] Boardman, 204; Osborne, 190-192.

[242] Osborne, 191.

[243] See Boardman, 216ff. Hellenistic commemoration focussed to a large extent on sculpture and architecture, but as with the fifth century *lekythoi*, mythological scenes dominated.

appearance does not feature in all of our extant texts—it is absent from every *Life* in Suetonius' *De grammaticis* and *De rhetoribus*, for example, and also missing from some of the *Lives* in his *De poetis*—but this may be due as much to manuscript survival as it is to the author.[244] The longer *Lives* from the *De poetis*, particularly those for which Suetonius' ultimate authorship is assured, do include a description of physical appearance.[245] Some are quite basic (e.g. Suet. *Vit*. *Aul. Per*.; *Vit. Tib.*); others, however, follow the pattern observed in the *De vita Caesarum* (e.g. *Vit. Hor.*; *Vit. Ter.* 5; *Vit. Ver*. 8). Similar attention to appearance can also be found in the works of Suetonius' contemporaries and predecessors. Tacitus recorded Agricola's appearance in spite of the fact that he considered visual commemoration to be transient, and thus not as valuable as the practice of recalling, and contemplating, *omnia facta dictaque*. Varro included sketches of each of his subjects, a technique that had not been used previously in biographic literature (Pliny, *NH* 35.2) and which must surely stem from the Romans' highly visual conception of memorial.[246] Epigraphic evidence further shows that descriptions of physical appearance

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[244] Cf. Rolfe (1997), 370. Gladhill (322) felt that "[i]ndividualistic descriptions of historical and fictional characters" were all but absent from the ancient literary tradition until Suetonius' *vitae*—a conclusion I am reluctant to accept in light of the extremely limited representation of Roman biographic literature. Gladhill's thesis, that Suetonius' physical descriptions were skilfully crafted *ecphrases* against which his readers could juxtapose the "idealized, artistic representations" of the emperors, does not require that physical descriptions of appearance had not been incorporated into earlier biographic literature, only that such descriptions had not previously been used to subvert visual imperial propaganda (thus Gladhill, 342).

[245] The *Terence*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Tibullus*, and *Persius* all contain descriptions; the first three of these can be definitively attributed to Suetonius (Rolfe, 430, 442, 460). The *Lucan* (probably Suetonian; Rolfe, 476), *Pliny the Elder*, and *Passienus Crispus* (possibly Suetonian; Rolfe, 480, 482) do not.

[246] Cf. Momigliano, 96; 87-88 and nn. 234, 236 above.

were incorporated into funerary monuments as early as the third century BCE.[247]

Given the pervasive aspects of visual memorial in everyday Roman life, it is perhaps unsurprising that the most detailed descriptions of physical appearance are found in Latin biographical texts—and until the time of Nicolaus at least, we can be reasonably confident in suggesting that Greek audiences did not expect a βίος to register physical appearance at length. However, increasing attention to the topic throughout the first century CE, and its inclusion by such later writers as Damascius (e.g. Damasc. Fr. 13 Athanassiadi [=Fr. E16 Zintzen]), suggest that detailed descriptions of physical appearance were eventually subsumed into the 'standard' arrangement expected of biographical works. This is likely to have occurred in much the same way as other biographic innovations—which is to say, gradually. Exactly when the documentation of appearance in βίοι and *vitae* might have become common we cannot say, though it was clearly expected by the time Suetonius and Plutarch wrote; although Plutarch generally places less emphasis on appearance than Suetonius, he *does* seem to be aware that the topic belongs in a βίος (e.g. Plut. *Alex.* 4.1-4; *Ant.* 4.1-2; *Arat.* 3.2; *Cat. mai.* 1.3; *Lys.* 1.1; *Phoc.* 4.2; *Sull.* 2.1). The first centuries BCE and CE may therefore have witnessed a type of cultural fusion in biographic literature.[248] Though we should remain cautious in strictly dividing the ancient literature, whether it be generically or culturally, the increased attention to detailed biographic writing and the widespread incorporation of aspects such as physical appearance does tend to suggest that a more strongly conceived

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[247] Evans (1935), 52.

[248] Cf. Garraty, 43: "by the time of Nepos the distinction between Greek and Roman biography was rapidly disappearing".

'generic' form—deemed acceptable by authors and audiences of both cultures—was now beginning (or had perhaps already begun) to emerge.

Historicism and Reception: Greek and Roman 'Biography' Reconsidered

Considered as a whole, a fairly consistent pattern of style emerges from the surviving biographic literature—consistent enough that some conclusions can be drawn as to how βίοι were initially constructed, and how this construction (and the texts' reception) developed in the centuries before Plutarch and Suetonius wrote. As noted at the outset of this chapter, the nature of the ancient biographical form is something of a paradox, having both fixed and fluid aspects.[249] Our examination of the primary 'biographical' texts revealed that many of the elements that comprised a βίος or *vita* ossified comparatively early in the form's development. Friedrich Leo believed there had been no new styles of historical writing—including biography—for at least the three centuries prior to Suetonius, while Osley saw no advances in Greek biographical writing between Polybius and Plutarch.[250] In fact, a basic framework for recording the life history of an individual seems to have been established even earlier than this, with some content remaining unchanged for five to six centuries before Plutarch and Suetonius composed their works.[251] This strongly suggests that, while there may not have been a stringently-defined theory for biographical writing, some generic expectations existed nevertheless—which is how Jenkinson was able to claim that Plutarch followed a 'fixed' Peripatetic formula when he came to compose his *Lives*.[252]

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[249] See also 41 above.

[250] Leo (1901), 11; Osley, 19.

[251] See especially 53 (Fig. 1) and 59 above.

[252] Jenkinson (1967), 6; cf. 51 above.

The 'biographical' template, or framework, is first seen in the works of Isocrates and Xenophon—both of whom are routinely considered to be the early pioneers of life-writing. Many of our extant sources show little deviation from this framework. Later writers expand, adjust, or add to it as necessary, creating more nuanced portraits of their subjects, but the nucleus is still clearly discernable. The main techniques and foci found in the early 'biographical' texts of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE recur time and again in the fragmentary works of the third century BCE, and although they cannot be properly traced through the later Hellenistic period, the fact that they reappear without significant change in the first centuries BCE and CE strongly suggests that no such changes were made—which in turn suggests that audience expectations remained quite constant.[253]

Although the biographic form might be considered stable, it cannot—and should not—be considered static. Progressive developments to both structure and content are found, and some change is certain to have occurred in the general reception of texts also. The development of biographical content follows a fairly logical trajectory; audience expectations probably did likewise. The close proximity of βίοι to other prose forms is key in isolating these expectations. In many cases, writers of Lives demonstrate comparable aims and methods to those writing ἱστορία or encomiastic pieces. Authors who introduce innovative content tend to note specifically that they are doing so and proceed to make a case for it, insisting that their changes have place and purpose within the text (e.g. Isoc. *Evag*. 5-11; Xen. 3.1; Nepos *Vir. Ill. Praef.*). In cases where their innovation is adopted by later authors, we can assume either that it was well-received in the first instance, or that generic expectations shifted in response to the new technique. The relationship

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[253] See 34ff. above for audience reception and expectations of the biographic form, and 40-41 particularly for the significance of the reader in relation to the text.

between text and audience was two-way, however, and in some cases we find that authorial content may have been governed by audience expectation, rather than the reverse.

Ancient biographical texts were thus formed by, and reformed, their readers' general expectations. This supports the idea that 'traditional' memorial elements, such as ancestry, deeds, and propensity towards virtue (or vice) would have been expected to appear in even the earliest biographical texts. Isocrates' and Xenophon's encomia show that the technique of portraying a subject's ἦθος through an examination of their deeds was already a well-established concept by the time they wrote. That it was also a respected, and *expected*, technique is made clear by its continued employment in the centuries that followed. Early readers may also have anticipated some treatment of the subject's death, though how factual we cannot say—in both historical and encomiastic texts, death is presented as a final demonstration of the subject's honourable (or dishonourable; so Hdt. 1.30-34, 1.85-86) life, and in encomia especially the facts are shaped to suit the literary form with little regard for historical veracity (so Isoc. *Evag*. 71).[254] Finally, a discussion of the subject's education and childhood probably came to be expected fairly early in the development of biographical writing. Not only is it a logical topic of discussion for authors who wished to compose a more in-depth treatment of an individual, it is well suited to the Greek expectation that character was fixed at birth and observable from a young age (e.g. Xen. *Cyrop.* 1.1.6).[255]

In contrast to these elements is the use of negative, or neutral, anecdotes. It does not seem likely that this was expected in the very early

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[254] Compare, too, the quite different accounts of Tiberius Gracchus' death in Plutarch's *Life* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Plut. *TG.* 17.1-19.6; *RhetHer.* 4.55.68).

[255] Cf. Gill (1983), 1-9.

stages of biographical writing. Anecdotes demonstrating non-exemplary behaviours or character traits appear to increase in frequency throughout the fourth and third centuries BCE, and are much more prevalent in literature of the first centuries BCE and CE. This suggests that audiences came to demand higher levels of objectivity and evaluation for biographic subjects only gradually. It is difficult to determine precisely when this expectation might have solidified. The increased amount of historical fact in βίοι from the late fourth or early third centuries BCE could indicate that these works were composed and received with a slightly different set of expectations than were earlier character-centric pieces. The fact that Polybius explicitly separates his encomiastic treatment of Philopoemon from his more 'impartial' *History* likewise suggests that each form had engendered distinct expectations at least by the second century BCE. However, we must be cautious not to overstress these distinctions; encomia and βίοι continued to remain quite close in style. The earliest prose encomia still exerted an influence over biographical writers in the first century BCE, as demonstrated by Nepos' eulogistic *Life of Agesilaus* and *Life of Epaminondas*.[256]

As the biographic form evolved, some new expectations regarding the structure of biographical or character-centric works would have likely emerged. These expectations may have been more flexible than some modern opinions allow; Satyrus' dialogue-based *Life of Euripides* suggests that the ancient perception of an 'acceptable' biographic format was very flexible indeed. Expectations regarding length are difficult to estimate: while the extant fragments give a reasonable indication of developments in biographic content throughout the Classical and Hellenistic eras, they cannot generally be used to predict the length of the original texts, nor do the extant texts themselves offer a comparable standard. Early biographic treatments within

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[256] Jenkinson (1967), 8.

historical texts seem short in comparison to the surrounding narrative, but Herodotus' portrait of Cyrus runs to almost 7000 words.[257] Isocrates' and Xenophon's encomia are both of a similar length to the shorter Plutarchan *Lives*, at 4820 and 7559 words respectively.[258] Satyrus' *Euripides* formed a single book along with the now-lost *Aeschylus* and *Socrates*; Hermippus' *Lives* of the Seven Sages were published in at least four books,[259] possibly more. Varro, on the other hand, is credited with 700 biographic sketches in fifteen books (Pliny, *NH* 35.2) and Nepos' *De viris illustribus* is known to have filled at least sixteen books, which equates to some 300-400 individual biographies.[260] Even in later antiquity there does not seem to have been an average length: the first six of Suetonius' *Caesars* are comparable to the average Plutarchan *Life* and occupied an entire book each, while the latter six are significantly shorter and were published in two books of three *vitae*. The surviving biographies from Suetonius' *De viris illustribus* are shorter again, as are those from the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.

Having established what we can of the general reception of biographic texts throughout the fifth to first centuries BCE, we are now in a position to assess—with a reasonable degree of accuracy—the reception of Plutarch's and Suetonius' imperial biographies in the first and second centuries CE. It was noted previously that modern studies tend to hold these two series in disregard,[261] yet the examination above suggests that both the *Lives of the*

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[257] Collectively, the passages noted by Avery, Homeyer, and Immerwahr to be biographical (Hdt. 1.95, 107-130, 177-188, 205-214) total 6910 Greek words.

[258] As recorded on *TLG*. Plutarch's *Galba* is 6395 words; his *Otho* is 4295. The average length of a Plutarchan *Life* is around 10 500 words; see 129 n. 342 below.

[259] Bollansée (1999), 195.

[260] Geiger (1985: 84) put the figure at around 400; Stem (23) suggested "well over three hundred".

[261] See 5-10 above.

Caesars and the *De vita Caesarum* adhere quite closely to the 'typical' pattern of ancient biographic texts—at least insofar as this can be discerned—and, moreover, that their immediate reception would have been generally positive. The prevalent opinion that Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* represent the epitome of the biographic form stems primarily from the fact that these *Lives* are closest in style to modern preconceptions and examples of biography. An analysis of reception in the ancient world finds little to indicate that Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* were considered intrinsically more valuable at the time they were published than were his earlier biographies, or those by his contemporaries and predecessors. We should therefore be cautious about using the *Parallel Lives* as a yardstick for other texts. They may in fact have been something of an innovation, rather than a standard; aside from Nepos' *De viris illustribus*, there is no extant evidence of comparative biography between Greek and Roman personalities.[262] As almost all of Nepos is lost, we cannot be sure how his comparisons were drawn, and whether Plutarch's *synkriseis* were his own creation, adaptation, or enhancement. At the very least, they must represent a degree of augmentation.

The wilful ignorance of the surviving imperial βίοι and *vitae* in favour of Plutarch's paired *Lives*, or other biographic examples that accord with modern preconceptions, is nothing so much as self-inflicted scholarly myopia. To their original audiences, Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars* and Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum* were deemed a fitting contribution to what was obviously a popular and well-received branch of literature. To examine these texts fairly, and in accordance with the concept of historicity, we should keep this judgement firmly in mind.

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[262] Cf. Geiger (1985), 87-88, 93-95 and (2014), 293; Georgiadou (2014), 260. That Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars* were also innovative, see Stadter (2014b), 18. There are notable examples of comparative historiography; see especially Sall. *Cat.* 53-54; Just. *Epit.* 9.8.

CHAPTER THREE

<u>Plutarch, Suetonius, and the Applications of Historicism</u>

The preceding analysis demonstrates that the application of historicism allows us to determine—to a certain extent—what was usual or typical in ancient biographical writing at various points in the form's development. The extant texts can therefore be used not only to further our understanding of the biographical form as a whole, but also to gain insight into works of a specific era. We must naturally allow for the divergence of purpose and content amongst individual authors, yet if a majority of texts with similarly identifiable objectives, from a single historical period, are found to have strong common themes or elements, it follows that these same themes and elements would have appeared in most similarly-styled texts from this period. This has significant implications for the study of ancient biography in general, but is especially useful in cases where attested works are extremely fragmentary or entirely lost—such as Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars.* Only two *Lives* survive from this sequence. This is hardly a representative sample of the original work, and a literary analysis of the *Galba* and *Otho* alone can provide only a very limited basis for understanding the series which these two *Lives* came from; estimates can be made about its format and length, but not much more. There is simply not enough material to determine Plutarch's 'typical' methods of composition at the time the *Lives of the Caesars* was written. However, if the literary structures of these two *Lives* are analysed alongside those from other, similar, texts of the same period, the scope is instantly greater.

We are fortunate in this instance to have numerous other Plutarchan βίοι, as well as the roughly contemporary series of imperial *vitae* by Suetonius. These provide, through comparison with the *Galba* and *Otho*, an opportunity for the formation of more detailed hypotheses regarding the *Lives of the Caesars*. [263] The series naturally cannot be recovered entirely, or even extensively, but the construction of a basic framework—including format, length, primary themes, and choices of anecdotal evidence—may indeed be possible. In order to achieve this, however, we must first evaluate each author in accordance with our understanding of historicism. The comparison of a Plutarchan with a Suetonian text immediately brings the inherent differences in their biographic approach into sharp relief. There are separate issues to consider for each set of texts, such as form, content, and authorial purpose, but in addition to this is the fact that our two authors belonged to what were—at times—vastly different worlds. Factors such as cultural background, recourse to source material, personal belief systems, and general methodology all have an impact upon their ultimate presentation of biographic material, and it is necessary to fully examine the implications of these, as well as addressing the more complex problems of each source, before analysing the texts themselves.

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[263] *Pace* Syme (1980: 104 [=1984: 1251]), who felt that Plutarch's *Galba* and *Otho* were not comparable with either the *Parallel Lives* or Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*. Though they differ in many respects, it is my hope that the following analysis will demonstrate that comparison between the two is, indeed, both possible and beneficial—provided it is done with close attention to authorial aim and context.

Basic Principles*: Dating the Texts*

The initial task is situating both Plutarch and Suetonius—and their works—in the correct historical context. There is no certain information for either writer's birth or death, and many of their works have not been dated beyond an approximation. Plutarch is thought to be the elder of the two, possibly by as much as two decades; his birth is typically placed during Claudius' reign, ca. 40-50 CE, as he refers to himself as being a pupil of Ammonius during Nero's visit to Athens (ca. 66-67 CE; *De E Delph.* 387F).[264] His death is harder to pinpoint. The primary evidence is drawn from two statuary inscriptions, erected at Delphi in honour of the emperor Hadrian: the first designates the officiating priest of the time as 'Mestrius Plutarch', and has been dated tentatively to 117 CE;[265] the second is dated with more certainty to 125 CE and names the officiator as 'Aristotimus'. As the priesthood at Delphi was granted for life, Jones took Aristotimus to be Plutarch's successor and placed Plutarch's death prior to the statue's erection in 125 CE.[266] A

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[264] Barrow, xii; Duff (1999), 1; Jones (1971), 13; Little and Ehrhardt, 1.

[265] Swain (1991), 320. The date rests on the fact that none of Hadrian's honours are mentioned in the inscription's contents.

[266] Jones (1966), 66, and on the priesthood more generally, Stadter (2014b), 20-21. Jones' belief that the senior priest would be given formal priority in an inscription of this type was questioned by Robert Flacelière, who argued that both statues were erected by the acting *epimelete*, not the priest of Apollo, and that it could not be taken as a given that Plutarch had been succeeded by Aristotimus by 125 CE (Flacelière, 1971: 169, 179-180). Conversely, Swain (1991: 322) agreed with Jones' findings. Despite having accepted that Aristotimus could indeed have been acting 'qu' épimélète des Amphictyons', Swain felt that "Possession of the priesthood would be as important a factor as the *epimeleteia* … it would be unreasonable to deny that it would be the senior of the two priests who would be commissioned to put up the imperial figure".

passage from Syncellus suggests that Plutarch was still alive in 119 CE; Syncellus notes that Hadrian appointed Plutarch as procurator of Greece at this time (Sync. *Ec. Chron.* 659). As Barrow noted, the terminology is incorrect; Greece was governed by a proconsul, not a procurator.[267] Despite this, however, most scholars choose to accept the report as genuine, and place Plutarch's death ca. 120 CE.[268]

Dating Plutarch's literary output is also speculative, though to a lesser degree—enough references are made to historical events that Jones was able to provide at least a *terminus post* or *terminus ante quem* for the publication of twelve pairs of *Lives* and thirty other texts (including the *Galba* and *Otho*).[269] The *Lives of the Caesars* is thought to have been composed earlier than the series of paired *Lives*; though there is little in either the *Galba* or *Otho* to indicate a publication date, the fact that the Flavian emperors were

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[267] Barrow, 50. As noted in Mosshammer's critical apparatus, the passage is sometimes attributed to Eusebius (so Barrow, 49-50; Jones, 1966: 63). Swain (1991: 318; cf. Stadter, 2014b: 20) felt this was an error. The *Suda* states that Trajan, not Hadrian, granted Plutarch 'consular' power (*Suda* Π1793); Jones and Swain interpreted this as the *ornamenta consularia*, an honour sometimes bestowed upon literary persons in recognition of their work (Jones, 1971: 29; Swain, 1991: 318 n. 3). Barrow suggested that perhaps this is what was meant in this instance, though added that he felt that the confusion was "unusual" for Eusebius—furthering Swain's argument that the passage derived from Syncellus. On Syncellus' dependability, see Swain (1991), 318 and n. 4.

[268] See, for example, Barrow, 12; Dihle (1994a), 188; Duff (1999), 1; Gossage (1967), 45; Jones (1971), 28. Strictly speaking, the most accurate date would be post-117.

[269] Jones (1966), 69-73. Jones' chronology has been extremely influential, and few advances have been made since its publication; the essay was able to be reproduced without alteration in 1995 (Scardigli, 1995: 95-124). For further work on the chronology of the *Lives*, see Delvaux (1995), 103-105, 112-113; Nikolaidis (2005), esp. 284-287, 317-318.

not included in the series is probable indication that it was completed prior to Domitian's death. Documenting the lives of contemporary figures was not unheard of, as Nepos' biography of Atticus demonstrates, but it does not seem to have been typical practice—particularly not when the subject was an emperor. [270] The praise of Junius Mauricus (Plut. *Galb.* 8.8) suggests a publication date not later than 93 CE, when Mauricus was exiled (Plin. *Ep*. 3.11.3).[271] Various dates have been proposed as a *terminus post quem*. Some believe that Plutarch's portrayal of Aulus Caecina Alienus as ἐπαχθὴς καὶ ἀλλόκοτος (Plut. *Oth.* 6.3) must indicate that publication occurred after Caecina's death in 79 CE (cf. Suet. *Tit.* 6.2), for until this time, *scriptores temporum* had attempted to give Caecina's betrayal of Vitellius a noble veneer (Tac. *Hist.* 2.101).[272] However, Stadter recently demonstrated that this need not be the case, thereby making the only assured *terminus post* for the series Plutarch's reference to the consulship of Mestrius Florus (Plut. *Oth.* 14.2), ca. 75 CE.[273] Stadter himself favoured a date of composition around

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[270] Jones (1971), 71-72; Little and Ehrhardt, 3; Stadter (2005), 428; Syme (1980: 108 [=1984: 1255]). Suetonius excluded the three rulers of the Nervan-Antonine dynasty from his *vitae*, ending with the simple (and politic) note that those who followed Domitian possessed *abstinentia* and *moderatio* (*Dom.* 23.2). Tacitus implied in his *Agricola* that he would discuss the reigns of Domitian, Nerva and Trajan in a future work, yet omitted any treatment of the latter two in the *Histories*, earmarking this for his old age (Tac. *Hist.* 1.1). Thus, as far as can be determined from his contemporaries, Plutarch probably would not have considered the reigning emperor or his family fitting subjects for his βίοι, giving the *Lives of the Caesars* a rough *terminus ante* of 96 CE, the date of Domitian's death.

[271] See also Bowersock (1998), 201; Jones (1971), 72; Little and Ehrhardt, 3, 57.

[272] See, for instance, Bowersock (1998), 202; Jones (1966), 71; Syme (1958), 181; Stadter (2005), 429.

[273] Stadter (2005), 429-431; cf. Georgiadou (2014), 252; Jones (1971), 80.

this time, suggesting that the *Caesars* were intended as an examination of "Roman history through the lens of … Platonic philosophy", and would have therefore been undertaken at the beginning of Vespasian's reign, "the obvious moment" for an evaluation of past imperial ethics.[274]

The evidence for dating Suetonius' work is even more scant than that for Plutarch's. The text reveals very little: Suetonius refers to himself once as being an *adulescens*, a word whose meaning has been the subject of much scrutiny.[275] Most scholars suggest that Suetonius was born near the end of Nero's reign, ca. 70 CE, but various cases have been made for his birth being up to ten years earlier.[276] His date of death cannot be fixed with any surety at all, as the only 'evidence' is inferential and contradictory. Russell Meiggs, discussing the possibility that Suetonius had held an Ostian pontificate, believed that he had died prior to 127 CE; like the priesthood at Delphi, the *pontifex Vulcani* was held for life and A. Egrilius Plarianus is known to have held the same role prior to 128 CE.[277] Gavin Townend, on the other hand, felt

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[274] Stadter (2005), 431. On Plutarch's Platonism, see (briefly) Russell (1973), 63–65 and further, Dillon (2014), 61-72. The topic of Plutarch and philosophy is too well-treated in modern scholarship to give an exhaustive bibliography here, but see 112-117 below for a short discussion on Plutarch's education and its impact upon his compositions.

[275] See especially Baldwin (1975), 61-65 and (1983), 6-9.

[276] E.g. Baldwin (1975), 61-67 and (1983), 3, 8; K. R. Bradley (1998), 2; Macé, 34; Mooney (1979), 2; Syme (1980), 108 [=(1984), 1255]; Wallace-Hadrill, 3; Warmington (1977), 2.

[277] Meiggs (1985), 177, 514. Baldwin (1975: 70) felt that the attestation of Egrilius need not indicate Suetonius' death: "if he really was dismissed by Hadrian … in 122, [Suetonius] may have been compelled to surrender his priesthood at the same time".

that a reference in the *Titus* suggested that Suetonius was still alive and writing ca. 130 CE.[278]

Isolating dates for Suetonius' publications is equally difficult. Epistolary evidence might provide a *terminus post quem* of ca. 105 CE for his corpus as a whole: in a letter dated to that year, the younger Pliny exhorts Suetonius to publish some unnamed volumes (Plin. *Ep.* 5.10.3). This work is often taken to be the *De viris illustribus*, though Pliny's phrasing seems to suggest that Suetonius had yet to publish any of his work at the time the letter was sent.[279] This is intriguing. Suetonius was sufficiently accomplished by ca. 110 CE for Pliny to request the *ius trium liberorum* on his behalf; if he had truly published nothing prior to 105 CE, a considerable amount of material must have been produced in the years between 105 and 110, when Trajan granted Pliny's request (Plin. *Ep.* 10.95).[280] This is not altogether unlikely: Suetonius appears to have had scholarly inclinations as early as 97 CE (Plin. *Ep.*

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[278] Townend (1967), 80, citing Suet. *Tit.* 10.2; cf. Syme (1958), 780 and (1981), 117. Baldwin (1975: 70) rejected this date, though he did not discuss Suetonius' *On Public Offices*, which Townend (after Macé) had also dated to ca. 130 CE, when the majority of Hadrian's bureaucratic reforms were enacted.

[279] Cf. Baldwin (1983), 15-17, 380; Macé, 50, 66-68); Mooney, 7; Wallace-Hadrill, 59. Macé felt that the *De viris illustribus* could not have been published before 109 or even 113 CE, as it was not directly referenced in any of Pliny's letters. Tristan Power, on the other hand, accepted Pliny's statement only as "a *terminus post quem* for Suetonius' first literary debut of significant note" (T. J. Power, 2010: 156 and n. 59. The emphasis here is my own.) Most scholars have equated the unnamed text in Pliny's letter with the *De viris illustribus*; e.g. Cizek (1977), 14; Crook (1956), 22; Hurley (2011), xv; McDermott (1971), 93; T. J. Power (2010), 141 and n. 7; Rolfe, 370; Sanders (1944), 113; Syme (1981), 115.

[280] The exact dates of Pliny's letter, and Trajan's response, are unknown; see the varying dates given by T. J. Power (2010: 141, 156-159), Sanders (113), and Walsh (2006: 277).

1.24.4),[281] and Pliny describes the *scripta* in his letter of 105 as completed and perfect (Plin. *Ep.* 5.10.3)—in his opinion, further revision would not enhance these works, but rather, dull them. If already completed and stored, Suetonius' volumes could have been published quite quickly, thereby building his literary reputation in a comparatively short period of time.[282] The *De viris illustribus* may also have been composed and published—whether whole or in part—in the intervening years.

Establishing a date for the *De viris illustribus* is of particular importance, as it directly affects our ability to date the *De vita Caesarum*. The latter is widely agreed to post-date the former,[283] yet there is little in either text to indicate even an approximate time frame. Glen Bowersock found a possible *terminus post quem* for the Julio-Claudian *vitae* in a set of commemorative coins issued by Trajan in 107 CE; these "revived the memory of Caesar" and could therefore explain "why Suetonius led off his lives … with

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[281] Assuming that this letter, like those which surround it, does indeed date from ca. 97 CE. This fact is not entirely certain; see Sherwin-White (1966), 140: "Neither the date nor the identity of the addressee can be determined." On the description of Suetonius as *scholasticus*, see 110 and n. 294 below.

[282] Cf. T. J. Power (2010), 142 n. 7. Though he felt that Suetonius had been granted the *ius trium liberorum* on the merits of his *De viris illustribus*, he acknowledged that a work of "smaller scale would not necessarily discount … recognition".

[283] E.g. Baldwin (1975), 70 (though contrast 1983: 380: "there is no evidence the *De viris illustribus* was antecedent to the imperial biographies"); Bowersock (1969), 119; Crook (1956), 22; Lindsay (1994), 459 and n. 42; T. J. Power (2010), 140-141; Wallace-Hadrill, 1-2, 7-8. Given the scope of the *De vita Caesarum*, it probably also post-dated the numerous smaller essays (so Bowersock, 1969: 122-123; Townend, 1967: 80; Wallace-Hadrill, 46-47; see 105 n. 278 above for the date of *On Public Offices*). For the minor works, see Roth (1907), 275ff.

a biography of Caesar, who was no *princeps*".[284] Hugh Lindsay noted that Suetonius' interest in the *ab epistulis*-type position offered to Horace by Augustus (Suet*. Hor.*) might indicate that Suetonius himself was already *ab epistulis* at the time he wrote the *vita Horati*;[285] if so, this section of the *De viris illustribus* could only have been composed after ca. 118 CE.[286] Tristan Power, in a recent and persuasive re-examination of Suetonius' literary career, observed a complex network of inter– and intratextual allusions throughout the fifth book of Pliny's letters and Suetonius' *vita Vergili*,[287] which he felt was compelling evidence that the composition of the *De viris illustribus* was "well

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[284] Bowersock (1969), 123 and (1998), 197. On Caesar's ambiguous position as an 'emperor', see 196-199 below.

[285] Lindsay (1994), 459; against this, see especially Wardle (2002), 462-463.

[286] On Suetonius' promotion to *ab epistulis*, see Crook (1956), 19; Grosso (1959), 277; Lindsay (1994), 459 and n. 42; Macé, 89; Wallace-Hadrill, 5. Lindsay's suggestion is generally irreconcilable with that of Power, that the *vita Vergili* (and, presumably, *De poetis*) was underway by 105 CE (T. J. Power, 2010: 154-156, but see also 110 n. 295 below). and is also contrary to Townend's hypothesis that ca. 118 CE represented a *terminus ante quem* for the *De viris illustribus* (Townend, 1973: 152). Townend proposed this date on the basis of Suetonian allusions in Juvenal's seventh satire; T. J. Power (2010: 156-157) explicitly rejected the idea.

[287] T. J. Power (2010), 141ff. The primary literary allusions are to Virgil's *Georgics* (Plin. *Ep.* 5.8, 5.10) and *Aeneid* (Suet. *Virg.* 39-41), but Power also discerned in Pliny's letters possible echoes of Catullus 42 (T. J. Power, 2010: 149-150) and the elder Pliny's *Natural History* (T. J. Power, 2010: 145). He felt that these inferences were crafted so as to evoke the "importance of revision and the precariousness of unfinished works", and to remind Suetonius that "without the final act of publishing and circulating a text, all of the author's hard work is for nothing" (T. J. Power, 2010: 148-149). That Pliny was using Catullus, Virgil, and his uncle as *exempla* for Suetonius seems quite reasonable: emulation and appropriation were common elements of Roman literature; moreover, they were devices that Suetonius himself would both recognise and appreciate (cf. T. J. Power, 2010: 156).

underway" by 105 CE.[288] Finally, there are the tentative dates offered by the now-lost dedication of the *De vita Caesarum*—or part thereof—to C. Septicius Clarus, the praetorian prefect (Ioan. Lyd. *De mag.* 2.6). For this dedication to hold, the *Divus Julius* at least must have been published after 119 CE, when Septicius was elevated to the role of prefect,[289] and before either 122 or 128 CE, when both Septicius and Suetonius were dismissed from Hadrian's service for 'impropriety' towards his wife Sabina (*SHA:Hadr.* 11.3). The date is controversial, and while most scholars still prefer 122 CE, compelling cases have been made for ca. 128 CE.[290] The later date facilitates acceptance that the entire work was completed at the time of its dedication to Septicius Clarus, and additionally supports the suggestion that the *Titus* dated to ca. 130 CE.

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[288] Pliny's Virgilian allusions do not necessarily indicate an awareness that Suetonius was, at that time, composing either the *Vita Vergili* specifically or the *De viris illustribus* as a whole. He may have had Quintilian in mind when composing his letter to Suetonius: the grammarian advised only as much revision as was sufficient to polish the work and not erase it (Quint. *Inst.* 10.4.4; cf. T. J. Power, 2010: 143 n. 12), a maxim that lent itself well to Pliny's purpose. If a text is 'polished', it will of course 'shine'—thus, Quintilian's advice would provide Pliny with an excellent opportunity to echo Virgil's *attritus splendescere* (Virg. *Georg.* 1.46) with his own *nec iam splendescit lima sed atteritur* (Plin. *Ep.* 5.10.3). As Power noted, Pliny often quotes, or alludes, to Virgil in his letters; the echo here may be due to simple habit (T. J. Power, 2010: 143). Moreover, if Pliny were alerting Suetonius to the 'dangers' posed by a delay in publication, there was no better example than Virgil—his was "the most famous 'unfinished' work in antiquity" (T. J. Power, 2010: 151).

[289] Cf. Hurley (2011), xv; Lindsay (1994), 459. This does not require that other books in the series were also completed or published at this time—cf. Lindsay (1993), 5-6; Townend (1959), 285; Syme, 1981: 116—though T. J. Power (2010: 159-162) argued that they were. See also Mooney, 12-13; Murison, vii.

[290] See especially Crook (1956), 18-22 and Lindsay (1994: 459-462), and further, the discussion at 143 and n. 378, 145 and n. 384 below.

Fourteen additional works are attributed to Suetonius.[291] Nine of these give an indication of length; together, they total twenty-one books. To these, we can add the eight of the *De vita Caesarum* and presumed five of the *De viris illustribus*.[292] Assuming the five works whose lengths are not known comprised only one or two books each, we arrive at a figure of around 40-45 Suetonian books. We will recall the inference from the younger Pliny that Suetonius had already completed some volumes by ca. 105 CE; evidence elsewhere in Pliny's letters suggests how many this might have been. Pliny makes two explicit references to Suetonius' literary output. The first, at *Ep.* 1.24.4, is placed close by the letter in which a superstitious Suetonius writes to Pliny, seeking advice regarding a legal adjournment (Plin. *Ep.* 1.18). Pliny is thought to have carefully constructed and revised his letters for publication,[293] and although no date can be assigned to the epistle 1.24, the first and second books are comprised almost exclusively of letters dated ca.

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[291] Nine are listed in the *Suda* entry, six more in Roth's critical edition. One of these, the so-called *Prata,* was at least eight books long (Isid. *De nat. rer.* 1.4 [=Roth XVI 36]), and perhaps as many as ten or twelve (Schwabe, 1892: 197). The work has been equated with the *De Rebus variis* referred to by Julius Romanus (Townend, *OCD*[2] s.v Suetonius (2); cf. Roth, 303-304), though interestingly, does not seem to have been considered as the composition for which Suetonius received the *ius trium liberorum*. The requirements for receiving the *ius trium liberorum* as a literary award are unknown; so, too, is the precise nature of the *Prata*. Aulus Gellius claims to have written his own miscellany to facilitate and encourage the education of others (Gel. *Praef.* 12); Suetonius may have done the same. As such, the *Prata* should not be excluded from consideration as the work which demonstrated Suetonius' "wide-ranging erudition" (T. J. Power, 2010: 158).

[292] See Rolfe, 369.

[293] T. J. Power (2010), 144: "an appreciation of the greater context of each letter … can often enhance our understanding of that letter's meaning". Cf. Ash (2003), 215; Mayer (2003), 232-233; Rudd (1992), 32.

97-98 CE; we should therefore see it as belonging to this period. Pliny's use of the term *scholasticus* when speaking of Suetonius (*Ep.* 1.24.4) may then be a subtle indication that by 97-98 CE, Suetonius was contemplating—or had already chosen—not to pursue his legal career any further.[294] If this were indeed the case, 97 CE may be suggested as a tentative *terminus post quem* for the majority of Suetonius' literary compositions, alongside ca. 105 as a *terminus post quem* for wider publication.

Returning to the suggestion above that Suetonius' complete oeuvre totalled forty or more books, we thus obtain an average rate of composition of at least one book per year for the years 97-1130 CE—meaning that Suetonius may have had as many as fifteen books 'perfect and complete' (so Plin. *Ep.* 5.10.3) at the time he received Pliny's letter. Which, we cannot now know. If Power's observations were correct, one may have been the book of poets for the *De viris illustribus*. And if this were not underway by ca. 105 CE, the possible allusions in Suetonius' *vita Vergili* to Pliny 5.10 suggests that it was begun not long after.[295]

<u>Life, Sources, and Methodology: Plutarch</u>

Having established at least some general dates for the works of Plutarch and Suetonius, we can now consider the background of each author, and how this affected their literary aims and output. As before, we are on surer footing with Plutarch; his work contains enough personal information

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[294] Sherwin-White (141) believed that the use of the term *scholasticus* was "[a] valuable indication of Suetonius' occupations, since Pliny uses *schola*, *scholasticus* of literary 'declamation' rather than forensic rhetoric".

[295] See 108 n. 288 above. Power himself recognised that literary allusion could represent "the beginnings of Suetonius' interests … rather than their culmination" (T. J. Power, 2010: 141).

that a reasonable picture of his life and career can be drawn.[296] He was a native of Chaeronea, in Boeotia, and decidedly loyal to his birthplace—he famously claimed to have remained there as an adult so that an already small town did not become smaller still (Plut. *Demosth.* 2.2). His family appears to have enjoyed quite a high standing in the area, with connections to local aristocratic families and to the religious centre of Delphi.[297] Like his father before him, Plutarch played a substantial role in local politics, and was appointed in his later years as one of the two priests of Apollo at Delphi (*Quaest. Conv.* 700e).[298] Yet, despite this largely regional existence, he was also well-acquainted with the wider Mediterranean; in addition to his travels throughout Greece (eg. *Them*. 22.3), his works show that he spent time at Rome (*De Curio.* 522d-e; cf. *Cic*. 16.3 and *Crass.* 4.4-5—his familiarity with the landscape here suggests eyewitness), as well as numerous other towns and cities (*Demosth*. 2.2)—including Bedriacum (*Oth.* 8.1, 14.1), Brixillum (*Oth.* 18.1), Ravenna (*Mar.* 2.1), and Alexandria (*Quaest. Conv.* 678a, c).[299] He counted highly ranked Romans among his friends: his citizenship is thought to have been granted at the recommendation of L. Mestrius Florus

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[296] Robert Lamberton felt the opposite: "Plutarch's references to his own life … refuse to form a coherent picture; they are vivid pieces of a perverse jigsaw puzzle" (Lamberton, 2001: 3). The biographical information scattered throughout Plutarch's corpus is "lacunose", but it is by no means meagre—which even Lamberton (4) had to acknowledge.

[297] Jones (1971), 10; cf. Barrow, 15-16.

[298] Barrow, 31; Jones (1971), 26-27.

[299] On Plutarch's time in Alexandria, see Hillard (2010), 211 and 217 nn. 55-56. On his familiarity with the landscapes he described, see especially Buckler (1992), 4788-4830.

(cos. suff. ca. 75 CE),[300] from whom he took his name, and Sosius Senecio (cos. ord. 99 CE)—"one of the most important members of the governmental oligarchy"[301]—is the dedicatee of several *Parallel Lives* (*Dion* 1.1; *Demosth.* 1.1; *Thes.* 1.1), as well as the *Quaestiones Convivales* (*Quaest. Conv.* 612c and *De profectibus in virtute (Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus*) (*Prof. in virt.* 75b).

Plutarch's education was primarily Greek, a fact that he himself stresses (*Demosth*. 2.1-3). He studied at the Academy in Athens, possibly under the tutelage of Ammonius.[302] Where possible, he preferred to work in his own language: although his citations reveal that he read an extraordinary amount of Classical and Hellenistic literature,[303] the majority of his sources were Greek—many of them historians or philosophers—which lends an

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[300] Eck, *BNP* s.v. Mestrius (3) L. M. Florus; Stadter (2005), 428. Plutarch had also been granted Athenian citizenship (*Quaest. Conv.* 628a; cf. Lamberton, 10). Lippold dated Mestrius' suffect consulship to 68/69 (Lippold, *RE* 15 s.v. Mestrius (3) L. Mestrius Florus, col. 1293).

[301] R. Syme, *OCD²* s.v. Sosius (2); cf. Stadter (2014b), 17.

[302] Ammonius, whom Stadter (2014b: 14) has recently noted held the "significant civic office [of] Herald of the Areopagus", remains largely a mystery. Barrow (16) identified him with Ammonius of Lamptrae, Jones (1967: 207) with Ammonius of Cholleidae. He was originally from Egypt, but already in Greece by the time of Plutarch's schooling (*De E Delph.* 385b). His association with the Academy is unknown: Jones (1971: 13-18, 67) felt that Plutarch had studied with Ammonius prior to entering the Academy; others suggested he was Plutarch's teacher *at* the Academy (Barrow, 16; Dihle, 1994a: 188; Little and Ehrhardt, 2). See further Dillon (1977), 189-229; Jones (1967), 205-213.

[303] Some may have been inherited. See Helmbold and O'Neil, vii-ix; Jones (1971) 84-86; Lamberton, 14; Pelling (1979), 84 n. 69 [=1995: 286 n. 69].

overwhelmingly Hellenic perspective to Plutarch's corpus.[304] Further, in spite of his Roman associations, that culture's fixation on self-aggrandisement and panegyric hardly feature in his *Lives*. His primary concern is the analysis of character through his subjects' deeds and actions,[305] a technique which, as discussed above, is found in even the earliest extant biographical material. By the time Plutarch wrote, this appears to have been a standard inclusion in biographical literature. Plutarch's own use of the deed-proves-character *topos* is significantly affected by both his education and his philosophic beliefs. His studies at the Academy had been directed by a teacher "deeply imbued with [Platonic] idealism",[306] and his understanding of the human soul is a combination of Platonic and Aristotelian doctrine.[307] He outlines the relevant principles in the *De virtute morali*:

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[304] For a near-exhaustive compilation of Plutarch's source citations, see Helmbold and O'Neil; on the proportion of Greek sources to Roman, cf. Lamberton, 13; Perrin (1914), xi. Plutarch's most frequent citations—based on the lists compiled by Helmbold and O'Neil—are to Aristotle, Homer, and Plato; he also made substantial use of the philosopher Chrysippus, Cicero, Demosthenes, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Empedocles, Epicurus, Euripides, Herodotus, Hesiod, Sophocles, Theophrastus, and Xenophon. The remainder of his citations are often a single reference only; again, the vast majority of these are to Greek writers. Ziegler is said to have noted "only two genuine citations of Latin authors in the entire *Moralia*"; Helmbold and O'Neil (17) correct this to four (though Plutarch's references to Sallust, e.g. *Lys.-Sul.* 3.2, appear to have escaped their notice). On Plutarch's knowledge and use of Latin sources, especially Sallust, see Schettino (2014), 423-424; Stadter (2014b), 15.

[305] E.g. Duff (2011), 1-51, esp. 49-50; Garraty, 44; Gomme, 54-57; Momigliano, 65-6; Pelling (2011a), 12; Wallace-Hadrill, 8. On the nature of Roman *vitae*, see Garraty, 42-3; Momigliano, 92-4; 2, 80-84 above.

[306] Babbitt (1927), x; see also Duff (1999), 72-78.

[307] See especially Duff (1999), 43; Fulkerson (2012), 53-54; Miller Jones (1980), 12; Stadter (2014b), 21.

Ἐμφανῶς μέντοι καὶ βεβαίως καὶ ἀναμφιδόξως Πλάτων συνεῖδεν, ὅτι τούτου τε τοῦ κόσμου τὸ [441f] ἔμψυχον οὐχ ἁπλοῦν οὐδ' ἀσύνθετον οὐδὲ μονοειδές ἐστιν ... ἥ τ' ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ μέρος τι ἢ μίμημα τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὖσα καὶ συνηρμοσμένη κατὰ λόγους καὶ ἀριθμοὺς ἐοικότας [442a] ἐκείνοις οὐχ ἁπλῆ τίς ἐστιν οὐδ' ὁμοιοπαθής, ἀλλ' ἕτερον μὲν ἔχει τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογιστικόν, ᾧ κρατεῖν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἄρχειν προσῆκόν ἐστιν, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ παθητικὸν καὶ ἄλογον καὶ πολυπλανὲς καὶ ἄτακτον ἐξεταστοῦ δεόμενον. Οὗ πάλιν διχῇ μεριζομένου τὸ μὲν ἀεὶ σώματι βούλεσθαι συνεῖναι καὶ σῶμα θεραπεύειν πεφυκὸς ἐπιθυμητικὸν κέκληται, τὸ δ' ἔστι μὲν ᾗ τούτῳ προστιθέμενον, ἔστι δ' ᾗ τῷ λογισμῷ παρέχον ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ δύναμιν, θυμοειδές (*De Virt. Mor.* 441e-442a)

"Plato, however, comprehended clearly, firmly, and without reservation both that the soul of this universe of ours is not simple nor uncompounded nor uniform … and also that the soul of man, since it is a portion or a copy of the soul of the Universe and is joined together on principles and in proportions corresponding to those which govern the Universe, is not simple nor subject to similar emotions, but has as one part the intelligent and rational, whose natural duty it is to govern and rule the individual, and as another part the passionate and irrational, the variable and disorderly, which has need of a director. This second part is again subdivided into two parts, one of which, by nature ever willing to consort with the body and to serve the body, is called the appetitive; the other, which sometimes joins forces

with this part and sometimes lends strength and vigour to reason, is called the spirited part." (trans. Helmbold, 1939)

This stood in direct opposition to the teachings of earlier philosophers, who felt that virtue and vice originated from the same place:

Κοινῶς δ᾽ ἅπαντες οὗτοι τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς διάθεσίν τινα καὶ δύναμιν γεγενημένην ὑπὸ λόγου, μᾶλλον δὲ λόγον οὖσαν αὐτὴν ὁμολογούμενον καὶ βέβαιον καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον ὑποτίθενται· καὶ νομίζουσιν οὐκ εἶναι τὸ παθητικὸν καὶ ἄλογον διαφορᾷ τινι καὶ φύσει τοῦ λογικοῦ διακεκριμένον, ἀλλὰ ταὐτὸ τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος, ὃ δὴ καλοῦσι διάνοιαν καὶ ἡγεμονικόν, δι᾽ ὅλου τρεπόμενον καὶ μεταβάλλον ἔν τε τοῖς πάθεσι καὶ ταῖς καθ᾽ ἕξιν ἢ διάθεσιν μεταβολαῖς κακίαν τε γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀρετήν... (*De Virt. Mor.* 441c)

"Yet all of these men [Menedemus, Ariston, Zeno, Chrysippus] agree in supposing virtue to be a certain disposition of the governing portion of the soul and a faculty engendered by reason, or rather to be itself reason which is in accord with virtue and is firm and unshaken. They also think that the passionate and irrational part of the soul is not distinguished from the rational by any difference or by its nature, but is the same part, which, indeed, they term intelligence and the governing part; it is, they say, wholly transformed and changes both during its emotional states and in the alterations brought about in accordance with an acquired disposition or condition and thus becomes both vice and virtue..." (trans. Helmbold, 1939)

The ancient world tended to view character as being fixed at birth,[308] yet Plato's tenets here acknowledge that human nature was complex, contradictory, and—most importantly—that it could change over time. Plutarch himself adds that the two 'disorderly' halves of the human soul were constantly at odds with the 'better' part (*De Virt. Mor.* 442b). The impact of these beliefs on the *Lives* is very clear. Duff noted that the *Alexander* and *Pericles* were not entirely favourable towards their subjects, in spite of Plutarch's admiration for these two men.[309] The *Timoleon* offers a similar example: although described at the opening of the βίος as exceedingly gentle (*Tim*. 3.4), Timoleon is later reported to have committed fratricide. Plutarch is quite forgiving of the incident,[310] but it nevertheless represents a blight on Timoleon's character which the biographer is only able to reconcile as

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[308] This belief is the foundation of works such as Theophrastus' *Characters*, and can be found throughout the entire Greek and Roman biographical tradition; even Plutarch's near contemporaries, Tacitus and Suetonius, present subjects who exhibit the same underlying personality traits from birth to death. Suetonius' portrayal of character is examined in detail below; see especially 147-168.

[309] Duff (1999), 64.

[310] Plutarch characterises Timoleon's brother as his polar opposite, emphasising his despotic qualities (*Tim.* 3.6, 4.5-8), and moreover, prevents Timoleon from playing an active role in the murder (*Tim.* 4.8). This stands in direct contradiction to Diodorus, who states that Timoleon committed the act himself (Diod. 16.65.4). Diodorus, like Plutarch, acknowledges Timoleon's ἀρετὴ (Diod. 16.65.9), yet also notes that the statesman was at risk of being prosecuted if he did not govern the Syracusans well (Diod. 65.8). Though he ultimately viewed Timoleon's good government as stemming from his good moral character, Diodorus' inclusion of the incident casts an element of doubt as to how altruistic Timoleon's motives were. Plutarch's more positive text omits any reference to the council meeting (cf. Diod. 16.65.6-9), and the 'threat' issued there takes the much gentler form of Telecides' encouragement of Timoleon to be brave and noble in all his deeds (Plut. *Tim.* 7.2).

necessary by comparing Timoleon to other, more 'violent', figures of the time (*Tim.* 36.1-2). Furthermore, Plutarch notes in several βίοι that his subject evidenced a character trait which was at odds with their overall personality, or that his behaviour differed radically between childhood and adulthood. The elder Cato, for instance, is shown to have had a vastly different mode of life in his later years than when he was young (Plut. *Cato mai.* 20.6, 21.1-6: cf. 1.3, 2.1-3). Similarly, Lucullus' self-indulgence during retirement is cast as a direct contradiction to the self-restraint he displayed in his youth, while the ἀκόλαστος Cimon is said to have changed for the better (*Luc.-Cim*. 1.4).

Plutarch had stated that it was impossible to represent a life as wholly virtuous (*Cim.* 2.4). The claim implies that it is equally difficult to view a life as entirely flawed—and indeed, the *Lives* which are usually classified as negative *exempla* are not focussed solely on blame. Antony's biography indicates that he was generous and affable (Plut. *Ant*. 43.3). Alcibiades, despite his faults, possessed ἀρετή and εὐφυΐα which even Socrates admired (Plut. *Alc.* 4.1). Crassus is yet another example of contradiction, where the many virtues of his youth are gradually eclipsed by a single, strengthening vice (Plut. *Crass.* 2.1). Plutarch's depiction of a 'changeable' human nature is quite different to what we see in other literature of the time,[311] and revolves so much around his conception of ethics and morality that it can only be understood as a direct result of his philosophical education.

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[311] On Plutarch's 'nonconformist' approach to morality, see especially Duff (1999), 61-62, 69-70, 203-204, 266-267, 283-286. Some have attributed the contradictions in Plutarch's *Lives* to his source material; Duff (1999: 65) saw them as controlled and deliberate: "The picture is thought-provoking, manipulating and pulling the reader's sympathy in contradictory directions". See further Brenk (1977), 265-267 and (2002), 455; Stadter (1992), 43.

<u>The Significance of Plutarch's Moral Viewpoint</u>

　　　Plutarch's philosophic attitudes are a key factor in the interpretation of his corpus. Anastasios Nikolaidis noted the "unity of [Plutarch's] *oeuvre*"—a phrase that lent itself to the title of a recent volume of Plutarchan essays—and the fact that, "whether composing a biography or an essay", his methodology was strikingly similar.[312] Scholars have lately questioned the extent to which the *Moralia* and *Lives* were interlinked, and whether the βίοι were intended in a fundamentally different manner to the moral essays. The *Lives* have long been considered a complement to the *Moralia*, with most

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[312] Nikolaidis (2008), xvi. It is worth observing that, even here, biography is viewed as a discrete literary genre—and despite being one that "perfectly suited Plutarch's personality and interests … [and] served a valuable practical purpose", such a view necessitates that "Plutarch the essayist" be reconciled with "Plutarch the biographer" (so Nikolaidis, 2008: xiv). The difficulty in doing so has resulted in views such as Hartman's, that the *Quaestiones Graecae* were not Plutarchan because they were not concerned with ethical issues (Hartman, 1916: 137-139; cf. Nikolaidis, 2008: xiii), or Geiger's, that the moral essays were "a mixed bag", not cohesive as the *Lives* were, and in some cases sharing only "a common author with perhaps common linguistic usages … and of course a common cultural background" (Geiger, 2008: 11). If we must insist on a definition of Plutarch's nature as a writer, it is preferable to do so by aim rather than form (cf. Duff, 1999: 267; although he uses the term 'genre', he demonstrates clearly that Plutarch's willingness to contradict what he has recorded elsewhere is primarily related to *purpose*). As countless scholars have observed, Plutarch is a moralist (cf. Nikolaidis, 2008: xiii n. 1)—or perhaps a 'characterologist'. His concern is the "frailty of human nature" (Nikolaidis, 2008: xiii), and it is the exploration itself, rather than the form chosen for exploration, that ultimately connects the various sections of his corpus.

presenting the same strong focus on ethics and morality;[313] Nikolaidis also identified religion and "the Hellenic *paideia*" as unifying elements.[314] Frederick Brenk observed a consistent use of moral *exempla* throughout the *Lives*, which he felt responded to the "expectations and practices of the time", but also acknowledged Plutarch's 'anecdotal' use of *exempla* in the *Moralia*, a practice which made these essays "more picturesque".[315] Geiger noted the "innumerable threads connecting the two *corpora*", as well as the fact that they were composed in tandem and often utilised the same source material.[316] The reality of this situation naturally has great bearing on our understanding of the missing *Lives of the Caesars*, for if Plutarch did indeed intend his βίοι and moral essays to symbiotically reinforce one another, it is very likely that the *Caesars* were composed in a similar manner to the other *Lives*.

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[313] Perrin (1914), xiii; cf. Mooney (after Holden), 17. Perrin, after Trench, viewed the *Lives* and *Moralia* as two separate halves, "each … a complement of the other", and recognised the inherent division of idealism from realism (cf. n. 314 immediately below). The idea that the moral essays were composed before the *Lives* (Perrin, xii) has since been disproven; see Geiger (2008: 5) and especially Jones (1966), 69-73.

[314] Nikolaidis (2008), xiv; see also Duff (2008a), 1-2; Teodorsson (2008), 347-349. Teodorsson (349) felt that *paideia* was not "a superior theme in the *Lives*"; its discussion in the *Moralia* was idealistic, but in the *Lives*—perhaps due to a "lack of suitable ideal examples"—Plutarch took a more realistic approach.

[315] Brenk (2008), 237 and 242 respectively; cf. 250-251 on Plutarch's artistic crafting of his *exempla*.

[316] Geiger (2008), 5-6, though see (2008), 11 and 118 n. 312 above for his reluctance to accept the *Moralia* as a cohesive unit). Geiger (2008: 6) believed that the division of Plutarch's corpus began as early as the fourth century CE, with Greek *Lives* being considered separately from their Roman counterparts, while the division of *Lives* and *Moralia* was due largely to their reception in the fifteenth century and beyond (2008: 7-10).

Plutarch is by no means ambiguous about his purpose. On several occasions, he states explicitly that his *Lives* were designed for the moral improvement of his readers (Plut. *Aem*. 1.1-4; *Demetr*. 1.5-6; *Per*. 2.1-4; cf. *Prof. in virt.* 79c-e). As Duff noted, however, moralism is not transcultural. To Plutarch and his audience, it revolved around the study of ἦθος and ἠθικὴ ἀρετή, concepts which are best expressed by the terms "character" and "character virtue".[317] Plutarch's clearest discussion of ἠθικὴ ἀρετή is found in the *De virtute morali*: following his exposition of Plato's beliefs (*De Virt. Mor.* 441d-442b),[318] Plutarch details how the rational and irrational parts of the soul interact with one another, and eventually culminate in the attainment of moral virtue (*De Virt. Mor.* 442c-f). This virtue (ἦθος) was shaped by reason (λόγος) and acquired by habit (ἔθη);[319] an individual's ἠθικὴ ἀρετή was therefore dependent upon their actions over the course of their entire life. To this end, nature itself caused the 'irrational' aspect to yield to the rational (*De Virt. Mor.* 442c). That Plutarch intended the *Lives* to function as a demonstration of this fact—and as a type of 'practical handbook' for the attainment of ἠθικὴ ἀρετή—is shown by the way in which he examines his subjects' ἔθοι.

In the opening of the *Aemilius Paulus*, Plutarch expresses his desire to use history as a mirror and to report τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ κάλλιστα πρὸς γνῶσιν

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[317] Duff (1999), 13-14; cf. 52-71, and further on the instructive purpose of the *Lives*, (2001), 363. Duff noted that in the ancient world, character was perceived through an individual's public actions rather than their "private, inner world" (Duff, 1999: 13). Christopher Gill contrasted this with the more empathetic approach modern biographers take in examining their subjects' personalities for evidence of character (Gill, 1983: 469-475 and 1990: 1-9).

[318] See 113-117 above.

[319] Cf. Albini (1997), 59-61.

(*Aem*. 1.1-2). The superlatives should be taken as two separate ideas—importance need not necessitate beauty. The opening of the *Demetrius* suggests that Plutarch considered an understanding of vice to be central to the development of a strong moral character (*Demetr.* 1.1-8); the *Aemilius* reinforces this idea. It is only through constant study that Plutarch himself is able to set aside base or ignoble impulses and instead emulate τὰ κάλλιστα (Plut. *Aem.* 1.5). It was therefore in his best interests as a moral instructor to actively demonstrate both rational (positive) and irrational (negative) personality traits within his βίοι. On the one hand, it provided encouragement for his readers, proving that a weak moral character was able to be trained for the better—an idea that is exemplified in the *Marius*, where Plutarch laments that Marius would have attained greater ἠθικὴ ἀρετή if he had only deigned to follow Plato's advice and "sacrifice to the Greek Muses and Graces" (Plut. *Mar.* 2.3; trans. Perrin, 1920).[320] On the other hand, the incorporation of negative behavioural examples provided Plutarch's readers with the important reminder that even the greatest men could fall victim to vice, and that philosophical reflection was necessary at all times if one wished to minimise their own character flaws. [321] Yet, for all that Plutarch accepts the contradictory nature of human character, he has a particular tendency to

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[320] Isocrates, too, had remarked upon the importance of education, noting that Evagoras took care to educate himself in all matters, believing this to be the mark of a good ruler (Isoc. *Evag.* 41). The theory is again Platonic; Plato expounds the importance of education in the *Republic*, giving his belief that even a naturally 'good' character will be spoiled by an incorrect upbringing (Plat. *Rep.* 491e), but that proper training will ensure the highest levels of achievement (Plat. *Rep.* 492a).

[321] See especially Fulkerson, 54-72 for Plutarch's views on the stability of human nature, the ways character could be improved through education, and the reasons why a 'good' nature or character might degrade over the course of a life. Ingenkamp (2004), 67-72 provides further discussion.

utilise favourable source material throughout the *Lives*.[322] Public life brought with it a chance to exercise ἀρετή (Plut. *Dion* 1.3) and as public figures, Plutarch's subjects provided an opportunity for himself and others to emulate desirable moral qualities in their lives. His composition, and his readers' study, of the βίοι would assist their 'irrational' impulses to accord with the rational (*Aem.* 1.1; cf. *De Virt. Mor.* 443d). The best way to facilitate this was to focus on positive character traits, and *Lives* that are predominantly negative in tone, such as the *Marius*, usually have at least one positive element incorporated.[323]

The concepts Plutarch discusses are not dissimilar to modern methods of evaluating character or moral qualities: positive and negative behaviour— and therefore 'good' (moral) or 'bad' (immoral) character—is evidenced by the subject's deeds, their pursuit of virtue and avoidance of vice, and their adherence to social norms. However, the chief goal of Plutarch's moral instruction, the achievement of ἠθικὴ ἀρετή, carries with it culturally-specific connotations. In addition to general 'excellence', ἀρετή suggested success in the political or military spheres (cf. Plut. *Demosth.* 11.7). Since the time of Homer, ancient Greek audiences had perceived a virtuous man as a successful man and vice versa. This attitude dominates Plutarch's corpus, and appears just as often in *Lives* dated to ca. 96 CE as those dated to ca. 120—which suggests that Plutarch always intended the two 'halves' of his oeuvre to be

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[322] Cf. Duff (1999), 56, 161-162; Hillard (1987), 32-34; Pelling (1980), 138, (1985), 324 and *(*1988), 10-18.

[323] In Marius' case, his frugal manner of life is highlighted as an admirable quality (Mar. 3.1, 6.2, 7.2). A similar practice can be found at *Ant.* 43.3: Antony's good manners are very much at odds with Plutarch's portrait of arrogance and excess throughout the *Life*. By contrast, Suetonius often uses hostile sources even when he is reporting a positive characteristic (e.g. Suet. *Jul*. 53, noting Caesar's abstention from alcohol). On Plutarch's positivity, cf. Geiger (2014), 296.

instructive. The *Cimon-Lucullus*, thought to have been the third published pair,[324] offers an excellent case study.

Many have deemed the *Lucullus* too favourable towards its subject,[325] and indeed, Plutarch does tend to judge Lucullus in a positive light. The opening of the *Cimon* is often cited as the key to understanding this judgement: Lucullus had performed services for Chaeronea, saving the city from capital condemnation, for which he was honoured with a statue in the town's *agora* (Plut. *Cim.* 2.2). However, if Plutarch's friendly feelings toward Lucullus were based solely on his treatment of Chaeronea, we should expect to find similar tolerance in the *Sulla*—the dictator had also protected Chaeronea from her enemies on one occasion (*Sull.* 16.8). This is not the case. Plutarch's characterisation of Sulla is overwhelmingly negative, focussing on his cruelty (e.g. *Sull.* 1.4, 6.8, 9.7, 30.5, 31.1), his arrogance and self-interest (e.g. *Sull.* 3.4, 5.5, 33.1-2), and his proclivity for self-indulgence (e.g. *Sull.* 2.2-3, 12.7, 35.1, 35.5).[326] Furthermore, Plutarch's portrayal of Lucullus is not as positive as some would have it.[327] He takes care to comment on Lucullus' shortcomings where they arise, specifically those which prevented

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[324] Jones (1966), 67; Tröster (2008), 19.

[325] Duff (1999), 59-60; Geiger (1981), 87; Kaesser, 366; Swain (1992), 309-312; see also the extensive list of criticism cited by Tröster, 149-150 n.3. On Plutarch's approach to 'truthful' reporting, see Pelling (1990a), 42-43 and (1997b), 240.

[326] See also Lavery (1994), 264 n. 13. He noted that Plutarch refrained from any explicit comment on Lucullus' association with Sulla, despite the fact that Lucullus' Sullan connections "are unmistakably intrusive and pervasive", and that some of Plutarch's admiration for Lucullus was due to the fact that he had studied "liberal culture in all its forms"—a trait to which Plutarch was always well-disposed (Lavery, 263 and n. 12; cf. Buszard, 2008: 190-191). Sulla had dedicated his *commentarii* to Lucullus, a fact that Plutarch states explicitly elsewhere (Plut. *Sull*. 6.6).

[327] Cf. Lavery, 265-266 and Stadter (2014b), 24.

Lucullus from achieving true ἠθικὴ ἀρετή. Lucullus is shown to be boastful and arrogant (e.g. *Luc.* 13.3, 14.1, 33.2), qualities which had a direct bearing on his success as a commander; Plutarch says that, due to his haughtiness, he earned no new fame or favour (*Luc.* 33.1-2). Lucullus is also criticised for his extravagant manner of living, excessive even by the standards of Plutarch's time (*Luc*. 39.1). Though he is deemed noble and 'god-like' in the formal *synkrisis* (*Cim-Luc.* 3.6), he is not awarded a hero's death as Cimon is, and is ultimately judged as being unworthy of the Academy, whose tenets he followed (*Cim-Luc.* 1.3). We should therefore be wary of viewing the *Lucullus* as mere panegyric.[328] Plutarch acknowledges that positivity should not be achieved at the detriment of reality (*Cim.* 2.4-5) and that a man must employ reason (λόγος) if he is to fully understand and successfully avoid vice (*Demetr*. 1.2-4).[329] Together with the *Cimon*, the *Lucullus* presented to Plutarch's readers the idea that true success required virtue, and that one must therefore cultivate such traits such as humility and moderation in their everyday life. It is a subtle but effective method, and one that encapsulates Plutarch's stated intentions: his biographies are at once a means for his readers to measure their own ἠθικὴ ἀρετή and a guide to help them attain a level of ἀρετή that was similar—or better—than the subject of each *Life*.

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[328] Cf. Tröster, 149ff. I must respectfully disagree with Duff's belief that the Lucullus offered "an obvious opportunity for outraged moralism" which Plutarch failed to exploit, being unwilling to highlight the character flaws of "his heroes" (Duff, 1999: 60). Plutarch warns us from the outset that his βίος of Lucullus will be truthful—and that Lucullus himself would not have wanted anything less (*Cim.* 2.3).

[329] Cf. Duff (1999), 45-47.

<u>The *Lives of the Caesars*: Purpose, Format, and Content</u>

It has been said that Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars*, though "typical of their author", were not the product of deep or insightful research.[330] They are usually assumed to have been less comprehensive than the *Parallel Lives*, in terms of both biographical content and character appraisal, as well as in overall length. Yet this does not necessarily mean that Plutarch's methods of evaluating character in this series were inherently different to those employed for his paired βίοι, or that his underlying aims changed substantially when he came to compose the *Parallel Lives*. Examination of the *Galba* and *Otho* alongside the paired *Lives* reveals that many of the cited differences are actually rather superficial,[331] and assumptions that are made regarding the series as a whole may specifically apply only to the *Galba* and *Otho*.

To begin, purpose. As noted above, Plutarch's attention to ethics and morality dominates his extant corpus, a fact which is itself a strong indication that ethical concerns also would have formed the nucleus of the *Lives of the Caesars*.[332] Moral discussions in the *Galba* and *Otho* further support the idea. The *Galba* in fact opens with a moral episode: Plutarch comments on the role Rome's uneducated and unreasoning soldiery played in bringing about the civil war of 68-69 CE (Plut. *Galb.* 1.3), before briefly evaluating the actions and character of Nymphidius Sabinus, who turned a most 'noble' (κάλλιστος)

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[330] Jones (1971), 74.

[331] Georgiadou (1988: 352-356) observed several textual and structural similarities between the *Galba* and *Otho* and the *Parallel Lives*; she suggested, cautiously, that perhaps these were the superficial elements. Despite the (sometimes glaring) differences between the two series, I feel that a stronger case can be made for the unity of all three '*corpora*', not simply the *Parallel Lives* and *Moralia*.

[332] See, for example, Braun (1992), 92-98; Jones (1971), 73, 78; Keitel, 276, 279-284; Stadter (2005), 422.

deed into something base, and was justifiably killed as a result (Plut. *Galb.* 1.4-5). The theme of military morality is carried throughout the remainder of the *Galba* (e.g. Plut. *Galb.* 5.3, 12.1-3, 14.2-3, 19.2, 29.2-4) and the subsequent *Otho* (e.g. Plut. *Oth.* 4.3, 9.1, 9.4); in most cases, it leaves the reader in no doubt as to "where right and wrong lie".[333] We might question the extent to which direct moral discussion was incorporated into the other imperial βίοι; unlike the previous examples, and those examined above from the *Life of Lucullus,* many of the judgements in Plutarch's *Lives* are achieved by inference, with Plutarch carefully guiding his reader to the appropriate attitude of praise or blame without specifically stating his own opinion.[334] Further, the early publication date of the *Caesars* may have had some effect

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[333] Duff (1999), 55; cf. Georgiadou (2014), 260. Unlike the majority of the *Lives* Duff examined, the *Galba* and *Otho* do seem to offer a significant amount of "explicit guidance" for interpreting their subjects' ἠθικὴ ἀρετή. However, there are several instances where Plutarch employs a more implicit method of moral commentary, inserting his judgements into the speeches or thoughts of secondary characters (e.g. Plut. *Galb.* 13.3, 14.2-3, 15.1, 16.1, 22.4-5; *Oth.* 3.1-2, 6.5, 13.2-3; cf. Plut. *Mar.* 34.6). On the ways Plutarch's philosophical beliefs shaped his view of (and presentation of) the Roman soldiery, see Blois (1992), 4598-4599, (2008a), 11-13, and (2014), 268; Pelling (2002c), 211-222; Stadter (2014b), 25. On the typical absence of direct narratorial comment, see Duff (1999), 54-55; Martin (1995), 13.

