

Use and Perception of Night in Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum*

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Classics

By

Hannah Frude

Classics Department

University of Canterbury

2013

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	3
INTRODUCTION.....	4
CHAPTER 1: Suetonius: The Man and his Work.....	7
1.1: Influences in Suetonius' Early Life and Career.....	7
1.2: Suetonius' <i>De Vita Caesarum</i>	11
CHAPTER 2: Perception of Night.....	19
2.1: Basis of Night in Culture and Literature.....	20
2.2: Expected Activities.....	27
2.3: Further Text Manipulation.....	32
CHAPTER 3: Night and Character.....	43
3.1: Character in Antiquity.....	44
3.2: Methods of Characterisation.....	51
3.3: Vices and Virtues.....	55
3.4: Case Studies.....	61
CONCLUSION.....	67
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	70

Acknowledgements

I would, first and foremost wish to acknowledge and thank my supervisor Gary Morrison for all the support you have offered me through the course of this thesis. The patience, guidance and advice that you have provided were invaluable in putting together a thesis in this new area of scholarship. Your enthusiasm and encouragement has never faulted. I could not have done this without you.

Sincere thanks also go to the supportive Classics Department at the University of Canterbury. I have been fortunate to find a valuable group of fellow postgraduate students who have offered great conversation and reflection at many a time. I give particular thanks to Danielle Steyn for your advice and listening skills over the period of this thesis.

Special thanks must also go to my family and close friends. You have been a constant pillar of support and encouragement, both my immediate family and extended family in other localities. It has been of great comfort to know that you have been behind me every step of the way.

Introduction

Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum* has long been a text of fascination to both past and present readers. He is a valuable companion to the historical narratives available for this period alongside such authors as Tacitus and Cassio Dio. In addition, his distinctive viewpoint as a biographer has given us further lines of analysis into the private lives of his caesars, which had been an area of discussion excluded from previous narratives. These surveys of private life are often more illuminating as to the true nature of each caesar, at least when compared to a discussion of their public conduct alone. Each biography is full of vivid descriptions which provide unique perspective on daily life in the imperial household, without doubt influenced by Suetonius' own experiences in this environment.

The night, in contrast has received scant attention in modern scholarship, and even less as a topic in Roman societal studies. The literature tends to focus on a specific anecdote or presents an overly generalised view that Roman activity by night was limited in choice and generally relegated as a period of sleep. This is a simplistic view at best. Source analysis actually shows a variety of activities occurring in the hours of darkness, each with their own connotations of judgement upon the individual undertaking them. Thus, the way that night is presented in ancient texts needs further examination. James Ker's valuable article *Nocturnal Writers in Imperial Rome: The Culture of Lucubratio* explores this process. Ker considers the moralising nature of portraying nocturnal activity and investigates the significance of describing literature that is composed at night, through the prefaces of Pliny the Elder, Seneca and Aulus Gellius' works. However, there is still scant supply of secondary literature that explores the night in great detail.¹

This thesis will consider Suetonius' use of night and darkness, focusing the context in on the purpose of his works, both as entertainment for his audience and as an analysis of each caesar's behaviour and character. I will use the moral connotations that Ker identifies in his article and apply them to examples from Suetonius' text. This will allow me to consider the context of night in the wider Roman imagination and the basis upon which Suetonius and his readers understand descriptions of night or darkness. I will argue that Suetonius uses these moral perceptions of nocturnal activity as a valuable tool for portraying his caesars. By playing upon

¹Ker (2004) 209-242; see also Cristopoulos et al. (2010) – this book does not hold direct relevance to my thesis but does offer a discussion of the imagery and vocabulary choice associated with darkness in a variety of Greek contexts. Morrison (2012) 1-12; Beard (2008) 78-80 – even Beard's subsection dedicated to discussing night in the context of Pompeian town life is short and does not provide extensive detail. Balsdon (1969) 17-55 and Carcopino (1946) 143-276 discuss the structure of the day although their discussions are geared towards how each hour of the day is divided with limited mention of nocturnal hours.

images and concepts embedded in terms such as *nox*, Suetonius brings depth to his anecdotes in order to delve further into the character of an emperor. My analysis will show that Suetonius appeals to a common understanding of nocturnal activity but applies different moral parameters to his judgement of the emperors from those outside this position of power.²

This thesis is divided into three chapters. Chapter 1 explores Suetonius' background and the individual characteristics of his writing. The aim of this chapter is to understand Suetonius, the author, and is an essential first step to understanding the way night fits into the context of his work. Suetonius' writing was shaped through different factors all affecting his *De Vita Caesarum*. These influences range from his personal experiences in the imperial administration, contemporary literature (e.g. Pliny's *Panegyricus*) and the development of biography as a genre up to Suetonius' own time. I will argue that all these factors helped mould Suetonius' style of writing, and that this style of writing allowed him more freedom to use night to a greater extent for the purposes of characterisation and lively description.

Chapter 2 explores the perception of the night in Roman society and within Suetonius' text. I discuss Ker's article in detail and his analysis of presenting nocturnal activity in literature. Ker's article shows that strong moral connotations emerge from the types of activities in which individuals choose to engage. My discussion expands upon the types of nocturnal activities raised in Ker's article; I will also put these activities in the context of an emperor's life, with different expectations placed upon his time. This analysis provides a framework in which to place nocturnal activity and give the reader an understanding of what imagery the mind creates through a mention of words associated with night and darkness in this text. The focus of this discussion is to understand the 'societal construction' of the night rather than to provide a full explanation of the realities of everyday nightlife in Roman society.³ After examining this perception of night, I then delve further into Suetonius' text itself and show the layers of imagery that are created from his descriptions. In exploring Suetonius' examples, I will argue that his text is not as dry and methodical as it may initially appear but, rather, is more subtle in its presentation of material.⁴ Suetonius is

² This thesis will exclude a discussion of dreams from the analysis of night in Suetonius' text. It is clearly an area with which Suetonius has a personal fascination (see Plin. *Ep.* 1.8) and there are many dreams described in the individual biographies, usually forming part of a final section on omens associated with each caesar's death (see Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 189-197 for an examination of these concluding paragraphs). As my argument is based on conscious decisions concerning nocturnal activity, the place of dreams in Suetonius' text is not appropriate to this discussion. It is a large topic in itself which cannot fully be explored in this thesis. See Scioli and Walde (2010) for a valuable discussion of dreams and dream interpretation in the ancient world.

³ Cf. Morrison (2012) 1-12 who explores the imagery of the night in Martial.

⁴ Wardman (1974) 145 compares Suetonius style of presentation to 'a writer of pornography whose deficiencies of imagination were helped out by an encyclopaedic knowledge of the exact medical terms.'

select in his choice of terminology but this does not mean that he is devoid of imagination in his descriptions. What he creates is a subtle but lively account for his audience.

Chapter 3 assesses the character of each caesar as it is presented through his nocturnal actions. I explain how character manifests itself throughout a person's life and how it is explored in ancient literature. This discussion of character is important, given that ancient and modern perceptions of the term can vary greatly. Moreover, any study of character in Suetonius' work must also take into account the modern analysis of vices and virtues in his text. Therefore, I will also demonstrate how vices and virtues develop characterisation and how this helps us to understand Suetonius' biographies. 'Night' will remain central to this discussion and to reinforce this connection I conclude chapter 3 with case studies of Augustus and Nero, examining their nocturnal actions in detail.

The end result is the concept of an ideal emperor as shown through his nocturnal habits. The activities in which each emperor engages during the night can positively or negatively influence on his character. An emperor, who does not possess the type of character able to resist temptations of night and power, exhibits a need to control night, bending it to his own purposes. This sense of control over the night reflects unease in his ability to perform successfully in a position of power and responsibility. The desire to act in the night dominates his habits, even when it is an inappropriate time to do so. In other words, he both exploits the conditions of darkness and allows night to encroach upon the day's activities. Therefore, night is a vital part in the life of a 'bad emperor' and crucial to understanding the way in which Suetonius presents this individual.

Chapter 1 – Suetonius: The Man and His Work

Introduction

Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum* is a valuable source for early imperial life because it offers a different perspective on the representation of emperors as both public and private individuals. His approach to the caesars and style of writing was heavily influenced through his observance of the imperial court during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, contemporary or near contemporary authors, and in the literature that preceded his own works. Through the different stages of his life, Suetonius continued to develop his own opinion on the principate and how he expected an emperor to be judged. It is necessary, therefore, to consider Suetonius' personal background and the influences on his life and writing style, before considering the themes and topics inherent in his work.

In section 1.1, I examine the factors in Suetonius' early life that influenced his own ideals and later work. His own experiences in the imperial administration cannot be ignored as an important influence upon his own views of an emperor and as motivation for his decision to write about Rome's early imperial rulers. Whilst considering how his opinions of emperorship developed, it is important to consider the context of literature that influenced a general public view of the emperor, in particular Augustus' *Res Gestae* and Pliny's *Panegyricus*.

Section 1.2 focuses on Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum*. With a newfound interest in the emperor's place in society, he set about writing on Rome's past rulers. I discuss the specific features of Suetonius' genre and personal style, which allowed him to examine the different facets of his caesars' lives. In this section, I explore how the methods of style enable Suetonius to build an image of an ideal emperor for his readers to consider. In order to consider the role that night plays in his text, I also examine what defines Suetonius' unique style and what motivated his composition of this work.

1.1: Influences in Suetonius' Early Life and Career

Knowledge about Suetonius' life is available from many sources, including references in his own work, Pliny's letters, the *Historia Augusta*, the *Suda* and a valuable inscription found at the site of Hippo Regius. There is a reasonable amount of information in these sources, although many of the important dates, such as his birth or dismissal from office, are highly debated. Descriptions of himself as a young man during the reign of Domitian in the *De Vita Caesarum* suggest a possible

birth date, generally accepted as 70CE.⁵ His actual place of birth is attributed to many regions but it is most likely in Africa, due to the location of the Hippo inscription detailing parts of his later career.⁶ Suetonius was born to an equestrian family but soon advanced his career with personal connection, especially a close friendship and patronage relationship with Pliny the Younger.⁷ With Pliny's help, Suetonius secured some early posts and honours during the reign of Trajan.⁸ This close friendship with Pliny and his circle of friends not only helped advance Suetonius' career, but no doubt influenced his own ideas concerning an emperor's rule.⁹ These ideas were further moulded through his own experiences in positions within the imperial administration.

The Hippo Inscription has brought to light Suetonius' later posts in the imperial administration under the emperors Trajan and Hadrian. The three main posts mentioned in this inscription – *a bibliothecis*, *a studiis*, and *ab epistulis* – are vital for understanding his writing, because the responsibilities of each office exposed him to expectations of imperial office and provided him with access to material for his works.¹⁰ The *a bibliothecis* was responsible for overseeing the public libraries, and the *a studiis* was responsible for finding past precedents to support a current course of action for a ruling emperor.¹¹ Exploring the actions of past emperors on a continual basis while in office allowed Suetonius to look more closely at the development of the principate over the first century CE and guided his own emerging opinions on emperors.¹² These two offices of *a studiis* and *a bibliothecis* were likely held under Trajan and Hadrian, respectively.¹³

⁵ Townend (1967) 79 and (1961) 99; Baldwin (1983) 3-27 offers a detailed discussion of the merits in each proposed birth date for Suetonius. The passages in the *De Vita Caesarum* with direct mention of Suetonius or his family are: Suet. *Cal.* 19.3, *Ner.* 57.2, *Oth.* 10.1, *Dom.* 12.2.

⁶ Townend (1967) 79 – he suggests other possible places of birth as Ostia, Pisaurum or Rome in addition to Hippo Regius. Townend (1961) 105-107 believes that Suetonius had a family connection to the local town, but it could merely be that his father settled in the region rather than Suetonius' birth taking place there. Baldwin (1983) 28-35 also offers a detailed discussion of proposed places of birth for Suetonius. Lindsay (1994) 463-464 argues that Suetonius was not dismissed from office until 128CE and that the presence of the inscription is explained through Suetonius accompanying Hadrian on a visit to Africa at this later date. This theory is refuted by Townend (1961) 107-108 as it is unlikely that Suetonius held the office of *ab epistulis* for such an extended period of time.

⁷ Even though Suetonius had an equestrian background himself, he did not use the *De Vita Caesarum* as a means of pushing an equestrian agenda – see Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 75-76.

⁸ Plin. *Ep.* 3.8 states that Pliny secured a military tribunate for Suetonius which Suetonius passed onto a relative; *Ep.* 10.94-95 also states that Pliny gained the *ius trium liberorum* for Suetonius from Trajan. Other mentions of Suetonius in the letters are: Plin. *Ep.* 1.17, 1.24, 5.10.

⁹ Bradley (1991) 3706: "Suetonius had been openly exposed to the factors that made one autocrat acceptable and another not, and he was in the company of men who helped shape opinion about rulers."

¹⁰ For a discussion of the other minor offices/honours held by Suetonius see especially Townend (1961) 100-103 with specific reference to the Hippo inscription and also Baldwin (1983) 35-36.

¹¹ Lounsbury (1987) 11.

¹² See Section 1.2 below for a discussion of the purpose of the *De Vita Caesarum* and especially Suetonius' use of this work to examine imperial behaviour rather than comment on the nature of the principate as a system.

¹³ Grant (1970) 330; Townend (1967) 80.

The latter office gave Suetonius access to imperial documentation whilst in charge of Hadrian's imperial correspondence and is seen as the pinnacle of his career.¹⁴ This access to imperial archives, perhaps, motivated Suetonius to write his *De Vita Caesarum* and he is likely to have begun compiling information for his work during this time. The extensive supply of imperial letters, especially in the first two biographies, is thought to have been gathered from the imperial archives while Suetonius was in office.¹⁵ The less frequent use of imperial letters in the later biographies is also attributed to Suetonius' loss of access to these archives.

The stark contrast in length and use of resources between the *Julius* and *Augustus*, in comparison to the rest of the biographies, also indicates a possible lack of access to documents after dismissal from office.¹⁶ Imperial letters abound in the first two biographies but their use in later ones, such as the *Claudius*, are excerpts from the letters of Augustus, implying that letters of Claudius were no longer available to Suetonius.¹⁷ The logical assumption is that he lost access to the imperial archives after his dismissal from office. The *Historia Augusta* tells us that Suetonius was dismissed from office with Septicius Clarus c.122CE, due to familiarity with the empress Sabina beyond what was expected for the imperial household.¹⁸ This passage is very brief and the charge itself is an ambiguous one. It had been used in the past as a method of removing enemies from imperial office, and considering the relationship depicted between Hadrian and Sabina, it seems unlikely that Hadrian was deeply affected by the alleged conduct.¹⁹ The extent to which Suetonius fell out of favour and lost his access to the imperial documents due to this dismissal must also be questioned.²⁰ Hadrian may not have been personally offended by the alleged behaviour towards

¹⁴ Lounsbury (1987) 11; Lindsay (1994) 454-459 offers a discussion of this office as it developed through the early imperial period.

¹⁵ Grant (1970) 330; Baldwin (1983) 40. See Townend (1959) for a discussion on possible dates for composition of the *De Vita Caesarum*. Townend does acknowledge the possibility that Augustus' letters were readily available to the 'professor of rhetoric', if not the general public, but refutes this claim on the grounds that Suetonius shows a general dislike of quoting directly from sources that were readily available. Suetonius' own comments at *Aug.* 87.1 on Augustus' handwriting imply he has seen the original letters themselves.

¹⁶ Hägg (2012) 218-219 – it is also possible that Suetonius had simply lost interest in the project at this stage or that he needed to dedicate more paragraphs in the earlier biographies to explaining the emerging imperial system. Nevertheless it seems likely that loss of resources occurred to some extent.

¹⁷ Suet. Cl. 4.1-4.6.

¹⁸ S. H. A. *Hadr.* 11.3; see n6 above and also Syme (1980) 113-117 and (1981) 108-112 for Suetonius' dismissal from office and arguments for date of dismissal. Syme points out that Sabina receiving the title of Augusta in 128CE is used to enhance the theory that Suetonius was dismissed in this year, but there is no reason to suppose that he could not be charged with inappropriate behaviour to Sabina when she did not have the honour of the Augusta title.

¹⁹ Carney (1968) 7; Syme (1980) 114-115; Baldwin (1983) 41-45 offers a valid interpretation of the passages in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* as Sabina laying a complaint against Septicius and Suetonius which Hadrian felt obliged to support.

²⁰ Baldwin (1983) 45-46 – following the theory that Hadrian was forced into dismissing Suetonius and Septicius at Sabina's bidding, Suetonius may well have retained a relationship with Hadrian and limited access to imperial documentation.

Sabina, but could not risk such a scandal reflecting badly upon himself. The fact is that the *Historia Augustae* cannot be relied upon as a means of determining Suetonius' departure from office or the exact date that it occurred, although the argument tends to suggest that the incident occurred in Britain in 122CE.²¹ Regardless, we can surmise that Suetonius began to compose his *De Vita Caesarum* while still in office and developed his own opinions at this time about the behaviour expected from an imperial leader.²²

There are numerous literary works which influenced Suetonius' later writings. He discovered ways to analyse and present material through his own early writings, especially the *De Viris Illustribus*.²³ Two other works are worthy of attention. He almost certainly read Augustus' *Res Gestae*, which presumably influenced his own views about the ideal emperor. The *Res Gestae* provided a template for public actions and virtues that an emperor himself valued and which would be expected by later generations. While the virtues which Suetonius discusses through the *De Vita Caesarum* differ to the ones Augustus himself focused on (and prized in his golden shield), the *Res Gestae* still influenced the model of behaviour which Suetonius explores in his work.²⁴ The *Res Gestae* was vital to shaping the unique role that Augustus had created for later generations; but as time went on, the role of an emperor was viewed differently as the image of *optimus princeps* was developed through Suetonius' lifetime.