[334] This method is illustrated particularly well in the *Caesar*. At its close, Plutarch says that Caesar had survived his greatest rival by a mere four years and for little good (Plut. *Caes.* 69.1), after which he moves immediately to the account of Caesar's avenging δαίμων. While there is no explicit comment on the fate of those who seek excessive power, the implication is clear: Caesar's excessive arrogance and unhealthy ambition, noted repeatedly throughout the *Life* (e.g. *Caes.* 2.1-4, 6.1, 7.2, 11.4-6, 55.1, 60.1), are directly to blame for his assassination. There are instances where Plutarch offers direct moral commentary—a notable example is *Aristides* 6.2-4—but on the whole these are fewer than might be expected.

on the level of overt moralism within the series. As noted above, the most recently suggested date for publication is during the reign of Vespasian, perhaps as early as 75 CE. [335] Yet if the series was composed during Domitian's reign rather than Vespasian's, as several scholars have suggested, Plutarch's opportunity for explicit authorial judgement will have been rather more limited. Tacitus refers to the ability for historians to think and say whatever they wished to after Domitian's death (Tac. *Hist.* 1.1). Jones felt that the proliferation of Plutarch's writing after 96 CE indicated that he, too, had been "constrained to silence during the reign of Domitian".[336]

Irrespective of their publication date, examination of the *Galba* and *Otho* suggests that Plutarch would have included at least a few instances of explicit moral commentary in the *Lives of the Caesars*, and probably many more implicit judgements. Augustus himself, and particularly the Augustan legal reforms, offered Plutarch great scope to discuss humility, moderation, and restraint. [337] Suetonius, who is generally less concerned with moral

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[335] See 102-104 and nn. 270-274 above.

[336] Jones (1966), 73. A date of post-96 CE does not guarantee 'objectivity', however; Dio notes that *all* historical accounts after the creation of the principate were selective, preserving only what the emperors wished their subjects to know (Dio 53.19.1-6; cf. Reinhold 1986: 222). Kathryn Welch discussed a similar idea in relation to the war between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius, giving her opinion that Philippi represented a false historiographical turning point, which effectively denied the importance of the ongoing war with the 'Pompeians' and Sextus Pompeius himself (Welch, 2012: *passim*, but especially xv-xvi, 5-6, 24-25, 291-294).

[337] Cf. Stadter (2014b) 19: "Plato had been willing to travel to Sicily to put his abstract political theories into practice … With the help of his Roman friends, Plutarch could dream of something similar, to educate the ruling class, and perhaps even the emperor, to rule wisely and humanely. The *Lives of the Caesars* were the first major step in that direction, employing historical biography to inspire political morality".

precepts than his Greek counterpart, does not refrain from offering an opinion on Augustus' upstanding character (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 8.1, 33.1-34.2, 53.3, 72.1); moreover, he explicitly excuses the few instances of 'indecent' behaviour he included in the *vita* (Suet. *Aug.* 57.1, 69.1, 71.1). Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero, by contrast, would have provided a basis for Plutarch to explore the vices that prevented one from achieving ἠθικὴ ἀρετή, as he did in the later *Life of Lucullus*.[338] Examples of self-absorption and an excessively luxurious lifestyle—both shown to be inhibitors of true virtue in the *Lucullus*—appear several times in the Suetonian *vitae* of these three emperors (e.g. Suet. *Tib.* 24.1, 42.1-43.2, 69; Suet. *Cal.* 10.2, 23.1, 37.1-3; Suet. *Nero* 22.3, 26.1, 30.1-31.3). Caligula and Nero are additionally shown to have had a flawed approach to military strategy (Suet. *Cal.* 31, 43-45.1; Suet. *Nero* 18); as previously noted, success in the military sphere was closely linked to the attainment of ἀρετή in Greek thought.[339] Finally, Claudius will have allowed Plutarch to demonstrate the perils of an emperor with a weak personal character (cf. Suet. *Cl.* 25.5), anticipating the themes of unchecked impulse and ineffective government found in the *Galba*, *Otho*, and (presumably) *Vitellius*.[340]

One of the typical criteria offered as evidence of the *Lives of the Caesars*' 'inferiority' is their length, though it should be noted at the outset that length is a somewhat arbitrary factor on which to base an assessment of

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[338] Cf. Stadter (2005), 422. Jones (1971: 80), on the other hand, implied that Plutarch's *Nero* may have been more apologetic than strictly negative, and that both Tiberius and Nero would have had received some positive judgements on account of their philhellenism.

[339] See 122-123 above.

[340] The *Vitellius* is assumed to have formed a conclusion to the themes Plutarch raised in the two preceding βίοι. See especially Georgiadou (1988), 354; Godolphin (1935), 324; Jones (1971), 80; Little and Ehrhardt, 100.

quality. It is not entirely predictable even among the *Parallel Lives*,[341] as Plutarch had cause to include more or less material in certain βίοι: the *Lucullus*, which he felt should not be false or misrepresentative (*Cim.* 2.3), is not much shorter than the *Caesar*; conversely, the *Theseus* is almost 3000 words shorter than the average word count of a *Life* in the parallel series (some 10 675 words per *Life*).[342] The 'interlocked' nature of the *Galba* and *Otho* meant that the *Otho* especially was shorter than it might otherwise have been.[343] Plutarch also employs the technique of introducing the subject of the

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[341] There is a slight tendency for *Lives* to increase in length proportionate to their publication date: the *Antony* and *Cato minor*, positioned anywhere between books XVI and XXIII (Jones, 1966: 68), are almost double the average length of a Plutarchan *Life* (see n. 342 immediately below), as are the both the *Alexander* and *Caesar*, and the *Pompey* (suggested to occupy Books XIV and XV respectively). This is by no means uniform, however. The *Lucullus* (Book III) is significantly longer than average, as is the *Cicero* (Book V); the *Aemilius* and *Timoleon* (either Book XIII or XIV) are very close to the average, as are the *Nicias* and *Crassus* ("certainly" between Books XVI and XXIII).

[342] Using the Greek word counts of *TLG*, and excluding the *synkriseis*; cf. Stadter, 2005: 420 n. 3. *TLG* measures the *Lucullus* at 14 069 words and the *Caesar* at 16 522. The *Theseus* is about half this length, 7972 words. Plutarch himself explains why in the opening passages: dealing with a quasi-mythological figure such as Theseus meant that a factual biography was impossible. Instead, he was confined to enumerating exploits already well-documented (something he is elsewhere at pains to avoid; see Plut. *Nic*. 1.5) and using Theseus' life to explain certain religious rituals. On the risks associated with averages, see especially Pelling (1997b), 230.

[343] Cf. Georgiadou (1988), 354—"[Plutarch] does not even spare a few words to explain how the new emperor came into power. He silently sends us back to the previous *Life*"—and Georgiadou (2014), 256, 258-259. As others have noted, Plutarch's *Galba-Otho-(Vitellius)* sequence was as much about the soldiery and civil war as about its subjects; these βίοι were grouped as a unit because their subjects'

next βίος as a subsidiary character of the one which preceded it (Plut. *Galb.* 19.2-20.3; *Oth.* 5.1-2, 9.4).[344] Galba may therefore have been introduced in the *Life of Nero*, removing the need for Plutarch to give an account of his life and career prior to 68 CE in the *Galba*.[345]

The implication for the remainder of the *Lives of the Caesars* is twofold. Firstly, we can expect there to have been some variance in length across the series, particularly if Plutarch felt that an element or theme required elaboration; secondly, it cannot be assumed that the *Galba* and *Otho* are representative of the average length of each biography from their parent series. Stadter drew attention to the fact that the *Galba* and *Otho* together cover a period of nine months of imperial administration, whereas the *Life of Augustus* would have covered around fifty years. He believed that a cautious estimate for the *Augustus,* based upon the average length of the *Parallel Lives*

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lives and reigns were similarly grouped (cf. Suet. *Gal.* 16.2; *Otho* 8.1; *Vit.* 8.1; *Ves.* 6.3). Georgiadou (1988: 354) also identified this: "Any reiterations … in the *Life of Otho* would only make it look just like one of the other *Lives*". See also Keitel, 277-279; Stadter (2005), 422.

[344] Georgiadou (1988), 354; cf. Little and Ehrhardt, 39 (2.1); Stadter (2005), 425 and n. 23. The same technique is employed in the *Lives* of the Gracchi (e.g. Plut. *TG.* 2.2-3.3. *CG.* 1.1 begins *in media res*, as does the *Otho*). Georgiadou did not speculate whether Plutarch used it for the *Lives* that preceded the *Galba*, though it seems likely that he would have done so. The *Augustus*, at least, must have made some mention of Tiberius (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 61.2, 97.3; *Tib.* 21.2). As Caligula is said to have been present at Tiberius' death (Suet. *Cal.* 12.2), he too may have been introduced in the *Life* preceding his own.

[345] *Pace* Little and Ehrhardt (42), who felt that Plutarch "omits almost everything … that is not relevant to [his subjects'] actions as rulers" and that his "conception" of biography was more limited for the *Caesars* than the *Parallel Lives*.

and the length of each emperors' reign, would be around 15 000 words.[346] This is three times the length of the *Galba* and four times that of the *Otho*—comparable to the *Lives* of Brutus, Caesar, the younger Cato, Cicero and Lucullus.

Speculation about the overall length of the *Caesars* is fraught with difficulty—though this does not mean that further information regarding the topic cannot be uncovered. Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum* can be used, to a certain extent, to deduce a little more about the length of each of Plutarch's *Caesars*. Comparison must be judicious; Suetonius' literary intentions, discussed below, played a major part in the length and content of his *vitae*, and we cannot assume that his series intrinsically reflects the format of Plutarch's own. Yet some aspects must, of necessity, have been similar. Two that can be considered without major concern are the opening sections, where our biographers typically document ancestry and youth.

Suetonius' attention to his subjects' ancestry, birth and childhood varies throughout the *vitae*. In the case of ancestry, this is to be expected; each emperor's place in the line of succession will have informed the content of his biography to a large degree. Neither the *Titus* nor the *Domitian* contain

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[346] Stadter (2005), 419-420. He emphasised that this was a minimum estimate, suggesting that the *Augustus* and *Tiberius* "could easily run 25,000 words each" (420)—four and six times the length of the *Galba* and *Otho* respectively. Georgiadou (2014: 258) notes that "[i]n the *Caesars*, Plutarch is not interested in the totality of the emperor's life", though this can only be said with surety of the two *Lives* which remain from that series. Stadter's estimate for the *Augustus* does not seem at all excessive, especially when we take into consideration that twelve of Dio's eighty books (fifteen percent) are devoted to the life of Augustus, despite the fact that the *History* itself spans nearly a millennium (cf. Kemezis, 2007: 270). For the brevity of the *Galba* and *Otho*, and Plutarch's interest in the soldiery's actions during 68-69 CE, rather than the lives of his named subjects, see further Georgiadou (2014), 257-259.

any reference to their subjects' ancestry. This is due to the fact that Suetonius is typically concerned with paternal history only (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 1-3.1; *Tib.* 1.1-4.3; *Nero* 1.1-5.2; *Gal.* 2-3.4); for Titus and Domitian, this had already been covered in the *Vespasian* (*Ves.* 1.1-4).[347] On the other hand, Suetonius appears to include a disproportionately large section on Nero's ancestry—though he is in fact following his regular practice. His attention to the history of the Domitii is compounded with a desire to prove that Nero had lost the virtues of his ancestors, but retained the vices of each (*Nero* 1.2), and so includes additional detail.

The discrepancies in the sections of the *De vita Caesarum* that treat each subjects' birth and childhood cannot be so readily explained. The events which filled a subject's youth are as individual as those which occurred during their adult years—yet Suetonius devotes very little attention to this section in some of his *vitae*.[348] It does not seem likely that he was unable to find enough material to fill these sections equally, particularly for the later emperors, which suggests that he felt any details beyond what he provided would be superfluous. In the case of the Flavians, this is almost certainly the result of contemporaneousness; Suetonius could reasonably assume that his audience

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[347] The same argument could be made for the *Caligula* and *Claudius*: the origins of the Claudian dynasty had been covered in the *Tiberius* and did not need to be discussed again. Unlike Titus and Domitian, however, Claudius and Caligula were not direct descendents of Tiberius, and there was still scope for Suetonius to document genealogical detail—thus the focussed 'miniature *vitae*' of Drusus (*Cal.* 1.1-6.2) and Germanicus (*Cl.* 1.1-1.6).

[348] Using the Teubner edition, we find that Suetonius devotes the following number of words to the period from birth to the assumption of the *toga virilis*: *Aug.* (341); *Tib.* (246); *Cal.* (443); *Cl.* (137); *Nero* (315); *Gal.* (138); *Otho* (108); *Vit.* (78); *Ves.* (73); *Tit.* (210); *Dom.* (169). Like his treatment of Nero's ancestry, Suetonius' attention to childhood in the *Titus* is a reflection of deed-proves-character *topos*, showcasing the fact that Titus' moral qualities were present *in puero* (Suet. *Tit.* 3).

were already familiar with many details. Suetonius' subtle use of intertextual allusion may also account for some of the brevity: a number of character traits in the *Galba-Domitian* sequence are presented using a construction or theme found in the earlier Julio-Claudian *vitae*, with the result that information, and authorial opinion, can be conveyed in a remarkably brief manner. [349] Finally, there is the simple matter of biographic format: Suetonius—like Plutarch—used his subjects' deeds as the primary method of demonstrating their virtues or vices (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 28.3-60 and esp. 51.1, 57.1). Rather than see the 'lack' of detail in some *vitae* as a lack of interest, or an unavailability of sources, we should consider the material that Suetonius

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[349] As Tatum (2014: 159-177) demonstrated in his recent analysis of the *Titus*. The *Galba* offers another excellent example. Suetonius states that the family tree in Galba's atrium linked him to Jupiter via his father and Pasiphae via his mother (Suet. *Gal.* 2); the passage strongly echoes the funerary oration in the *Divus Julius*, where Caesar claims for his family *sanctitas regum … et caerimonia deorum* (*Jul.* 6.1). While Suetonius does not always present Caesar in as negative a light as some of his successors, the passage in context evidences his ambition and arrogance—traits he exhibited from a young age (cf. *Jul.* 3, 4.1-2). Suetonius may intend a similar effect here: Galba's pride in his *prosapia* (Suet. *Gal.* 2) is rather ironic given Pasiphae's history (for her mythology, see esp. Ovid, *Ars. Am.* 1.289-324; *Met.* 8.132-137, 9.736-741). The account of Galba's ancestry is shortly followed by an anecdote in which he reinterprets a negative omen in his favour (Suet. *Gal.* 4.2), another motif from the *Divus Julius* which was used to demonstrate Caesar's arrogance—this time revealed by his disregard for the divine (cf. *Jul.* 59). Further nuances can be drawn out: Francesco Della Corte felt that the discussion of Galba's ancestry anticipated his *saevitia* in later sections (Della Corte, 1967: 118-119), while D. Thomas Benediktson noted intratextual parallels between the behaviour of Galba's ancestors and his own personal habits (Benediktson, 1996: 169-170). Suetonius' use of inter– and intratextuality is discussed in greater detail below (149-156); on the general construction of the *Galba*, see Braun, 90-96.

did include as being, to his mind, the most relevant for the character he was attempting to portray.

Plutarch's approaches to ancestry, birth, and youth were probably similar to Suetonius'. As noted above, the two authors utilised common biographic techniques; the *Parallel Lives* further attest to Plutarch's selectivity. He states explicitly that he excluded facts which were 'common knowledge' or that had been discussed by other authors, choosing instead to record items which his readers may not have been aware of (Plut. *Nic.* 1.5; *De mul. virt.* 243d). His material was selected according to how well it demonstrated the character of his subjects (e.g. *Alex.* 1.2; *Cato min.* 24.1; *Nic.* 1.5; *Pomp.* 8.7), which strongly suggests that he excised items from his subjects' youths which he did not feel were indicative of their adult character.[350] The *Galba* shows that he was not disinterested in ancestry (Plut. *Galb.* 3.1-2), and some attention to parentage was almost certainly included in each βίος.[351] Sections detailing youth and education may have been brief, however. He makes no mention of either Galba's or Otho's education.[352] His attention to Galba's

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[350] Cf. Georgiadou (1988), 350.

[351] The most likely instances for the discussion of a *gens* would be the *Lives* of Augustus, Tiberius, Nero and Vitellius. Unlike Suetonius, however, Plutarch seems happy to provide information relating to maternal ancestry (e.g. Plut. *Ant.* 2.1; *Brut.* 2.1; *Cic*. 1.1; *Rom.* 2.1-3.3; *TG* 1.1-4), and so may have included details about the Livii (in the *Augustus* or *Tiberius*), Vipsanii (in the *Caligula*), and Antonii (in the *Claudius* and possibly *Nero*).

[352] Detailed discussion of education is rare even in the *Parallel Lives*; see Teodorsson, 3445-347 (though cf. Pelling, 1988: 118, who noted that detailed accounts of childhood were unusual in ancient biographies; he believed that Plutarch's attention to these topics at all was remarkable and indicated a particular interest on his part).

youth is minimal (Plut. *Galb.* 3.2-3); that to Otho's is shorter still and, moreover, is related outside of his *Life*.[353]

More expansive detail from a subject's youth might have been provided in cases where it supported his adult character. Otho's behaviour as emperor was a direct contradiction to the traits he had shown in his early years (Plut. *Oth.* 1.3, 18.2; cf. Suet. *Otho* 12.2). Lucullus presented similar contradictions, and Plutarch's methods in that *Life* give striking insight into the lack of detail in the *Otho*. At the opening of the paired *Cimon-Lucullus*, Plutarch states that a portrait "which reveals character and disposition is far more beautiful than one which merely copies form and feature" (*Cim.* 2.3; trans. Perrin, 1914).[354] Yet he also believed that examples of moral rectitude were always preferable to turpitude (cf. *Demetr.* 1.5-6); thus, character flaws were to be regarded as "shortcomings in some particular excellence rather than as the vile products of positive baseness" (*Cim.* 2.5; trans. Perrin, 1914). To this end, Plutarch acknowledges Lucullus' vices but does not dwell on them. Likewise, Otho's primary flaw of hedonism is duly recorded (Plut. *Galb.* 19.2; *Oth.* 9.2), but receives less emphasis than does his move towards moderation (Plut. *Oth.* 3.2, 3.8, 18.1), his numerous acts of benevolence (Plut. *Galb.*

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[353] Otho's ancestry and childhood are discussed in the *Galba*, where they most enhance Plutarch's theme that the soldiery lacked the moral wisdom to elect 'good' emperors. Otho is introduced by Titus Vinius (Plut. *Galb.* 21.1), who was captain of the praetorian guard, and should certainly be counted among the soldiery that Plutarch speaks of in the opening of the *Galba* (Plut. *Galb.* 1.3-5; cf. his attention to Vinius' character at *Galba* 10.4, 11.2, 12.1). On Vinius, see Hanslik, *RE* 9A s.v. Vinius (5) T. Vinius Rufus, cols. 124-127 and Syme (1958), 151.

[354] This programmatic statement echoes that of the *Alexander*, where Plutarch considers how artists must emphasise certain features and diminish others if they are to adequately portray their subjects (*Alex.* 1.3)—simple mimesis, whether visual or literary, could not adequately capture an historical figure. Cf. Duff (1999), 16; Kaessar, 363-367.

20.3; *Oth.* 1.2-2, 3.1), the attempts at repairing Rome's administration (Plut. *Oth.* 1.3), and his noble manner of death, apparently intended to spare the city and people further suffering (Plut. *Oth.* 15.4, 18.2; cf. Suet. *Otho* 10.1, 12.2). In a work where Plutarch's subject showed consistent character traits throughout their entire life, such as the *Augustus* or *Nero*, it is more likely that the early sections were fuller and offered youthful deeds that 'proved' the adult personality (as per Plut. *Caes.* 1.3, 2.1; cf. Suet. *Cal.* 11).[355]

Little else can be said regarding the composition of Plutarch's *Caesars* at this stage, though some comment can be made as to the publication of the completed work. Although it is obvious that the series was not intended as a comparative work, it has been suggested that each book formed a discrete unit with its own internal themes.[356] This is not so very different from the books of paired *Lives*, and a reasonable guess can be made as to the remainder of the book divisions. The *Vitellius* is generally believed to have completed the themes raised in the *Galba* and *Otho*, though it cannot be said definitively whether it was published in the same volume as these two βίοι or

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[355] See also Duff (2003), 90-93 and (2008b), 168-169; Pelling (1990b), 224-235 (and n. 216, where Pelling observes that Plutarch "[makes] a great deal" out of material on education when it exists, but does not fabricate evidence); Russell (1966), 37-47; Stadter (1996), 292-294.

[356] See 127-151 above, and against this theory, Duff (1999), 20. Although acknowledging the internal links in the *Galba-Otho-Vitellius* sequence, Duff felt that the *Caesars* were "markedly different" to the *Parallel Lives*, did not narrate their subject's lives in full, and were intended to be read as a complete series. Without the remainder of the series, it is extremely difficult to say whether the whole work was a "series of linked texts" as Duff believed, or whether this was particular to the *Galba-Otho-Vitellius*.

stood alone.[357] There will have been at minimum two preceding volumes, assuming the *Augustus-Nero* were all of a similar length to the *Galba-Otho*; if Stadter was correct about the extended length of these biographies, there could have been considerably more. His lower figures for *the Augustus-Nero* sequence equate to around 50 000 words, or five volumes the length of the combined *Galba-Otho*. This divides very neatly into one book per emperor, giving six or seven books total for the series—a publication format that is very close to that of Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*.

The lack of any further concrete evidence suggests that we should probably take seven volumes as a maximum figure for the *Lives of the Caesars*. Despite Stadter's note that Tacitus "filled six books with Tiberius' reign alone",[358] Plutarch reiterates the fact that he is not writing exhaustive history on several occasions (e.g. Plut. *Alex.* 1.2-3; *Galb.* 2.3; *Nic.* 1.5; *Pomp.* 8.7); as in the *Parallel Lives*, his *Caesars* are likely to have focussed on τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα (Plut. *Alex*. 1.3). Moreover, though Stadter's conclusions seem sound, others have suggested a shorter length for the *Caesars*, with multiple

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[357] On the *Vitellius*' publication, see Duff (1999), 20; Georgiadou (1988), 354-355; Lamberton, 23; Stadter (2005), 420. If it did indeed occupy a separate volume, we must conclude that it was significantly longer than the *Galba* and *Otho*, and perhaps also that the *Caesars* were published in shorter volumes than the *Parallel Lives.* The length of individual books varied, of course; the *Demosthenes-Cicero* stands at 20 987 words; the *Pericles-Fabius Maximus* at 18 730 and the *Dion-Brutus* at 25 534 words (using *TLG*, and including the *synkriseis* for both the *Demosthenes-Cicero* and *Dion-Brutus*). By way of comparison, Suetonius' *Augustus* and *Tiberius* occupied one volume each, and are around 15 000 and 10 000 words long respectively.

[358] Stadter (2005), 420.

subjects per book.[359] This need not imply an unsophisticated style: a volume that included the *Augustus* and *Tiberius* could certainly have utilised intratextual themes, stressing the numerous dichotomies between their personalities (cf. Plutarch's comparison of Lysander and Sulla; *Lys-Sull.* 1.1, 2.1). The *Caligula*, *Claudius* and *Nero,* whether published in one volume or split as the *Galba-Otho-Vitellius* appears to have been, could also have formed a thematic unit. These emperors are bound by the common trait of weakness in Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*: Caligula is said to have had a 'mental illness', which caused both his arrogance and his unmanly fear (*Cal.* 51.1);[360] Claudius clearly demonstrates a weak and inconsistent temperament, being generally controlled by his wife and freedmen (*Cl.* 25.5; cf. 12.1, 15.1); Nero is egocentric, paranoid, and—especially by 68 CE—no longer capable of rational thought (*Nero* 36.1-37.3, 40.4, 43.2, 46.1-49.4). Plutarch himself portrays Nero as weak and easily influenced by others (Plut. *Galb.* 29.4). Even if he were inclined to be forgiving of his subjects' shortcomings, the fact remains that a dynasty which had endured for over a hundred years saw its end under Nero's rule, due in large part to Nero's failings; there was not much scope for positivity.[361] Moreover, Suetonius reveals that Nero was not trained in philosophy (Suet. *Nero* 52), a fact that Plutarch almost certainly would

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[359] Duff (1999), 20; Lamberton (23). Lamberton was generally more receptive to the series' complexity, suggesting it may have had an "idiosyncratic, perhaps binary, organization that anticipated the major series to come". Jones (1971: 80) also felt that the *Caesars* "forecast the *Parallel Lives*".

[360] See 162-166 below.

[361] Cf. Stadter (2014b), 18.

have judged negatively.[362] He could easily have used these three βίοι to highlight the perils of weak character and the untrained or unsound mind, neatly anticipating the themes of impulse and abandon he was to discuss in the following *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*.

Duff's examination of programmatic statements in the *Parallel Lives* concluded that Plutarch believed in the value of literature as a tool for moral improvement.[363] Comparison of the *Galba* and *Otho* to the later *Lives* finds that, inasmuch as they can be determined, the content, presentation, and purpose of the *Caesars* were analogous to that of the paired βίοι. The *Caesars* was almost certainly a selective, rather than exhaustive, composition, and fundamentally moralistic in nature. The average length of each βίος may not have been significantly different to the majority of the *Lives*, despite what the *Galba* and *Otho* suggest; if each book did contain multiple shorter biographies, Plutarch could well have utilised intra– as well as intertextual themes to effect narrative cohesion. In spite of the ongoing criticisms of the *Lives of the Caesars*, there is ultimately little to suggest that Plutarch's beliefs about the function of literature—specifically the literature he himself produced—or his conception and portrayal of character had radically altered between this series and the later *Parallel Lives*.

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[362] Nero's philhellenism may have found some favour (cf. Syme 1958: 437, 509, 515-17), but Tacitus records that Nero was the first of the Julio-Claudians who lacked the skill to compose his own speeches (Tac. *Ann.* 13.3), a failing that Plutarch is sure to have noted. Plutarch's attitude towards education is studied in greater detail below; as a general rule, he links a well-rounded education—particularly in Greek philosophy—to his subjects' good moral character, and vice versa (e.g. *Cato mai.* 23.1-24.1; *Lyc.-Num.* 4.5; *Mar.* 2.2-3; *Them.* 2.2-3. See, for example, Buszard, 190-191, 206-207; Duff (2008a), 1-2, 5 and (2008b), 165; Swain (1989), 62-66 and (1996), 140-144; Teodorsson, 344.

[363] Duff (1999), 49-51.

Life, Sources, and Methodology: Suetonius

Where Plutarch lived in a predominantly Greek cultural sphere, Suetonius was immersed in the very centre of the Roman world, a fact which would have had considerable impact upon his series of imperial *vitae*. His family background is not entirely clear. The Suetonii may have had some connection to Africa,[364] but by the time of Suetonius' birth they appear to have been well-established at Rome. One of Suetonius' few personal references tells that his grandfather had contact with imperial courtiers (Suet. *Cal.* 19.5); another reveals that his father had served as military tribune to Otho in 69 CE (Suet. *Otho* 10.1). Very little is known of his youth or education. Suetonius says himself that he attended lectures on grammar at Rome (Suet. *De Gramm.* 4.9), and his career trajectory certainly suggests training in the areas of grammar and rhetoric. He appears to have worked initially in the legal sphere (Plin. *Ep.* 1.18); for how long, we cannot know.[365] He may have briefly considered a military path: Pliny writes that he had secured Suetonius a military tribuneship (Plin. *Ep.* 3.8, ca. 101-103 CE), and twice refers to Suetonius as his *contubernalis* (Plin. *Ep.* 1.24, 10.94).[366] These interests, if

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[364] The argument is based on the dedication to Suetonius found at Hippo Regius. See Baldwin (1983), 29-31; Birley (1984), 245-246, 249-251; Syme (1958), 780-781 and (1981), 105; Townend (1961a), 105-107 and (1967), 79; Wardle (2002), 466-469; Wallace-Hadrill, 3-4. Against the idea, see Crook (1956), 19; Jarrett (1963), 210; Lindsay (1994), 463-464.

[365] See 105-106 above.

[366] The military term strictly means 'tent-mate', but need not imply such a connection here. Wallace-Hadrill (4) noted its use as a metaphor for a close friend; Baldwin (1975: 66, 1983: 27) found that elsewhere in Pliny's letters, the term is used simply to refer to a protégée who was close to Pliny himself in age.

indeed they existed, were ultimately abandoned for a more scholarly career; the *Suda* knows of Suetonius only as a *grammaticus* (*Suda* Τ895).

As demonstrated above, much of Plutarch's methodology was influenced by his education in philosophy; similarly, several of Suetonius' approaches can be understood more clearly in terms of his career. The inscription at Hippo Regius records that he held two priesthoods and three posts in the imperial administration.[367] Syme felt that the priesthoods "hardly mattered",[368] yet there is sound reason to view them as having had some bearing upon Suetonius' literary compositions. Religious interests and experience naturally affected the type of information an author was likely to include in his work, as well as his perception of character—we see this quite plainly in Plutarch's *De sera numinis vindicta*, when he discusses the administration of divine justice.[369] Suetonius may not have discussed such specific concepts as these, but religion appears to have been a central concern of at least two Suetonian treatises. The Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις θεωριῶν καὶ ἀγώνων and especially the Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐνιαυτοῦ could not have been composed without reference to the enormous number of Roman religious observances and their ramifications for day-to-day activity.[370]

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[367] See especially Marec and Pflaum (1952), 76-85.

[368] Syme (1958), 778.

[369] Patrocleas and Olympicus, two of the four speakers present at the discussion, argue that divine punishment should be delivered in a more timely fashion, so that it may be perceived for what it truly is (Plut. *De sera* 549b-c). Plutarch refutes this idea, stating that the gods could distinguish between a 'sick' ψυχή and one that was merely unrepentant, and that their administration of justice was naturally slow, to allow for the characters of those who were not irredeemably corrupted to grow and change (Plut. *De sera* 551d). Thus, his religious beliefs are reconciled against his philosophical schooling and his understanding of ἦθος (cf. 112-117, 120-122 above).

[370] Cf. Ovid *Fast.* 1.45-48.

Unfortunately, very little can be said regarding the nature of Suetonius' sacerdotal duties. The Hippo inscription records a flaminate and a pontificate. Of the first, nothing can be determined; the fragment reads (*F*)*LAMI*- and cannot be reconstructed further.[371] The second reads *(P)ON(T)VOLCA*; exactly which pontificate was intended has been the subject of much scholarly discussion. Two offices have been proposed: that of the *pontifex Volcani* at Ostia, and that of the *flamen Volcanalis* at Rome. The *pontifex Volcani* corresponded approximately to the *pontifex maximus* at Rome,[372] and despite the fact that it was a municipal priesthood, did not lack honour.[373] Vulcan's presence at Rome was also significant; we know of at least three rituals held in his honour.[374] Marec and Pflaum believed that the Roman priesthood was far more likely, and suggested that '*flamen*' had been incorrectly inscribed as '*pontifex*', noting a similar error in an inscription at Thysdrus.[375] Their thesis was supported by Townend, who found numerous other instances of titular confusion "outside the capital", and moreover saw no reason to connect Suetonius to Ostia.[376] Most scholars are in favour of accepting this position,[377]

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[371] Marec and Pflaum, 77, 80-81; Townend (1961a), 105.

[372] Meiggs, 177; Rose (1933), 47-52, 63; Taylor (1912), 15-16, 18.

[373] Meiggs, 177, 377; cf. Grosso, 266-270; Rose (1933), 47. The *pontifex Volcani* supervised the city's temples and dedications to the gods in the imperial harbour; the pontificate was always awarded to someone of great distinction.

[374] A sacrifice on May 1st (Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.18; Macrobius explicitly mentions the *flamen* in conjunction with this); the *Tubilustria*, a ritual cleansing on May 23rd (Ovid *Fast.* 5.725-26); and the *Vulcanalia*, a festival celebrated on August 23rd (Varro 5.84; Plin. *NH.* 17.47, 18.35).

[375] Marec and Pflaum, 81. They further noted that all known documentation for the *pontifex Volcani* had originated from Ostia: "il s'avere impossible de vouloir la retrouver sur une pierre d'*Hippo Regius*".

[376] Townend (1961a), 100-101.

[377] E.g. Baldwin (1983), 31-34; Grosso, 265-267; Meiggs, 515-516; Syme (1958), 780.

yet as the pontificate is presumed to have been held for life, doing so means that we are forced to once again reconsider the dating of Suetonius' dismissal and death.[378] While the case for the Ostian pontificate seems the stronger of the two, the precise identity of Suetonius' priesthood cannot be secured with only the present evidence. The administrative roles, although they cannot be dated exactly, are rather less troublesome. Suetonius is noted to have been employed in the positions *a studiis*, *a bibliothecis* and *ab epistulis*—all three of which connected him closely to the emperor and imperial family. These roles had significant potential to inform his literary compositions, particularly the *De vita Caesarum*. While it should not be assumed that Suetonius was automatically privy to more information whilst in the emperor's service, his

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[378] See esp. Meiggs, 514-517. A. Egrilius Plarianus is known to have held the position before 128 CE; his uncle M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus is attested as *pontifex* from 105 CE to at least 118 CE. Meiggs therefore dated Suetonius' priesthood to pre-127 CE. Although the matter cannot be fully resolved with the limited evidence we possess, it is worth noting that a later date is possible (*pace* Gascou, 1978: 441-442 n. 31). No *pontifex* is recorded after A. Egrilius Plarianus until the Antonine period. If Suetonius did indeed live beyond 130 CE, there is no bar to dating his pontificate to post-128 CE, *after* A. Egrilius Plarianus. An appointment around this time may help to resolve why Suetonius held a second municipal priesthood instead of one within Rome (Townend, 1961a: 100), as a date of post-128 CE would be after both the traditional and alternative dates suggested for his dismissal. Meiggs (516) felt that an Ostian appointment would have been linked to Hadrian's goodwill towards Suetonius, though others have noted that Hadrian may have been forced, rather than willing, to dismiss his *ab epistulis* and praetorian prefect (Baldwin, 1975: 68-70 and 1983: 42-46; cf. Syme, 1958: 779). If so, it is not inconceivable that the emperor might have found a suitable position for Suetonius away from Rome. The Ostian priesthood certainly appears dignified enough to reflect the fact that Hadrian had held Suetonius in high esteem, thereby according with the idea of a "sympathetic" princeps (so Baldwin, 1975: 69 and 1983: 45).

positions at court will almost certainly have provided him with insights into imperial life that other writers were not afforded.[379]

What survives of Suetonius' writing suggests that he had a relatively insular life. He may have visited Britain and Germany, as he observes that both these provinces boasted a large number of tributes to Titus (Suet. *Tit.* 4.1);[380] he might also have accompanied Pliny to Bithynia.[381] Frequent references to Ostia could suggest some time spent there, reinforcing the idea that his pontificate was held in that town.[382] Africa is another possibility: if the inscription at Hippo Regius was not linked to a family connection, it might indicate time spent there, or an intercession by Suetonius to Hadrian on the town's behalf. Dating such an event is difficult. Suetonius does not appear to have held any military roles during his lifetime; a visit to Hippo Regius would therefore be most likely while he was in the service of the emperor—and indeed, there is precedent for an *ab epistulis* to have made such a journey.[383] Hadrian's only trip to Africa was during 128 CE, again after the traditionally accepted date of Suetonius' dismissal. As noted above, this relied primarily on

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[379] For instance, in the discussion of Augustus' cognomen (Thurinus), Suetonius adduces *imagunculam … quae dono a me principi data inter cubiculi Lares colitur* (*Aug.* 7.1, "a bronze statuette … [which] I presented to the emperor, who cherishes it among the Lares of his bed-chamber"; trans. Rolfe, 1998). The note that the statue was kept in a *cubiculum* suggests that it was not likely to be common knowledge outside the immediate imperial circle.

[380] Cf. Baldwin (1983), 14; Syme (1958), 779.

[381] E.g. Syme (1981), 107; Wallace-Hadrill, 4. Baldwin (1983), 24-25 discussed the matter at length, though was unable to reach a definitive conclusion.

[382] But note Baldwin (1983), 34: "The biographer leaves an abiding impression that Ostia was a place where funny things tended to happen … the extant writings offer no clues for or against Suetonius as an official and/or native of Ostia".

[383] Crook (1956), 19 and n. 5; Hurley (2011), xii; Lindsay (1994), 454-455; Syme (1981), 110.

evidence from the *Vita Hadriani*; its author relates the information immediately after Hadrian has set out for Britain (*SHA:Hadr.* 11.3). As Crook has demonstrated, however, there is no reason to assume that the *vita* was strictly chronological. The passage may simply have been included at this point "for variety's sake".[384]

The above evidence aside, there is little to suggest that Suetonius travelled either frequently or extensively. The *De vita Caesarum* is focussed primarily on events within the immediate imperial sphere, with Suetonius concentrating almost exclusively on items which relate directly to the individual being examined.[385] The insular quality of the work is enhanced by Suetonius' literary style. His sources are primarily Roman, and many are

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[384] Crook (1956), 20-22, quote at 21; see also Gascou (1978), 442-444; Lindsay (1994), 459-462; 108 n. 290 above. The thesis—described by even its proponents as "controversial" (Lindsay, 1994: 460)—is attractive, but opinion remains divided. Benario (88-89) discussed the possibility that the item concerning Suetonius' dismissal had been placed in an incorrect chronological position, yet concluded that "it does not seem compelling." Baldwin (1975: 70 and 1983: 34), Syme (1981: 109) and Wardle (2002: 462-470) rejected the idea.

[385] Cf. K. R. Bradley (1998), 20; T. J. Power (2014), 4-7; Wallace-Hadrill, 12. The effect is particularly noticeable in the *Galba* and *Otho*, especially when they are compared to the wider viewpoints taken in our alternate accounts (e.g. Dio 63.22-63.29; Tac. *Hist.* 1.2). Even Plutarch demonstrates an interest in the wider implications of historic events in his *Life of Galba* (though it should be noted that this is somewhat atypical of his usual method, exemplified in the preface to the *Alexander*), devoting a considerable amount of space to the events that unfolded at Rome while Galba was away from the city, as well as to the actions of Nymphidius Sabinus (Plut. *Galb.* 8.1-9.4, 13.1-15.1), Verginius Rufus (Plut. *Galb.* 6.1, 10.1-4), Otho (Plut. *Galb.* 19.2-21.1, 23.3-24.1, 27.3-28.1) and Vitellius (Plut. *Galb.* 22.5-23.1).

antiquarian, biographical, or autobiographical.[386] The *De vita Caesarum* has rather a 'patchwork' appearance when compared with the layout of Plutarch's biographies; the first six in particular utilise many short anecdotes that focus on the subject's personal life, habits, or opinions, rather than on the events of their career. The maintenance of such a close focus on his subjects, to the exclusion of other persons, means that historical events in Suetonius' *vitae* are almost always summarised, often to an extreme degree. For example, he speaks of five *bella civilia* in the *Augustus*: Mutina, Philippi, Perusia, Sicily, and Actium (*Aug.* 9). These constituted a period of some fifteen years—a substantial portion of Augustus' adult life, and one which facilitated his establishment of the principate—yet are condensed into just over 1300 words in the Latin text, a mere ten percent of the total biography.[387] Twenty years of Tiberius' military career are related in 100 words (Suet. *Tib*. 9.1-2). The first sixty years of Vespasian's life—which included the command of a legion in Claudius' German and British campaigns and the suppression of the Jewish revolt in Judea (*Ves.* 4.1-4.6)—comprise just over eleven percent of the biography;[388] the accomplishments during his ten years as emperor (*Ves.* 8.2-11, 17-19.1) occupy only nineteen percent, despite the fact that Vespasian had brought a 'directionless' empire firmly into order (*Ves.* 1.1). The political stability that Vespasian deemed so important (*Ves.* 8.1) is not elucidated; instead, the latter half of the biography is devoted to Vespasian's personal habits and a discussion of his single vice, greed (*Ves.* 16.1-23.1). For this

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[386] A detailed account of Suetonius' source citations in the *De vita Caesarum* can be found in Appendix III: Source Citations in Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*. The nature of Suetonius' preferred sources has been used to explain some of the more blatant omissions of detail he makes; e.g. Wallace-Hadrill, 61-62.

[387] For this and subsequent figures from the Suetonian *vitae*, I have used the Teubner edition of the text. The *Augustus* totals some 14 000 words.

[388] 316 words of 2736 total.

particular *vita*, the lack of historical detail may relate back to the issue of contemporaneousness.[389] However, Suetonius' preference for recording the personal, rather than public, details of his subjects' lives in the remainder of the *De vita Caesarum* suggests that it is also indicative of his individual approach to biographical writing.

<u>Style or 'Style' in the *De vita Caesarum*</u>

Suetonius' style has been strongly criticised over the years, and not only for his subject-centric approach. Indeed, the idea that Suetonius had a 'style' at all might seem incredulous to some. Kinder reviewers have labelled his work "inelegant" or "choppy" with occasional areas of polish;[390] others have denied that Suetonius possessed any sense of literary sophistication whatsoever.[391] His information is presented in a succinct and seemingly impassive manner—the facts and anecdotes through which Suetonius portrays his subjects' characters are almost always given without an explicit comment as to his own opinion of matters. Wallace-Hadrill saw the style as technical

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[389] See 132-134 above.

[390] Hurley (2011), xxiv-xxvi. Cf. Baldwin (1983), 467, 486-490; Murison (2001), ix; Townend (1967), 96; Warmington, 7. Richard Lounsbury is one of the few modern scholars who argues that Suetonius had both a discernable and elegant style (Lounsbury, 1987: 63ff). Cf. the review by Baldwin (1989), 367-368; further on Suetonius' stylistic capabilities, Benediktson (1996), 167-172.

[391] Norden's early criticism that "Sueton schreibt farblos" (Norden, 1915: 387-388 n. 1) is unfortunately persistent, and continues to be cited in discussions of the Suetonian style; see also the similar criticisms at Funaioli, *RE* 4A s.v. Suetonius (4) C. S. Tranquillus, col. 621; Schwabe, 201. Wallace-Hadrill (19-22) naturally took a milder position, acknowledging a "degree of control and skill" in Suetonius' writing (cf. Baldwin, 1983: 518); nevertheless, he felt that Suetonius did not deliberately seek to "raise [his *vitae*] above the banal".

and "businesslike", designed to inform but not to teach.[392] There is a strong tendency towards brevity, particularly regarding historical events.[393] When Suetonius does give detailed information, it is often with regard to matters that are deemed trivial, such as Caesar's relationships (Suet. *Jul.* 49.1-52.1), or Tiberius' and Nero's supposed sexual depravities (*Tib.* 43.1-45; *Nero* 28.1-29). The practice has been variously labelled 'lurid', 'scandalous', 'gossip-mongering' and so forth.[394] It should not be viewed in so negative a light.[395] Suetonius' practice of illustrating his subjects' characters through their deeds has been noted, as has the fact that a precedent for neutral or negative anecdotes in βίοι existed as early as the fourth century BCE. It is therefore perfectly reasonable to expect that Suetonius would include such anecdotes within his work. As with so many criticisms, the root seems to lie in the comparison of the Suetonian *vitae* to Plutarch's βίοι—whose generally positive

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[392] Wallace-Hadrill, 19, 23. See also Carter (1982), 8; Mooney, 17-19.

[393] Hurley (2011: xxv), for example, noted that a passage concerning the Claudian legal reforms was "brief to the point of being cryptic", while Wallace-Hadrill (17) labelled Suetonius' treatment of the Augustan constitution "woefully inadequate, to the point of being misleading". Townend (1967: 92) is particularly relevant here: "the disjointed and staccato language of Suetonius is often displeasing and sometimes actually incomprehensible to the modern reader" (the emphasis is my own). Townend felt that Suetonius was no more lacking in style than Plutarch, and that—unlike Tacitus—he allowed his readers to judge an emperor's character for themselves (Townend, 1967: 92-93).

[394] E.g. K. R. Bradley (1998), 22; Hurley (2011), xxvii; Mooney, 24-25; Wallace-Hadrill, 171. Wallace-Hadrill felt that by including such information, Suetonius had abandoned "the biographer's schema"; this hardly seems fair when we consider some of the material preserved from Satyrus' *Life of Euripides* or Aristoxenus' *Life of Socrates*.

[395] So K. R. Bradley (1998), 22; Mooney, 24.

tone, it is worth reiterating, is a result of Plutarch's specific literary intentions.[396]

The primary criticisms of Suetonius' *vitae* are contradictory: either his inclusions are not 'comprehensive', or they are not 'relevant'. Both views ultimately stem from the practice of evaluating his work according to modern principles, and cannot be reasonably sustained. Criticisms of Suetonian brevity are even less justifiable. Latin speakers were highly regarded in the ancient world for their economy of language; Plutarch and Suetonius both attest to Caesar being praised for his 'unadorned' style and minimalist word choice (Plut. *Caes.* 50.3; Suet. *Jul.* 56.1-2). Plutarch also admires one of Cato's speeches, given in Latin, for its efficacy (*Cato mai.* 12.5).[397] Suetonius is specifically stated to have been fond of *brevitas* (*SHA:Firm.* 1.2), an idea that is confirmed by his own opinion of Augustus' rhetorical style (Suet. *Aug.* 86.1). This attitude must surely have contributed to the brevity of his later *vitae*. A greater contribution, however, is his use of inter– and intratextual referencing.[398] Wallace-Hadrill felt that the *De vita Caesarum* were "anything

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[396] See 117-124 above.

[397] For further discussion of the ancient attitudes towards brevity, see Woodman (1975), 278-280.

[398] It has also been suggested that Suetonius had a particular interest in the late Republic and early Empire, and that the detail—or lack thereof—in his *vitae* reflects this; see Crook (1969), 63; Macé, 183, 210-211, 357-359; Wallace-Hadrill, 53-64. This is certainly a possibility, yet we should also consider the Suetonian 'omissions' in relation to the author's style and aims—this is, after all, the approach that is taken when Plutarch omits information from his βίοι (so Russell, 1966: 142: "Plutarch's moral and educational preoccupations are serious and manifold … points must be selected which are particularly valuable πρὸς κατανόησιν ἠθῶν, and these may well be trivialities").

but didactic", [399] and indeed, Suetonius does not attempt to educate his readers in ethics as Plutarch did, through *exempla* and instructional commentaries. Instead, he assigns them the task of applying inference whenever, and wherever, necessary. [400] One example from the *Galba* has already been examined; [401] another can be observed in the elderly emperor's reputation for *severitas*. Suetonius presents this as a defining trait of Galba's character, and brings it to the reader's attention in the early passages of the *vita*. It is initially presented as a virtue: Galba's self-discipline and his discipline of others distinguishes his military unit from numerous others (Suet. *Gal.* 6.3). His *severitas* is the primary factor in his ability to prevent hostile forces spreading into Gaul and Upper Germany (Suet. *Gal.* 6.3), and the reason he was specifically chosen as proconsul of Africa (Suet. *Gal.* 7.1). By Galba's middle age, however, his *severitas* is *immodicus* (Suet. *Gal.* 9.1) and soon morphs into *saevitia* (Suet. *Gal.* 12.1). All subsequent references to Galba's disciplinary actions are negative: where he had once shown great justice in all matters (Suet. *Gal.* 7.2), he now punishes distinguished citizens without a hearing (Suet. *Gal.* 14.3) and discharges praetorian soldiers for no good cause (16.1). [402] Suetonius uses the same contrast of virtue and vice to

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[399] Wallace-Hadrill, 23; see also Tatum (2014), 164.

[400] Cf. Hägg, 219, who reached the same conclusion; Baldwin (1983), 351; Schorn (2012), 183-184.

[401] Suet. *Gal.* 2, alluding to Suet. *Jul.* 6.1; see 133 n. 349 above.

[402] In contrast to Suetonius, Plutarch and Tacitus direct the majority of their negative judgements elsewhere. Tacitus especially gives the impression that he viewed *severitas* as a virtue, and would have welcomed a return to the *disciplina* of old (Tac. *Hist*. 1.5). Plutarch, as previously discussed, was primarily concerned with highlighting the vices of the soldiery, and any negativity arising from the fact that Galba ἄκρατος ἦν καὶ ἀρχαῖος αὐτοκράτωρ (Plut. *Galb.* 29.4) is diminished by his assessment of the emperor's motives in the clause immediately prior—Galba is said

great effect in the *Caligula* and the *Nero*,[403] and his gradual degradation of Galba's admirable qualities here both reflects and juxtaposes Nero's progressive slide into hedonism—where Nero had been too lax in adhering to his imperial duties, Galba embodied the opposite extreme.

Suetonius further utilises intertextual allusion in the *Domitian*, introducing a series of items from the *Divus Julius* to augment his characterisation of the last Flavian emperor. In each *vita*, the subject is assassinated by a group of persons (Suet. *Jul.* 82.1-2; Suet. *Dom.* 17.1) but does not die from the first stab wound (*Jul.* 82.3; *Dom.* 17.2). Paperwork relating to a conspiracy is introduced in both (*Jul*. 81.4; Dom. 17.1), as is the

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to have accepted the principate for the good of the state, with the intention to combat Nero's indulgence and command as Scipio or Camillus would have done (Plut. *Galb*. 29.3). Hearkening back to two great figures of the past, both of whom are praised elsewhere in the *Lives* (Plut. *Cam*. 1.3, 43.1; *TG*. 21.4), is a deliberate literary device, and one which greatly mitigates the reader's perception of Galba's excesses. The theme of an uncontrolled soldiery also appears in the *Camillus*, being cited as the sole reason the Gallic forces did not obliterate Rome in 390 BCE (Plut. *Cam.* 20.2). Moreover, Plutarch has Camillus incur the enmity of Rome because the citizens were not accustomed to extravagance (*Cam.* 7.2); in the *Galba*, the reverse is true (Plut. *Galb.* 16.1-4). The juxtaposition of Galba with Camillus demonstrated for Plutarch's readers how far Rome had fallen under a series of increasingly ineffective emperors. In such a degenerate age, Galba's 'old-fashioned' values were doomed to fail; Plutarch thus paints Galba an anachronistic champion of moral virtue, rather than the irascible pedant Suetonius would have us see (cf. Suet. *Gal*. 4.4, 12.1, 14.2).

[403] Suetonius divides each text into two sections: the first contains anecdotes which point to the emperors' virtuous or positive character traits (Suet. *Cal.* 12.1-21; *Nero* 6.3-19.3); the second, those which demonstrate their flaws and uphold Suetonius' overall negative judgement of each man (Suet. *Cal.* 22.1-55.2; *Nero* 20.1-45.2).

motif of premature relief. Both men are said to be apprehensive about a set time—the date, in Caesar's case, and the hour in Domitian's—and both mistakenly (and somewhat arrogantly) relax their guard, believing that the danger has passed (*Jul.* 81.4*; Dom.* 16.2). No other death scenes in the *De vita Caesarum* have as many corresponding elements,[404] and the parallel effect here is only enhanced by Suetonius' description of each man's physical appearance; both Caesar and Domitian are said to have been tall, good-looking, and at pains to disguise their baldness (*Jul.* 45.1; *Dom.* 18.1).[405]

Though Caesar and Domitian are never explicitly linked, there are too many instances of similarity to believe that Suetonius did not deliberately compose the *exitus* scene in the *Domitian* in such a way as to evoke the scene from the *Divus Julius* in the minds of his readers.[406] Further, what

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[404] Though see the recent article by Hurley (2014b: 156-158) for an insightful analysis of the parallels between the *exitus* scene in the *Divus Julius* and that in the *Caligula*. On Suetonius' use of inter– and intratextual inference, particularly in the closing passages of a *vita*, see especially T. J. Power (2014b) 58-77.

[405] Suetonius draws attention in both *vitae* to the emperors' baldness using the language of *deformitas* (Suet. *Jul.* 45.2; *Dom.* 18.1). *Calvitium* was held to be a sign of libidinous proclivities (Pierrugues, 1826: 104-105; cf. *Jul.* 49.1-52.3*; Dom.* 22 for Suetonius' censure of their sexual appetites), and this subtle reinforcement of the similar 'defects' Caesar and Domitian possessed may have been intended to further justify their assassinations. On their deserved deaths, see 153 n. 408 below.

[406] There are a number of other parallels between the two *vitae*: both men undertook military campaigns in Gaul with a view to enhancing their reputations (*Jul.* 22.1; *Dom.* 2.1); both administered justice diligently (*Jul.* 43.1; *Dom.* 8.1) and treated their friends well (*Jul.* 72.1; *Dom.* 9.2). Both wore unusual forms of dress (*Jul.* 45.3; *Dom.* 4.4), were prone to extramarital affairs (*Jul.* 50.1; *Dom*. 1.3), and aroused *invidia* against themselves (*Jul.* 78.1; *Dom.* 14.1), resulting in assassination. Finally, Domitian is noted to have made a donative of 300 sesterces

appears to be a straightforward literary allusion is in fact rich with inferential comment. The *exitus* offered biographers a final chance for characterisation: subjects are typically portrayed as dying in accordance with the life they lived (e.g. Plut. *Brut.* 53.3-5; Suet. *Aug.* 99.2), or in a way that revealed their 'true' character (e.g. Plut. *Demetr.* 52.2-53.1; Suet. *Nero* 47.2, 48.3-49.4).[407] Deaths that do not fit this pattern tend to be remarked upon (thus Plut. *Oth.* 18.2; Suet. *Otho* 12.2). Suetonius' incorporation of elements from the *Divus Julius* into the *Domitian* in fact serves a dual purpose, emphasising Domitian's flaws while simultaneously reinforcing Caesar's negative attributes, rounding off the themes Suetonius raised at the start of the series in a subtle, and remarkably effective, manner.[408] However, the *Divus Julius* is not truly a negative *vita*. The manner in which Suetonius conveys this opinion is highly indicative of his overall style. A series of small, but nonetheless important, differences exist between the *Divus Julius* and *Domitian*: Caesar's murder

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each to the Roman people (*Dom.* 4.5), the same figure Caesar had bequeathed them in his will (*Jul.* 83.2).

[407] So Edwards (2007) 5; see also Charles and Anagnostou-Laoutides (2012), 99-100; Hägg, 236-238; Newbold (1984), 122; Sterling (2001), 384-387; Wardle (2007), 444. Latin authors in particular had a fascination with the deaths of martyrs or those who "resisted tyrants" (Sterling, 386; see also Hägg, 236). There is, as ever, the tendency for scholars to describe the form as a 'genre' (so Hägg, 237; Sterling, 386). It is perhaps more prudent to think of it as a 'restricted' or focussed biographical form (as per the ἀγωγή; cf. 83-84 above); Sterling (385) especially felt that the genesis of the *exitus illustrium virorum* was in Hellenistic τελευταί—the earliest example of which was to be found in the *Lives* of Hermippus.

[408] Suetonius states explicitly that Caesar and Domitian were both hated for their arrogance and contempt, particularly towards the Senate (*Dom.* 13.1-14.1; cf. *Jul.* 76.1-79.3). Their subsequent assassinations give the reader the impression that they were deservedly killed.

bereaved the Roman populace, whereas Domitian's affected them little (*Jul.* 84-85; *Dom.* 23.1); Caesar was deified, while Domitian's statues were torn down and his name obliterated from all inscriptions (*Jul.* 88; *Dom.* 23.1); and most importantly, Caesar's death is more or less in accordance with his own wishes (cf. *Jul.* 87).[409] Thus, without ever explicitly stating so, Suetonius informs his readers that Domitian was more deserving of his fate. Caesar's actions had 'destroyed' the Republic, thrown Rome into prolonged civil warfare, and ultimately resulted in the re-establishment of autocratic rule. Domitian, on the other hand, was born into a principate where familial succession was expected, and yet exhibited so many *vitia* that he was killed in exactly the same manner as the dictator who was widely believed to have caused the collapse of the Republican government—a system that had endured for almost five centuries. Although his *exitus* scene is only half the length of Caesar's, the manner in which Suetonius presents it adds numerous insights into his own opinion of both men, and provides a neat, cyclic ending for the series as a whole.

These techniques of inter– and intratextual inference are utilised throughout the *De vita Caesarum*: Suetonius crafts links between Galba and

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[409] With the exception of the assassination's violence, the *exitus* scene in the *Divus Julius* is more like that of a 'good' Suetonian emperor than a 'bad'. Plutarch adds several details to his βίος, including the fact that Caesar was stabbed in the genitals (Plut. *Caes.* 66.10)—another link to Domitian, which Suetonius could certainly have used to enhance the idea that Caesar's assassination was deserved (cf. Suet. *Dom.* 17.1). Yet he omits this information. Instead, Caesar is accorded a high degree of modesty, falling *honestius … etiam inferiore corporis parte velata* (*Jul.* 82.2, "decently, with the lower part of his body also covered"; trans. Rolfe, 1998). For the Roman awareness of a decorous death, see Wardle (2007), 448 and n. 19; on Suetonius' final judgement of Caesar, see Cizek, 76-77.

Claudius; Otho and Nero; and Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. [410] This has a profound effect upon the length of the later *vitae*. Concepts that are expounded in the *Julius-Nero* sequence can be glossed in the *Galba-Domitian* without any loss to their intrinsic meaning. Anecdotes can be conveyed in a more brief manner, using repeated settings or themes to reveal what Suetonius deemed most significant about the character of each emperor. In creating parallel sketches, he is able to persuade his readers to make the same deductions, and form the same ultimate judgements, without the 'long-windedness' he so disliked (cf. *Aug.* 86.1, 86.3). *Contra* Wallace-Hadrill's claim that Suetonius did not seek to write *Kunstprosa*,[411] his *vitae* are very much a literary art-form—though of a different style to what modern opinion terms 'usual'. Were our two biographers employed in the visual arts, Plutarch's *Lives* would fit unquestionably into the detail-rich world of impressionism. The *De vita Caesarum*, on the other hand, belongs to streamlined minimalism.

<u>Philosophy and Morality: An Overlooked Aspect</u>

No programmatic statement is given in the extant portion of the *De vita Caesarum*; it is generally assumed that one would have been found in either the work's dedication or the opening chapters of the *Divus Julius*. The loss of these passages, coupled with the fact that Suetonius rarely includes authorial commentary in his narrative, leaves us with little indication as to what his intentions for the series might have been, and what he hoped it would achieve—which in turn affects our ability to interpret and evaluate the

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[410] The following chapter analyses these in greater detail; see 212-218.

[411] Wallace-Hadrill, 22.

text.[412] Several suggestions regarding Suetonius' purpose have been put forth. Some scholars felt that the *De vita Caesarum* was composed solely to supply information to the reader;[413] others, that it may have functioned, in part, as a corrective to Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars*.[414] Commentators have also explored the idea that Suetonius was demonstrating "his own conception of … personality" or evaluating how each emperor had fared in terms of achieving "the imperial ideal".[415] This last point especially gives grounds for pause. We will remember that the fundamental purpose of Plutarch's βίοι was the moral instruction of his readers via an examination of his subjects' ἠθικὴ ἀρετή. The discussion of how an individual's character traits aided or abetted the achievement of their 'full potential' is a strikingly similar concept—yet most disavow any moral aim on Suetonius' part for the *De vita Caesarum*.[416]

Suetonius' text is nowhere as transparent as Plutarch's on the subject of moralism, but there is no question that he had specific ideas on what did— and did not—constitute a morally acceptable lifestyle. Past studies have

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[412] So Tatum's recent statement: "[Suetonius] and his purposes remain as elusive as the Christian God" (Tatum, 2014: 164).

[413] Hurley (2011), xxiii-xxiv; Wallace-Hadrill, 23-25; Warmington, 7.

[414] Baldwin (1983), 49, 87-90, 117-118; Della Corte, 139-148; Jones (1971), 611-62; Murison, 28. Against this, see Bowersock (1998), 195, 205; Hägg, 240-241; J. Geiger (2014), 302; Georgiadou (2014), 259-260; T. J. Power (2014c), 218-219 and n. 70.

[415] Lindsay (1993), 13, and Murison, vi, respectively; see also Wardle (1998), 425-447.

[416] E.g. Baldwin (1983), 330; Tatum (2014), 164; Wallace-Hadrill, 24 and n. 38. Note, however, Wallace-Hadrill's acceptance (148) that Suetonius "clearly did not" reject the philosophical doctrine that a virtuous emperor was a good emperor, and the reverse. A century earlier, Teuffel had observed that philosophical components were only incorporated into Suetonius' works on natural history but that, in those texts, they were "strongly represented" (Schwabe, 197).

demonstrated conclusively that his subjects were almost always depicted as 'good' or 'bad', with little room for variance.[417] Throughout the entirety of the *De vita Caesarum*, Suetonius takes great care to show that the characteristics of a man's adult nature are observable from early childhood. Tiberius' *saeva ac lenta natura* was observable *in puero* (Suet. *Tib*. 57.1; cf. *Tib*. 42.1). Caligula was unable to control his cruelty even before he acceded the principate (Suet. *Cal*. 11.1). Nero's character was dominated by *petulantia*, *libidino*, *luxuria*, *avaritia*, and *crudelitas*—traits that might have been excused as the failings of youth in another person, but were of such strength in Nero that "no one doubted that they were defects of his character and not due to his time of life" (Suet. *Nero* 26.1; trans. Rolfe, 1997).

Such a dichotomic representation of character is the perfect platform from which to deliver moral guidelines. At first glance, however, the exploration of philosophy and ethics does not appear to have been a central concern of the *De vita Caesarum*. Suetonius does not touch on such themes as the widespread decline of Roman morals (cf. Tac. *Hist*. 1.2-3), despite having a number of opportunities to do so. Nor does he compare his subjects to the great figures and heroes of the past as Plutarch so often does. His citations are generally to historians or political writers.[418] The remainder of his corpus gives a similar impression; while the titles indicate varied areas of interest—Greek and Roman customs, biology and the natural world, language and grammar—the only hint of any attention to moralism is in the now-lost essay entitled Περὶ τῆς Κικέρωνος πολιτείας.

This does not mean that we should automatically see Suetonius' works as being devoid of philosophical influence. It is, in fact, very difficult to believe

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[417] See especially Cizek, 66-105; Cochran (1980), 195-201; and for the polarisation of character attributes in the Suetonian *vitae*, 238 (Fig. 9) below.

[418] For Suetonius' sources, see especially Baldwin (1983), 101-195; Townend (1960), 99-120; cf. 145-146 and n. 386 above.

that Suetonius had not been influenced by one of the major philosophic schools by the time he came to compose the *De vita Caesarum*. There were few upper class Romans who did not have at least marginal contact with philosophy during their lifetimes,[419] and Suetonius' attested legal career suggests that some formal training in philosophy—or at least philosophic concepts—was inevitable.[420] His later position as a *grammaticus* also suggests a philosophic connection; by the late Republic, philosophy so permeated the study of grammar that Stoic phonology could be found even in the works of non-Stoic grammarians. Any Roman who had been formally schooled in grammar would therefore have been forced into contact with philosophic concepts.[421] Further, rhetoric and philosophy often went hand in hand, particularly during the late Republican period—the era in which Suetonius is believed to have been most interested.[422] Brutus made use of Stoic concepts in his *De dictura Pompei*, and while he might be regarded as a special case,[423] he was hardly a rarity. Cicero explicitly linked the two disciplines: philosophy

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[419] Cf. Long (2003), 185-186. Tacitus, a Suetonian contemporary, had been exposed to philosophical technique as a routine part of his education, as had his self-professed *contubernalis* Pliny the Younger. If Suetonius himself had not undertaken philosophical studies, we might expect some contact with the discipline on account of his friendship with Pliny.

[420] Pliny refers to Suetonius' initial employment as a jurist (*Ep.* 1.18), a role for which the study of philosophical argument was "strongly practical" (Long, 2003: 191). Long felt that Cicero's study of "*pro* and *contra* argumentation" under Philo was motivated as much by his career as a jurist as by "theoretical" concerns.

[421] Long (2003), 190-192; see also Blank and Atherton (2003), 310-327; Gill (2003), 34-44, 55.

[422] See 130 n. 344 above. For the influence of rhetorical traditions on the Suetonian *vitae*, see e.g. Lindsay (1993), 8.

[423] See Balbo (2013), 317 and n. 22; on Brutus' Stoicism especially, Sedley (1997), 42-44.

is the parent of all the arts (Cic. *de Orat.* 1.9), and reveals the truth of human nature (Cic. *De Orat.* 1.53); an orator cannot perform his task fully without the proper study of philosophy (Cic. *De Orat.* 1.60-61). For Cicero, oratory could not be divorced from philosophy without losing something of its essential function.[424]

As many scholars have noted, Suetonius shows a strong predilection for subtlety and inference;[425] what is explicit in Plutarch's texts is often obfuscated in his own. If there are moral judgements to be found in the Suetonian *vitae*, they will require careful and considered assessment to uncover. The connection between Stoicism and the study of rhetoric and grammar provides a helpful point of departure. Two of Suetonius' named sources, Cicero and the younger Seneca, were closely connected to the Stoic discipline.[426] Cicero especially is of interest—it has been noted that Suetonius had an admiration for the orator which was "by no means universal in his

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[424] Cf. especially Wisse (2002), 389-397.

[425] Syme (1958: 781-782) illustrated this perfectly in his examination of Suetonius' use of Tacitus; despite the fact that Suetonius "must have read the *Historiae*", he does not name Tacitus as a source, nor give any overt indication that he had made use of the *Histories* or *Annals* for the *De vita Caesarum*. Cf. Baldwin (1983: 101-102), who raised the same point regarding Suetonius' use of Caesar's commentaries for the *Divus Julius*.

[426] Although Cicero was not himself a Stoic. In principle, he claims philosophical impartiality (e.g. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1.7, 4.7); in practice, he tends to be considered an Academic—see, for example, Balsdon, *OCD*² s.v. Cicero (revised by Obbink, *OCD*⁴ s.v. Tullius Cicero); Fishwick (2011), 30; Gaines (2002), 458 and n. 19; Glucker (1988), 37-45; Grant (1971), 19; Long (2003), 187, 197-203. Plutarch labels Cicero an Academic in his *Life of Cicero* (Plut. *Cic.* 3.1, 4.3) and Cicero himself, when pressed, claims allegiance to the Academic school (e.g. Cic. *De Off.* 3.20; *ND.* 1.11).

day".[427] Cicero's association with the Stoics went back to his youth: after studying with Philon the Academic, he had been tutored by the Stoic Diodotus (Cic. *Brut.* 306-309; cf. Cic. *ND.* 1.3). Discussions of Stoic ethics can be found in several of his works, amongst them the *De Natura Deorum* and *De Officiis*.[428] The *De Officiis* in particular shows a strong sympathy towards Stoic beliefs, and although Cicero states that he will only follow these tenets insofar as they suit his purpose (Cic. *Off*. 1.6), they in fact form the crux of the first two books.[429]

Was Suetonius familiar with these works, or others by Cicero? There is nothing to suggest that he would not have read widely; on the contrary, his imperial appointments probably required it.[430] His interest in Cicero's *De Republica* is attested by our knowledge of the Περὶ τῆς Κικέρωνος πολιτείας, but his use of Cicero extends beyond this treatise. Cicero was as an important source for the *Divus Julius*—he is cited explicitly several times (e.g. Suet. *Jul*. 9.2, 30.5, 42.3, 49.3)—as well as for the *De viris illustribus* (Suet. *De Gramm.* 14; *De. Rhet.* 1, 2, 5; *Vit. Ter*. 5). In addition to the *De Republica*, Suetonius shows familiarity with Cicero's letters, the *Philippicae*, *Brutus*, and the *De*

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[427] Baldwin (1983), 104.

[428] E.g. Cic. *ND.* 1.5, 1.44; *De Off.* 1.7-9, 3.14-15. See further Bragues (2010), 21-33; Kennerly (2010), 119-137; Kries (2003), 375-393; Nordenfelt (1997), 285-291; Pangle (1998), 235-262; Schofield (2013), 73-87; Solmsen (1944), 159-160.

[429] Cf. Kennerly, 122; Kries, 380-382.

[430] The exact function of the *a studiis* and *a bibliothecis* are not known, but both are thought to have involved the management of the imperial library (Van't Dack 1963: 180); the former was suggested to have been a type of 'cultural guide' for the emperor (Wallace-Hadrill, 83-85). If Macé and those who followed his belief were correct in identifying the history and literature of the Late Republic as an area of particular interest for Suetonius, there is all the more reason to believe he would have been familiar with the majority of Cicero's work.

Officiis. Other works may also have been of interest. Cicero himself describes his inquiry into the nature of the gods as being necessary for the regulation of religion (*ND.* 1.1); Suetonius could well have considered this useful reading when undertaking his duties as *flamen* or *pontifex.* The *De finibus bonorum et malorum* presents a strong case against the pursuit of hedonism, distinguishing between the lack of sorrow and the active pursuit of luxury (eg. Cic. *Fin*. 2.6-13, 2.20-21). Although we can only speculate, this must surely have appealed to Suetonius' own moral code, in which a moderate amount of leisure time, put to good use, is spoken of positively but any excess is harshly frowned upon.[431] So too Cicero's definition of an *eruditus* (Cic. *Fin.* 1.5); throughout the *De vita Caesarum*, Suetonius has a particular tendency to judge emperors who were not properly schooled in the 'liberal arts' quite negatively.[432] Finally, Suetonius may have admired the *De finibus bonorum et malorum* from a stylistic point of view. Cicero claimed that this was the most worthwhile of all his essays (Cic. *Fin.* 1.8). Given his admiration for Cicero,

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[431] E.g. Suet. *Tib*. 26.1, 42.1-44.2; *Cal.* 22.3, 36.1-37.3, 41.2-42; *Nero* 27.1-3, 30.1-3.

[432] Cf. Baldwin (1983), 362-368, though I disagree with his final assessment that "For Suetonius, imperial interest is a fact to be recorded … not a mark of either a good or bad emperor" (1983: 368). In the case of each 'bad' emperor, there is an element lacking from their education: Nero, for instance, was steered away form the study of philosophy (Suet. *Nero* 52), a fact which is given amidst a final summary of Nero's vices, implying that his lack of training in this field contributed to his dissolute nature. Conversely, a section in the *Augustus*, in which Suetonius praises the emperor, contains a note that Augustus actively encouraged the pursuit of philosophy (Suet. *Aug.* 85.1)—suggesting that Suetonius himself viewed this as a worthwhile area of study. The judgements may be more implicit, but like Plutarch, Suetonius appears to have viewed a full and rounded education as being necessary for the formation of 'good' character. For a fuller discussion, see Appendix IV: Suetonius' Attitudes Toward Formal Education.

and for neatly-crafted literature, Suetonius may well have agreed with this judgement.[433]

There is, then, a reasonable case to be made for Suetonius' familiarity with Cicero's writing. There may be likewise for their shared philosophic beliefs. While Suetonius gives no overt philosophical remarks in the *De vita Caesarum*, there are hints of what appear to be Stoic ideals in some of the *vitae*.[434] Most prominent among these is the belief in unity of the soul, a concept that lay at the heart of Stoic doctrine. [435] Suetonius has an overwhelming propensity to portray the personality as uniform: his Tiberius is perpetually cruel; his Caligula, lascivious; his Nero, profligate. Behaviour in a subject's youth that does not accord with that of their adulthood is excused as slander (e.g. Suet. *Aug*. 71.1, *Tit*. 5.3) or baseless prejudice (e.g. Suet. *Tit.* 7.1). Explicit acknowledgement by Suetonius of the 'opposing' aspects of personality, such as we saw in Plutarch's *De virtute morali*, is extremely rare. A striking example is found in the *Caligula*, where the contradiction in

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[433] Though it is far from incontrovertible proof, Suetonius' approval of the literary opinions of Augustus—another man he openly admired (Suet. *Aug*. 84.1-2, 86.1-2)—tends to support the idea. Interestingly, Augustus had been tutored by a Stoic, Athenodorus (cf. [Luc.] *Macr.* 21). Suetonius' association with Hadrian might suggest further links; Hadrian was well-disposed to philosophy in general, and particularly so towards the Stoic Epictetus (*SHA:Hadr.* 16.10). On Athenodorus, see further Arnim, *RE* 2 s.v. Athenodorus (18), col. 2045; Millar (1977), 85.

[434] Sedley (44) commented that "Stoic-derived ideas and terminology are ubiquitous in the writings of Roman intellectuals. But that is just a sign of Stocism's pervasive influence on all intellectual modes of thought in the Hellenistic age and after". While his point is fair (see 157-159 and n. 421 above on the permeation of Stoic terminology in other fields of study) Suetonius' specific echoes of certain Stoic precepts suggest that his *vitae* preserve something beyond simple osmosis.

[435] For a very neat summary, see Lorenz (2009), §5.2, and further, Annas (1992), 61-64; Inwood (1982), 42-46 and (1999), 560-584, esp. 570ff.

Caligula's nature is framed in terms of mental illness. The emperor is said to have been both physically and mentally weak, and to have suffered from seizures (Suet. *Cal.* 50.2).[436] Despite recognising this *mentis valitudino* in himself, Caligula was unable to control his illness, which manifested as two opposing character flaws, "extreme assurance and … excessive timorousness" (Suet. *Cal.* 51.1; trans. Rolfe, 1998). Both flaws are contributing factors in Caligula's vices. The former impels his arrogance and pretension to divine honours (Suet. *Cal.* 22.2; cf. 26.4, 34.1); the latter, his unwarranted cruelty (Suet. *Cal.* 28).

The supposition that mental illness ultimately led to flaws of character is discussed by none other than Cicero, in his *Tusculan Disputations*. He there follows a theory expounded by the Stoics which explained human vice as the direct product of mental 'disorders' or *perturbationes* (e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.5-7, 4.11-24).[437] According to Stoic doctrine, these arose from an 'agitation' of the soul (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.11). The wise person (*sapiens*) could recognise that the course of their life was "predetermined and teleological",[438] and accepted both good and bad experiences with *temperantia* (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.22); in doing so,

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[436] Epilepsy (*morbus comitialis*) also appears in Suetonius' *Divus Julius*. Caesar is said to have been healthy overall, but with a tendency towards fainting fits at the end of his life (Suet. *Jul.* 45.1); registration of his two epileptic episodes follows immediately. It is towards the end of his life that Caesar was arguably most set on establishing sole power (*Jul.* 76.1ff; cf. Ehrenberg (1964: 149-160) and while the two facts may be entirely unrelated, it is nevertheless an interesting statement, particularly if we recall Suetonius' continued use of intertextual allusion.

[437] The theory that vice represented a 'disease' of the soul extended back to Plato (e.g. Plat. *Rep*. 444d-e). Stoic belief differed primarily in its understanding of how the various 'parts' of the soul interacted with one another, and how an individual should be trained to best avoid vice; see 185 n. 457 above. For Stoic contributions to treating illness, see especially Hankinson (2003), 295-309.

[438] Nordenfelt, 286.

they achieved virtue (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.34).[439] The fool (*stultus*), on the other hand, experienced both good and evil in excess (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.11-14); if allowed to continue, his or her *perturbationes* led to diseases (*morbi*) and sicknesses (*aegrotationes*; Cic. T*usc.* 4.23). A Stoic, or Stoic-inspired, writer would therefore be expected to portray a virtuous person as having a healthy mental state, with restrained emotions and an acceptance of their fate.[440] An immoral person would be characterised with a disorderly mind, an excessive of emotions and fear of the future—exactly the portrait we find throughout Suetonius' *Caligula*.

The relationship between Stoic *perturbationes* and *vitia* is complicated by the theory of *vitiositas*, an instinctive proclivity in some individuals towards evil (*in malis*; Cic. *Tusc.* 4.28-30, though cf. *Tusc.* 4.32 for the idea that even the wise person is liable to *perturbationes*). Additionally, it was not a simple case of cause and effect. *Perturbationes* are said to be both a cause of, and a symptom of, a disturbance in the mind (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.11, 4.34). Cicero states that they do not arise naturally but are the result of misguided *iudicium* or *opinio* on the subject's part (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.83). These irrational thought processes stem from the presence of a disordered mind (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.34); thus, the person who experiences *perturbationes* cannot make sound judgements *because* their thought processes are impaired (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.11, 4.41-42). The effect can be seen as cyclical, with each successive disturbance

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[439] These persons achieved what Cicero termed *constantiae* (*Tusc.* 4.14; the phrase was translated by King as 'equitable states'). There were three—*voluntas*, *gaudium*, and *cautio*—which stood in opposition to the four *perturbationes* (*cupiditas*, *laetitia*, *metus*, and *aegritudo*). No *constantia* existed to parallel *aegritudo* (defined by Cicero as the excessive fear of present evils; *Tusc.* 3.7-15, 4.11).

[440] Cf. Nordenfelt, 286.

causing the *insania* that prevents future rational thought. [441] Suetonius'
Caligula echoes this belief. The importance of a pre-existing weakness is
underscored by his word order—*non inmerito mentis valitudini attributerim
diversissima in eodem vita* (Suet. *Cal.* 51.1; 'Not without justification may I
attribute to his weakness of mind two most opposing flaws in the same
man')—and by his emphasis on Caligula's mental and physical weaknesses in
the preceding passage (Suet. *Cal.* 50.2).[442] Furthermore, Suetonius does not
exploit his opportunity to detail Caligula's flaws once he raises the topic (as at,
for example, Suet. *Cl.* 31-34.1; *Nero* 51-56). Instead, his concern is to show
that Caligula was 'at variance' with himself: he is contemptuous of the gods
and mocks *miracula*, yet is shown to fear thunder and the rumblings of Aetna
(*Cal.* 51.1); he issues numerous threats against the Gauls, but flees at the
mere suggestion of enemy contact (*Cal.* 51.2). The effect of the passage is to

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[441] Cf. Cic. Tusc. 4.34. Cicero naturally advocates philosophic training to combat
perturbationes and ultimately remove the inclinations towards *vitiositas* (Cic. *Tusc.*
4.57-62)—which, it should be noted, is distinct from Plutarch's own theory of
guiding the 'irrational' parts of the soul towards virtue by means of philosophy (cf.
113-117 above). Insofar as can be determined from his text, Suetonius seems to
favour Cicero's opinion; in the opening of the *Caligula*, he notes that Germanicus
physically altered his musculature through diet and training, so that it accorded
with his *corporis animique virtutes* (Suet. *Cal.* 3.1). See further Gladhill (333), who
saw in this passage echoes of the *Zopyrus* by Phaedo of Elis. Phaedo's beliefs were
the foundation of the Eretrian School (Diog. Laert. *Praef.* 19); it is unsurprising to
find that Cicero discussed this school and its belief systems (e.g. Cic. *Acad.* 2.42).

[442] The translation and emphasis are my own, following the sense of Rolfe's Loeb
edition. An alternative can be found in Hurley's recent translation (2011, 189:
"Quite correctly I think, I attribute his mental illness to the presence of two very
different character flaws"), though *Cal.* 50.2 seems to indicate that Suetonius
believed Caligula's mental weakness was the agent responsible for his vices rather
than the reverse.

demonstrate that Caligula's character—and therefore his *animus*—was not uniform in the way that the other emperors' were (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 71.1, 72.1; *Tib*. 42.2; *Ves.* 12).

Are these hints indicative of a moral purpose in the Suetonian *vitae*? The question of intent is difficult to answer. Similarities between Suetonius' presentation of mental illness and Cicero's may be due to his admiration for, or familiarity with, the orator's work; equally, it may be a matter of simple coincidence. Some Stoic precepts might have been incorporated as a response to the ongoing rivalry between members of the various philosophic schools. Plutarch, as is well known, had refuted the teachings of the Stoics vehemently;[443] if Suetonius was indeed using his own biographies to answer Plutarch's imperial sequence, as has been theorised, we might expect the matter of philosophy to form at least part of this response—all the more so if Suetonius, or a writer he clearly admired, shared the beliefs which Plutarch had criticised. As a rule, however, Suetonius' *vitae* are carefully crafted; his uses of inter– and intratextual anecdotes and literary allusion suggests that nothing he chose to include was haphazard or accidental. The Stoic belief in a unity of the soul matches his own conception of character very neatly, further

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[443] In addition to the *Compendium Argumenti Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere*, *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos*, and *De Stoicorum repugnantiis*, Plutarch criticises Stoic doctrine at *Prof. in virt.* 76a; on this, see Scott-Smith (2006), 246-249. The traditional views on Plutarch's opinion of Stocism can be found in (for instance) Sandbach (1940), 20-25. More recent commentary has questioned the extent to which Plutarch intended to 'ridicule' the Stoics; e.g. Casevitz and Babut (2002), esp. 16-19; cf. Hershbell (1992), 3342-3345.

indicating the possibility of a moralistic purpose. [444] This should not be confused with Plutarch's intention to educate his readers; there is a vast difference between a text which discusses moral and immoral behaviour and one which provides specific examples designed for emulation. Yet Suetonius does appear to be inviting his readers to engage in moral reflection—in his typically subtle manner. And if philosophical tenets are downplayed throughout the *vitae*, Suetonius may have had good reason to do so. Domitian had banished philosophers from Rome (Suet. *Dom.* 10.3), a fact that Suetonius relates in the midst of a passage devoted to the emperor's unwarranted cruelty; as with the passage on Nero's education, we are left with the sense that Suetonius disapproved of Domitian's actions. Philosophers had also been expelled from Rome by Vespasian (Dio 66.13), to be recalled

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[444] A further hint towards Stoicism can be observed at Suet. *Aug*. 99.1, where he reports Augustus' final words before dying. Wardle noted that this *clausula*, as Suetonius terms it, utilised a metaphor that was important to both Cynic and Stoic doctrine, but that it was "the Stoic adaptation … that is most important for understanding Augustus' words" (Wardle, 2007: 450-451). Augustus had been educated by a Stoic tutor (see 162 n. 433 above; cf. Wardle, 2007: 451); as such, his acknowledgement of a Stoic precept at death is not unusual. Yet as Wardle observed, historians—and, we should note, biographers—consciously shaped and manipulated death scenes in their texts, as this was a key element in the characterisation of an individual (Wardle, 2007: 449; cf. Geiger, 2014: 302). Dio does *not* report Augustus' final words during his treatment of the emperor's death (Dio 56.30.1-4); moreover, he appears to have misunderstood the sentiment they carried (Wardle, 2007: 454). That Suetonius both understood and incorporated his utterance—and thus, a Stoic concept—into his *Augustus* may therefore attest to a shared belief system.

briefly by Titus before their re-expulsion by Domitian. [445] Wallace-Hadrill observed that the fragments of the *De viris illustribus* pertaining to philosophers focussed primarily on "persecutions and expulsions".[446] Even if public opinion had changed by the time Suetonius wrote the *De vita Caesarum*, the fact remains that he had spent many of his formative years in a society that was merely tolerant of philosophy at best and openly hostile at worst.[447]

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[445] Titus' recall of the philosophers seems to have been ca. 80 CE, the year before his death; Musonius Rufus, initially exempt from Vespasian's decree, was later exiled and did not return to Rome until this time (W. D. Ross, *OCD*[2] s.v. Musonius Rufus). There is nothing of these earlier expulsions in either Suetonius' *Vespasian* or his *Titus*. If Suetonius had strong feelings about this issue, we might expect to see it mentioned in one, or both, of these *vitae*. However, Dio (66.13.1) claims that Vespasian had been 'persuaded' to expel the philosophers by C. Licinius Mucianus. Suetonius' judgement of Vespasian is largely positive—he is effectively a counter to the three ineffective emperors who preceded him (so Suet. *Ves.* 1.1)—and including such information would not accord with the overall portrait of a magnanimous emperor (cf. Suet. *Ves.* 12-15, 17-19.1). In the *Domitian*, it fits well, providing further evidence of Domitian's vengeful and bloodthirsty nature.

[446] Wallace-Hadrill, 60; cf. Baldwin (1983), 331.

[447] Cf. Wallace-Hadrill, 61.

CHAPTER FOUR

Personality Theory and Biography

Christopher Jones, in his treatment of Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars*, noted that the loss of the *Augustus-Nero* sequence made speculation about the work hazardous.[448] Yet he also observed, correctly, that the series was of great importance for "an understanding of Plutarch's attitude to Rome … [his] personal circumstances and historical methods"; thus, he risked the hazards of speculation to offer suggestions as to the structure and content of the *Caesars* as a whole. Philip Stadter did likewise some three decades later.[449] As discussed above, the βίοι that comprised the *Lives of the Caesars* were not inherently different to those of the *Parallel Lives*,[450] and both Jones and Stadter utilised evidence from that series as the basis for their comments on the *Caesars*. This type of 'comparative' approach is typical for determining the possible—or in some cases probable—content of lost and damaged texts, both biographical and otherwise.[451] However, hypotheses which rely solely on

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[448] Jones (1971), 72; cf. Georgiadou (1988), 349.

[449] Jones (1971), 72-80; Stadter (2005), 419-432.

[450] Cf. 125-131 above, and esp. Jones (1971), 74.

[451] The reconstructed 'plan' of Suetonius' *De viris illustribus*, derived from Jerome, is an illustrative example (e.g. K. R. Bradley, 1998: 369-371; Wallace-Hadrill, 51-59), as is Stadter's use of Tacitus to determine the approximate length of each βίος from Plutarch's *Caesars* (Stadter, 2005: 419-421). The same technique has been used to reconstruct damaged Greek *parapegmata*: Daryn Lehoux noted that "clues

literary analysis or textual comparison may not always reflect the nuances of the lost text. Jones, for example, believed that Plutarch's *Life of Caligula* would have been "all depravity", as Plutarch had elsewhere characterised Caligula as a despot (Plut. *De superstit.* 170e-f).[452] Yet Suetonius offers a few instances of commendable behaviour by Caligula, judgements which Plutarch may have shared. The report that Caligula lifted a ban on certain literature (Suet. *Cal.* 16.1) is of particular interest; this seems the type of act that would have found favour with a writer who believed that history—and historical deeds—should be studied for the moral education of later generations (cf. Plut. *Aem.* 1.1-3, 5).[453] Furthermore, we have already observed that Plutarch was quite willing to acknowledge the contradictory

... for effecting a reconstruction ... fall into two broad classes, *internal* and *comparative.*" 'Internal' evidence comprised "fragmentary words or phrases and considerations of symmetry and structure", while 'comparative' was determined by "looking at other parapegmata for clues to what is going on in a damaged text". See Lehoux (forthcoming), 1.

[452] Jones (1971), 80 and n. 50. On this basis, Jones suggested that Plut. *Ant*. 87.8, where Caligula is said to have ruled ἐπιφανῶς, be emended to ἐπιμανῶς (Jones, 1971: 80 n. 50; cf. Pelling, 1988: 326). There seems no reason to assume that the *Antony* is incorrect; Dio too records a brief period in which Caligula performed his duties well (e.g. Dio 59.2.1-4, 3.1, 6.1-7). Harold Tarrant has brought to my attention the regularity with which Plutarch employs ἐπιφανῆς: *TLG* lists 292 total instances of this word or a cognate, while ἐπιμανῆς appears on just three occasions. The clause continues οὐ πολὺν χρόνον, an accusative of extent which qualifies the positive adverb ('Gaius reigned with distinction but <u>not for long</u>'; cf. Perrin's 1920 translation). I am especially grateful to both Professor Tarrant and Hugh Lindsay for their time spent discussing this passage.

[453] Tacitus, too, had expressed the belief that history should be recorded and transmitted to posterity (Tac. *Ann.* 3.65; cf. 1-5 above); his discussion of this act, were it extant, would be most instructive.

aspects of his subjects' personalities—thus, it does not necessarily follow that his portrait of Caligula was entirely negative. If anything, his routine incorporation of positive elements in generally negative βίοι suggests the contrary.[454]

To portray character, one must first assess it, a process that is at once conscious and unconscious. A work depicting stereotypes, such as Theophrastus' *Characters*, could not exist without its author's conscious assessment of the general populace. Conversely, there are numerous examples within ancient literature that demonstrate the power of unconscious character assessment: we find, for example, the assumption that Otho would make a poor emperor due to his similarities to Nero (Plut. *Galba* 19.3-4, 21.2, 23.1),[455] or the statement that neither Otho's *animus* nor his *corpus* accorded with the courage he displayed at the end of his life (Suet. *Otho* 12.1).[456] To speculate in any great detail about Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars*, we must therefore be able to determine the extent to which he prejudged each of his subjects, and whether these judgements were influenced by the presence or absence of certain character traits. Interdisciplinary methods are a significant

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[454] See especially 117, 120-124 above.

[455] The prejudice is enhanced by the report that the Senate's opinion of Otho changed *en masse* after a single proof of his imperial policies (Plut. *Oth.* 1.2-3). According to Plutarch, Otho had gained the support of the soldiery and key political figures (Seneca and Vinius in particular; Plut. *Galb.* 20.1-3), but οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ κράτιστοι held him in suspicion until his official appointment as emperor (Plut. *Oth.* 1.3).

[456] On physiognomic preconceptions, see e.g. Corbeil (1997), 120; Dench (1998), 121–146; Gleason (*passim* but especially chapters two (treating the development of the public self) and three (on deportment as language); Williams (1999), 126-132.

aid for this task.[457] Behavioural science refers to the tendency and capacity for the prejudgement of character as the 'implicit theory of personality', a subconscious process through which an individual assesses, associates, and projects the aspects of personality he or she observes in others.[458] For a biographer—and indeed for any writer concerned with the characterisation of a subject, whether historical or fictional—the implicit theory of personality governs both the types of information they will typically include within their work (for example, items relating to their subject's abilities, interests, character traits, and/or personal values), as well as their innate beliefs about what such characteristics might mean. It has been noted that authors rarely provide "an explicit, systematic statement of their theories of personality";[459] in the absence of such a statement, their conception of character must instead be deduced from their texts.

There have been two notable attempts made to determine a biographical writer's implicit theory of personality. The first, by Seymour Rosenberg and Russell Jones, focussed on the novelist Theodore Dreiser and

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[457] Interdisciplinary theories have in the past been applied to various problems arising from the history and literature of the ancient world; see for instance, Newbold's combination of literary analysis and psychological theory to examine Suetonius' attitudes toward physical boundaries (Newbold 1984: 118-131), or Eckstein's use the 'Realist' approach of political science to shed new light on the question of Roman bellicosity (Eckstein 2007: 1-11, 182-191).

[458] For the implicit theory of personality in literature, see especially Cochran, 189; cf. Rosenberg and Jones (1972), 372. For the theory in general, see Asch (1946), 258-260; Pederson (1965), 233-234; Srivastava, Guglielmo, and Beer (2010), 521-523; Verma (1986), 189. For the potential dangers in applying personality theory to literary analysis, see especially Carney (1969), 151-155.

[459] Cochran, 189.

utilised the fifteen character portraits in his *A Gallery of Women*;[460] the second, by Larry Cochran, centred on Suetonius and the *De vita Caesarum.* Both studies began with an extraction of the physical and psychological attributes each author applied to his subjects. These were grouped into 'trait categories' on the basis of semantic similarity, and the categories were subject to analysis to determine whether or not character traits co-occurred across the work. Rosenberg and Jones performed cluster analysis to demonstrate how the traits extracted from Dreiser's book tended to group (i.e., whether positive traits formed groups discrete from negative traits), and multi-dimensional scaling to determine the likelihood that a given trait would occur near any other trait in a single character portrait.[461] Cochran tabulated his results in a repertory grid, which he felt would best illustrate "the implicit theories of biographers and autobiographers".[462] The repertory grid had been developed by George Kelly in the mid-twentieth century, to "consolidate the viewpoints of the clinician, the historian, the scientist and the philosopher";[463]

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[460] Although technically semi-autobiographic (Neubauer, 2004: 3), the composition of Dreiser's *A Gallery of Women* is not dissimilar to the imperial biographies examined in this study below. Each woman is described in "20-50 printed pages", and in isolation, rather than in conjunction with the other women in the series (Rosenberg and Jones, 373).

[461] Rosenberg and Jones, 373, 375.

[462] Cochran, 201.

[463] Kelly (1955), 5. Kelly believed that we viewed the world through individual "patterns or templets [*sic*]", which we superimposed over "the realities of which the world is composed" (Kelly, 8-9). He sought to define these templates by identifying the bipolar constructs through which his clients judged the members of their family, friends, and associates (Kelly, 46-183, 219-318). The system, as Cochran demonstrated, is one that can be easily adapted to determine implicit theories of personality from prose, with the author's character 'constructs' being formed from the attributes by which he or she typically judges the subjects of the work.

of the two methods, it is by far the more readily applicable to our ancient texts. Rosenberg and Jones, although thorough, were strictly literal in the application of their criteria.[464] Semantic overlap was not always taken into account, and while textual modifiers were incorporated, obvious synonyms were not listed under a single morpheme.[465] More problematic is the fact that they counted explicit character attributes only in their data extraction. This presents a significant obstacle to determining an author's understanding and representation of character accurately; as demonstrated in the examples from Suetonius' *Galba*, character was often depicted in an inferential fashion. Cochran recognised this fact, and thus took care to include implicit attributes and character judgements in his analysis, as well as to note any inconsistencies or contradictions in the portrayal of a single subject's character.[466] Unlike Rosenberg and Jones, he also grouped analogous trait categories together, into what he termed "superordinate constructs".[467]

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[464] Cf. Cochran, 189-191.

[465] E.g. "quite intelligent" is grouped with "intelligent", and "not so remarkably intelligent" with "limited intelligence", "beautiful", "handsome", and "good-looking" all appear as separate trait categories (Rosenberg and Jones, 375).

[466] Cochran, 191-192.

[467] The practice is highly logical, and Cochran demonstrated its prudence using the example of appetite (Cochran, 192). For Suetonius, 'appetite' comprised three elements: the emperor's approach to food, alcohol, and sexual activity. In nearly every *vita*, the strength of one of these appetites corresponds to the other two. The earlier *vitae* tend to have fuller references—in the *Galba-Domitian* sequence, one element is often omitted (e.g. Suet. *Gal.* 22, *Vit.* 17.2; *Ves.* 21)—and Suetonius again demonstrates the tendency to excuse contradictory information, so that the emperor's various appetites accord with his overall character (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 69.1, 71.1, 76.1-77; *Tit.* 7.1). This especially suggests that he considered all three elements to be manifestations of a single, bipolar character trait—that of self-indulgence or self-restraint.

Cochran rated the relative strength of the superordinate constructs for each *vita* using a five point scale. A score of 1 indicated that the subject of that *vita* had demonstrated the strongly positive aspects of those character traits the construct represented (e.g. benevolence, responsibility), while a score of 5 indicated that they demonstrated the strongly negative aspects (e.g. cruelty, irresponsibility).[468] These scores were tabled in a repertory grid, from which the product-moment correlation coefficient (PPMC) was calculated. [469] This measurement shows the degree of interdependence between any two variables in a set of data—so, for instance, whether the representation of an emperor's kind or cruel nature was dependent upon, or influenced by, the representation of his restrained or extravagant lifestyle. The PPMC value will always lie between 1 and -1: a value close to 0 indicates no, or low, correlation between the two variables; a value close to 1 indicates a strong positive correlation, while a value close to -1 indicates a strong negative correlation. The value at which a correlation is deemed to have statistical significance is governed by the number of variables in the dataset. For Cochran's study, each construct can be tested against ten others; therefore, the value at which a correlation can be deemed significant is 0.576 or higher. [470] Using this figure, fifty of Cochran's fifty-five construct

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[468] Cochran, 195-197.

[469] Properly, Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient. The equation for calculating this is given below; see 217-218.

[470] For Pearson's critical values, see Linneman (2014), 273-275; Neaves (2013), 36. The correlation figure at which a relationship can be deemed statistically significant depends upon the number of paired relationships being examined. In Cochran's analysis, scores of >0.576 represent a 0.05 level of probability (i.e., a 95% chance of correlation being true) and those of >0.708 represent a 0.01 level of probability (i.e., a 99% chance of correlation being true).

relationships (91%) can be said to have statistical significance.[471] These data both echo and reaffirm the impression gained from the earlier literary analysis, that Suetonius saw his subjects' characters as being almost entirely uniform.[472] Cochran in fact believed that Suetonius' conception of character was so rigid that the bipolar constructs found within the *De vita Caesarum* were simply "variations of one another" rather than distinct character traits.[473]

The levels of correlation and interrelation between character constructs are exceedingly valuable for understanding the presentation of character within a biographical work, as they reveal "the bias of [the biographer's] implicit theories",[474] or the ways in which they preconceived their subjects' characters. Cochran noted that some authors are "more given to distorting information to fit their theories [of personality]";[475] the tighter one's general conception of character, the more likely it is that such distortion will occur. The extent of any one author's preconception can be tested by inserting additional, 'secondary' constructs into an established paradigm.[476] If these correlate strongly with the existing ('primary') constructs, it is likely that the author perceived many, or even most, character traits as being connected to, and influenced by, one another—which suggests in turn that a fairly high level

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[471] Cf. Cochran, 197. Of the fifty significant correlations, forty-three (78% of the total constructs examined) are significant at the 0.01 level.

[472] Cf. 162-163 above. Suetonius seems to have accepted that certain circumstances could lead to character 'fractures', such as those we observed in the *Caligula* above, which would ultimately result in an individual exhibiting contradictory character traits. As a rule, however, his conception of personality is unified rather than divisive (again, contrast Plut. *De virt. mor.* 441c-442b; cf. 131-133 above).

[473] Cochran, 197.

[474] Cochran, 194, and cf. 199.

[475] Cochran, 194-195.

[476] Cf. Cochran, 195.

of preconception would occur within their works. Conversely, secondary constructs which do not correlate strongly to the primary group indicate that only certain character traits were associated with one other, suggesting that the author would have been less likely to preconceive their subjects' thoughts, motivations, and responses, and thus, less likely to significantly reshape or alter information. In the case of our biographers, a low level of character preconception may have led to the incorporation of more varied source material: where character is strongly preconceived, sources that accord with the preconception have a greater likelihood of being taken at face value, while those that attest to contradictory traits may be treated with suspicion or even disregarded. [477] Determining the extent of an author's preconception of character is doubly important for lost works, as it indicates how the subjects of that work are likely to have been characterised, and aids in determining

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[477] Plutarch's characterisation of Romulus is an illustrative example: he describes the founder of Rome as possessing courage, manliness, and a natural aptitude for leadership (Plut. *Rom.* 6.1-3). Romulus' handling of the rape of the Sabine women is thus given in terms that best fit this characterisation (Plut. *Rom.* 14.2). Plutarch explicitly rejects the idea that Romulus was fond of war (Plut. *Rom.* 14.1), claiming instead that it was his intention to forestall territorial wars with the Sabines and unite the two peoples in "some sort of blending and fellowship" (Plut. *Rom.* 14.3; trans. Perrin, 1914). In Livy's version, Romulus' actions are far less noble, prompted by resentment that the surrounding nations refused his requests for marriage alliances (Livy 1.9; cf. Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.132). As there were no first-hand accounts of the Sabine War for Plutarch to draw on, his reasoning can only stem from his personal opinion of Romulus' motivation—which was based on both the sources he had read and the ways he inherently understood character. A similar dismissal can be observed at *Brut.* 9.1; Plutarch there denies any personal motivation by Cassius in the plot against Caesar. Presumably, this helped to strengthen the idea that Brutus' and Cassius' undertaking was a noble one (so Plut. *Brut.* 1.4, 10.2). For the same practice by Suetonius, see especially Suet. *Aug.* 71.1.

which source traditions the author might have followed when composing their text.

In order to test the extent to which Suetonius predetermined his subjects' characters, Cochran selected three secondary constructs: temperament (artistic or theatrical versus pragmatic); physical appearance (unpleasant versus pleasant); and height (short versus tall). The lattermost especially he felt was objective by nature and would therefore indicate whether Suetonius 'forced' an emperor's physical attributes to comply with his personal character.[478] All three secondary constructs showed significant levels of correlation, though these correlations were not as strong as those between the eleven primary constructs.[479] The construct of temperament seemed most strongly linked, with seven of a possible eleven relationships rating as statistically significant. This is unsurprising: self-expression is an aspect of personality (i.e., character) rather than physicality, and the construct's positive pole—practicality—is closely associated with several factors by which Suetonius evaluated character, including responsibility, realistic attitudes, altruism, and the acceptance or encouragement of others.[480] Physical appearance also appeared to be strongly related to the primary constructs, with six statistically significant relationships. Again, this is logical. A number of the elements that Cochran incorporated into his primary constructs would

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[478] Cochran, 195, 198-199.

[479] See Cochran, 199 Table 3. One relationship (artistic/practical—resentful/accepting of others) is not marked as being significant, though with a value of 0.62, it has a 0.05 level of probability and must be counted as statistically significant. Overall, only 51% of the relationships here are statistically significant, as compared to the 91% of those found among the primary constructs.

[480] It should not be surprising that three of these are constructs to which temperament showed a significant correlation; cf. Cochran, 199 Table 3, cols. 1, 10, 11.

have affected the physical appearance of Suetonius' subjects.[481] Moreover, the ancient world had long associated stereotypically ugly characters with undesirable character traits.[482] Suetonius' connection of an emperor's physical appearance to their character is thus in accordance with established societal and literary traditions.

Cochran's final test construct, of height, is problematic. This showed statistically significant levels of correlation to only four of the eleven primary constructs, and only at the lower 0.05 probability level; nevertheless, Cochran felt that height fitted the "dominant pattern" of Suetonius' assessment of personality.[483] If this is correct, it must indicate either that Suetonius' judgement of an emperor was subconsciously affected by how short or tall he was, or that Suetonius deliberately shaped the information on each emperor's height to suit their overall characterisation. Neither conclusion seems particularly appropriate. As noted above, there is compelling evidence that Suetonius crafted his biographies with a great deal of care and attention to subtlety, and that he was aware at all times of the character he intended to portray. With this in mind, it does not seem overly likely that his perception

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[481] For example, an excessive appetite—a major contributing factor to Cochran's second construct of self-indulgence/restraint—could have easily led to obesity, which is included by Suetonius as a negative physical feature (e.g. Suet. *Gal.* 21-22; *Vit.* 17.2).

[482] See especially Aristotle on the use of masks for the 'inferior' characters of Greek comedy (Arist. *Poet.* 1449a); these acted as a physical representation of their undesirable traits. We find the preconception in Plutarch's βίοι also: amongst numerous other examples, he reports that Agesilaus' lameness cast doubt over his ability to rule effectively (Plut. *Ages.* 3.4), and that his father Archidamus had been warned not to marry a short woman, as she would not bear him βασιλεῖς … ἀλλὰ βασιλείδια (Plut. *Ages.* 2.3).

[483] Cochran, 199.

and subsequent portrayal of an emperor would change based on the man's height. The idea that he deliberately manipulated information is certainly possible—and indeed, the correlations in the construct denoting physical beauty versus physical ugliness suggest a certain amount of Suetonian 'moulding'—but the bias Cochran found for height specifically does not fit well with the general attitude towards appearance in antiquity. Height was found to correlate to the constructs of self-indulgence/self-restraint, egocentricity/altruism and happiness/unhappiness; 'good' emperors tended to be on the short or average side, while 'bad' ones were often taller than average. Yet height is connected to the ideal of beauty from the very earliest ancient texts. Gods, heroes, and kings are typically portrayed as tall, with noble or regal bearing, in every way 'larger' than the common man.[484] A conscious equation of tallness with poor character does not fit the prevalent thought pattern of short, small, or misshapen features being undesirable—and Suetonius is hardly likely to have opposed long-established cultural symbolism if he intended his audience to agree with his perception of the emperors' characters. Moreover, appearance is not something he would always have been able to observe first-hand; for information on the height and appearance of emperors who preceded his own lifetime, Suetonius would have relied on "the verbal or pictorial sources available".[485] His inherent evaluation of

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[484] The idea is found as early as Homer; figures of myth and legend are said to have been both stronger and larger than the men of Homer's own day (Hom. *Il.* 12.449; cf. Plin. *NH* 7.74). Odysseus—a figure synonymous with cunning and deception—is said to be slight (*Il.* 3.193); when Athena found it necessary to enhance his beauty, his height was the first thing she altered (Hom. *Od.* 6.229). Conversely Ajax, who 'towered' above the Argives (Hom. *Il.* 3.226-227), surpassed all the Greeks but Achilles in both looks and achievements (Hom. *Od.* 11.550-551).

[485] Hägg, 229. Interestingly, Suetonius only once attributes his information on height to an external source (Suet. *Jul.* 45.1); elsewhere, he simply states the fact.

personality may have been strict enough that certain aspects of his subjects' appearance influenced how he perceived their characters, but it cannot be reasonably proven that height was one of these aspects. Indeed, to judge by the evidence above, it probably was not.

As with the study it built upon, Cochran's system of analysis is not without its flaws. The availability of data, and the fact that his constructs were never intended to be exhaustive, are not major concerns.[486] The secondary constructs, however, are not as neutral as might be hoped and not as revelatory as Cochran's conclusion suggests. Furthermore, despite the care he took in extracting personality data from the text, there is a certain amount of subjectivity present in the study—which Cochran himself acknowledged. The attributes extracted were those that "*seemed* relevant"; the superordinate constructs were devised based upon "the *presumed* intended meaning".[487] These tasks require a degree of individual judgement, and while such a method allows for inferred character attributes to be represented within the

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[486] See especially Cochran, 194-196. The eleven primary constructs were chosen based on the character traits with the highest rate of recurrence throughout the twelve *vitae* (Cochran, 194). As such, these traits reflect Suetonius' primary guides for the selection and presentation of his material—in Cochran's words, they were "salient in Suetonius' implicit theory of personality" (Cochran, 194; cf. Rosenberg and Jones, 375). The issue of data availability is addressed at 190-191 and again at 196, where Cochran noted that "if there was insufficient information, an [emperor's rating] was left in the middle. It was assumed that if an emperor were strongly one way or the other, it would have been remarked upon". This is perfectly sensible; Suetonius in fact gives a statement which confirms Cochran's reasoning (Suet. *Jul.* 45.3, focussing on the remarkable aspects of Caesar's clothing). See also Plutarch's approach to appearance in the *Otho*: he never explicitly describes Otho's appearance or the manner of dress, yet gives detailed notes on Caecina's ἀλλόκοτος appearance (Plut. *Oth.* 6.3).

[487] Cochran, 192; the emphases are my own. Cf. Carney (1969), 154-155, 164.

study, it also enhances the possibility of misinterpretation as a result of assessing ancient concepts from the modern perspective.[488] Finally, there are inherent problems in utilising a cross-disciplinary methodology: regardless of the benefits the repertory grid offers, the difficulty of analysing literary evidence with numerical calculations becomes immediately apparent when this system is applied to the work of other authors.[489] None of these issues is insurmountable. As shall be seen below, steps can be taken to facilitate the application of scientific methods to literary sources, and maintaining the same close focus on historicism for data extraction as for textual analysis should ensure that both explicit and implicit personality attributes are evaluated according to the author's specific cultural context.

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[488] This is exemplified by the character trait of 'modesty'. Suetonius speaks of *modestia* (e.g. *Nero* 5.1; *Tit.* 4.1; *Dom.* 2.2, 18.2), a positive quality that attests to the subject's contentment with modest means, his self-discipline, and his disinclination towards excessive luxury. The Oxford English Dictionary retains "Moderation; freedom from excess, self-control, clemency, mildness of rule" as the prime definition for the term 'modesty' (*OED* Vol. 9); this, however, is immediately followed by "The quality of being modest, or having a moderate opinion of oneself; reserve springing from an unexaggerated estimate of one's qualities; freedom from presumption, ostentation, arrogance or impudence"—and it is this reading of the term that may take primacy for a modern reader. In Seneca's letters, we find a reference to Pompey's *verecundia* (Sen. *Ep.* 11.1), a quality which he notes is a sign of good character. It is paramount to recognise that the blush he speaks of was *not* an indication of Pompeian shyness or self-effacement. Roman value judgements centred on shame rather than guilt; thus, the person who blushed was considered to be of good character because he was not *shameless* (Barton, 2001: 227). As noted in the discussion of historicism (31-32 above), we must remain conscious of the problems attendant upon presuming that ancient values and value judgements replicate, or approximate, those of a modern reader.

[489] See 206ff. below, where the method is applied to Plutarch's *Lives*.

The Repertory Grid Method: A Case Study

At the outset of his study, Cochran expressed the hope that his method would be suitable for wider application—and indeed, it can be. With a careful and considered approach, repertory grid analysis provides a valuable resource for evaluating a biographer's comprehension of character. One of its most useful aspects is patterning. As the data extracted from each text is represented numerically, authorial emphases are immediately apparent; in Cochran's grid, emphasised traits are those which receive 'extreme' scores (i.e., a rating of 1 or 5).[490] Identifying these emphases is a matter of great interest. The eleven constructs Cochran identified represented the aspects of character which he believed were "salient in Suetonius' implicit theory of personality".[491] These need not be of equal value; in fact, the very nature of saliency implies that certain areas of personality were *not* crucial to the evaluation of character. Emphasis, at a basic level, is an indication of preference. Thus, where Suetonius focuses on the strength of certain character traits, it may reasonably be concluded that these were central to his perception and presentation of that subject. Average scores, on the other

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[490] Cf. Cochran, 196 and 181 n. 486 above. This should, to some extent, be self-evident; for a construct to receive an extreme score, it is necessary that the biographer devote a large amount of attention to it. However, in Suetonius' longer *vitae*, emphasis on a single character trait can be lost due to the volume of material he includes, particularly as *virtutes* or *vitia* are not always illustrated in distinct sections, but are instead discussed as they arise in the various areas of a subject's life. Isolating textual emphases in this way is not infallible, but as a starting point for where a biographer might have concentrated his characterisation of a subject, the repertory grid is quite useful—perhaps even more so than Cochran himself concluded (Cochran, 200-201).

[491] Cochran, 194.

hand—and particularly average scores which are the result of little or no data—represent traits which were probably *not* central to his characterisation. It thus follows that if a biographer routinely emphasises (or ignores) certain character traits, these traits were the most important (or unimportant) for that biographer's understanding, and subsequent portrayal, of character. The process in effect isolates those traits which were, to borrow Cochran's terminology, *most* salient. In the study of Suetonius, three constructs each contain only one average rating (responsible/irresponsible, kind–/cruel-natured, and content/miserable), while four constructs contain seven extreme ratings (responsible/irresponsible, kind–/cruel-natured, strong/weak character, and loyal/disloyal). This suggests that Suetonius considered the most important qualities for an emperor to be responsibility, benevolence, loyalty, and a strong personal character.

Some clarification of terminology is necessary here. The traits which Cochran identified as contributing to a subject's nature are culturally-specific, and sometimes quite different to the modern understanding. For example, anecdotes from the Suetonian *vitae* which attest to a subject's 'kindness' focus on the qualities of clemency (*clementias*), leniency (*lenitas*), and generosity towards others (*liberalitas*)—in other words, the absence of excessive or unnecessary cruelty (*saevitia*).[492] As we have now observed several times, ancient value judgements do not always accord with the modern understanding of the same term. Just as the avoidance of luxury—a trait which contributes to the admirable construct of self-restraint—did not necessarily preclude displays of wealth or power (cf. Polyb. Hist. 31.26.1-10; self-aggrandisement was perfectly acceptable, and indeed, encouraged in

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[492] For *clementias*, see e.g. Suet. *Jul.* 75.1; *Aug.* 51.1, 67.1; for *lenitas*, Suet. *Jul.* 74.1; *Aug.* 33.1; for *liberalitas*, Suet. *Jul.* 38.2; Aug. 41.1. Cf. Suet. *Gal.* 6.3, 7.1, 9.1 and the discussion at 150-151 above on *saevitia*, a negative quality born from Galba's positively attested tendency towards *severitas*.

Roman culture), so too could a Roman of clement disposition still behave in a manner that a modern reader might consider 'cruel' without being censured by their peers—or biographers. Each of the value terms *must* be understood in accordance with its ancient connotations.[493] An 'egocentric' subject is one who demonstrates an *excessive* self-interest, to the detriment of others or the Roman populace; a 'vainglorious' subject, one who possessed an excessive craving for fame, glory, or power. 'Contentedness', a decidedly abstract quality, refers to the subject's satiety or satisfaction—both personal and public—and is not so much the antithesis of discontentment as it is that of *ennui* or restless dissatisfaction.[494]

The methods of analysis used in behavioural science are generally considered to be antithetical to those employed by humanists. Often the two

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[493] The terminology used in the study which follows, documenting Plutarch's implicit theory of personality, can be found in Appendix II-a (377-379 below), where it is given alongside the defining behavioural traits that contributed to each construct. In most cases, the construct names have been deliberately kept as close to Cochran's study as possible, to facilitate comparison between the two—thus, the Plutarchan construct is labelled 'kind-natured vs. cruel-natured' rather than 'benevolent vs. cruel', though the two terms are used interchangeably throughout the thesis.

[494] The construct of contentedness overlaps heavily with that of realism versus egocentricity; we find that figures such as Caesar, Marius, Pyrrhus, and Scipio all experienced 'discontent' with regard to their achievements (Plut. *Caes.* 69.1; *Mar.* 46.1-6; *Pyrrh.* 13.1; *Ap. reg.* 200c-d #11, and *Luc.* 38.3-4 respectively). For Plutarch's views on the danger of discontentment, or 'nausea-inducing' boredom, see Toohey (1987), 199-202 and (1988), 162-164; cf. Mossman (1992), 90-108 on the characterisation of Pyrrhus. On ancient boredom generally, see Toohey (1997), 58 and *(2004), 124-125. On the negative judgement of Scipio Aemilianus, see especially Schietinger (2014), 165.

fields are at odds with one another to explain a social or cultural fact.[495] For our ancient biographical texts, however, fusing the empirical techniques found in Cochran's study with more traditional methods of literary analysis can isolate subtle facets of characterisation or authorial technique that may not have been obvious otherwise. The levels of correlation between constructs, and the focal patterns within each grid, demonstrate the rigidity of a given biographer's implicit theory of personality; in cases of lost works, they also provide an indication as to the information the work may have contained. Additionally, the repertory grid can help to guide a detailed literary analysis. As noted above, Suetonius achieved a significant amount of his subjects' characterisations through inter– or intratextual inference. The data in the repertory grid underscores areas where such inferences are likely to occur and, therefore, where the texts should be most closely examined. Trait preference and inference are most easily observed in the shorter *vitae*, where textual emphases seem greater for the lack of other information. The short study which follows below, concentrating on sections of Suetonius' *Galba*, uses linguistic and data analysis concurrently to demonstrate the additional benefits the repertory grid offers, and will attest to both the accuracy of Cochran's findings and the viability of his method as a whole.

Proceeding from the suggestion that constructs with average scores were not paramount to a biographer's presentation of character,[496] we may concentrate our examination of Suetonius' *Galba* on those constructs for which Galba received a non-average rating. There are five such: self-indulgence (4), cruelty (4), misery (4), weak character (4), and loyalty (2). The ratings for this particular group of constructs are almost identical to those compiled for Suetonius' *Vitellius*, and additionally, bear striking similarities to

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[495] See, e.g., Boyer (2011), 124-126; Carroll, Gottschall, Johnson, and Kruger (2012), 1-6.

[496] Cf. 183-184 above.

the ratings given for his *Otho*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*.[497] The latter two figures do not, at first, seem to be fitting parallels to Galba. Nero's reign was typified by extravagance (e.g. Suet. *Nero* 30.1-32.4) while Galba is characterised as parsimonious (e.g. Suet. *Gal.* 12.3, 16.1), and the opening passages of the *vita* suggest to the reader that Galba's administration was to be quite different from that which preceded it. Suetonius emphasises Galba's disconnect from the Julio-Claudian emperors in the opening lines of the *vita* (Suet. *Gal.* 1.1) before hearkening back to prominent figures of the Republic such as Caesar and Catulus—recalling the days when power had to be earned, or fought for, to be kept (Suet. *Gal.* 2-3.4). Galba undoubtedly would have considered similarities between himself and Nero to be abhorrent; Neronian behaviour was, after all, the reason he had not adopted Otho as his successor (cf. Plut. *Galb.* 19.2, 20.1-2; Tac. *Hist.* 13). Yet this is what the data in the repertory grid suggests—and what a subsequent comparison of the two *vitae* reveals.

Two of the most prominent shortcomings Suetonius includes in his *Nero*, excessive cruelty and excessive greed, are mirrored in the *Galba*—and although Galba's motives differed from those of his predecessor, Suetonius' ultimate judgements remain the same. Both Nero's and Galba's principates were marked by physical abuse and punishment (e.g. Suet. *Nero* 26.1, 28.1;

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[497] To locate these parallels, I have used Cochran's table of results (197, Table 1) to record where the emperors displayed identical tendencies to Galba (i.e., were rated with the same score for a given construct) and where they displayed similar tendencies (i.e., were rated Galba's score ±1). Taking self-indulgence as an example, we see that Galba was rated 4. As Claudius' tendency towards self-indulgence was also rated 4, he can be considered 'identical' to Galba in this respect. Tiberius, Caligula, Nero and Vitellius were all rated 5 and are thus marked as 'similar'; so too is Otho, who was rated 3. For a complete table of results, see Appendix II-b: Non-Average Character Constructs in Suetonius' *Galba*.

Gal. 12.2, 14.3). Both men put citizens to death unlawfully (e.g. Suet. *Nero* 33.2, 34.2, 34.5, 37.1; *Gal*. 9.1, 14.3). Both appropriated money to which they had no right (e.g. Suet. *Nero* 32.1-32.4; *Gal.* 15.1),[498] and although Galba's lifestyle was not excessive, his appetites were (Suet. *Gal.* 22; cf. *Nero* 26.1, 27.2-3). In a passage that is most revealing for what it excludes, Galba is characterised with the same misguided self-focus as Nero. When the Gallic provinces revolted in 68 CE, Nero is said to have remained silent, only bringing the matter to the Senate's attention when his musical skills and lineage were insulted (Suet. *Nero* 40.4, 41.1). This ineffective behaviour is repeated soon after when Galba and the Spanish provinces revolt (Suet. *Nero* 42.1-2). Together, these passages present Nero as being self-absorbed to the point where he was fundamentally incapable of managing an empire. The theme is central to Nero's downfall—and to Galba's. Military uprisings began only six months into Galba's principate, and Suetonius leaves his readers in no doubt as to the cause; Galba's parsimony and extreme methods of discipline are stated unequivocally to have angered the soldiery most (Suet. *Gal.* 12.1-16.2). Galba reasons that the unrest was due to his childlessness (Suet. *Gal.* 16.2-17), but Suetonius omits Galba's internal debate as to who will best succeed him (cf. Plut. *Galb.* 19.1-23.2; Tac. *Hist*. 1.12-16). Instead, he reports Galba's sudden adoption of Piso Licinianus,[499] and the absence of

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[498] Cf. Murison, 70 on the signal unfairness of Galba's actions.

[499] Fully, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, the son of M. Licinus Crassus Frugi, and a direct descendent of Pompey. If Suetonius' note that Galba had always named Piso as his heir is correct, the decision to adopt him formally in 69 CE may not have been as surprising as our biographers suggest (cf. Murison, 78). The similarities of Piso's character to Galba's own will have been an additional factor in his being chosen as successor in this instance (Plut. *Galb.* 23.1; Murison, 78); the fact that Piso's family were strongly opposed to the later Julio-Claudians (Murison, 77) may also have played a role in the decision. It would certainly have aided Galba's desire

the usual donative that would be made at such an occasion (Suet. *Gal.* 17; cf. 16.1 for the similar lack of a 'bonus' at Galba's accession). In our three alternate accounts, Galba's murder is a product of Otho's anger and spite at being passed over (Plut. *Galb.* 23.3; Tac. *Hist.* 1.21; Dio 64.5.2); in Suetonius, it is the direct consequence of Galba's inability to look beyond his own concerns and recognise the true cause of the military's ill-will. [500] These allusions and omissions are enhanced by the separation of Galba's 'good' deeds from 'bad' (Suet. *Gal.* 14.1; cf. *Nero* 19.1). In stark contrast to his words at the opening of the *vita*, Suetonius judges both Galba and Nero to have behaved in a heedless, self-involved manner, and therefore deems them equally unfit to rule the empire.

The parallels between Galba and Claudius are even more revelatory than those between Galba and Nero, and many of the anecdotes from Suetonius' *Galba* have a profoundly greater impact if read with the corresponding passage from the *Claudius* in mind. Self-indulgence, cruelty, and the correct performance of imperial responsibility are the crux of each character portrait. Claudius and Galba are both excessive and inconsistent in their administration of justice (e.g. Suet. *Cl.* 14-15.1, 29.2, 34.1; *Gal.* 9.1,

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to distance his manner of government from that of Nero (cf. Suet. *Gal.* 10.1-2). On M. Licinus Crassus Frugi and his family, see McAlindon (1956), 125-128.

[500] The key phrase is given at Suet. *Gal*. 17. The omission of Galba's motivations for, and care concerning, his successor is significant and must have been a conscious Suetonian choice. Galba's forethought would reflect his care for Rome and her people, a behaviour that Cochran (192) isolated as being salient for Suetonius' evaluation of character. Suetonius' portrait consistently obscures any care Galba, as emperor, takes for the empire (e.g. Suet. Gal. 12.1-2, 14.3, 15.2, 16.1). His Galba does nothing to promote internal stability; had Suetonius acknowledged the reasons for Piso's adoption that are given by our alternate sources, this characterisation would have been undermined.

14.3), and both routinely indulge in a surfeit of food (Suet. *Cl.* 33.1; *Gal.* 22). Both are also characterised as extremely weak-willed, being governed by their freedmen (and wives, in Claudius' case; Suet. *Cl.* 25.5; *Gal.* 14.2). Claudius receives a small measure of praise for his public works and legal reforms, but he and Galba are ultimately held to be ineffective rulers (Suet. *Cl.* 12.1, 16.3, 5.5; Suet. *Gal.* 16-17). Even seemingly trivial anecdotes have hidden inference: Claudius is reported to have been teased by jesters at dinner (*per ludum*; Suet. *Cl.* 8), while Galba is subject to mockery (*ludibrium*) for his behaviour at various dinner settings (Suet. *Gal.* 12.3). The word choice is significant. Suetonius usually employs the verb *irridere* for 'mock' or 'ridicule',[501] and there seems no reason why it should not have been used in the *Galba. Ludibrium* appears in the *De vita Caesarum* on only four other occasions; in two of those cases, it concerns Claudius (Suet. *Cal.* 23.3; *Nero* 6.1). To find it in the *Galba*, in a very similar context, strongly suggests that Suetonius intended this reference to be taken intratextually. Again, the repetition of elements from an earlier *vita* is not merely to show that the two emperors had personality traits in common; it is utilised at crucial points to demonstrate that Galba, like Claudius, behaved in a manner that was inexcusable for a Roman emperor.

The parallels in the repertory grid between Suetonius' characterisation of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius should not be surprising. Baldwin noted that the *Galba* and *Otho* were a natural pair; indeed, they are almost entirely

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[501] *Irrideo* appears at *Jul.* 81.4; *Aug.* 86.2; *Tib.* 52.2; *Nero*, 34.1; *Gal.* 4.2; *Ves.* 12; *Dom.* 14.1. The only uses of *ludibrium* not connected to Claudius are at *Gal.* 20.2 and *Vit.* 17. Suetonius does employ the verb *ludo* in the sense 'to make fun of', but rarely (Suet. *Jul.* 22.2; *Aug.* 71.1, 86.2).

complementary,[502] and the *Vitellius*—which treats concurrent events in a separate part of the Roman empire—is as much a literary device as it is a biography proper, reinforcing themes from the two *vitae* which precede it. In isolation, the *vita* is as brief as Vitellius' reign, with comparatively large sections of historically-focussed narrative rather than the character-centric anecdotes found in previous *vitae* (e.g. Suet. *Vit.* 8.1-11.2, 15.1-17.2). However, the information that Suetonius provides regarding Vitellius' character is centred around the constructs that featured most prominently in

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[502] Baldwin (1983), 526. Allusions between the *Galba* and *Otho* are contrasting, rather than comparative, from the earliest sections until the close of each *vita.* Galba is introduced as the epitome of strictness, discipline and old-fashioned virtue, with a noble lineage, and a distinguished political career (e.g. Suet. *Gal.* 2-3.4, 4.4-8.1), while Otho is at first characterised as an undisciplined, sexually indecent profligate; his family are of little renown, and much of his career advancement is owed to Nero's favour (Suet. *Otho* 1.1-2.2). The single mention of an administrative appointment is brief and, coming after tales of Otho's extravagance and debauchery, seems more an expression of surprise than of praise (Suet. *Otho* 3.2). In the closing passages of each *vita*, the reverse is true: Suetonius attributes to Otho a noble and meaningful death (Suet. *Otho* 12.2; cf. C. Edwards, 119-134 on the 'positive' Roman views of suicide), whereas Galba is subject to ridicule in both his own *exitus* scene and Otho's (Suet. *Gal.* 20.1-2; *Otho* 12.2). Some of this may be due to Suetonius' personal motivations; as noted above, his father Laetus had supported Otho in the military revolt of 69 CE (Suet. *Otho* 10.1). While Suetonius could not significantly alter Otho's character without undermining his own literary credibility (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 9, 76.1; Tac. *Hist.* 1.1), he could present it in a way that did not discredit Laetus' allegiance. Crafting a *vita* that was in every way a juxtaposition to the one it followed was an effective way to do this—particularly as Galba had been considered by so many to be 'worthy' of the principate prior to his accession (Suet. *Gal.* 14.1; cf. Plut. *Galb.* 5.3, 6.1; Tac. *Hist.* 1.49), while Otho was largely disdained by highly-ranked citizens (cf. Plut. *Galb.* 19.2-5; *Oth.* 1.3; Tac. *Hist.* 1.21-22, 50).

the *Galba* and *Nero*: extravagance, cruelty, and the inability to discharge his imperial responsibilities properly.[503] As Galba begins the era of the three 'usurpers', so Vitellius ends it, and is therefore characterised in a manner that echoes both the emperor who brought about the downfall of the imperial house and the emperor who failed to restore order in the chaos that followed (Suet. *Vit.* 16.1-17.2; cf. *Nero* 47.1-49.3; *Gal.* 20.1-2). Through anecdotal allusion, Suetonius creates a distinct set of equally incapable rulers and provides himself once more with a clean slate (as at *Gal.* 1.1) on which he may introduce the trio of men who formed Rome's next dynasty.

The task of the biographer, as Cochran rightly noted, is "to make sense of the subject of study … so that a person's actions and reactions appear as characteristic expressions and reflections of a single unifying character".[504] To identify the primary character constructs a biographer relies on is to identify how they 'made sense' of their subjects—but more than that, it is a reinforcement of their personal and cultural context. To this end, the repertory grid is a welcome analytical tool. Furthermore, the data gathered from a repertory analysis can be used to support findings from other

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[503] Vitellius is, in several respects, portrayed similarly to Otho—he is a degenerate who was closely allied with Nero (Suet. *Vit*. 3.1-4, 11.2), and who took great pains to court popular favour (Suet. *Vit.* 7.3; cf. *Otho* 4.2). Yet the bulk of his character parallels Galba's: Vitellius came from a distinguished family and was hailed as one truly worthy to be emperor prior to his accession (Suet. *Vit.* 2.1-4, 7.3; cf. *Gal.* 2.1, 7.1, 10.1); he commanded himself with distinction when required (Suet. *Vit.* 5.1; cf. *Gal.* 8.1), and showed a degree of political modesty in refusing to accept the name Caesar (Suet. *Vit.* 8.2; cf. *Gal.* 10.1). Though his primary character flaw is greed, Vitellius is also said to have had enormous appetites for both food and cruelty (Suet. *Vit.* 13.1-14.3), questionable fiscal ethics (Suet. *Vit.* 7.2), and to have been highly inconsistent in the discharge of his duties (Suet. *Vit.* 5, 8.1, 10.1-2)—all characteristics which Suetonius emphasises in his portrait of Galba.

[504] Cochran, 189.

analyses: the above examination of the *Galba* confirms an hypothesis derived solely from a literary comparison, that Suetonius made extensive use of inference to convey points of character in the latter half of his series.[505] Using the character constructs that Cochran identified as a predictive tool, we find that intratextual allusions occur exactly where they are expected.

The implications of these results are manifold. There is little to prevent the repertory grid method being applied to our other ancient sources; the only prerequisite is that the works to be examined contain a depiction of character that is substantial enough for data samples to be extracted. Moreover, the predictive elements of the grid allow this method to be utilised equally well for lost or damaged texts, provided that the author's implicit theory of personality is sufficiently represented elsewhere in their corpus. Plutarch certainly fits this criterion, and an examination of his βίοι using the repertory grid method may add significantly to our understanding of the lost *Lives of the Caesars*. Extracting personality attributes from the extant *Lives* should reveal the character constructs that were central to Plutarch's implicit theory of personality. If, as in Cochran's study, there are significant levels of correlation present amongst these constructs, the repertory grid can be used alongside a traditional literary analysis to determine: i) the relative flexibility of Plutarch's methods of character evaluation; ii) the extent to which implicit characterisation and inter– and/or intratextual allusions are likely to have featured within his βίοι; and iii) the manner in which such allusions were generally drawn. Constructing Plutarch's implicit theory of personality will also give an idea as to which sources he might have utilised for the composition of the *Caesars*, what information he would have been likely to include or exclude, and how this could have been manipulated to suit both his aims and his personal conception of character.

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[505] Cf. 132-133, 149-155 above.

As our lack of knowledge regarding the quantity of, and arrangement of, material are the two major factors that forestall attempts at reconstructing Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars*, the discovery of either one of these facets would be invaluable for advancing our understanding of that series. Further, if Plutarch's understanding and evaluation of character can be adequately, and accurately, predicted, it may be possible to reconstruct a framework for some of the lost βίοι—particularly for a figure such as Augustus, whose deeds and character are preserved by a number of other sources, including several of Plutarch's own *Parallel Lives*.[506]

Isolating Plutarch's Implicit Theory of Personality

Some considerations are necessary if Cochran's method is to be applied to Plutarch's biographies and yield useful results. The most pressing of these is the question of which Plutarchan *Lives* should be analysed to determine the constructs that were salient in his implicit theory of personality—or, more specifically, the constructs that were salient when Plutarch was evaluating a Roman emperor. The *Galba* and *Otho* can naturally be used for a repertory grid study without hesitation, as they belonged to the series in question. The βίοι that comprise the *Parallel Lives* require a more detailed examination for suitability. While Plutarch's general conception of character is likely to have been similar across his oeuvre,[507] certain subjects may have been evaluated in a slightly different manner to others. Roman custom demanded behaviours and observances that Greek did not, and the life of a Roman commander or emperor may have been, at times, vastly

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[506] Cf. Ash (1997), 190-191; Georgiadou (2014), 251 on how much of the *Augustus* we may or may not be able to recover.

[507] Discussed at 112-128 above.

different to that of Plutarch's Greek subjects. As a result, the information and anecdotes which Plutarch uses to characterise the subjects of his Greek *Lives* may not always have a comparable equivalent in the Roman counterpart—and by this token, those *Lives* cannot be used to determine how a Roman-centric series might have been composed.[508]

Historical context—both Plutarch's own, and that of his subjects—presents a further complication. The *Lives of the Caesars*, as far as can be ascertained, was intended as a discrete series. The *Parallel Lives* were not. Their composition was spread over a lengthy period of time; Plutarch himself implies that he extended the series beyond his original conception (Plut. *Aem.* 1.1). His subjects fall into a number of distinct categories, separated from one another by race, culture, and historical era. The sheer size of the work means that a far greater number of themes were treated than could have been possible in his shorter imperial series.[509] However, the scale of the series has

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[508] Cf. Nep. *Praef.* 1 and 22 above for cultural expectations and variances in biographical writing. Plutarch's *Life of Pompey* may also offer an illustrative example. It was noted above that Seneca remarked upon Pompey's blush —to him, an indication of good character (Sen. *Ep.* 11.1; cf. 182 n. 488 above). This item is not included in Plutarch's βίος—perhaps a subtle reminder that Plutarch's values did not always coincide with Roman values. That Plutarch expected his readers to share his moral beliefs, see especially Pelling (2002e), 269-276; cf. Duff (2014), 340-324; Stadter (1988), 292-293.

[509] Buszard, 186. These are exemplified in the modern Penguin translations of the *Lives*, grouped into small, thematic units: *The Rise and Fall of Athens*, *Makers of Rome*, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, and the recent *Rome in Crisis*. Any number of further groups is possible; we might propose, for instance, a set such as 'The Fall of Caesar', incorporating the *Lives* of Caesar, Pompey, Brutus, Antony, Cato minor, and Cicero, or a series of 'Distinguished Commanders', perhaps comprised of the *Themistocles-Camillus*, *Pericles-Fabius Maximus*, *Timoleon-Aemilius Paulus*, and *Pyrrhus-Marius*.

benefits as well as drawbacks: with such a large amount of material at our disposal, the issue of context is somewhat mitigated. Even if we exclude the *Lives* of all Greek figures, twenty-three βίοι remain available for analysis. There is a very high chance that at least some of these subjects were perceived, and represented, by Plutarch in a similar manner to the Roman emperors. The Late Republican *Lives* in particular should be of use—it has been noted that the practical distinctions between evaluating the moral character of a consul or senator and that of an emperor cannot have been very great.[510] Taking the final years of the Republic as our departure point, we find that several *Lives* afford an opportunity for the extraction and analysis of personality data.

    i.   *Caesar*.

        As with the *Galba* and *Otho*, Plutarch's *Caesar* allows for direct comparison with a Suetonian biography. There is, however, one very obvious difference: unlike Suetonius, Plutarch did not group Caesar amongst his imperial subjects. The extent to which Plutarch considered Caesar to be a 'Caesar' must therefore be resolved if this βίος is to be analysed.