Pliny's *Panegyricus* was another important influence on Suetonius' work. Pliny's work encouraged the discussion of the emperor's private life alongside a discussion of his public actions.²⁵ Pliny used the example of Trajan to show that an emperor must set an example for his citizens in every area of his life; this must also be attributed to an innate ability to be an effective leader.²⁶ The *Panegyricus* sets forth a standard for imperial qualities displayed in every area of the individual's life, from which Suetonius created his own standard and evaluated the rulers of the past.

²¹ Townend (1961) 108-109.

²² Cf. Bradley (1991) 3711.

²³ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 8. Some of Suetonius' lost works include those on games, festivals and the Roman calendar; he had a clear interest in the daily lives of Romans and individuals which was fostered through the practice of writing over the entire course of his life - see Bradley (1991) 3712; Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 7. Townend (1967) 80-81 - Townend does suggest that Suetonius' lost work *On Public Office* was composed c.130CE with a possible 'return to favour' in this later period.

²⁴ The presence of vices and virtues will be briefly discussed in section 1.2 and then expanded on with more reference to the night itself in section 3.3 below.

²⁵ Bradley (1991) 3718; Lewis (1991) 3627. While discussing the private lives of individuals had become standard in biography, it had now become acceptable to include an emperor in this list, albeit a past emperor.

²⁶ Bradley (1991) 3718: "Ideally, then, all areas of the *princeps*' life should be beyond reproach, and his character should be of a sort to permit him to become an '*optimus princeps*'."

1.2: Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum*

Suetonius' motivation for writing and purpose of his biographies are difficult to ascertain without the lost preface to his work. We are not, however, without any insights. His own views on the principate will no doubt have influenced his approach to the subject of the caesars. Moreover, he does offer subtle hints about his views on the Republic when discussing Augustus' consideration of restoring it.

Sed reputans et se privatum non sine periculo fore et illam plurium arbitrio temere committi, in retinenda perseveravit, dubium eventu meliore an voluntate. (Suet. *Aug.* 28.1)

But reconsidering that to entrust control to many people at random would not be without danger both for himself as a private citizen and for the nation, he maintained [the state of affairs] as it had been kept, but it is doubtful whether his intentions or the outcome was better.²⁷

Suetonius doubts whether the principate was as effective as Augustus had planned.²⁸ Nonetheless, he accepts the principate in his own time. His concern is not to discuss a 'decline of freedom' as Tacitus had done;²⁹ his aim is to look through past examples and see how each individual lived up to the concept of one-man rule that Augustus had originally envisioned. However, the expectations of an emperor had developed over the course of the first and early second century CE as the concept of *optimus princeps* became entrenched in the ideology of the principate. Readers are left to compare examples of the past against their own expectations of an emperor. What emerges from both analyses is that the strength of the imperial system lies in a strong moral character.³⁰ Augustus sets the moral example against which subsequent emperors are measured within the

²⁷ All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. Graves' translation of Suetonius has been used extensively in conjunction with my own translations.

²⁸ The examples which Augustus had set were not also followed and his intended plans for a succession of his dynasty did not come to fruition – see also Birley (1997) 77 concerning the state of affairs after Trajan's death and the adoption of Hadrian: "The empire was in a state of disarray not seen since the Year of the Four Emperors. It could easily have turned into a catastrophe."

²⁹ Bradley (1991) 3713.

³⁰ Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4.31: "When there was a democracy, it was necessary to understand the character of the masses and how to control them. When the senate was in power, those who best knew its mind – the mind of the oligarchs – were considered the wisest experts on contemporary events. Similarly, now that Rome has virtually been transformed into an autocracy, the investigation and record of these details concerning the autocrat may prove useful. Indeed, it is from such studies – from the experience of others – that most men learn to distinguish right and wrong, advantage and disadvantage." (Trans. by Grant)

text.³¹ Looking to the past still offered valuable precedents that had been effective and could be emulated in Suetonius' own day.

This desire to look to the past was not unusual. Historical writings often examined past moral examples that future generations could follow.³² This is what Suetonius is doing with his work. The main objective is to show how previous caesars behaved and compare this to the reader's own opinions about imperial conduct. In fact, Suetonius is very consistent throughout all the biographies in the criteria against which he judges each emperor.³³ This comes through with his use of *inquit* in the text as he creates a standard of imperial conduct which the emperors are expected to meet. It is then debatable whether Suetonius' past and contemporary emperors live up to this standard.

Given that the dates put forward for the composition of the *De Vita Caesarum* fall within Hadrian's reign, there is no denying that contemporary issues pertaining to Hadrian would have been in Suetonius' mind during the writing process. Hadrian had a powerful image to live up to as Trajan's chosen successor.³⁴ Connections can in fact be made between events in Hadrian's reign and passages in the biographies, but might be better rationalised as coincidence. For example, Carney explains that Suetonius' censure of Tiberius for letting Sejanus usurp his relationship with the emperor alludes to Hadrian's relationship with Attianus.³⁵ It is tempting to see a backlash directed at Hadrian through Suetonius' text, especially if his dismissal created resentment between the two. However, it is too far-reaching to suggest that Suetonius wrote every paragraph of his work with Hadrian in mind. It was in fact a pointless task to write with the express purpose of instructing an emperor.³⁶ There is no doubt that Suetonius will have formed his own opinions of Hadrian's handling of contemporary issues, but looking to the past offered Suetonius more scope for expressing his ideas on the expectations of Roman emperors.

³¹ Including Julius Caesar in the *De Vita Caesarum* is important for understanding the model of imperial behaviour which Augustus established. Caesar's biography shows that the Republican system was flawed and a return to it would not have been possible. Suetonius also understood that an analysis of Augustus' reign would be incomplete without showing how Augustus' decisions are based on Caesar's mistakes.

³² Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 23; Gill (1983) 473; Wardman (1974) 116; Duff (1999) 13; see also Liv. 1.1.1-10.

³³ Carney (1968) 10.

³⁴ Birley (1997) 108 – the *Divus Augustus* could be read as Hadrian's interpretation of Augustan policy.

³⁵ Another historical comparison is Hadrian's withdrawal of troops from Mesopotamia. Suetonius agrees with the advice of Augustus, not to extend the borders of the Empire and instead work on maintaining the territory they already had. For discussion see Carney (1968) 15.

³⁶ Bradley (1991) 3713: "...the only person to whom imperial biography could have instructive value was the emperor. And the futility of trying to control a ruler by moral counsel had long since been proven – by Seneca's composition of the 'De Clementia' for the young Nero, for example."

Choosing examples from the past also allowed Suetonius more freedom to explore the less exemplary behaviour exhibited by some caesars; he would not have been able to make the same comments on Hadrian himself. Using subjects that were far enough in the past, Suetonius avoided seriously angering the *princeps* and was able to fill a void in the public's desire for discussing the current emperor's actions. This is especially true of the salacious gossip he includes as part of his *De Vita Caesarum*. The imperial regime actively stamped out the spread of gossip concerning Hadrian, and Suetonius' work can be viewed partially as a medium to express a desire for such material.³⁷ His biographies fill this desire for gossip and offer examples to emulate.

The choice to focus on the moral examples, or failures, of past individuals determined the genre of Suetonius' work. There was no sense in writing in the same historical format as Tacitus. The *Annales* and *Historiae* had already been published and accepted as authoritative histories on the early imperial period; there was no need for him to rival this work.³⁸ Suetonius assumed Tacitus' work was available to his readers for the historical details of events, hence the absence of these details from many of his descriptions. Rather than rivalling Tacitus' *Annales* and *Historiae*, Suetonius' work can be seen as a supplement. Historical narrative focused on traditional themes such as military actions and an evaluation of the principate as a form of rule; biography examines the details which historical accounts omit, such as private lives and emperors as individuals.³⁹ Suetonius appreciated that the key to the success of each reign lay with the individual, whose actions and motivations must be understood in greater detail than historical accounts traditionally allowed. Suetonius still included discussions of an emperor's military campaigns and dealings with the senate, but his approach to these significant historical subjects is very 'unhistorical', placing important public actions in the context of their private lives.⁴⁰ Suetonius focuses on an individual's choices and actions, while history examines the effects. Biography was a more suitable genre to explore the strength of the individual.

As a genre, biography had many influences. Works focusing on the lives of individuals existed in fifth-century BCE Greek literature, but it was not until the fourth century BCE that these writings started to develop the features that would become associated with biography.⁴¹ By the fourth century readers expected not just an outline of a subject's life, but a treatment of character

³⁷ Chong-Gossard (2010) 296.

³⁸ Townend (1967) 84.

³⁹ See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 16-17.

⁴⁰ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 9.

⁴¹ Momigliano (1993) 28 – such features can be defined as an individual's birth and death providing the framework for writing as opposed to the framework being defined by historical events.

and private influences that they would not expect to read in the works of history.⁴² Moving on from this early Greek influence, Cornelius Nepos showed his Roman audience that there was a distinct place for biography and history as separate literary genres.⁴³ Combined with the influences of *encomia* and *laudationes* at Roman funerals, biography had become a distinct literary genre by the time of Suetonius.⁴⁴ The features which that genre had developed over the centuries – a focus on character and private life – made it very suitable for discussing the lives of emperors and understanding the success of an individual reign.⁴⁵ Suetonius took these early influences of biography and developed them further, creating his own style that was unique even within the genre itself.

The style of Suetonius' biographies varies from other similar works of the time. Plutarch's biographies favoured a traditional chronological structure that was common to the genre; Suetonius used the chronological framework of an individual's life but preferred to break up internal pieces of his biographies under headings, and even signals his intention to do so:⁴⁶

Proposita vitae eius velut summa partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar, quo distinctus demonstrari cognoscique possint. (Suet. *Aug.* 9.1)

Following this outline of his life, I will continue to discuss the most important parts [of his life] one at a time, not by chronology but by themes, so that the differences might be better presented.

This style of employing subject headings allowed Suetonius to focus in on the aspects of character he was trying to highlight. This use of rubrics guides the reader through Suetonius' descriptions and becomes useful when his approach to his subjects is very unhistorical.⁴⁷ For example, the influence of the army and campaigns attributed to each emperor were important subjects for historical accounts. Suetonius, though, is concerned not so much with the army and its institutions, but the individual as a leader. Caesar's important military campaigns are dealt with very briefly, but the

⁴² Momigliano (1993) 56-57.

⁴³ Momigliano (1993) 98-99; see also Shuttleworth (2008) 253 – although autobiographical works were in existence before Nepos' time, he is credited as the father of Roman biography.

⁴⁴ Baldwin (1983) 67; Hägg (2012) 187-188.

⁴⁵ Shuttleworth (2008) 253; Momigliano (1993) 99.

⁴⁶ Bradley (1991) 3714; cf. Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 13ff for discussion of rubric style; Momigliano (1993) 18: Momigliano notes that F. Leo identified two types of biography as Plutarchean, favouring a chronological structure, and Suetonian type which is 'the combination of a tale in chronological order with the systematic characterization of an individual and his achievements.'

⁴⁷ Hägg (2012) 221 – The use of rubric had been seen in Nepos' biographies but not to the same extent as Suetonius. Its effect within Suetonius' work can also be lost with the translation from Latin.

focus shifts to his ability as a general.⁴⁸ Caesar's position in history had already been established and rather than discuss the details of every war in which he took part, Suetonius examined the driving forces of personality that allowed him to gain such influence in Roman politics and history.⁴⁹ He chose to analyse changing institutions within the military in terms of what they could reveal about an individual, not the bloody battle itself.⁵⁰ Consider Tiberius' behaviour while on campaign. Suetonius describes Tiberius imposing strict discipline, paying attention to little details – such as how much the baggage the weighed a legion down – and expecting everyone to follow his orders, which allowed those who were unsure to consult him.⁵¹ Suetonius' objective in relating this level of detail was to reflect on Tiberius' character and portray him as more comfortable on campaign than in Rome, in order to foreshadow his later indifference to political life.⁵² Referring to the same or similar subject headings also gave Suetonius the opportunity for subtle comparison across biographies. His manipulation of the structure in his biographies outside the usual chronological framework guides the reader in judging the individuals as 'good emperors' or 'bad emperors'.

The use of rubrics through Suetonius' work is often defined by moral categories or virtues. Modern scholarship has identified the use of virtue and vice pairs in the *De Vita Caesarum* as a prominent feature of Suetonius' work.⁵³ The range of imperial virtues for judging an emperor was immense by the time of Suetonius (known from coins, virtues on Augustus' golden shield, works of panegyric) and he does not include every single one. Rather, he focuses on specific virtues that can allow for comparison between the individual biographies. This option for comparison defines Suetonius' work not just as a collection of biographies to be read individually, but a work to be read as a whole. The vice/virtue categories can show the extent of popularity enjoyed by each emperor, but are primarily used to analyse the public conduct of the *princeps*.⁵⁴ The moral nature of the virtue and vice categories also makes them a valuable tool in determining the qualities and values admired in an ideal emperor.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 12.

⁴⁹ Cf. Baldwin (1983) 214: "Unlike Tacitus, he is willing to believe that men may shape institutions as much as institutions change men."

⁵⁰ See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 16.

⁵¹ Suet. *Tib.* 18-19.

⁵² Suet. *Tib.* 41 – return to Capri.

⁵³ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 142-174 offers an incredibly detailed discussion of vices and virtues in Suetonius' work.

⁵⁴ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 144; 149 – Wallace-Hadrill notes that the exceptions to this rule are Claudius and Otho as there is no assessment of their popularity and these biographies do not have vice and virtue chapters, but rather integrate them into a discussion of other parts of their characters.

⁵⁵ This topic will be explored in more detail in Chapter 3 below, given its close connection to judging the character of an emperor.

The image of the ideal emperor is further rounded out by Suetonius' analysis of imperial private life. The discussion of an emperor's private life is clearly marked in the same way as Suetonius announces his use of rubric to move on from a subject's early life.⁵⁶ What this break effectively does is mark a change in approach, giving him more freedom to focus on gossiping anecdotes. When discussing their private lives he depicts the emperors as human beings bound by the constraints of their own society.⁵⁷ This acceptance of discussing an emperor's private life is largely due to the influence of the *Panegyricus*, and Pliny gives his reasons for entering this new area:

Voluptates sunt enim voluptates, quibus optime de cuiusque gravitate sanctitate temperantia creditur. (Plin. *Pan.* 82.8)

Surely it is the pleasures of a man to which we should look the most for his worth, his virtue and his restraint.

In order to define these men as 'good emperors' or 'bad emperors', the readers must determine whether their private habits and morals affect their ability to rule.⁵⁸ The analysis of Augustus' private life involves sections on his dining habits, and within this, his fondness for dice.⁵⁹ We learn that Augustus enjoyed the luxuries and pleasures of life, just as his subjects do. However, through these anecdotes it becomes clear that his indulgence in women and gambling, for example, did not outweigh all the good he did for the Roman people in his public life (often at the expense of his own leisure time). By including these anecdotes about private life, Suetonius gives a more complete view of an emperor for the reader to consider.

A final point about Suetonius' style is the extent to which his own viewpoint overshadows the work. In fact, Suetonius' opinions on the caesars are expressed explicitly on very rare occasions. Grant says that he presents information without bias, avoiding 'moral constructions' typical in the literature of Tacitus.⁶⁰ Wallace-Hadrill sees Suetonius lacking moral judgements and seeking to keep his own opinion in 'low profile'.⁶¹ Townend sees his anecdotes as "...a list of disconnected items which the reader must add for himself."⁶² The diminished presence of Suetonius' own opinions throughout the biographies, in favour of the rubric style, often gives Suetonius a

⁵⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 61.1.

⁵⁷ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 18.

⁵⁸ Cf. Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 162: "[Suetonius' chapters] look at Caesars as men possessed of power, arbitrary and absolute, and show the terrifying consequences when power is not kept in check by moral restraint."

⁵⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 71.1-4.

⁶⁰ Grant (1970) 333.

⁶¹ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 84.

⁶² Townend (1967) 83.

reputation for having a dry and clinical approach.⁶³ Yet, Suetonius does occasionally offer his opinion on a topic. He comments on Augustus' choice of Tiberius as a successor:

Adduci tamen nequeo quin existimem, circumspectissimum et prudentissimum principem in tanto praesertim negotio nihil temere fecisse; sed vitiis Tiberii virtutibusque perpensis potiores duxisse virtutes, praesertim cum et rei p. causa adoptare se eum pro contione iuraverit et epistulis aliquot ut peritissimum rei militaris utque unicum p. R. praesidium prosequatur. (Suet. *Tib.* 21.3)

I cannot but judge as I have previously been led to believe, that a most cautious and experienced *princeps* would do anything at random, especially in such a matter as this; but, after weighing up the vices and virtues of Tiberius, that he judged the virtues to be more preferable, especially since he had sworn in public that he had adopted Tiberius for the sake of the nation and he had honoured him in some of his letters as the most skilled man in military matters and the sole defence for the people of Rome.⁶⁴

Here Suetonius states his own views on what motivated Augustus' choice of Tiberius, but readers are still allowed to look at the information that Suetonius has presented in order to come to their own conclusions.⁶⁵ However, his own opinion comes through in the passage with the use of first person and stronger emphasis given through the use of superlatives. The simple fact that Suetonius is the one choosing which anecdotes are worthy of mention also means that he cannot be completely devoid of opinion on his subjects. The more likely conclusion is, as Lewis states, that Suetonius can afford not to assert his opinion because his readers judge the information he has presented against a standard set of Roman values.⁶⁶ Suetonius can manipulate the information he presents by being highly selective in his choice of anecdotes. It is the choice of information and subtlety in language, such as using night or darkness in his anecdotes that steers the reader to what Suetonius thinks is the right conclusion.⁶⁷ What may first appear as a systematic presentation of material without attention paid to the depth of the description, is actually a work which shows

⁶³ Wardman (1974) 145.