        Julius Caesar never held the title of *princeps*; the position, as Plutarch and Suetonius knew it, did not exist in the Republican era.[511] Yet while Augustus is formally credited with being the first

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[510] Wallace-Hadrill, 66; cf. Jones (1971), 73-80 on the common function of each series of Plutarch's *Lives.*

[511] Eck (2003: 113) argued that the *concept* of emperor did not exist under Augustus either, and that the term *princeps* could not convey "what his position really meant … Only later generations, who no longer realized how Augustus' position had grown slowly and altered over the course of time, could look back and apply to him an anachronistic label, 'emperor'".

emperor, there is evidence to suggest that the ancient world increasingly believed Caesar to be as much the 'founder' of the principate as his great-nephew. Exactly how early this view arose is a matter of debate. Appian, writing in the early second century CE, explicitly attributes the foundation of the principate to Caesar, noting that Octavian merely 'strengthened' it (App. *BC*. 2.14). Some Republican sources, Cicero amongst them, suggest that even Caesar's contemporaries felt he was attempting to establish a new form of government. His official title was *dictator* (Suet. *Jul.* 42.1), but his dictatorship was unlike any that Rome had seen before. [512] In consequence, Cicero often refers to Caesar as *tyrannos* (e.g. Cic. *Att.* 10.4, 14.9, 14, 17) or *rex* (e.g. Cic. *Att.* 13.37; *Fam.* 11.27, 12.1). These references should be treated with caution. The Republic had survived dictators in the past without collapse, including Sulla's abnormally lengthy appointment of ca. 81-79 BCE (Plut. *Sull.* 33.1, 34.3; Tac. *Ann.* 1.1). Cicero and the Senate may have feared the worst, even prior to Caesar's consulship (e.g. Plut. *Caes.* 6.3, 7.4; Suet. *Jul*. 9.2, 19.2, 22.1); the confirmation of Caesar's dictatorial powers *in perpetuum* no doubt exacerbated their concerns. Yet it is

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[512] The *dictatura* originated as a military post, to be held temporarily by a nominated individual in times of civil unrest (Livy 2.18, 3.26-27; see also Lintott, 1999: 109-110). It was to last no longer than six months (e.g. D.H. 5.70.2, 10.25.3; Livy 3.29; Dio 36.34.1); Mommsen and Willems both noted the absolute, and non-renewable, nature of the appointment (Mommsen, 1887: 2, 160 [=II, 152]; Willems, 1888: 258 and n. 5). Caesar was twice appointed for an entire year (Plut. *Caes.* 51.1) and then *in perpetuum*, rendering the title meaningless (Plut. *Caes.* 57.1; Suet. *Jul.* 76.1). As Ehrenberg (151) noted, Caesar's *dictaturae* resulted in "its very nature as an office [being] destroyed."

impossible to know whether the majority of the Roman populace perceived Caesar as a monarchical ruler, intent upon establishing a dynasty as Plutarch implies (*Caes.* 57.1; cf. Suet. *Jul.* 86.2).[513] Non-hostile contemporaries probably had little cause to refer to him by any title other than *dictator*, the title Caesar himself used (Suet. *Jul.* 41.2).

By the first and second centuries, this seems to have changed significantly. Caesar's cognomen had the force of a title at least by 69 CE (Suet. *Gal.* 11), and *Caesar* continued to be used as a title long after control of the Empire passed from the hands of his own family to others (e.g. *SHA:Ael.* 2.3, 7.5; *SHA:Marc.* 6.3). [514] Dio's text implies that Caesar was fundamental to the establishment of the principate (esp. Dio 52.1.1, 18.3-4). So too the biographers of the *SHA*, who clearly viewed him as a cornerstone of the empire (e.g. *SHA:Ael*. 2.5).[515] The mere fact that Suetonius included Caesar in his series of imperial *vitae* is a strong indicator of his opinion, confirmed by

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[513] Caesar's ultimate intentions in 45-44 BCE have long been questioned. Ehrenberg's argument that Caesar had long-term plans to abolish the Republic and replace it with the type of family dynasty Augustus later installed is persuasive, though whether Caesar would have been able to achieve such a goal during his lifetime is another matter entirely; almost two decades of civil war passed before Augustus was able to cement his position as Rome's leader. Matyszak noted more recently that by 44 BCE Rome was "ripe for a military coup … by an aristocrat" (cf. Plut. *Caes.* 28.6; Dio 47.39.4-5), and that Caesar probably had no definite plans beyond wresting control of the city. See Ehrenberg, 160; Matyszak, 14.

[514] Cf. Wiedemann (1989), 19. The same practice occurred with the name *Augustus* after his death (e.g. *SHA:Ael.* 1.1; cf. Eck 2003: 124).

[515] Baldwin (1983: 50) accepted the fact unequivocally.

allusions in the *Augustus* and *Claudius*.[516] Suetonius may never refer to Caesar as *princeps*, but it is clear that he viewed his position as something akin to the principate. Given the views of his near contemporaries, it is quite likely that Plutarch too thought of Caesar as an 'emperor', even if he did not include him in that series. As such, the *Caesar* can be deemed an acceptable *Life* with which to evaluate Plutarch's methods of imperial character construction.

ii. <u>Late Republican *Lives*</u>: *Antony, Brutus, Cato minor, Crassus,* and *Pompey*.

  Several scholars have examined the possibility that Plutarch researched and composed his *Lives* in small groups, rather than

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[516] There is a close association between Augustus' acceptance of inheritance and his subsequent 'rule' of the Roman state (*Aug.* 8.2-3), which may reflect the fact that by Suetonius' lifetime, the principate was largely attained by heredity. The *Claudius* contains a typical Suetonian allusion. Claudius is praised for refusing the title Imperator (Suet. *Cl*. 12.1. The same praise is given of Tiberius; Suet. *Tib.* 26.2). We will recall that Suetonius censured Caesar's use of *imperator* as a praenomen (Suet. *Jul.* 76.1); that the reference in the *Claudius* should be read as intratextual allusion is reinforced by Suetonius' continued note that Claudius also refused 'excessive' *honores* (Suet. *Cl.* 12.1). The acceptance of these is another behaviour that Suetonius had condemned in the *Caesar*, deeming it a just cause for Caesar's assassination (Suet. *Jul*. 78.1-79.3). In contrasting Claudius' behaviour, as emperor, with Caesar's behaviour, there seems to be a tacit acknowledgement that Caesar was also a *princeps*, regardless of the fact that the position did not yet exist. For further discussion of Suetonius' literary casting, see Henderson (2014), 81-110, and esp. 108: "So, was he a Caesar? … Of course not: his life is the journey no Caesar need ever take… But of course he is."

independently of one another.[517] Pelling especially felt that the five *Lives* cited above, along with the *Caesar*, were the product of simultaneous research and preparation.[518] There is as yet no irrefutable evidence to support or dismiss the theory, though some opposition has been expressed, particularly to the inclusion of the *Crassus* in this group.[519] However, the case for the remaining *Lives* having been researched, if not prepared, together seems quite sound. And as regards the repertory grid, even if each *Life* were prepared independently, all six subjects belonged to a similar historical milieu. Most of their *Lives* contain common themes and anecdotes, and Plutarch relies on similar characteristics for the moral evaluation of each subject. Even in the historically-focussed *Crassus*, Plutarch finds space to consider Crassus' vices and virtues, his fiscal control, his strength as a

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[517] Theories of simultaneous preparation appeared as early as 1907, with Mewaldt's suggestion that the *Dion-Brutus, Timoleon-Aemilius Paulus, Alexander-Caesar* and *Agesilaus-Pompey* were prepared at the same time (Mewaldt, 1907: 568). More recently, Jones (1966: 66-67) and Pelling (1995: 268-285) have advanced the case, supported by Duff (2011: 260), Nikolaidis (2005: 287-288), and Stadter (2010: 197-216). For opposition to the theory, see especially Delvaux, 98-99 and Hillard (1987), 19-21.

[518] Pelling (1995), 265.

[519] Hillard (1987: 21) observed rightly that the *Crassus* has only tenuous links to the other five *Lives* in this group. Plutarch pays very little attention to Crassus' political career at Rome, instead focussing on his involvement in the wars with Spartacus (*Crass.* 8.1-11.8) and the Parthians (*Crass.* 16.1-33.5; cf. Hillard, 1987: 21 n. 11). Pelling's defence for including the *Crassus* relied largely on Jones' chronological placement of that *Life* into Plutarch's overall corpus (1995: 317-318)—a fact which Pelling himself had earlier noted could be only a cautious estimate at best (1995: 281 and n. 56).

politician and commander, and the extent of his egocentricity—all
of which are criteria applied to Crassus' fellow Republicans. This
may indicate that Plutarch intended the *Lives* to be read in small
groups, as well as pairs, even if they were not composed in this
manner.[520] Certainly this 'group' functions as a distinct unit within
Plutarch's greater corpus: the biographer presents a number of
men whose lives and careers were inter-connected, and proceeds
to assess—as a whole, as well as individually—their actions,
motivations, and overall characters.[521] Examining how his intrinsic
theory of personality was applied to these five Republican figures
should thus give us significant insight into how Plutarch might
have evaluated another sub-group of Rome's rulers—namely the
eight emperors treated in the *Lives of the Caesars*.

iii. *Cicero* and *Lucullus*.

These two biographies are excluded from Pelling's thesis of
simultaneous preparation, on the grounds that they were written
distinctly earlier than the other six in the group of Republican

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[520] E.g. Buszard, 187; Mossman (1992), 92-93.

[521] Pelling (1995: 76-77) gives the example of Caesar's pact in 56 BCE with Pompey
and Crassus, which Plutarch treats in the *Caesar*, *Pompey*, *Cato minor*, and *Crassus*,
as well as the *Cicero* and *Lucullus*. The conspiracy of Catiline is another telling
example: in addition to its treatment in the *Caesar* (Plut. *Caes*. 7.5-8.5), it appears
in the *Cato minor*, *Cicero*, and *Crassus* (Plut. *Cat*. *min*. 22.1-23.2; *Cic.* 10.2-12.3,
14.1-16.4; *Crass.* 13.2-13.4). All six figures also feature in one another's *Lives*,
usually to a substantial extent. There are only a few exceptions: Antony appears
once only in the *Cato minor* and Brutus only twice; Crassus, once in the *Brutus*;
Cato, once in the *Antony*; and neither Antony nor Brutus are referred to at all in the
Crassus.

Lives.[522] As noted above, an early or late composition does not necessarily affect Plutarch's manner of character evaluation; we observed that the *Galba* and *Otho*, given the tentative *terminus ante quem* of 96 CE, make use of techniques found in the later *Lives*.[523] The *Cicero* and *Lucullus* are both firmly grounded in the world and events of the late Republic, like the six *Lives* suggested for analysis immediately above—which strongly suggests that Plutarch would have evaluated their characters according to the same set of principles as those men already discussed, regardless of when he composed their βίοι.

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[522] Pelling (1995), 268-277. Pelling gave several examples from the *Cicero* which he believed demonstrated that Plutarch's historical knowledge had increased between the composition of that *Life* and the other late Republican βίοι. The *Lucullus* supports this thesis in some ways: there is, for instance, no mention of Caesar's romantic involvement with Servilia at *Luc.* 38.1 (cf. Plut. *Cato min.* 24.2), though Plutarch could easily have used it to underscore Servilia's supposed licentiousness. However, the *Lucullus* also demonstrates the numerous problems inherent that arise when studying cross-references. Plutarch speaks of the extent of Parthian power during Crassus' lifetime (Plut. *Luc.* 36.6), suggesting that he was already familiar with the material he used for that βίος (cf. *Crass.* 18.4-5), yet neither work contains a reference to the other—there is not even a note to suggest that a *Life of Crassus* might be forthcoming (cf. Plut. *Caes.* 35.2, 45.9 where Plutarch refers to the planned *Pompey*). Likewise *Luc.* 40.2-3 and *Pomp.* 2.5-6 both preserve an anecdote highlighting Pompey's restrained appetite. The passages show a strong linguistic similarity, but again, neither contains a cross-reference; the *Pompey*, which is assumed to be the later of the two *Lives* (Pelling, 1995: 77), reads simply ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὖστερον. Compare Plut. *Brut.* 9.9, *Caes.* 59.4, *Pomp.* 16.5 for alternative constructions.

[523] Jones (1966), 71; cf. 117-119, 125-128 above.

iv. <u>Lives of 'dictators': *Marius* and *Sulla*</u>.

Bradley Buszard, in examining the probability that Plutarch crafted implicit allusions between the *Pyrrhus-Marius* and *Alexander-Caesar*, recognised that "judicious application of combined readings will undoubtedly reveal many new correlations" between individual Plutarchan βίοι. [524] One such correlation that should be considered is the Roman dictatorship. Prior to Augustus, brief *dictaturae* were the closest the Roman public had come to monarchical rule, a fact which Appian notes explicitly when discussing Sulla's dictatorship of 82-79 BCE (App. *BC.* 1.3). Like most of the individuals who held the dictatorship, Sulla relinquished his after a limited time (Plut. *Sulla* 34.3). However, he was the first dictator the Romans had experienced in over one hundred years, and his immediate predecessors (P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus in 203 BCE and G. Servilius Geminus in 202 BCE) were both appointed to the rather less-radical position *dictator comitiorum habendorum causa*. [525] Officially, Sulla's appointment as *dictator legibus scribundis et reipublicae constituendae* had no fixed term,[526] and his political charade of keeping "the form of the republic" (App. *BC.* 1.100; trans. White, 1913) anticipates the methods Augustus used to disguise the extent of his power after 29 BCE. [527] Moreover, the primary function of the dictatorship was to allow an individual to govern in the best interests of the Roman state during times of crisis.

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[524] Buszard (2008), 212.

[525] Broughton (1951), 311, 316. For P. Sulpicius, see also Livy 30.26.12; for C. Servilius, Livy 30.39.4-5.

[526] Swain and Davies (2010), 33.

[527] See especially Eck, 2003: 42-51.

Plutarch's evaluation of how Sulla discharged this task will have almost certainly been conducted in a similar manner to his assessments of how the emperors managed their imperial duties.

Marius, while never appointed dictator, was elected as consul an unprecedented seven times. Like Sulla, he can be deemed a suitable figure for analysis on the basis that he played a lengthy and influential role in Roman politics.[528] References to Marius are found within a number of the later 'Republican' *Lives*, primarily those which have already been isolated as useful to the present study. In the *Brutus*, for instance, Pompey and Cassius are explicitly linked to Marius in such a way that Plutarch simultaneously enhances his positive characterisation of Brutus while reinforcing Pompey's flaws (Plut. *Brut.* 29.6-7). In the *Caesar,* the familial connection between Caesar and Marius is used to explain Caesar's antagonism of Sulla and Sulla's distrust of him (Plut. *Caes.* 1.1-3; cf. *Mar*. 6.2), thereby implying from the outset of the βίος that Caesar was obstinate and excessively ambitious—qualities which are very much frowned upon in the *Marius* (e.g. Plut. *Mar.* 2.3, 4.2, 7.1). The *Marius* is, in fact, the centre of a complex web of implicit cross-references, and as such should be analysed jointly with those *Lives* it is connected to. Additionally, it is recognised as one of Plutarch's least favourable *Lives*, despite his attempts to include favourable detail (e.g. Plut. *Mar.* 4.4, 7.2, 16.1-3).[529] It has already been noted that Plutarch

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[528] Even his enemies recognised the need for his continued consulship from 105-101 BCE; cf. Plut. *Mar*. 12.1, 14.6, 28.6. Further on Marius, and Plutarch's treatment of him, see Carney (1960), 24-31.

[529] See also Carney (1960), 28; Duff (1999), 101; Hillard (1987), 33 n. 81; Nikolaidis (2005), 315.

generally focussed on positive sources and those aspects of personality which he felt should be emulated. The *Marius* is thus a much-needed example of how Plutarch perceived—and subsequently presented—those men he judged negatively.

This accounts for ten of Plutarch's twenty-three Roman *Lives*. Of the remaining thirteen, ten are too temporally distant from the events of the Republic to be of value for the present analysis.[530] The *Tiberius* and *Gaius Gracchus* might be considered a helpful addition: they formed a natural pair, and the brothers were responsible for substantial reforms at Rome, which had long-ranging implications. However, the Gracchi do not feature in any of the βίοι already examined. The repertory grid analysis is as much an examination of how Plutarch treated cohesive units of *Lives* as how he viewed character as a whole; as such, this pair is unlikely to contribute information that could not be found using the other Republican *Lives*. The only remaining biography is the *Sertorius* which, like the early Roman *Lives*, is largely separate from the Republican group in terms of theme and content.[531]

In total, therefore, we have twelve Plutarchan *Lives* available for use in a repertory grid study. These cover a reasonably lengthy historical period, just under 130 years, which seems an acceptable timeframe to set against the 200 year period that Suetonius treated in the *De vita Caesarum*. The diversity

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[530] Namely the *Romulus*, *Numa*, *Publicola*, *Camillus*, *Fabius Maximus*, *Coriolanus*, *Aemilius Paulus*, *Marcellus*, *Cato major*, and *Flamininus*—with the exception of the lattermost, all of these subjects lived prior to the second century BCE, well before the internal crises that destabilised the Republic and culminated in Caesar's assumption of the dictatorship. On Plutarch's treatment of discrete historical periods, cf. Pelling (1990a), 29-32 and (2002b), 171-173.

[531] So Pelling (1990a), 31: "Sertorius really did belong in a different world from Sulla, Pompey, or Caesar, even if he lived in the same period".

between the earliest of Plutarch's subjects (Marius) and the latest (Antony) should ensure that any results obtained from the study of these *Lives* are not artificially skewed in one particular direction, while their relatively similar historical context should preserve the methods by which Plutarch evaluated distinct groups of subjects, as well as individuals.

Application of the Repertory System to Plutarch's *Lives*

It should come as no great surprise that the personality constructs Cochran extracted from Suetonius' *vitae* are not reflected exactly in Plutarch's *Lives*. Despite their numerous similarities in authorial technique, Plutarch and Suetonius ultimately viewed character through a unique, personal lens. It is therefore impossible to assess the βίοι with identical criteria to the *vitae*; instead, the character constructs particular to Plutarch's own implicit theory of personality must be isolated. However, we expressed the hope above that a secondary function of the repertory grid—its ability to be used as a predictive tool—could help to guide a partial reconstruction of one of the lost βίοι from the *Lives of the Caesars*. If this hope is to be fulfilled, the repertory grid must also demonstrate how and where Plutarch's implicit theory of personality differed from Suetonius', and how this was reflected in his writing. To this end, the construct definitions isolated from Plutarch's *Lives* should mirror those used in Cochran's analysis as closely as possible—though without altering Plutarch's intended meanings or emphases.

Following Cochran's method, each of the *Lives* selected for analysis was read to locate explicit and implicit references to character. These were then grouped together by similarity of meaning, resulting in ten bipolar

constructs.[532] In some cases, these were identical to the constructs Cochran established in his study of the *De vita Caesarum*, and no adjustments to his definitions were required. In others, the constructs derived from Plutarch's *Lives* had a similar overall meaning to those from the *De vita Caesarum*, but were comprised of slightly different individual character traits. [533] The definitions of these constructs were therefore altered, to reflect better the elements of characterisation with which Plutarch was most concerned.

In two instances, Plutarch's focal areas were so different from Suetonius' that it was necessary to redefine the construct substantially in order for it to reflect adequately the data gathered from the *Lives*. Cochran's second construct represented Suetonius' interest in food, alcohol, or sex, and the extents to which each emperor indulged these three appetites.[534] The detail provided in the *De vita Caesarum* makes it clear that Suetonius considered these appetites to be fundamentally distinct from other types of extravagance; each emperor's habits are recorded specifically, usually just prior to the end of the *vita*. The same cannot be said of Plutarch. Taking the *Caesar* as an example, we see only a brief mention of his involvement with

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[532] Individual passage references are tabulated in Appendix I: Personality Data in Plutarch's *Lives*.

[533] For instance, Cochran (193) defined the construct "vainglorious … versus realistic" as encompassing showiness or simplicity, the pursuit or rejection of excessive honours, and pride or humility. Plutarch's references to the 'vainglorious' aspects of his subjects' characters tend to focus on traits such as excessive arrogance and general disrespect (or conversely, humility and respect): Antony is boastful and ill-mannered (e.g. Plut. *Ant.* 3.5, 4.2, 16.2); Brutus is deferential and obedient (e.g. Plut. *Brut.* 2.2, 3.2, 23.6); Cato respects his superiors but is excessively proud (e.g. Plut. *Cato min.* 12.4, 30.6, 35.3). A table showing the Plutarchan and Suetonian character constructs, and their constituent traits, can be found in Appendix II-a: An Extended Comparison of Construct Criteria.

[534] Cochran, 192.

Cleopatra (Plut. *Caes*. 48.5), and no reference at all to the other women he is said to have seduced (cf. Suet. *Jul.* 50-52) or to his supposed relationship with Nicomedes (cf. Suet. *Jul.* 49).[535] Caesar's negligent attitude towards food is mentioned, but his abstention from wine is not (cf. Suet. *Jul.* 53.1). The anecdote in which he eats myrrh (or rancid oil; cf. Suet. *Jul.* 53.1) with asparagus is presented by Plutarch as an example of Caesar's modest lifestyle and respect for his host (Plut. *Caes.* 17.9-10). Other *Lives* show a similar lack of distinction between appetite and other elements of restraint or indulgence.[536] References to appetite were thus included in the constructs 'self-disciplined versus self-indulgent' or 'financially ethical versus financially unethical' as context dictated, rather than in a separate construct as per Cochran's study. Likewise, Cochran's construct of "resentful … [vs.] encouraging of others" was subsumed under two other headings. Plutarch's references to his subjects' opinions of others are typically given as an indication of their professional ambition (contributing to the construct beneficent vs. egocentric'),[537] or as a marker of their general tendency

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[535] Cf. Duff (1999), 94-97 on Plutarch's "surprising" disinterest in reporting the sexual proclivities of his subjects.

[536] For example, every reference to Antony's diet is used to convey either his negligent attitudes towards money (Plut. *Ant.* 9.3, 28.2, 75.1) or his self-indulgence (Plut. *Ant*. 9.3, 24.1, 30.1). Discussions of the frivolous 'committees' he formed with Cleopatra tend to focus on his selfishness and extravagance, rather than what was eaten or drunk (Plut. *Ant.* 28.2, 71.3).

[537] Antony, for example, is only described as resentful in the context of coveting the achievements or power of others (Plut. *Ant.* 34.2, 35.1), while Caesar is vexed by Cato's suicide only because it prevented him from sparing Cato's life and so furthering his own reputation for clemency (Plut. *Caes.* 54.2-3).

towards optimism or pessimism (contributing to 'content vs. discontent').[538]

In addition to these redefinitions, a close reading of Plutarch's *Lives* resulted in the creation of an additional construct, 'honesty versus dishonesty'. In Suetonius' text, references to honesty typically show either the subject's loyalty towards family and friends or his sense of financial ethics. Cochran defined the former construct as "more of an indication than a full-fledged construct of personality", believing that Suetonius' examples of treachery indicated his subjects' willingness "to break the most sacred of taboos for sheer personal gain".[539] Plutarch also examines these aspects of character, but additionally considers a more general approach to honesty that is absent from the *De vita Caesarum*. This focuses primarily on the political and military arenas, rather than on personal relationships. The four references to Cato's 'honesty', for example, relate to his public affairs (Plut. *Cato min.* 6.4, 21.4, 48.3, 64.2), and are quite distinct from the examples of Cato's loyalty that Plutarch includes (e.g. *Cato min.* 2.6, 3.5, 11.1-2). Moreover, Plutarch is willing to characterise a subject as both dishonest and loyal—or honest and disloyal—whereas Suetonius rarely acknowledges such contradictory traits.[540] The attention Plutarch gives to these facets of character is similar to

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[538] See especially the *Cato minor*, where Cato's resentment of his peers refers back to Plutarch's initial characterisation of Cato as churlish and stubborn (Plut. *Cato min.* 1.2, 15.1, 23.1, 38.3).

[539] Cochran, 193.

[540] The most striking example from the *Lives* is the *Caesar.* Plutarch's Caesar demonstrates loyalty to his friends, family and country (Plut. *Caes.* 1.2, 5.2, 23.5-6, 62.5), but is also characterised with a strong penchant to use duplicitous or rhetorical language, and a tendency to justify his actions via pretexts (e.g. Plut. *Caes*. 4.8, 6.3, 14.7, 28.3, 31.2). Cicero, on the other hand, is shown to be honest but disloyal; his allegiances could be easily swayed, and Plutarch's explicit notation of Cicero's honesty is immediately followed by an example of his disloyalty (Plut. *Cic.* 29.1-2, 41.2). On the uniformity of Suetonius' characterisations, see 162 above.

Suetonius' attentions to appetite; as such, Plutarch's presentation of honesty or dishonesty can be enumerated as a distinct construct, just as Cochran separated physical and sexual appetites from other examples of moderation and excess in his own study.

Taking into account these adjustments, the most prevalent character constructs in Plutarch's *Lives* were defined as follows:

i. *Realistic vs. vainglorious*. This construct covers the subject's behaviour towards others, his acknowledgment and respect of Rome's laws and gods, and the extent of his desire for glory, fame, or honour.

ii. *Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent*. This construct covers the subject's mode of life, dress, and appetite.

iii. *Beneficent vs. egocentric*. This construct covers the subject's ambition and desire for power, the extent of his focus on himself or others, and his behaviour as regarded the city or Roman populace.

iv. *Kind-natured vs. cruel-natured*. This construct covers the subject's treatment of others, including foreigners, slaves, and enemies.[541]

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[541] It is worth reiterating the importance of viewing each character trait or construct as Plutarch, and his readers, would have. A 'kind' nature did not always imply the good treatment of others; we may recall the anecdote regarding Caesar's capture by pirates. Velleius, Plutarch, and Suetonius all report that, once he had escaped, Caesar demanded that the pirates be punished—and when this punishment was not forthcoming, he quickly took matters into his own hands and crucified them (Vell. Pat. 2.42.1-3; Plut. *Caes.* 2.7; Suet. *Jul.* 4.1-2). The unwary reader might perceive this to be a negative item, but Suetonius explicitly notes that it evidenced Caesar's merciful nature (Suet. *Jul.* 74.1); he had sworn to crucify the pirates, and was

v. *Financially ethical vs. financially unethical*. This construct covers the subject's attitudes towards money and public funds, and the manner in which he dispensed these.

vi. *Content vs. discontent*. This construct covers the subject's general disposition and attitude towards life.

vii. *Honest vs. dishonest*. This construct covers the subject's truthfulness in public life, and attempts to reflect one of Plutarch's more subtle techniques of characterisation, the assignation of pretext and/or persuasion. Duplicitousness, in particular, is often attested implicitly rather than directly attributed (e.g. Plut. *Caes.* 8.1).

viii. *Loyal vs. disloyal*. This construct covers the subject's loyalty to his family, friends, and country.

ix. *Effective vs. ineffective administrator*. This construct covers the subject's willingness and ability to perform his duties, whether in the political or military capacity, and the overall achievements of his term of office.

x. *Strong vs. weak character*. This construct covers a number of attributes relating to strength of character, such as bravery or

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therefore duty-bound to do so. Being *lenissimus*, however, he had their throats cut first. Plutarch does not offer such praise, but it is interesting to note that he does not censure Caesar either. A less-edifying version of the anecdote existed: Fenestella reported that Caesar decapitated the pirates, the standard method for their execution (Frg. 30 Peter [=Frg. 31 Cornell]; see also Drummond, 2013d: 589-590; Drummond here noted that "the paucity of primary sources for Caesar's early career makes it questionable whether Fenestella drew on a different (and more reliable) tradition"). For Plutarch's general attitude towards 'kindness', see especially Gel. 1.26; Plut. *Cat. mai.* 5.1-6. For his familiarity with Fenestella, see Helmbold & O'Neil, 33.

cowardice, strength of will, the ability to make effective judgements, the ability to command others, and the subject's typical behaviour in stressful situations.

As noted above, the attributes extracted from each of Plutarch's *Lives* were grouped on the basis of semantic similarity. Once the construct headings were established, the attributes were further grouped, as either a positive or negative contributor, in preparation for rating the strength of each construct. These ratings were assigned in the same manner as Cochran's, using a 1-5 point scale system. A score of 1 represented a strongly *positive* construct, while a score 5 represented a strongly *negative* construct; the median (neutral) point is 3. Using the 'kind-natured versus cruel-natured' construct as an example, construct ratings would be interpreted in the following manner:

1= the subject shows a strong tendency towards benevolence

2= the subject shows a moderate tendency towards benevolence

3= the subject shows equal tendencies towards benevolence and cruelty

4= the subject shows a moderate tendency towards cruelty

5= the subject shows a strong tendency towards cruelty

When calculating the overall strength rating for each construct, a simple mathematical ratio was used to obtain a percentage figure for the subject's positive or negative tendency towards that construct. These percentages were then translated into a 1-5 rating. 'Strong' tendencies were those in the lower and upper fifteenth percentile (0-15% and 85-100% respectively), while 'balanced' was considered to be the middle ten percent, 45-55%. 'Moderate' tendencies were those which occupied the 16-44% and

66-84% brackets. To give an example of the process: a total of twenty-two character attributes related to the construct of realism versus vaingloriousness were extracted from Plutarch's *Life of Antony.* Of these, three were positive and nineteen negative. 3:19 equates to a 14% positive tendency or 86% negative tendency (rounded to the nearest whole integer). Thus, Antony was considered to be strongly vainglorious, and the construct was rated as a 5 in the repertory grid.

In almost every instance, these calculations accorded well with the general impression gained from reading each *Life*. Occasional adjustments were required, however. There are a few instances in which Plutarch's explicit references to a character trait were focussed heavily on the *opposite* polarity to his general portrait of the subject in question, leading the calculated percentage to be higher or lower than might otherwise have been expected.[542] The *Caesar*, for example, contained three character constructs whose mathematical scores did not accord well with Plutarch's overall judgements. The first concerns the construct of realism versus vaingloriousness. Caesar technically scores a 4 for this construct: Plutarch gives four positive examples against thirteen negative (i.e., a 74% tendency towards vaingloriousness).[543] Yet Plutarch stresses Caesar's desire for glory repeatedly throughout the βίος, and in his final summation of Caesar's character, shows that he considered the dictator to be *extremely* desirous of fame and recognition (Plut. *Caes.* 69.1). To reflect this in the repertory grid, a rating of 5 is required. The second adjustment concerns the construct of character strength. The

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[542] For the differences between Plutarch's explicit statements and his overall 'portrait' of a subject, see especially Stadter (1996), 296-297. He noted the use of anecdotal sequences, in which "each individual item is strengthened by the others … and the reader is left with an impression not clearly attributable to any one anecdote".

[543] For the attributes extracted, see Appendix I: Personality Data in Plutarch's *Lives*.

attributes extracted for this construct calculate to a rating of 2 (16:4, 80% positive), but again, Plutarch routinely emphasises Caesar's stubbornness and courage, indicating his belief that Caesar was extremely strong-willed (e.g. Plut. *Caes.* 1.1, 7.1, 18.3, 20.4). This is better reflected with a rating of 1. The final change was for the construct of a kind versus cruel nature. A number of anecdotes throughout the *Life* testify as to Caesar's benevolence, yet Plutarch downplays many of these, implying that they were not true examples of magnanimity, but—like many other aspects of Caesar's behaviour—were the result of his desire to gain popular favour (e.g. Plut. *Caes.* 6.3). Caesar should technically receive a rating of 2 for this character construct (the ratio is 17:5, 77% positive). However, when taken in conjunction with the other positive characteristics Plutarch attributes to Caesar—such as his respect for hosts and superiors, his loyalty to family and friends, and the frequent acknowledgement of Caesar's renowned *clementia* (or, for Plutarch, φιλανθρωπία; e.g. Plut. *Caes.* 15.4, 34.7, 48.2-4)—a rating of 1 seems more appropriate. Further instances of discrepancies between Plutarch's general portrait of a subject and specific examples of their behaviour can be observed in the *Crassus*, where Plutarch glosses Crassus' 'many' virtues so that he may instead focus on his single vice, φιλοπλουτία (Plut. *Crass.* 2.1);[544] in the *Galba*, where the mathematical calculations for both Galba's honesty and loyalty are at odds with Plutarch's summation of

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[544] Plutarch's overt attention to avarice results in some of Crassus' positive attributes— particularly honesty—receiving very little representation within the text. There are only two references to Crassus' honesty in public life, both of which are negative (Plut. *Crass.* 6.7, 13.2). Mathematically, the construct should be rated 5. However, as Plutarch states specifically that Crassus had only one vice, it seems more fitting to scale this rating back to a 3.

Galba's character in the closing passage;[545] and in the *Otho*, where Plutarch's focus on the final few months of Otho's life obscures his general opinion of Otho's character prior to 69 CE.[546] Additionally, the *Lucullus* contains a construct which calculates mathematically to an 'extreme' level, but which receives very little attention throughout the text; some reconsideration of this

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[545] There are four explicit references to honesty or dishonesty in the *Galba*, which result in a percentage of 50% and a rating of 3. This seems a little too negative. Plutarch does not criticise Galba explicitly for being duplicitous, and notes at the end of the βίος that he had lived for most of his life with τιμή and δόξα (Plut. *Galb.* 29.1). This suggests that Galba's character tended more towards honesty than dishonesty; hence, the construct rating has been scaled to a 2, 'moderately honest'. Likewise loyalty; Plutarch gives just two examples of this character trait, and while both are positive, they do not seem representative enough to justify rating the construct a 1.

[546] Otho's fiscal responsibility and his effectiveness as emperor are particularly affected. Both constructs calculate to a rating of 3 (50% and 47% positive respectively), yet Plutarch stresses that the positive aspects of Otho's character appeared only once he was princeps (e.g. Plut. *Oth.* 1.2-3, 4.1, 15.3-6, 18.2). Prior to this, he describes Otho as being similar in character to Nero (Plut. *Galb.* 19.2-4; *Oth.* 18.2; cf. Suet. *Otho* 2.1-3.1). Nero is characterised by other authors as prodigal and largely disinterested in his imperial responsibilities (esp. Suet. *Nero* 20.1-25.3, 26.1, 30.1), and Plutarch's own opinion of him seems to have been fairly poor (e.g. Plut. *Galb.* 1.5; *Oth.* 18.2). We may assume that, prior to 69 CE, Otho was quite spendthrift. As to Otho's effectiveness, Plutarch stresses his military blunders and inability to control the troops on multiple occasions (e.g. Plut. *Oth.* 3.6-8, 5.3, 10.1, 12.2), suggesting that he considered him to be generally ineffective as a commander and ruler. Both ratings have thus been scaled upwards to 4 to correctly represent this characterisation.

rating was therefore necessary.[547]

The subjective scaling of data is obviously not a practice that would be employed in a traditional scientific or mathematic analysis. It is, however, extremely useful—and indeed, necessary—for an analysis whose focus data is drawn from literary material.[548] Furthermore, as shall be discussed below, a comparison between the raw and scaled datasets may help to reveal additional information about the biographer's implicit theory of personality. We must simply ensure that the process of scaling is undertaken with due caution, as the injudicious alteration of construct scores affects not only our understanding of how Plutarch evaluated his subjects' characters, but also how he intended these representations of character to be perceived by his readers.

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[547] The *Lucullus* contains a single reference for the construct honest/dishonest, which calculates to a rating of 1. While a reference to honesty and not dishonesty suggests that Plutarch considered Lucullus to be more honest than not, a single example is not representative enough to describe Lucullus as 'extremely honest'.

[548] Cochran (196-197) used a similar scaling process in his own study, employing an independent reader to check the rating of each character construct, and adjust the strength of this if required. For further validation of the scaling process, see 229-234 below.

Interpreting Plutarch's Implicit Theory of Personality

Isolating the main character constructs Plutarch relied upon to present character is the first step in identifying his implicit theory of personality. The next is to analyse and interpret the relationships between these constructs. Once the relative strength of each construct had been determined for the twelve *Lives* examined, the level of correlation between each single construct was calculated using Pearson's coefficient equation. This formula is as follows:

$$r = \frac{S_{xy}}{\sqrt{S_{xx}S_{yy}}}$$

where:

$$S_{xy} = \Sigma xy - (\Sigma x \Sigma y \div n)$$

$$S_{xx} = \Sigma x^2 - (\Sigma x \Sigma x \div n)$$

$$S_{yy} = \Sigma y^2 - (\Sigma y \Sigma y \div n)$$

x and y represent the strength ratings of the constructs being compared—for instance, in a comparison of self-restraint versus beneficence, x would represent the relative tendency towards self-restraint and y would represent that towards beneficence—while n represents the number of variables (in each calculation, $n=12$, as twelve *Lives* were selected for analysis). The correlation

coefficient, r, indicates the strength of correlation between any two given constructs, and will always return a value between 1 and -1.[549]

The coefficient calculations were performed in Microsoft Excel, and the construct ratings were concurrently tabulated in the RepGrid software suite, so that further data analysis could be conducted. The following table shows the strength of correlation between each character construct (to the nearest two decimal places):

CONSTRUCTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
REALISTIC |1	x	0.28	0.79	0.24	0.55	-0.06	0.40	0.58	-0.11	-0.06
DISCIPLINED |2		x	0.25	0.06	0.34	-0.70	0.25	0.14	0.05	0.23
BENEFICENT |3			x	0.28	0.83	-0.29	0.63	0.58	0.36	0.16
KIND |4				x	0.57	0.00	0.69	0.59	0.02	0.17
ETHICAL |5					x	-0.49	0.70	0.50	0.53	0.15
CONTENT |6						x	-0.37	-0.12	-0.32	-0.07
HONEST |7							x	0.59	0.13	0.32
LOYAL |8								x	-0.06	0.18
EFFECTIVE |9									x	0.38
STRONG |10										x

Fig. 2: Construct correlations in Plutarch's *Lives*

Using Pearson's guidelines, we find that only six of the forty-five possible construct relationships show statistically significant levels of correlation; of these, just two are significant at the .01 level of probability.[550] This equates to a mere 13% total, compared to the 91% in Cochran's study of Suetonius, and

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[549] See 175 above. The potential problems of using an empirical, or statistical, method to analyse literary material are considered at 219 n. 551 below.

[550] See 175 n. 470 above. The present study has ten total constructs, or nine possible pairs, meaning that the level of correlation required for a relationship to be deemed statistically significant by Pearson's standards is slightly higher than that of Cochran's study. The 0.05 level of probability (95% chance of correlation) requires a score of >0.602; the 0.01 level of probability (99% chance of correlation) requires >0.735.

suggests that the majority of constructs which were salient in Plutarch's assessment of his subjects were almost entirely unrelated to—and uninfluenced by—one another.

Before accepting this conclusion, however, it is worth considering the levels at which a construct relationship is deemed 'statistically significant'. Pearson's scale was developed to interpret empirical data. The 'data' extracted from Plutarch's *Lives*, although represented numerically, is not empirical; as such, interpretation of the results may require slightly different criteria than those of a strictly mathematical or scientific study. The application of empirical theory to the humanities has not received a great deal of attention in the past, perhaps due to the (justifiable) reservations that surround the practice, though there has been an increasing interest in the topic in recent years. Perhaps the most notable study to date is that by Willie Van Peer, Frank Hakemulder, and Sonia Zyngier, *Scientific Methods for the Humanities*. This work examines a number of quantitative and qualitative research methods, and considers how they might be applied to analyses concerning literature or media.[551] One focus of the study was inference statistics, the practice of using a relatively small set of data to predict typical

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[551] Van Peer, Hakemulder, and Zyngier (2012), 310. Van Peer, Hakemulder, and Zyngier feel that humanists typically demonstrate an 'aversion' to causality—a response which, they believe, originated from Wilhelm Dilthey's work on the processes of *verstehen* and *erklären*. For the tension between the two concepts, see Van Peer, Hakemulder, and Zyngier, 1-5; for a possible reconciliation of the two, Van Peer, Hakemulder, and Zyngier, 6-7. The application of qualitative and quantitative methodologies to research in the humanities was also a featured topic at the 2013 Modern Language Association's Annual Convention. A brief overview of the relevant session has been made available by Monica Bulger, its co-convener, and can be found on her website: http://monicabulger.com/2013/01/adapting-social-science-methods-to-humanities-research/.

or likely occurrences in a wider sphere.[552] Cross-disciplinary use of inference statistics had been considered several decades earlier by Jacob Cohen, who noted that most methods of statistical analysis placed too heavy an emphasis on maintaining a high level for '*a*'—the point at which an item may be termed statistically significant—to be of use to the social sciences or humanities.[553] Cohen believed that this problem could be counteracted, enabling the wider use of inferential statistics, without altering the basic methods of analysis— the level for *a* simply needed reconsideration. For statistical correlations in particular, Cohen proposed that *a* be represented by a scale rather than a single figure; thus, the strength of any one correlation could be expressed in the more general terms of "weak", "medium", or "strong",[554] as well as by its traditional mathematical notation.

Cohen's findings are especially important for studies such as the repertory grid above, where there is no single 'correct' numerical value for a variable, and where the possibility for contradictory data occurs. Reducing the level of *a* here can have a significant impact upon the usability of the results. Taking Cohen's suggestion of strong, medium, and weak levels of correlation, a scale for *a* was developed: a strong relationship was held to be one with a correlation level of 0.60–1.0 (as per Pearson's original figures); a medium-strength relationship was one with a correlation level of 0.30–0.59; and a weak relationship was one with a correlation level of 0.10–0.29. It will be remembered that Pearson's lower figure for *a* indicated a 95% chance of

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[552] See Van Peer, Hakemulder, and Zyngier, 199-274 for the application and interpretation of inferential statistical analyses. It is my hope that the potential utility of such a method will be made apparent by the reconstructive exercise which follows in the concluding chapter below.

[553] Cohen (1969), 1-16. Regrettably, Van Peer, Hakemulder, and Zyngier did not address this issue.

[554] Cf. Cohen, 72-79.

correlation existing between two constructs. Relationships that fall into the proposed 'medium' category, while not so assured, still present a reasonable basis for supposing the existence of correlation, and can thus be considered as 'statistically significant' for the purposes of the current analysis. Returning to the table above (Fig. 2), we find that sixteen construct relationships fall into the medium-strength range.

CONSTRUCTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
REALISTIC | 1	x	0.28	**0.79**	0.24	*0.55*	-0.06	*0.40*	0.58	-0.11	-0.06
DISCIPLINED | 2		x	0.25	0.06	*0.34*	**-0.70**	0.25	0.14	0.05	0.23
BENEFICENT | 3			x	0.28	**0.83**	-0.29	**0.63**	0.58	*0.36*	0.16
KIND | 4				x	*0.57*	0.00	**0.69**	0.59	0.02	0.17
ETHICAL | 5					x	*-0.49*	**0.70**	0.50	*0.53*	0.15
CONTENT | 6						x	*-0.37*	-0.12	-0.32	-0.07
HONEST | 7							x	0.59	0.13	*0.32*
LOYAL | 8								x	-0.06	0.18
EFFECTIVE | 9									x	*0.38*
STRONG | 10										x

KEY	(bold text)	strong correlation
	(italic text)	medium correlation
	(plain text)	weak/no correlation

Fig. 3: Strong and medium construct correlations in Plutarch's *Lives*

The addition of these medium-strength correlations to the six 'strong' correlations already noted results in twenty-two of a possible forty-five construct relationships (48.9%) showing statistical significance. This is a significant increase from the previous 13%, and suggests that Plutarch, like Suetonius, inherently connected certain types of behaviour or character traits with one another. The fact that the data above is by no means as tightly interwoven as that from Cochran's study of Suetonius should not be viewed negatively; those patterns which do emerge point all the more strongly towards the benefits a statistical analysis can offer, and show plainly how

much the process of *implicit* judgement might vary between writers of differing cultural backgrounds.

The most obvious connections here are found for the construct of honesty versus dishonesty, which correlates strongly to three other constructs (beneficent/egocentric, kind–/cruel-natured, and financially ethical/unethical) and shows a medium level of correlation to four more. Similarly, the construct relating to a subject's fiscal ethics has two strong correlations and a further six medium correlations; beneficent/egocentric has three strong and two medium correlations; and loyal/disloyal has five medium correlations.[555] As discussed above, significant correlations between constructs allow us to estimate where Plutarch may have made subconscious judgements regarding his subjects, or where elements of preconception might have occurred within his βίοι, which in turn provides a means for predicting which traits and behaviours were included in a Plutarchan *Life.*[556] The data here suggests that if Plutarch believed a subject to be honest, he probably also considered them to be benevolent and altruistic—and subsequently portrayed them as such. Likewise, if he believed a subject to have fiscal ethics, he probably also perceived, and represented, them as philanthropic and honest. This is by no means a complete template of Plutarch's implicit theory of personality—indeed, such a thing would be impossible, even if every character construct showed a strong correlation to every other—but it does help to further our

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[555] Fiscal ethics correlates positively to beneficence, honesty, a realistic outlook, self-discipline, benevolence, loyalty, and effective governing, and negatively to contentedness; beneficence correlates positively to realism, fiscal ethics, honesty, loyalty, and effective governing; loyalty correlates positively to realism, beneficence, benevolence, fiscal ethics, and honesty. It is perhaps worth noting that all but one of the correlations for loyalty are extremely close to the figure required for a 'strong' correlation.

[556] Cf. 176-178 above.

understanding of how the *Lives* were constructed. And as shall be demonstrated below, for fragmentary or lost *Lives*, even a partial template can aid speculation as to what might have been included in the original text.

Before any further analysis of the data is undertaken, it is worth noting how the repertory grid reflects the findings of our earlier literary and cultural analyses. Two factors are of interest: the several negative correlations that exist between Plutarchan character constructs (Fig. 3, above), and the breadth of scores present in the table of construct strength ratings (Fig. 4, below). Both reveal the impact of Plutarch's philosophical studies upon his implicit theory of personality. Negative correlations between constructs are not found in Cochran's study of Suetonius. For the *Lives* examined here, there are eleven in total, four of which are statistically significant.[557] This is too high a frequency to be an accident of data; such an occurrence can only be the result of a biographer who consciously perceived and represented contradictory elements of personality within his compositions.[558] As to the strength ratings, all but one of the *Lives* have constructs with at least a four-step variance in their ratings (i.e., ratings that range between 1-4 or 2-5), while six of the twelve *Lives* contain constructs with both an extreme positive and extreme negative rating (i.e., 1 and 5). In contrast, none of the Suetonian *vitae* in Cochran's collation of data contains constructs at both the positive and negative extremes, and several show very minimal variance or no variance at all amongst their strength ratings.[559] If the suggestion that Suetonius had Stoic sympathies is correct, their belief in the unity of the soul

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[557] See 218 n. 550 above.

[558] Cf. 113-117, 120-124 above.

[559] The *Augustus*, *Nero*, *Otho* and *Titus* have only a single step variance in their construct ratings (constructs within the *Augustus* and *Titus* were scored 1 or 2 only; those in the *Nero* were scored 4 or 5 only; and those in the *Otho*, 3 or 4 only) and the *Caligula* has none (every construct was scored as a 5). See Cochran, 197.

may be partly responsible for this. Certainly it is Plutarch's belief in the dichotomous nature of the soul that effects the breadth of scores in the present analysis—the *Lives* follow exactly the principles he laid down in the *De virtute morali*.[560]

Saliency in Character Constructs

In studying the repertory grid method and its application to Suetonius' *vitae*, we observed that the biographer routinely emphasised certain character constructs over others.[561] While all constructs derived from the *De vita Caesarum* point to a salient aspect in Suetonius' implicit theory of personality, these emphases point to what we might term 'hyper-salient' constructs—the character traits which were most central to Suetonius' personal assessment of a subject. Like his Roman counterpart, Plutarch routinely emphasises particular character traits and behaviours, and these varying attentions can be used to determine which of the ten constructs isolated from the *Lives* played the greatest role(s) in Plutarch's evaluation, and representation, of his subjects' characters.

The constructs which were potentially hyper-salient in Plutarch's implicit theory of personality can be found through an examination of the individual strength ratings for each construct. Those with a high total of *extreme* ratings (i.e., 1 or 5) are typically those to which the biographer has devoted a substantial amount of attention. Constructs with a high total of

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[560] Cf. 113-117 above. The differences between Plutarch's approach and Suetonius' are all the more interesting for the fact that Plutarch's discussion in the *De virtute morali* is framed as a direct rejection of the treatises of earlier philosophers, specifically Menedemus of Eretria, Aristo of Chios, Zeno of Citium and Chrysippus (*De virt. mor.* 440e-441e). The latter three were all members of the Stoic school.

[561] See 183-184 above.

average ratings (i.e., 3) were, in the study of Suetonius, those which had received less attention than their counterparts, and which were thus suggested to have been less central to Suetonius' methods of character evaluation.[562] The same is not necessarily true for Plutarch. Of the Plutarchan constructs with a higher number of average ratings, some do appear to have received less overt attention overall; there is, for instance, a comparatively small focus on loyalty in most of the *Lives* examined, and particularly in those βίοι where the construct was rated a 3. Other constructs, however, were scored as average due to 'contradictory' information within the *Life*. The *Galba* and *Otho* each contain eight discrete references to fiscal ethics, and the *Lucullus* contains nine.[563] These are split in a 4:4, 4:4, and 4:5 ratio respectively, suggesting that in each case, Plutarch believed that his subject had a balanced approach to personal and public finance. Magnanimity or self-interest—a construct for which there are numerous examples in every *Life*—is twice marked as average: Plutarch includes seven examples of beneficent action and six of self-serving in the *Life of Otho*, and in the *Sulla*, five positive instances to four negative. The same occurs for benevolence or cruelty, another area of personality that is generally well-documented by Plutarch.[564] It is therefore important to recognise that while a low total of average ratings *may* indicate that a construct played an especial role in Plutarch's evaluation of a subject's ἦθος, the certainty of this supposition is not as strong as for the Suetonian character constructs examined above.

The unscaled repertory grid generated for Plutarch's *Lives* shows that three constructs (self-disciplined/self-indulgent; content/discontent;

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[562] See especially 184 above.

[563] For these, and the references which follow, see Appendix I: Personality Data in Plutarch's *Lives*.

[564] The *Antony* includes seven examples each of Antony's kindness versus cruelty, while the *Crassus* records four of each; see Appendix I, 390, 400.

strong/weak character) contain no average ratings at all, while a fourth (effective/ineffective administration) contains only a single average. Three constructs also contain a high number of extreme ratings: self-disciplined/self-indulgent (9), honest/dishonest (8), and kind–/cruel-natured (7).

Realistic	5	1	4	3	4	4	1	4	5	3	4	4	Vainglorious
Self-disciplined	5	2	2	1	1	1	1	5	2	5	1	5	Self-indulgent
Beneficent	5	1	4	1	2	4	1	2	4	3	4	3	Egocentric
Kind-natured	3	1	2	1	2	3	4	1	5	1	1	5	Cruel-natured
Financially ethical	5	2	4	1	2	5	3	3	4	3	4	5	Financially unethical
Content	2	2	3	5	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	Discontent
Honest	5	2	5	1	3	5	3	1	5	4	1	5	Dishonest
Loyal	4	2	1	1	3	3	1	1	5	2	2	3	Disloyal
Effective administrator	4	2	2	1	1	4	4	2	1	3	4	2	Ineffective administrator
Strong character	4	1	2	1	4	2	4	2	2	4	2	2	Weak character

Sulla
Pompey
Otho
Marius
Lucullus
Galba
Crassus
Cicero
Cato min.
Caesar
Brutus
Antony

Fig. 4: Strength ratings of unscaled constructs in Plutarch's *Lives*

A subject's tendency towards restraint or indulgence seems assured as a key component in Plutarch's evaluation of their character. The construct neatly fits Plutarch's philosophical beliefs regarding excessive luxury (e.g. Plut. *De Cup.* 527f-528b; *VV.* 100b-d), fulfils both criteria for isolating a hyper-salient construct, and moreover, is one for which Plutarch usually includes a substantial number of behavioural examples.[565] Benevolence or cruelty, which

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[565] See Appendix I: Personality Data in Plutarch's *Lives*. The *Brutus*, *Caesar*, *Crassus*, *Galba*, and *Pompey* contain fewer examples of restraint or indulgence than usual, though it should be noted that not all of these would have required the same explicit focus on self-discipline that is found in other *Lives*. The implications of

has a very high number of extreme ratings and receives a substantial focus throughout the *Lives*, should likewise be regarded as a central operator, despite its two instances of an average rating. Other constructs require further assessment. As we observed, the total number of extreme strength ratings is a reasonable indication of a construct's centrality in Plutarch's implicit theory of personality. Contentedness, despite being rated as average in only one *Life*, received no extreme values. This could be taken as an indication that it was not central to Plutarch's processes of character evaluation. However, the estimation of a subject's general outlook receives a good deal of attention from Plutarch; with the exception of the *Otho*, every *Life* includes ten or more separate notations of happiness or unhappiness. Such a high level of authorial focus suggests that Plutarch actually considered this area of personality to be quite indicative of character. As such, contentedness should be counted as a possibly hyper-salient component in Plutarch's assessment of a subject. The construct of character strength presents similarly—there are no average ratings, but it is only scored as an extreme twice (in the *Brutus* and *Cato minor*)—as does the construct detailing a subject's effectiveness in the administration of their public duties. For a writer whose work was defined by the assessment of his subject's deeds, it can hardly be suggested that the performance of duty was *not* a central factor in his evaluation of character, irrespective of what our numerical data might imply. As to the overall strength or weakness of a subject's ἦθος, this is one of the most well-documented facets of personality in the twelve *Lives* examined. For all but one (the *Sulla*), the construct is comprised of around

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Plutarch's comment that *Crassus* had only one vice have been examined above (117, 214 and n. 544). The *Galba* provides fewer total examples for most character constructs, due to its relative brevity.

fifteen to twenty separate examples;[566] like contentedness, this close focus suggests that strength of character was probably a hyper-salient construct.

The relative strength of, and attention towards, each character construct is an excellent departure point in our search for the most salient areas of Plutarch's implicit theory of personality—but as the preceding discussion shows, it cannot be applied to every construct with equal success. Other data from the repertory grid may provide further aid. The strength of correlation between each of the character constructs, considered in conjunction with the total number of textual examples that contributes to each, can be used to reveal possible focal areas in Plutarch's assessment of ἦθος. Character constructs with a high level of inter-relatedness tend to receive proportionally less attention than those with fewer correlations. This may result from a conscious or subconscious expectation of inference: if, for example, Plutarch viewed the traits of benevolence and beneficence as being fundamentally connected to one another, he may have expected his reader to make the same assumption; thus, a subject could theoretically be characterised as kind-natured, with the expectation that the reader would also assume a general tendency towards magnanimity. It may equally point to a set of attributes that were *not* absolutely central to Plutarch's assessment of a subject's character, and which he subsequently inferred through other, more 'important', aspects of personality. Conversely, constructs which are not dependent on others naturally require more attention to portray in each instance, as the traits that comprised them must be evidenced in full rather than inferred though a complementary attribute. Some of the constructs derived from the *Lives* are, to a large degree, independent of any others, which not only suggests that Plutarch viewed them as primary facets of

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[566] Plutarch gives only six examples of Sulla's relative character strength—four positive and two negative. See Appendix I, 411.

character but also that they were more central to his implicit theory of personality.

Using the table above (Fig. 3), we find that the constructs relating to self-discipline, benevolence, and strength of character show significant levels of correlation in less than one third of the total possible instances. All three of these constructs were already noted to be potentially hyper-salient in Plutarch's assessment of character, based on their strength ratings in individual *Lives*. Their recurrence here suggests that that interpretation is correct. Contentedness and effectiveness, also discussed previously, have four total significant correlations—a little less than half of the total possible. One other construct shares this figure: realism versus vaingloriousness. As hyper-salience was found to be a reasonable proposition for the constructs of both contentedness and effectiveness, we might question whether realism, too, was a central factor in Plutarch's assessment of character. It was not isolated in the analysis of strength ratings, having a proportionally low number of extreme ratings and high number of averages, yet it receives substantial attention throughout the *Lives*, comparable in most instances to the constructs of effectiveness and character strength.[567] For this reason, it is worth including as a possible hyper-salient construct, pending further analysis.

Returning to the tabulated results, we find that two constructs in particular have very high degrees of correlation: financially ethical/unethical and honest/dishonest. The construct of honesty in particular bears further examination. It was noted above to have a significant number of extreme strength ratings, an indication that it may have been hyper-salient. However, honesty correlates to seven of the nine other constructs, and as a trait group, receives comparatively little attention from Plutarch. In most of the *Lives*

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[567] Notable exceptions are the *Galba* and *Otho*; in both cases, the shorter length of each βίος easily accounts for the fewer total references.

examined, the construct is represented by fewer than five behavioural examples.[568] This tends to suggest that Plutarch felt his subjects' honesty or dishonesty would be conveyed to the reader through the presence of other personality attributes within the *Life*. If so, it should not be counted amongst the hyper-salient constructs.

In total, six of the ten constructs isolated present legitimate grounds for consideration as being hyper-salient to Plutarch's evaluation and representation of ἦθος. These are not likely to have been of equal importance, and it is here that the scaled data is at its most useful. Comparing the strengths of construct ratings and the frequency of correlations in both sets of data allows us to refine our understanding of Plutarch's evaluation processes, and to verify whether the constructs proposed to be hyper-salient were indeed central to Plutarch's implicit theory of personality. The tables below document the correlation scores and strength ratings for the alternate (scaled) dataset.

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[568] The exceptions are the *Antony*, *Brutus*, and *Caesar*, which contain six, eight, and ten examples respectively.

CONSTRUCTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
REALISTIC | 1	x	0.25	**0.81**	0.15	*0.53*	-0.06	*0.59*	*0.38*	-0.16	-0.04
DISCIPLINED | 2		x	0.25	0.08	*0.43*	**-0.70**	*0.44*	0.08	0.15	0.24
BENEFICENT | 3			x	0.23	**0.84**	-0.29	**0.67**	*0.51*	*0.35*	0.09
KIND | 4				x	*0.47*	0.00	*0.53*	**0.74**	-0.01	0.24
ETHICAL | 5					x	*-0.31*	**0.71**	*0.47*	*0.55*	0.19
CONTENT | 6						x	*-0.45*	-0.06	*-0.37*	-0.06
HONEST | 7							x	*0.58*	0.01	0.17
LOYAL | 8								x	0.00	*0.35*
EFFECTIVE | 9									x	*0.45*
STRONG | 10										x

KEY	(bold text)	strong correlation
	(italic text)	medium correlation
	(plain text)	weak/no correlation

Fig. 5: Strong and medium construct correlations for scaled data from Plutarch's *Lives*

Realistic	5	1	5	3	4	4	1	4	5	3	4	4	Vainglorious
Self-disciplined	5	2	2	1	1	1	1	5	2	5	1	5	Self-indulgent
Beneficent	5	1	4	1	2	4	1	2	4	3	4	3	Egocentric
Kind-natured	3	1	1	1	2	3	4	1	5	1	1	5	Cruel-natured
Financially ethical	5	2	4	1	2	5	3	3	4	4	4	5	Financially unethical
Content	2	2	3	5	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	Discontent
Honest	5	2	5	1	3	4	2	2	5	4	1	5	Dishonest
Loyal	4	2	1	1	3	3	2	1	5	2	2	3	Disloyal
Effective administrator	4	2	2	1	1	4	4	2	1	4	4	2	Ineffective administrator
Strong character	4	1	1	1	4	2	4	2	2	4	2	2	Weak character

Sulla
Pompey
Otho
Marius
Lucullus
Galba
Crassus
Cicero
Cato min.
Caesar
Brutus
Antony

Fig. 6: Strength ratings of scaled constructs in Plutarch's *Lives*

Comparison reveals surprisingly little difference between the two sets of results (cf. Figs. 3 and 4 above). There are a number of small shifts in the correlation values, but only five instances where the strength of correlation,

as expressed by the weak-medium-strong scale, changes.[569] The overall total of significant correlations is near identical—twenty-three, as opposed to the twenty-two found in the unscaled dataset—and for all but one construct, the frequency of correlation to other constructs is the same.[570] Several constructs show a minor increase or decrease in the total amount of average and extreme strength ratings, but in only one instance does this exceed ±1. Regarding the implications of these strength ratings, the observations above hold true. The construct representing a kind or cruel nature has one less average rating and one more extreme, suggesting a slightly stronger saliency than we accorded previously. The construct of effectiveness has one less average rating, while that of character strength has one more extreme, which in both cases enhances the earlier suggestion that these were hyper-salient concepts in Plutarch's implicit theory of personality. The construct of honesty, on the other hand, has two fewer ratings at the extreme level. In conjunction with its very high degree of inter-relatedness in both grids, this should be taken as an indication that it was *not* a hyper-salient factor for Plutarch. The additional extreme rating for the construct of realism, although strengthening its saliency, does not represent a great enough increase to consider it as truly hyper-salient. Finally, the construct of contentedness shows an increase to one average strength rating (from zero). The extent of its saliency has already been questioned; this shift might be seen as cause to do so again. It

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[569] Three relationships increase in strength in the scaled data: *self-disciplined=honest* and *loyal=strong* moves from low to medium strength correlation, while *kind-natured=loyal* moves from medium to strong. Two relationships decrease: *kind-natured=honest* moves from strong to medium strength, and *honest=strong* moves from medium to low strength.

[570] The only difference is for the construct of self-discipline versus self-indulgence, which shows two significant correlations to other constructs in the unscaled analysis and three in the scaled analysis.

was noted previously that Plutarch's focus on this aspect of character is substantial, and for this reason, the implications of the numerical evidence were set aside.[571] However, while a subject's outlook was certainly important to Plutarch's mind—for it could not feature as a character construct if it were not—it does not seem to hold the same level of importance as the other constructs considered here. As such, content/discontent should probably not be regarded as a *hyper*-salient construct within Plutarch's paradigm.

Considered as a whole, the scaled data supports the unscaled quite strongly. Using the two sets, then, we may hypothesise with a fair degree of certainty which aspects of personality Plutarch relied upon most strongly when evaluating his subjects' characters and communicating these to his readers. The priority of all ten constructs, relative to one another, can be 'ranked' in three groups as follows:

i. Self-disciplined/self-indulgent; strong/weak personal character; kind–natured/cruel-natured; effective/ineffective administration of duties. These constructs were identified as being the most central ('hyper-salient') in Plutarch's implicit theory of personality, on the basis that they receive a heavy emphasis in the *Lives* and are represented strongly in the data analysis.

ii. Realistic/vainglorious; content/discontent. These are constructs which receive a strong focus within the texts, but which are less strongly represented in the data analysis than those in Group I. For ease of reference, they might be termed 'strongly salient'.

iii. Beneficent/egocentric; loyal/disloyal; honest/dishonest; financially ethical/unethical. These constructs are integral to Plutarch's understanding of character (salient) but in most

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[571] See 226-227 above.

cases, do not present the same level of emphasis in either the *Lives* or data analysis as those in the first two groups.

Isolating the relative importance of each character construct of course furthers our understanding of Plutarch's basic approach to biographical composition, but more importantly, it allows us to predict which facets of personality would have formed the bulk of the lost βίοι that comprised the *Lives of the Caesars*—especially those emperors whose lives are well-attested by other sources. Augustus was previously noted to be one such figure,[572] and indeed, if we review the extant sources which treat his life in conjunction with the findings from the present analysis, it very quickly becomes apparent which anecdotal traditions Plutarch would have utilised for his own *Life of Augustus*, and which traditions would likely have been mitigated or excluded.[573]

The Use and Benefits of Principle Component Analysis

The first attempt to extract an author's implicit theory of personality from their text, conducted by Rosenberg and Jones, utilised cluster analysis to examine how and where character traits and constructs were related to one

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[572] See 193-194 above.

[573] The Plutarchan emphasis on self-restraint, for instance, and the avoidance of indulgence or excess might suggest a lengthier discussion of the *lex Julia* than is included in the Suetonian *vita* (Suet. *Aug.* 34.1; we can compare the digression on Solon's marriage laws at Plut. *Sol.* 20.2-5), and would perhaps result in some expression of doubt over the charges of sexual depravity that Sextus Pompeius and the Antonii levelled against Augustus (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 68). For a fuller treatment of the probable inclusions and omissions in Plutarch's *Augustus*, see Chapter 6 below.

another.[574] Where repertory analysis represents single relationships in a numerical manner, cluster analysis represents multiple relationships visually, demonstrating which traits or constructs group together and how strongly. There are numerous methods by which a cluster analysis may be conducted; for the present analysis, one of the most useful is principal component analysis (PCA). PCA utilises a centred bi-axial grid, into which elements and constructs are plotted. 'Elements' here refers to the individual *Lives* that were analysed, 'constructs' to the character constructs derived from these; thus, a PCA grid allows us to observe not only which of Plutarch's character constructs tended to group together, but which *Lives* incorporated these groups most strongly, and how closely the structuring of personality within each *Life* corresponded to every other.

As with the earlier repertory analysis, a comparison between the scaled and unscaled data can provide further information. It will be remembered that the scaled dataset attempted to preserve the original linguistic nuances of Plutarch's βίοι, including the overall 'portrait' Plutarch created in each instance, while the unscaled set maintained a numerically-exact focus, based on the attributes extracted from each text.[575] Comparison of these PCA grids helps to verify that the process of scaling data to generate an alternative set of results did not obscure Plutarch's personal understanding and representation of character. As discussed immediately above, the repertory analysis found no significant changes in the frequency of correlations between each set of data, regardless of the alterations to individual correlation values; likewise, Plutarch's construct preferences appeared to be identical in both sets.[576] However, correlation values increase

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[574] Rosenberg and Jones, 373-376; cf. 172-174 above.

[575] See 213-216 above.

[576] 231-232 above.

or decrease exponentially, meaning that even minute changes have the potential to affect the overall grouping of character constructs. Figures 7 and 8 below compare the PCA grids generated from both sets of data, and demonstrate clearly that there are very few practical differences between the two. The scaled data shows a slightly closer 'pairing' of certain attributes—loyalty and benevolence, disloyalty and cruelty, and dishonesty and egocentricity are the notable examples—but the overall distribution of constructs is near identical to that of the unscaled data. This confirms that the process of scaling did *not* fundamentally alter the information gathered from the *Lives*, and that the scaled dataset can indeed be utilised to determine Plutarch's implicit theory of personality.

Fig. 7: PCA grid for unscaled data extracted from Plutarch's *Lives*
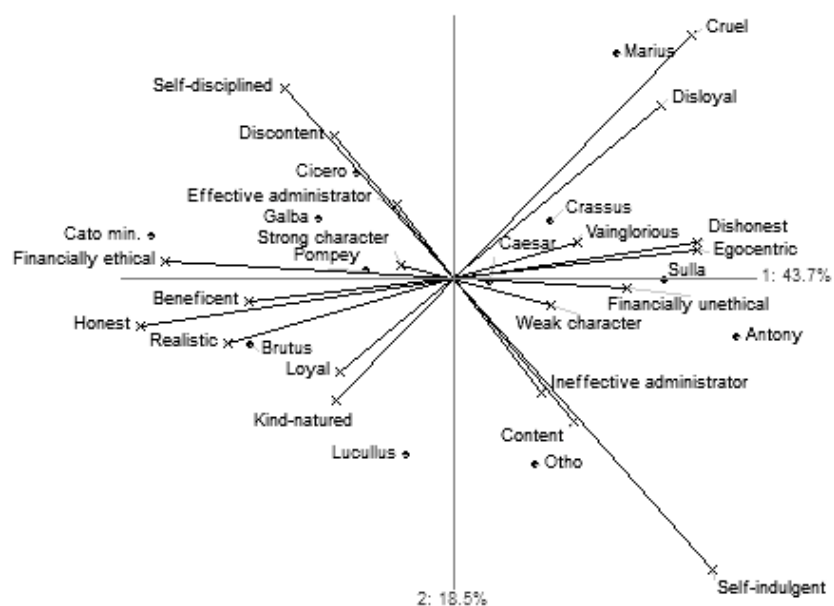
Fig. 8: PCA grid for scaled data extracted from Plutarch's *Lives*

The patterns of correlation in the PCA grids suggest that, like Suetonius, Plutarch probably held to the belief that people were—on a fundamental level—either of 'good' or 'bad' moral character. The positive poles of each character construct tend to cluster together, as do the negative poles, with only one exception. However, the polarisation of attributes here is much less strict than in Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*. A PCA grid generated from the data in Cochran's study reveals the following cluster patterns:
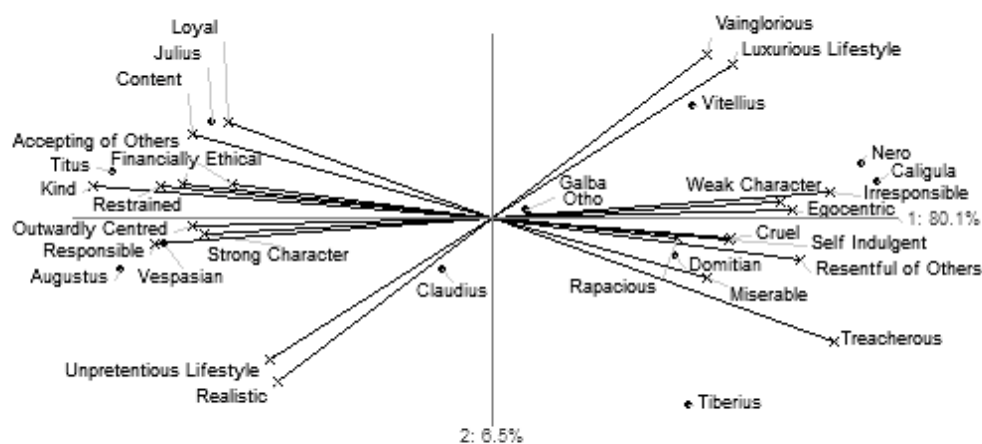
Fig. 9: PCA grid for scaled data extracted from Suetonius' *vitae*

The majority of Suetonian character constructs cluster very tightly, close to both each other and the horizontal axis, which represents the strongest level of correlation. There are two primary clusters; together, these comprise eight of the eleven total character constructs. The first (positive) group clusters to the left side of the grid, and incorporates the constructs relating to responsibility, restraint, benevolence, character strength, fiscal ethics, altruism, and the acceptance of others. The second (negative) group clusters to the right, and incorporates the constructs of irresponsibility, self-indulgence, cruelty, misery, character weakness, rapaciousness, self-interest, and

resentfulness. Such a cluster pattern allows us to confidently predict how Suetonius would have portrayed most facets of an emperor's character using the PCA grid alone. The grids for Plutarch's *Lives*, on the other hand, show a number of small clusters, most of which are comprised of two or three constructs each. Several more constructs stand in isolation, and while a number are close to horizontal axis, they are not equally close to each other. Using the PCA grid, we could reasonably assume that a subject whom Plutarch portrayed as realistic and beneficent would *probably* demonstrate an ethical approach to finance, and might also be depicted as loyal and/or benevolent. Nothing, however, could be said of their relative self-discipline or their outlook on life, and assumptions about their character strength and performance of duties would be tenuous at best.