⁶⁴ The fact that Augustus used the method of weighing up vices and virtues to determine Tiberius' suitability as emperor is also interesting in the context of Suetonius' work. It legitimises Suetonius' use of vices and virtues as a means of analysing each caesar.

⁶⁵ Suetonius goes on in this passage to provide letters of Augustus as evidence to back up his opinion. The reader is guided to the same judgement as Suetonius but he relies more so on the evidence than a reader's trust in his opinion alone.

⁶⁶ Lewis (1991) 3653.

⁶⁷ Suetonius focuses on a framework upon which to judge nocturnal activity that is formed from the moralising tradition. Chapter 2 focuses on explaining this framework and shows how Suetonius bends it to his own purpose in portraying certain characteristics, and challenging its rigid definitions.

great subtlety.⁶⁸ Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum*, then, gives his readers more information that they might not have been exposed to, particularly when discussing an emperor's private life. They can then add this to the information that they already have by reading other historical works and observing the *princeps* of their own time.

Conclusion

There were many influences upon Suetonius' work, both from his own background and his knowledge of contemporary literature. All these influences inspired in him a desire to examine imperial behaviour on an individual basis, understanding that the strength of an individual can make or break a reign. Therefore, the purpose of the *De Vita Caesarum* is to build up a standard of imperial behaviour as valued by Suetonius. He presents this ideal in a very subtle way by keeping his opinion in the background and instead providing evidence for his view of an emperor to lead readers to come to the same conclusion. As I come to discuss next in Suetonius' work, it is important to keep in mind the style of his work, particularly the use of vices and virtues and details from an emperor's private life as a means of illuminating his strength as a *princeps*.

⁶⁸ Hägg (2012) 230: "His 'businesslike' style, it is now argued, is a rhetorical disguise to inspire confidence. His authentic-looking details are stock ingredients to produce *enargeia*, vividness or 'presence'. He conceals his art, and it demands careful analysis to divine the hidden connection and the subtle ordering of words or events."

Chapter 2: Perception of Night

Introduction

Night and darkness had different connotations to the Romans. Various activities occurred at night and each is portrayed throughout Suetonius' text in a unique way. In its simplest form, the 'night' lends itself to a negative perception. This perception, however, is far from the only association that is possible or that is developed.

To begin this investigation, I will seek to understand the societal construction of night in a broader cultural context through section 2.1. I will discuss the different choices of nocturnal activity and the significance of representing these activities in a text. Beginning with Quintilian's description of his nocturnal writer, I will explain the different images that an author tried to create in the reader's mind when portraying night in a given work. I will use this evidence to show that there is a strong moralising nature to how night is represented in literature and complex considerations for readers in judging nocturnal actions. Whilst intertwining Suetonius' examples within this discussion, I also will look at the narrative of Lucretia in detail. This is an important example that illustrates the wide range of action occurring by night. It also shows the importance of analysing nocturnal activity within the context of a literary work itself, as well as the wider context of Roman society.

Section 2.2 further expands upon this societal construction of night in Suetonius, providing a wider spectrum of activity as it relates to the emperors. I will argue that Suetonius holds emperors to a higher standard than the general population and therefore their nocturnal activities come under a similar level of scrutiny as their public actions. The aim is to understand the ideal form of nocturnal activity that was appropriate for an emperor. Through this analysis I will expand upon the imagery evoked through references to night in Suetonius' text. I will argue that Suetonius does not need to be explicit in his description of night. Rather, he can evoke the reader's (or society's) assumptions of night based on careful vocabulary choice.

I will then delve further into Suetonius' manipulation of night in section 2.3. By understanding the various images inspired through the subtle choice of language, it becomes evident that Suetonius' descriptions of the emperors are heavily layered in meaning. By choosing vocabulary pertaining to night in his text, Suetonius can play upon the societal construction of night and use these images to add depth and vividness to his descriptions. This manipulation of imagery has very specific reference to emotions which are experienced or heightened during a nocturnal event and the fear and uncertainty that arises from the unseen nature of night.

2.1: Basis of Night in Culture and Literature

It is generally accepted that day was the time of activity for Romans and night a time for sleep.⁶⁹ The limited resources available for illumination by night meant that daylight was used to its fullest extent with most activity occurring then. Roman society had to work in conjunction with nature and the conditions it imposed. As the general population was up at or before dawn, a six hour working day could be completed by midday, with many hours of daylight remaining afterwards.⁷⁰ It is still likely that a number of labourers returned to work after a break in the middle of the day and consumed their dinner after dusk.⁷¹

The evening meal was an important end to the day, usually beginning about the ninth hour but and may continue through into the hours of darkness.⁷² The meal worked as a transition into the period of night-time, signalling the start of private time for many. Suetonius' emperors view dinner as their private time in which to relax. Tiberius, when he was asked by a dwarf about the execution of a prisoner at his *convivium*, he quickly silenced him on the issue, but he then asked the senate to hurry its decision a few days later.⁷³ Suetonius does not mention whether this incident happened at the start of a dinner (i.e. while it was possibly still light) or later in the dinner (when dusk had probably fallen). All the same, the idea emerges that Tiberius did not see himself undertaking any further duties for others after dark.⁷⁴ This small anecdote shows one emperor's desire for a break from his public duties and his expectation of relaxation in the evening. Indeed, Vespasian was said to be in good spirits, particularly at dinner, and happily cracked jokes with his guests.⁷⁵ Augustus' private indulgences at this time of day are described in detail, especially his fondness of gambling.⁷⁶ At some dinner parties, he also held auctions for unspecified items of value and actively engaged in the bidding himself.⁷⁷ Suetonius' banqueting anecdotes portray his caesars in the same societal framework and enjoying the same simple pleasures as their subjects – albeit on a grander scale. Even in the example above, Tiberius did not ignore his responsibilities completely, as he did address the issue at a later date, but his concern had turned from the public

⁶⁹ Balsdon (1969) 18; Morrison (2012) 1-2.

⁷⁰ Balsdon (1969) 24. For a breakdown of the day see Carcopino (1946) 150-157 and 248-276, Balsdon (1969) 17-55 and Spaeth (1924) 90-95. See also Mart. 4. 8 and 10.70 for Martial's day; Plin. *Ep.* 9.36 – Pliny describes a summer day, rising with sun but often leaving his shutters closed to use the prolonged darkness as a time to gather his thoughts and concentration.

⁷¹ Shelton (1988) 128.

⁷² Shelton (1988) 129: the exact hour that a banquet ended depended heavily on the seasons, therefore eating during darkness hours in winter was not an unusual occurrence.

⁷³ Suet. *Tib.* 61.6.

⁷⁴ Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 8.1: "Friends, I have wasted a day." (Trans. by Graves).

⁷⁵ Suet. *Ves.* 22.1.

⁷⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 69.1ff.

⁷⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 75.1.

working day to his own private relaxations. Through these examples, we can see the private nature of the evening period in Roman society that appears to signal a limited occurrence of activity during these hours.

Activity still did occur after dark, working in conjunction with nocturnal conditions. Numerous anecdotes depict revellers in the city, people frequenting taverns and attending nocturnal performances.⁷⁸ Diligent people often chose to end the evening meal before sunset – or in the first hour of the night in winter, due to the shortness of the season's daylight hours – in order to continue working.⁷⁹ Columella talks of sharpening posts on the farm as a task that could be performed in the day or with artificial light after dark.⁸⁰ Augustus frequently left the dinner-table early in order to continue his business in the evening.⁸¹ Quintilian even recommended working in the night because of its inherent conditions which facilitated his writing:

Ideoque lucubrantēs silentium noctis et clausum cubiculum et lumen unum velut tectos maxime teneat.(26)... cum tempora ab ipsa rerum natura ad quietem refectionemque nobis data in acerrimum laborem convertimus. cui tamen non plus irrogandum est quam quod somno supererit, haud deerit. (27) obstat enim diligentiae scribendi etiam fatigatio, et abunde, si vacet, lucis spatia sufficiunt; occupatos in noctem necessitas agit. (Quint. *Inst.* 10.3.25-27)

Therefore let him possess a room for his nightly work in the silence of the night, in a closed bedroom and by a single lamp. (26) ... since we have converted into the most unrelenting labour the time which is determined for us by the very nature of things for rest and relaxation. Therefore no more should be given to that [*lucubratio*] than is surplus to sleep and is not needed. (27) For fatigue will hinder the diligence of writing, and the periods of light are abundantly sufficient [for such tasks], if you enjoy a leisurely life; necessity is the driving force behind toiling in the lamplight.

This short passage from Quintilian offers many insights into the place of night within Roman society and within a text itself. Night is a time of relaxation but this relaxation can be put to different use. Quintilian builds a picture of night as a time associated with sleep, quiet and the absence of light. His description of working by a single lamp is a powerful image of the nocturnal agent. This single

⁷⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 31.4; Mart. 12.57 – bakers working at night; Catul. 47.5 – revellers at night; Juv. 3. 278ff – see section 2.2 below for Juvenal's famous account of the perils facing Roman in the city at night.

⁷⁹ Balsdon (1969) 33; Plin. *Ep.* 3.5 – Pliny recalls his uncle's habit of leaving dinner before dusk had fallen for the specific purpose of continuing his studies.

⁸⁰ Col. 11.2.12 – he encourages the task to be performed both *ad lucubrationem vespertinam* (working by lamplight in the evening) and *per antelucanam lucubrationem* (working by lamplight before dawn).

⁸¹ Suet. *Aug.* 78.1.

lamp sets the scene and only illuminates the reader with the image of the simple setting described: the writer, his writing and the lamp. Morrison describes this concept as ‘mental space’ which guides the reader in picturing the scene through subtle word choice and associations of words.⁸² Night performs different functions in this passage: attributing a time to the activity, creating a mental image of the scene in which Quintilian is writing and illustrating the purpose of choosing night for his task.⁸³ Quintilian introduces the idea that night can actually be an appropriate time for activity; it simply depends on what that activity is.

Individuals can choose how to employ their private time in the evening. Ker uses the example of Quintilian’s nocturnal scene to show that moral judgement could be passed on individuals, based on how they employ their leisure time.⁸⁴ He identifies this difference by placing nocturnal activity in two different spheres, described as “...two general modes of nocturnal activity across the spectrum of Roman cultural life as these are imagined and interpreted in the moralizing tradition.”⁸⁵ Let us consider the first mode, an ‘extension of the day’, in detail before moving onto the second mode. Ker’s definition of an ‘extension of the day’ provides examples of tasks that could be performed during daylight as well.⁸⁶ Quintilian’s act of writing by night (*lucubratio*) falls into this category. The intention is not to hide an activity from public view – as Quintilian could compose his writing during the day as well – but simply to perform the task at night so that daylight can be put to better use.⁸⁷ This choice to ‘extend the day’ shows an awareness of using daytime and nocturnal conditions to the best of their advantage, in order to get the most out of both. These tasks are no less important than their daytime counterparts but ensure that daylight hours can be used in the best possible way.⁸⁸ This concept of extending the day as a positive use of nocturnal hours needs further consideration.

Lucubratio, as an example of extending the day, can be a positive choice of nocturnal activity. Despite the perception that night is an appropriate time for relaxation, it is possible to

⁸² Morrison (2012) 9.

⁸³ Ker notes that the *locus amoenus*, despite its idealistic concept, can actually distract the writer from the task at hand. This is why Quintilian advocates for the practice of *lucubratio* in order to remove outside distractions with the focus being solely on the task at hand. – Ker (2004) 214; Quintilian’s actions are also positive in that he does not disturb other members of the household who are presumably sleeping at this time. His choice of activity should not interfere with another individual’s choice

⁸⁴ Ker (2004) 216; Connors (2000) 492.

⁸⁵ Ker (2004) 217.

⁸⁶ See Ker (2004) 217-219 – tasks include women spinning wool by night, Vulcan making the armour of Aeneas and Columella’s tasks on the farm.

⁸⁷ Ker (2004) 221 does note that on some level, Quintilian’s nocturnal writer protects himself from public criticism of his works by choosing to compose them at night. However the essence of his activity is not to shun the public day completely.

⁸⁸ Ker (2004) 218; Shelton (1988) 151 – describes the senatorial man’s day being taken up by morning greetings, senate meetings and jury duty.

convert this private time to activity that benefits the *populus*. Scipio Africanus is even said to have claimed that his leisure time was the most productive period in which he was working for the 'public good'.⁸⁹ Quintilian noted in the passage above that work at night was often undertaken out of necessity by those who did not enjoy the pleasure of a leisurely life. This idea of sacrificing leisure time for public duties is an important aspect of Suetonius' biographies, given that the necessity of exploiting all hours of the day (and night) was nowhere more prevalent than in the life of an emperor. Thus, Suetonius uses Augustus as an example of ideal nocturnal behaviour because he engaged in the practice of *lucubratio* after dinner.⁹⁰ Quintilian's and Augustus' choice of conducting *lucubratio* conveys strong *dignitas* for making the conscious choice of duty first.⁹¹ It is an ideal way to employ the hours of the night before sleep, is the mark of a good leader, and works alongside the quiet and private nature of night. Given the fact that extending working hours is a positive activity because it benefits the public day, *lucubratio* must be practiced in an appropriate way to be worthy of the praise it invites.

Lucubratio specifically could have a negative impact on health when it was not performed appropriately. As the hours of darkness were typically reserved for rest, the practice of working by night was only undertaken so as not to have a negative impact on one's health through loss of sleep or straining eyes in a dim light.⁹² The positive judgement which *lucubratio* adds to an individual's character could be compromised if the individual was then unable to conduct themselves appropriately in their daytime duties. This concept applies to all nocturnal activity as it should not impact adversely upon an individual's daily responsibilities, particularly an emperor's obligations to his people. This idea is of particular concern when discussing Claudius' habits. He often overindulged in the evening, leading to restless sleep and a tendency to fall asleep during the day (and most embarrassingly whilst in court).⁹³ Claudius' choice of nocturnal activity was not judged negatively in and of itself, but only in conjunction with its impact on his ability to give full attention to his daytime duties. It was acceptable to relax with an evening dinner and was an

⁸⁹ Cic. *Off.* 3.1 – Cicero wishes to aspire to the same 'excellence of character' that Scipio Africanus sets: "It shows that even in his leisure hours his thoughts were occupied with public business..." (Trans. by Miller); Sal. *Cat.* 4 – Sallust explains his purpose of writing about Catiline is to put his own leisure time to good use rather than wasting it.

⁹⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 78.1 as noted above.

⁹¹ Ker (2004) 216: "The significance of Quintilian's nocturnal scene can be most clearly defined by referring not only to the type of activity involved in *lucubratio* but also to the set of nocturnal activities in which he is emphatically not engaging."

⁹² Quint. *Inst.* 10.3.28. See also Suet. *Ves.* 21.1 – Vespasian followed Augustus' example of *lucubratio* but chose to approach the activity in the very early hours before dawn after a restful sleep. Augustus too ensured that his public duties were not affected by his nocturnal *lucubratio*. This is shown by adding up his other anecdotes in Suetonius.

⁹³ Suet. *Cl.* 33.2.

important part of balancing public and private life. Even Augustus did not always work late at night, but also enjoyed banquets where he created an enjoyable atmosphere for himself and his guests.⁹⁴ He achieved a healthy balance between his leisure time and pressing duties. This importance of finding a healthy balance shows that the relationship between leisure time and public daylight hours was never far from an individual's mind.

Ker describes the second mode of nocturnal activity as an 'inversion of the day'. This mode includes actions that use 'the relative secrecy of night for private gain and for avoiding public norms.'⁹⁵ Crime comes under this mode, given that the law-breaker had less chance of being seen in the darkness.⁹⁶ The idea of inverting the day is taken to its extreme by figures classified as *lucifugae*: those who slept by day and lived by night.⁹⁷ These figures considered it the greatest luxury to live at night and in doing so shunned public life, which generally operated in the day.⁹⁸ Therefore, actions that were undertaken purposely to avoid the light of day represent a rejection of the norms of society in more ways than one. In describing the embarrassment that the imperial family felt over Claudius' disabilities, Suetonius mentions that he ascended the Capitol at midnight in his coming of age ceremony without the usual procession.⁹⁹ The portrayal of this ceremony in the darkness, as an act of inverting the day, dramatises the imperial family's failure to integrate Claudius into public life. It was an embarrassing incident that had a negative impact on the perception of Claudius' character. He is somewhat portrayed as if he was one of the *lucifugae* because of his family's attempt to invert day and night for the ceremony. The reader's understanding of inverting the day as a sign of the *lucifugae* reflects negatively on Claudius by implying that he was out of touch with his responsibilities and unable to perform in the role of *princeps*. This was, of course, his family's intention in conducting the ceremony at night: they perceived him as being unable to engage in a public career and therefore attempted to remove him from this sphere altogether.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 69.1-71.4. The idea that banquets must finish at an appropriate house for the same reason of not interfering with sleep of the day's following tasks will be discussed in section 2.2 below.

⁹⁵ Ker (2004) 219.

⁹⁶ Ker (2004) 219: "...the more extreme nocturnal agents provoked uniform outrage for taking private advantage of the fact that night makes public norms easier to violate."

⁹⁷ Seneca discusses the actions of the *lucifugae* in one of his letters – Sen. *Ep.* 122.5-6: "It is the motto of luxury to enjoy what is unusual, and not only to depart from that which is right, but to leave it as far behind as possible, and finally even take a stand in opposition thereto." (Trans. by Gunmere).

⁹⁸ Ker (2004) 216.

⁹⁹ Suet. *Cl.* 2.2. Hurley (2001) 71 notes that the *lectica* in which Claudius was placed was used for 'invalids and the elderly', further adding to the weakness portrayed in Claudius' character here.