In isolation, neither the repertory grid nor the principle component analysis grid can provide a definitive template for Plutarch's implicit theory of personality. But as part of an holistic analysis, their value is significant. Used in conjunction with the analysis of correlation frequency and strength, the grids allow us some detailed insights into the shape and flavour of a typical Plutarchan *Life*. Combining this with the findings of a traditional literary analysis provides a very suitable basis for constructing (or reconstructing) the most probable manner in which Plutarch composed the βίος of a specific individual—even when all that is left to us is Plutarch's opinion of a single character attribute.

The application of a combined PCA/repertory analysis can be demonstrated using a practical example from Plutarch's moral essays. Within these are two collections of *Apophthegmata* (*Ap. Lac.* and *Ap. reg.*). Many of the figures found in the sets of *Apophthegmata* are also the subject of a Plutarchan βίος, and in most cases, the structure and content of the

apophthegms are very close to what is found in the corresponding *Life.*[577] It is still open to debate whether the *Apophthegmata* preceded the *Lives*, acting as a draft for these, whether they were prepared later from Plutarchan ὑπομνήματα (a set of preparatory notes suggested to be "a regular stage of composition as a penultimate draft"),[578] or whether they were extracted from Plutarch's corpus by a compiler.[579] Regardless of the manner of composition, the similarity of the apophthegms to the *Lives* enables us to apply the findings from the data analysis to the corresponding passages in this anecdotal collection without alteration. We may consider, by way of demonstration, the example of Marius. Plutarch gives six apophthegms, which testify to Marius' arrogance and desire for power (*Ap. reg.* 202b #1, 202d #5; 202c #3 suggests its opposite, of a rational or realistic mindset), his strength of character (*Ap. reg.* 202b #2, 202c #4, 202d #6), and his effectiveness as

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[577] See especially Pelling (2002a), 69-82; cf. Stadter (2008), 54-55 and n. 11, and (2014), 676.

[578] Pelling (2002a), 66; see also Stadter (2008: 53), who described them as "a well-thought draft combining different kinds of material, including anecdotes". The function of the ὑπομνήματα is attested by Lucian (*Hist. Conscr.* 48), and Plutarch himself confirms that he made such notes (*De tranq. anim.* 464f; cf. Van der Stokt, 2014: 329-330). Both Pelling and Stadter agreed that the *Ap. reg.* was prepared by Plutarch independently of the *Lives*, though their beliefs regarding its composition differed slightly; see especially Pelling (2002a), 79-81; Stadter (2008), 53-4 and (2014a), 674-677 and n. 31.

[579] The suggestion that the *Apophthegmata* were compiled from Plutarch's *Lives* after his death was challenged as early as the nineteenth century; Richard Volkmann cited the differences in anecdotal detail for items that appeared in both works, and the fact that the apophthegms often included additional material, as evidence of Plutarchan authorship (Volkmann, 1869: 227-230). Pelling (2002a: 85), though cautious to commit, felt that the compiler was most likely to be Plutarch; Stadter (2008: 55 and, more emphatically, 2014a: 675) agreed.

both commander and consul (*Ap. reg.* 202c #3 and #4, 202d #6).[580] The table of constructs extracted from the *Life of Marius* includes a rating of 5 (extremely negative) for arrogance, 1 (extremely positive) for effectiveness, and 2 (moderately positive) for character strength.[581] In other words, the qualities in the *Life* mirror those in the *Apophthegmata.* Now, arrogance—as an attribute—contributes to the construct realistic/vainglorious, which in Plutarch's *Lives* has a strong correlation to beneficent/egocentric. This correlation implies that, as Plutarch had characterised Marius as arrogant, he would also have characterised him as egocentric—and indeed, the construct was rated a 4 (moderately negative) using the data extracted from the *Life*. Taking this inferred attribute, we can develop the portrait further: the repertory grid shows that beneficent/egocentric correlates strongly to financially ethical/unethical and honest/dishonest. As Marius was characterised negatively in the foremost construct (i.e., as 'egocentric', or excessively self-serving), the same should hold true for latter two. It is therefore unsurprising to find that Marius received a rating of 4 for financial ethics and 5 for honesty in the initial stages of the analysis. Again, examining

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[580] As Pelling (2002a: 70-74) observed, the exact force of some apophthegms is lost in the typically shorter versions that are given in this series. The corresponding passages in the *Marius* make Plutarch's intentions, and characterisation of Marius, clearer. These are as follows: *Ap. reg.* 202b #1=*Mar.* 3.1, 5.1-2; 202b #2=*Mar.* 6.3; *Ap. reg.* 202c #3=*Mar.* 14.2-5; 202c #4=*Mar.* 18.1-4; 202d #5=*Mar.* 28.1-2; 202d #6=*Mar.* 33.1-3. The negative force of first and fifth apophthegms is intriguing; Pelling (2002a: 82-84) noted a tendency by Plutarch to excise 'discreditable' material from the *Apophthegmata*. Even without the greater context from the *Life*, these are not edifying—though neither, it must be admitted, is the vast majority of the *Marius*. One wonders whether Plutarch was not tempted to exclude these negative illustrations, as he seems to have done for Sulla (*Ap. reg.* 202e. The same occurs, to some extent, with Cicero; cf. Pelling, 2002a: 83).

[581] See Appendix I, 405-406.

the construct of honesty we find strong correlations to beneficence, benevolence, and financial ethics. Plutarch's characterisation of Marius as dishonest thus implies excessive egotism and unethical fiscal policies on his part (both of which are traits that have already been noted), as well as cruelty—which is one of the defining character attributes in the βίος.

We should naturally be cautious when employing inference statistics; although we can be sure that the two– and three-step hypotheses given here were accurate for the *Marius*, they cannot be verified in the case of a missing *Life*. Yet the method seems a viable, and valuable, tool, and one which can be used to aid speculation as to Plutarch's characterisation of at least one 'Caesar'. Fifteen anecdotes concerning Augustus are preserved in the *Apophthegmata regum et imperatorum* (*Ap. reg.* 206f-208a). As they are removed from any wider context, it is often difficult to discern which—if any—character attributes Plutarch intended them to illustrate.[582] Some contain only marginal relevance to Augustus' personal character (e.g. *Ap. reg.* 207c #6, 207e #11).[583] Most, however, seem to be *exempla* for at least one of the character constructs isolated for the repertory grid. 'Kindness', in particular, is a recurring trait: *Ap. reg.* 207b #3 and 207f #13-#14 all speak to Augustus' benevolence or clemency, as do a number of references from the *Lives* (e.g.

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[582] The hypothesis that they were intended for the instruction of the emperor Trajan might give some indication; if this is correct, we should consider that inspirational or cautionary *exempla* would take precedence. Cf. M. Beck (2002), 163-173; Stadter (2014b), 19; 120-122 above.

[583] *Ap. reg.* 207c #6, which documents the yearly present of a φιάλη from Maecenas, could conceivably derive from a passage on self-indulgence. Yet, although there are some attestations of Augustan indulgence (cf. esp. Suet. *Aug*. 70.1-2), Suetonius notes specifically that Augustus was *not* bibulous (Suet. *Aug*. 77)—in which case the item in the *Apophthegmata* may have had no deeper significance.

Ant. 30.3, 68.4, 78.2, 86.4; *Brut.* 53.1-2).[584] It therefore seems a reasonable assumption that Plutarch considered Augustus to be more kind-natured than not—to judge by the extant references, Augustus would perhaps score a 2 in our five-point ratings scale. Examining the grids, we find that the construct of kindness clusters near that of loyalty (Fig. 7), and that it correlates significantly to the constructs of loyalty, honesty, and fiscal ethics (Fig. 3). As loyalty is positively connected to benevolence in both grids, its attestation in Plutarch's *Life of Augustus* is almost certain—and indeed, the apophthegms confirm Augustus' loyalty to friends, family, and allies (e.g. *Ap. reg.* 207b #3, and potentially 207a #1, 207f #13; cf. *Ant.* 16.1, 80.1-3). They also indicate that he possessed strong fiscal ethics (*Ap. reg.* 206f-207a #1; cf. *Ant.* 16.1; *Cic.* 44.6), which suggests that Plutarch would have incorporated this trait into his βίος.[585] If so, an honest Augustus is all but assured for the *Lives of*

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[584] The fourth apophthegm (*Ap. reg.* 207b), which relates the crucifixion of a procurator who had killed and eaten a prize-winning ὄρτυξ, may be intended as a demonstration of Augustan cruelty or hot-headedness (cf. the remark on his behaviour towards Julia's supposed lover, *Ap. reg.* 207d #9, discussed at 334-335 below); there are occasional citations of Octavian acting cruelly in the *Lives* (e.g. Plut. *Ant.* 19.3). However, it could equally function as a positive attestation of Augustus' aversion to aberrant behaviour (cf. Plut. *Per.* 1.1, not attested in the *Apophthegmata*; the key point in both passages is the squandering of a resource).

[585] This episode is also treated in the *Brutus*, where Plutarch's slant is much more negative (*Brut.* 22.3-6). The reason is not hard to discern: Brutus is introduced as dignified and gentle, with a nature predisposed towards τὸ καλός (*Brut.* 1.3). Octavian must be cast as the aggressor for Brutus' actions to retain their veneer of 'nobility' (cf. *Brut.* 1.4, on his involvement in the conspiracy against Caesar, and 122 n. 323 above for Plutarch's tendency to seek out his subjects' most favourable qualities). In the *Antony*, Plutarch can praise Octavian without undermining his characterisation of the *Life's* primary subject—Antony has, by this stage, already been cast in a predominantly negative light.

the Caesars, as honesty correlates strongly to fiscal ethics as well as to a kind nature.

Having established the probable treatment of these four constructs, we can now employ inference statistics to form a number of secondary hypotheses regarding Plutarch's overall characterisation of Augustus. Fiscal ethics correlates most strongly in the repertory grid to the constructs of kindness and public beneficence. The links between benevolence and beneficence are not strong ($r=0.28$), but beneficence correlates strongly to honesty, which *is* linked to a kindly nature. As we have reasonable grounds for assuming the presence of two character traits strongly connected to beneficence in Plutarch's *Augustus*, it is logical to assume that beneficence itself was also included, and that Plutarch portrayed Augustus as more outwardly-centred than self-interested. Again, the *Apophthegmata* confirm the idea: Octavian sold his own property to honour Caesar's bequest to the populace (*Ap. reg.* 207a #1; this detail is absent from what survives in the *Lives*), and considered the proper order and maintenance of the Roman empire to be of greater importance than its expansion (*Ap. reg.* 207d #8).

Two further positive attributes may be inferred using these data: a realistic attitude and the effective government of Rome and her empire. The construct of realism has four significant correlations (loyalty, honesty, fiscal ethics, and beneficence), three of which seem relatively assured as Augustan character traits. The extant references in the *Apophthegmata* do not give much indication that Augustus was 'realistic'; they in fact suggest a stronger tendency towards 'arrogance' (*Ap. reg.* 206f #1, 207a #2) than respect or

humility (*Ap. reg.* 207c #7).[586] It is difficult to know whether Plutarch's Augustus mitigated this youthful flaw with the aid of philosophical education (e.g. Plut. *Brut.* 1.3) or whether it continued throughout his life (e.g. Plut. *Caes.* 7.2, 69.1).[587] Given the primarily positive focus observed thus far, it is tempting to assume that Plutarch ascribed Augustus a balanced, or moderately positive, tendency towards realism. The construct of effectiveness has only two significant correlations (to fiscal ethics and beneficence, the latter of which is itself an inferred attribute), but 'effective' actions are attested in the *Apophthegmata* (*Ap. reg.* 207d #8), again suggesting that it appeared as a positive quality in the *Life of Augustus*.

The correlations within the repertory grids, then, illustrate a number of interesting patterns in Plutarch's general approaches towards the depiction of character. It is these patterns that chiefly guide the application of the grids towards reconstructive tasks, such as the discussion of Plutarch's *Augustus* in the following chapter. It should be noted that there are further correlations to be observed, which can be deemed statistically significant by Pearson's criteria; to do so, however, requires building upon previously inferred information, weakening our confidence in any speculations derived from these correlations. Although *all* reconstructive efforts are inherently speculative, we

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[586] Augustus' claim that he could still learn from Athenodorus *might* have been related with a view to demonstrating his humility and recognition of one superior in wisdom. However, *Ap. reg.* 207e #12 carries the implication that Augustus considered few men to be wiser than himself, so the anecdote at *Ap. reg.* 207c may equally have been intended to provide detail of Augustus' education or—more speculatively—to adduce an example of dishonesty via his broken promise that Athenodorus could return to Tarsus. Cf. 209 n. 514 for the value differences between Plutarch's understanding of 'arrogance' or 'realism' and our own.

[587] Cf. Stadter's remark (1996: 295) that Plutarch uses this passage—and others like it—to "establish major features of the [subject's] ethos".

must take care to ensure that this is not groundless speculation. For some aspects of personality, Plutarch's approach is not easily predicted. Self-discipline or self-indulgence especially do not group closely with other constructs in the PCA grid (self-indulgence in fact lies a long way from any other attribute); their only strong correlation is to contentedness, which did not feature as either a primary or secondary deduction in the brief analysis above. Plutarch's willingness to include contradictory behaviour means that the few extant references to Augustus' self-indulgence found in the *Apophthegmata* may not be representative of his overall opinion. Uncovering this will require a close and detailed examination of specific anecdotes, utilising the data grids, the relevant Plutarchan *Lives* (as well as the *Apophthegmata*), and as many additional sources as are available.

As a final note, we may return to the desire Cochran expressed at the outset of his study, that the repertory grid provide a generally applicable method with which to uncover a biographer's implicit theory of personality. From the studies above, it can be seen that data analysis in general, and Cochran's method in particular, is indeed applicable beyond the confines of his own study. Given a representative sample of texts, the repertory grid affords an excellent basis for identifying a biographer's individual understanding of character, and his approach in portraying this to his readers. For the present examination of Plutarch's βίοι, each stage of the analysis reveals further information as to how Plutarch understood and portrayed ἦθος within his work; it also helps to pinpoint details of his authorial approach that are not immediately apparent during a reading of the text, and which risk remaining unnoticed in a linguistic analysis. Moreover, the grid can be extremely helpful for the purposes of textual reconstruction, despite the inherent problems of analysing a literary form using scientific principles—provided that due caution is exercised. In some cases, adjustments may be necessary to ensure that the numerical data adequately reflect the literature they represent, a limitation

that Cochran himself recognised. Such adjustments need not be seen as a hindrance; rather, the two sets of data can be compared and contrasted, as Plutarch's were here, to provide even more information about the nature of a biographer's method. The repertory grid is at once a supporting tool for the evidence found in a literary analysis and an indicator of factors that may be overlooked in such an approach. Ideally, and particularly for cases of fragmentary or lost works, we should apply the two systems concurrently to achieve maximum insight into both the author's methodology and the construction of their text.

CHAPTER SIX

Reconstructing Plutarch's *Life of Augustus*

Mark Toher, when discussing the now-lost autobiography Augustus composed, noted that the very nature of biographic literature enabled our positive assurance that at least some *topoi* and events were included in this work. Octavian's ancestry, his alliance with Cicero, his roles at Philippi and Actium; all these Toher felt "we could have supposed … were in the autobiography even without the evidence of the fragments".[588] Yet he also noted that attempts to uncover sections of the original work from authors who must have utilised it for their own treatises—namely Plutarch, Suetonius, Appian, and Dio—did a disservice to both those sources and to Augustus' own text: "the method used in trying to identify and retrieve parts of the lost memoirs … inhibits a useful understanding of the extant author and affects our sense of the lost autobiography".[589]

It was previously noted that a successful repertory analysis could be used in conjunction with the typical methods of literary analysis to 'reconstruct' a lost or damaged βίος, particularly one such as Plutarch's *Life of Augustus*.[590] Such an exercise is not at odds with Toher's belief. The purpose

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[588] Toher, 125.

[589] Toher, 126.

[590] See 193-194 above.

of a repertory-based reconstruction is not to recover lengthy passages of material or exact quotations—indeed, this is beyond our capabilities, as Toher himself demonstrated with regard to the Augustan memoirs[591]—but rather to use what the analysis reveals of Plutarch's approach to character as an aid for determining which information he is likely to have included in (or excluded from) his *Augustus*, and how his treatment of singular episodes would have differed from those found in our extant sources. As previously observed, isolating the personality constructs Suetonius and Plutarch most relied upon reveals their implicit theories of personality, and illuminates not only their opinions and judgements of each emperor but how these were subsequently portrayed within their texts. Provided that the extant evidence is utilised carefully, it is no great leap from this data to a partial, or 'skeletal', reconstruction of the *Augustus*. We have already isolated which literary techniques Plutarch typically utilised, and his compositional template is both easily observable and relatively predictable from his surviving βίοι.[592] As well, there is a sound basis for proposing which themes and character traits he deemed the most important for a subject who lived during the late Republican and early Imperial periods.

There are, of course, factors that will complicate attempts at even a basic textual reconstruction. Two are of particular concern in this case: the relevance of a given biographic item—both to the subject of the βίος and to the author and his intentions—and the matter of source availability. Two of the principal sources for the life of Augustus are lengthy historic narratives; the relevant sections in Dio comprise eleven books and in Appian five books.[593] It was noted above that Plutarch's *Life of Augustus* was probably of

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[591] Toher, 125, 136-138.

[592] See Appendix VI: The Arrangement of Content in Plutarch's Late Republican *Lives*.

[593] App. *BC*. 2.20-5.145; Dio 45.1-56.47

similar length as the βίοι from the *Parallel Lives*, on average 10 500 words.[594]

Plutarch himself says on at least two occasions that his *Lives* were written largely in epitome in order that they would bear more directly on the *character* (ἦθος) of each subject (*Alex.* 1.1-2; cf. *Nic.* 1.5). Literary relevance is thus dictated, in part, by the style and form of composition. If a particular item did not concern or impact upon Augustus in a significant way, or if it did not illuminate an aspect of his character for the reader, there is a smaller likelihood of Plutarch having recorded it in the *Life*.[595] On the other hand, relevance is also determined by conscious decisions on the part of the author. If Plutarch did not interpret an item as being 'important' for his portrayal of Augustus' character, he almost certainly chose to exclude it.

The ability to determine how much Plutarch's text was affected by conscious choice is greatly aided by the fact that so many of the *Parallel Lives* have survived. Even if the focal patterns observed in the repertory analysis above are disregarded, a reasonably well-educated guess could be made at what the biographer considered most important to the presentation of character using his explicit moral and programmatic passages. As to source access, Plutarch's statement regarding library resources in the opening of the *Demosthenes* is crucial (*Demosth.* 2.1-2)—research material was hard to come by in regional areas, and Plutarch was probably more limited than other writers of the same period.[596] Additionally, he was removed both culturally and geographically from the immediate sphere of Rome. His contacts there

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[594] See 131 n. 346 above.

[595] Note that a smaller likelihood does not equal no likelihood. We must bear in mind the exceptions to this 'rule', such as the space allotted to Sulla's military success in Greece—due, in that case, to the rich source material Plutarch possessed (Sulla's *commentarii*) and his personal interest in the battlefield at Chaeronea.

[596] There is an element of authorial modesty at play here; very few scholars would call Plutarch's works 'deficient' as he himself does (*Demosth.* 2.2).

will have been of some aid, but we cannot reasonably expect that his *Augustus* showed levels of detail or familiarity with Roman-centric items comparable to those found in Suetonius or Dio, nor should we expect to find the same foci and emphases.[597]

It is impossible to tell exactly whose works Plutarch used for the *Augustus*. The uncertainty regarding his ability to access source material is compounded by the fact that the sources which are now extant are only a very few compared to what was apparently available in antiquity (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.1). However, it is possible to isolate a few key texts, some of which still survive. Plutarch certainly had recourse to Augustus' *de sua vita* and would undoubtedly have used this; not only is Augustus attested explicitly as a source in other *Lives* (e.g. *Ant.* 68.1; *Cic.* 45.6; *Marc.* 30.4), the inclusion of the subject's own opinions appears to have been a typical Plutarchan method (cf. *Caes.* 22.2, 44.8; *Cato mai.* 1.2, 8.1-9.7, 14.3 etc; *Sull.* 4.3, 14.2, 17.1 etc.). If he had access to the *Res Gestae*, we can expect its use too, for the same reasons.[598] Cicero and Livy should be taken as certainties, as should M. Valerius Messala Corvinus. All are cited frequently in the *Lives*,[599] and Cicero especially was a valuable resource for the related *Caesar* and *Antony*.[600] It is highly probable that Nicolaus of Damascus was consulted, as he was not only a near contemporary of Augustus but is an attested source for the *Brutus* (*Brut.* 53.5-7).[601]

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[597] Cf. Toher, 136 on the probable structure and content of Augustus' lost autobiography as compared to the information found in Nicolaus' βίος.

[598] None of the items referencing Augustus as a source (cf. Helmbold and O'Neil, 13) derive from, or attest to, the *Res Gestae*.

[599] See Helmbold and O'Neil, 17-18, 50, and 51 respectively.

[600] On the use of Cicero for the *Caesar*, see Peter (1965), 129, and for the *Antony*, 142-143.

[601] Peter, 137.

Plutarch may also have utilised various epistolary sources as a supplement to the historical and biographical narratives at his disposal, but it is difficult to be certain of the extent to which he relied on these. It has been shown that he probably had first-hand access to Antony's letters; if Augustus' letters were also published, he is likely to have used these as well.[602] However, his relative isolation in Chaeronea may have meant that his access to such sources was restricted. We can propose various methods by which Plutarch might have come by their content—perhaps he took notes directly during his visits to Rome, or received excerpts in letters from his Roman contacts—but we cannot exclude the possibility that these, and the *acta diurna* or *acta senates* that Suetonius was able to draw upon (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 5, 28, 36),[603] contributed only briefly to his research for the *Augustus*.

A final source that should be noted is C. Asinius Pollio. Plutarch was clearly familiar with his work: Pollio is cited directly in both the *Caesar* and the *Pompey* (Plut. *Caes.* 46.2; *Pomp.* 72.3) and was also used for the *Antony* and *Cato minor*.[604] Although Pollio's text does not survive, Plutarch's clear use of his work points to another source which is still extant and may significantly aid reconstructive efforts for the *Life of Augustus*. Pollio is believed to have been one of Appian's primary sources for the *Civil Wars*, a text which shows

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[602] For Antony's letters, see Moles (1992), 246, *contra* Pelling (1979), 88-89; for the potential use of published letters by Augustus, Baldwin (1983), 47-49, 180-181, 192-195; Macé, 118; T. J. Power (2010), 160; Townend (1959), 286 and (1967), 87-88. For the surviving fragments of Augustus' letters, see Malcovati (1928), 6–31; cf. Kelly and Hillard (1976), 92-108. The extent to which these were publicly available is unknown.

[603] Walter Dennison proposed that a section of *Aug.* 58 came, verbatim, from the *acta senates* (Dennison, 1898: 29; cf. Baldwin, 1983: 128 and Wardle, 2014: 395 for agreement).

[604] Plut. *Ant.* 9.1-2; *Cato min.* 53.1-3. Cf. Helmbold and O'Neil, 12.

correspondences to several Plutarchan *Lives*. This similarity could simply be the result of both Plutarch and Appian utilising on Pollio's work.[605] However, recent studies have hypothesised that Appian in fact used Plutarch as a source, and that the parallels between their accounts stemmed not from the common use of Pollio, but from Appian accessing the *Lives* directly.[606] The truth of this is difficult to resolve. Most scholars who have addressed the issue have thus far inclined towards the 'Pollio as common source' thesis; it is worth noting, however, that the cautions regarding Appian's skill as an historian remain equally valid whether his source was Pollio or Plutarch. We cannot, and should not, absolutely exclude the possibility that the *Civil Wars* may offer some insight into Plutarchan material that has not survived to the present day—including, perhaps, sections from the *Life of Augustus.*

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[605] For the suggestion that Appian transcribed Pollio directly, see especially Gabba (1956), 219; cf. Kornemann (1896), *passim* for the idea that Plutarch did the same. For immediate opposition to this thesis, see Warde Fowler (1896), 755-756. A number of scholars have since drawn attention to the fact that Appian, like Plutarch, was quite capable of subtly shaping his sources to suit his literary program; e.g. Bucher (2000), 429-448; Gowing (1990), 160-164, 176-181; Moles (1987), 125, 127-128. Kathryn Welch remains convinced that Pollio was *not* one of Appian's central sources, arguing that Seneca the Elder or Fenestella—both of whom were considerably more hostile towards Antony—are more likely candidates (pers. comm. 17th June 2015; discussed further in *Appian's Rhomaika* [Welch, forthcoming]). Similarities between Appian and Plutarch continue to be remarked upon, e.g. Gowing (1990), 159-160; Moles (1983), 287; L. Morgan (2000), 52, 54 n. 18; Pelling (1979), 84 n. 73 and (2011a), 32-33; Rondholz (2009), 435-438.

[606] See especially Drummond (2013b), 439-440 and (2013c), 470-71; Fehrle (1983), 29-32; Gabba, 255-258; Pelling (2011a), 44. Pelling was cautious of the idea, noting that "Appian (and arguably Cassius Dio as well…) would have to know all six of the relevant *Lives* … and combine material from each of them". Duff, too, has remained sceptical (Duff, 1999: 254 n. 43; cf. Gabba, 226-228).

In the examination above, we observed both how Plutarch personally conceived ἦθος and how this view translated into his written presentations of emperors and statesmen. Keeping the issues raised during this analysis, alongside those relating to his sources, firmly in mind, we can proceed towards constructing a template for his *Life of Augustus*. As previously discussed, a basic framework can be found in the standard arrangement used in other Plutarchan *Lives* and earlier biographical literature.[607] The two surviving βίοι from the *Lives of the Caesars*, the *Galba* and *Otho*, do not conform well to this structure; however, as Stadter demonstrated, these *Lives* together cover only a very brief historical period, and therefore may be atypical of Plutarch's general method.[608] Furthermore, we observed that Plutarch's methodology remained quite constant across the series of *Parallel Lives*, whose composition spanned some twenty-five years. In the absence of strong evidence to the contrary, it therefore seems safer to assume that

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[607] See 53 (Fig. 1) above and Appendix VI: The Arrangement of Content in Plutarch's Late Republican *Lives*.

[608] Stadter (2005), 419-425; cf. Ash (1997), 190. Stadter concluded that it was impossible (and incorrect) to judge the shape of the *Caesars* by *Lives* "written many years afterwards, in different circumstances and for a different purpose. The *Caesars* focus on reigns, not the course of a life from birth to death." His point is fair—yet, as Stadter himself noted, for the majority of the *Caesars* "there were many more incidents to treat … their rise to power and death would have represented a much smaller portion of the text" (Stadter, 2005: 425). The *Life of Augustus* would in any case be anomalous under such a scheme, as there was no clear beginning to his 'reign' during his lifetime; the only dates that can be isolated are August 19, 43 BC, when he first entered the consulship, or April 16, 43 BC, which (according to reconstructions) was registered in the Calendar of Cumae as the day on which *Caesar primum imperator appellatus est*. Neither of these days count as a *dies imperii* in the sense that certain days did for later *principes*.

Plutarch employed the same—or very similar—methods for his *Lives of the Caesars* as he did for the *Parallel Lives*.

Those *Lives* which were deemed suitable comparatives in the analysis above are all composed with a very similar structural pattern. There is a strong tendency towards chronology and the surviving annalistic sources—Velleius Paterculus, Appian, and Dio—are of most use for discerning the historical episodes Plutarch might have included in his *Life of Augustus*. Augustus' own *Res Gestae* is also helpful, as it represents what the emperor himself deemed the most significant of his achievements—a factor which may have greatly influenced the work of a biographer whose primary interest was the link between deed and character. On the other hand, some sections of a Plutarchan βίος follow a more topical pattern, in which Plutarch displaces historical events in order to demonstrate a more general character attribute.[609] It is here that the 'antiquarian' sources, such as Nicolaus and Suetonius, are beneficial. Finally, there is the small collection of Augustan sayings in the *Apophthegmata regum et imperatorum*; given the near identical treatment of each episode in the *Apophthegmata* for which there is a corresponding *Life*, these represent the barest minimum of anecdotes that Plutarch would have included in the *Life of Augustus*.

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[609] On Plutarch's tendency to gloss historical material in favour of character-centric information, see especially—and most recently—Duff (2015), 130 and n. 2; cf. 134-136, 251 above.

The introduction is a crucial section of any text: it is here that the author customarily sets the overall tone of the work, establishes the predominant themes or concepts which will be explored within, and begins to direct the reader's perception and judgement of the subject at hand. Successful accomplishment of the lattermost is of particular significance for biographical works, and as the beginning of both a book and series, the opening passages of Plutarch's *Life of Augustus* will have been of especial concern to their author. Inspection of the surviving *Lives* gives an indication as to how this opening might have been approached.

A Plutarchan biography, as seen in the surviving *Parallel Lives*, is typically introduced in one of two ways: i) with a brief discussion of authorial purpose, usually given in first person and often framed with an historical event or philosophical maxim; or ii) with an immediate account of the subject's lineage, birth, and/or youth, presumably dependent upon how much information was available to Plutarch at the time of composition. Stadter classified these introductions as 'formal' and 'informal proems' respectively, and believed that the latter could be recognised as "serving a proemial function by their use of techniques common to historical proems … confirmed by the fact that similar passages do not usually appear in the second life of a pair".[610] The second *Lives* of each pair in fact contain similar material to those *Lives* with an 'informal' proem that are the first of their pair (typically ancestry, childhood, and inherent tendency to virtue or vice), and Duff recently suggested that the more formal opening was intended to function as an introduction to the published book rather than to a single *Life*—thus, he

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[610] Stadter (1988), 276; against this, Duff (2011), 217-218.

preferred to term it a 'prologue'.[611] This idea seems sound. Stadter had already observed that the formal type of introduction usually mentioned both subjects of the paired biographies by name, and it now well established that the *Lives* were intended to be read in their pairs.[612] The greater part of each *Life*, however, is focussed solely on its subject; comparisons and contrasts tend to be drawn briefly in the opening chapters of the first *Life* and more fully in the closing chapters of the second, suggesting that Plutarch intended each figure to be understood as a whole and separate entity as well as a parallel. Under this rationale, an introduction that names both subjects must be considered as an introduction to the pair—and therefore, as Duff suggested, to the book.

Thirteen of the surviving twenty-two pairs open with a formal prologue. The *Themistocles*, which is believed to have a slightly corrupt opening,[613] may have made a fourteenth. No concrete theory has yet been formulated as to why the remaining eight pairs do not contain a prologue. It is fairly clear that it was not simply a development in Plutarch's style or technique; three of the four *Lives* suggested by Jones to occupy Books II-IV of the parallel series have prologues, and at least two of those definitively placed as late

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[611] Duff (2011), 218 and (2014), 333-334, 343. Duff noted that the material which formed the informal proem was also quite common in first *Lives* with a 'formal' opening, following immediately after those passages (Duff, 2011: 217-218). The openings of second *Lives*, however, almost always give the name of their subject immediately, whereas the subject of a *Life* with an informal proem is sometimes suppressed until later in the clause (e.g. *Ages.* 1.1; *Solon* 1.1) or paragraph (e.g. *Lys.* 1.1; *Philop.* 1.1; *Pyrr.* 1.3). Cf. Duff (2011), 241-242.

[612] See especially Buszard, 185 and n. 1; cf. Duff (1999), 250-251 and (2011), 214; Harrison (1995), 91-104; Tatum (2010), 1-22; Stadter (1975), 77-85 and (1988), 277.

[613] Duff (2011), 218 and (2014), 333; cf. Perrin (1901), 173.

compositions (the *Alcibiades* and *Pyrrhus*, included in Books XVI-XXIII) do not.[614] Nor does the practice seem to have been restricted to *Lives* published in pairs. The *Aratus* includes a named dedicatee in the opening sentence, Polycrates (Plut. *Arat*. 1.1), the use of first person and a statement of authorial intent (*Arat*. 1.3), and reflection on a moral issue moving from the general to the specific (*Arat*. 1.2-4)—all of which are identifying features of the 'formal proem' or 'prologue' only.[615] Stiefenhofer had observed that *Lives* which opened in this manner tended to give comparisons in the proemial sections and contrasts in the *synkriseis*, while those which began in the 'informal' style usually included both comparison and contrast in the final *synkrisis*.[616] Building upon this observation, Duff theorised that the prologue—Stadter's "formal proem"—was one of the final stages before publication, composed after two *Lives* had been paired together; he thus concluded that its presence or absence was determined by the internal structure of the completed first *Life*.[617] Nikolaidis, on the other hand, felt that some *Lives* had been conceived as pairs from the outset, and that their shared proem was intended to elucidate parallels between the two βίοι for the reader, while those with an 'informal' proem were paired later, immediately prior to publication, and therefore lacked a more structured introduction.[618]

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[614] Jones (1966), 68.

[615] Cf. Duff (2011), 219 and 223 n. 51.

[616] Stiefenhofer (1914), 468-474; cf. Duff (2011), 258.

[617] Duff (2011), 218-220 and 240-242.

[618] Nikolaidis (2005), 316-317. Duff's argument is more persuasive. Nikolaidis felt that historically similar *Lives* were prepared simultaneously (2005: 288-290), but that the division into pairs took place "at a later stage … even in cases where Plutarch may have coupled two heroes in his mind right from the start" (2005: 316-317). However, he also believed—like Duff—that this "later stage" was when the prologues and *synkriseis* were added (Nikolaidis, 2005: 317). It seems strange that

If Plutarch opened his *Lives of the Caesars* using the same, or similar, methods to the *Parallel Lives*, we might expect that most of these contained an introduction similar to the 'informal' proem observed above—perhaps comparing or contrasting the life of the preceding emperor with the one whose life he was about to treat.[619] Yet for the *Life of Augustus*, where Plutarch was introducing both a series as a whole as well as one emperor specifically, it seems more probable that he would have employed a formally-styled prologue, similar to those found in the βίοι which opened a pair of *Parallel Lives*.[620] The fact that the *Aratus* employs such an opening strengthens the case for this, as does the structure of the *Galba*. Like the *Aratus*, the early passages of the *Galba* adhere to the typical structure of a formal prologue, comprising two distinct sections. In the first, Plutarch discusses the nature of a soldiery, progressing from general observations to the specific nature of the Roman soldiery in 69 CE (Plut. *Galb.* 1.3, 1.5).[621] Anecdotal evidence (Plut. *Galb.* 1.2, 1.4) and literary authorities (Plut. *Galb.* 1.3) are adduced to support his arguments, and his themes for the forthcoming book—the effects of corruption and unchecked impulse—are

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Plutarch should discriminate between adding or not adding a prologue based on when he conceived of the pair, particularly as the prologue and *synkresis* bind each book into a cohesive unit of moral instruction for his readers (cf. Duff 2011: 215-216, 258; Nikolaidis, 2005: 317). *Lives* that were paired "only as an afterthought" would surely benefit more from an explicit moral statement at their opening than those where the parallels were immediately obvious.

[619] See 129-130 and nn. 343-344 above.

[620] As Duff observes (2014: 334), Plutarchan prologues have several functions. Key amongst these are to establish the purpose of the βίος, to elucidate Plutarch's (and his readers') values, and to capture audience interest. None of these purposes are specific to a set of paired *Lives*; all are applicable for a *Life* which opened a series.

[621] Cf. Duff (2014: 334) on the proems of the *Pericles*, *Demosthenes*, and *Demetrius*.

established without naming any of the three subjects contained therein. These are introduced in the second section, albeit in a slightly more oblique manner than usual (Plut. *Galb.* 2.1-2). Unlike most of the prologues in the *Parallel Lives*, only one subject—Galba—is named explicitly. However, the biographies of Otho and Vitellius are anticipated by the close of the prologue; after noting the death of Galba, Plutarch refers to the self-destructive nature of the Roman soldiery (Plut. *Galb.* 2.3). First person commentary and a statement of authorial intent also feature in this section (Plut. *Galb.* 2.1, 2.3), matching Duff's observations for other *Lives*.[622] The opening of the *Galba* itself begins in the third section, with a non-narrative overview of Galba's ancestry (Plut. *Galb.* 3.1-2), his significant achievements (*Galb.* 3.2), and his nature and character (*Galb.* 3.2-3). Plutarch then moves to his standard chronological narrative technique for the fourth section and beyond.[623]

An additional, minor, clue for the opening of Plutarch's *Augustus* can be gleaned from the Suetonian *vitae*. Suetonius' standard method of opening is to delineate immediately his subject's ancestry and the name of their *gens*, if not the subject himself, is almost always included as one of the first words in the *vita*.[624] In the *Galba*, however, this practice is altered. The notation of

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[622] Cf. Duff (2011), 216-224.

[623] Chronology is briefly interrupted at *Galb.* 12.1-3 and 19.2-20.4, when Plutarch provides background information for Titus Vinius and Otho respectively. In the main, the *Galba* follows the pattern Duff noted for the majority of *Parallel Lives*. The book opens with a prologue, and the biography with a thematic overview; a predominantly chronological narrative follows until Galba's death, where the initial theme of a corrupt soldiery is reinforced immediately prior to a detailed *exitus* scene (*Galba* 24.1-28.3). A non-narrative passage mirroring that from the opening is used to close the *Life* and prepare for the following *Life of Otho*.

[624] The exceptions are the *Galba* and *Vespasian*, discussed here, and the *Caesar*, the opening of which is corrupt and which thus cannot be measured either way.

Galba's family connections, and mention of Galba himself, is delayed until the second section of the biography; Suetonius instead begins with a very basic 'prologue', focussing on the demise of the Julio-Claudian house and the end of their rule. This is one of only two instances where the subject of the *vita* is initially suppressed, and the only occasion where suppression is so lengthy; the second example can be found in the *Vespasian*, where Suetonius delays naming the Flavian *gens* until the end of the first clause (Suet. *Ves*. 1.1). Neither of these opening passages are proemial in the Plutarchan sense, and they do not appear to be acting as an introduction to their respective books— though the passage in the *Vespasian* does contain an anachronistic reference to Domitian's reign (Suet. *Ves.* 1.1). Nevertheless, they are atypical for their author, and suggest that Suetonius, like Plutarch, considered that changes to an established system of government warranted additional and *explicit* authorial commentary. Such patterns of composition would therefore indicate that Plutarch documented the beginning of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in the same way. The inevitability of Roman 'monarchy' is a favoured motif in his late Republican *Lives*.[625] Summary discussion of the benefits and perils of monarchy would not be amiss in a prologue to the *Life* of one who had successfully established himself as the first sole ruler at Rome in almost 500 years.

In addition to the basic form, we are able to deduce a little about the content included in the opening to Plutarch's *Augustus*. A dedication would almost certainly have been incorporated. Stadter observed that the openings of most *Lives* are (unsurprisingly) comparable to those of the moral essays.[626]

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[625] E.g. Plut. *Brut.* 47.7; *Caes.* 28.5-7, 29.5, 57.1, 62.2; *Cato min.* 47.2; *Cic.* 3.3, 20.6; *Pomp.* 55.3, 75.4; cf. Dio 53.19.1 for a similar sentiment. For Plutarch, see Jones (1971), 100–101 and more recently, Stadter (2014b), 23; for Dio, see Reinhold (1986), 214.

[626] Stadter (1988), 275.

Around one-third of those essays which survive in their entirety, and for which Plutarchan authorship is assured, name an addressee in the opening paragraph. [627] Many also contain a short first-person justification for composition, as do the *Lives*, suggesting that this is also likely to have featured. The expected philosophical discourse, if it did not centre on the 'illnesses' of the late Republican government, may have probed the virtues of self-restraint and humility.[628] These were one of Plutarch's primary areas for character evaluation, as demonstrated in the analysis above, and Augustus' reputation for *modestia* (Suet. Aug. 72-73; cf. Nic. *Aug*. 36) would naturally lend his biography to reflections on such a theme.[629] Moreover, an initial discussion of Augustus' modest lifestyle would stand equally well if the first volume of the *Caesars* contained multiple *Lives*; the ensuing *Tiberius* could be used to great effect to showcase the dangers of unhealthy desires and indulgence for Plutarch's readers (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.4). As noted, differences in character tend to be expounded at the close of *Lives* rather than the opening, [630] but the placement of contrasts should no more be seen as concrete than was the placement of comparisons; a brief notation of contrasting character traits between Augustus and his successor could easily

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[627] The original openings of four essays have been lost (*De gloria Atheniensium*, *De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet*, *An vitiositas ad infelicitatem sufficiat*, and *Comparationis Aristophanis et Menandri compendium*); several more are believed to be spurious attributions. On these, see the introductions to the Loeb editions, respectively Babbitt (1936), 493; Cherniss (1957), 2; Helmbold (1939), 361; Fowler (1936), 461.

[628] Cf. Jones (1971)*,* 99–100 for the view Plutarch and his contemporaries shared, that the Republic had seen a general decline of morals and that its last decades especially were a period of disruption and decline.

[629] Wardle (2007), 447 and n. 13, see also 456.

[630] Duff (1999), 251-252 and (2011), 258.

have been incorporated into the early sections of the βίος.[631] The final section of the introduction, where Plutarch moved from the opening of the book and series to the opening of the *Life of Augustus* itself, is likely to have been given in the 'synoptic' style Duff discerned throughout the majority of the *Parallel Lives*.[632] This passage provided a general overview of the subject's character and surveyed the major events of their life, incorporating significant achievements in adulthood as well as ancestry, youth and education, and sometimes appearance. For Augustus, we should expect this section to have included such details as the number and length of his consulships, the honorifics he was granted, and perhaps a short summary of the wars he fought (cf. Aug. *RG*. 4.1-4)—comparable in content, if not scale, to the précis Suetonius includes at the beginning of his *Augustus* (Suet. *Aug*. 1-8.3)*.*

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[631] Compare his statement in the opening of the *Mulierum Virtutes*: Καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρετῆς γυναικείας καὶ ἀνδρείας ὁμοιότητα καὶ διαφορὰν ἄλλοθεν καταμαθεῖν Cμᾶλλον, ἢ βίους βίοις καὶ πράξεσι πράξεις ὥσπερ ἔργα μεγάλης τέχνης παρατιθέντας ἅμα καὶ σκοποῦντας (Plut. *Mul. Virt.* 243b-c, "And actually it is not possible to learn better <u>the similarity and the difference</u> between the virtues of men and of women from any other source than by putting lives beside lives and actions beside actions, like great works of art…"; trans. Babbitt, 1931).

[632] Duff, 224-228.

Documentation of ancestry and birth varies within the _Lives_, though Plutarch appears to have tried for detailed—sometimes even extensive— coverage wherever he could.[633] Twenty-two biographies, exactly half of those still extant, give details of both parents; a further twelve devote significant attention to the subject's father. Parentage is occasionally passed over for details of a more remote ancestor—usually as a means to elucidate some aspect of character, such as Brutus' defence of ἐλευθερία (Plut. _Brut_. 1.1-3)— while a mere six _Lives_ contain either a cursory mention only or no details at all. Some of these omissions are likely due to source availability. Plutarch himself says that he could find no information for Numa that was not disputed (_Numa_ 1.1), and it seems he was also unable to find anything concrete for Phocion (_Phoc._ 4.1). Even the Roman traditions of ancestor worship and the aristocracy's veneration of their illustrious forebears do not ensure the availability of information; such material was not always easy to access (see for example the exertions of Atticus; Nep. _Att_. 18.2–4),[634] and it appears that Plutarch had no recourse to details of the Quinctii to include in the _Flamininus_ (cf. Plut. _Flam._ 1.1-2, which opens directly with Flamininus' appearance and character). In some cases, however, the glossing of parentage seems a deliberate choice; the _Coriolanus_ is phrased in a manner which suggests that Plutarch had more information at his disposal than he chose to include (Plut.

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[633] Extensive, especially by what we can determine of Greek standards, but never exhaustive. None of his works include the level of detail we find in the lengthier Suetonian _vitae_. On the 'typical' attention to ancestry by Greek writers, see 89 above, 267 and n. 636 below.

[634] Nepos notes that Atticus was employed by both the Junii and Marcelli to compose genealogies of their families (Nep. _Att._ 18.3-4). Plutarch does not seem to have had access to the fruits of Atticus' labours—at least insofar as his source citations imply.

Cor. 1.2). Thus, though the acquisition of source material may not have been an issue for the *Life of Augustus*, availability does not guarantee exhaustiveness.

The attention to ancestry and family in the *Lives* used for analysis above is quite short, averaging just 102 Greek words.[635] The *Brutus* is notably longer at 284 words, as are the *Antony* and *Pompey* (159 and 143 words respectively). This may be simple coincidence, or it may be reflective of a Plutarchan interest area. Brutus, Antony, and Pompey's sons, if not Pompey himself, were all connected to Augustus, and were prominent figures in the years following Caesar's assassination—a period which saw first the growth, then solidification, of Octavian's power. Crassus, Cicero, Cato, and Lucullus— all four of whom belonged to a similar contextual period—were most active in the years prior to Caesar's death, and the attention to ancestry in their βίοι is much closer to the average (68, 104, 84, and 121 words respectively). This 'pattern' is not overwhelmingly conclusive, but taken alongside the evidence for Plutarch seeing eras of change as deserving of particular attention, it suggests that the *Augustus*, too, may have included an account of parentage which was longer than average. Nevertheless, no Plutarchan biography contains as much detail on ancestry as the surviving *De vita Caesarum*, and where Suetonius devotes the first five sections (around 520 Latin words) of Augustus' *vita* to his ancestry and birth, we should reasonably expect only around half this information in the Plutarchan *Life*. Suetonius' text is directed by a culturally-specific awareness of ancestry; his opening chapters are reminiscent of the *imagines* displayed in an atrium, recording the deeds of notable Octavii as far back as he could trace them (Suet. *Aug.* 1-2.2). Just as

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[635] The *Caesar* was excluded from this calculation, as its opening is not extant.

this did not feature in Greek funerary practices,[636] so too does it appear to have been largely absent from what survives of their memorial literature. The early encomiasts focussed only on the remote, divine ancestry of their subjects (cf. Isoc. *Evag*. 12-18; Xen. *Ages.* 1.2-3), and the topic is missing entirely from most of the fragments of Classical and Hellenistic βίοι. While we should be extremely cautious of believing that 'what is not there now never was'—an argument which, as discussed earlier, has been employed to debate the existence of Hellenistic biography in its entirety—the poor representation of ancestry in the extant fragments of Greek biographical writing suggests that the standard level of attention to the subject was limited at best. Plutarch's usual method of listing either the family's early beginnings or the subject's immediate family to the exclusion of most other relatives is, as far as can be determined, probably typical of Greek biographic practice.

Augustus' lineage is reasonably well-documented in our extant sources. In addition to Suetonius' extensive treatment of the emperor's ancestry and youth, details of his family can be found in the works of Nicolaus, Velleius Paterculus, Appian and Cassius Dio. Appian's account is brief and simply designates Octavian as the son of Caesar's niece (App. *BC*. 2.143, 3.9). Dio also says comparatively little, providing only Octavian's full name at birth— supposedly Gaius Octavius Caepias—and the names of his parents, before devoting the remainder of his 'introduction' to the various omens that

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[636] McLean (2002), 260-65. Greek epigrams were highly formulaic and rarely recorded personal information beyond the name of the deceased's father (or, if female and married, sometimes the husband). Inclusion of their age or profession was not common until the Roman era.

prophesied his eventual rule (Dio 45.1.1-2.8).[637] Nicolaus and Velleius provide more detail. Nicolaus states that Octavian's father was named Gaius Octavius, a senator whose ancestors were known for their great wealth and benevolence (Nic. *Aug.* 3); Velleius reports the same, adding that Gaius possessed the virtues of *gravitas, sanctitus,* and *innocentia* (Vell. Pat. 2.59.1-2). Both stress his wealth, though Nicolaus implies that this was not as great as it could have been: Gaius is said to have been orphaned and left in the care of guardians who spent the vast majority of his inheritance. In a demonstration of the *gravitas* with which Velleius credits him, Gaius does not exact either retribution or recompense (Nic. *Aug.* 3). Following his death, ca. 59 BCE,[638] Octavian is said to have been raised by his mother Atia and stepfather Philip (Nic. *Aug.* 5; Vell. Pat. 2.59.3; Tac. *Dial.* 28); Nicolaus implies that Octavian's grandmother also had a hand in his upbringing (Nic.

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[637] The name *Caepias* is unattested elsewhere; its origin is unknown and its meaning unclear. Wardle (2014: 102), after Schumacher, suggested that the text be emended to Σκαπτία, the name of Octavian's tribe. Boissevain had earlier found a solution in viewing the name as a corruption of Κοπίας; *Copia* was the name given to the Roman colony at Thurii (Boissevain, 1955 Vol. 2: 141). Bruun also recently connected the term to Copia, and if this is correct, we may see Dio's *Caepias* as an equivalent to the *cognomen* Suetonius records, *Thurinus* (Suet. *Aug.* 7.1; see Bruun, 2003: 80 n. 38). As Boissevain noted, however, Dio should reasonably be expected to have used θούριος or θουρῖνος, as the town continued to be known as Thurii well into the Republican and Imperial periods (cf. App. *BC.* 1.117; Caes. *BC.* 3.21-22). An alternative is to connect the term to the Servilii Caepiones, one of whom was a supporter of Julius Caesar (Suet. *Jul.* 21), though this seems altogether unlikely.

[638] Suetonius reports that Gaius died during Octavian's fourth year (Suet. *Aug.* 8.1), which would place his father's death between October 59 and September 58 BCE.

Aug. 5).[639] Dio records that, upon assuming the *toga virilis*, Octavian lived with Caesar (Dio 45.1.1-2), and Nicolaus includes a fairly lengthy treatment of the developing relationship between the youth and his great-uncle (Nic. *Aug.* 8-20).

It is extremely likely that Plutarch was aware of most, if not all, of these details, though harder to know which elements he chose to incorporate into his *Life of Augustus*. Octavian's parents will certainly have been named, though his father was probably not discussed in any great detail. The sole reference to Gaius Octavius in the *Lives* describes him as "a man of no great prominence" (Plut. *Cic*. 44.5; trans. Perrin, 1919)—a rather dismissive assessment which suggests that Plutarch did not mention his praetorship, proconsulship, or other distinctions elsewhere (cf. Suet. 3.1-2; *CIL* VI, 41023). This may not stem entirely from a lack of interest on Plutarch's behalf; the comparatively brief accounts in Nicolaus and Velleius—both of whom were contemporary to Augustus' lifetime—could indicate that detailed literary sources for Gaius were hard to obtain. Appian, writing shortly after Plutarch, does not name Gaius at all, instead referring to Octavian as the grandson of Julius Caesar's sister (App. *BC*. 2.143). Dio gives little beyond his name. Despite Suetonius' note that 'others' reported the ancestry of the Octavii (Suet. *Aug.* 2.3), none of the surviving sources suggest anywhere near the level of detail he includes in his *vita*. Even Augustus' autobiography is unlikely to have furnished many details of the emperor's biological family (cf. Suet.

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[639] This information is absent from any other source. The same passage also contains a mistake regarding Octavian's age at his grandmother's death (Nicolaus gives nine; the remaining extant sources agree that he was twelve). It is impossible to tell whether the error is Nicolaus' or that of a later scribe, and equally difficult to know whether the inference that Julia helped raise her grandson is factual or a tradition that arose as a result of Octavian's funeral oration. See further Rifner Parker (1946), 29-33.

Aug. 2.3). Augustus is believed to have focussed on his links to Caesar and the divine;[640] judging by what Plutarch says of Octavian in the *Lives*, and his continued insistence that the resumption of monarchy was divinely willed, it is highly likely that he did the same.[641] His references to Octavian's family almost always stress the connection to Caesar (e.g. Plut. *Ant*. 11.2, 16.1; *Brut.* 22.1), and he appears unfamiliar with some of Octavian's closest relations; in one instance, he amalgamates Octavian's elder and younger sisters into a single person (*Ant*. 31.1-2).[642] The error may have originated in Plutarch's ὑπομνήματα: given his inability to easily access source material, it is probable that he drew upon earlier research when composing those sections of the *Antony* that concerned Octavian. If so, it is reasonable to expect that the misreport was included in the *Augustus* also, and furthers the idea that Plutarch's previous attention to the Octavii focussed only on Atia's lineage and Octavian's connection to the Julian gens.[643]

Emphasising the Julian connection in the *Life of Augustus* does not necessarily mean that Plutarch ignored Octavian's birth father completely. Gaius' reputation for dignity and fairness may have been briefly noted as a basis for Augustus' own good character; a similar technique is employed in both the *Crassus* and the *Marius* to emphasise that their modest upbringings

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[640] Carter, 92; Wiseman (2009), 112–113.

[641] The opening of Suetonius' *Galba* suggests that he, too, believed the end of the Julio-Claudian empire had been unavoidably decreed by fate (Suet. *Gal.* 1).

[642] Cf. Pelling (2011a), 202.

[643] It could equally be an isolated error, although this would still imply that Plutarch was not closely familiar with Octavia's parentage at the time of the *Antony*'s composition, and had no access to sources to verify his facts. He seems much more familiar with her descendents at the close of the *Antony* (Plut. *Ant*. 87.1-5), and again, was probably making use of research conducted for his earlier *Lives of the Caesars* at the time this passage was composed.

facilitated the avoidance of extravagance in their later years (Plut. *Crass.* 1.1; *Mar*. 3.1). Likewise, he may have included the anecdote about the general Octavius from Velitrae that appears in Suetonius, if he were aware of it (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 1.1). The proper adherence to ritual and sacrificial practices typically features in the *Lives* as a demonstration of the subject's piety, and as demonstrated above, piety is a significant contributor to one of Plutarch's central character constructs, realism versus vaingloriousness.[644] Octavius' correct observance of pre-battle ritual in this instance could be used to highlight Augustus' own inherent—and inherited—piety (cf. Aug. *RG*. 34.2), in the same way that Brutus' 'noble' role in Caesar's assassination is presented with the comment that even his distant ancestor had opposed tyranny (Plut. *Brut.* 1.4). However, given his usual pattern of discussing either the parents or a remote ancestor, Plutarch probably did not treat any of the third-century Octavii that Suetonius lists. Regarding Octavian's nomenclature, the inclusion of the *cognomen* Caepias is altogether unlikely, as it is not attested by any source other than Dio. If a *cognomen* was included, it is likely to have been given as 'Thurinus'; Suetonius says that Antony used this name as an insult in his letters to Augustus (Suet. *Aug*. 7.1), and Plutarch appears to have had at least some acquaintance with epistolary evidence from this period (*Ant.* 53.2).[645] However, an in-depth discussion of this *cognomen* implies a working knowledge of Gaius Octavius' military activities (cf. Suet. *Aug*. 7.1), which Plutarch's other *Lives* seem to belie.

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[644] See 210-211 above and the references tabled in Appendix I: Personality Data in Plutarch's *Lives*.

[645] Cf. 253 and n. 502 above.

Youth and Education

Insofar as we can determine from the surviving _Parallel Lives_, Plutarch's discussion of Octavian's youth and education may not have been overly lengthy.[646] It probably followed immediately after the section treating his ancestry;[647] such a placement is supported by the arrangement of the Augustan _apophthegmata_. Stadter noted that, contrary to some opinions, the _Apophthegmata_ (both _Regum_ and _Laconica_) are not haphazard or "unliterary".[648] Subjects of the _Apophthegmata regum_ are arranged according to racial groups and geographic subgroups, with each subgroup being further ordered on a chronological basis. Additionally, where an individual features in both the _Lives_ and _Apophthegmata_, the anecdotes in the latter are almost always given in the same order as those from the former.[649] A total of ten Roman figures from the _Lives_, six of whom were isolated as suitable comparisons with Augustus for the repertory grid study, have a parallel treatment in the _Apophthegmata regum._ For all but one case, the _Lucullus_, the first quotation in the _Apophthegmata_ is drawn from the early sections of the corresponding _Life_. There is surely no doubt that the material included in

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[646] Cf. Duff (1999), 228 n.70 and Pelling (1988), 118. Pelling noted that Plutarch was most interested in education when a subject revealed major character flaws; thus, his inattention at _Ant._ 2.4-8 was most likely due to the lack of a satisfactory source (so Pelling, 1988: 118). As the following chapter will demonstrate, Plutarch probably viewed Augustus favourably—and so may not have treated Octavian's education at length. On Plutarch's general interest in childhood and youth, see especially Soares (2014), 373-390, with extensive bibliography.

[647] Cf. Appendix VI: The Arrangement of Content in Plutarch's Late Republican _Lives._

[648] Stadter (2008), 55.

[649] Stadter (2008), 54-55; cf. 239-240 and n. 577 above. This is true of both the _Ap. regum_ and _Laconica_; the notable exception is the _Cato maior_.

the Augustan apophthegms also featured in Plutarch's βίος. The first item recorded under his name belongs to the period following Caesar's assassination, and as there is no good reason to suspect that this collection differed from the pattern found in other sets, it is safe to assume that it represents the beginnings of chronological narrative in the lost *Life*. If so, the only place for a discussion of Octavian's childhood and education that accords with Plutarch's usual method of composition is in the synoptic passage between the prologue and the main narrative, alongside the details of his ancestry and the summary of his career.

Details of Octavian's youth are limited in all surviving sources—with the exception, perhaps, of Nicolaus (cf. esp. Nic. *Aug.* 1-20)—and provide very little scope for determining what Plutarch might have included in his own work. Appian and Velleius are both brief, noting only that he was sent by Caesar to study in Apollonia, so that he might accompany his great-uncle on future campaigns (Vell. Pat. 2.59.4; App. *BC.* 3.9).[650] Dio agrees, and further records that Caesar had ensured Octavian was educated in both Greek and Latin oratorical practice as well as military and political service (Dio 45.2.7-8). Nicolaus details the notable achievements of Octavian's youth and his first steps on the *cursus honorum* (e.g. Nic. *Aug.* 4-5, 7-13), but has little to say as to his formal education (Nic. *Aug.* 6).

Plutarch is certain to have included some of what Nicolaus reports. Octavian's oration at his grandmother's funeral, for example, is virtually assured; not only would it attest to the boy's filial piety and general character (so Nic. *Aug*. 4), it also reinforced his Caesarian connections (cf. Plut. *Caes*. 5.2; Suet. *Aug*. 8.1). Plutarch may also have commented on Atia's careful

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[650] Despite the brevity, however, it is clear that Velleius connected education with character, just as Plutarch did; his first charge against Sextus Pompeius is that he was *studiis rudis, sermone barbarus* (Vell. Pat. 2.73.1).

adherence to traditional methods of instruction and discipline, just as he did when discussing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi (Plut. *TG*. 1.4-5; cf. Nic. *Aug.* 6; Tac. *Dial*. 28). His central focus, however, is more likely have been Octavian's formal education. Plutarch's attention to this topic varies throughout the *Lives* but is always indicative of his overall opinion of the subject's ἦθος. He and Suetonius both judge statesmen who did not receive— or, more importantly, actively pursue—a well-rounded education negatively;[651] a particularly telling example is found in the *Marius*, where Plutarch states that Marius would not have "put the ugliest possible crown upon a most illustrious career" (*Mar*. 2.3; trans Perrin, 1920), had he only deigned to study Greek literature and language.[652] The reverse is equally true: more than one *Life* proves that Plutarch was willing to believe the best of those who committed themselves to the study of higher education, particularly philosophy. While negative deeds are not necessarily overlooked, the character traits associated with them *are* excused. Brutus and the younger Cato are both shown to have shaped their natures by means of philosophic training (Plut. *Brut.* 1.2-3; *Cato min*. 4.1-2) and thus, for Plutarch, neither man could have acted with ignoble purpose. Cato's stubbornness is mitigated by reference to his obedience, and his arrogance phrased as a desire to learn (*Cato min.* 1.4-5); the 'blame' for Caesar's assassination in the *Brutus* is consigned to Cassius alone (*Brut*. 1.4). Plutarch's treatment of Octavian's education is likely to have been composed in the same way,

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[651] See 161 and n. 432 above, and Appendix 4: Suetonius' Attitudes Toward Formal Education.

[652] Given the immediate context of the passage, Plutarch presumably has philosophical literature in mind. His censure is therefore hardly surprising. Buszard (190-192, 196-197, 206-210) noted the presence of similar ideas throughout the *Marius*' pair, the *Life of Pyrrhus*, as well as the *Alexander-Caesar* pair. See also Geiger (2014), 297-298; Pelling (2002d), 340-342; Swain (1990), 126–145.

cementing his basic judgements of the emperor in the minds of his readers as preparation for the later anecdotes that would 'prove', one way or the other, the extent of Augustus' ἠθικὴ ἀρετή.

The most useful work for ascertaining what content Plutarch might (or might not) have included regarding Augustus' formal education is the Suetonian *vita*, which devotes several passages to this topic. Speculation as to how he might have shaped each detail is reasonably straightforward if examples from other *Lives* and the results from the data analysis are used as a guideline. The character traits Plutarch typically emphasises in his discussion of education contribute primarily to those constructs which were designated as hyper-salient or strongly salient in the analysis above. Lucullus' education in philosophy, for example, leads to his acceptance that ambition must have limitations (*Luc.* 1.4; realism); Crassus employs his training in rhetoric for the benefit of friends and strangers alike (*Crass.* 3.2; benevolence or 'kindness').[653] Antony studies an inferior style of rhetoric that Plutarch describes as κομπώδης and φρυαγματίας, exactly like his lifestyle (*Ant.* 2.5; arrogance) and Caesar's pursuit of military glory to the detriment of his career in oratory—the field for which he apparently had the most natural aptitude— not only prevents him from fulfilling his true potential but precipitates his assumption of the ἡγεμονία (*Caes.* 3.2-3; vaingloriousness), the act which culminates in his assassination.

Suetonius tells us that Octavian studied oratory and *studia liberalia* from a young age, taking care to maintain his education even while on the battlefield (Suet. *Aug.* 84). Unlike Marius, he had the benefit of a Greek, as

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[653] The allowance in Plutarch's understanding of character for contradictory facets of behaviour can again be observed here; although he attests to Crassus' benevolence, he raises questions as to the extent of his fiscal generosity—particularly towards his teacher, Alexander (Plut. *Crass.* 3.3-4).

well as Latin, curriculum; his tutor had been Apollodorus of Pergamum, who accompanied him to Apollonia in the mid-40's BCE (Suet. *Aug.* 89.1; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.59.4; Dio 45.2.8). Moreover, he himself recognised the importance of philosophical study: he composed a treatise on the subject (Suet. *Aug.* 85); cultivated a close friendship with the philosopher Areius (Suet. *Aug.* 89.1; cf. Plut. *Ant.* 80; *Ap. reg.* 207b #3; Dio 51.16.4, 52.36.4); and actively sought out Greek and Latin *exempla* that would benefit his household and the populace at large (Suet. *Aug*. 89.2). Strabo and Dio add that he employed the Stoic Athenodorus and the Peripatetic Xenarchus as tutors in his adulthood (Strabo 14.5.4; Dio 56.43.2). It is a reasonable expectation that most of these items were included in the early sections of Plutarch's *Augustus*. His discussion of a subject's education was designed to reflect signal virtues or vices within their character, and Octavian's philosophic interests would certainly have been noted, as would his study of Greek literature—the importance of these pursuits to Plutarch is clearly evident from statements in the *Marius* and *Brutus*.[654] Furthermore, Plutarch could use the topic as a segue into a number of the details reported by other sources. His standard ταῦτα μὲν οὖν construction (e.g. *Alc.* 7.4; *Caes*. 4.9; *Lyc.* 7.3) could easily have been employed while documenting Augustus' early lessons in Greek philosophy to remark upon his later use of Greek and Latin *exempla*, thus providing evidence of his benevolence, beneficence, and overall ἠθικὴ ἀρετή

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[654] Cf. Swain (1990), 131-136. In the *Marius*, Plutarch uses his discussion of education to highlight Marius' excessive ambition and greed (Plut. *Mar.* 2.3), while in the *Brutus*, it showcases Brutus' overall proclivity towards virtue, but in particular, his mild temperament and sensible levels of ambition (*Brut.* 1.2-3).

(cf. *Brutus* 2.1-8).[655] The note that Octavian maintained his studies even whilst on campaign is another probable inclusion, as it attests to his dedication and desire to further his own knowledge (cf. *Ap. reg.* 207c #7)—both indications of a strong personal character. There may also have been some mention of Areius, to provide readers with context for the later anecdotes in which he was involved.[656] As to Athenodorus, there is no doubt that Plutarch was aware of him (Plut. *Ap. reg.* 207c #7), but a detailed discussion of his association with the emperor is more likely to have appeared in later sections of the βίος. The proximity of the relevant apophthegm to others concerning Augustus' management of the Empire (e.g. *Ap. reg.* 207b #3, 207d #8) suggests that the anecdote featuring Athenodorus must belong to Augustus' adulthood. Dio's sole reference to Athenodorus is anachronistic, but strongly implies that Augustus was already in a position of power: Athenodorus enters Augustus' room hidden in a litter, as a lesson in preventing assassination (Dio 56.43.1-2)—hardly an occurrence we should place in a military setting, but quite apropos to a later date, after the conclusion of the war with Antony and Octavian's accession to the principate. The connection between Augustus and Xenarchus may not have been

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[655] Augustus' reputation for clemency is mentioned several times by Plutarch, notably at *Cic.* 49.5-6; see also *Ap. reg.* 207b #3, 207d-e #9, 207f #13. For attention to the topic by other writers, see e.g. Vell. Pat. 2.71.1, 2.74.3-4, 2.85.4, 2.86.1-2, 2.87.2, 2.100.4; Suet. *Aug.* 51.1-3, 67.1; Dio 47.7.3. For his cruelty, particularly during the triumviral period, see especially Suet. *Aug.* 27.3-4; Dio 47.3-7.