¹⁰⁰ Suet. *Cl.* 3.1-5.1. These paragraphs also allow Suetonius to foreshadow a later depiction of Claudius' lack of confidence as emperor and reliance on the advice of untrustworthy individuals – namely freedmen and wives (Suet. *Cl.* 29.1).

Suetonius uses these two modes of activity to judge the actions of each emperor but does not adhere to their rigid descriptions. Augustus is described as entering or leaving cities under cover of darkness to avoid a formal welcome or departure from the local citizens.¹⁰¹ This action shows attributes of the *lucubratio*, in that it maximises the time spent in each city, with no daylight hours lost to travelling between destinations. It also promoted frugality by saving the local town from the expense of a formal ceremony. This action appears to be a positive use of *lucubratio* but was done with the express purpose of exploiting the darkness of night and avoiding public norms. Rather than having two distinct categories of nocturnal activity, Suetonius judges actions based on their connection to the public day. The redeeming feature of Augustus' actions is that they work for the public good in the same way as his *lucubratio*. Suetonius allows for a middle ground between the two modes, using the criteria of who benefits (or suffers) from each action in his judgement. His descriptions of nocturnal deeds must be compared in the overall context of his work rather than in isolation

The presentation of an activity can be affected by attributing it to a specific time. The example of Claudius' assumption of the *toga virilis* above illustrates such a fact. Morrison describes this idea that 'time changes perception' through the example of a nocturnal thief in the Twelve Tables.¹⁰² A thief who was caught during the day can escape immediate death, excluding circumstances when he was caught holding a weapon, but the act of thievery under cover of darkness permitted the instantaneous execution of the offender, weapon or no weapon.¹⁰³ This change in how an activity is perceived according to the time when it occurred is not only expected in literary texts, but encouraged by choosing to build up a 'mental space'.

Lucretia

An example of the points above is in the story of Lucretia.¹⁰⁴ While it is not retold by Suetonius, this story presents a range of nocturnal activity. Of particular interest is how judgements vary according to the description of activity. These variations depend on the imagery that is used to describe them. To begin, we must consider how Lucretia embodies the ideal of 'extending the day' in contrast to the actions of the royal wives:

quo cum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi
Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus

¹⁰¹ Suet. *Aug.* 53.2.

¹⁰² Morrison (2012) 5; see also Ker (2004) 219.

¹⁰³ Table 2.4.

¹⁰⁴ The Lucretia story can be found in a variety of sources, in particular Liv. 1.57-58-; Ov. *Fast.* 2.729-834; D. H. 4.64.4-67.2; Var. *Ling.* 7.4.72. My analysis will focus on Livy and Varro's versions.

viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantēs ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt. muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. (Liv. 1.57.8-9)

After they had arrived at dusk, they then continued to Collatia, where they saw Lucretia not at all like the royal women, whom they saw in drinking and excess, wasting time with their friends, but they found her, late at night, devoted to her wool, sitting in the middle of the house with her servants working by lamplight around her.

This passage shows how night can be employed in different ways and uses vivid vocabulary to describe these nocturnal activities. The royal women are said to be wasting time in the greatest luxury. There is no need to assume that a banquet is an unacceptable pastime, and although it is not reconciled with the public day in the same way as the practice of *lucubratio*, it does fit with the idea of night as a time of relaxation. However, the royal wives banquet is negatively compared to Lucretia's positive use of night-time.¹⁰⁵ Lucretia engages in *lucubratio*, by adding to the household production and by forgoing her own relaxation time. Therefore, her actions are viewed in an extremely positive light. Thus, the judgement of nocturnal activity is not only affected by the larger context of Roman society's construction of night, but also by the internal context of a literary work and its relationship to other night-time actions in the text. The manipulation of passages by an author in order to affect the reception of material can be further enhanced by evoking different imagery associated with night-time.

Lucretia's nocturnal *lucubratio* is not only reconciled with the public day insofar as it extends daylight hours, but also through its evocation of imagery associated with this time of day. A reasonable association of light is to daylight hours (i.e. the public day). Livy's description of the lamplight around Lucretia is not simply a way of setting the scene, it also works to emphasise the fact that Lucretia's *lucubratio* benefits public day, and in turn emphasises Lucretia's practice of working for the symbolic public good.¹⁰⁶ Thus, light in literary description can be used as a powerful symbol of the public day.

¹⁰⁵ Livy does characterise the royal wives' nocturnal actions in a negative light, but this is for his own moral agenda of promoting Lucretia as the paragon of virtue. Dinner parties were part of evening life in Rome and there is no reason to suggest that the simple fact of choosing to dine with friends instead of engaging in *lucubratio* every night was in some way a reprehensible action or a way of rejecting societal norms.

¹⁰⁶ Ker (2004) 222-224 – 'Thus, the incompatibility of the two modes of nocturnal activity serves also to dramatize the fundamental conflict between two models of the household and two models of the state.' The reconciliation of *lucubratio* with the public day (and symbolising an action that works for the public good) conveys the message that the Republican system in turn was most beneficial to the people.

The story about Lucretia goes on to show a more extreme form of nocturnal activity by contrasting Tarquin's actions with the model Lucretia embodies. Tarquin intentionally chooses the dead of night to enter Lucretia's room. The phrase that Varro uses to describe this time is *nox intempesta* (untimely night), when no actions should be taking place.¹⁰⁷ Activities which take place during the period of *nox intempesta* not only exploit the darkness of night as a cover, but also violate the nature of this specific time. It is a period when people should be asleep.¹⁰⁸ The night itself does not make Tarquin's actions negative: they are a crime in and of themselves and any crime is a violation of the public good. Nonetheless, they are much more negative in extremity in comparison to the nocturnal activities in which the royal women engage. To highlight this fact, Varro uses the readers' understanding of night (and particularly *nox intempesta*) as a time of rest and sleep, in order to portray a violation not only of Lucretia, but also of time itself.

These modes of night-time activity provide insight into nocturnal imagery and a basis upon which Suetonius operates with the use of night in his text. It is clear that the imagery of the night does not stop at Quintilian's initial description of darkness with a small lamp and a quiet time for activity. Suetonius builds upon these initial images to show the immense spectrum of actions that did occur. He refers back to the known perceptions of night-time activity as evident in the Lucretia story, as well as the concept of *lucubratio*, to show that there is an ideal form of activity in which emperors could choose to engage. The converse is, of course, also true and whatever choices an emperor made reflect heavily upon his character.

2.2: Expected Activities

A variety of nocturnal activities, then, are available to the emperor. Night is considered to be private time by the general population, with the emperor himself also being allowed this repose.¹⁰⁹ Yet, there is a higher expectation placed upon the emperors, who were expected to step aside from their banquets when necessary. Within this period of relaxation, there was a difference between being *otiosus in otio* (leisurely in leisure) and *negotiosus in otio* (hard-working in

¹⁰⁷ Var. Ling. 7.4.72 – '*nox intempesta, quo tempore nihil agitur*' (*nox intempesta* 'un-timely night' is a time at which no activity goes on).

¹⁰⁸ There is an understanding that night is not a continuous phase but is broken up into different periods designed for certain activities – see Apul. Met. 2.25 for a progression of each period. Balsdon (1969) 18 mentions names of different periods but there is limited discussion in secondary literature on the significance of these separate terms. Suetonius himself does not use them, focusing on the Latin terms of *nox* (night), *vesper* (early evening) and one use of *crepusculum* (dusk) at Ner. 26.1 (see below for discussion of Nero)

¹⁰⁹ Connors (2000) 493: "*Otium* is space and time from which the obligations of an elite man have been emptied out: *otium* is time free from work (*labor*), from business dealings (*negotium*), from the performance of duties (*officia*), or from political, administrative, or military service."

leisure).¹¹⁰ Augustus shows this practice of being *negotiosus in otio* through his dutiful *lucubratio*. The act of devoting leisure time to public duties was expected to occur frequently in the life of an emperor. If a crisis should occur requiring the attention of the *princeps*, the ideal response of an emperor was to forego his relaxation and attend to public responsibilities.¹¹¹ Nero displays the opposite of ideal behaviour, ignoring his duties when he had received news of a Gallic revolt at dinner he showed no signs of concern and tried to disregard the whole affair.¹¹² Suetonius uses the perception that banqueting is an acceptable activity to enjoy in the private time afforded to emperor and subjects alike. Nero's choice of dinner as an evening relaxation is, therefore, a perfectly acceptable activity, but when put in the context of political crisis, the judgement of Nero's actions is changed completely. Thus Suetonius creates an ideal in that the 'good emperor' goes above and beyond by becoming *negotiosus in otio*, attending to his public duties in lieu of some private indulgences. Even Caligula seems to have understood this expectation and attempted to show himself being *negotiosus in otio*. He once left dinner to capture some youths whom he pretended were enemies of the state; he later criticised senators for enjoying their own dinners while the emperor was at war.¹¹³ Hidden in the bizarre action of Caligula was, perhaps, some sort of attempt at good leadership.¹¹⁴ In Caligula's case, the attempt simply did not have the effect he intended it to.

The presentation of banquets is altered in other ways through the use or presence of night in these passages. Public welfare must always be on an emperor's mind and banquets should occur at a reasonable time so that the public day was sufficiently attended to. That is, a banquet should start within the later hours of daylight – or in night itself – and not continue too late, in order to ensure that an emperor had an adequate period for sleep. A perfect example of the two extremes is Nero's banquets which lasted from noon until midnight.¹¹⁵ Despite the fact that the evening meal did crossover between the periods of day and night, the association of darkness with a *cena* or *convivium* is generally avoided by Suetonius. This allows Suetonius to play upon the blurring of public and private through the transition period of a banquet and to emphasise that concern for

¹¹⁰ See Ker (2004) 222 for discussion of contrasting types of *otium*.

¹¹¹ Suet. *Cl.* 18.1 – remaining in *diribitorium* ('Election Hut') while a fire raged in the Aemilian quarter.

¹¹² Suet. *Ner.* 40.4 – also note that this was the second dispatch of news to Nero. He had ignored the first as he attended the gymnasium, then further ignored this more serious dispatch. Nero also did the same (Suet. *Ner.* 42.2) when hearing news of Galba's revolt he continued to hold lavish banquets and ignored the uprising.

¹¹³ Suet. *Cal.* 45.2-3.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Suet. *Cal.* 53.2 where Caligula ridicules all polished forms of writing and then claims to produce the work that he toiled over whilst burning the midnight oil (*lucubrationis suae telum*). His attempt to show commitment to his job is fumbled and confused. Hurley (1993) 190 also sees in this example a 'double-entendre' where sexual activity is implied from the *telum* (weapon) rather than actual writing taking place.

¹¹⁵ Suet. *Ner.* 27.2.

the public never disappeared from an emperor's mind. Suetonius describes Augustus' banquets in generally neutral terms, but does mention a scandal over the lavish banquet described as 'The Feast of the Divine Twelve'.¹¹⁶ Suetonius does not necessarily think this banquet was the wisest choice for Augustus as he was criticised for holding the feast during a grain shortage, hence overlooking the public needs. However, Suetonius makes a point to exclude night or associated words in this passage. By doing this, he keeps the connection between evening and the public day at the forefront of the reader's mind: Augustus should have been concerned about a well-known public issue and put this concern above his own luxuries.¹¹⁷ Secondly, Suetonius avoids evoking images of the luxurious lifestyles led by the *lucifugae*, a designation that he does not want to impose upon Augustus. Despite the scandal which this feast created, the reason that this anecdote did not destroy Augustus' image as a dutiful emperor is because it is balanced out by his other positive uses of nocturnal hours (namely his *lucubratio*) and the brevity of his banquets.

In fact, Suetonius' accounts of evening meals only occur in conjunction with a reference to night in three short passages. Caesar feasted until first light with Cleopatra, Nero held his banquets from noon until midnight, and Titus was originally considered too extravagant for extending parties well into the night.¹¹⁸ Suetonius used night and darkness in these passages to express time, and to emphasise the fact that the length of this nocturnal activity continued during *nox intempesta*, when the population of Rome should be sleeping. The censure in these passages arises from the excessive length of a banquet, which comes at the expense of rest and leads the emperor to be ineffectual in his daily duties. The negative example of Titus here was included to later compare to his positive nocturnal habits and banquets.¹¹⁹ Nero's choice of leisure over public duty is consistent with his portrayal through the *De Vita Caesarum*.¹²⁰ Caesar is more of an interesting case. It is a matter of portraying his indifference to night and failure to comply with norms of society. He did not let his time with Cleopatra affect his daily actions, although he had to be reminded of them by his own soldiers: on that level Caesar does not garner censure. His indifference to the norms of

¹¹⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 70.1-2.

¹¹⁷ Suetonius provides evidence of this banquet not only through a letter of Antony but by reference to '*notissimi versus* (very well-known verses)', showing that the scandal was common knowledge to the entire population of Rome.

¹¹⁸ Suet. *Jul.* 52.1 – *convivia in primam lucem saepe protaxit* (he often extended his dinners until first light); *Ner.* 27.2 – *epulas a medio die ad mediam noctem protrahabat* (he lengthened his feasts from midday to midnight); *Tit.* 7.1 – *ad mediam noctem comissationes cum profuissimo quoque familiarium extenderet* (he extended Bacchanalian revels to midnight with the most extravagant group of his friends).

¹¹⁹ See below for further discussion of this example.

¹²⁰ See also Suet. *Ner.* 20.1-25.3 – his obsession with music and theatre, especially 20.2 when he ignores an earthquake during his performance to finish his singing piece.

society and lack of concern how his actions might be judged reflects his ignorance of political sentiment at the time and the effect his political choices would have on his future.¹²¹

The private nature of the night also fostered the belief that private acts were suited to this time period. In Roman society, sex was appropriate during nocturnal hours. Sexual activity was expected to be hidden from prying eyes and the darkness of the night offered the perfect setting.¹²² Tacitus' condemnation of Nero's marriage to his freedman confirms this social construct:

et postquam tenebrae incedebant, quantum iuxta nemoris et circumiecta tecta consonare cantu et luminibus clarescere. ipse per licita atque inlicita foedatus nihil flagitii reliquerat quo corruptior ageret... dos et genialis torus et faces nuptiales, cuncta denique spectata quae etiam in femina nox operit. (Tac. *Ann.* 15.37)

And afterwards darkness was lit up, just as the houses circled next to the forest resounded with singing and began to shine with torches. He, polluted by lawful and unlawful acts, left no scandal in which he might become more corrupt...the dowry and the marriage bed and the nuptial torches, at length everything which night conceals even in a woman was visible.

There is a lively, convivial atmosphere described in this passage as well as the belief that sex was suited to night because that time allowed for concealment.¹²³ Barton points out that Nero's faults '...are carefully worked up in a crescendo from all-night drinking sessions in the lowest company to the marriage with Doryphorus.'¹²⁴ Night as a time for sexual activity facilitates the perception of night as a period of rest in which to enjoy life's pleasures (on a modest scale). Nero pushes the boundaries in his actions and the passage demonstrates Nero's inversion of public norms on multiple levels. Light and darkness do not fulfil their appropriate functions if torches illuminate that which should be unseen. Moreover, Nero's position in a submissive female role in this marriage contradicts the Roman understanding of homosexual relationships in which the dominant status individual should assume the dominant role.¹²⁵ Finally, the characteristics of day and night are also subverted because the excessive nature of Nero's pleasures prevents him from devoting daylight to

¹²¹ Suet. *Jul.* 76: "Yet other deeds and sayings of Caesar's may be set to the debit account, so that he is judged to have abused his rule and been justly assassinated." (Trans. by Graves) – the following paragraphs (Suet. *Jul.* 76-79) discuss his excessive titles (e.g. dictator), appointment of magistrates in advance of their terms, his disrespect for tradition and perceived desire to become king.

¹²² See Morrison (2012) 8-9 for a discussion of Martial's representation of night as a time for sex and drinking.

¹²³ This is not to say that no-one had sex during the day, but rather that the social ideal expects it to occur in the dark.

¹²⁴ Barton (1994) 53.

¹²⁵ Rowland (2010) 25 notes that the emperor, having the highest status of all, should always be the dominant partner in a homosexual relationship.

public duty. Despite the fact that sexual activity was a permissible nocturnal action, Nero entered into the dangerous territory of the *lucifugae* who shun the public day and invert the traditional roles of day and night with all that they embody.¹²⁶ Suetonius' message is that any emperor who does try to invert the traditions of society will inevitably alienate his subjects and will become ineffectual in his role as a leader.

Suetonius uses this connection between night and sex for his own purposes, in order to imply sexual activity without explicitly stating so. He notes a curious rumour that Domitian promised a '*noctem*' to Clodius Pollio prior to mentioning a sexual relationship between Domitian and the later emperor Nerva.¹²⁷ Suetonius describes the motivation behind this promise as Domitian's early poverty. In making the promise, he clearly hoped to gain the protection and influence of Clodius Pollio. Chong-Gossard discusses this 'night' that is promised by Domitian in the context of sexual relationships between emperors as a way of passing on power.¹²⁸ Taking this relationship between Domitian and Clodius Pollio in the same context, as a way of transferring power, sexual activity can then be seen as a logical extension of the word '*nox*.' This story is just that, a story or rumour. By including it as such Suetonius did not need to describe the details of the affair but left the reader to infer the significance of this 'night' and the actions that may have taken place, through the perception in the reader's mind of what sort of activity occurred at night. Thus, Suetonius' very select terminology in relation to the night has numerous connotations behind it.

As night is an appropriate time for luxurious behaviour, in comparison to the day, a simple word in reference to night could bring picture of this activity to the reader's mind.¹²⁹ When describing night in his anecdotes, Suetonius starts builds up the image of this time period as one of excessive behaviour. Lavish behaviour can be portrayed in a neutral light without reference to night, as has been seen with Vespasian's and Augustus' humble banquets. However, is more likely than day to be a time of excessive behaviour. Consider the story of Vitellius celebrating Otho's suicide by passing wine around his men and staging a *pervigilium* on the heights of the Apennines.¹³⁰ Hurley describes the word *pervigilium* as possessing an 'overtone of debauchery'.¹³¹ The excessive and luxurious behaviour in which the emperors engaged comes about because night allows more freedom to indulge. Caligula chose night for his stage debut for this very reason:

¹²⁶ See Sen. *Ep.* 1.22 for censure of the *lucifugae*'s actions which are in opposition to nature in every way.