[656] Areius' first appearance in the *Apophthegmata regum*, at the fall of Alexandria in 30 BCE, seems to presuppose the reader's knowledge of his identity and relationship to Augustus (*Ap. reg.* 207b #3). Dio's discussion of the same event implies, as might have been expected, that the friendship between the two men existed prior to the battle (Dio 51.16.4). For Areius, see Beness and Hillard (forthcoming); Bowersock (1965), 33-34, 39-41; Millar (1977), 85; Saller (1982), 64 and n. 136.

mentioned at all; it is recorded only by Strabo, who had himself been a student of the Peripatetic. Our final item, Octavian's studies in Apollonia, was possibly suppressed until further into the *Life.* Plutarch's chronological narrative almost certainly began with Octavian's return to Rome from Apollonia in 44 BCE (Plut. *Ant*. 16.1; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.59.4-6; App. *BC.* 3.9; Dio 45.3.1), and this would be a far more appropriate place to note the reason for his absence.

Physical Appearance

Plutarch's attention to Octavian's physical appearance is by no means guaranteed. As discussed above, appearance may not have been a 'required' element in Greek biographical practice, and Plutarch himself does not often remark upon physicality. When he does, it tends to have a physiognomic aspect: the 'terrible' gleam of Sulla's eyes accords with the overall portrayal of his character (Plut. *Sull*. 2.1); Marius' statue reveal his harsh and bitter nature (*Mar*. 2.1); and aside from his abnormally large head, Pericles' appearance is devoid of flaws—a quality that is later attributed to the man himself (*Per.* 3.2; cf. *Per.* 39.1-2, where Plutarch summarises his life and character).[657] Thus, if Plutarch did include details of Octavian's appearance, it was almost certainly used to a similar end, evidencing aspects of the young man's ἦθος.[658] The most likely item for him to have described explicitly would be Augustus' eyes, famous in antiquity for their intensity (e.g. Plin. *NH.* 11.37; Suet. *Aug.* 79.2).[659] Its inclusion by Plutarch is not guaranteed; if his βίος did indeed focus on Octavian's humility and modesty, he may have

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[657] See also 85-87, esp. 86 n. 232 above.

[658] Cf. Duff (1997), 172-173.

[659] Cf. Wardle (2014), 472-473; Wiseman (2009), 119.

chosen not to explicitly describe his eyes, in order better preserve these positive characteristics. [660] However, there was a particular tendency for Plutarch to incorporate details his subjects themselves had remarked upon. Wiseman noted that Sulla and Augustus both knew "that their divinely favoured status was reflected in their appearance. For Sulla, it was his golden hair; for Augustus, his eyes".[661] Plutarch duly records Sulla's own emphasis of his hair colour (Plut. *Sull*. 6.7); as we know he made use of Augustus' memoirs, we must allow for the very real possibility that a description in the *Life of Augustus* followed that given by the emperor himself.[662]

As Georgiadou observed, Plutarch's *Lives* rarely include exact descriptions of their subject's physical appearance unless he is noting some defect;[663] as such, a description of Octavian is more likely to have been given in the abstract, focusing on the 'ideal' elements of his appearance. An anecdote in Nicolaus' *Life of Augustus* suggests a possible way in which this might have been undertaken. Nicolaus states that Octavian's εὐπρέπεια drove many women mad with passion,[664] and that as a result, Atia took measures to ensure that he was 'protected' from them (Nic. *Aug.* 12)[665] The inclusion of

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[660] Cf. Wardle (2014), 473: "[The] general view finds a specific manifestation in Aug.'s desire to overpower those who looked at him."

[661] Wardle (2009), 114.

[662] Note, too, Wardle's warning not to overemphasise the 'negative' aspects found in Suetonius' description of Augustus' eyes: "For the Latin physiognomist (Anon. Phys. 24) shining, clear, grey eyes were the finest, indicating a lively character (*ingenium animosum*); for Pseudo-Aristotle (*Phys.* 807b), courage" (Wardle, 2014: 473).

[663] Georgiadou (1992), 4617-4620.

[664] The verb is ἐκμαίνω, a word typically employed to mean irrational desire or sexual longing (e.g. Eur. *Bacc.* 36, *Hipp.* 1229; Hdt. 3.32-33; Soph. *Trach.* 1142; cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἐκμαίνω). Bellemore's translation, 'disturbed', mutes the impact somewhat.

[665] Cf. Nic. *Aug*. 9-13 on Octavian's general appearance.

this anecdote would allow Plutarch to discuss both Octavian's appearance and his upstanding character simultaneously; further, it would provide an opportunity to note other examples of Octavian's sexual restraint—a quality which he himself cultivated, rather than had enforced upon him (cf. Nic. *Aug.* 36).[666] Plutarch could then segue into a discussion of Octavian's more general tendency towards self-discipline and humility. A similar construction can be observed in Suetonius' *Augustus*, where the text moves from isolated examples of sexual indecency to Augustus' typical (and life-long) *castitas*, his reputation for temperance, and his modest manner of living (Suet. *Aug.* 68-73).[667]

If Plutarch did include Octavian's physical appearance within the *Augustus*, it is most likely to have been noted in its early sections. The placement of details regarding physicality varies little within Plutarch's βίοι; in almost every instance where the subject's appearance (or part thereof) is recorded, it is given amongst the opening chapters of the *Life*. The *Antony*,

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[666] As Bellemore (90) noted, Octavian did indulge his sexual appetites at other times (cf. esp. Suet. *Aug.* 68). His year's abstention from sexual activity is presumably all the more remarkable because of this fact. It is, of course, impossible to know whether Plutarch reported these indulgences, though his acceptance of contradictory character traits suggests that he might have. This need not have interfered with a generally positive βίος; the *Lucullus* and *Brutus* both demonstrate how easily Plutarch could gloss or excuse negative behaviours within his subjects. Octavian's youthful affairs could well have been remarked upon, then followed with the more edifying anecdote found in Nicolaus.

[667] Had he wished to, Plutarch could also have linked this anecdote to Octavian's overall character strength. Bellemore (90) noted that "[t]he effective orator was a good man and a man of temperance". Octavian's voluntary steps towards vocal preservation reveal both his dedication to his political career and his willingness to better himself. On Octavian's weak voice, see Suet. *Aug.* 84.2; on oratory forming a part of his education, see Dio 45.1.7-8; Suet. *Aug.* 84.1-2.

Pericles, *Pompey*, and *Sulla* place it after the documentation of lineage and youth, while the *Marius* gives it immediately before these sections (as does the *Flamininus*, though there is no attention to parentage in this *Life*). The *Themistocles* is a notable exception; here Plutarch inserts a reference to his appearance mid-way through the narrative (*Them.* 22.2). However, this is not simply for the sake of recording physical details, but rather that Themistocles' appearance is directly relevant to the topic Plutarch is discussing at that juncture.

<u>*Omens and Portents*</u>

The manifestation and interpretation of omens or divine portents was of pivotal importance in the ancient world, and particularly so at Rome.[668] Plutarch's documentation of omens in his Roman *Lives* varies; in some instances they are recorded quite briefly (e.g. Plut. *Cic*. 2.1), while in others they are expanded into a lengthier narrative (e.g. *Caes.* 47.1-6). In some βίοι, the *Galba* and *Otho* among them, portents are omitted from the text entirely, which prompts the question—did the same occur in the *Life of Augustus*? On the whole, this seems extremely unlikely. The suppression of omens in the *Galba* and *Otho* is not due to Plutarch's lack of interest in the topic, but rather to his literary theme, established in the opening passages of the *Galba*. These *Lives* are to revolve around the ill-disciplined and licentious soldiery, and the problems such a body could cause its city (Plut. *Galb.* 1.5).[669] The majority of

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[668] See, for example, MacBain (1982); Rasmussen (2003); Rosenberger (1998). With the consolidation of the imperial regimes, omens and portent—particularly those relating to births and/or presages of future greatness—took on a renewed importance. See especially Galinsky (2011), 71–82; Ripat (2006), 155-157, with bibliography at 155 n. 1.

[669] Cf. Ash (1997), 191-214; Blois (2008a), 4598-4599; 125-126 above.

omens Suetonius includes in his *vita* of Galba point to the fact that the demise of the Julio-Claudian dynasty—and Galba's subsequent rule and assassination—were predestined (Suet. *Gal.* 4.1-2; cf. Tac. *Hist*. 1.3). Such items could in no way further Plutarch's theme; on the contrary, acknowledging these signs would effectively shift a reader's focus from the soldiery to the gods, for the provenance of omens lay with them (so Plut. *Cic.* 14.4; Dio 47.40.1). As this would undermine Plutarch's presentation that widespread moral decline was the fundamental cause of the war in 68-69 CE, exclusion was a necessity. There is no reason for such an omission to have occurred in the *Life of Augustus*. Plutarch's Late Republican *Lives* develop the idea that the gods had decreed Rome must submit once more to a monarchical system of government (e.g. *Brut.* 47.7; *Caes.* 28.6; *Pomp.* 75.4). Omens prophesying the 'future greatness' of Augustus are thus an expected inclusion; they may even have been emphasised, to show that his rule had divine sanction.

The omens which Plutarch typically reports in the *Lives* can be grouped into four broad categories: astronomical or meteorological, floral or faunal, ritualistic, and oneiric. Certain events tend to be more strongly associated with one specific category—weather phenomena, for instance, generally precede civic unrest or great battles (e.g. Plut. *Pomp.* 68.3; *Rom.* 9.5; *Sulla* 7.2-3)—although there is a high degree of overlap. Impending death is often heralded by an unlucky omen during sacrifice (e.g. *Alex.* 73.4, 6; *Brut.* 12.8; *Caes.* 63.4; *TG.* 17.1), but Caesar's assassination is also foreshadowed by dreams, lights in the sky, and strange noises (*Caes.* 63.1-2), while Brutus' death is prophesied directly to him by a δαίμων (*Caes.* 69.7). Victory in battle is variously signalled by augury (*Brut.* 48.4), botanical omens (*Brut.* 48.2; *Caes.* 47.2; *Luc.* 36.3), or dreams (*Caes.* 42.1; *Demetr.* 29.1). Thus, while Plutarch's acknowledgement and incorporation of portents in the *Life of Augustus* is all but guaranteed, determining the nature and placement of

these is rather more difficult. The repertory grid is, unfortunately, not of especial use for predicting Plutarch's attention to omens, as they are generally not intended to illustrate a facet of personal character. However, enough alternate sources exist that an estimate can be made using the traditional methods of literary analysis—though in some cases, with a lesser degree of surety than those areas of the biography treated heretofore.

The most extensive narrations of omens relating to Augustus are given by Suetonius and Dio. There are three main focal areas in both texts: omens that heralded the 'future greatness' of Octavian, omens that preceded his success in warfare, and omens that foretold his death. Suetonius groups these thematically, as expected, though a substantial portion of this section is arranged chronologically, beginning with portents seen by others before Octavian's birth and ending with those he witnessed himself in the final hundred days of his life (Suet. *Aug*. 94.1-97.3). Dio also presents omens in a chronological manner, incorporating them into his text wherever they are relevant (e.g. Dio 43.41.2-3, 45.17.1-9, 46.3.4-5, 46.46.1, 47.1.1-47.2.3), and his work is of particular interest when developing a framework for Plutarch's discussion of this topic. Not only is Dio's methodology regarding omens similar to Plutarch's general approach throughout the *Lives*,[670] his treatment of Augustus has been noted to be as 'biographical' as it is 'historical', with several scholars highlighting his use of "subsidiary sources"

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[670] On Dio's interest in omens and belief in the supernatural, see Millar (1964), 77; Reinhold (1988), 3, 27, 37; Swan (2004), 9, 273–274, and 300–301. On the nature of Dio's Augustan sources, see especially Andersen (1938), 9-48; Millar (1964), 87-100; Manuwald, 105-119; Swan (1987), 272-273 and (2004), 21-23.

for Books 51-56. [671] The use of Suetonius' *Augustus* requires a more considered approach. As Baldwin noted, the Suetonian *vitae* rarely take the same direction as Plutarch's *Lives* and in some cases Suetonius gives quite obscure information—perhaps intended as a "studied rebuke" to the *Lives of the Caesars*.[672] However, a comparison of Suetonius' text with Dio's can be used to gain insight into which omens Plutarch *might* have recorded. Items that do not appear outside Suetonius' narrative may be information he obtained from minor sources, or channels not available to Plutarch and other writers. On the other hand, areas of overlap between Suetonius and Dio are likely to preserve widely known traditions, and should thus give an indication of which omens Plutarch incorporated into the *Life of Augustus*—particularly if they recur again in other accounts.

Suetonius begins his discussion of omens with an archaic account of a lightning strike at Velitrae, which was interpreted to mean that a Velitraean would one day rule the Roman populace (Suet. *Aug.* 94.2),[673] and the rather drastic proposal recorded by Julius Marathus that the senate had planned to

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[671] Millar (1964), 88. On the biographical aspects of his text, see especially Pelling (1997a), 117-125. The labelling of Dio's *History* as 'semi-biographical' again highlights the tendency to view these two forms as distinct from one another, and warns of the potential dangers in doing so. Unlike Plutarch, Dio never denies that he is writing annalistic history. Suggestions that his historical source was 'thin' and that the biographical sections were padding (e.g. Manuwald, 276-277; Millar, 1964: 100) have been convincingly refuted; see especially Swan (1987: 272-273, 277-281). Rather than take issue with Dio's source material, we should accept the more obvious solution: that ἱστορία in the second century still shared many structural and thematic elements with βίοι, both of which writers could exploit to a degree of their own choosing.

[672] Baldwin (1983), 87; see 156 and n. 414 above.

[673] On the positive interpretation of a lightning strike, cf. Wardle (2009), 510.

kill all the male children born in the year of Augustus' birth, as they had witnessed a sign that "nature was pregnant with a king for the Roman people" (Suet. *Aug*. 94.3; trans. Rolfe, 1998).[674] Neither item appears in any of the alternate sources, and although their inclusion by Plutarch is beyond conjecture, both seem equally doubtful. Plutarch's access to Marathus is by no means guaranteed; he is described by Suetonius as a freedman and Augustus' *a memoria*, 'record keeper'.[675] Unlike Augustus' letters, which were theorised to have been published and thus accessible by those outside the Imperial circle, access to such personal records as these must have been limited, and was possibly a direct benefit of Suetonius' position as *ab epistulis*.[676] Further, the disinclination by Greek authors to record the exact physical appearance of their subject may have meant that details of Augustus' height were not of interest to Plutarch—a scenario that could equally explain Dio's omission of

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[674] Wardle (2009: 511) notes that the report must be fictional, as the Senate were unable to legally override the rights of the *pater familias*.

[675] The existence of a post *a memoria* is uncertain. It is not mentioned in Millar's extensive review of Imperial postings available to freedmen (Millar, 1977: 69-83), though epigraphic evidence attests to it alongside other recognised postings (e.g. *CIL* 06, 01596; *CIL* 06, 08618; *CIL* 06, 41118; *CIL* 10, 01727; cf. Adams, 195). Understanding the sense of the passage in Suetonius is made more difficult by variance in the manuscript tradition. Müller read *etiam memor* for *et a memoria*, and proposed that Marathus was not a record keeper but a biographer who had "still" misreported Augustus' height—at which Suetonius was here expressing his surprise (G. Müller, 1981: 361-362).

[676] If Müller was correct in seeing Marathus as a biographer, there is an increased likelihood that Plutarch knew of his work and the senate's decree—though not by a great deal. The decision to commit mass infanticide was never filed on public record (Suet. *Aug*. 94.3; cf. Wardle, 2014: 518-519) and Plutarch's relative isolation may have prevented him accessing the biography (Marathus is never directly cited; cf. Helmbold and O'Neil, 49-51).

the item, despite the otherwise strong similarities between the opening passages of Book 45 and Suetonius' text. More likely, however, is that Plutarch (and Dio) simply did not know of, or have access to, Marathus' work. As to the portent from Velitrae, there is little in other *Lives* to indicate that Plutarch would look so far back for signs of Augustan 'greatness'. The items he includes tend to begin in the earliest years of the subject's life, or immediately prior to them. Even in the *Life of Alexander*, where he devotes a substantial amount of attention to divine signs, Plutarch tells us of nothing earlier than the omens Philip received at Alexander's conception (Plut. *Alex.* 2.3).[677]

Dio's first omen relating to Augustus is given in Book 43, as he nears the end of his Caesarian narrative (Dio 43.41.1-3; cf. Plut. *Caes.* 47.1; Suet. *Aug.* 94.11). He then begins his introduction of Augustus proper with those omens that indicated the emperor's great destiny: his mother's declaration that he was begotten by Apollo, in the guise of a serpent; symbolic dreams had by Atia and Gaius Octavius that linked their child to the gods; a prophetic utterance by Publius Nigidius Figulus that the boy would be δεσπότην ἡμῖν (Dio 45.1.2-5). All four items also appear in Suetonius, and for all but the lattermost, there is a strong likelihood that they featured in Plutarch's *Augustus*. Suetonius attributes Atia's proclamation that Apollo impregnated her to Asclepias of Mendes' *Theologumena* (*Aug.* 94.4), a book that Plutarch might have conceivably studied for any number of his treatises, assuming it were available for his consultation.[678] Moreover, the tale bears a striking

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[677] On the attention to omens in the *Alexander*, see e.g. Bosman (2011), 98-104; Hamilton, 3-4; King (2013), 84-100; McKechnie (2009), 206-226.

[678] Plutarch does not cite the work (cf. Helmbold and O'Neil, 12), nor does any writer other than Suetonius, which had led to its existence being questioned. Robert Gurval explained the omen as Julian propaganda, designed to promote Caesar's "future heir" (Gurval, 1998: 100). This may be correct—Dio refers to the Apollo

significance to two omens included in the early sections of the *Alexander* (Plut. *Alex.* 2.3, 2.6).[679] Plutarch was clearly willing to connect these two men: Alexander features in the Augustan *apophthegmata* in a passage that seems designed to contrast Augustus' management of the Roman empire with Alexander's management of the Mediterranean (*Ap. reg.* 207d #8). Given that the close familial ties between Octavian and Julius Caesar, Alexander's comparison, are also promoted in the *Apophthegmata*, Plutarch may well have chosen to exploit the similarities in this instance. The notice that follows, of two dreams Octavian's parents had, is near identical in both Suetonius and Dio, suggesting that these were either very common knowledge or derived from a common source—perhaps Asclepias again. Plutarch's attention to dreams is paid in accordance with the status of the dreamer: royalty, religious officials and military commanders are given the highest consideration.[680] As a member of the senatorial class, Gaius' dream may well have been deemed

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omen immediately after acknowledging Caesar's intention to designate Octavian as his successor (Dio 45.1.2). However, this does not preclude Asclepias from having related the story, nor should it call the existence of the *Theologoumena* into question; many ancient texts, including a number of Plutarch's own, are known to us only by a single reference. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that Suetonius should name his source *and* the title of the work, facts which could be checked by his readers, when the majority of his sources are unnamed and referred to only with non-committal phrases (e.g. *Aug.* 15.1, *scribunt …* and *exstiterunt …*; *Aug.* 88.1 *legato …*; *Aug.* 90 *accepimus…*). Further on Asclepias, see Schwartz, *RE* 2 s.v. Asclepiades 26, col. 1627.

[679] Daniel Ogden discussed (and rejected) the idea that the tradition of 'serpent-siring' originated with Octavian and was only later attributed to Alexander (Ogden, 2009: 32-43).

[680] King, 81-82.

important enough to include in the *Life of Augustus*; as Caesar's sister and the mother of the future emperor, Atia's is sure to have been.[681]

Neither version of the final item, Nigidius' prophecy, seems suitable for inclusion in Plutarch's βίος. Suetonius' report is clearly thematic, and due to Nigidius' association with Gaius Octavius; his *vita* continues with a list of the omens seen by Gaius during his campaigns in Thrace (Suet. *Aug.* 94.5-6). Plutarch tends to stress Octavian's connections to the Julii rather than the Octavii, as Augustus himself did. Reinforcing Octavian's true paternity so early in his βίος would weaken the links between Octavian and Caesar.[682] Dio's version of the same omen is unsuitable due to its ending: having heard Nigidius' words, Dio states that Gaius contemplated filicide, only to be prevented by the additional 'prophecy' that it was impossible for his child to suffer such a fate (Dio 45.1.5). As demonstrated above, Gaius Octavius was most useful to Plutarch as a literary device, reinforcing Octavian's natural predisposition to virtue. Relating the omen as it appears in Dio could not aid this portrait. Furthermore, Suetonius sets the omen in the context of the Senate's meeting to discuss the Catilinarian conspiracy (Suet. *Aug*. 94.5); Dio does not appear to have known of this fact (Dio 45.1.5).[683] Now, Plutarch's

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[681] The likelihood of inclusion is even greater if Augustus himself included these items in his memoirs—which is a distinct possibility. See especially Wiseman (2009), 119.

[682] Omens that occur prior to the subject's birth are usually related in the opening sections of a *Life* (e.g. Plut. *Alex*. 2.3; *Cic*. 2.1-2, *Rom*. 2.4-5); if Plutarch did include the report by Nigidius, this is almost certainly where it would have appeared.

[683] Or chose not to record it. However, Dio's introduction of Nigidius as a gifted astrologer who had incurred the charge of τινας ἀπορρήτους διατριβὰς ποιούμενος (Dio 45.1.4) suggests that he found the omen in a treatise on divination or seers, rather than amongst his research on Catiline. For a brief discussion and further references on Nigidius—and his interest in the gods, divination, dreams, and astrology—see Beard, North and Price (1998), 1, 152–54.

most comprehensive account of Catiline is given in the *Cicero* (Plut. *Cic.* 12.1-19.5); as Pelling noted, the bulk of this mirrors Dio's treatment of the subject very closely (Dio 37.25.1-36.2).[684] Both accounts are thought to have derived from Cicero's own περὶ ὑπατείας, a work which would have had no reason to include Nigidius' warning to Gaius Octavius.[685] Thus, it seems reasonably safe to assume that Plutarch did not discover this item during his research into the Catilinarian conspiracy. We cannot exclude the possibility that he knew of it—indeed, despite Dio's silence, Suetonius implies that Nigidius' prophecy was common knowledge, and Plutarch's use of Nigidius is attested elsewhere (*Quaest. Rom.* 268f)[686]—but its inclusion in the *Augustus* seems rather unlikely.

The next several omens Suetonius and Dio relate belong to the period of Octavian's childhood (Suet. *Aug.* 94.7-94.10; Dio 45.2.1-6). Plutarch could conceivably have used any one in his *Augustus*.[687] Avian omens, particularly featuring eagles, are common throughout the *Lives* (e.g. Plut. *Alex.* 33.2;

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[684] Pelling (1985), 313-14.

[685] The 'meeting' Suetonius refers to could be one of three: the first convention, at which Cicero revealed the letters that told of the plot to kill him (Plut. *Cic.* 15.4); the second, at which further letters were read (Plut. *Cic*. 19.1); or the third, immediately following the second, when the conspirators' punishments were deliberated (Plut. *Cic.* 20.4). Plutarch discusses the first two meetings in that section of text which derives primarily from Cicero's περὶ ὑπατείας. The third is likely to have come from this also, for while it shows signs of emendation from other sources (e.g. Plut. *Cic.* 20.4), it also preserves the "sympathetic" stance towards Cicero that Pelling observed in the earlier sections (Plut. *Cic*. 20.5-7; note that Caesar had aroused great suspicion in Cicero. Cf. Pelling, 1985: 313-315).

[686] Cf. Helmbold and O'Neil, 53.

[687] Further on the various omens reported by Suetonius and their significance to ancient readers, see Wardle (2009), 522-528.

Brut. 37.7; *Cic.* 39.7; *Crass.* 19.4; *Mar.* 36.5-6) and would not have been out of place in the *Augustus*. Cicero's dream will have featured; Plutarch was familiar with this portent at least by the time of the *Cicero*'s composition, and his phraseology there does not suggest it was an item he had recently found (*Cic.* 44.1-4; contrast the use of πυνθάνομαι at *Cic.* 49.3). Catulus' dream is another certain inclusion. Dreams were "an integral part of [Plutarch's] biography",[688] and Catulus was a well-respected and highly ranked member of Roman society—exactly the sort of person to whose dreams Plutarch typically gives credence.[689] The miraculous growth of the palm shoot which Caesar witnessed (Plut. *Caes.* 47.1-2) may have appeared, though Plutarch does not explicitly connect it to Augustus as Suetonius and Dio do (Suet. *Aug.* 94.11; Dio 43.41.1-3). It is impossible to determine Plutarch's familiarity with the item regarding Octavian's horoscope (Suet. *Aug.* 94.12); though he seems largely to disapprove of astrologers, it is worth noting that he does record their predictions elsewhere in the *Lives* (e.g. Plut. *Mar.* 42.4; *Sull.* 37.1).[690] Finally, Suetonius, Dio, and even Velleius—who does not typically record

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[688] Brenk (1975), 337 and further (1977), 214-235; cf. Wardle (2009), 526-527.

[689] King, 81-82.

[690] The recipient of the astrologer's prediction in the *Marius* is Gnaeus Octavius, a distant cousin of Augustus' father, of whom Plutarch speaks in a generally positive manner; cf. *Mar.* 42.2-5. This could conceivably have been an item Plutarch found whilst researching for the *Life of Augustus* and later reused when he came to compose the *Marius*—though it is, of course, impossible to be certain, as the full extent of Plutarch's research for his early series and the complexity of his ὑπομνέματα remain unknown. Plutarch's attitude towards astrology, or an excessive interest in superstition, is predominantly negative (e.g. *Brut.* 39.6; *Caes.* 63.11, where δεισιδαιμονία is equated with γυναικισμός behaviour; *Nic.* 23.1-2, 23.5; *Per.* 6.1), with one of his clearest statements given at *Alex.* 75.2. Cf. Gabriella et al. (1993), 299; Gray (2005), 110-113; Hamilton, 207–208; Lozza (1981), 19–23.

prophetic occurrences in his *History*—record that a rainbow halo encircled the sun as Octavian first entered Rome upon his return from Apollonia (Vell. Pat. 2.59.6; Suet. *Aug.* 95; Dio 45.4.4).[691] Again, this could easily have appeared in Plutarch's βίος, particularly if it were as widely known as the alternate sources suggest.

Perhaps the most compelling 'proof' of Augustus' great destiny occurred immediately after his return from Apollonia, and Plutarch is sure to have included this in his βίος. Octavian is said to have witnessed a group of vultures, either on the morning of the consular elections (Dio 46.46.2-3) or when he was taking the auspices for the first time (Suet. *Aug*. 95; cf. App. *BC.* 3.94). Both Suetonius and Dio connect this portent to one that Romulus received on the day of Rome's foundation; Dio's version especially bears a striking resemblance to a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Romulus*.[692] Plutarch's awareness of the importance the Roman public attached to augury suggests that he would have considered this an important inclusion for the *Augustus*: the omen would not only reinforce Octavian's connection to the original rulers of the city, but would also help to legitimise his position as Rome's sole ruler, in the same way that Romulus' 'right' to rule was legitimised by augury.

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[691] For discussion of this prodigy and further references, see Elefante, 353-354; Weistock (1971), 382–383. If the item appeared in Plutarch's *Life*, it will almost certainly have been a positive affirmation of Augustus' future; Wardle (2009: 533) noted that Dio was unique in using the meteorological halo as a negative portent.

[692] Suetonius gives the number of vultures as twelve, while Dio says Octavian saw six initially, followed by another twelve later in the day (cf. Wardle, 2009: 534, who felt that Dio's duplication was an error on his part). Compare especially Plut. *Rom.* 9.4-5; also Cic. *Div.* 1.106; Livy 1.7.1. Wardle (2014: 534) suggested that the portent was manufactured by Augustus himself (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 7.2 for the [unfulfilled] suggestion that he take the name of Romulus); if this is correct, Plutarch may have accessed the item via Augustus' memoirs.

The next series of portents that Suetonius and Dio discuss are those which herald Octavian's victories in battle. Suetonius lists these directly after the signs of his future greatness, though he has comparatively little to say. Only five items are given, one of which warned of impending strife among the triumvirs and one each for the positive outcomes at Philippi, Perusia, Sicily, and Actium (Suet. *Aug.* 96.1-2; cf. *Aug.* 9).[693] Dio is more thorough: he includes an extensive list of meteorological and natural warnings from 43 BCE alone (Dio 45.17.2-8) and gives numerous omens relating to Octavian's military endeavours at the appropriate points of the narrative.[694] We might expect that much of what Dio records was included in the *Life of Augustus*, as Plutarch tends to provide a reasonably full account of relevant omens when narrating periods of warfare.[695] However, these always relate directly to the subject of the *Life*. In the *Antony*, for instance, Plutarch narrates two omens before the Battle of Actium: the destruction of the Heracleium and wind damage to a sculpture of Dionysus on the Acropolis (Plut. *Ant.* 60.2). Both are explicitly connected to Antony, the former via his lineage to Heracles, and the latter via his hedonistic lifestyle (Plut. *Ant.* 60.3). Dio's inclusion of portents that affected Vibius and the city may not have been deemed as important for Plutarch's shorter, character-centric, treatise.

Plutarch's level of comprehensiveness regarding omens is also affected by the attention he devotes to each period of warfare or event. In some cases, this is quite brief. The meeting of the triumvirs at Bononia, for example, is discussed twice in the *Lives* (Plut. *Ant.* 19.1-3*; Cic.* 46.1-6). Both passages are similar and very short, with the primary focus being given to the outcome

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[693] Further on these omens, Wardle (2009), 535-538; cf. 287 n. 680 above for which are most likely to have been reported by Plutarch.

[694] E.g. Dio 46.33.1-6, 47.1.2-3, 47.2.3, 47.40.1-41.2, 50.8.1-6, 56.24.2-5.

[695] See, for example, the *Antony* (Plut. *Ant.* 16.3, 33.2-3, 34.1, 60.2-3), the *Brutus* (*Brut.* 15.1-4, 36.1-37.7, 39.3-6), and the *Caesar* (*Caes.* 19.8, 43.3-5, 47.1-6).

of the triumvirate's proscriptions. Warnings of future unrest between the triumvirs are conspicuously absent, despite the fact that both texts provided Plutarch with the opportunity to note this (Plut. *Ant.* 19.1; *Cic.* 46.3, 5). Given his tendency to reshape earlier material, it is unlikely that the treatment of the Bononian treaty in the *Augustus* differed too radically from either of these accounts. Of the remaining omens Dio and Suetonius record, those pertaining directly to Octavian—his victory over Cassius, the dreams by his doctor and an unnamed Thessalian, and the chance meeting before Actium with 'Eutychus' and 'Nicon'—are most likely to have been incorporated (Suet. *Aug.* 96.1-2; Dio. 47.40.7-8; cf. Plut. *Brut.* 39.5); the lattermost item also appears in the *Antony* (Plut. *Ant.* 65.3). Regarding Octavian's victory at Philippi, although Plutarch at times adopts a dismissive tone in the *Antony* (*Ant.* 22.1), he elsewhere accords Octavian a much more active role in the war against Cassius, demonstrating his knowledge of Octavian's pre-battle rituals, as well as the signs received by Brutus and Cassius during their lustrations (Plut. *Brut.* 39.1-3). In Octavian's own βίος, portents of his eventual victory over these two men are assured inclusions. Finally, the defensive claim by Augustus that he had withdrawn from battle against Brutus due to a friend's dream (Plut. *Ant.* 22.2; cf. Plut. *Brut.* 41.7; Dio 47.41.3) was probably also included—this is drawn from Augustus' memoirs, which Plutarch had surely read first for the composition of the *Augustus*, rather than the *Antony* or *Brutus*.

Portents foretelling a subject's death are not quite as common in the *Lives* as those which predict his great destiny,[696] though Plutarch is certain to have included at least one item, which is also common to Dio and Suetonius'

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[696] Suetonius and Dio each list three omens as an introduction to their respective treatments of Augustus' death (Suet. *Aug.* 97.1-2; Dio 56.29.2-4). Suetonius gives one further 'omen' in a subsequent passage, claiming that as Augustus was dying, he cried out that forty young men were carrying him away—the exact number of praetorian soldiers who later carried his body to his funeral (Suet. *Aug.* 99.2).

narratives. The salient points in each version are identical: a 'thunderbolt' (i.e., lightning) is said to have struck the letter C from the statue of Augustus on the Capitoline, leaving *aesar*, noted to be the Etruscan word for 'god'. This was interpreted to mean that after 100 days (the number indicated by the letter C) had elapsed, Augustus would attain divinity (Suet. *Aug.* 97.2; cf. Dio 56.29.4). This was clearly a well-known anecdote, and therefore, one Plutarch is likely to have come upon in his research. Moreover, it could be used to reinforce his themes of divine will and divine favour—Octavian had attained his position as *princeps* through the gods' will (Plut. *Brut*. 47.7) and now, due to his ἠθικὴ ἀρετή, had transcended mortality to be enrolled amongst their number. Regrettably, there is nothing preserved in either the *Apophthegmata regum* or extant *Lives* to indicate which other death omens Plutarch might have included in his *Augustus*. Either of the bird omens (Suet. *Aug*. 97.1; Dio 56.29.3) could conceivably have attracted Plutarch's interest, as could the solar eclipse and comets (Dio 56.29.3)—if such an account was part of the common tradition—as these are frequently included amongst the significant portents given in other *Lives* (e.g. Plut. *Alex.* 73.2; *Caes.* 69.4-5; *Cic*. 37.8-9; *TG.* 17.1-2).[697] His overall treatment is unlikely to have been extensive, however: Alexander and Caesar are both stated to have received many signs

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[697] No solar eclipse was visible in Rome in 14 CE; cf. Swan (2004), 300, who comments on the extent to which Dio was susceptible to such reports. Regarding the owl omen, if Plutarch *did* report this, the reference might have been accompanied by a short digression on Roman peculiarities. Amongst the Romans, the owl offered dire warnings (e.g. Plin. *NH* 10.34–37; cf. Krauss, 106; Swan, 2004: 301). This was not so amongst the Greeks, where the owl represented Athens. See, for example, the omen of the owl reported at Plut. *Them.* 12.1 (the story is perhaps alluded to at Aristoph. *Wasps* 1078–1090), and Plut. *Lys.* 16.2 for the association of the owl with Athens. This disjunction of Roman and Athenian thought may have tickled Plutarch's curiosity.

of their impending deaths, yet Plutarch lists only four for Alexander and five for Caesar. Furthermore, the inclusion of omens is more common when the subject does not die a natural death. For Augustus' *exitus* passage, Plutarch may not have felt it necessary to give more than one or two prophetic occurrences.

Public Deeds and Achievements

Following the introductory passages, and his record of the omens from Octavian's early years, Plutarch is likely to have moved to a predominantly chronological format for the bulk of his narrative, as he does in other *Lives*. And, as in these, he is certain to have employed temporal telescoping throughout the *Augustus*; in some areas, this may have been quite extreme. The effects of the telescoping technique can be observed in most Plutarchan *Lives*—in the *Caesar*, for example, Plutarch covers the eight year period of the Gallic Wars in just 2338 words, around fifteen percent of the total biography.[698] By contrast, the two years' hostilities between Caesar and Pompey are accorded 3598 words, with Plutarch devoting a much closer focus to the events of this period. In some cases, these differing levels of detail are the result of deficiencies in Plutarch's source material; in others, they reflect a simple necessity of the biographic form. Providing the 'correct' level of detail was also an issue for writers of historiography: Velleius notes on more than one occasion that comprehensive details were not appropriate to the scope of his abbreviated *History* (Vell. Pat. 2.86.1, 2.89.6),[699] and even Dio suggests that only τὰ … λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια should be narrated for the reader (Dio

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[698] In comparison, Caesar's own treatment of this period runs to 51 295 Latin words.

[699] On Velleius' professed consciousness of the need to provide only a sketch, and his promises of brevity, see Rich (2011), 83, 88 n.3; Bloomer (2011), 103–104.

48.13.1; cf. Dio 48.50.4).[700] However, Plutarch's decision to include or excise material seems to be governed not only by the form in which he has chosen to write, but by how closely each single event relates to a) the subject of the *Life* and b) his immediate geographical and/or cultural sphere.

It was observed above that Plutarch, unlike Suetonius, would often provide information that was not directly centred on the subjects of his βίοι.[701] While this is certainly true, the technique is most prominent in the *Galba*—a *Life* already noted to be somewhat atypical—and may therefore not be greatly indicative of Plutarch's general methodology. Most *Lives* are less digressive. Plutarch will often insert short anecdotes elucidating the character of a figure other than the subject of the βίος (*Ant.* 32.1-5, for example, reveals more about Sextus Pompeius than Antony himself), but these usually form the introduction to an aspect or trait that directly concerns the subject himself (e.g. Plut. *Ant.* 70.1-4, an indirect characterisation of Antony via the personage of Timon; *Caes.* 9.1-10.9, a lengthy digression used to highlight Caesar's inherent moral code; and *Caes.* 16.1-9, where the examples of his soldiers' behaviour enhance Caesar's own positive qualities, detailed in the passage immediately following).[702] For battle narrative especially, Plutarch

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[700] See also Dio 48.49.5, where he narrates Agrippa's magnificent undertaking at the Lucrine Lake in Campania, and the very strong statement regarding 'trivial' events at 55.28.3. Much like Caesar's description of his innovations in siege warfare (Caes. *BG.* 7.73), the lengthy treatment here is governed by the novelty and importance of the enterprise. Cf. Gowing (1992), 83 on Dio's false claims to brevity and 195 n. 39 on his frequent digressions from the main narrative.

[701] Cf. 145 n. 385 above.

[702] I must respectfully disagree here with Christopher Pelling, who felt that Plutarch 'liked' digressions, but that many were "irrelevant" (Pelling, 1988: 292). The intended function of Plutarch's digression on Timon is made clear by his statement at the end of the preceding passage. The comparison of Antony to Timon is not

ensures that his primary focus is kept on the subject of the *Life*; when he does discuss the deeds or motivations of the opposing commander (or force), he is brief and returns promptly to the subject himself (e.g. Plut. *Ant.* 58.1-6; *Caes.* 44.1-12; *Crass.* 8.1-9.7; *Pomp.* 51.1-3, 58.1-2).

The extant historical and biographical accounts of Augustus' life and principate provide an extensive array of information and anecdotes, far more than can be adequately discussed within the bounds of the current thesis. Rather than attempt to analyse how Plutarch dealt with each separate item, it will be more helpful to isolate key events from this period—specifically those upon which Plutarch is likely to have focussed closely and those which would, in all probability, have been excluded or treated in a future βίος. The process of isolating such items is twofold. Firstly, a comprehensive overview of Augustus' lifetime is required—and in this, we are fortunate to have a comparatively large amount of source material to draw upon. As the following table demonstrates, the histories of Velleius Paterculus, Appian, and Dio, in conjunction with Augustus' *Res Gestae*, Plutarch's *Lives*, and Suetonius' *vita*, can be used to construct quite a detailed timeline.

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positive, and Plutarch clearly does not agree with Antony's assessment of the situation; his summary of Timon highlights the Athenian's churlish, argumentative nature (esp. Plut. *Ant.* 70.2-3) and when he returns to Antony himself, he immediately notes that Antony resumed his life of debauchery with Cleopatra (*Ant.* 71.2-5), setting aside his ambition so that "he might lay aside his anxieties also" (*Ant.* 71.2; trans. Perrin, 1920). While Pelling did acknowledge that the comparison had been "carefully prepared", he went on to state that "[Plutarch] could have done more to integrate Timon's story … it is not great writing" (Pelling, 1988: 292). On the digression generally, see Pelling (1988), 291-292.

Item	Date and Event	Source(s)
A	44 BCE: Octavian returns to Rome from Apollonia following Caesar's assassination and demands his inheritance.	*RG.* 1.1; Vell. Pat. 2.59; Plut. *Ant.* 16; Plut. *Cic.* 43.8; Suet. *Aug.* 8.2, 10.1; App. *BC.* 3.9-21; Dio 45.3-8
B	43 BCE: Octavian is voted into the Senate and marches against Antony at Mutina; Antony is defeated. Deaths of Hirtius and Pansa. Octavian meets with Antony and Lepidus at Bononia, forming the triumvirate. Proscription of senators and *equites*.	*RG.* 1.3-4; Vell. Pat. 2.66; Plut. *Ant.* 17-18; Plut. *Cic.* 45.4-46.5; Suet. *Aug.* 10.2-13.3. 26.1, 27.1-4; App. *BC.* 3.51-4.30; Dio 46.29-47.19
C1	42 BCE: Octavian sails against Sextus Pompeius at Rhegium, before joining Antony to march against Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. Octavian falls ill; Brutus and Cassius are defeated.	*RG.* 2; Vell. Pat. 2.70-72; Plut. *Ant.* 22; App. *BC.* 3.96-98, 4.57-4.131; Dio 47.36-49
C2	42/41 BCE: Re-division of provinces; Octavian receives Gaul and Hispania. Tensions arise between Octavian, Fulvia and Lucius Antonius. Octavian divorces Claudia.	Vell. Pat. 2.74; Suet. *Aug.* 62.1; App. *BC.* 5.3, 13-15; Dio 48.1-5

Item	Date and Event	Source(s)
D	41/40 BCE: Perusine War. Antonius and Fulvia are defeated; mass execution of Lucius' allies.	Vell. Pat. 2.76; Plut. *Ant.* 28, 30; Suet. *Aug.* 14-15; App. *BC.* 5.18-24, 27-49; Dio 48.6-15
E1	40 BCE: Octavian marries Scribonia. Alliance with Pompeians.	Suet. *Aug.* 62.2; Dio 48.16
E2	40 BCE: Antony sails against Octavian; siege and subsequent treaty of Brundisium. Antony marries Octavia.	Vell. Pat. 2.76; Plut. *Ant.* 31; App. *BC.* 53-66; Dio 48.27-31
F	39 BCE: Octavian and Sextus Pompeius conclude treaty of Misenum.	Vell. Pat. 2.77; Plut. *Ant.* 32; App. *BC.* 5.71-74; Dio 48.36-38
G	38 BCE: Octavian divorces Scribonia and marries Livia; hostilities with Sex. Pompeius re-emerge.	Vell. Pat. 2.79; Suet. *Aug.* 62.2; App. *BC.* 5.77-78; Dio 48.34, 44-45
H	37 BCE: Power of triumvirate extended for a second five year term.	Dio 48.54
I	36/35 BCE: Octavian sails against Sex. Pompeius in Sicily, joined by Lepidus (from North Africa); siege of Syracuse ensues. Pompeius captured and executed by Antony's troops at Miletus. Octavian awarded a triumph.	*RG.* 4.1, 25.1; Vell. Pat. 2.81; Suet. *Aug.* 16; App. *BC.* 5.81-145; Dio 49.1-18

Item	Date and Event	Source(s)
J	35-33 BCE: Campaigns in Illyricum. Recovery of lost standards from Spain, Gaul, Dalmatia, and Parthia.	*RG.* 29-30; Suet. *Aug*. 21; Dio 49.33-38
K1	33-31 BCE: Escalation of hostilities with Antony, culminating in the Battle of Actium.	Vell. Pat. 2.82-86; Plut. *Ant.* 53-68; Suet. *Aug*. 17.1-3; Dio 50.1-35
K2	30 BCE: Octavian defeats Antony and Cleopatra at Alexandria; Antony and Cleopatra commit suicide.	*RG.* 25.2; Vell. Pat. 2.87; Plut. *Ant.* 69-88; Suet. *Aug*. 17.4-5; Dio 51.5-14
K3	29 BCE: Octavian celebrates a triple triumph for his victories in Illyria, Actium, and Alexandria. Temple of Janus Quirinus closed.	*RG.* 13; Vell. Pat. 2.89; Suet. *Aug*. 22; Dio 51.19-20
L	29/28 BCE: Beginning of constitutional reforms and building program. Octavian conducts the census.	*RG.* 8, 19-20; Suet. *Aug*. 28.3-30.2; Dio 52.42-53.2
M	27 BCE: So-called first settlement. Octavian nominally returns power to the Senate, is voted an annual consulship, and accepts the titles of *princeps* and *Augustus*.	*RG.* 34.1-2; Vell. Pat. 2.91; Dio 53.3-18
N	25-24 BCE: Cantabrian war; temple of Janus Quirinus closed for the second time.	Suet. *Aug*. 20; Dio 53.25-26
O1	23 BCE: So-called second settlement. Augustus falls ill and, after his recovery, resigns annual consular power (but retains proconsulship and imperium).	*RG.* 15; Vell. Pat. 2.93; Suet. *Aug.* 81.1; Dio 53.30-31

Item	Date and Event	Source(s)
O2	22 BCE: Augustus refuses both dictatorship and consular power *in perpetuum*, but accepts the *tribunicia potestas*. Grain shortage and riots at Rome.	*RG.* 5.1-3; Suet. *Aug.* 52; Dio 54.1
P	21-19 BCE: Cantabrian revolt; Parthian campaign and subsequent treaty.	*RG.* 29; Dio 54.6-9
Q	19-17 BCE: Augustus reforms marriage laws, revives the *Ludi Saeculares*, and adopts his grandsons Gaius and Lucius.	*RG.* 22; Vell. Pat. 2.96; Suet. *Aug.* 34, 64; Dio 54.18
R	16-13 BCE: Campaigns in Gaul, Germany, and Spain; the Ara Pacis is commissioned.	*RG.* 12.2; Vell. Pat. 2.97; Dio 54.19-25
S	12 BCE: Augustus is made *praefectus moribus*, and *pontifex maximus* upon the death of Lepidus.	*RG.* 7.3; Suet. *Aug.* 31.1; Dio 54.30
T	8 BCE: Augustus conducts the census.	*RG.* 8; Dio 55.13.4
U	2 BCE: Augustus is awarded the title *pater patriae.*	*RG.* 35; Suet. *Aug.* 58; Dio 55.10.9
V	4 CE: Augustus adopts Tiberius following the deaths of Gaius and Lucius Caesar.	Vell. Pat. 2.103; Suet. *Aug.* 65; Dio 54.13.1a
W	5-13 CE: Ongoing hostilities in Germany, incorporating the Varian disaster (9 CE). Germanicus secures victory; Augustus accepts this in his stead (13 CE).	Vell. Pat. 2.104-122; Suet. *Aug.* 23; Dio 55.13-56.26

Item	Date and Event	Source(s)
X	14 CE: Augustus conducts the census; dies at Nola on August 19th, aged 75.	*RG.* 8; Vell. Pat. 2.123; Suet. *Aug.* 97-100; Dio 56.29-31

Fig. 10: Timeline of major Augustan achievements

The tabulation of these accounts allows the easy observation of what information was common to all of the historical and biographical sources, what were perhaps more obscure traditions or items indicative of a specialist interest area, and the varying extent to which each author treated discrete events within his text. This provides an excellent point of departure for ascertaining which items Plutarch may have reported in the *Life of Augustus*. It should be noted from the outset that even material which is common to all of the extant sources may not be a guaranteed inclusion in the βίος. Plutarch tends to treat well-known traditions in one of two ways: either the information is included, as it is widely known and he must avoid "the reputation of utter carelessness and sloth" (Plut. *Nic.* 1.5; trans. Perrin, 1916), or it is passed over *because* it is well documented by other writers (so Plut. Nic. 1.4-5; cf. *Alex*. 1.1) and so does not require further elaboration. To determine which episodes Plutarch discussed at length within his *Augustus*, and which he treated in epitome (or excluded entirely), it is necessary to return to the insights gleaned from the repertory analysis. As previously discussed, the bulk of a Plutarchan *Life* documented the subject's deeds, thereby allowing Plutarch to showcase their character—but particularly those points of character he most wished his readers to consider. Thus, the items we can most reasonably expect to have been included in Plutarch's *Augustus* are

those which best accorded with his moral program and the most salient components in his implicit theory of personality.

As the table above demonstrates, there is a significant amount of source material at hand. In order to determine more efficiently—and more accurately—which items Plutarch included in the *Augustus*, it will now be instructive to reduce this pool of sources by isolating those items which were, in all likelihood, excluded. Two aspects of Plutarchan methodology are of aid here: his tendency to focus on periods of upheaval, and his primarily subject-centric approach to the narration of events. The *Lives* as a whole are dominated by warfare; much of Plutarch's discussion is given to the development and aftermath of political or military conflict, as well as to the battles themselves, while deeds performed in peacetime tend to be narrated more briefly. The Republican *Lives* in particular follow this pattern. A significant portion of the *Lucullus*, for instance, concerns his command in the Mithridatic war (Plut. *Luc.* 7.1-20.5);[703] around one quarter of the *Antony* is devoted to his campaigns in Syria between 40-33 BCE (Plut. *Ant.* 37.1-56.5);[704] and the majority of the *Crassus* is focussed on the disastrous Parthian campaign of 54-53 BCE (*Crass.* 16.3-33.5).[705] The *Sulla*, based largely on Sulla's own *commentarii*, likewise has a lengthy military narrative (*Sull.* 7.1-30.5).[706] Given the relative consistency of Plutarch's compositional methods, we can be reasonably confident that the *Augustus* was structured in

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[703] Plutarch may have been drawing on Archias here, although he never directly cites him (cf. Helmbold and O'Neil, 6); see especially Hillard (1987), 38-47.

[704] The primary source is Dellius; see Peter, 144-145.

[705] His source is thought to be a well-informed Roman, perhaps Dellius or C. Cassius Longinus. See Gabriella et al., xliv, with accompanying references.

[706] The battle of Chaeronea receives a particular focus (Plut. *Sull.* 17.5-21.4), which should not be at all surprising, given Plutarch's attachment to his home town (cf. *Demosth*. 2.2).

a similar way. This supposition is supported by the alternate sources. The texts examined in the table above focus closely on Octavian's actions prior to, and during, the battle of Actium, the death of Antony, and the first settlement of 27 BCE; in almost every instance, the establishment of the principate, and the relative peace of 26-23 BCE, is treated in a more summary fashion (e.g. Vell. Pat. 2.91-93; Dio 53.23.1-33.4). So too the expansion of the Roman empire, a period of nearly three decades which incorporated not only Augustus' campaigns in Parthia and Germany (Dio 54.8.1-5, 20.4-21.8), but also Tiberius' command in Pannonia from 12-9 BCE, and the posts held by Gaius and Drusus.[707]

This raises the second point of concern, that of contextual relevance. It must be remembered that the *Augustus* was composed as part of a series, rather than in isolation.[708] Throughout his βίοι, Plutarch often notes that he treats a topic elsewhere: ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται (Plut. *Mar.* 6.4; see also e.g. *Caes.* 59.4; *Cato mai.* 12.3; *Mar.* 10.2; *Pomp.* 16.5). The phrase typically refers to a previous *Life*, though there are two instances in which it anticipates a forthcoming composition (*Caes.* 35.2; *Mar.* 29.8).[709] Now, many of the campaigns after that of 25-6 BCE were conducted under Augustan auspices by other figures—particularly Tiberius (so Vell. Pat. 2.90.1-98.3; cf.

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[707] For Tiberius' time in Parthia, see Vell. Pat. 2.96.2-3; Dio 54.31.2-4, 54.34.3-4; for the careers of Gaius and Drusus see Vell. Pat. 2.101.1-102.3; Dio 55.10.17-10a.9 and Vell. Pat. 2.95.1-2, 2.97.2-3; Dio 54.32.1-2 respectively.

[708] Cf. Georgiadou (2014), 260.

[709] Cf. Nikolaidis (2005), 284-289. As Nikolaidis demonstrated, the ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου... construction may also have been used in a 'sideways' fashion, referring to a *Life* Plutarch was composing simultaneously with that in which the reference appeared (Nikolaidis, 2005: 288-289 and 289 n. 21). Nikolaidis, like Pelling, is largely in favour of the thesis that Plutarch prepared the several Late Republican *Lives* at the same time (cf. 199-201 and nn. 517-521 above).

Suet. 20.1-21.1). Although we do find parallel accounts of the same material in some of the surviving *Lives*, Plutarch's material is deliberately molded to best suit the *Life* in which it appears.[710] A detailed report of Tiberius' actions would not greatly aid the representation of Augustus' good character. As such, the narration of these events may not have been important consideration for the *Life of Augustus*; rather, Plutarch may have given only a short résumé of the wars conducted under Augustan auspices together with a forward-looking reference, anticipating a fuller treatment of the subsequent *Life of Tiberius*.[711] At appropriate intervals, he may have included short references to directives given by the emperor or his reaction to various events—we can compare

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[710] See especially 320-325 below on the *Pompey* and *Caesar*, and 320 n. 749, 322 n. 752 below on the *Pompey* and *Sertorius*.

[711] Tiberius' early steps on the *cursus honorum* appear to have been relatively standard until his withdrawal from public life in 6 CE (see especially Vell. Pat. 2.94.1-99.2; Suet. *Tib.* 9.1-3). He remained on Rhodes until the death of Lucius Caesar in 2 CE (Vell. Pat. 2.103.1; Suet. *Tib*. 54.1), and his time in retirement is unlikely to have furnished Plutarch with much in the way of biographical narrative. His campaigns, on the other hand, will have. The treatment of Tiberius' military and political activities prior to his adoption in 4 CE may not have been extensive; the relevant extant sources are all brief regarding Tiberius' early adulthood (e.g. Vell Pat. 2.94-99; Suet. *Tib.* 9.1-3; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3). Velleius apparently intended to discuss the subject more fully in his planned history (Vell. Pat. 2.99.3-4). As he wrote during Tiberius' lifetime, this is not unexpected (cf. Vell Pat. 2.94.2-3). Plutarch, writing half a century later, may have felt that the period after Tiberius' adoption (or accession) was more revelatory of his character and so focussed on this instead, as Suetonius and Tacitus appear to have done. However, when Plutarch's typical approach to biographical reporting is considered, the notation of campaigns conducted by Tiberius in Augustus' name is still more appropriately placed in the latter *Life*, regardless of the brevity with which it may have been treated.

Velleius' account of the Pannonian rebellion, which is said to have disturbed even Augustus, despite his years of military experience (Vell. Pat. 2.110.6)—effectively mirroring the structures found in Velleius, Suetonius, and Dio. Octavian's early wars against Caesar's assassins and Sextus Pompeius will have been remarked upon, and his later conflict with Antony especially will have acted as a central piece of the narrative. It is during these sections that Plutarch would have established his basic template of Octavian's ἦθος, which could be expounded in later sections. A summary of the public works Octavian undertook after he accepted the title 'Augustus', and an account of the manner in which he governed the Roman empire, are certain to have followed Plutarch's account of Octavian's military deeds (cf. e.g. Plut. *Caes*. 28.1-56.9 followed by 57.1-61.10; *Luc.* 7.1-36.7 followed by 37.1-43.3); the anecdotal evidence given in these sections would function as a continuing illustration of Octavian's ἠθικὴ ἀρετή for Plutarch's readers.

Having isolated those events which Plutarch is likely to have excluded from his *Augustus*, we may now turn our attention to the information he would have chosen to include and how this was reported. The general shape of the βίος is suggested by that of the Augustan 'sayings' in the *Apophthegmata regum*. Six of the anecdotes in this collection derive from periods of warfare;[712] all but two of the remainder concern either Augustus' administrative duties or his personal virtues.[713] Their arrangement at first appears somewhat haphazard, but closer inspection proves that they are, on

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[712] *Ap. reg.* 206f-207b #1-3, 207d #8, 207e #10, and 207f #14.

[713] Five appear to be detailing Augustus' methods of government: *Ap. reg.* 207b-c #5, 207d-e #9, and 207-f #11-13). A further two, *Ap. reg.* 207c-d #6-7, may have stood as examples of character virtue. The exact context of fourth and fifteenth items is indeterminable, though if the procuratorship forms a thematic link between the fourth and fifth, this too may have derived from a discussion on his methods of governing.

the whole, chronological, with a few historically displaced items—a feature that is in accordance with Plutarch's usual narrative methods. Several Plutarchan *Lives* contain chronological interruptions, where Plutarch will cite an example of past or future behaviour to illustrate the character trait he is discussing at that point of the text.[714] Such items are typically followed by the phrase ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον, 'this/these things happened at a later time'.[715] The notable interruptions to the 'chronology' of the Augustan *Apophthegmata* come at *Ap. reg.* 207d #8 and 207f #13-14; in each case, a thematic connection can be observed between the apophthegm in question and that which directly precedes it. The first five apophthegms are chronological, dating respectively to 43 BCE, ca. 33-31 BCE, 30 BCE, post-27 BCE,[716] and ca. 22 BCE—the date at which Augustus travelled to Sicily to "settle affairs in that island and elsewhere" (Dio 54.6.1; trans. Cary, 1917).[717] The sixth and

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[714] See *Pomp.* 1.3-2.6 for a notable example: here Plutarch inserts the anecdote concerning Lucullus and the thrush as one of a series of examples demonstrating Pompey's self-restraint (cf. *Luc*. 40.2, *Ap. reg.* 204b #10). Further usage can be observed in the *Antony* (*Ant.* 4.4), *Caesar* (*Caes.* 4.8-9), and *Sulla* (Sull. 6.11).

[715] The phrase is slightly altered in the *Sulla*, reading ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον. A similar variation (ταῦτα μὲν οὖν) is found at *Cato min.* 25.5. Plutarch explicitly states here that the digression is on thematic grounds.

[716] Eros is referred to as procurator, a position that did not exist in Egypt until after it was made a province (cf. Dio 53.13.2).

[717] Plutarch states that Areius replaced Theodorus as procurator of Sicily (*Ap. reg.* 207b #5); the latter cannot have held his position prior to 27 BCE when Augustus first appointed provincial governors. As he was occupied with the Cantabrian campaign from 26-24 BCE and ill for much of 23 BCE, this seems the most reasonable point at which the incident could have taken place. Dio's note that Augustus refused to return to Rome at this time suggests that matters in Sicily were extremely delicate—in which case, there was all the more reason for Augustus to appoint a close and trusted friend to govern in his absence. A similar

seventh cannot be dated;[718] the eighth must be set during 30 BCE, during Octavian's thirty-second year, when he viewed the tomb of Alexander (cf. Dio 51.16.4-5).[719] Its anachronistic inclusion here may be explained by the preceding apophthegm, which Plutarch uses to demonstrate both Augustus' deference to those who possessed greater wisdom than he, and his concern that he govern the empire in an effective manner. Chronology is resumed from the ninth apophthegm until the thirteenth and fourteenth (*Ap. reg.* 207f), both of which attest to Augustus' clemency and may again have followed thematically from the twelfth apophthegm, in which Augustus mildly censures the "young men of high station" (*Ap. reg.* 207e; trans. Babbitt, 1931).[720] The most plausible structure for the *Augustus* is therefore a chronological one, with occasional anachronistic items intended to showcase a particular vice or virtue.[721]

The main narrative of Plutarch's *Augustus* almost certainly began with the assassination of Caesar and Octavian's return to Rome from Apollonia. One of the first items will have been Octavian asking Antony for the monies

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appointment occurred in 19 BCE, when Agrippa was sent to Gaul (Dio 54.11.1-2). Further on the dating, see Rich (1990), 178.

[718] Though see 337 n. 777 below regarding a possible date for the sixth.

[719] Note the similar, though less edifying, expression by Caesar when he reached the age at which Alexander died (Plut. *Caes.* 11.5; Suet. *Jul.* 7.1; Dio 37.52.2).

[720] Compare Caesar's similarly gentle reproach of the soldiery at Plut. *Caes.* 51.2. The twelfth apophthegm seems best dated to 9 CE when the *equites* demanded a repeal of the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*; cf. Dio 56.1.1-9.3. For Augustus' visit to Athens, and the problems of dating it, see especially Schmalz (1996), 381-398.

[721] On the general correspondences between the βίοι and the *Apophthegmata*, see 239-240 and nn. 577-578 above. If the *Apophthegmata regum* were extracted from the *Lives* directly, the temporally-displaced anecdotes would likely represent a disruption in the chronology of the *Augustus*—though Pelling and Stadter both argue convincingly that this was not the case (see 240 n. 579 above).

owed to him under the terms of Caesar's will, an anecdote that appears in the early passages of both the *Antony* and *Apophthegmata*. Though there are parallels between each treatment, the two versions are used to quite different ends, and were clearly shaped to suit their wider context. The version given in the *Antony* contrasts Octavian's respect and resolve against Antony's fairly weak character and propensity for rudeness, but also emphasises Octavian's youth and his dependence on more senior figures—it is only by aligning himself with Cicero and those opposed to Antony that the young man is able to gain the support of the Roman populace in 44 BCE (*Ant.* 16.3).[722] By comparison, the treatment of the same episode in the *Apophthegmata* places a greater emphasis on Octavian's determination and autonomy; Plutarch uses ἀπήτει, 'demanded', rather than ἐμέμνητο, 'reminded', when Octavian requests that Antony return the money Caesar had bequeathed the Roman people (*Ap. reg.* 206f #1; cf. *Ant.* 16.1). When Antony refuses to comply, Octavian sells his property to fulfil the bequest himself (*Ap. reg.* 207a #1). While the isolated nature of the apophthegms makes speculation about Plutarch's intentions for the passage hazardous, it seems clear that he is deliberately casting Augustus in a positive light at this juncture, while Antony is assigned the role of the 'villain'.[723] The focus on Octavian's autonomy is quite close to Augustus' own notation of the incident in the *Res Gestae* (*RG.* 1.1, 15.1), and fits very neatly with the character constructs previously identified as being central to Plutarch's presentation of a subject—Octavian's benevolence, character strength, and effectiveness in carrying out his duties are all reflected in his actions here.

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[722] Cf. Pelling (1988), 157.

[723] Note the alteration of Antony from guardian to thief. In the *Antony*, Plutarch makes Calpurnia the active agent, giving Caesar's money to Antony of her own volition for safe-keeping (*Ant.* 15.1); the *Apophthegmata*, on the other hand, has Antony transfer the funds himself, and retain them unlawfully (*Ap. reg.* 206f #1).

It is unlikely that Plutarch recorded a great deal of information regarding Octavian's achievements in 44-43 BCE. This is, in part, dictated by source availability—as Toher rightly notes, "[historians] would have been dependent on Augustus' memoirs for Octavian's movements in these early weeks before his confrontation with Antonius began and so with it his public career as Caesar's heir."[724] A more important factor, however, is the matter of trait emphasis. If Plutarch were indeed attempting to stress Octavian's character strength and decisiveness from the outset of the *Augustus*, as the *Apophthegmata* suggests, his focus will have been on the deeds which most supported that portrait. Other sources state that Octavian tarried at Apollonia upon hearing of his great-uncle's death, uncertain as to his safety or the general feeling at Rome (Cic. *Att*. 14.10.3; Dio 45.3.1-2), and that both his mother and stepfather opposed the acceptance of his inheritance (Nic. *Aug.* 52-54; Vell. Pat. 2.60.1-2; Suet. *Aug.* 8.2; App. *BC.* 3.10). Plutarch makes no mention of either fact—though the *Cicero* implies that he knew of the latter at least (Plut. *Cic.* 44.1).[725] Some details of the alliance between Cicero and Octavian must have been included in his *Augustus*, as it directly concerned the subject of the βίος. However, neither this, nor the information that Philip and Marcellus travelled with Octavian to Rome (Plut. *Cic.* 44.1), would enhance the reader's perception of Octavian's autonomy in 44 BCE; as such, it is likely to have been treated cursorily.[726] In other *Lives*, Octavian instead

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[724] Toher, 138.

[725] The 'background' to the alliance—Cicero's dislike and fear of Antony's intentions (Plut. *Cic.* 43.1-8)—is included only in the *Cicero*, not the *Antony*; as with so many of Plutarch's works, its inclusion in one *Life* and exclusion from the other hinges upon its relevance to the subject.

[726] We can compare Suetonius' similar emphasis on Octavian as the primary agent in the antagonism of Antony during 44-43 BCE (Suet. *Aug.* 10.2-12). Cicero is not mentioned at all by name; the alliance which aided Octavian's 'war' on Antony is

travels directly to Rome (Plut. *Ant*. 16.1-2; *Cic.* 43.8; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.59.5) and very quickly begins to demonstrate the extent of his ambition—which is noted variously by other sources as daring (Vell. Pat. 2.61.1), recklessness or bravery (Dio 45.3.4), and "high ideals" (Nic. *Aug.* 53; trans. Bellemore, 1984).[727] Octavian's enrolment among the ex-quaestors, and ability to stand for office ten years sooner than was typically allowed (Dio 46.29.2), are sure to have been noted by Plutarch in conjunction with these aspects of his character (cf. Plut. *Cic*. 45.4-46.1).

The relative detail—or perhaps lack thereof—in the passages which followed is suggested by Plutarch's *Life of Antony*. In both this *Life* and the corresponding sections of the *Cicero*, Octavian's roles in the events of 44-41 BCE are treated only briefly. This brevity can be partly explained by the fact that he was not the subject of either βίος. However, it is also clear that Octavian was not yet a figure of great political importance—a fact which is exemplified in the *Cicero*. Plutarch there reports Octavian's own description of himself as a youth who desired only 'name and fame' (Plut. *Cic*. 45.5; cf. App. *BC.* 3.82), and while there is a certain amount of calculated self-effacement in the statement (Plutarch explicitly notes the dishonesty; *Cic*. 46.1), we must take care not to overestimate Octavian's political importance at this time.[728]

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with the *optimates* as a whole rather than one member specifically (Suet. *Aug.* 10.2), and his personal role in ending the hostility between Decimus Brutus and Antony is greatly enhanced (Suet. *Aug.* 10.3). Suetonius does go on to note that there was some doubt over Octavian's participation in the first of these battles (Suet. *Aug*. 10.4), but later reasserts his position as an active and formidable political opponent (Suet. *Aug.* 11-12).

[727] On the appreciation of *festinatio* in Velleius, cf. Bloomer, 111-112.

[728] Martin Goodman remarked of Octavian's successful bid for the consulship in 43 BCE that "Now at last it was clear that this was no ordinary young politician. Pompeius Magnus too had raised a private army at the start of his career … but it had been

His role in the battle at Mutina is limited (Plut. *Ant.* 17.1);[729] it is Cicero who raises the anti-Antonian faction (Plut. *Ant.* 17.1-18.4; *Cic.* 45.4), and only later that the senate began to 'fear' Octavian (Plut. *Cic.* 45.5; cf. Dio 46.41.3-5)—a proleptic attribution of his significance which bears similarities to the stress Plutarch lays, via Sulla, on Caesar's early political 'power' (Plut. *Caes.* 1.4).[730] Immediately following the battle, Antony and Octavian are reported to have reconciled (Plut. *Ant.* 19.1-20.1; *Cic.* 46.2), after which they both allied with Lepidus to form the triumvirate and Cicero, amongst others, was proscribed (*Ant.* 19.1-3; *Cic.* 46.2-6). In order to stress Octavian's autonomy and political importance, Plutarch will have had to treat these events as briefly in the *Augustus* as he does in the *Antony* and *Cicero*.

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thirteen years before he threatened Rome with another army to secure his election as consul" (Goodman, 1997: 33). Goodman's assessment would no doubt have pleased Augustus himself—yet, while his achievements at the time were impressive, it is clear that his support from more influential, senior figures was a key factor in Octavian's ability to progress so quickly along the *cursus honorum*. Context, too, was crucial; the political landscape of 83 BCE was quite different to that which followed in the wake of Caesar's assassination (cf. 198 n. 513 above). It in fact took Octavian thirteen years of "sustained, ruthless assault" (Goodman, 32) before he was able to overcome all opposition and truly distinguish himself from those who had attempted single-handed rule of Rome in the past.

[729] Even Antony's experience at Mutina is treated in brief; compare Plutarch's treatment (*Ant.* 17.1-18.4) to Dio's more detailed account (Dio 46.30.1-41.5).

[730] It is difficult to place Sulla's *dictum* in an exact context, as it is found so near to the lost opening passages of the *Caesar*, but it does not seem to have been accompanied by an extensive demonstration of Caesar's power. Indeed, Plutarch immediately states that upon hearing Sulla's words, Caesar went into hiding (Plut. *Caes.* 1.5). See further Pelling (1990a), 38 on proleptic character attribution, (2011a), 129-132 on the opening of the *Caesar*, and (2011a), 136-137 anachronistic nature of Sulla's *dictum*.

The historical sources, particularly Dio, relate any number of additional items that Plutarch might have chosen to include in his *Augustus*, had he so wished. The proscription of Cicero (Dio 47.3.1-7.5) will surely have been noted, though it is likely to have been downplayed. Although Plutarch does criticise Octavian for his role in the proscriptions, his censure is not severe; he in fact mitigates any blame that might be laid upon the young man in both the *Antony* and the *Cicero* (Plut. *Ant.* 19.2-3, 21.1; *Cic.* 46.3-5).[731] Velleius and Dio similarly excuse Octavian's actions (Vell. Pat. 2.64.4, 2.66.1-2; Dio 47.7.1-4), and Appian is careful to make no connection whatsoever between Octavian and Cicero's murder (App. *BC.* 4.12).[732] Such a pattern makes it virtually certain that the version of these events which Plutarch included in his *Augustus* was brief, and constructed in a similar manner to the extant sources.[733] The devotion of the soldiery to the young Octavian (Dio 46.40.1) and the anecdote that one soldier swore his sword would grant Octavian the consulship if the senate did not (Suet. 26.1; Dio 46.43.4-5) are also possible considerations; both recall similar anecdotes in Plutarch's *Caesar* (Plut. *Caes.* 16.1-17.1, 29.5; for the latter, cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 58.2; App. *BC.* 2.25), and may

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[731] For Plutarch's attention to his subjects' kind or cruel natures, see especially 210 n. 541 above; for Augustus' reputation for clemency in Plutarch and other sources, 242-243 and n. 584, 277 and n. 656 above.

[732] On the tendency to exculpate Octavian, see Gowing (1992), 258–59. Appian's only reference to Octavian's role in the proscriptions is to note that Thoanius, one of the proscribed, may have been Octavian's tutor (App. *BC.* 4.12). His discussion of Cicero's death (App. *BC.* 4.19-20) places the majority of the blame on Antony.

[733] Octavian's abandonment of Cicero would have been a particularly troubling item for Plutarch, as it stands in direct contradiction to Octavian's own statement that he could not say anything good of traitors (*Ap. reg.* 207a #2; cf. Plut. *Rom.* 17.1). The level of detail found in the *Antony* is primarily due to Plutarch's use of the item as a judgement upon Antony himself (n.b. esp. *Ant.* 21.1). We cannot reasonably expect the *Augustus* to have carried the same emphasis.

have provided him with a means of emphasising further Octavian's Julian connections.[734] However, we have no concrete way to determine how detailed an account Plutarch intended his βίος of Augustus to be. Dio devotes an entire book each to the years 44 and 43 BCE, but Plutarch was assuredly not interested in composing a lengthy historical narrative. The best, and most reasonable, course is to be guided by his own statements of methodology, that his βίοι would be composed in epitome and would focus on those deeds which best illustrated his subjects' characters (Plut. *Alex*. 1.1-2).[735]

Which ἔργα, then, would Plutarch have recorded? One of the key events in Octavian's personal history—at least as they are emphasised in *his* version of events—was the persecution of Caesar's assassins (Dio 47.22.4 ff.), which culminated in the deaths of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi in 42 BCE. This is unlikely to have furnished Plutarch with much to exploit as evidence of Octavian's ἦθος. Several sources note that Octavian was quite ill at this time,[736] and Plutarch explicitly states that he enacted no great achievements (Plut. *Ant.* 22.1). What tasks he did undertake were not particularly fruitful (so Plut. *Ant.* 22.1; *Brut.* 47.3)—all of which combines to suggest that Plutarch's *Augustus* covered the period from 44-41 BCE in a fairly perfunctory fashion. The temporal shift in the Augustan *apophthegmata* from 44 BCE (*Ap. reg.* 206f #1) to ca. 30 BCE (*Ap. reg.* 207b #3) further implies that Plutarch

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[734] Cf. 269-270 above.

[735] Cf. Hamilton, xxxviii and 251 above.

[736] E.g. Vell. Pat. 2.70.1; Plut. *Ant*. 22.4, 23.1; App. *BC.* 4.108, 5.3, 5.12; Dio 47.37.1-2, reiterated at 48.3.1.

employed telescoping at this point,[737] thereby moving his narrative to a period that was more revelatory of Octavian's character and thus, more conducive to his own aims as a biographer.

As previously noted, Plutarch's *Lives* were composed with didactic intentions, to facilitate his readers' attainment of ἠθικὴ ἀρετή—a concept which revolved around the military and political spheres.[738] His attention to discrete military events varies throughout each *Life*, and is likely to have done so in the *Augustus* also. Suetonius records that Octavian took part in four civil conflicts besides Philippi: at Mutina, Perusia, Sicily, and Actium (Suet. *Aug.* 9). We have already observed that Plutarch gave the battle of Mutina very little attention in the *Antony*;[739] the same can probably be said of its discussion in the *Augustus*. Not only did Octavian play a small role in this battle (Plut. *Ant.* 17.1; cf. *Cic.* 45.4), but Plutarch's tendency to re-shape relevant items from past research for new compositions strongly suggests that any information regarding Mutina he had included in this βίος was likewise included in the *Antony*. Octavian's ongoing hostilities with Sextus Pompeius (ca. 42-36 BCE) were probably noted, but perhaps not in any great detail until the final battle

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[737] The first apophthegm is set immediately following Caesar's assassination in 44 BCE. The second concerns Octavian's war against Antony, and should therefore be dated to ca. 33-31 BCE; the third must be after the capture of Alexandria, ca. 30BCE (see 277 n. 657 above). It should be noted, however, that temporal shifts between apophthegms may not represent the same shift in the corresponding *Life*; see further Stadter (2014a), 656 and 272 n. 650 above.

[738] Cf. 122-123 above.

[739] See 310-311 above.

of 36 BCE.[740] The *Antony* says only that, following the deaths of Brutus and Cassius, Antony left for Asia and Octavian busied himself with civil strife at Rome (Plut. *Ant*. 24.1)—a phrase which could conceivably refer to his campaigns against Pompeius, but more reasonably anticipates Plutarch's notation of the war against Lucius Antonius and Fulvia (Plut. *Ant*. 28.1). The anecdote set during the treaty of Misenum (Plut. *Ant.* 32.1-4; Dio 48.38.2-3) may not have been included in the *Augustus* at all, as its focus is largely on Antony and his occupation of Pompeius Magnus' residence.

In addition to Octavian's public actions, various personal details may have been incorporated into the narrative at this point. His marriages especially would have to have been noted, as they had a considerable impact upon his political and military careers.[741] The breaking of his engagement to

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[740] Dio's references to the early campaigns against Sextus Pompeius are typically given in passing between his narration of other battles (e.g. Dio 47.36.4, 48.16.2-20.4, 48.45.4-48.6). He implies that Pompeius was not initially perceived as a threat: it was not until 40 BCE, when Rome was gripped by famine and Pompeius made a direct attempt upon Italy, that Octavian "at last" sent a force against him (Dio 48.18.1). When the venture failed, Octavian sailed for Brundisium (Dio 48.18.5, and note the second defeat in 38 BCE, detailed by Dio at 48.47.1-48.6). This hardly supports a portrait of an effective or powerful political figure (cf. 311-313 above). The combination of these factors suggests that Plutarch's treatment of the war against Pompeius was probably very brief—at least until the final engagements of 36 BCE (Dio 49.2.1-7.6). On the historiographical devaluing of this war, see Welch (2012), *passim*, but especially 24-25, 291-294; cf. 127 n. 336 above.

[741] Note, however, that references to Octavian's marriages may only have been introduced at the point where they seemed to Plutarch to matter. Compare his technique in the *Pompey*, where Pompey's marriage to his third wife, Mucia, is only mentioned at the point where it was repudiated (*Pomp*. 42.7), though Plutarch refers to it obliquely much earlier (*Pomp.* 30.6; cf. *Pomp.* 9.3 for the registration of Pompey's second wife's death).

Claudia (Plut. *Ant.* 20) was a significant factor in the increasing hostility between himself, Fulvia, and Lucius Antonius; Dio implies that this was the act which finally led to open warfare (Dio 48.5.2). The war in Perusia need not have been documented extensively,[742] and as with the proscription of Cicero, Plutarch is unlikely to have attributed any blame for it directly to Octavian. In the *Antony* he states explicitly that the fault rested primarily with Fulvia (Plut. *Ant.* 30.2; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.74.2-3; Dio 48.4.1-4, 48.5.3-4), and that after her death, Octavian was more than willing to reconcile with Antony, cementing their alliance with the marriage of his sister Octavia to Antony (Plut. *Ant.* 30.3-31.3). Again, Plutarch probably emphasised Octavian's strength—both his innate character strength and his increasing political power—and his autonomy; even in the *Antony*, he is shown to be the primary agent of the reconciliation (Plut. *Ant.* 30.3). The marriage of Antony and Octavia also afforded Plutarch an opportunity to weave in other elements of Octavian's character, particularly his clemency and willingness to forgive those who had wronged him (cf. Plut. *Ap. reg.* 207b #3, 207f #13-14)—which is, as we have already seen, a key component in Plutarch's methods of character construction.

How then, in light of the construction proposed above, should Plutarch's treatment of Octavian's second marriage alliance, to Scribonia, be envisaged? The answer may again lie in the *Antony*. Following the settlement with Sextus Pompeius at Misenum, Plutarch relates that Antony and Octavian worked together, but with an element of competitiveness that "gave Antony annoyance, because he always came off with less than Caesar" (Plut. *Ant.*

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[742] Plutarch gives this war very little attention in the *Antony*, summarising it in just a single sentence (Plut. *Ant.* 30.1). Appian's treatment is fuller (cf. App. *BC.* 5.14-49), and if this is a faithful reproduction of Augustus' memoirs, Plutarch must have parted company with the *commentarii* at this point—or greatly epitomised his subsequent treatment of it in the *Antony*.

33.1; trans. Perrin, 1920). The registration of tension between the two triumvirs is ongoing throughout the *Antony* (e.g. Plut. *Ant.* 16.2-3, 35.1, 53.1, 55.1-2),[743] and is therefore likely to have been noted at various intervals throughout the *Augustus* as well. Octavian's marriage to Scribonia took place in 40 BCE, not long after Octavia's marriage to Antony, and Dio in particular connects it to his distrust of Antony (Dio 48.16.2-3). Plutarch could easily have structured his account of this marriage in a similar way to Dio. Indeed, doing so would make Octavian's subsequent divorce of Scribonia—on the very day she bore his first child (Dio 48.34.3)—easier to narrate without damaging his presentation of Octavian's primarily 'good' character. Dio records that the treaty of Misenum was broken almost immediately (48.45.4-5; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.77.2), at around the same time Octavian married Livia. [744] Assuming Plutarch had wished to, this information could be framed in such a way that Octavian was once more excused from any blame or wrong-doing; if Pompeius didn't hold with his side of the agreement, there was no compelling reason for Octavian to do so either, and any alliances made between the two factions could legitimately be dissolved.

Returning to Plutarch's main biographical narrative, it is very likely that he employed temporal telescoping again at this point, moving quickly from Octavian's wars against Sextus Pompeius to those against Antony. If the extant accounts are any indication, the growing hostility between Octavian and Antony, and especially its culmination in the battle of Actium, would have occupied a major portion of the βίος. The acceptance of his inheritance from Caesar represented a significant turning point in Octavian's personal history;

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[743] As it is in other sources; see e.g. Dio 45.8.1-9.4, 46.30.1, 47.22.3.

[744] Note the temporal phrases with which Dio opens 48.44.1, 48.45.1, and 48.45.5: Ταῦτά τε οὖν τότε ἐγένετο, Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, and Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον. Cf. Vell. Pat. 2.79.1-2.

Actium represented another. Its importance, insofar as regards the historiographical tradition, is exemplified by Dio's narrative: he devotes almost an entire book to the battle itself (Dio 50.15-35), a second to the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, and Octavian's subjugation of Egypt (Dio 51.1-21), and a third to an elaborate pair of rhetorical speeches, ascribed to Agrippa and Maecenas, which evaluate the benefits of democracy versus monarchy, and outline the ways in which Octavian should best govern the state (Dio 52.1-40).[745] Where Books 45-52 rarely cover a period of more than two years, Books 53-56 span much longer periods of time, recounting five or more years each.[746] Velleius' 'epitomised' history is weighted less towards Actium specifically, but he does accord significantly more focus to the years 44-30 BCE than to later in Augustus' reign; twenty-nine paragraphs of the

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[745] These 'speeches', and especially the apologist stance taken towards the establishment of monarchical rule (Dio 52.1.1), were assuredly not features of Plutarch's βίος; they represent Dio's rhetorical hopes for the future of the senatorial class in his own day (see especially Millar, 1964: 102-118; Rheinhold, 1988: 165-210). Plutarch typically avoids the inclusion of lengthy sections of dialogue in his *Lives* and, as previously discussed, favoured the theme that the re-establishment of monarchy at Rome was 'divinely willed' (Plut. *Brut.* 47.7; *Caes.* 28.5-7, 29.5, 57.1, 62.2; *Cato min.* 47.2; *Cic.* 3.3, 20.6; *Pomp.* 55.3, 75.4. Cf. 262 and n. 625 above).

[746] The years 44-42 BCE are each treated in a single book (Books 45-47), while those from 32-29 BCE are covered in three—an average of 1.3 years per book. Conversely, the years 41-37 BCE are amalgamated into one book (Book 48) as are those from 36-33 BCE (Book 49). The years following Octavian's victory are even more condensed: six are detailed in Book 53 (28-23 BCE); thirteen in Book 54 (22-10 BCE); seventeen in Book 55 (9 BCE-8 CE); six in Book 56 (9-14 CE). Even allowing for the various lacunae and missing folios (e.g. Dio 55.9.4 and 55.33.2; see Cary, 1917: 402 n. 4 and 476 n. 2), it is abundantly clear that Dio considered the years following Caesar's assassination, and the war between Antony and Octavian, as deserving a far greater level of attention.

narrative are accorded to the documentation of this period (Vell. Pat. 2.59-88), after which Tiberius is shortly introduced (Vell. Pat. 2.94.1). At this point, the primary focus of the text shifts, and Augustus is largely absent (or referred to only in passing; e.g. Vell. Pat. 2.99.1, 2.100.2), until the narration of his death (Vell. Pat. 2.123).

As previous passages have demonstrated, Plutarch's *Life of Antony* provides a reasonable, if basic, guide to the ways in which the lost *Augustus* was constructed. It is most useful for that portion of the βίος which covered the battle of Actium. Due to Plutarch's methods of composition—particularly as regards historical events—and his reliance on ὑπομνήματα, some details in the *Augustus* will have been similar, or perhaps even identical, to those now found in the *Antony*. Yet while Plutarch is certain to have utilised his previous research when he came to compose the *Antony*, his treatment of Actium will have been purposely shaped to suit that *Life*—meaning that, in places, it may have been substantially altered from the earlier account given in the *Augustus*. The most obvious difference is the level of focus that would have been given to the subject of each *Life*. Just as Octavian is not the central figure of the Actium narrative in the *Antony*, Antony probably did not feature extensively in the *Augustus*. There are, however, further points to consider, such as the use of particular anecdotes as evidence for Antony's (or Octavian's) ἦθος, and the inclusion or manipulation of individual details throughout the battle narrative.

Parallel treatments of battles are found in several Plutarchan *Lives*, especially those in the Late Republican subset, and we can use these to observe how the same battle was reported across two separate βίοι. The *Caesar* and *Pompey*, both of which include an account of the battles at Dyrrachium and Pharsalus, provide a particularly illustrative example.[747] It will

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[747] The succession of battles in Spain recorded in both the *Pompey* and the *Sertorius* might also be utilised in the same way; cf. Konrad (1994), *passim*.

be remembered that both *Lives* were suggested to be part of a subgroup that were prepared simultaneously; there is evidence to suggest that these two especially were *composed* simultaneously.[748] If so, we might expect Plutarch's treatment of the battle to be closely matched across both βίοι; the imperfect recollection of previous research is often cited as an explanation for differing information between two or more Plutarchan accounts of an event.[749] And indeed, the two accounts of Dyrrachium and Pharsalus are remarkably similar overall: following a successful series of military skirmishes with Pompey, Caesar experiences a disastrous engagement in which his troops are routed and narrowly escape complete destruction (Plut. *Caes.* 39.4-8; *Pomp*. 65.5). He abandons the coastline and begins marching towards Thessaly; the Pompeian troops, encouraged by their victory and his flight, urge Pompey to pursue and to risk battle on the Pharsalian plain (*Caes*. 39.9-40.4; *Pomp*. 66.1, 66.4-5, 67.2-5). Pompey himself is reluctant to engage (*Caes*. 41.1-4; *Pomp*. 66.1-2, 67.1-4). His fears are not allayed by certain omens which bode ill for the battle's outcome (*Caes*. 42.1, 43.5; *Pomp*. 68.1-3), but he nevertheless capitulates to his soldiers' demands. Each party's battle array is narrated for the reader (*Caes*. 44.1-6; *Pomp*. 69.1-3), along with judgement on how effective these formations were (*Caes*. 44.7-8; *Pomp*. 69.4-5). At this point, Caesar's actions become the focus of both βίοι: Plutarch details a speech made to one of his centurions (*Caes*. 44.10-12; *Pomp*. 71.1-3) and the tactics he employed to ensure his victory (*Caes*. 45.1-6; *Pomp*. 69.2-3, 71.4-6). Finally, he records Pompey's behaviour in the face of his defeat (*Caes*. 45.7-8; *Pomp*. 72.1-3).

The similarities are numerous, yet each βίος also contains a significant amount of individuality, with alterations or omissions to the Pharsalian

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[748] Nikolaidis (2005), 288-289 and n. 21, after Gomme.

[749] E.g. Stadter (2014a), 679.

narrative that reveal how Plutarch consciously molded his source material, both for literary effect and to suit his subject's ἦθος.[750] Differences in the narrative typically manifest as either a closer focus on, or a more sympathetic stance towards, the subject of the *Life*. In the *Pompey*, Plutarch gives deeper attention to Pompey's decision-making process as a commander, rationalising his military tactics and offering an explanation when these fail. The infamous attack on Caesar, in which his victory was supposedly all but assured, is phrased with subtle but careful changes: here Plutarch suggests firstly that Pompey was unable, or secondly feared, to force his way into the Caesarian camp (*Pomp*. 65.5), whereas in the *Caesar*, Pompey's 'excessive' caution is brought to the forefront (*Caes.* 39.8). This is not the only occasion on which Pompey is excused from blame. His tactical error, of remaining fixed in the face of Caesar's advance, is cast quite differently in his own *Life* as compared to the *Caesar*; in the former, his decision is motivated by a concern for his troops and their inexperience (*Pomp*. 69.4), while in the latter it is ascribed to simple ignorance (*Caes*. 44.8). And the loss at Pharsalus is attributed primarily to the Pompeian soldiery, who compel their commander to go against his better judgement (*Pomp*. 67.1-4; cf. *Caes.* 41.1-3, 42.1-3);[751] their professed eagerness for battle is ultimately proven false by their inability to stand in the face of the enemy (*Caes*. 44.3, 45.1-5; *Pomp*. 69.2-3, 71.4-5).

Increased sympathy towards the subject of a *Life* does not only result in the defence of his actions, but also in the emphasis of certain character traits or situations. Given the results of the repertory grid study, it should

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[750] This is even more pronounced in the *Sertorius* and *Pompey*, where the same motives can be discerned (cf. 320 n. 749 above).

[751] Plutarch compares Pompey to a physician at this point, just as he does when discussing the inevitability of monarchy (*Pomp*. 55.1; cf. *Caes*. 28.6), and does imply that Pompey was at least partly to blame, as he was overly worried about giving offence to his 'patients' (i.e., the soldier; *Pomp*. 67.5-6).

come as no surprise to find that two such traits Plutarch emphasises through the manipulation of his sources are effectiveness and strength of character. The *Pompey* portrays Caesar's march into Thessaly as a flight, forced by his lack of provisions—and, presumably, his recent defeat (*Pomp*. 66.2). In the *Caesar*, however, Caesar *chooses* to leave, recognising that Thessaly is rich in plunder while his current venture offers nothing to either himself or his troops (*Caes*. 39.9-11). As before, the differences are subtle but nonetheless powerful, showcasing Caesar's effectiveness as a commander—even in the wake of defeat—and his ability to learn and recover from his mistakes.

Plutarch's tendency to omit or include information in a βίος for its relevance to the wider narrative context has already been observed on several occasions. It is this tendency that accounts for some of the small differences between the two treatments of Dyrrachium and Pharsalus. The pre-battle omens Plutarch gives are in each case related specifically to the subject of the *Life:* Pompey's dream, and the comet portent, are included in the *Caesar* as Caesar features in both (*Caes.* 42.1, 43.5; *Pomp.* 68.2-3). The sign Caesar receives at his lustration, however, does not directly involve Pompey and therefore does not appear in that *Life.* Other items are included as 'proof' of the subject's character: the illness that affected Caesar's troops (*Caes*. 40.4) refers the reader back to an earlier anecdote (*Caes*. 39.2-3), which highlights the resourcefulness and strength of Caesar's army—and therefore Caesar himself. Similarly, the citation of Homer's *Iliad* provides evidence of Pompey's ἔργα and ἦθος (*Pomp*. 72.2); thus, while the general anecdote to which it is attached is incorporated into the *Caesar*, the quotation itself is not (*Caes*. 45.7-8; cf. *Pomp*. 72.1-3). Instead, this passage is immediately followed by an observation of Caesar's clemency—another key Plutarchan construct and one of Caesar's primary character attributes (*Caes*. 46.1-3). Lastly, some inclusions relate to Plutarch's intended theme for each *Life*. A significant addition to the *Pompey* is the philosophical digression on the

nature and horror of civil warfare (*Pomp.* 70.2-4), a topic Plutarch favours throughout his *Lives* (cf. especially Plut. *Galb*. 1.1-2.3). This item could not have been included in the *Caesar* without undermining his victory over Pompey, and the path he created towards the (re-)establishment of monarchic rule (cf. App. *BC.* 2.148) [752] —a process that saw thirteen consecutive years of civil warfare, first begun in Caesar's name (cf. App. *BC.* 3.38; Dio 48.3.3, 56.36.1-5).

To summarise, an examination of Plutarch's individual treatments of Pharsalus finds that his compositions are consistent with both the general principles of ancient biographic writing—that is, a close focus on the subject of the *Life*, with greater discussion of (and sympathy towards) their actions, motivations, and inherent character—and with the proposed construct system established for his implicit theory of personality. The anecdotes given within the battle narratives primarily emphasise the primary subjects' kind natures, loyalty, and self-restraint (or the corresponding negative traits), and analyse their effectiveness as a commander and overall character strength. Compared to the passages in the *Antony*, then, we can expect the section of Plutarch's *Augustus* which discussed the battle of Actium to have been composed with greater sensitivity to Octavian's perspective, and to have focussed on slightly different character traits than are included in the *Antony*. The justness of Octavian's purpose, and his fulfilment of filial duty, as well as Antony's licentiousness and disloyalty to Rome and his family, will have certainly been amplified. Likewise Octavian's clemency, and his ability to effectively govern his troops, would have featured as key attributes; there are several incidents from Dio also which showcase these traits as Octavian's primary virtues. His reversals, on the other hand, were probably attributed to mischance or

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[752] See also 196-199 above on the ancient tendency to view Julius Caesar as the true cornerstone of the principate.

external forces beyond his control, as Pompey's and Caesar's are when the need arises.

There is unfortunately no way to tell exactly how lengthy Plutarch's treatment of Actium was in the *Life of Augustus*. As discussed, it was probably considered to be an extremely significant event, and thus worthy of a fairly detailed commentary. The corresponding section of the *Antony* is substantial, totalling almost one quarter of the entire text. Although some sections relate specifically to Antony's character—and are therefore less likely to have been included in the *Augustus*—much more is general historic narrative. Just as the majority of the Pharsalus narrative appears in both the *Caesar* and *Pompey*, so too could that of Actium have been incorporated into both the *Antony* and *Augustus*. We can say with a degree of surety that the discussion of Actium in the *Augustus* would not have been any longer than that in the *Antony*; unlike the *Caesar* and *Pompey*, which were at least researched (if not composed) simultaneously, several years—and possibly as much as two decades— intervened between the composition of the *Augustus* and the *Antony*.[753] Depending on how detailed Plutarch's initial research was, and whether or not he had already conceived of the *Antony* at the time he composed the *Lives of the Caesars*, he may have done nothing more than copy the majority of the narrative from his earlier notes, inserting or reworking individual sections as necessary to suit the *Antony*. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that he undertook more research once he decided to write the *Life of Antony*—as

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[753] The *Caesars* are generally agreed to pre-date 93 or 96 CE. Using Jones' proposed chronology, the *Antony* must be dated to sometime after ca. 104 CE; while the only assured *terminus post quem* is 68 CE (Jones, 1971: 69), its composition was placed after that of the *Lysander-Sulla* pair, thought to have been composed between ca. 104 CE and 114 CE. See further Jones (1971), 68-73; 102-104 above.

he appears to have done between the composition of the *Lucullus* and *Cicero*, and the remaining Late Republican *Lives*.[754]

Plutarch's treatment of the battle of Actium in the *Life of Antony* technically begins at *Ant.* 53.1, when he notes that Octavia expressed a desire to sail to Antony and that Octavian granted her permission to do so, hoping that it might furnish him with a pretext for war (*Ant.* 53.1). From here, the narrative can be broken into twelve discrete episodes:

i. Octavia's return to Rome, and the dislike Antony incurred (*Ant.* 54.1-6)

ii. Octavian's denunciation of Antony (*Ant.* 55.1-2); Antony's preparations for war (*Ant.* 56.1-57.3)

iii. Octavian's public reading of Antony's will (*Ant.* 58.1-59.1); Cleopatra's mastery of Antony (*Ant.* 59.2-60.1)

iv. Omens observed before the battle of Actium (*Ant.* 60.2-3)

v. Antony's and Octavian's battle array (*Ant.* 61.1-62.3); their first engagement (*Ant.* 63.1-2); defections amongst the Antonian troops (*Ant.* 63.2-4)

vi. The second engagement (*Ant.* 63.5-66.3); additional omens received by Octavian (*Ant.* 65.3)

vii. Antony's flight (*Ant.* 66.4-67.7); the continued conflict of his army against Octavian's (*Ant.* 68.1-3)

viii. Octavian's victory and deeds immediately following this (*Ant.* 68.4-5)

ix. Antony's self-imposed exile at Pharos and return to Cleopatra (*Ant.* 69.1-71.5)

x. Antony's appeals to Octavian; Octavian's refusals (*Ant.* 72.1-73.3)

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[754] See 202 n. 522 above.

xi. The third engagement (*Ant*. 74.1-76.1); Antony's suicide (*Ant*. 76.2-78.2)

xii. Octavian's capture of Cleopatra (*Ant*. 78.3-79.3); his pardon or punishment of various Egyptians (*Ant*. 80.1-82.1); Cleopatra's suicide (*Ant*. 82.1-86.5)

The items which are closely focussed on Antony's ἦθος, or on events where Octavian was not present, were probably not reported in detail in the *Life of Augustus*. Antony's revelry on Samos (*Ant.* 56.3-57.2), his 'exile' and comparison to Timon (*Ant.* 70.1-5), and the fairly lengthy *exitus* scene (*Ant.* 76.2-77.4) are all indicative of Antony's character, not Octavian's, and were likely omitted as irrelevant to the main narrative of the *Augustus*. Likewise, Plutarch's detailed account of how Cleopatra 'ensnared' Antony's affections (Plut. *Ant*. 53.3-6; cf. App. *BC.* 5.1, 5.9-11; Dio 48.24.2-3) has more relevance in his *Life*, where the anecdote will influence the reader's assessment of Antony's character and deeds—Plutarch's primary goal for the βίος. Most of the episodes, however, could have—and indeed, probably did—appear in the *Augustus*, with greater or lesser detail as the situation demanded. The offence done to Octavia (*Ant.* 54.1-2, 57.3), of whom Octavian is elsewhere said to have been very fond (Plut. *Ant.* 31.1), was instrumental in creating widespread hostility towards Antony; as such, it is sure to have been noted as a contributing factor in the outbreak of war, alongside Octavian's ongoing criticisms of him (*Ant.* 55.1; cf. Dio 50.1.5-2.2). Octavian's preparations for war and public reading of Antony's will (*Ant.* 58.1-6, 60.1) likely followed immediately after Antony's own preparation of his naval forces (*Ant.* 56.1; cf. Dio 50.2.1-4.1). The appeals of the Antonian faction to Antony via Geminius (*Ant*. 59.1-4) may have been abbreviated, or omitted from the *Augustus* entirely—though had Plutarch wished to, he could have linked this item to the later desertions of Antony's supporters to

Octavian (*Ant.* 63.3; cf. Dio 50.9.4-5), which were surely noted in the context of the main battle narrative.

The majority of detail given for the battle itself is not likely to have been altered significantly for the *Antony*; just as in the two accounts of Pharsalus, Plutarch gives a reasonable degree of information about the formation and actions of both parties.[755] Certain passages may have shown a greater focus on Octavian's abilities and decision-making processes, assuming once again that Plutarch had recourse to such information.[756] Anecdotes that are centred on Antony's attributes or character traits (Plut. *Ant.* 63.2-3, 66.4-5, 69.1-2, 71.2-4) may have originally focussed on Octavian's traits instead (e.g. Dio 50.9.4, highlighting Octavian's clemency and strength of character). As in the *Caesar* and *Pompey*, the omens Plutarch chose to report were probably those which directly concerned the subject of the *Life*, meaning that the list at *Ant*. 60.2-3 may not have featured, but the meeting between Octavian and Εὔτυχος, the driver of the ass Νίκων, certainly will have (Plut. *Ant.* 65.2-3).[757] The extended details of Antony's flight to Cleopatra (Plut. *Ant.* 67.1-7) were likely omitted; in its place was perhaps a more detailed account of Octavian's actions immediately after the battle (Dio 51.1.4-3.7), and his

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[755] Plut. *Ant*. 61.1-63.2, 63.5-66.5, 68.1-5, 72.1, 73.1-75.4; cf. Dio 50.6.2-15.4, 50.31.1-35.6.

[756] For example, Plut. *Ant.* 62.2, 63.1-2 (cf. Dio 50.11.1, 50.12.2-13.4) and Plut. *Ant.* 68.4-5 (cf. Vell. Pat. 2.85.2; Dio 50.33.6-51.5.2)

[757] This is the only portent Plutarch records in the *Antony* that concerns Octavian. Dio's *History* suggests one other incident which Plutarch might have included in the *Augustus*. He discusses an omen given in advance of Antony's defeat: unprompted, the two groups of children named themselves 'Antonians' and 'Caesarians', and after a two day 'battle', the Caesarians won (Dio 50.7.5-6). As Octavian features in this anecdote as much as Antony, Plutarch may well have incorporated it into his βίος—though the standard caveat of his knowledge naturally applies.

subsequent administration of Greece and Asia (Plut. *Ant.* 68.4, 74.1; cf. Dio 51.4.1-5.2). Both Plutarch and Dio move from this episode to the final battle with Antony, his suicide, the taking of Alexandria, the capture of Cleopatra, and her suicide (Plut. *Ant.* 75.1-86.4; cf. Dio 51.5.2-15.4). The account of Antony's death may have been more condensed in the *Augustus* than what is given in the *Antony*; as always, the sequence is intended to reveal facets of Antony's character for Plutarch's readers (e.g. Plut. *Ant*. 76.3, focussing on Antony's weakness of character). [758] The composition of Cleopatra's *exitus* scene, however, may not have been very different between the two βίοι. Although Cleopatra would have featured only as a secondary figure within the *Augustus*, Plutarch uses this section of the narrative to make a number of observations regarding Octavian's ἦθος, most of which infer his tendency

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[758] Antony's weakness, in being 'mastered' by his wives, is highlighted from the earliest section of his βίος. Plutarch describes his father, M. Antonius Creticus, as neither illustrious nor of good repute, but as kind, honest, and extremely generous (Plut. *Ant.* 1.1). Pelling (1988, 117) saw this as a "sympathetic portrayal … [designed] to link father and son"—and indeed, Antony's fiscal generosity is noted several times (e.g. Plut. *Ant.* 6.5; *Demetr*. 1.7; *Demetr.-Ant.* 2.3). Luigi Santi Amantini, Carlo Carena, and Mario Manfredini also considered Plutarch to be offering *una luce favorevole sul padre* (Santi Amantini, Carena, and Manfredini, 1995: 374). The similarity between the two Antonii actually runs deeper, and is less positive, than either of the commentaries implied; Plutarch goes on to note that Antonius Creticus was wholly controlled by his wife (Plut. *Ant.* 1.2-3), a character weakness that was unacceptable to Greek and Roman alike (thus Plut. *Ant.* 10.3, 25.1, 27.1-28.2; cf. Sallust, *Hist.* Frg. 3.3 McGushin on Antonius Creticus and Plut. *Ant.* 10.3, 30.2 on Fulvia's character). See further McGushin (1994), 66-67 for Sallust's very negative opinion of Antony's father.

towards benevolence and clemency.[759] If these behaviours are stressed in the *Antony*, they must have been even more so in the *Augustus*, where they would function as evidence to Octavian's nature and thus assist the reader's overall evaluation of his character.

Following the battle of Actium and his enemies' suicides, we can expect that Plutarch gave some attention to the ways in which Octavian set about managing his empire. This is the typical progression found in other source texts (e.g. Vell. Pat. 2.87.1-89.6; Dio 51.15.5-23.1, 52.42.1-53.2.7); that Plutarch employed a similar construction in his βίος of Augustus is implied by the arrangement of the *Apophthegmata regum et imperatorum*.[760] There need not have been an extensive focus on historical detail, however. With the exception of the rhetorical addresses in Book 52, Dio treats the period immediately following Cleopatra's death in a comparatively short amount of text, just under 2500 Greek words. His narration of the events of 27-26 BCE is similarly brief (Dio 53.12.1-22.5). It will be remembered that annalistic histories were more detailed, and often provided a far lengthier treatment of actions or events, than their biographical counterparts. If Dio's treatment of

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[759] E.g. Octavian's mourning for Antony as colleague and kinsman (Plut. *Ant.* 78.2); the respect shown to his funeral arrangements (*Ant.* 82.1); Octavian's benevolent treatment of the Egyptians (*Ant*. 80.1; *Ap. reg.* 207b #3) and clemency towards all but one of Cleopatra's children (*Ant.* 81.2; note that, even here, Octavian is said to have deliberated about whether or not to show Caesarion mercy, and only executes him on Areius' advice). His 'deception' of Cleopatra (*Ant.* 82.2, 83.5) and concern for his reputation (*Ant.* 78.3) may point towards more negative traits (dishonesty and egocentricity respectively) but overall, the portrayal of Octavian throughout this section of the narrative is strongly weighted towards his positive aspects.

[760] Note that the anecdote in which Plutarch spares the people of Alexandria (*Ap. reg.* 207b #3; cf. *Ant.* 80.1-2) is followed immediately by two which concern Augustus' methods of administration after 27 BCE.

this period is brief, we should expect Plutarch's to have been even more so—particularly if he was also beginning to introduce the thematically structured 'catalogue' of Octavian's virtues at this point of the text.[761]

Plutarch's attention to the aftermath of Actium is summed up quite quickly (Plut. *Ant*. 73.3). His narration of Octavian's behaviour in the wake of Cleopatra's suicide was likely given in a similarly brief manner. Major events must have been reported: a discussion of the so-called first settlement of 27 BCE seems assured (cf. *RG*. 34.1-2; Dio 52.12.1-16.8); likewise the so-called second settlement of 23 BCE (Dio 53.32.2-33.1). Octavian's acceptance of the title *Augustus*, associated with the former item, is another certain inclusion (*RG*. 33.2; Vell. Pat. 2.91.1; Dio 53.16.6-8). The several administrative procedures he undertook in 29/28 BCE, such as the increase of the patriciate (*RG.* 8.1; Vell. Pat. 2.89.3-4; Dio 52.42.5) and the introduction of restrictions to senatorial travel (Dio 52.42.6-7), might also have been recorded; these attest to Octavian's effectiveness as a governor as well as his concern for the Roman people, a trait which contributes strongly to the Plutarchan character construct of beneficence.[762] On the whole, however, Plutarch probably began to employ temporal telescoping with increasing frequency. Augustus' wars in

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[761] Discussed at 338-349 below.

[762] As discussed above (233-234), this construct is integral to Plutarch's methods of character evaluation, but *not* hyper-salient in his theory of personality. Items relating to beneficence (or its opposing trait of egocentricity) would thus have appeared throughout the *Augustus*, but may not always have received a heavy emphasis. The closely-related construct of fiscal ethics showed a similar level of importance within the repertory grid, which suggests that Plutarch may have remarked only briefly upon Octavian's donatives and his use of private funds rather than public treasuries for necessary expenditures (cf. *RG*. 15.1-18; Dio 51.5.5-6). For the traditional emphasis on Augustus' concern for the Roman empire and populace, see especially Dio 56.36.2-37.4.

Cantabria and long illness are not likely not have furnished Plutarch with any great sources of character revelation. Discussions of the wars in Cantabria are noticeably brief in the alternate sources also (e.g. Vell. Pat. 2.90; Dio 53.25.1-26.5),[763] and in any case, Plutarch seems generally more concerned with the implications of *civil* warfare than external (cf. Vell. Pat. 2.67.1-4). Depending upon how extensively Plutarch conceived of his series of imperial βίοι before their composition, he could have emphasised the brutality of civil warfare to a fairly extensive degree in the *Augustus*.[764] The rapacity of Octavian's troops—which, in many cases, results in their own deaths (cf. Dio 50.35.5-6)—is an interesting item, and one which Plutarch could easily have employed intertextually. It raises similar issues to those found in the opening address of the *Galba*, that the soldiery must at all times be well-disciplined, and avoid an excessive desire for wealth or pleasure, if it is to be effective (Plut. *Galb.* 1.1-5).

If Plutarch were following the narrative of Augustus' *commentarii*, he may have parted company with his source at this point.[765] Augustus' ongoing illness (cf. Dio 53.25.6-7, 53.28.2) may have been noted in relation to his

[763] Dio explicitly stated that the unrest in Gaul in 29 BCE did not equate to warfare, and as such, was not worthy of commentary (Dio 51.20.5).

[764] Vell. Pat. 2.78.2-3 offers another possible anecdote with which to exploit this theme.

[765] Augustus himself seems to have given these wars a certain pride of place in his memoirs, bringing the work to a close after the Cantabrian campaign (Suet. *Aug.* 85.1; cf. Dolley, Grady, and Hillard, 1975: 163; Syme, 1939: 332). The narration of this war gave Augustus a legitimate military reason for writing *commentarii*, *per se*, and allowed him to close on an item of particular—indeed, almost singular—significance: the closing of the doors of the temple of Janus (see 333 and nn. 769-770 below). Historiographical interest in this item may have waned by the time Plutarch composed his *Life of Augustus*. On this, see especially Gruen (1996), 163–16; cf. Cornell, 2013: 457. Further on the significance of the Cantabrian war, see Elefante, 432-433; Rich (2009), 155.

brush with death in 23 BCE (cf. Dio 53.30.1-6)—this latter item Plutarch is sure to have mentioned, as Augustus' behaviour at the time demonstrated his concern for the future stability of the Roman government (cf. Dio 53.30.1-2, 53.31.3-4), the mark of a thoughtful and effective ruler. His recovery of the lost military standards from Parthia, and his closures of the doors to the temple of Janus, should also be considered among the probable inclusions; the former testifies to Augustus' success in the military sphere and the care he took to increase the glory of Rome (cf. *RG*. 29.2),[766] while the latter again evidences his concern for the empire's stability, this time through his efforts to bring it long-term peace.[767] Plutarch may have been drawn to a digression on Janus here; he seems much taken with the *daimōn* who, although not Greek, may have had a Greek origin (cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 269a).[768]

As in Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*, the focus of the *Augustus* will have shifted to Augustus' administrative feats and public benefactions once his military activities ceased (cf. Plut. *Caes.* 55.1-59.6). His restoration of public buildings and temples will have been noted. Augustus himself claims that these projects were extensive and costly (*RG.* 19.1-21.3; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 28.3;

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[766] Though note Dio 54.8.2-3 for the implication that Augustus' 'accomplishment' was less impressive than it could have been, had he challenged Phraates to battle.

[767] The importance of Augustus' achievement is underscored by his reiteration of it in the *Res Gestae*, where it appears as a stand-alone paragraph; cf. Brunt and Moore (1967), 54–55; Cooley (2009), 157–161; Reinhold (1988), 152–153.

[768] Plutarch elsewhere presents Janus as a "patron of civil and social order ... [who] lifted human life out of its bestial and savage state" (Plut. *Numa* 19.6; trans. Perrin, 1914). Numa's replacement of March—then the first month, consecrated to Mars—with January indicated that "martial influences should yield precedence to civil and political" (Plut. *Numa* 19.5; trans. Perrin, 1914). The closing of the doors to Janus' temple, a symbol of peace through the area of Roman *imperium* and on its frontiers, was bound to draw Plutarch's interest as the dawn of the *pax Augusta*. On the *Numa*, and for further references, see Manfredini and Piccirilli (1980), 324–325.

Dio 56.30.2).[769] His legal reforms, too, will have been enumerated. There is no pressing evidence to suggest that their documentation was exhaustive; indeed, Plutarch's discussions elsewhere show that he did not tend to dwell on the minutiae of constitutional reform (e.g. Plut. *Sull.* 33-35).[770] Rather, he uses them as ethical *exempla*. In the *Augustus*, as in other *Lives*, he will have noted the ratification of certain laws alongside an illustrative anecdote, and then moved on to the next salient point of Augustus' ἦθος. We can observe his general approach in the *Sulla*: here Plutarch uses Metella's funeral both as a means to note the limitations Sulla placed on funereal expenses, and as evidence of his own tendency towards excess (Plut. *Sull.* 35.2), then moves directly to an anecdote concerning Sulla's sexual promiscuity (*Sull.* 35.3-36.1). Of Augustus' legal reforms, the *leges Iuliae*—and especially the *lex Iulia de maritandibus ordinibus* and *lex Iulia de adulteriis*—are those most likely to have been discussed. We find reference to the *lex Iulia de adulteriis* in the *Apophthegmata* (*Ap. reg.* 207d-e #9), a strong indication that it appeared in

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[769] Whether Plutarch cited the famous maxim that Augustus 'found Rome in brick and left it in marble', we cannot say. Its absence from the *Apophthegmata* is striking.

[770] Plutarch's attention to constitutional reform can vary; his treatments of the Lycurgean and Solonic reforms occupy a larger proportion of each βίος (Plut. *Lyc.* 5.6-10.3; *Sol.* 17-25), while Sulla's reforms are treated in brief, with the majority of that *Life* being devoted to the battle at Chaeronea. The *Sulla* may be anomalous, and the probable reasons for Plutarch's brevity have been noted above (251 n. 595 and 303 n. 708); the more lengthy treatments in the *Lycurgus* and *Solon* may be due to the fact that less biographical material was available for Plutarch to draw on (cf. his note at *Thes.* 1.2-3). Nevertheless, it should be noted that Plutarch's general approach to constitutional change is less detailed than that by other authors; compare, for example, Dio's account of Octavian's revised political structures and their subsequent impact upon the Roman government (Dio 53.11.5-15.6, 53.17.1-18.5).

the *Life of Augustus*.[771] Furthermore, his daughter Julia's disregard of the laws concerning adultery was one of the primary reasons Augustus banished her to the island of Pandataria in 2 BCE (Dio 55.10.12-16). This is sure to have been mentioned: not only could it be linked thematically to the other personal misfortunes Augustus suffered around this time, such as the deaths of Lucius and Gaius Caesar (Suet. 65.1-4; cf. Dio 55.10.4-12.1), it provided important evidence for an apparent tendency by Augustus towards bouts of anger and rage.[772] This trait is implied by more than one of the apophthegms (e.g. *Ap. reg.* 207b #4, 207d-e #9, 207f #14), and is also noted by Dio in connection to Julia's behaviour (Dio 55.10.14). [773] Although it stands in direct contradiction to Augustus' widespread reputation for clemency, this does not necessitate that Plutarch excised it from his βίος; indeed, his propensity to record opposing character traits suggests that the item would have been deliberately chosen as evidence for Augustus' ἦθος.

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[771] See 239-241, 256 above.

[772] There seems to have been a catalogue circulating in antiquity on the misfortunes of Augustus (Plin. *NH.* 7.45.147–150; Solin. 1.48). See further Hillard (2014), 48–51.

[773] See also Suet. *Aug.* 65.3-4 for the strictness with which Augustus punished his daughter and granddaughter during their exile, and his refusal to allow Julia the Younger's child by Junius Silanus to live; cf. Wardle (2014), 423. The modern reader will note the ironic tension which exists between this portrait of a harsh, unforgiving father and the report which immediately follows, that he had exiled Agrippa Postumus for his violent temper (Suet. *Aug.* 65.1). Augustus' hypocrisy is only enhanced by our knowledge that he too had indulged in extramarital affairs (Suet. *Aug*. 69.1-2; Dio 54.16.3; cf. Kemezis, 273). Plutarch and his readers will not have judged Augustus' behaviour in such a fashion—though there is evidence to suggest that the Roman populace viewed his punishment of Julia the Elder as excessively harsh (Suet. *Aug.* 65.3).

Estimating how Plutarch narrated the next two decades of Augustus' life is problematic. The period from 16-13 BCE, during which Augustus was attending to matters in the Spanish and Gallic provinces, is treated with conspicuous brevity by the alternate sources. Dio covers these campaigns in just six passages of his *History* (Dio 54.19.1-24.8)—several of which focus on the actions and experiences of Tiberius and Drusus (e.g. Dio 54.22.1-5), as well as other minor figures (e.g. Dio 54.23.1-6, regarding Vedius Pollio)— while Velleius gives only a single paragraph, with a cursory reference to Augustus' involvement (Vell. Pat. 2.95.1). Neither text lends to the belief that Plutarch's treatment of this period was comprehensive. Nor is there much evidence to suggest that the years which followed were discussed in detail: as we have already noted, the campaigns in Germany and Pannonia from 16-7 BCE were largely conducted by Tiberius (cf. Dio 55.6.1), as were those from 4-9 CE. There is strong evidence to suggest that Plutarch left the discussion of these wars, in the main part, to the *Life of Tiberius*, and gave only a brief summary in the *Augustus* (perhaps alongside the note that he had treated them elsewhere).[774] Finally, both the political and military realms seem to have been more concerned with the ongoing management of the Roman empire between 8 BCE and 9 CE than with new developments. Dio and Velleius become increasingly abbreviated, and even taking into account the lacunose nature of Dio's text, it is clear that he found fewer events from this period 'important' enough to include in his text (note especially Dio 55.9.1; cf. Tac. *Ann*. 1.3). Overall, we are left with the resounding impression that Plutarch's βίος, too, was limited to only a few key events.

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[774] See 304-305 above. Dio refers explicitly to Augustus' advanced age and his inability to continue actively campaigning as early as 1 BCE (Dio 55.10.18). Augustus was, at this point, in his sixties and pleased to have made it past his *climacteric* year (Gel. 15.7.3 [=Aug. *Epistles* 37 Malcovati]). Cf. Rich (2009), 155.

Plutarch must have discussed Augustus' appointment as *pontifex maximus* in 12 BCE (*RG.* 7.3; Suet. *Aug.* 31.1; Dio 54.27.2), as well as his acceptance of the title *pater patriae*, conferred by the Senate in 2 BCE (*RG.* 35.1; Suet. *Aug.* 58.1; Dio 55.10.9-10, 56.41.9). The death of his long-term friend and supporter, Agrippa, would assuredly have received some attention, as might the death of his advisor, Maecenas (Dio 55.7.1-5)—although either (or both) of these events could have been documented in a non-chronological manner, perhaps in conjunction with the deaths of Gaius and Lucius (Vell. Pat. 2.102.3; Suet. *Aug.* 65.1; Dio 55.10a.8-10).[775] The Varian disaster of 9 CE should have received some mention, particularly as Plutarch's methods of character evaluation reveal such a preoccupation with the efficacy of statesmen and commanders. Dio's fairly extensive narration of the battle and massacre (Dio 56.18.1-23.4) makes clear the relative importance of Varus' loss; furthermore, the item offered Plutarch the chance to emphasise Augustus' concern for his country and its people (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 23.2). However, the item does not appear in the *Apophthegmata*, making its inclusion in Plutarch's *Augustus* somewhat less certain.[776] A final inclusion is

[775] The apophthegm concerning Maecenas (*Ap. reg.* 207c #6) may have been drawn from a treatment of his death in the *Life of Augustus*, from a discussion of Augustan self-indulgence (see 242 n. 583 above), or from the registration of his apparent affair with Maecenas' wife (Dio 54.19.3; Dio reports this rumour in conjunction with Augustus' departure for Gaul in 16 BCE). In any case, its position within the *Apophthegmata* is anachronistic, and must be thematic rather than chronological. *Ap. reg.* 207 #5, immediately preceding, was tentatively dated to 22 BCE. The seventh apophthegm cannot be dated; *Ap. reg.* 207d-e, #8-9 should be set during 30 BCE and 18/17 BCE respectively (see 277 n. 657, 306-307 and n. 715 above).

[776] Plutarch may have felt the need to offer an apologetic treatment of the incident, if he did record it; Augustus' behaviour was not in accordance with the expected decorum of a statesman or emperor. Cf. Blois (2008b), 317-324; Jones (1971), 114; Wardle (2014), 186.

the demand for tax reform in 12 CE (cf. Dio 56.28.4-6), an item which may help to place the twelfth apophthegm attributed to Augustus (*Ap. reg.* 207e). Yet although Plutarch's *Lives* were typically constructed in a chronological manner, there are exceptions to this pattern—and there is no compelling reason that the items listed above *needed* to be incorporated in this way. Indeed, several could be framed in such a manner as to demonstrate an Augustan character trait, or a facet of ἠθικὴ ἀρετή, and may thus have been recorded in a thematic format, such as we find in a Suetonian *vita* or at the beginning of Plutarch's *Cato maior* (*Cato mai.* 1.4-9.7).[777] The large chronological 'jumps' in the Augustan *apophthegmata* further support the idea that thematically-organised *exempla* became Plutarch's primary focus at this point of the βίος.

The 'Catalogue of Virtues'

As has now been observed on several occasions, Plutarch's *Lives* were predominantly chronological in structure, but not exclusively so. Many of the βίοι also contain sections that were constructed in a thematic, or rubric style, similarly to the Suetonian *vitae*. A non-chronological approach is particularly common when Plutarch is discussing his subjects' tendencies towards virtue or vice, with the result that we often find a 'catalogue' of virtues within a Plutarchan βίος. This is typically achieved through illustrative anecdotes or *exempla*—yet although every Plutarchan *Life* contains an evaluation of the subject's character via his deeds, not all *Lives* enumerate his virtues (or vices) systematically for the reader. The *Antony* and *Caesar*, for instance, both contain sections in which their overall ἦθος is narrated summarily (Plut. *Ant*. 24.6-25.1; *Caes*. 15.1-16.9), while the *Cato maior* contains a lengthy

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[777] Cf. Duff (2015), 131 with additional references at n. 5.

presentation of Cato's primary virtues, each of which are demonstrated through one or more behavioural examples (Plut. *Cato mai.* 4.2-9.7). On the other hand, neither the *Brutus* nor the *Agesilaus* devote a section solely to the assessment of their ἠθικὴ ἀρετή;[778] instead, Plutarch evidences their character traits—and characters—individually throughout the text.

It has already been suggested that some of the sayings attributed to Augustus in the *Apophthegmata regum et imperatorum* were grouped thematically, rather than chronologically. As it is impossible to determine whether the order of items in the *Apophthegmata* matched that of the *Augustus*, or whether these were rearranged to suit the later publication, there is no way to be certain if Plutarch grouped his discussion of Octavian's propensity towards virtue (or vice) into the sort of catalogue we find in some other *Lives*. They may instead have been established throughout the early sections of the narrative and subsequently elaborated upon, perhaps with anachronistic referrals to previous or future sections of the *Life* as necessary. Yet it is a reasonable hypothesis that a catalogue of Augustan virtues *was* included. It was previously suggested that the *Augustus* is most likely to have resembled the group of Late Republican *Lives* in structure and focus;[779] a thematic, rather than chronological, treatment of the subject's ἦθος is common in these βίοι especially, following typically after the documentation of the subjects' primary historical achievements.[780] Moreover, Plutarch states elsewhere that Augustus became more "kingly" and more "useful to the people" towards the end of his life (Plut. *An seni.* 784d; trans. Babbit, 1936). This is followed by the anecdote in which Augustus censures the young men

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[778] For the structure of the *Agesilaus*, see 53 (Fig. 1) above; for that of the *Brutus*, Appendix VI: The Arrangement of Content in Plutarch's Late Republican *Lives*, 426.

[779] See especially 199-201 above.

[780] See Appendix VI: The Arrangement of Content in Plutarch's Late Republican *Lives*.

of Rome (cf. *Ap. reg.* 207e #12), which, as noted above, was probably also given in the *Life of Augustus*.[781] A categorical discussion of Augustus' moral virtues would be an ideal place to incorporate such an anecdote—particularly if the catalogue was placed between Augustus' public achievements and his final years. Finally, we should remember Plutarch's tendency to centre his βίοι around the subject's engagement in politics and warfare,[782] and to use temporal telescoping to pass quickly over the periods that were less 'worthy' of historical or biographical commentary. If Plutarch utilised this technique in the *Augustus*—and there is no reason to suspect that he did not—a dedicated catalogue of virtues would enable him to move seamlessly between Octavian's frenetic early years and the relative stability of his later reign (cf. *RG*. 13; Dio 51.20.4).

Plutarch's placement of the catalogue of virtues varies throughout the *Parallel Lives*: sometimes it forms a single section, while at others it is given in multiple small digressions.[783] The various registration of Augustus' moral qualities in the alternate sources suggests that the *Augustus* might have been constructed in the latter style. A short discussion could have been incorporated into the opening of the βίος; the proleptic attribution of character traits is a common Plutarchan technique (e.g. Plut. *Cato min.* 1.2-3.6; *Caes.* 2.1-7). If so, it is likely to have been placed near the discussion of Augustus' youth, or perhaps his appearance; Nicolaus uses Augustus' fine features to introduce his restrained sexual appetites, which he claims Octavian cultivated

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[781] Cf. 308 and n. 723 above.

[782] Particularly civil warfare; see 323-324, 332 and n. 767 above.

[783] For examples of continuous sections, see Plut. *Ant.* 26.1-31.3; *Cato mai.* 4.3-9.7; *Crass.* 2.1-3.4; *Luc.* 38.1-42.4; for digressive paragraphs, Plut. *Caes.* 15.1-17.11, 58.4-62.9, 69.1-2; *Cato min.* 2.1-7.3, 24.3-25.5; *Sull.* 2.2-4, 33.1-36.3.

from a young age.[784] Another section on character virtue may feasibly have followed the Actium narrative. The arrangement of the *Apophthegmata* suggests that Plutarch could have been moving more towards a thematic construction at this point of the βιος—assuming, that is, that the construction of the *Apophthegmata* mirrors the original construction of the *Augustus*. As previously noted, the first several apophthegms are chronological, and were probably drawn from the historical (i.e., politically and militarily-focussed) sections of the *Life*. The eighth apophthegm is set immediately after Octavian's victory at Actium; the ninth must be dated to a time after 18/17 BCE, when the *leges Iuliae* were ratified. The tenth should be dated to ca. 1 BCE—indicating that a large temporal jump existed in Plutarch's narration of Augustus' historical deeds. This hint towards temporal telescoping, and our knowledge that the period from ca. 13 BCE to ca. 8 CE is typically discussed with more brevity in the alternate accounts, combines to suggest that Plutarch

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[784] Suetonius speaks of Augustus' youthful indiscretions (Suet. *Aug.* 68.1), and both he and Dio note instances of sexual immodesty in his adult life also (Suet. *Aug.* 69.1-2; Dio 54.16.3). Plutarch would not have had as pressing a reason as Nicolaus to eulogise Augustus, and as such, may have noted these indiscretions—though perhaps did not emphasise them (cf. 280 n. 667 above). This does not necessarily preclude a discussion of Octavian's sexual abstinence; as noted in other instances, the contradictory nature of Augustus' behaviour may have appealed as an example of the 'dual' nature of the soul (cf. 113-117 above). The infamous "dinner of the twelve gods" (Suet. *Aug.* 70.1-2)—which earned Octavian censure from Antony especially but also the general public, as it was held during a time of famine—may have been reported in conjunction with these items. As noted above (207-208), Plutarch does not tend to distinguish between the various appetites. Again, he may not have emphasised the item unduly; we are told Augustus was typically a light eater and tended to abstain from alcohol (Suet. *Aug*. 76-77). On the inclusion of self-discipline in the opening passages of Plutarch's *Augustus*, see 279-280 above; on Octavian's banquet, see especially Wardle (2014), 443-446.

took this opportunity to document Augustus' primary character traits and his general propensity towards moral virtue.

The extant sources give a reasonable insight into which of Augustus' traits were most commonly documented throughout the historical and biographical traditions, but it is the earlier repertory grid study that is of most use at this point, for this reveals the elements of Augustus' ἦθος upon which Plutarch would have concentrated the majority of his discussion. Unlike Suetonius' *vitae*, which incorporates an extensive discussion of Augustus' personal life (Suet. *Aug*. 61), Plutarch's catalogue will have been selective. Traits which contributed to the more salient constructs in his implicit theory of personality are more likely to have been incorporated (and emphasised) than are those which contributed to constructs with a lesser implicit importance. Examples of kindness or cruelty will undoubtedly have received the primary focus, as clemency was the quality for which Augustus was most renowned. Plutarch directly attests to this trait in three of the fifteen apophthegms (*Ap. reg.* 207b #3, 207f #13-14); it is perhaps implied in two more.[785] There are numerous references to Augustan clemency in Dio's text, as well as those by Velleius and Suetonius,[786] and Augustus himself comments more than once on the mercy he showed to others (*RG*. 3.1-2, 34.2). Such consistent attention to this character trait strongly suggests that it was a central concern in Plutarch's βίος also.

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[785] *Ap. reg.* 207d-e #9 and 207e #12 (on this item, see also 308 n. 722 above); cf. *Ap. reg.* 207c #5; Dio 54.27.4. Augustan clemency is noted elsewhere in the *Lives* (Plut. *Brut.* 53.1-2; *Cic.* 49.5-6); the item from the *Cicero* especially may have also been noted in the *Augustus*, though Plutarch's use of the verb πυνθάνομαι could indicate that it was a new discovery during his research for the *Cicero.* For other omissions from the *Apophthegmata*, cf. 243 n. 584, 334 n. 772, 338 n. 779 above.

[786] See Velleius 2.68.4-5; Suet. *Aug.* 51.1-3, 67.1; Dio 48.3.6, 48.54.4-5, 51.2.2-4, 51.16.3-4, 54.23.3-5, 54.27.4, 56.6.1.

Plutarch may conceivably have utilised any, or all, of the items now found in the extant sources in his own work. As previously noted, the material from his own *Apophthegmata* is all but assured.[787] Octavian's early claim that he would act in the same lenient manner as Caesar had (Dio 48.3.6) would have been of value to Plutarch—at the very least, it could be used to reinforce his discussion of Augustus' ancestry.[788] Many items belong to the civil war period (e.g. App. 4.42; Dio 48.5.4-5, 51.2.2-4) and Plutarch would have discussed these alongside Augustus' public deeds.[789] Several, however, come from sections of the alternate sources where historical narrative is thin, and these especially will have been more easily documented in a thematically-constructed passage.[790] Maecenas' role in moderating Augustus' behaviour (Dio 55.7.1-3), and especially Livia's counsels of clemency towards those who conspired against her husband (Dio 55.14.4-8, 55.17.1-4), might also have sparked Plutarch's interest. Both would have facilitated the discussion of the opposing side of Augustus' nature, effecting a technique which—as previously observed—Plutarch employed extensively throughout his writing. Although the tradition that Augustus was naturally merciful dominates the extant material, there is evidence to the contrary. Appian gives his opinion that Augustus'

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[787] See especially 256 above.

[788] Cf. 269-271 above. This item does not appear in the *Antony*, despite the fact that the relevant passage (*Ant.* 23.1-3) is concerned primarily with establishing Antony's character, not Octavian's.

[789] Dio 48.5.4-5 = Plut. *Ant.* 30.1-4; Dio 51.2.2-4, 16.1-5 = *Ap. reg.* 207b #3.

[790] It is hard, for instance, to imagine how Plutarch could otherwise have treated the episode in which Augustus intervened during Vedius Pollio's punishment of his slave (cf. Dio 54.23.3-5), an item which has all the hallmarks of a Plutarchan anecdote, and which he must surely have noted, had he known of it. The humane treatment of slaves appears to have been of interest to him (Plut. *Cato mai.* 5.1-6)—though Plutarch's conception of 'humane' may have differed significantly from our own (see esp. Gel. 1.26).

policy of clemency was not an inherent aspect of his character, but a deliberately constructed political manoeuvre (App. *BC.* 3.94.1).[791] Suetonius notes that Augustus could behave cruelly on occasion, the result of anger or frustration (Suet. *Aug.* 13.1-2, 15), although his general—and more forceful—statement is that Augustus was typically benevolent (Suet. *Aug.* 51.1, and cf. *Aug*. 27.2 for his attempts at reparation following an outburst of anger). Dio's narrative is similar, showing that Augustus took steps to self-mediate his behaviour[792]—a practice that fits very neatly against Plutarch's belief that one's nature could be consciously modified through education, particularly philosophical training (Plut. *Brut.* 1.3-4; *De Virt. Mor.* 441c-443d).[793] Livia's 'speech', insofar as Dio shapes it, accords with many of the sentiments

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[791] Cf. Dio 51.16.3-4 for the political motivation behind the pardon of Alexandria. See further Dowling (2006), 44-45 and 293 n. 31; Henderson (1997), §3.

[792] Dio 54.27.4 (contrasting Dio 56.6.1 [=*Ap. reg.* 207e #12], where Augustus claims he is not cruel by nature); compare the possibly similar sentiment at Plut. *Ap. reg.* 207d-e #9. It is difficult to determine the exact force of the anecdote without the surrounding context: Augustus' revulsion may stem from an inherent aversion to cruelty (so Plut. *Ap. reg.* 207f #13; Dio 54.30.4-5) or alternately, from the fact that could not contravene his own law and punish his daughter's lover (cf. *Dig.* 48.5.23.4 for the legal provisions regarding adulterers caught *in flagrante*). See Dio 54.16.3-6 and Swan (2004), 109-110 for Augustus' inconsistency in following his own legislation. Plutarch does provide examples of Augustan cruelty (e.g. Plut. *Brut.* 46.2; *Cic.* 46.6), though as previously noted, he also excuses him from blame when he can (Plut. *Ant.* 19.2-3, 21.1*; Cic.* 46.3-5; cf. 313-314 and n. 734 above).

[793] The trait of anger sits awkwardly within the repertory grid paradigm, contributing to several constructs. For Plutarch, evidence of a subject's anger was most valuable as a demonstration of his philosophic beliefs and the importance of a good education: anger belonged to the irrational part of the soul, which could be directed towards virtue if the subject were educated correctly. Augustus' employment of Athenodorus (*Ap. reg.* 207c #7) would certainly have met with Plutarch's approval.

Plutarch expounds in the *De virtute morali*; as such, an epitomised version of her counsel may have been incorporated into the *Life of Augustus*, if it were part of the historical tradition. A categorical discussion of self-mediation would also allow the placement of the anecdote regarding the aged philosopher, Athenodorus (*Ap. reg.* 207c #7).

Nine constructs, in addition to kind-naturedness, were isolated from Plutarch's texts for the repertory analysis. The traits which contribute to these constructs receive varying emphases in the alternate sources, dependent upon the author and his context. Appian, for instance, provides little in the way of moral *exempla* or character revelation—a fact which is to be expected, given that the greater part of his work is historical narrative. The same cannot be said of Dio, whose *History* is substantially longer, and contains numerous character-centric digressions, nor of Velleius, who has already been noted to have written in a 'biographic' style; both authors are more attentive to Augustus' ἦθος.[794] They, and Suetonius, remark upon similar character traits throughout their works—an occurrence that is significant in itself, but more so due to the fact that the traits which they most commonly emphasise are those which contribute towards the constructs identified as hyper-salient and strongly salient in Plutarch's implicit theory of personality. A reading of the key events in Dio finds a distinct focus on Augustus' realistic outlook, his efficiency as a leader, and his overall character strength.[795] Velleius also

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[794] Cf. 5 n. 7 above and further, Woodman (1977), 28-56.

[795] For realism, see Dio 48.42.6, 53.2.5, 53.21.3, 54.9.1, 55.12.2-3; for efficiency, Dio 48.5.3, 48.49.2, 49.13.4-14.3, 56.23.1-2, 56.27.1-4, 56.28.3-6; for strength of character, Dio 46.45.5, 47.37.1-2, 49.13.4, 50.13.1-2, 55.34.3, 56.27.1 Negative examples for two of these traits can be observed at Dio 48.32.1-2 (ineffective governing) and 48.42.6 (vacillating character)—though the former is also a criticism of Antony, and the latter is cast in such a way as to highlight Octavian's respect for the gods.

emphasises Augustus' realism (Vell. Pat. 2.89.5), and additionally, his beneficence (Vell. Pat. 2.81.3, 2.89.1-2).[796] Suetonius' primary concerns are effectiveness (Suet. *Aug.* 18.2, 19.1-22.1, 24.1-2, 29.1-40.5), beneficence (Suet. *Aug.* 41.1-2, 43.1-2, 74.1-75.1), and self-discipline (Suet. *Aug.* 72.1-73, 76.1-77). Finally, Augustus himself stresses his efficiency as a ruler (*RG.* 1.1, 3.3-4.4, 12.2-13, 25.1-30.2), his beneficence (*RG.* 15.1-16.2, 19.1-24.2; almost half the text, as advertised in the title of the work, is devoted to *impensi*), and his ethical approaches to financial matters (*RG.* 17.1-18, 21.3).

Turning to the results of the repertory grid analysis, Plutarch's most salient constructs (besides a kind or cruel nature) were found to be the effective vs. ineffective administration of public duties, a strong vs. weak personal character, and a self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent nature. [797] Efficiency, in particular, was a central concern, and many of the examples given by Suetonius and Dio, as well as those by Augustus himself, could have found a home in Plutarch's *Life.* The majority of these are likely to have been evidenced throughout the βίος, but a summary reinforcement would not be amiss in its closing passages, where it could be used to assess Augustus' ability to lead and command throughout the entirety of his public career. The notation that Augustus effectively managed and protected the empire even at an advanced age (Dio 56.23.1-4) would better suit Plutarch's aims if it were placed immediately prior to the *exitus* passage (cf. the construction at Plut. *Caes.* 56.7-62.1, 69.1-2).[798] Likewise, character strength could only be truly evaluated with a working knowledge of the subject's entire life, and evidence of this would be most effective at, or near, the close of the *Augustus.* The construct of self-discipline, as noted above, may have been treated in the

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[796] On Vell. Pat. 2.89 and the elaboration of *beneficentia*, see Hillard (2011a), 228–229.