¹²⁷ Suet. *Dom.* 1.1.

¹²⁸ Chong-Gossard (2010) 303.

¹²⁹ See above for discussion of creating 'mental space'.

¹³⁰ Suet. *Vit.* 10.3.

¹³¹ Hurley (1993) 192.

Nec alia de causa videtur eo die, quo periit, pervigilium indixisse quam ut initium in scaenam prodeundi licentia temporis auspicaretur. (Suet. *Cal.* 54.2)

On the day on which he died, a night-festival seems to have been ordered for no other reason than to take advantage of the freedom of the time by making his stage debut.

The use of *pervigilium* in this passage as a night-festival brings the same connotations of excess as has been seen in other words describing night up to this point. The reader is left to assume what liberties an individual might take in such a convivial atmosphere. The 'licence of the time' during a period of darkness is an important point for Caligula. He attempted to use the night to escape from the expectations placed upon him. If the Roman audience saw night as a time when an individual was out of public view and disconnected from the public day, then Caligula too wanted this freedom of action. While Suetonius hoped to create an ideological construct of how emperors should act, Caligula does not live up to this image. It must be taken in conjunction with all aspects of an individual's conduct. Ambiguity in the exact nature of this night-festival leaves the reader to decide what Caligula did, when taken in consideration with actions in all other areas of his life. Suetonius encouraged the idea that the image of an emperor as seen through their public life is not a complete view of his character.

Suetonius shows a wide range of nocturnal activity through his various biographies. Ideally, any action that was undertaken by an emperor must not come at the expense of responsibility to his people. Through exploring these varying forms of activity it is evident that the mental imagery associated with night can take many paths. By choosing his terms carefully or intentionally leaving them out altogether, Suetonius was able to guide the readers in their judgement – and so too his character construction of the caesars – through their assumptions about nocturnal behaviour.

2.3: Further Text Manipulation

Suetonius' manipulation of night in his text moves on from using specific terms to imply activity to consider the wider mental space behind his terminology. A primary function of night was to provide a time of rest, and the middle of the night was especially reserved as a period of sleep for most. This fact gives the period of night a strong connection to the *cubiculum*. It is the

appropriate room in the house for sex for example.¹³² Ker describes this association of the bedroom as the spatial representation of private time, which is equivalent to the temporal perception of *nox* as “down-time.”¹³³ The *cubiculum*, because it is also a room for sleep, is more closely connected to the period within night of *nox intempesta*. When the private *cubiculum* is entered by unwanted persons, both concepts are violated in spatial and temporal terms. Literary descriptions of the rape of Lucretia enfold all these layers of imagery into one, because it is depicted in different accounts as taking place in her *cubiculum* and occurring during the period of *nox intempesta*.¹³⁴ Despite the fact that different accounts of Lucretia’s story refer to either the *cubiculum* or *nox intempesta* in isolation, the connection between the terms is inherent through the perception of night to a Roman audience. For this story in particular, a further element is added through the strong (although not exclusive) connection between the *cubiculum* and marital sex.¹³⁵ The use of night as a setting for the narrative shows a violation on many levels: of Lucretia’s marriage, of her private space, of the time, and also of public norms and the public good that Lucretia represents. What the reference to the *cubiculum* in the Lucretia passage does is set the scene or create a ‘mental image’ through evocation of what the *cubiculum* represents and how its connection to night is understood. Once this mental image is created, Livy then uses this perception to enhance his description and intensify the understood contrast between Lucretia’s chastity and the depravity of Tarquin’s actions.¹³⁶

Suetonius, too, plays upon this understanding of the *cubiculum* as private space associated with night. Even in the supposed privacy of his bedroom, an emperor was not necessarily free from attacks. Augustus and Claudius were saved by the discovery of the assassins outside their imperial bedrooms.¹³⁷ It is no surprise that assassins might attempt to use darkness as a cover for their actions. Crime was prevalent at night (see below); the plot against these ‘good emperors’ is perceived more negatively because they were attacked in their private space and in their private time. Caligula boasted that he had attempted to avenge his family by stabbing Tiberius in his sleep but had restrained himself.¹³⁸ Nero tried many times to dispose of his mother, once by engineering

¹³² Riggsby (1997) 37; 44 – note while slaves can be seen in the corners of erotic paintings, Riggsby explains their presence in a bedroom setting as a symbol of wealth and in fact even bedroom attendants were dismissed during sexual intercourse.

¹³³ Ker (2004) 219.

¹³⁴ Ker (2004) 224.

¹³⁵ Riggsby (1997) 37-38 – whilst homosexual relations could take place in the *cubiculum*, the room has a strong connection with marriage and for this reason non-marital sex in the *cubiculum* could be considered adultery, whereas sex in brothel (i.e. away from the household) was not adultery.

¹³⁶ Morrison (2012) 6-7.

¹³⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 19.2; *Cl.* 13.1.

¹³⁸ Suet. *Cal.* 12.3; Hurley (1993) 36 notes that this story likely came from Caligula himself as a means of showing filial piety to his immediate family and at the same time loyalty to Tiberius. Attacking Tiberius in his

a ceiling panel to fall on her while she slept, but she discovered this plot and he was forced to find other means.¹³⁹ Nero's attempts on his mother's life are deplorable by themselves because they violate filial piety. However, by choosing to manipulate the night for his purpose makes the crime worse. This story comes back to the idea of 'inverting the day' as a way of avoiding society's public norms. Through their actions, Caligula and Nero show a lack of respect for the boundaries of others, both in the spatial and the temporal private equivalent. This reflects their disconnection from the public norms of society and the true nature of their relationships with the people.

Using the exploitation of darkness and intrusion upon another's space, Suetonius builds up the sense of violation that can occur at night. Crime and danger were accepted realities of the night to a certain extent, as Juvenal famously commented in his third satire. He describes fire as a common hazard and the general fear attributed to night in the Roman city, which was made worse by the design of *insulae*.¹⁴⁰ Juvenal was undoubtedly exaggerating his description of nocturnal perils, but the same examples are also found in Suetonius. Many of these fires could easily become catastrophic and Suetonius describes some that lasted for days or nights at a time as great calamities in the reigns of different emperors.¹⁴¹ The threat of being attacked on the way home from dinner is also evident. Juvenal describes the danger of assault by drunken men or those waiting in the shadows to rob someone walking home. While according to Suetonius, Otho roamed the streets in his youth looking for drunkards and invalids to attack.¹⁴² In addition, Juvenal described the differences between wealthy men who could walk home by the light of many lamps, accompanied by bodyguards; these men compare starkly to figures such as himself, who trudged home by moonlight with a single candle.¹⁴³ It was even common for people to return home from dinner at dawn because the threat of danger during a nocturnal walk was too great.¹⁴⁴ It is clear that people did roam the streets at night, and that the possibility of being attacked was very real. Suetonius appeals to the reader's imagination of these nocturnal dangers in order to bring liveliness into his anecdotes.

Suetonius also understood the sense of danger and fear that came from individuals choosing the cover of darkness to hide their crimes. He uses these perceptions to add emotional

personal space undercuts the effectiveness of Caligula's intentions here and any positive propaganda gained from the story.

¹³⁹ Suet. *Ner.* 34.2.

¹⁴⁰ Juv. 3. 197-198.

¹⁴¹ Suet. *Ner.* 38.1-2 – the Great Fire of Rome lasting for six days seven nights is an extensive period of time; Tib. 6.2 – forest fire; *Cl.* 18.2 – fire raged in Aemilian quarter for 2 nights; *Tit.* 8.3 – fire in Rome lasting three days and three nights.

¹⁴² Suet. *Oth.* 2.2; see below for discussion of Nero attacking people in the streets.

¹⁴³ Juv. 3. 278ff.

¹⁴⁴ Balsdon (1969) 51.

content to the mental image he creates. Consider Nero's nocturnal escapades. He purposely exploits the secrecy night offers for his own sadistic ends:

Petulantiam, libidinem, luxuriam, avaritiam, crudelitatem sensim quidem primo et occulte et velut iuvenili errore exercuit, sed ut tunc quoque dubium nemini foret naturae illa vitia, non aetatis esse. post crepusculum statim adrepto pilleo uel galero popinas inibat circumque vicos vagabatur ludibundus nec sine pernicie tamen, siquidem redeuntis a cena verberare ac repugnantes vulnerare cloacisque demergere assuerat, tabernas etiam effringere et expilare; quintana domi constituta, ubi partae et ad licitationem dividendae praedae pretium absumeretur. [2] ac saepe in eius modi rixis oculorum et vitae periculum adiit, a quodam laticlavio, cuius uxorem adtrectaverat, prope ad necem caesus. quare numquam postea publico se illud horae sine tribunis commisit procul et occulte subsequentibus. (Suet. *Ner.* 26.1-2)

He exercised his petulance, lust, extravagance, avarice and cruelty gradually, even in secret initially and as if it was an error of his youth, but at the same time there was no doubt for anyone that they were the faults of his nature, not of his age. Immediately after dusk, once he grabbed a hat or a wig, he entered bistros and wandered around the streets being carefree, but not without destruction, in as much as he was at hand to assail those returning from dinner, to wound those who fought back and throw them into the sewers, even to break into and rob shops; afterwards he established a market at his home, where the value of his booty that had been procured and divided up through an auction, was squandered. [2] But often during brawls of this type he risked danger to his sight and his life, once almost beaten to death by a certain senator, whose wife he had groped. Afterwards, he never ventured out in public at the same hour afterwards without tribunes following him some way off and in secret.

While this story is extreme in the same way as Juvenal's exaggerations, Suetonius appeals to the sense of danger being a likely reality of night. The 'mental space' that is created in this scene brings together images of light and dark with the emotional perceptions that night inspired.¹⁴⁵ Nero purposely waited until dusk had fallen on the city to set out on his adventures. Suetonius presents this action as a clear, conscious decision by Nero to exploit the conditions of darkness. The

¹⁴⁵ See Lounsbury (1987) 94: "Its [*enargeia*'s] basis in nature is man's capacity for vision, hallucination, *phantasia*. It empowers the writer to create the reality of deeds out of the mind's reality (*nec cogitare sed facere*)."

vividness of this scene is built up in many ways. Descriptions of light and dark can be seen as contributing to this mental space providing a sense of *enargeia* for the reader. “Detail creates what the New Rhetoricians call ‘presence’, what the ancients would call *enargeia* (vivid description).”¹⁴⁶ The scene is set, beginning just after nightfall; this darkness helped preserve Nero’s anonymity, so much so that a senator did not recognise whom he attacks in defence of his wife.¹⁴⁷ Another layer is added to this image of obscurity, as Nero attempted to dress in disguise so that he will not be recognised – a feat that is achieved to his disadvantage. It is likely that Suetonius exaggerated the details in this anecdote for the purpose of *enargeia*, but the framework in which these actions are viewed is still true to a Roman’s perception of night-time and to perception of Nero’s character.¹⁴⁸ By recalling the feeling of danger in wandering Rome’s streets by night, the emotional response of the reader to Nero’s viciousness is heightened. Suetonius thus adds depth to his anecdotes with very subtle manipulation of the language and use of the Roman perception of night. Here, he brings out Nero’s cruelty.

In this passage, the concept of controlling the night also emerges. Nero lacked confidence in his ability to perform successfully as emperor; instead, he extended his power over the dangers of night. He felt more comfortable in the darkness and exhibited a desire for actions which typically took place in the evening. This fact is emphasised further due to Nero’s inability to learn from his mistakes. He still continued these attacks after dark – albeit under the watchful eye of trailing guards – and he used the cover of darkness for starting the Great Fire of Rome, which burnt for six days and seven nights.¹⁴⁹ In this way, Suetonius casts aspersions on Nero as a ruler. If he was the perpetrator of the public’s sense of danger at night, then how could he be an effective leader with the public good at the heart of his decisions? Suetonius does not think he could be and uses the ‘night’ to show this.

Suetonius builds upon this feeling of danger, bringing out fear in many of his anecdotes. Even away from the streets of Rome, there was still a danger of emperors being attacked in their

¹⁴⁶ Barton (1994) 50.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13.25 – the young senator, Julius Montanus, did have a justifiable reason for attacking Nero as he could not recognise him in the dark and dingy streets. He did ask for pardon from the emperor when he discovered his identity but was forced to commit suicide over the incident.

¹⁴⁸ Barton (1994) 53 – there are parallels in literature for the description of Nero’s nocturnal escapades, and therefore Suetonius’ description of the scene is not outside the realm of understanding for his audience. For example, Caelius was charged with attacking matrons returning home from dinner after dark and defended by Cicero (Cic. *Cael.* 20).

¹⁴⁹ Suet. *Ner.* 38.1-2. Tacitus does strongly indicate that Nero was at fault for the Great Fire, but his description is ambiguous, acknowledging two theories (Tac. *Ann.* 15.38-40). Suetonius clearly blames Nero, by describing him as an active perpetrator of the fire. See Warmington (1977) 102: Suetonius appears to give an excuse to Nero for starting the fire in that he was horrified by the state of buildings. However, the use of *quasi* to introduce this passage is casual, and therefore more sarcastic than actually excusing Nero’s reasons.

palaces (sometimes in *cubicula* as above). Otho's guards thought that the senate plotted to kill him, so they rushed to the palace, at the beginning of the night, killing those that came in their way, only to find the emperor safe and sound.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, Domitian hid all night in caretaker's quarters during the war with Vitellius.¹⁵¹ Because night is in essence a period of private time, it was easy to let vigilance wane, which allowed those who choose to take advantage of darkness for their crimes to execute their plans. For some, the perception that danger was imminent had the opposite effect, increasing their sense of fear to an irrational level. Claudius, especially, displayed this heightened sense of fear, always arriving at banquets with guards in attendance.¹⁵² His fear was justified, but by allowing it to affect his habits, the reader remains unconvinced that he was a rational man or effective leader. Claudius even spent the night on which he was proclaimed emperor in the Praetorian camp, out of fear of being alone, as the Senate was gathering in an attempt to restore the Republic.¹⁵³ This decision to take refuge in the Praetorian camp links back to the law in the Twelve Tables whereby anyone holding nocturnal assemblies would be put to death.¹⁵⁴ While the punishment is archaic, the idea persisted that meetings at night were attempts to overthrow the government.¹⁵⁵ Echoes of this notion are present in other literature. For example, Livy tells the story of Verginia and Appius Claudius in which Appius, losing control over the crowd, tried to reassert his authority by claiming that the people had been holding secret meetings for 'seditious purposes'.¹⁵⁶ The connection between nocturnal meetings and plotting against the government was a well-established concept of which Claudius was aware. Given the fact that there appeared to be little fear of retribution at having just killed Caligula during the day, Claudius imagined no limit to what other people might attempt under cover of darkness. His fear was a very natural reaction to knowledge of the dangers at night in the Rome; but portraying fear at such an early stage of Claudius' reign ensures that Suetonius can emphasise Claudius' fearful nature as his biography develops.¹⁵⁷ His portrayal of this nocturnal fear effectively undermines Claudius' position as emperor.

¹⁵⁰ Suet. *Oth.* 8.2.

¹⁵¹ Suet. *Dom.* 1.2.

¹⁵² Suet. *Cl.* 35.1.

¹⁵³ Suet. *Cl.* 10.3.

¹⁵⁴ Table 9.6.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Nippel (1984) 24 – the strong sense of fear concerning plots arising is evident in the reaction to the Bacchanalian affair. Yet on theory is that the opposition was not to worship of this god but was due to the Senate's fear that initiates in the cult valued loyalty to one another above loyalty to the state.

¹⁵⁶ Liv. 3.48; see also Mueller (2004) 84 – Mueller discusses the plebeians' assemblage outside the Roman city by night in 494BCE. The plebeians' actions work in opposition to the 'diurnal constitution' and thus meeting by night indicates forthcoming social upheaval.

¹⁵⁷ See also Suet. *Cl.* 37.1 – plaintiffs claimed to have dreamt of opponents in lawsuits killing Claudius and then telling Claudius, so as to affect his judgement of the case.

Suetonius further exaggerates this perception of fear by night in order to bring vivid imagery into his descriptions and to enhance the idea of loneliness experienced by some emperors. Caligula, as bizarre as his actions were, succumbed to these feelings of fear and loneliness. According to Suetonius, he suddenly fled Messana after being scared by noises from Mt Etna and often wandered the colonnades by night, begging for daylight to come.¹⁵⁸ Suetonius has no doubt that Caligula's strange habits were due to insomnia and even says '*valitudo ei neque corporis neque animi constitit*.'¹⁵⁹ By pointing out the differences in Caligula's nocturnal actions, many due to his fear of night, Suetonius highlights his peculiar habits. The description of his insomniac wanderings is a vivid passage that dramatises the seclusion of Caligula from the normal routine of society at a time when most people would be asleep. In this context Caligula's night wanderings add to his negative character construction.

This idea of loneliness peaks in describing Nero's death scene. Beginning the action at midnight allows Suetonius to create a vivid description and add depth to this biography.

Sic cogitatione in posterum diem dilata ad mediam fere noctem excitatus, ut comperit stationem militum recessisse, prosiluit e lecto misitque circum amicos, et quia nihil a quoquam renuntiabatur, ipse cum paucis hospitia singulorum adiit. verum clausis omnium foribus, respondente nullo, in cubiculum rediit, unde iam et custodes diffugerant, direptis etiam stragulis, amota et pyxide veneni; ac statim Spiculum murmillonem vel quemlibet alium percussorem, cuius manu periret, requisivit et nemine reperto: "ergo ego," inquit, "nec amicum habeo nec inimicum?" procurritque, quasi praecipitaturus se in Tiberim. (Suet. *Ner.* 47.3)

Thus after deferring his plan until the next day and upon waking around midnight, when he found that his station of soldiers had withdrawn, he jumped from the bed and sent word around his friends, and because nothing was sent back by anyone, with a few people he entered the quarters of each friend in turn. In fact, since everyone's doors were closed and no-one responded, he returned to his bedroom, whence the guards already had disappeared, with even the linen torn up and the box of poison removed; and immediately he looked in vain for the gladiator Spiculus or some other executioner, by whose hand he might perish, and after no-one was

¹⁵⁸ Suet. *Cal.* 51.1; 50.3: "He tired of lying awake the greater part of the night, and would alternately sit up in bed and wander through the long corridors, invoking the day which seemed as if it would never break." (Trans. by Graves). See Hurley (1993) 183 – wandering long colonnades is an image used in Vergil to enhance a sense of loneliness (especially Verg. *Aen.* 4. 466-468 here Dido dreams of wandering alone).

¹⁵⁹ Suet. *Cal.* 50.1 – 'his health was not strong of either his body or his mind'.

found he said: 'Well then, have I neither a friend nor an enemy?' and he rushed out, as if he was about to throw himself into the Tiber.

Nero's sense of loneliness and fear comes to life through Suetonius' depiction and this is just the beginning of a lively passage that describes Nero's death.¹⁶⁰ Only a few paragraphs earlier, Suetonius had stated that there was no fitting punishment for Nero, the implication being that the worst punishment for Nero was perhaps not murdering him in his sleep, but abandoning him to his fears, at a time when they will be felt more acutely.¹⁶¹ As earlier examples have shown, Nero had inverted the roles of day and night for so long, attempting to live in the darkness as the *lucifugae*. This punishment turns the tables on him by restoring midnight as a time of sleep, thrusting Nero back into the world from which he was disconnected for so long. Suetonius understands all these competing emotions and associations as part of the perception of night by Romans. By playing upon them and appealing to very specific aspects, he adds tension and emotion to his anecdotes that at initial glance appear to be communicated in a very unemotional and methodical way.

Suetonius' manipulation of the text also avoids negative implications, even when the time-period is exploited for secrecy. Caesar uses the darkness night offers for his own tactical advantage. He often moved away secretly from camp either by day or by night, expecting his soldiers to follow him on many occasions.¹⁶² When supplies from Antony were delayed, Caesar disguised himself and forced the helmsman of a boat to steer into a storm, only just avoiding shipwreck.¹⁶³ The same conditions of night are brought to mind as those in the anecdote of Nero prowling the streets. There was low visibility, made much worse by the storm, which allowed Caesar to maintain his disguise. These passages show a complete contrast to the fear experienced by Claudius. Caesar did not succumb to fear or loneliness, a fact which portrays him as a strong leader but at the same time also shows an arrogance that permeated many aspects of his life.¹⁶⁴ Therefore, the societal perceptions of night do not define Caesar. Caesar was comfortable in his position of power (even a little conceited) and therefore, he did not need to control the night. He simply worked alongside it,

¹⁶⁰ See Townend (1967) 93-96 for extended discussion of Nero's death scene.

¹⁶¹ Suet. *Ner.* 45.2: "*Quare omnium in se odio incitato nihil contumeliarum defuit quin subiret.*" (Nero was now so universally loathed that no abuse could be found bad enough for him – trans. by Graves). Cf. Lounsbury (1987) 64: "So we find the importance of a man's demeanor in his last moments as a test of his character." Nero's cowardice defines his final moments. See also Hägg (2012) 225.

¹⁶² Suet. *Jul.* 65.1.

¹⁶³ Suet. *Jul.* 58.2.

¹⁶⁴ For example, Suet. *Jul.* 79.

exploiting the conditions for his own benefit.¹⁶⁵ This idea will become important as part of a caesar's confidence in his position of power.¹⁶⁶

Suetonius even avoids associating night with Caesar's approach to the Rubicon, which took place after dusk had fallen. Upon hearing news that the Tribunes had fled Rome, Caesar continued his afternoon activities and attended dinner as usual to throw off suspicion from himself.¹⁶⁷ Suetonius describes Caesar as purposely awaiting dusk before setting out for the Rubicon, but then avoids associating night with his subsequent actions:

Dein solis occasum mulis e proximo pistrino ad vehiculum iunctis occultissimum iter modico comitatu ingressus est; et cum luminibus extinctis decessisset via, diu errabundus tandem ad lucem duce reperto per angustissimos tramites pedibus evasit. (Suet. *Jul.* 31.2)

After sunset, with mules from a local bakery attached to a cart, he set out on his most secret journey with a small group of staff; and although he lost his way when his lights were extinguished, after wandering for some time he finally found a guide at dawn and passed on foot through the extremely narrow paths.

Suetonius plays on the idea of light in this passage and the assumed darkness, building up a vivid image in the reader's mind. There is no use of the word *nox* in this passage, only light as an opposite to darkness. Caesar sets out after sunset; loses his way without the guide of a torch and gets back on path with first light.¹⁶⁸ Some societal perceptions of night-time are removed from this passage, especially the concept of *nox intempesta*, and we perhaps get the idea that light equals clarity. The absence of light hides the truth in Caesar's actions, just as he intended. In the reverse

¹⁶⁵ See Chapter 3 below for later discussion of Caesar and controlling the night. He did exploit darkness in the same way as Nero but did not allow night-time actions to impact on his day. Therefore, Caesar did not attempt to invert the roles of night and day so that he could live by night, he simply used them to the best of his advantage.

¹⁶⁶ See below for a detailed discussion of this idea on controlling night as it relates to Suetonius' character representation.

¹⁶⁷ Suet. *Jul.* 31.1. See also Plut. *Caes.* 32 for a similar account of the story. Plutarch also describes Caesar waiting until the fall of dusk to complete his plans, stating the reason for this as his motivation to attempt a surprise advance on his enemies, knowing this will be more effective. Plutarch does not mention Caesar needing a guide to find his path again which suggests that Suetonius wants to portray Caesar's final approach to the Rubicon specifically during the day, bringing truth to his actions and making him more culpable for them.

¹⁶⁸ The use of an adversative *cum* to reference the torches being extinguished suggests that Caesar did this on purpose to ensure his actions would be hidden.

situation, Otho waited until daybreak to commit suicide as a way of bringing truth to his actions.¹⁶⁹ This final deed legitimised Otho's decision to vacate his position, in turn avoiding further bloodshed between his supporters and those of Vitellius.

The concept of night hiding the truth also emerges when discussing well known rumours in Suetonius' text. These spread quickly during the night and their source is often unattributed. Tacitus describes a rumour circulating that Germanicus had recovered from his illness, even exclaiming that *'iuvat credulitatem nox et promptior inter tenebras adfirmatio.'*¹⁷⁰ Suetonius too calls attention to this idea that night encourages the credibility of rumours. He tells of a report that Germanicus had recovered from his illness that was so readily accepted by the *populus* that crowds rushed in joy to the Capitol with torches and sacrificial animals, almost knocking down a temple door.¹⁷¹ Suetonius frequently exploits this concept of suspicion and uses night to enhance the aspect of uncertainty his anecdotes. *'Redde Germanicum'* was shouted through the streets and written on walls by night during the trial of Piso.¹⁷² Suetonius discusses popular suspicion over Tiberius' involvement in the death of Piso leading into this comment. When taunts were shouted against Nero by night, people claimed that it was their slaves whom they had trouble controlling.¹⁷³ In both these anecdotes, little retribution could be taken by the emperors as the author of these rumours was uncertain. Attributing the spread of these rumours to night makes the degree of misconception more believable as night was not comprehended as a time for actions to be in public view. Therefore, Suetonius can be ambiguous as to the true source of his material or the truth of the rumours themselves.

Rumour did not always need night to circulate, and the absence of night from his text can be very telling as to Suetonius' belief in such rumours. Consider the example of Caesar divorcing his first wife Pompeia because she was thought to have had an affair with Publius Clodius, who allegedly seduced her at the Bona Dea rites.¹⁷⁴ This festival took place in the evening at the house of a Roman matron and was a religious affair. Despite these rites being an acceptable night-time activity, Caesar's decision to divorce is telling about how night was perceived. Plutarch tells us that,

¹⁶⁹ Suet. *Oth.* 11.2: "After drinking a glass of cold water and testing the points of two daggers, he put one of them under his pillow, closed the door and slept soundly. He awoke at dawn and promptly stabbed himself with a single stroke below the breast." (Trans. by Graves)

¹⁷⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 2.82.4 – 'night encouraged credulity and belief was easier amongst the darkness.' (Trans. by Grant)

¹⁷¹ Suet. *Cal.* 6.1.

¹⁷² Suet. *Tib.* 52.3.

¹⁷³ Suet. *Ner.* 45.2.

¹⁷⁴ Suet. *Jul.* 6.2 – Suetonius does not use night or associating words in his text to describe this event, instead choosing to focus on Caesar's divorce action, assuming his readers would know the time that these rites took place.

although Caesar claimed no knowledge of what had occurred during Clodius' trial, he made the famous retort that he divorced Pompeia because Caesar's wife could not even be suspected.¹⁷⁵ If actions in the evening could not be seen, mistrust and misconception was allowed to develop and the implication tended towards actions being viewed negatively. Suetonius' readers would know the time at which this festival was held; however, he chose not to include a reference to night in his description of the incident. If Suetonius sees night as hiding the truth, then the exclusion of *nox* from this passage could indicate his opinion that nothing actually happened, whilst still accepting Caesar's need to divorce Pompeia.

Suetonius' narrative appeals to many aspects and characteristics of night which allowed him to manipulate the setting of each scene for his own purposes. The choice of language is highly selective and appealing to very specific characteristics of night permitted him to manipulate the message of each anecdote. Analysing his usage of night at length demonstrates to us that there are multiple meanings in his anecdotes. It takes understanding the connotations surrounding night in Roman society to bring out these meanings and in turn bring his anecdotes to life.

Conclusion

Night in Roman culture has many different characteristics and its understanding by a Roman audience is multi-faceted. Activity still occurred after dark in varying forms. What emerges from analysing Suetonius' use of night in his text is a strong connection between choice of nocturnal activity and personal identity. Night worked to enhance or detract from the judgement of an individual's actions through the way that these are represented in the text. In order to achieve this, Suetonius manipulates nocturnal imagery by implying activity through specific terms or carefully choosing terminology to build an emotional response in the reader. His style is far from simplistic and systematic in all instances. By understanding the societal construction of night in a Roman context, we can recognise complexity in Suetonius' anecdotes. All the aforementioned characteristics of night help Suetonius to create an ideological construct of nocturnal activity by which the caesars can be measured and their own character understood.

¹⁷⁵ Plut. *Caes.* 10.6.

Chapter 3: Night and Character

Introduction

Earlier analysis of night in previous chapters has shown that there are varying types of nocturnal activity present in Suetonius' text, each reflecting on character and character representation. In order to understand these depictions of night within Suetonius' judgement of the emperors, it is vital to understand character in an ancient context. The way that it was perceived in the ancient world is closely tied to the intended purpose of a given work and how it is explored in that text. Character representation forms a vital part of Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum*, as character in this text is a driving force behind a caesar's ability for successful leadership. Character can manifest itself in many different ways throughout a person's life and also within a given literary text. However, true praise for an individual's character often comes from actions not intended to be seen by others. An analysis of character must determine whether the reality of an individual's true nature is the same as the image they present to the public. Suetonius works on the premise that an emperor's true character was revealed through an analysis of his public conduct in conjunction with his private life. Suetonius then uses the connection between private time and the hours of the night to add to this analysis of character.

This chapter uses the perceptions of night that have been explored previously to further understand Suetonius' judgement of his caesars. Section 3.1 begins by defining character in an ancient context, as this can differ from modern perceptions of the term, and then examines the relevance of character for the purpose of Suetonius' work and the place of night in this context. The section concludes with an examination of disparity in character within ancient texts. This analysis is important in order to determine whether ancient authors acknowledged any possibility of changes in character, especially as a reaction to the immense power gained through the position of *princeps*. Section 3.2 then looks in detail at the characterisation methods used by Suetonius in his text. He had numerous techniques at his disposal for analysing character, but some were more suited to his choice of biography and the purpose of his works. It also will become evident that the way Suetonius uses and manipulates the perceptions of night-time is more effective with specific characterisation methods. I also will examine Suetonius' use of vices and virtues in relation to the night in section 3.3. His use of vices and virtues serves many purposes, one of which is to complement the portrayal of character. Adding night into this context requires a detailed examination, given that vices and virtues are often seen as pertaining to an emperor's public

conduct.¹⁷⁶ I argue that night offers just as much opportunity for an emperor to display a particular vice or virtue. In order to see this practice in action, section 3.4 will conclude the chapter with case studies of Augustus and Nero's nocturnal actions as they pertain to the vice/virtue discussion.

3.1: Character in Antiquity

The definition of character in the ancient world differed in comparison to how we use the term today.¹⁷⁷ Christopher Gill identifies these divergent usages in terms of a character-viewpoint and a personality-viewpoint.¹⁷⁸ Understanding the distinction between these two terms relates to the purpose of analysing character in an ancient text. The personality-viewpoint favoured by modern authors, analyses behaviour in a neutral fashion, seeking the psychological influences that motivate a person to act a certain way. Ancient writers, and in particular ancient biographers, prefer the character-viewpoint. The character-viewpoint judges individuals against the same criteria or 'a determinate standard of excellence' against which they are measured and sees them as responsible for their own decisions.¹⁷⁹ Vital to this character-viewpoint is that an individual is seen as capable of taking an active role in how his or her character expresses itself.¹⁸⁰ Upon reaching adulthood, individuals are expected to know this 'standard of excellence' and to aim to achieve it by reflecting how their actions contribute to achieving this ideal. This viewpoint allows the ancient author to judge an individual against the standards of his or her own society. Thus, judging an individual through the character-viewpoint ties into the goal of setting forth examples of excellence for the reader.¹⁸¹ Using this particular perspective can in fact affirm the social assumptions that an author uses to pass judgement on his subjects.¹⁸² Suetonius uses this character-viewpoint to appeal to society's expectations of excellence in an emperor and at the same time to reinforce his own. Consider Vespasian's choice to rise before daybreak in order to attend to his correspondence.¹⁸³ In rising early for work, Vespasian is portrayed as an example of

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 144: "They are tests of their qualities as emperors, not as private men." The central focus of Suetonius' virtue/vice discussion is to the emperor's conduct in general, most often displayed through public daily actions, but also private activities (see below).

¹⁷⁷ See Pitcher (2007) 102 – he notes that the Greek *kharakter* translates as 'impression' or 'distinguishing mark' rather than character as the modern mind would understand. Pitcher also notes that a better term could be *ēthos*. For a discussion of the balance between *phusis* and *ēthos* as different terms and different parts of character, see also Gill (1983) 469-487.

¹⁷⁸ See Gill (1983) 469-487 and (1990) 1-30.

¹⁷⁹ Gill (1983) 470-471.

¹⁸⁰ Gill (1983) 470.

¹⁸¹ See Chapter 1 above.

¹⁸² Gill (1990) 6.

¹⁸³ Suet. *Ves.* 21.1; Horace also describes himself as writing before the sun has even come up (*Hor. Ep.* 2.1.112-113).

excellence; this action puts his character in a positive light. At the same time, Suetonius also reinforces his ideal of nocturnal imperial behaviour: that of extending the day. By using the character-viewpoint, Suetonius portrays each emperor as responsible for his actions, thereby using emperors to create an ideal standard of behaviour that was capable of being followed.

The purpose of a particular text heavily influences the place of character within it and the way in which character is explored. Suetonius' goal is to look for ideals of imperial behaviour and determine the characteristics that are essential for a successful reign. His choice of a thematic approach still promotes this purpose of character analysis. Examples of 'bad emperors' such as Nero and Domitian, are still worthy of attention; each had shaped the concept of the principate in some way, even if only as an example of what not to do.¹⁸⁴ Exploring the failings in a caesar's character can further elevate the positive examples set by 'good emperors'.¹⁸⁵ Most importantly, Suetonius understands that these positive examples must be displayed in all areas of an individual's life to be truly worthy of praise.

Plutarch subscribes to the same belief and defends the place of discussing everyday actions in a work of biography. His introduction to the *Life of Alexander* excuses the nature of the material that may seem unusual to those more familiar with the works of history.

[2] οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι πάντως ἔνεστι δῆλως ἄρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ παιδιὰ τις ἔμφασιν ἦθους ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόνεκροι καὶ παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων, [3] ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ ζωγράφοι τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ὄψιν εἰδῶν, οἷς ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἦθος, ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἐλάχιστα τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν φροντίζοντες, οὕτως ἡμῖν δοτέον εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα μᾶλλον ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποιεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου βίον, ἐάσαντας ἑτέροις τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας. (Plut. *Alex.* 1.2-3)

For I am writing biography, not history, and the truth is that the most brilliant exploits often tell us nothing of the virtues or vices of the men who performed them, while on the other hand a chance remark or a joke may reveal far more of a man's character than the mere feat of winning battles in which thousands fall, or of marshalling great armies, or laying siege to cities. When a portrait painter sets out to create a likeness, he relies above all upon the face and the expression of the eyes

¹⁸⁴ See also Duff (1999) 65 – Plutarch likely started his biographies intending to show virtue but could not ignore the presence of vice and chose to include it as examples of what to avoid.