[797] See 233 above.

[798] On Augustus the 'good manager', see also Jones (1971), 112-113.

early chapters of the βίος, but this does not preclude its reiteration in later sections. The proper control of impulse and desire is a favoured Plutarchan theme, and one which he uses on a number of occasions to judge the quality of a life. [799] Augustus' tendency towards moderation and simplicity may therefore have been expounded for the reader, enhancing the young Octavian's predisposition to this trait.

Two additional constructs were noted to be strongly salient in Plutarch's theory of personality, realism vs. vaingloriousness, and contentedness vs. discontentedness. The former receives a heavy emphasis from Dio especially, though not in a positive sense: the majority of his references suggest that Augustus craved sole power from a very young age. [800] Augustus, in his *Res Gestae*, takes care to note the self-imposed limitations on his political power (e.g. *RG.* 5.1-3, 34.1-3; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.89.5) [801] and the fact that the offices he held were in accordance with ancestral custom (*RG.* 6.1). Plutarch could conceivably have treated this topic, although in a generally positive βίος—and one which began the personal histories of a series of monarchical rulers—he may have found it more conducive to avoid any detailed discussion. Augustus' relative contentedness receives very little attention in the extant sources, and there is simply not

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[799] Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 72-73 for the equation of self-discipline with good character.

[800] See e.g. Dio 46.52.1-2, 47.15.2, 47.37.3, 53.2.7, 53.16.1; cf. App. *BC.* 1.5-6.1. Although Appian explicitly connects μοναρχία with ὁμόνοια, he states unequivocally that civil discord arose from "the measureless ambition of men, [and] their dreadful lust of power" (App. *BC.* 6.1; trans. White, 1913).

[801] Cf. Hillard (2011b), 107–152.

enough surviving material to determine how Plutarch dealt with this aspect of Augustus' personality within his *Life*.[802]

The final group of constructs from the repertory analysis, which were simply termed 'salient'—that is, integral to Plutarch's understanding of character but perhaps not unduly emphasised within his βίοι—are beneficence vs. egocentricity, financially ethical vs. financially unethical, loyalty vs. disloyalty, and honesty vs. dishonesty. The two foremost are heavily attested throughout the extant sources,[803] though not always in a positive manner: Dio notes that Augustus' attitude towards, and disposal of, public monies was identical to that concerning his own funds (Dio 53.16.1). As well, he raises questions as to Augustus' loyalty, noting a change of allegiance or ideal on more than one occasion (Dio 46.52, 48.34.3; cf. Suet. 62.1). This would not necessarily have been a cause of concern for Plutarch. It must be reiterated that his documentation of character allowed for contradiction; Plutarch may have noted the inconsistencies in Augustus' expenditures, or his vacillating allegiance, quite happily—the latter could be contrasted against his professed dislike of traitors (Plut. *Ap. reg.* 207a #2) to show that even a great personality was subject to character flaws and needed constant education if the subject were to achieve ἠθικὴ ἀρετή. The construct of honesty—or more correctly *dishonesty*; most of the extant sources suggest that Augustus had a predilection for giving pretexts or half-truths—may not have received much emphasis at all. Plutarch generally notes only a few examples of honesty or dishonesty, [804] and in what seems, overall, to have been a reasonably

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[802] The sole attestation is by Suetonius, who refers to Augustus' personal misfortunes, and the upset that the elder and younger Juliae, and Agrippa Postumus, caused him (Suet. Aug. 65.1-4).

[803] On beneficence, see *RG.* 15.1-16.2, 19.1-24.2; Vell. Pat. 2.81.3, 2.89.1-2; Suet. *Aug.* 41.1-2, 43.1-2, 74.1-75.1. On his fiscal policies, see *RG.* 17.1-18, 21.3; .

[804] For citations, see Appendix I: Personality Data in Plutarch's *Lives*.

praiseworthy βίος, Augustus' tendency towards dishonesty might simply have been noted and excused.[805]

Final Years and Death

The closing section of Plutarch's *Life of Augustus* will have comprised the years immediately prior to his death and the *exitus* scene itself. It will not have been protracted. Plutarch's attention to a subject's death can vary somewhat in length and detail—violent deaths especially tend to attract a more lengthy commentary, such as at *Caes.* 63.1-66.14, *Cic.* 47.1-49.4, and *Pomp.* 77.1-80.4—but in cases of a natural death, his discussion tends to be reasonably brief (e.g. Plut. *Arat.* 30.5; *Cato mai.* 27.4; *Flam.* 21.8; *Luc.* 43.1-2, which incorporates a query as to how 'natural' Lucullus' death was; *Mar.* 45.2-7; *Sull.* 36.2, 37.1-4).[806] The narrative arrangement of this section follows a regular pattern throughout most of the *Lives*. Where the subject dies from an illness, or at the hands of others, Plutarch incorporates some

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[805] Cf. the similar registration of Lucullus' extravagance, and the insistence that Crassus possessed only one character flaw—avarice (Plut. *Crass.* 2.1-4; *Luc.* 39.1-41.6).

[806] Deaths by suicide may also have tended more towards brevity, but it is difficult to determine Plutarch's 'usual' practice, as the examples are so varied. His account of the suicides of Brutus and Porcia, for example, is quite brief (Plut. *Brut.* 51.1-53.7). The *Antony* contains a fairly lengthy *exitus* narrative, although Plutarch's attention to Antony's suicide in particular is not extensive (Ant. 76.1-77.4); the majority of the text is devoted to the aftermath of Antony's death and the events concerning his family (*Ant.* 78.1-87.4). The suicide of Cato the Younger (*Cato min.* 66.4-71.2), on the other hand, is discussed at length—though this almost certainly relates to the vast array of Catonian literature that was composed in the wake of Cato's death (cf. 80 n. 213 above; on the sources of Plutarch's *Cato*, see the comprehensive bibliography provided by Geiger, 1979: 48 n. 2).

discussion of these facts (e.g. *Alex.* 75.4-77.5; *Crass.* 30.1-31.5; *Pomp.* 77.2-79.4; *Sull.* 36.1-3, 37.3-4). This often includes the listing of omens—either those witnessed by the subject himself, or those received by others which directly concern the subject and his impending death (e.g. Plut. *Caes.* 63.2-12; *Galb.* 24.2-3; *Sull.* 37.1-2). Following this, he gives the manner of death itself, and concludes with a (generally brief) treatment of the events which occurred immediately afterwards (e.g. *Caes.* 69.3-14; *Cato min.* 71.1-72.2; *Crass.* 32.1-33.5), and/or the enumeration of matters which directly affected the subject's family members (e.g. *Brut.* 53.5-7; *Cato min.* 73.1-4; *Mar.* 46.5-6). In the group of Republican *Lives* especially, the death scene is typically followed by specific details regarding the subject's burial, or the treatment of his body, and any posthumous honours which were awarded (e.g. *Cic.* 48.6-49.4; *Luc.* 43.2-3; *Pomp.* 80.6; *Sull.* 38.1-3).[807]

A discussion of the events affecting Augustus' family members is not likely to have been included in the *Life of Augustus*—documenting the personal histories of his 'descendents' was, after all, the purpose of the series to which his βίος belonged. The remaining elements, however, almost certainly were. There seems little doubt, given the frequency with which Plutarch incorporates omens into his βίοι, that at least one portent of Augustus' death was incorporated into the narrative. The most likely item is the lightning damage to Augustus' statue on the Capitoline, which, as discussed previously, was also recorded by Suetonius and Dio (Suet. *Aug.* 97.2; Dio 56.29.4).[808] Augustus' actual death was probably noted in a similar manner to what is found in most of the alternate sources—simply, and with

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[807] Registration of burial particulars is also found in the *Galba* and *Otho* (Plut. *Galb.* 27.2-3, 28.3; *Oth.* 18.1). See further Appendix VI: The Arrangement of Content in Plutarch's Late Republican *Lives.*

[808] See 293-294 above.

minimal elaboration (cf. Vell. Pat. 2.123.1-2; Tac. *Ann.* 1.5; Dio 56.30.1).[809]

The construction of his other *Lives* suggests that Plutarch would have followed

the account of Augustus' death with the relevant details of his burial and a list

of the various posthumous honours which were decreed, including his

deification (cf. Vell. Pat. 2.124.3; Tac. *Ann*. 1.8-10; Suet. *Aug*. 100.2-3; Dio

56.31.2-34.4, 56.43.1, 46.1-47.1). Dio's *History*, at this point, includes a

formal—and lengthy—funeral oration (Dio 56.35.1-41.9). Such an item is not

likely to have appeared in Plutarch's *Augustus*; there are no comparable set

speeches in other *Lives*, nor do we find similar orations in the other extant

sources. Rather, a summary narration—or, indeed, reiteration—of Augustus'

primary virtues will have functioned as the formal close of the *Life* (cf. e.g.

Caes. 69.1-2; *Galb.* 29.1-4; *Mar.* 45.5-7). Additionally, Plutarch may perhaps

have incorporated a brief philosophical reflection, once again imparting

aspects of the Platonic doctrine he held in such high regard.[810] A suitable

comparison can be seen in the close of the *Marius*; Plutarch's contemplation of

the manner of one's death and its role in the revelation of ἦθος echoes the

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[809] Dio gives a lengthy account of the Augustus' funeral and post-mortem honours, but
  only Suetonius dwells on the minutiae of Augustus' final days of life (Suet. *Aug.*
  97.3, 98.5-99.1). On his reasons for doing, see especially Wardle (2007), 458-461,
  (2008), 187-191 and (2012), 312-323. Wardle examined—and strongly refuted—
  the suggestion that Suetonius intended Augustus' final moments to be interpreted
  negatively: "Suetonius … is well aware of what constituted a good (imperial) death
  and … sees Augustus as its best exemplar" (Wardle, 2007: 447-461, quote at 447).
  His conclusions are sound; as the principle component analysis grid shows,
  Suetonius' presentation—and evaluation—of personality was uniform, and gave
  almost no allowance to contradictory behaviours or character traits. See 162-163,
  238 (Fig. 9) above.

[810] For his adherence to, and incorporation of, Platonic philosophy, cf. 104 n. 274, 113-
  117 above.

precepts expounded in his *De virtute morali*, on the nature and quality of the human soul (*Mar*. 46.1-4; cf. *De Virt. Mor.* 441c-442c). Likewise, the final passages of the *Galba* and *Otho* raise hints of his philosophical beliefs (Plut. *Galb.* 28.1, 29.2-4; *Oth.* 18.3-4). The focus on the soldiery's behaviour in both instances recalls the opening address of the *Galba*, implicitly referring the reader back to Plato's observation that a 'good' soldiery—and, thus, a good citizen—must be sound of mind and obedient, qualities which required "a noble nature and a philosophic training" (Plut. *Galb.* 1.3; trans. Perrin, 1926).[811] The employment of either a character summary or a philosophical exposition at the end of the *Augustus* (or, indeed, both of these constructions) would once again afford Plutarch the chance to emphasise the importance of ἠθικὴ ἀρετή for his readers, and provide them with a means to attain it—a now-familiar practice, and one which we must acknowledge was the ultimate goal of any, or perhaps every, Plutarchan βίος.

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[811] The reference to Plato in the prologue of the *Galba* may have been functioning intertextually. Dio remarks upon the unrestrained greed of the Roman soldiery during the triumviral proscriptions; one soldier was apparently so audacious as to request Attia's property from Octavian after her death (Dio 47.17.6). If Plutarch included this item in his *Augustus*, it could have been used to comment upon the broader character flaws that tended to manifest within the Roman soldiery—and to anticipate his treatment of this theme within the *Galba*, *Otho,* and (presumably) *Vitellius*. A construction of this type naturally depends upon Plutarch's desire to comment upon the character of the military—which, we should remember, was probably not the central concern of the *Augustus* in the same way it is in the *Galba* and *Otho*—as well as how far in advance he conceived his series (forward-looking references within the *Lives* are not as common as those to previously published material; cf. Nikolaidis, 2005: 285-286). Without an extant *Life of Augustus*, we cannot be certain of either factor—but an opportunity for subtle craftsmanship certainly existed if Plutarch wished to utilise it.

Afterword

"Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars* were originally a series of *Lives* of the Roman emperors running consecutively from Augustus to Vitellius and are listed as items 26-27 and 29-33 in the Lamprias Catalogue … the *Augustus* is the only *Life* of the series from which we can form any idea about the emperor based on material from Plutarch's *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and *Antony* (on Augustus' early political career) and a collection of fifteen anecdotes about him preserved in the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* (206F-208A). Some of these anecdotes were most likely used in the *Augustus* and it is fair to suppose that they betray, to some extent at least, the drift of the lost *Life*, as they deal more closely with Augustus' private life over a greater period of time than is covered in the *Galba* or *Otho*. Would this aspect suggest a different method of characterization and narrative technique for the Augustus from that adopted in the *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*? The evidence does not support any firm conclusion."

So noted Aristoula Georgiadou in her recent examination of Plutarch's *Lives of the Caesars*;[812] so, too, have most scholars concluded in the past. The statement perfectly demonstrates the finite nature of comparative literary

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[812] Georgiadou (2014), 251.

analysis, and the limitations one faces when examining lost or fragmentary works—limitations which, in this case, are rendered all the more problematic by modern understandings of the ancient biographical 'genre'. Yet these issues are not insurmountable—and, moreover, it is perhaps possible to determine more regarding this series of βίοι and the *Life of Augustus* especially than was previously believed. The above re-examination of biographical and autobiographical material from the fifth century BCE and beyond isolates several areas where our preconceptions can, and should, be adjusted to allow a broader (and, hopefully, more accurate) understanding of how ancient authors and audiences viewed these forms, and how a biographical treatment of an individual might have been constructed in the first and second centuries CE. As to the difficulties posed by an incomplete or lost text, these may be partly overcome by an additional method of study. I suggested at the outset of this thesis that repertory grid analysis, a method typically employed for the examination of personality theory in the behavioural sciences, could allow us to determine more about lost or fragmentary texts than would literary analysis alone—provided, of course, that it is employed judiciously. It cannot be used in every case; the nature of repertory analysis requires that a significant amount of literature from the author whose work is being examined *is* still extant, and that this material is representative of both its author's usual methodology and the general style of the lost text. For many ancient works, this will not be the case. For Plutarch's *Life of Augustus*, however, the issue is not in question; in addition to the texts Georgiadou noted, Plutarch's general treatment of Augustus, and his biographical methods, can be ascertained from several of the surviving *Parallel Lives*. These, as we have now observed, were almost certainly composed with similar themes and aims as were the *Lives of the Caesars*, and would thus reveal Plutarch's implicit understanding and representation of character with a reasonable degree of accuracy in a repertory analysis.

As demonstrated, the repertory grid and its data can prove a powerful supplementary tool when speculating about the nature of a lost or damaged text. The data gathered during the analysis is much more than the sum of its parts; it reflects the impressions and insights gained during a traditional literary analysis, but also reveals facets of the author's methodology that are not immediately, or easily, observable; we saw, for example, the extensive correlations between certain character traits in Plutarch's *Lives*, and the sometimes surprising lack of correlation between certain others. Such findings allow us to more concretely hypothesise the shape and timbre of the lost *Life of Augustus*—including what information Plutarch was likely to have included or excluded, and how anecdotes which we now possess only in isolation may have been treated in their original context.

It should be reiterated that a repertory analysis is not without its dangers. As noted immediately above, it cannot be utilised in every instance; nor should it be used in isolation. If applied carefully, however, it can both reinforce and enhance what a strictly literary analysis will tell us about a work. Performing a concurrent literary analysis ensures that the data is interpreted with the correct awareness of historicity and context. The two methods are, in fact, at their best and most powerful when used symbiotically—that is, in a mutually dependent, and mutually beneficial, manner.

Larry Cochran, who first employed repertory grid analysis to study an ancient text, professed the hope that his methods would be refined, developed, and applied to a wider field of study. The preceding analysis is surely not without its flaws, but I here offer the same hope; that the insights this thesis has offered will be further developed, to aid and enhance our knowledge of ancient historiographical, and biographical, traditions.

Appendix I

Personality data in Plutarch's *Lives*

The tables below provide the passage reference for the individual attributes extracted from the selected group of Plutarch's *Lives*, the respective polarities of these attributes, and the overall strength ratings for each of the ten character constructs isolated during the analysis. In some cases, two or more character attributes were mentioned within the same passage; these references are therefore included multiple times, once under each relevant heading in the tables. Where a construct rating has been scaled, the original (i.e., mathematical) rating is given first, with the scaled rating following in parentheses.[1]

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[1] See 213-215 above for the scaling process.

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	*Ant.* 23.1; 43.3; 44.3	*Ant.* 3.4; 3.5; 4.2; 4.2; 9.6; 11.2; 16.2; 20.2; 33.4; 54.6; 60.3; 61.1, 62.3; 69.4 *Demetr.-Ant.* 1.2; 1.3; 2.2; 4.1	5
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent	*Ant.* 17.3	*Ant.* 2.3; 9.3; 9.3; 21.1; 24.1; 28.1; 30.1; 51.2; 57.1; 71.3; 75.1 *Demetr.-Ant.* 3.1	5
Beneficent vs. egocentric	*Ant.* 75.2	*Ant.* 2.5; 3.1; 3.1; 3.2; 10.2; 14.3; 73.2 *Demetr.-Ant.* 2.1; 2.2	5
Kind vs. cruel-natured	*Ant.* 1.1; 3.5; 18.3; 43.1; 4.3; 63.2; 69.1	*Ant.* 2.1; 10.2; 16.3; 20.2; 21.2; 24.6; 50.4	3
Financially ethical vs. unethical	*Ant.* 43.3	*Ant.* 2.3; 4.3; 4.4; 6.5; 9.3; 9.5; 21.2; 24.3; 24.4; 28.2; 28.3; 36.2; 54.4; 56.5; 71.2	5
Content vs. discontent	*Ant.* 4.2; 6.5; 10.4; 17.3; 22.2; 24.1; 24.6; 27.2; 29.2; 43.3; 69.4; 71.2	*Ant.* 9.2; 33.2; 33.3; 35.1; 40.5; 67.4; 73.2	2
Honest vs. dishonest		*Ant.* 2.2; 15.2; 18.2; 31.2; 37.2 *Demetr.-Ant.* 5.2	5
Loyal vs. disloyal	*Ant.* 5.3; 18.3	*Ant.* 19.2; 28.1; 30.3; 57.2; 68.2 *Demetr.-Ant.* 5.1	4

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Effective vs. ineffective admin	*Ant.* 3.1; 3.4; 7.1; 7.2; 8.1; 14.2; 23.2; 42.1	*Ant.* 6.5; 20.3; 24.6; 34.4; 36.1; 37.4; 38.2; 58.2; 62.1; 71.2 *Demetr.-Ant.* 3.3	4
Strong vs. weak character	*Ant.* 3.5; 7.1; 17.2 *Demetr.-Ant.* 1.2; 1.2	*Ant.* 2.3; 5.1; 10.3; 24.6; 24.8; 25.1; 51.1; 60.1; 66.4; 76.3 *Demetr.-Ant.* 3.3; 6.1; 6.2	4

Life of Brutus

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	*Brut.* 2.2; 3.2; 3.2; 8.1; 14.5; 15.6; 23.4; 25.4; 29.1; 29.2; 29.2; 29.5; 39.1; 44.2	*Brut.* 8.2; 28.2	1
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent	*Brut.* 1.3; 4.4; 36.1	*Brut.* 24.5	2
Beneficent vs. egocentric	*Brut.* 3.2; 4.1; 4.2; 6.7; 7.4; 18.3; 18.7; 28.2; 29.5; 30.5; 39.4; 40.5 *Dion-Brut.* 3.4; 3.5	*Brut.* 35.2 *Dion-Brut.* 1.3	1
Kind vs. cruel-natured	*Brut.* 1.3; 6.5; 18.4; 20.2; 26.1; 26.3; 26.4; 26.5; 29.2; 30.4; 31.4; 32.1; 45.3; 46.1	*Brut.* 28.1	1
Financially ethical vs. unethical	*Brut.* 6.9; 21.2; 29.3; 32.4; 38.6; 44.2	*Brut.* 24.4; 38.6; 39.2; 46.2	2
Content vs. discontent	*Brut.* 1.3; 4.4; 16.4; 23.6; 29.3; 29.3; 36.7; 52.4	*Brut.* 13.1; 28.2; 34.2	2
Honest vs. dishonest	*Brut.* 1.3; 6.5; 18.14; 35.1; 46.1 *Dion-Brut.* 3.11	*Brut.* 12.1; 24.2	2
Loyal vs. disloyal	*Brut.* 3.3; 4.2; 28.1; 28.1; 35.2; 44.1	*Brut.* 6.1 *Dion-Brut.* 3.4	2
Effective vs. ineffective admin	*Brut.* 4.3; 6.3; 6.6; 10.1; 12.6; 25.5; 28.3; 32.1; 33.1	*Brut.* 20.2; 20.2; 42.4 *Dion-Brut.* 3.2	2

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Strong vs. weak character	*Brut* 1.2; 1.3; 3.4; 4.4; 4.8; 6.5; 6.5; 7.2; 9.1; 18.5; 22.5; 25.3; 26.4; 28.2; 35.6; 40.6; 47.4; 49.5; 52.7 *Dion-Brut.* 4.1	*Brut.* 7.4; 8.3; 21.1	1

Life of Caesar

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	*Caes.* 17.9; 26.8; 31.1 57.4	*Caes.* 2.1; 2.2; 2.4; 3.2; 7.2; 10.7; 13.1; 22.6; 52.2; 55.1; 55.2; 56.4; 58.2	4 (5)
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent	*Caes.* 17.3; 17.9; 17.11	*Caes.* 4.5	2
Beneficent vs. egocentric	*Caes.* 17.1; 29.2; 32.5; 37.2; 60.3; 61.4; 68.1	*Caes.* 1.3; 3.1; 4.4; 6.1; 7.2; 11.4; 11.6; 14.3; 14.7; 17.2; 54.4; 57.5; 58.1; 58.2; 60.1; 64.2; 69.1	4
Kind vs. cruel-natured	*Caes.* 4.4; 5.5; 8.1; 15.5; 26.5; 32.3; 34.4; 35.3; 35.4; 46.1; 46.4; 48.2; 48.3; 48.4; 54.2; 57.3	*Caes.* 2.4; 2.7; 29.6; 35.10; 49.5; 53.7; 61.5	2 (1)
Financially ethical vs. unethical	*Caes.* 29.2; 29.3	*Caes.* 1.7; 2.2; 5.8; 5.9; 7.2; 11.1; 21.3	4
Content vs. discontent	*Caes.* 2.1; 2.2; 3.4; 7.2; 12.1; 26.4; 63.4	*Caes.* 4.2; 11.3; 23.4; 32.4; 38.4; 39.6; 46.1; 54.1; 58.5	3
Honest vs. dishonest		*Caes.* 4.8; 6.3; 6.7; 13.3; 14.7; 20.3; 22.3; 28.3; 31.2; 60.5	5
Loyal vs. disloyal	*Caes.* 1.2; 5.2; 23.5; 62.5		1
Effective vs. ineffective admin	*Caes.* 4.1; 12.1; 12.4; 15.1; 16.1; 17.1; 17.3; 17.4; 18.5; 19.3; 25.1; 37.2; 39.9; 44.3; 53.2; 58.6-10; 59.1	*Caes.* 7.4; 14.2; 14.16; 51.2; 51.4	2

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Strong vs. weak character	*Caes.* 1.1; 2.3; 2.4; 7.1; 7.1; 18.3; 20.4; 20.8; 22.7; 22.7; 23.2; 27.5; 31.2; 32.8; 36.2; 39.2; 52.6; 57.7	*Caes.* 1.5; 14.12; 49.3; 60.8	2 (1)

Life of Cato the Younger

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	*Cato min.* 1.5; 6.3; 8.2; 9.4; 12.4; 32.5; 39.3; 57.2	*Cato min.* 1.5; 30.6; 35.3; 36.2; 39.2; 49.4; 66.3	3
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent	*Cato min.* 3.6; 4.1; 5.3; 7.1; 35.3	*Cato min.* 6.1	1
Beneficent vs. egocentric	*Cato min.* 3.4; 6.4; 13.2; 17.2; 19.2; 19.3; 21.1; 48.2; 53.1; 53.4; 63.3; 64.2		1
Kind vs. cruel-natured	*Cato min.* 9.4; 13.2; 21.6; 26.1; 29.2; 56.2; 58.1		1
Financially ethical vs. unethical	*Cato min.* 15.1; 15.3; 17.3; 18.5; 36.2; 46.3	*Cato min.* 11.2	1
Content vs. discontent	*Cato min.* 10.2; 13.3; 21.5; 47.3	*Cato min.* 1.2; 2.2; 2.6; 5.2; 7.2; 11.2; 13.2; 13.3; 15.1; 18.2; 21.1; 23.1; 24.2; 24.3; 27.2; 30.6; 36.3; 38.3; 43.3; 53.1; 53.6; 54.2; 56.4; 58.5	5
Honest vs. dishonest	*Cato min.* 6.4; 21.4; 48.3; 64.2		1
Loyal vs. disloyal	*Cato min.* 2.6; 3.5; 11.1; 18.4; 25.5; 29.4; 31.2; 37.5	*Cato min.* 37.3	1
Effective vs. ineffective admin	*Cato min.* 9.3; 16.3; 17.5; 18.1; 21.3; 43.4	*Cato min.* 44.1	1

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Strong vs. weak character	*Cato min.* 1.2; 2.4; 8.1; 8.1; 9.4; 15.2; 19.1; 25.4; 27.3; 27.6; 33.1; 38.3; 39.4; 41.5; 51.3; 56.4; 59.2; 60.1; 65.4; 72.6		1

Life of Cicero

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	*Cic.* 1.4; 2.3; 3.2; 4.2, 6.4; 24.2; 24.5; 31.5; 37.1;	*Cic.* 5.1; 6.3; 6.5; 6.5; 8.3; 19.5; 24.1; 24.2; 25.1; 25.2; 32.5; 34.1; 39.1; 45.1 *Demosth.-Cic.* 1.2; 1.4; 2.1; 2.1; 2.3	4
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent	*Cic.* 7.3; 8.2; 8.2; 8.3; 36.3; 36.3; 43.1 *Demosth.-Cic.* 3.3		1
Beneficent vs. egocentric	*Cic.* 8.1; 8.3; 8.4; 9.5; 13.4; 19.4; 19.5; 20.1; 22.5; 24.5; 36.2; 36.4; 37.1; 42.1	*Cic.* 1.3; 3.4; 5.1; 5.2; 24.2; 25.1; 40.3; 45.2; 45.5 *Demosth.-Cic.* 4.3	2
Kind vs. cruel-natured	*Cic.* 5.4; 6.2; 6.2; 8.3; 19.4; 21.4; 22.2; 36.2; 36.3 *Demosth.-Cic.* 3.4	*Cic.* 5.4; 24.7; 26.1-8; 27.1; 32.4; 34.1; 38.2	2
Financially ethical vs. unethical	*Cic.* 7.3; 8.1; 36.2 *Demosth.-Cic.* 3.3; 3.6	*Cic.* 8.1; 41.3	2
Content vs. discontent	*Cic.* 1.4; 5.4; 6.5; 12.5; 24.2; 24.7 *Demosth.-Cic.* 1.6	*Cic.* 20.1; 27.1; 28.2; 32.4; 35.3; 37.2; 38.2; 39.3; 40.3; 46.1; 47.1; 47.6; 48.3	4
Honest vs. dishonest	*Cic.* 29.1	*Cic.* 25.2	3
Loyal vs. disloyal	*Cic.* 35.4; 41.5; 47.2	*Cic.* 29.1; 41.2; 41.3; 41.5	3

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Effective vs. ineffective admin	*Cic.* 2.3; 3.1; 4.3; 5.2; 6.2; 7.2; 7.4; 7.5; 9.1; 9.2; 9.5; 12.4; 12.5; 13.1; 18.4; 20.4; 36.1; 36.2; 36.4; 39.6; 40.2	*Cic.* 6.1; 24.2; 38.1 *Demosth.-Cic.* 4.2	1
Strong vs. weak character	*Cic.* 2.2; 2.3; 4.4; 4.5; 9.1; 11.2; 12.5;	*Cic.* 3.4; 14.5; 20.4; 21.2; 29.3; 30.3; 31.4; 35.3; 35.4; 35.4; 37.2; 37.3; 38.1; 40.4; 41.4; 41.5; 42.1; 43.3; 43.4; 43.5; 46.1; 47.4; 47.4 *Demosth.-Cic.* 5.1	4

Life of Crassus

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	*Crass.* 2.2; 3.1; 6.3; 12.4; 15.2;	*Crass.* 6.4; 11.2; 11.5; 11.8; 14.4; 16.2; 17.3; 19.5; 19.5; 21.7 *Nic.-Crass.* 3.2; 5.2	4
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent	*Crass.* 1.1; 1.1; 2.5; 3.1		1
Beneficent vs. egocentric	*Crass.* 2.6; 3.2; 7.4; 7.5; 12.3; 15.2;	*Crass.* 1.2; 2.3; 2.4; 6.4; 6.6; 6.7; 14.4; 16.2; 18.2; 27.4 *Nic.-Crass.* 3.2; 3.7	4
Kind vs. cruel-natured	*Crass.* 3.1; 3.3; 7.4; 7.6;	*Crass.* 7.9; 10.2 *Nic.-Crass.* 2.2; 2.3	3
Financially ethical vs. unethical	*Crass.* 3.1; 6.1	*Crass.* 1.2; 1.2; 2.2; 2.3; 2.4; 2.7; 3.1; 6.1; 6.5; 17.3; 17.5 *Nic.-Crass.* 1.2; 1.4	5
Content vs. discontent	*Crass.* 3.1; 3.2; 5.4; 12.4; 16.1; 17.3; 18.5; 19.2; 20.1; 31.2	*Crass.* 6.5; 7.1; 11.8; 14.4; 22.3; 23.3; 27.4	2
Honest vs. dishonest		*Crass.* 6.7; 13.2	5 (4)
Loyal vs. disloyal	*Crass.* 1.1; 13.4	*Crass.* 7.8 *Nic.-Crass.* 2.1	3
Effective vs. ineffective admin	*Crass.* 10.3; 10.4; 11.7	*Crass.* 12.2; 13.1; 13.1; 15.4; 17.1; 17.4-5; 23.3; 23.5; 26.3; 30.3; 30.4-5 *Nic.-Crass.* 3.6; 5.1	4
Strong vs. weak character	*Crass.* 2.1; 3.2; 6.2; 10.5; 11.7; 26.5 *Nic.-Crass.* 2.3; 5.2	*Crass.* 2.1; 4.2; 6.7; 11.8; 21.7 *Nic.-Crass.* 3.6	2

Life of Galba

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	_Galba_ 5.2; 10.4; 11.1; 24.2; 26.2; 29.1	_Galba_ 23.2	1
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent	_Galba_ 3.2; 3.3; 11.1		1
Beneficent vs. egocentric	_Galba_ 4.1; 5.2; 8.3-4; 21.1; 27.1; 29.1; 29.2	_Galba_ 7.3	1
Kind vs. cruel-natured	_Galba_ 3.3; 4.1; 4.1; 11.1; 18.1	_Galba_ 5.5; 15.1; 15.2; 15.4; 17.5; 26.2; 29.4	4
Financially ethical vs. unethical	_Galba_ 3.2; 8.1-2; 11.1; 18.2	_Galba_ 16.1; 16.2; 16.3; 23.2	3
Content vs. discontent	_Galba_ 3.2; 7.3; 13.3	_Galba_ 4.1; 6.3; 6.4; 10.1; 10.4; 17.1; 19.1; 22.1; 29.4	4
Honest vs. dishonest	_Galba_ 4.2; 29.1	_Galba_ 4.2; 15.3	3 (2)
Loyal vs. disloyal	_Galba_ 4.2; 10.2		1 (2)
Effective vs. ineffective admin	_Galba_ 3.2; 3.2; 3.3; 3.3; 13.4; 17.2	_Galba_ 6.4; 15.3; 15.4; 16.1; 16.2; 17.4; 19.1; 22.2; 22.2; 23.1; 26.1	4
Strong vs. weak character	_Galba_ 18.2; 21.1; 26.1; 27.2	_Galba_ 3.3; 4.3; 6.3; 6.4; 6.4; 10.1; 10.2; 11.2; 12.3; 22.1; 26.1; 29.4	4

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	*Luc.* 2.5; 2.6; 29.5	*Luc.* 13.3; 14.1; 27.7; 33.2; 41.1	4
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent	*Luc.* 2.6	*Luc.* 39.1; 39.1; 40.1 *Cim.-Luc.* 1.1; 1.5; 1.6	5
Beneficent vs. egocentric	*Luc.* 1.5; 1.6; 7.6; 8.3; 20.1; 23.2; 29.4; 42.1	*Luc.* 5.1; 6.2; 6.3;	2
Kind vs. cruel-natured	*Luc.* 2.1; 4.1; 18.6; 18.6; 19.3; 19.5; 24.8; 29.6; 36.5; 42.2	*Luc.* 12.5	1
Financially ethical vs. unethical	*Luc.* 3.1; 14.2; 19.3; 29.3; 29.8	*Luc.* 17.7; 39.2-5; 41.2 *Cim.-Luc.* 1.5	3
Content vs. discontent	*Luc.* 1.5; 24.5; 32.1; 33.2; 39.1; 39.4; 41.1; 42.2	*Luc.* 5.2; 19.4; 38.1;	2
Honest vs. dishonest	*Luc.* 4.1		1 (2)
Loyal vs. disloyal	*Luc.* 1.2; 1.6; 42.5		1
Effective vs. ineffective admin	*Luc.* 2.1; 2.3; 3.2; 5.4; 7.2; 8.47; 11.1; 15.7; 20.3; 23.2; 27.2; 28.8; 33.1; 36.5 *Cim.-Luc.* 3.1-4	*Luc.* 3.6; 14.4; 17.7; 24.2; 33.2 *Cim.-Luc.* 2.3	2
Strong vs. weak character	*Luc.* 1.2; 2.1; 8.36; 11.2; 29.6; 33.1; 36.5; 36.5; 42.2-3 *Cim.-Luc.* 1.4; 3.5	*Luc.* 15.3; 32.3; 35.4; 35.5	2

Life of Marius

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	*Mar.* 24.1; 27.6	*Mar.* 2.2; 4.2; 4.3; 9.1; 9.2; 9.3; 10.6; 12.5; 16.3; 24.1; 25.5; 28.4; 29.4; 45.7	5
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent	*Mar.* 3.2; 3.2; 6.2; 7.2	*Mar.* 34.2; 45.7	2
Beneficent vs. egocentric	*Mar.* 5.1; 16.2; 38.2	*Mar.* 2.3; 10.6; 14.7; 28.1; 28.2; 28.3; 28.4; 31.2; 31.2; 34.4; 43.1; 45.6; 45.7	4
Kind vs. cruel-natured		*Mar.* 2.1; 2.3; 8.2; 14.2; 29.1; 35.5; 41.4; 42.1; 43.3; 43.4; 44.3; 44.5; 44.6	5
Financially ethical vs. unethical	*Mar.* 22.1	*Mar.* 2.3; 5.2; 14.7; 28.5; 34.4	4
Content vs. discontent	*Mar.* 3.2; 7.2; 8.5; 24.3	*Mar.* 10.6; 13.2; 13.2; 28.2; 31.1; 32.1; 34.4; 36.1; 37.4; 40.4; 41.4; 43.1; 43.2; 45.2; 45.4; 45.47	4
Honest vs. dishonest		*Mar.* 14.8; 29.2; 29.3; 29.5; 30.1	5
Loyal vs. disloyal		*Mar.* 35.6; 43.4	5
Effective vs. ineffective admin	*Mar.* 4.4; 6.1; 7.2; 13.1; 14.3; 15.3; 16.2; 18.4; 20.6; 25.1	*Mar.* 32.1	1
Strong vs. weak character	*Mar.* 3.2; 4.3; 5.2; 6.1; 6.3; 7.2; 14.2; 20.6; 33.1; 33.2	*Mar.* 2.3; 28.1; 28.2; 29.5; 45.3	2

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	*Otho* 1.1; 3.2; 15.3; 16.2; 18.1	*Otho* 3.1; 3.1; 3.2; 4.3;	3
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent		*Otho* 4.3; 5.5; 9.4; 9.4; 18.2 *Galba* 19.2	5
Beneficent vs. egocentric	*Otho* 1.2; 1.3; 1.3; 1.3; 4.1; 5.1; 15.6	*Otho* 3.2; 4.1; 8.4; 9.5 *Galba* 20.3; 20.4	3
Kind vs. cruel-natured	*Otho* 1.1; 1.2; 1.2; 3.1; 3.5; 3.8; 3.8; 5.1; 16.2; 16.3; 17.1	*Otho* 4.3	1
Financially ethical vs. unethical	*Otho* 1.3; 3.7; 17.1; 17.1	*Otho* 4.2; 4.3; 4.3 *Galba* 19.4	3 (4)
Content vs. discontent	*Otho* 4.2, 15.3, 17.2	*Otho* 3.7; 9.2	2
Honest vs. dishonest	*Otho* 16.2	*Galba* 19.3; 19.4; 20.4	4
Loyal vs. disloyal	*Otho* 3.1; 5.2; 5.2	*Galba* 20.2	2
Effective vs. ineffective admin	*Otho* 1.1; 1.3; 2.1; 3.6; 3.8; 3.8; 7.4; 8.4; 9.2; 9.4; 10.1; 12.2 *Galba* 20.2	*Otho* 3.6; 4.3; 5.3; 5.3; 5.5; 15.1	3 (4)
Strong vs. weak character	*Otho* 7.4; 15.3; 16.1; 16.3; 18.2	*Otho* 4.3; 5.1; 9.2; 9.2; 9.2; 9.4; 9.4 *Galba* 19.2	4

Life of Pompey

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	*Pomp.* 1.3; 8.4; 13.2; 13.5; 27.3; 32.5; 39.1; 43.3; 75.2 *Ages.-Pomp.* 1.2	*Pomp.* 2.4; 6.3; 14.3; 14.4; 18.3; 19.1; 20.1; 20.2; 23.3; 29.5; 31.6; 47.5; 48.1; 49.1; 51.5; 55.5; 57.3; 65.5; 67.5; 70.4; 76.6; 77.3 *Ages.-Pomp.* 2.2; 2.2	4
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent	*Pomp.* 1.3; 2.5; 18.2; 40.5		1
Beneficent vs. egocentric	*Pomp.* 2.3; 20.4; 49.7 *Ages.-Pomp.* 3.2	*Pomp.* 9.2; 10.3; 30.6; 31.1; 42.6; 44.2; 47.6; 54.2; 59.4; 67.2 *Ages.-Pomp.* 2.3; 3.4	4
Kind vs. cruel-natured	*Pomp.* 3.1; 2.1; 10.2; 10.6; 22.2; 26.2; 27.4; 33.2; 39.3; 53.2; 55.4	*Pomp.* 10.4; 55.6	1
Financially ethical vs. unethical	*Pomp.* 36.1; 36.7; 36.7;	*Pomp.* 38.1; 42.4; 44.4; 46.2; 52.2; 52.4; 55.3; 55.4	4
Content vs. discontent	*Pomp.* 3.2; 7.1; 10.4; 22.2; 30.6; 52.5; 53.3; 54.5	*Pomp.* 13.1; 18.3; 38.1; 42.6; 46.4; 49.1; 49.1; 51.5; 54.4; 55.6; 61.3; 67.2; 67.4; 69.4; 71.4; 72.1; 73.5; 75.3	4
Honest vs. dishonest	*Pomp.* 1.3; 22.3; 54.1		1
Loyal vs. disloyal	*Pomp.* 3.2; 15.3; 65.5; 67.4; 75.1 *Ages.-Pomp.* 1.3	*Pomp.* 43.5; 56.3	2

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Effective vs. ineffective admin	*Pomp.* 4.2; 20.2; 22.3; 41.2	*Pomp.* 29.3; 53.1; 61.2; 65.5; 70.3 *Ages.-Pomp.* 4.2	4
Strong vs. weak character	*Pomp.* 1.3; 14.3; 14.5; 26.4; 32.2; 33.6; 50.2; 64.2; 75.1; 79.4	*Pomp*. 48.5; 60.5; 67.4; 72.1 *Ages.-Pomp.* 3.4; 4.3; 4.7	2

Life of Sulla

Construct	Positive incidents	Negative incidents	Strength
Realistic vs. vainglorious	*Sull.* 6.4; 6.6; 6.11; 19.5	*Sull.* 3.4; 3.4; 5.5; 6.7; 10.1; 12.3; 13.1; 30.5; 33.1; 33.2	4
Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent	*Sull.* 1.2	*Sull.* 2.2; 2.3; 2.3; 12.7; 35.1; 35.5; 36.1	5
Beneficent vs. egocentric	*Sull.* 22.2; 34.3 *Lys.-Sull.* 5.1; 5.3; 5.4	*Sull.* 6.8; 31.5 *Lys.-Sull.* 1.4; 2.4;	3
Kind vs. cruel-natured	*Sull.* 16.8; 23.2	*Sull.* 1.4; 6.8; 9.7; 9.7; 10.1; 10.2; 13.1; 14.3; 14.7; 30.5; 31.1; 31.3	5
Financially ethical vs. unethical	*Sull.* 19.6; 27.2	*Sull.* 5.2; 5.6; 12.2; 12.3-4; 12.9; 12.9; 25.2; 33.2; 34.1; 35.1; 35.2 *Lys.-Sull.* 3.2	5
Content vs. discontent	*Sull.* 2.3; 2.3; 6.4; 12.5; 19.5; 26.3; 30.5; 36.1	*Sull.* 2.2; 9.7; 16.5; 35.3	2
Honest vs. dishonest		*Sull.* 1.2; 9.5; 28.2; 30.2	5
Loyal vs. disloyal	*Sull.* 6.12	*Lys.-Sull.* 2.4	3
Effective vs. ineffective admin	*Sull.* 3.1; 4.1; 15.2; 34.3; 36.1 *Lys.- Sull.* 3.5	*Sull.* 2.2; 2.2; 6.8; 12.2	2
Strong vs. weak character	*Sull.* 6.7; 16.5; 22.2 *Lys.-Sull.* 5.5	*Sull.* 2.3; 9.3	2

Appendix II-a

An Extended Comparison of Construct Criteria

The table below enumerates the character traits which contributed to each Plutarchan and Suetonian construct. The relevant details have been aligned as closely as possible to allow for easier comparison between the two studies; as a result, Cochran's constructs are not in the order he originally gave.[1] It will also be noted that each of the construct headings for Plutarch's *Lives* has been labelled with the positive pole first (eg. 'realistic vs. vainglorious'). This is, in part, intended to minimise confusion when comparing an identical Suetonian and Plutarchan construct—thus, 'vainglorious vs. realistic' would refer to the construct from Cochran's study, while 'realistic vs. vainglorious' would refer to the construct from present study—but also serves to reinforce the fact that Plutarch tended to stress the positive elements of personality within his βίοι. The individual traits from which each construct is comprised are given in the same negative-positive format as those from Cochran's study, again to facilitate direct comparison.

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[1] See Cochran 192-194 for his order, as well as his notes on what each construct represented. Some of the Plutarchan constructs do not have an exact parallel to those from Cochran's study; see 206-212 above.

Constructs gathered from Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*	Constructs gathered from Plutarch's *Lives*
Vainglorious vs. realistic: showy / modest loves honours / rejects excessive honours craves fame / content without fame self-inflated / avoids empty show proud / humble	Realistic vs. vainglorious: excess pageantry / simple appearance excess desire for glory / moderate desire for glory craves fame / content without fame arrogant / modest proud / humble disrespectful to others / respectful to others disregards laws / follows laws impiety or hubris / religious piety
Luxurious vs. moderate living: embraces luxury / lives modestly Self-indulgence vs. restraint in food, sex, drink: excessive appetite / modest appetite	Self-disciplined vs. self-indulgent: ostentatious lifestyle / humble lifestyle excessive appetites / restrained appetites
Egocentric vs. outward centred: uses position for self / uses position for others greedy / generous concerned for self / concerned for common good	Beneficent vs. egocentric: acts primarily for self / acts primarily for others excessive ambition / little overt ambition strong interest in self / interested in public welfare
Cruel natured vs. good natured: cruel / merciful evil natured / good natured	Kind-natured vs. cruel-natured: cruel / merciful treats others poorly / treats others well
Rapacious vs. financially ethical: seeks plunder / legitimate acquisition of funds rapacious / financially ethical	Financially ethical vs. financially unethical: seeks plunder / legitimate acquisition of funds unethical expenditure / ethical expenditure prone to bribery and corruption / incorruptible poor fiscal policy / good fiscal policy
Miserable vs. content: sour / cheerful	Content vs. discontent: downcast / cheerful

miserable / happy	misfortunate / fortunate
Resentful of others vs. encouraging: envious of others / accepting of others jealous / admiring fearful / encouraging of others' qualities	envious or spiteful / accepting of others fretful / content
	Honest vs. dishonest: generally dishonest / generally honest uses rhetoric devices / speaks plainly untrustworthy / trustworthy
Treacherous vs. loyal: treacherous / loyal to family and friends	**Loyal vs. disloyal:** disloyal / loyal to family and friends breaks allegiances / maintains allegiances
Irresponsible vs. responsible: negligent of duty / dutiful frivolous / serious lazy / disciplined	**Effective vs. ineffective administrator:** performs duties poorly / performs duties well
Weak character vs. strong character: cowardly / brave timid / bold vacillating / constant overly influenced by others / self-directed	**Strong vs. weak character:** cowardly / brave meek / daring vacillating / stubborn relies on, or controlled by, others / self-directed filled with doubts ('aporetic') / resourceful

Appendix II-b

Non-Average Character Constructs in Suetonius' *Galba*

The table below compares the strength of the five constructs with non-average ratings in the *Galba* against the remaining *vitae.* A key to the symbols is given below; blank cells indicate that the emperor's tendency towards the traits embodied by that construct was neither identical, nor similar, to Galba's.

	Self-indulgence	Cruelty	Misery	Weakness of Character	Loyalty
Vitellius	+	+	★	★	★
Otho	–	★	–	–	–
Claudius	★	–	–	+	–
Nero	+	+	★	+	
Domitian	–	+	+	–	
Tiberius	+	+	+	–	
Caligula	+	+	+	+	
Julius					+
Augustus					+
Vespasian					+
Titus					+

KEY

★   strength of construct is identical to that for Galba
+   construct is *stronger* for this emperor than for Galba
–   construct is *weaker* for this emperor than for Galba

Appendix III

Source Citations in Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*

As others have noted, explicit citation of sources is more frequent in the early *vitae*. From the *Claudius* onwards, Suetonius names no more than three sources per *vita*; the *Galba*, *Vespasian* and *Titus* contain no explicit attestations at all. A number of historians are adduced, but there is a greater preference for biographical and epistolary evidence. Oratorical sources are also favoured.

The table below documents Suetonius' named sources alphabetically, by *nomen* wherever possible.[1] Emperors are given using their birth name, with common name following in parentheses, i.e., *Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus (Caligula)*.

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[1] For sources that Suetonius is thought to have utilised, but did not cite explicitly, see, e.g., Braithwaite (1927), xiii–xiv; Lindsay (1993), 9 and (1995), 6-11; Mooney, 27-39; Murison, xii-xiv.

Source	Genre	Reference/s
Marcus Actorius Naso	historical	*Jul*. 9.3, 52.1
Quintus Aelius Tubero	historical	*Jul*. 83.1
Titus Ampius [Balbus?][2]	biographical	*Jul.* 77
Lucius Annaeus Seneca[3]	historical	*Tib.* 73.2
Marcus Antonius	epistolary	*Aug.* 2.3, 4.2, 7.1, 10.4, 16.2, 63.2, 69.2
Aquilius Niger	(*genre unknown*)	*Aug.* 10.4
Asclepias of Mendes	religious	*Aug.* 94.4
Gaius Asinius Pollio	historical	*Jul*. 30.4, 56.4
Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus	legal	*Jul.* 9.2, 49.2
Gaius Cassius Parmensis	epistolary	*Aug*. 4.2
Titus Cassius Severus	oratorical	*Vit.* 2.1
Tiberius Claudius Drusus (Claudius)	historical	*Cl.* 21.2
Tiberius Claudius Nero	biographical, epistolary, oratorical	*Tib.* 61.1, 67.1, 67.3-4
Lucius Cornelius Balbus	biographical	*Jul*. 81.2
Publius Cornelius Dolabella	oratorical	*Jul*. 49.1
Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus	(*genre unknown*)	*Cal.* 8.1

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2   The name is given by Suetonius as 'Titus Ampius', and is generally identified with T. Ampius Balbus, a legate and supporter of Pompey (Baldwin, 1983: 111; Scullard, *OCD^2* s.v. Balbus (2), T. Ampius). He appears to have composed either histories or *vitae*; Baldwin (1983: 199 n. 50) felt that the latter were more likely. Cf. Bardon (1952), 284.

3   It is unclear which Seneca is being referred to from the text; Hurley (155 n. 129) and Lindsay (1995: 185) assumed the elder.

Cornelius Nepos	biographical	*Aug.* 77
Aulus Cremutius Cordus[4]	historical	*Aug.* 35.2
Gaius Drusus	(*genre unknown*)	*Aug.* 94.6
Quintus Elogius[5]	(*genre unknown*)	*Vit.* 1.2
Quintus Ennius	poetic	*Aug.* 7.2
Titus Flavius Domitanus (Domitian)	academic	*Dom.* 18.2
Aulus Hirtius	historical	*Jul.* 56.3
Lucius Licinius Crassus	oratorical	*Nero* 2.2
Gaius Licinius Macer Calvus	poetic	*Jul.* 49.1
Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus (Caligula)	legal	*Cal.* 45.3, 49.1
Julius Marathus	biographical?	*Aug.* 79.2, 94.3
Marcus Junius Brutus	epistolary	*Jul.*
Junius Saturninus	historical	*Aug.* 27.2
Gaius Memmius	(*genre unknown*)	*Jul.* 49.2
Gaius Octavius Thurinus[6] (Augustus)	biographical, epistolary, historical, legal	*Jul.* 55.3-4; *Aug.* 2.3, 27.4, 28.2, 31.5, 42.3, 43.1, 62.2, 71.2-4, 74, 76.1-2, 86.2-3; *Tib.* 21.4-7; *Cal.* 8.4; *Cl.* 4.1-4.6,
Gaius Oppius	biographical	*Jul.* 52.2, 53
Gaius Plinius Secundus	academic	*Cal.* 8.1-3
Marcus Porcius Cato	oratorical	*Jul.* 53.1

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[4] Given by Suetonius as 'Cordus Cremutius' (cf. *Cal.* 16.1).

[5] The name is uncertain. Murison (131) suggested reading *extatque* rather than *extat Q.* in the manuscript, though preferred Casaubon's emendation of *Q. Eulogii*, referring to the freedman Q. Vitellius Eulogius.

[6] On the varying nomenclature for Augustus, see 268 n. 638 above.

Gaius Scribonius Curio (the elder)	oratorical	*Jul.* 9.2, 49.1, 52.3
[Suetonius?][7]	oral (personal recollection)	*Cal.* 19.3
Suetonius Laetus	oral (personal recollection)	*Otho* 10.1
Tanusius Geminus[8]	historical	*Jul.* 9.2
Marcus Tullius Cicero	epistolary, oratorical, philosophical	*Jul*. 9.2, 30.5, 42.3, 49.3, 55.1-2, 56.1-2; *Aug.* 3.2
Unnamed consul	historical	*Tib.* 61.6
Unnamed 'elders'	oral (personal recollection)	*Cl.* 15.3

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[7] The biographer's grandfather. Nothing more is known about him, and it is uncertain from the text whether Suetonius refers to a maternal or paternal ancestor.

[8] Sometimes identified with the ponderous annalist of Catullus 36 and 95 and Seneca *Ep.* 93, 11; cf. Neudling (1955), 188–189.

Appendix IV

Suetonius' Attitudes Toward Formal Education

The following table examines how much attention Suetonius typically devoted to education within his *vitae*, and the extent to which this affected his overall judgement of each subject. Like Plutarch, Suetonius appears to have deemed a 'correct' education to be a vital element in shaping one's character; eight of the twelve *vitae* include details regarding education and subsequent literary achievements. In most cases, an emperor who has actively pursued formal education, particularly *studia liberalia*, is judged favourably, while those who ignore or neglect their education are censured. Oratory and composition seem to have been areas of particular concern; Suetonius typically notes both the subject's early education and oratorical training, as well as any literary works they composed; often his overall opinion of their skill is given in this subsequent section. We occasionally find items that do not relate directly to the subject's education, but nevertheless provide evidence of their attitude towards education in general—the *Caesar* offers an excellent example in Suetonius' note that Caesar granted citizenship to teachers of medicine and the 'liberal' arts, thereby fostering a culture that encouraged further training. The overall judgement is based on the findings of Cochran's repertory study: 'good' indicates that the *vita* contained a majority of positively-scored character constructs (seven or more of a possible eleven), while 'bad' indicates the reverse. 'Neutral' indicates that the ratio of positive to negative constructs was balanced (5:6 or 6:5), or that more than half of the constructs received an average score.

Vita	Relevant Details of Education	Judgement
Caesar	*Caes.* 4.1: intends to study in Rhodes but fails (captured by pirates); *Caes.* 42.1: encourages teachers of medicine and liberal arts to occupy Rome; *Caes.* 55.1-2: previous training and skill in oratory; *Caes.* 55.3-56.5: literary compositions and reputation.	Good
Augustus	*Aug.* 8.2: formal studies in Apollonia; *Aug.* 84.1-2: lifelong devotion to education, even during campaigns; *Aug.* 85.1-2: literary compositions; *Aug.* 86.1-3: adherence to traditional methods of education; *Aug.* 89.1-2: pursues Greek, as well as Roman, studies.	Good
Tiberius	*Tib.* 70.1: devoted to formal study but cultivates poor style; *Tib.* 70.2: literary compositions; *Tib.* 70.3: focuses on trivial subjects of study; *Tib.* 71.1: aversion to Greek language.	Bad
Caligula	*Cal.* 53.1: neglects literary studies in favour of oratory; *Cal.* 54.1-2: too much attention given to performance; *Cal.* 53.2: composes nothing of great merit.[1]	Bad
Claudius	*Cl.* 3.1: studies liberal arts, publishes compositions; *Cl.* 41.1-3: literary compositions; *Cl.* 42.1: studies Greek and Latin; *Cl.* 42.2: Greek compositions and literary reputation	Good
Nero	*Nero* 52.1: studies liberal arts but not philosophy or wider oratory, poetic compositions	Bad

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[1] The 'frivolous' nature of Caligula's compositions—replies to orators, or speeches performed during the trials of highly-ranked personages (*magnorum*)—is made more apparent by the earlier notation of Germanicus' literary achievements (*Cal.* 3.2) and his superior intellect.

Vita	Relevant Details of Education	Judgement
Galba	(no information provided)	Neutral
Otho	(no information provided)	Neutral
Vitellius	(no information provided)[2]	Bad
Vespasian	(no information provided)	Good
Titus	*Tit.* 3.1-2: vast intellect, declaims and composes in Latin and Greek, proficient in musical studies also	Good
Domitian	*Dom.* 2.2: feigns interest in poetry; *Dom.* 20.1: neglects liberal studies, makes no attempt to further education	Bad

[2] Suetonius hints that Vitellius had pursued a formal education, referring to the *condiscipuli* he executed during his principate (Suet. *Vit.* 14.1), but nothing can be gleaned about the extent of this education or its primary foci.

APPENDIX V

Chronological Progression in Suetonius' *Vita Vergili*

The *vita* is almost entirely chronological; the first seven passages strictly so. These are interrupted briefly by a topically-arranged section, in which Suetonius discusses Virgil's appearance, health, and appetites (illustrated anecdotally; Suet. *Virg.* 8-16), before chronological narrative is resumed. This continues to operate for some thirty passages, after which Suetonius ends the work with a brief treatment of Virgil's literary reputation during his life. There is a second, minor, interruption to chronology at *Virg.* 39-41, where Suetonius relates Virgil's desire to burn the incomplete *Aeneid*; the anecdote should technically belong to *Virg.* 35-36. The contents of the chronological passages of the *vita* are shown in the table overleaf.

Section	Topic Area(s)
Virg. 1	Ancestry (father)
Virg. 2	Birth
Virg. 3-5	Omens—*in utero*, at birth, after birth
Virg. 6	Childhood, assumption of *toga virilis*
Virg. 7	Relocation—Cremona to Mediolanum, Mediolanum to Rome
Virg. 17-34	Literary output: a) Composition—childhood poetry, minor works, attempt at history, *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid* b) Publication—*Bucolics*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid* *c*) Reception—*Bucolics*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid*
Virg. 35	Sickness
Virg. 36	Death and burial
Virg. 37	Bequests

Appendix VI

The Arrangement of Content in Plutarch's Late Republican *Lives*

In Chapter Four, we examined Plutarch's extant *Lives* to determine which would likely have been most similar to the lost *Life of Augustus*, in terms of both historical context and literary style. Leaving aside the *Galba* and *Otho*, both of which came from the *Lives of the Caesars* series but were suggested to have been anomalous,[1] ten *Lives* were isolated: the *Antony*, *Brutus*, *Caesar*, *Cato minor*, *Cicero*, *Crassus*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey* (collectively referred to throughout the thesis as the 'late Republican *Lives*') and the *Marius* and *Sulla* (the '*Lives* of dictators').[2] As can be seen from the following summaries, these βίοι follow a very regular pattern.[3] There is, of course, some individual deviation, but the overall schemata are remarkably static. Plutarch begins almost every *Life* with a combination of the subject's ancestry, birth, or childhood.[4] Relevant education is often incorporated (e.g. *Brut*. 2.2-5; *Cato min*. 1.3-5; *Cic*. 2.2-3.1), as are proleptic examples of the subject's character (e.g. *Caes*. 1.4; *Cato min*. 2.1-4; *Sull*. 2.2-4). Eight out of ten *Lives* give highlights of the subject's entry into public (i.e., political and/or military) life. Following this is an abbreviated documentation of their main achievements. These are typically deeds performed in war or during their capacity as a governing figure, and Plutarch employs his favoured technique of temporal

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[1]   See 255 and n. 608 above.

[2]   See 199-201 above.

[3]   As indeed do most Plutarchan *Lives*.

[4]   With the obvious exception of the incomplete *Life of Caesar*.

telescoping, focussing on a few key events rather than adhering to a true annalistic format. The accounts of historical deeds are interspersed with brief digressions, in which he generally discusses either the subject's personal life, virtues, or vices (e.g. *Ant.* 24.6-25.2; *Caes.* 15.2-17.11; *Cato min.* 24.1-3), or omens of particular significance (e.g. *Brut*. 15.1-4; *Caes.* 47.1-6; *Sull.* 7.2-6). *Exitus* scenes are of varying length, but are in every case concluded with a brief statement detailing the aftermath of the subject's death; this typically also includes the notation of any posthumous honours that were awarded, or events which affected the subject's immediate family.

Life of Antony

Subsection	Topic Area	Passages
I	Ancestry and youth	*Ant*. 1-2
II	Early political life	*Ant.* 3
III	Appearance	*Ant.* 4.1-2
IV	Rise to power and historical deeds: - Role in the war between Caesar and Pompey - Hostilities with Octavian - Establishment of triumvirate	*Ant.* 4.3-23.3 *Ant*. 5-15 *Ant*. 16-20 *Ant.* 21-23
V	Summary of character	*Ant.* 24-25
VI	Personal life and virtues: - Relationships with Cleopatra and Octavia	 *Ant.* 26-31
VII	Historical deeds: - Treaty with Sex. Pompeius - Parthian campaign - War with Octavian	 *Ant.* 32 *Ant.* 33-52 *Ant.* 53-74
VIII	Death	*Ant.* 75-77
IX	Post-mortem events Descendents	*Ant*. 78-86 *Ant.* 87

Life of Brutus

Subsection	Topic Area	Passages
I	Ancestry, education, and youth	*Brut.* 1-3
II	Rise to power and historical deeds: - Role in the war between Caesar and Pompey - Role in Caesar's assassination - War with Octavian and Antony	 *Brut.* 4-7 *Brut.* 8-21 *Brut.* 22-35
III	Significant omens: - Interrupting the assassins - Foretelling his death	 *Brut.* 15 *Brut.* 36-37
IV	Historical deeds: - Battle of Philippi	 *Brut.* 38-51
V	Death and post-mortem honours Death of his wife Porcia	*Brut.* 52-53.4 *Brut.* 53.5-7

Life of Caesar

Subsection	Topic Area	Passages
I	Relationships	*Caes.* 1.1-3
II	Early political life: - Hostilities with Sulla - Return to Rome - Democratic popularity	*Caes.* 1.4-2.7 *Caes.* 3-4 *Caes.* 5
III	Rise to power	*Caes.* 6-8
IV	Historical deeds: - Praetorship - Provincial appointment in Spain - Alliance with Pompey	*Caes.* 9-10 *Caes.* 11-12 *Caes.* 13-14
V	Summary of character	*Caes.* 15-17
VI	Historical deeds: - Gallic wars - War with Pompey	*Caes.* 18-27 *Caes.* 28-46
VII	Significant omens foretelling his victory	*Caes.* 47
VIII	Historical deeds: - Wars in Egypt, Asia, Africa, and Spain	*Caes.* 48-56
IX	Public life and government of Rome	*Caes.* 57-62
X	Significant omens foretelling his death	*Caes.* 63
XI	Death Post-mortem events	*Caes.* 64-66 *Caes.* 67-68
XII	Character summary and implications of his murder	*Caes.* 69

Life of Cato minor

Subsection	Topic Area	Passages
I	Ancestry, youth, and education	*Cato min.* 1
II	Summary of character: - During his youth - At maturity - In political activity - In his personal life	*Cato min.* 2-3 *Cato min.* 4 *Cato min.* 5 *Cato min.* 6-7
III	Historical deeds: - Servile war - Macedonia - Travels in Asia and Syria - Quaestorship	*Cato min.* 8 *Cato min.* 9-11 *Cato min.* 12-15 *Cato min.* 16-18
IV	Public life	*Cato min.* 19-24.2
V	Personal life and virtues	*Cato min.* 24.3-25
VI	Historical deeds: - Opposition to Metellus, Pompey, Caesar - Advice to Ptolemy - Return to Rome - Political activity - Role in the war between Caesar and Pompey	*Cato min.* 26-34 *Cato min.* 35-37 *Cato min.* 38-39 *Cato min.* 40-48 *Cato min.* 49-65
VII	Death	*Cato min.* 66-70
VIII	Post-mortem events Descendents	*Cato min.* 71-72 *Cato min.* 73

Life of Cicero

Subsection	Topic Area	Passages
I	Ancestry, youth, and education	*Cic.* 1-4
II	Early political life	*Cic.* 5.1-8.1
III	Personal life and virtues	*Cic.* 8.2-4
IV	Historical deeds: - Praetorship and consulship - Catilinarian conspiracy	*Cic.* 9-10.1 *Cic.* 10.2-22.8
V	Public life: - Growing unpopularity - Exile and return to Rome	*Cic.* 23-29 *Cic.* 30-33
VI	Historical deeds: - Government of Cilicia - Role in the war between Caesar and Pompey	*Cic.* 34-36 *Cic.* 37-39
VII	Personal life and virtues	*Cic.* 40-41
VIII	Historical deeds: - Role in Caesar's assassination - Alliance with Octavian	*Cic.* 42-43 *Cic.* 44-46
IX	Death Post-mortem events	*Cic.* 47-48 *Cic.* 49

Life of Crassus

Subsection	Topic Area	Passages
I	Ancestry	*Crass.* 1.1
II	Summary of character	*Crass.* 1.2-3.1
III	Education	*Crass.* 3.2-4
IV	Early political life	*Crass.* 4.1-6.3
V	Historical deeds: - Rivalry with Pompey - Servile war - Consulship and censorship - Catilinarian conspiracy - Reconciliation of Caesar and Pompey - Parthian campaign	*Crass.* 6.4-7.9 *Crass.* 8-11 *Crass.* 12.1-13.1 *Crass.* 13.2-13.4 *Crass.* 14-15 *Crass.* 16-30
VI	Death Post-mortem events	*Crass.* 31 *Crass.* 32-33

Subsection	Topic Area	Passages
I	Ancestry, youth, and education	_Luc._ 1
II	Early political life	_Luc._ 2.1-2
III	Historical deeds: - Government of Cyrene - Alliance with Ptolemy - Mithridatic war - Government of Asia - War against Tigranes - Parthian alliance - Final battles against Tigranes, Mithridates - Return to Rome	 _Luc._ 2.3-4 _Luc._ 2.5-3.1 _Luc._ 3.2-19.7 _Luc._ 20.1-23.1 _Luc._ 23.2-29.8 _Luc._ 30 _Luc._ 31-36 _Luc._ 37
IV	Personal life and virtues	_Luc._ 38-42
V	Death and post-mortem events	_Luc._ 43

Life of Marius

Subsection	Topic Area	Passages
I	Nomenclature, appearance, and ancestry	*Mar.* 1.1-3.1
II	Early political life	*Mar.* 3.2-3
III	Historical deeds: - Tribuneship and praetorship - War in Africa - Hostilities with Metellus - Hostilities with Sulla - War against the Gauls	*Mar.* 4-6. *Mar.* 7 *Mar.* 8.1-10.1 *Mar.* 10.2-11.1 *Mar.* 11.2-27.6
IV	Public life: - Sixth consulship and further hostilities with Metellus	*Mar.* 28-31
V	Historical deeds: - War with Sulla	*Mar.* 32-44
VI	Death and post-mortem events	*Mar.* 45-46

Life of Pompey

Subsection	Topic Area	Passages
I	Summary of character, appearance, youth	*Pomp.* 1-3
II	Early political life	*Pomp.* 4-5
III	Historical deeds: - Alliance with Sulla - War in Sicily - War in Africa - Recall and triumph - Hostilities with Lepidus - Servile war, war against Sertorius	 *Pomp.* 6-9 *Pomp.* 10 *Pomp.* 11-12 *Pomp.* 13-15 *Pomp.* 16 *Pomp.* 17-21
IV	Public life	*Pomp.* 22-23
V	Historical deeds: - War against the pirates - Hostilities with Lucullus - War against Mithridates and Tigranes - Campaigns in the east - Return to Rome	 *Pomp.* 24-29 *Pomp.* 31 *Pomp.* 32-38 *Pomp.* 39-43 *Pomp.* 44-45
VI	Public life: - Declining reputation - Alliance with Clodius - Alliance with Caesar - So-called 'first' triumvirate	 *Pomp.* 46.1-2 *Pomp.* 46.3-5 *Pomp.* 47-49 *Pomp.* 50-56
VII	Historical deeds: - Increasing hostilities and war with Caesar - Defeat and flight to Egypt	 *Pomp.* 57-72 *Pomp.* 73-76
VIII	Death and post-mortem events	*Pomp.* 77-80

Life of Sulla

Subsection	Topic Area	Passages
I	Ancestry and appearance	*Sull.* 1.1-2.1
II	Summary of character	*Sull.* 2.2-4
III	Historical deeds: - Jugurthine war	*Sull.* 3-4
IV	Public life	*Sull.* 5
V	Historical deeds: - Social war	*Sull.* 6
VI	Significant omens foretelling disaster at Rome	*Sull.* 7
VII	Historical deeds: - Hostilities with Marius - Mithridatic War - War on Rome	*Sull.* 8-10 *Sull.* 11.1-27.2 *Sull.* 27.3-32.2
VIII	Public life: - Dictatorship	*Sull.* 33-35
IX	Personal life and virtues	*Sull.* 36
X	Significant omens foretelling his death	*Sull.* 37
XI	Death and post-mortem events	*Sull.* 38

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