¹⁸⁵ Wardman (1974) 145.

and pays less attention to the other parts of the body: in the same way it is my task to dwell upon those actions which illuminate the workings of the soul, and by these means to create a portrait of each man's life. I leave the story of his greatest struggles and achievements to be told by others.¹⁸⁶

Discussing such everyday details in a work of history often detracts from the events themselves and thus from the focus of a historical work.¹⁸⁷ Given that biography's intention is to reveal individual character and in turn to provide a model for the readers to follow, it is only fitting that a biographer concentrates on the details which provide the most insight into character. Plutarch and Suetonius both acknowledge that the key to understanding a man's character often lies in those actions not intended for judgement. Consider Caesar's revenge against the pirates who captured him: although an amusing story, within Suetonius' biography the event attempts to show Caesar's confidence, boastful nature and loyalty to his word in promising to take revenge upon the pirates.¹⁸⁸ These qualities then become important to understanding Caesar's success – and subsequent downfall – while in power.¹⁸⁹ Thus Suetonius shows that examining the everyday aspects of an individual's life, which may not initially be intended for judgement, is a way of discerning whether the public image he puts forward is a true one.

Bridging the gap between this public character and private character can be achieved by analysing an emperor's nocturnal behaviour. Given that night is essentially private time, an analysis of an emperor's nocturnal actions is vital to determining his true character. The ideal emperor will follow the example of 'extending the day' through his nocturnal activities, in essence rejecting the temptations of night that can lead to a deterioration of character. Seneca discusses this importance of allowing character to flourish through choice of nocturnal action in his discussion of the *lucifugae*:

Simplex recti cura est, multiplex pravi, et quantumvis novas declinationes capit. Idem moribus evenit; naturam sequentium faciles sunt, soluti sunt, exiguas differentias habent; his distorti plurimum et omnibus et inter se dissident. (Sen. *Ep.* 122. 17)

¹⁸⁶ Trans. by Kilvert.

¹⁸⁷ Pitcher (2007) 102; see also Wardman (1974) 6 – character is not out of place in a work of history but rather than forming a central focus of the work, it detracts from the passages at hand.

¹⁸⁸ Suet. *Jul.* 4.1-2; cf. Tracy (1942) 215-216: "Plutarch sees what the psychologist sees – that the deliberate acts of a man may not be so eloquent of his nature as the words or acts that spring from habit and impulse."

¹⁸⁹ See Suet. *Jul.* 76.1 – Suetonius thinks that Caesar's assassination is justified due to his arrogant belief that he had the right to rule Rome. In these passages, Suetonius makes specific mention of the excessive honours Caesar accepted (e.g. title of *pater patriae*, throne in senate house).

The way of virtue is simple, of wickedness is complex, and it takes as many opportunities for digression as it likes. The same occurs with character; it is good-natured for those who follow nature, it is free, and it has few inconsistencies; the people who are distorted in these matters [of character] disagree with all things, even amongst themselves.

In Seneca's opinion, the *cura pravi* ('way of wickedness') that night encourages can lead to a deterioration of character; if an emperor does not maintain a strong character, his ability to carry out his public duties will be compromised. Choosing to use the night in a positive way by refusing its luxuries not only 'extends the day' so that it can be preserved for more pressing duties, but in Seneca's opinion it also encourages positive characteristics to dominate the expression of character. Therefore, the relationship between night and character is not simply to reveal true nature through an individual's choice of nocturnal activity, but also to allow good character to be maintained and displayed in public life.¹⁹⁰

Ancient literature favours the idea that character should be consistent throughout life. A contributing factor to this belief is the use of anecdotes from an individual's youth. They are often used to highlight the same characteristics that are evident later in life. Suetonius appears to subscribe to this belief in unchanging character traits when discussing the youth of Caligula. He describes Caligula as being unable to hide his '*naturam saevam atque probrosam*' even in his youth and that he would give himself over to nightly indulgences from this early age.¹⁹¹ Tiberius encouraged Caligula to participate in the nocturnal enjoyment of singing and dancing in the hope that these activities would have a 'civilising' influence on him. Thus, Caligula had been encouraged to express his natural qualities and enthusiasm for these past-times; but saying that these qualities were determined so early on oversimplifies the picture. The inclusion of anecdotes from youth is not generally to indicate that character is invariable; rather, it is intended to foreshadow the later depiction of the same qualities.¹⁹² While Suetonius might express the opinion that, in Caligula's case, cruelty was an inborn part of his character, he is not ignorant of the fact that character can develop through youth or that the inclusion of such an anecdote will allow him to play upon the same themes in Caligula's later life. In this instance, he attempts to embed the image of nocturnal

¹⁹⁰ See below as to the relationship between power and deterioration of character which also ties into this idea.

¹⁹¹ Suet. *Cal.* 11.1: 'cruel and shameful nature'.

¹⁹² Gill (1983) 477.

excess in the reader's mind, so that he can develop it as a theme in Caligula's later life.¹⁹³ The focus is on the later literary representation of character, rather than the possible parallels that the author chances upon in a subject's youth.

It is too simplistic to say that character remains constant throughout an individual's life and such examples are very rare.¹⁹⁴ Authors often attempt to overcome this problem by saying that true characteristics were always there but took a while to come to express themselves. This view is commonly seen in the depiction of Tiberius' reign, as he deteriorated into vice.

Ceterum secreti licentiam nactus et quasi civitatis oculis remotis, cuncta simul vitia male diu dissimulata tandem profudit. (Suet. *Tib.* 42.1)

Besides, finding the freedom of secrecy and as if the eyes of the state had been removed, at once he finally brought forth all the vices which had been concealed poorly for such a long time.

In the case of Tiberius, Suetonius clearly believes that his vices were always part of his character and he only revealed them when the opportune time arrived – after his position was secure.¹⁹⁵ For Suetonius, it is not a simple case of character being inconsistent but being hidden behind Tiberius' public image. Therefore, his discussion of nocturnal activities is a way of bringing true character to light. The passage above goes on to describe Tiberius engaging in passions with Flaccus and Piso for two days and an intervening night. Suetonius disapproves of many aspects of this simple action. Firstly, Tiberius was at this time trying to reform public morals and was not setting a good example for his people.¹⁹⁶ Secondly, he awarded Flaccus and Piso with positions in the imperial administration after this episode, allowing his position to be undermined at least in the public's mind.¹⁹⁷ Most importantly, Tiberius let his nocturnal activities invade the public sphere by letting

¹⁹³ See Suet. *Cal.* 54.2 – stage debut; 58.1 – hung-over from 'heavy banquet'; 22.4 – he invited the 'moon goddess' into his bed. Hurley (1993) 90 notes that the moon goddess was a well known euphemism for Caligula's sister Drusilla.

¹⁹⁴ Pitcher (2007) 117: "Character, then, rarely manifests as a monolithic fixity in the ancient historians. The interplay between tendency, impulse, and environment is not something which they invariably sidestep. Rather, it is delineated with subtlety, grace, and perception."

¹⁹⁵ See also Tac. *Ann.* 6.51 – Tiberius showed good character under the guiding influence of Augustus, concealed it while Germanicus and Drusus were still around, and then let his true cruelty emerge in the later years of his reign.

¹⁹⁶ See Langlands (2006) 348: "As we progress through the sequence of powerful men from Julius Caesar, we trace the development in the autonomy of the emperor and his disjunction from traditional forms of government and regulation; this is mirrored by the withering of traditional morality, the intensification of imperial abuse of power, and the growing sense that the emperor is losing his grip upon the morals of his people."

¹⁹⁷ See also Suet. *Tib.* 65.1 – Tiberius had difficulty in preventing Sejanus from usurping power after giving him such a 'long leash'.

them encroach upon the hours of day and interfere with his public duties.¹⁹⁸ It is also one of the few anecdotes to focus on Tiberius' nocturnal activities, which have received limited discussion prior to this point.¹⁹⁹ The story either shows a very dull character or someone well adept at keeping his true nature hidden in the darkness of the night. Suetonius leans towards the latter view and just as the day bears witness to sexual activities that are more appropriate for the night, it also bears witness to the revelation of character itself. Suetonius believes that it is possible to keep true character hidden in one's private time, especially during nocturnal activities, however, by examining nocturnal actions along with inversions to the typical list of day and night-time activity, Suetonius bridges the gap between public image and true nature. This connection then allows him to show that character *can* be consistent in an individual, but that it is merely a matter of determining which characteristics are intrinsic and which are developed from outside influences.

Let us be a little more specific. We know that Suetonius tends towards the view that character is consistent throughout life, but still acknowledges the possibility for change in response to circumstances. The role of emperor demonstrates this, as it was a unique position of extraordinary power that affects personal actions and therefore the way in which character is displayed. Consider the comments of Gill, who, while discussing the works of Plutarch, comments on a long-held belief in ancient thought in the following way:

...wealth and power corrupt men's minds with *hubris* while poverty and misfortune degrade them. The typical response to this theme by the ethical philosophers is to insist that excellence of character consists, in part, in the kind of self-control that can maintain psychological stability regardless of circumstances.²⁰⁰

Suetonius, too, is aware of this idea that absolute power can change an individual. He recounts anxieties over Tiberius' reluctance to accept his new position after Augustus' death, but claims that he was promising in the beginning.²⁰¹ While the powerful language discussing the emergence of Tiberius' vices suggests that Suetonius believed that this was evidence of his true self emerging, he was not ignorant of the fact that power can influence how Tiberius' character is displayed. He credits a speech to Tiberius, saying:

¹⁹⁸ See Rowland (2010) 26; Chong-Gossard (2010) 298 – "More often, however, Suetonius uses stories of sex to highlight how an emperor's desires cross the boundaries of private life and intrude into his public actions. In many cases, sex is power."

¹⁹⁹ They have been limited to simple banquets without reference to the night itself indicating a modest affair (Suet. *Tib.* 20.1) or his behaviour on campaign where he could be consulted during the night, and hence showing his comfort in being away from Rome itself (Suet. *Tib.* 18.2; 21.5).

²⁰⁰ Gill (1983) 480.

²⁰¹ Suet. *Tib.* 23.1-24.2.

Similem se semper sui futurum nec umquam mutaturum mores suos, quam diu sanae mentis fuisset; sed exempli causa cauendum esse, ne se senatus in acta cuiusquam obligaret, quia aliquot casu mutari posset. (Suet. *Tib.* 67.3)

He would always be the same and he would never change his character, although he had long been of sane mind; but for the sake of a precedent the senate should beware lest it render anyone liable in his actions, because he might be changed by some misfortune.

Suetonius acknowledged the concept that character could change, especially in response to power, but did not excuse this as a reason for his caesars' display of vices. Instead, he praised the 'excellence of character' which acts as a method of restraint to the temptations of power, but which he did not see in Tiberius.²⁰² Even in the passage above, Suetonius credits the speech to a time when Tiberius himself did not believe he was worthy of some honours and incapable of changing.²⁰³

Of particular importance is an emperor's relationship with the night, as this time encouraged in particular the temptations of wealth and power and the subsequent deterioration of character. Caesar is said to have feasted with Cleopatra all night long and almost followed her to Ethiopia, were it not for the refusal of his soldiers to follow.²⁰⁴ In contrast to the example of Tiberius above, Caesar showed restraint in his actions, especially in affairs with women, due to the innate qualities that he possessed. Caesar was tempted to succumb to his own passions but his innate sense of loyalty, in particular to his soldiers, was what led him to leave the night's passions in their rightful place and tend to his duties with the coming of day. This example displays a distinction between controlling the night and controlling temptations of the night. Emperors displayed a need to control the night when their inborn character was unable to respond appropriately to the influence of power. They attempted to make night their primary time of action when they did not feel comfortable in their position of power. Those who were at ease in their position instead chose to control their habits in response to night.²⁰⁵

²⁰² See Plin. *Pan.* 44.8.

²⁰³ Suet. *Tib.* 67.1 – "At last, growing thoroughly disgusted with himself, he as good as confessed his misery." (Trans. by Graves) The speech merely acts as an excuse from Tiberius but Suetonius does not believe this excuse, thus degrading it with the above statement.

²⁰⁴ Suet. *Jul.* 52.1.

²⁰⁵ In the example above, Tiberius showed indifference to his position and a lack of concern for his perception or popularity. Therefore, he did not attempt to control night in the same way as Caligula or Nero. There was no effort to hide his actions in the darkness of the night. Rather, he lets night encroach upon the day, without any concern for how he will be judged.

Emperors can also respond to their position of power in a positive way. A virtuous nature is fostered through certain habits that can prove an initial negative perception wrong.²⁰⁶ Titus' character was at first thought to be of a cruel nature, similar to that of Nero, but Suetonius quickly goes on to describe how Titus proved himself in his role as emperor.²⁰⁷ Most notably, his 'extravagant friends' who were judged negatively at first, were kept in office by Titus' successors.²⁰⁸ Essential in the case of Titus is that these actions were undertaken before he assumed his role of emperor. His early behaviour was not the ideal for any Roman, but he did not allow it to adversely affect his new position. Titus did not control the night or let it control him; he controlled his habits in response to the expected relationship between an emperor and the night.

Suetonius' ideal emperor does not allow night to facilitate vices in ruling his life and actions. His character is one that permits him to resist the influences of power and of the night. This part of his character is vital in determining his ability in the role of *princeps* and therefore the success of his reign. An emperor who is incapable of this restraint acts in such a way because of his innate nature. This is not to say that Suetonius ignores the idea of character developing over the course of life, but in this presentation of the Caesars he leans towards the view that character is consistent in these individuals; their true character may not immediately be evident, but is lying beneath the surface.

3.2: Methods of Characterisation

Character is portrayed through many different means in ancient texts. A reasonable expectation on how an individual's qualities are judged is the explicit opinion of the author himself. As Pitcher observes, "Overt authorial assessment and analysis of a person's traits and behaviour are the most obvious manifestations of "characterization" in antiquity."²⁰⁹ However, as Suetonius' approach is to present anecdotes without a stylised structure or generally without putting his own opinion into them, he uses this method very rarely.²¹⁰ This notwithstanding, there are still select instances when he does express his own opinion about the caesars. Consider Suetonius' comments on Augustus' decision to keep Tiberius as his successor.²¹¹ Suetonius sees this decision as a

²⁰⁶ Cf. Seneca's discussion of the *lucifugae* above and his opinion that positive habits encourage good character to be maintained.

²⁰⁷ Suet. *Tit.* 7.1.

²⁰⁸ Suet. *Tit.* 7.2; cf. Plin. *Pan.* 45.3.

²⁰⁹ Pitcher (2007) 106.

²¹⁰ See Chapter 1 above for a discussion of this rubric style.

²¹¹ Suet. *Tib.* 21.3; note Murphy (1991) 3791: "The most direct method of this character portrayal is through the Emperor's words."

reasoned choice and makes his own view clear by using the first person to agree with Augustus. Although Suetonius does later present Tiberius as an ineffectual leader throughout his biography, he does not want the positive image created for Augustus to be diminished.²¹² His comment keeps the ideal of Augustus in place.

In regard to nocturnal behaviour, Suetonius generally avoids making direct comment, instead choosing to introduce a characteristic and then let an action speak for itself.²¹³ Consider the way in which Caligula's flighty behaviour is discussed with reference to the night.

Non inmerito mentis validitudini attribuerim diversissima in eodem uitia, summam confidentiam et contra nimium metum... Peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi irrisum multum locorum miraculis repente a Messana noctu profugit Aetnaei verticis fumo ac murmure pavefactus. (Suet. *Cal.* 51.1)

I have attributed his very contradictory vices, extreme confidence and conversely excessive fear, not unjustly to this health of his mind... in fact, after frequently laughing at the wonders of the place during his Sicilian travel, suddenly he fled from Messana at night frightened by the smoke and rumbling of the summit [of Aetna].

Suetonius states his opinion as to Caligula's mental state but leaves his flight from Messana for later in the paragraph.²¹⁴ Combining his opinion directly with his use of night degrades the 'mental space' to which he appeals. In order to preserve the significance of his anecdotes for the reader and the implications behind words, his opinion is separated from the vital passages.

We have seen that Plutarch expects biography to focus on the characterisation of individuals through their own actions²¹⁵. Characterisation by word and deed also emerges as Suetonius' favoured technique and indeed that of biography in general. By being selective about the inclusion of details for this method of characterisation, an author can guide the reader to an assumption about an individual without making his own opinion explicit.²¹⁶ Suetonius favours this technique as it works well for his rubric style of presenting anecdotes under headings and allows him to focus on one quality at a time. It also reinforces his use of nocturnal perceptions throughout

²¹² See Suet. *Tib.* 41.1-6.

²¹³ See also Bradley (1978) 153 – Suetonius' position on individual character is not stated explicitly but shown through the repeated depictions of behaviour which can reveal it.

²¹⁴ See Chapter 2 above for a discussion of Nero's nocturnal escapades (Suet. *Ner.* 26.1) which are introduced with a raft of qualities said to be part of Nero's true character. Caligula's flighty nature also is described when he fled Rome by night whilst mourning the death of Drusilla (Suet. *Cal.* 24.2)

²¹⁵ Plin. *Pan.* 55.10 – virtuous leaders are remembered through deeds not statues

²¹⁶ See also Pitcher (2007) 111.

the text. Consider Caesar's characteristics as Suetonius presents them. His determination is depicted in an anecdote where, despite the terrible conditions on the night-time journey, he forced a ship to steer into a storm because his troops' supplies had been delayed.²¹⁷ The nocturnal setting reinforces Caesar's determination; it is another obstacle that is overcome. A further characteristic is indifference, displayed when Caesar claimed that he already had knowledge of nocturnal meetings held against him in secret after they were brought to his attention.²¹⁸ Both these anecdotes perhaps also hint at Caesar's arrogance; he refused to let nocturnal conditions disturb his plans. For Suetonius, this method of character development also creates the image of an ideal emperor, reinforcing specific characteristics that he must possess (in this case, possibly a sense of humility). Importantly, emperors' choice of behaviour provides indicative examples for this ideal.

Using the same examples across 'Lives' allows for comparison between emperors. Thus, the structure of a narrative can be manipulated to highlight specific characteristics for each individual.²¹⁹ Suetonius' use of rubric, which allows for cross-comparison between lives by looking at the same qualities, is one form of characterisation. In addition, he builds upon these parallel constructions by using the same nocturnal imagery. Consider as demonstrative the anecdote of Nero roaming the streets after dark.²²⁰ A parallel characterisation emerges when Otho is described performing the same activity, wandering the streets by night and attacking drunken people that he came across.²²¹ This description of Otho very early on in his biography works to link his character to that of Nero. Suetonius later comments that Otho was called 'another Nero' when he tried to assume power.²²² The same imagery of Nero's actions is brought back to the reader's mind when looking at Otho and therefore, the reader will begin to see parallels of character between these two individuals, throughout the biography of Otho. The same idea of comparison emerges between Caligula and Domitian as they both held gladiatorial shows by torchlight.²²³ Both emperors attempt to communicate with their people through the novelty of these nocturnal shows.²²⁴ Suetonius cannot ignore the positive aspects of these caesars' reigns, even though they both later prove to be 'bad emperors'. Describing Domitian's nocturnal shows reminds the reader of Caligula's failed

²¹⁷ Suet. *Jul.* 58.2; cf. 65.1 when he expected his troops to follow him at any hour whether day or night.

²¹⁸ Suet. *Jul.* 75.5 – this also ties back into the concept in Roman ideology of nocturnal meetings as attempts to overthrow the government (see Chapter 2 above). This short comment reflects Caesar's refusal to acknowledge the true state of political affairs. Not being aware of the purpose of holding meetings by night shows an immense amount of arrogance, which was essentially one of the prime qualities that led to Caesar's downfall.

²¹⁹ Pitcher (2007) 114.

²²⁰ Suet. *Ner.* 26.1; see Chapter 2 (above).

²²¹ Suet. *Oth.* 2.1.

²²² Suet. *Oth.* 7.1.

²²³ Suet. *Cal.* 18.2; *Dom.* 4.1.

²²⁴ Bradley (1981) 129 – *spectacula* were part of an emperor's way of showing 'concern for his people'.

attempt at a successful reign and signifies Domitian's own lack of leadership, as it will be developed throughout his biography.²²⁵ Even in this instance, the sentiment in his actions was somewhat diminished by the fact that Domitian talked through the gladiatorial shows which he was supposed to be enjoying.²²⁶

Characterising an individual through the actions of others can also cross into more direct comment. Pitcher labels this technique as 'indirect introduction'.²²⁷ As Suetonius' biographies focus on one individual this method is not common, but still does occur in certain circumstances. A clear example is the description of Claudius from Augustus' letters.²²⁸ These letters show some misconceptions about Claudius' character in that they suggest that he was an individual who had an inferior mental capacity and was an embarrassment to the imperial family.²²⁹ Later Augustus comments that he was presently surprised to discover Claudius' great abilities in public speaking, an observation that perhaps overcomes earlier misgivings or puts them in context. In another example, an introduction of Domitian at the end of the *Titus* maligns his character from the beginning.²³⁰ The passage describes Titus' refusal to remove Domitian from his circle and in turn foreshadows Domitian's failure to live up to the image of his brother. The nocturnal habits of Tiberius while on campaign are also characterised through the descriptions of others. Firstly, Tiberius is described as consultable at all hours while in camp.²³¹ Then Augustus comments in a letter that Tiberius saved troops by carefully keeping watch.²³² This sequence of anecdotes exhibits Tiberius' abilities as a general by showing that he was capable and comfortable while on campaign, but is later contrasted with his indifference to his position as *princeps* in later life.²³³ Having Augustus praise Tiberius' abilities also alludes to the earlier discussion of Tiberius as a suitable successor, by expressing approval for Augustus' judgement (which Suetonius agrees with) and also characterising Tiberius through an outsider's view of Augustus himself. Augustus' nocturnal habits were praised in his biography and show his own vigilance at night. By having Augustus as the one describing Tiberius' actions, it adds another element to this use of indirect introduction:

²²⁵ Suet. *Dom.* 12.1 – the cost of these entertainments along with increase in soldier's pay led to a cut in the number of soldiers and therefore weakened frontiers.

²²⁶ See also Suet. *Cal.* 18.3 and *Ner.* 22.2 – Nero held races until a late hour, sometimes ending at dusk. A text can also be manipulated to juxtapose specific individuals e.g. the mini biography of Germanicus within the *Caligula* (Suet. *Cal.* 1-7) which contrasts the favourable representation of Germanicus with the crazy Caligula.

²²⁷ Pitcher (2007) 108.

²²⁸ Suet. *Cl.* 4.7.

²²⁹ Suet. *Cl.* 2.2 is also discussed in Chapter 2 (see above) when Claudius' coming of age ceremony was performed at midnight with a negative impact on the perception of his character.

²³⁰ Suet. *Tit.* 9.3.

²³¹ Suet. *Tib.* 18.2.

²³² Suet. *Tib.* 21.5. – uses *vigilando*.

²³³ See Thorburn (2008) 441.

characterisation is achieved not just through the dialogue of another but through the choice of the one engaged in this dialogue.

Each of these characterisation methods has its own advantages and disadvantages in advancing the purpose of an individual work. Characterisation through word and deed dominates through many ancient texts but also fits best with Suetonius' goal of creating a standard of behaviour and setting forth examples of character to follow. It is also a primary way to use night for the purpose of characterisation through a Roman reader's perception of what activity ideally should be occurring during the night.

3.3: Vices and Virtues

Suetonius' choice of a thematic approach to his biographies allows him to compare the caesars according to the same standards, namely vices and virtues. While vices can outweigh virtues (and virtues can outweigh vices), emperors emerge from this treatment as either a 'good emperor' or 'bad emperor'. Essentially a balance is sought in the individual as he can excel in some areas but fall short in others. This section will begin by considering the presence of virtues in the context of discussing a Roman emperor and his relationship with the night as a means of judging these caesars. It will examine closely the particular virtues Suetonius chose to discuss and illustrate that there was just as much opportunity to display these vices through nocturnal activity as there was in an emperor's public daytime life.

The appearance of terms of virtue in Suetonius' work is not unusual. These terms had been part of public life and, as part of the emperor's court, he was privy to a recitation of an emperor's virtues in senate meetings, court appearances or as part of welcoming an emperor into a foreign city.²³⁴ The number of recognised virtue terms increased significantly by the start of the 2nd century CE. These appeared on coins, inscriptions and of course the golden shield of Augustus.²³⁵ These virtues probably derive from Greek philosophers; regardless they do present the qualities needed by an ideal ruler.²³⁶ Wallace-Hadrill identifies the broad areas of virtues and vices used by

²³⁴ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 145.

²³⁵ Aug. RG 34.2 – the specific terms on Augustus' shield were *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia* and *pietas*.

²³⁶ Wallace-Hadrill (1981) 299; see Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 151-158 for a discussion of the different virtues that Greek philosophers prized and how they equate to the virtues that develop in the Roman context.

Suetonius as clemency, liberality, civility and the restraint of luxury and lust.²³⁷ The same virtues are utilized by Suetonius' contemporary and mentor Pliny in his *Panegyricus*:

Non enim periculum est ne, cum loquar de humanitate, exprobrari sibi superbiam credat; cum de frugalitate, luxuriam; cum de clementia, crudelitatem; cum de liberalitate, avaritiam; cum de benignitate, livorem, cum de continentia, libidinem; cum de labore, inertiam; cum de fortitudine, timorem. (Plin. *Pan.* 3. 4)

For there is no danger lest, when I speak about humanity, he will believe arrogance to be reproached in him; when I speak of frugality, he will see luxury; when I speak of clemency, he will see cruelty; when I speak of liberality, he will see avarice; when I speak of kindness he will see envy and when I speak of self-control, he will see lust; when I speak of hard-work, he will see idleness; and when I speak of strength, he will see fear.

Pliny extols the same virtues in his presentation of *optimus princeps* as those identified in Suetonius' work: clemency, liberality, the restraint of luxury and lust and a lack of pride (linked to the virtue of civility in Suetonius). This is perhaps not surprising given the close friendship between the two.²³⁸ Suetonius will undoubtedly have heard recitation of the *Panegyricus* in private circles. Regardless, for Suetonius these four virtue and vice pairs are considered vital to any analysis of an emperor's life.²³⁹ They are used in the biography of every Caesar, although extra vice and virtue terms can appear in select biographies.²⁴⁰ In addition, they are the basis for determining the qualities that made an emperor's reign a success (or otherwise).

Extensive analysis of these character traits is available elsewhere, so it suffices for us to recognise that the possession of virtues correlates with one's own excellence of character.²⁴¹ In short, virtues gave an emperor the ability or 'charisma' to rule; moreover, for virtues to be truly worthy of praise, they had to be an inherent part of the emperor's nature because the possession of these virtues helped emperors resist the temptations of power. In the reverse situation, "vices were what antagonised the emperor's subjects, and the vices that antagonised them were

²³⁷ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 144.

²³⁸ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 155.

²³⁹ See Plin. *Pan.* 44.7: "...it is the rewards for vice and virtue which make men bad or good." (Trans. by Radice)

²⁴⁰ See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 155 – Pliny also identifies fear, which can be seen in Tiberius (63-67); Domitian (14-16); and Claudius (35-37).

²⁴¹ See Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 142-174 for a detailed discussion of vices and virtues in Suetonius and valuable background information. See also Duff (1999) for a discussion of vices and virtues throughout Plutarch's biographies. Duff offers valuable case studies for comparison throughout this book.

naturally the forms of abuse that affected them directly.”²⁴² Only excellence of character and the innate possession of these virtues could stop emperors abusing their power and degenerating into vice.²⁴³ The reason that the aforementioned vices (as opposites of the virtues mentioned above) are considered of particular importance comes from the context of Republican governors abusing their power by falling into these vices.²⁴⁴ Thus, there is an inherited view that these particular vices indicate abuse of power, a central concern to Suetonius’ audience when so much power was invested in a single individual. Now what is of interest to us is how these virtues and vices, and so the use of power, are represented in nocturnal activities.

Although night is private time for an emperor and his people, as discussed in chapter 2, a *princeps*’ display of vices and virtues can also occur at this time. This is due to the fact that, in the world of Suetonius’ ideal emperor, his primary concern is the public good and it is possible to use night for this purpose. The emperor’s everyday habits (including his choice of nocturnal activity) will tend towards enhancing a particular vice or virtue.²⁴⁵ Seneca illustrates this link between vices and the night when discussing the depravity of the *lucifugae* by stating that ‘all vices rebel against nature; they all abandon the appointed order’.²⁴⁶ Vices have a strong correlation with the night and especially the *lucifugae*’s rejection of societal norms. Simple pleasures such as modest banquets do not make a ‘bad emperor’. Yet the excessive and luxurious behaviour associated with a life of vice is more likely to occur after dark. Surrendering oneself to the night and its activities completely, will generally entail engaging in a life of vice. Even though emperors did enjoy private time in the same way as the rest of his subjects, they were always held to a different standard. It comes back to the idea that the public good should always be at the forefront of an emperor’s mind. If virtue is truly part of an emperor’s innate character, then it will emerge in every aspect of his life, including his choice of night-time activity or his restraint in reaction to others acting by night.

Let us be more specific and consider some virtues and vices as presented in demonstrative anecdotes. To begin, ‘clemency’ is seen as restraint of one’s power, particularly in the realm of

²⁴² Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 157.

²⁴³ See Lewis (1991) 3628; Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 162: “[Suetonius’ chapters] look at Caesars as men possessed of power, arbitrary and absolute, and show the terrifying consequences when power is not kept in check by moral restraint.”

²⁴⁴ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 156-157 – Wallace-Hadrill discusses the case of Verres in Sicily where all these vices were present in the actions of Verres, and it was the combination of all of them that made his abuse of power so unacceptable to the people.

²⁴⁵ Lewis (1991) 3642.

²⁴⁶ Sen. Ep. 122.5 - *vitia contra naturam pugnant, omnia debitum ordinem deserunt*. (trans by Gunmere)

punishment.²⁴⁷ In the absence of clemency, one's true nature expresses itself as cruelty. Cruelty and clemency are believed to part of the innate characteristics of a Roman.²⁴⁸ Caesar is particularly praised in this area despite his downfall in other virtue/vice categories. He demonstrated clemency by showing particular restraint in dealing with enemies, especially in comparison to Pompey after the civil war.²⁴⁹ He also showed restraint when dealing with those who acted against him under cover of darkness, refraining from vengeance against those plotting against him by night and in particular against Cornelius Phagita, who tracked down Caesar night after night and demanded hush money for not revealing his hiding place to Sulla.²⁵⁰ When clemency is exercised at night it makes the action more praiseworthy. Night being private time could lead people to relax self-restraint, but an emperor was judged in a different way. He was expected to bear the burden of leadership at all times and failure to do so will move him further into the vice category.

We can see this latter point in relation to Caligula's actions. Consider how Suetonius claims that Caligula became so angry with a crowd of people who entered the Circus in the middle of the night, that he had them 'forcibly removed' resulting in the deaths of some in the process.²⁵¹ Night was a time in which Caligula expected to do as he pleased: it was his own private time.²⁵² Caligula's frustration in this instance comes from the fact that he was unable to control the situation. Despite the fact that people should not be entering the circus at this time, Caligula was expected to put the welfare of his people above his own frustrations in being disturbed. An ideal emperor would make an effort to restrain himself from showing cruelty, at night as well as during the day, while the 'bad emperor' succumbed to the temptation to punish, relishing the opportunity to use night for his own cruel purposes.

'Liberality' is giving back to the people, maintaining a balance between providing buildings and games with taxation, and respect demanded for an emperor.²⁵³ Some emperors ensured the functioning of important services at night, for example by building lighthouses to guide ships safely into harbour.²⁵⁴ Because holding games was an easy way to show liberality, providing entertainment by night offered a unique spectacle for the people. Caligula held theatrical shows at

²⁴⁷ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 162.

²⁴⁸ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 159-160.

²⁴⁹ Suet. *Jul.* 75.1.

²⁵⁰ Suet. *Jul.* 74.1; 75.5.

²⁵¹ Suet. *Cal.* 26.4; Hurley (1993) 109 states that Caligula wanted to be close to the circus so that he could check on his horses (Suet. *Cal.* 55.3) or arrive early at the location. He wanted things his way and his unpredictable nature dominates when he did not get what he wants.

²⁵² For Caligula this could mean engaging in a number of depraved activities or even as an insomniac, having the option to sleep.

²⁵³ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 166-171.

²⁵⁴ Suet. *Cal.* 46.1; *Cl.* 20.3.

night, illuminating the entire city and Domitian put on gladiatorial shows by torchlight in the Colosseum.²⁵⁵ Given the logistics involved in illuminating large-scale entertainment, these shows must have been quite a novelty.²⁵⁶ While Domitian's shows in the Colosseum were a great way of associating himself with his brother and father, who had sponsored this structure, Suetonius' comment on Caligula is double-edged. It was novel to light up the entire city but at the same time, filling *tota urbs* with torches forced all to participate in the spectacle. Lighting the entire city made it more difficult for individuals to avoid the entertainment and was perhaps a way for Caligula to overcome his fears about the night-time. Indeed, Wallace-Hadrill points out that for liberality to be truly praiseworthy, the benefit should come to those receiving it, not to the person giving.²⁵⁷ In this instance, Caligula may not have been solely motivated to benefit the people, which effectively decreased the effect of his liberality. In this instance, Suetonius might have manipulated what would have been a spectacular show in order to demonstrate another character flaw.²⁵⁸ It also displays an attempt to control the night because Caligula is uncomfortable in his role as *princeps*.

'Civility' is seen as respecting social customs. When discussing this category, Wallace-Hadrill focuses on the acceptance of excessive honours and the concept that 'no single citizen should excel all others'.²⁵⁹ Suetonius praised Claudius for declining excessive honours and consulting the senate on returning exiles, allowing privileges and respecting the senators' positions.²⁶⁰ Wallace-Hadrill also describes this virtue of *civilitas* as an ideal of 'citizenly behaviour' which is set by Augustus.²⁶¹ But the examination of the relationship between ruler and subjects goes further than the way in which the emperor's position is recognised through titles and honours. It also encompasses the idea of how much commitment an individual emperor shows in performing his duties. At the heart of this virtue is the burden of leadership and examples of it include not just the limitation of titles but the conscious decision to act in the best interest of one's people at all times. *Civilitas* then, as a virtue, describes the relationship between the emperor and his subjects. Claudius fit somewhere in the middle: he accepted excessive honours but also showed commitment to his people. For example, he once spent two nights based at the *diribitorium* ('Election Hut'), recruiting firefighters to help with a large blaze, when the palace officials were insufficient to cope with the disaster.²⁶² He sacrificed his own (private) time to deal with this

²⁵⁵ Suet. *Cal.* 18.2; *Dom.* 4.1 (see above for earlier discussion on these passages).

²⁵⁶ Hurley (1993) 69.

²⁵⁷ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 168.

²⁵⁸ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 168.

²⁵⁹ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 163.

²⁶⁰ Suet. *Cl.* 12.1-3.

²⁶¹ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 163-164.

²⁶² Suet. *Cl.* 18.1.

disaster and the needs of his people. However, he did not show the same sense of civility in all areas, as demonstrated when he attended banquets with guards following him.²⁶³ Claudius had not learnt how to represent himself to his subjects successfully, especially his senators, who might resent the suspicion that they would harm an emperor while guests at dinner. He had the right idea about what an emperor ought to do, particularly in sacrificing his relaxation in a time of crisis, but balance was not achieved within this virtue area of civility.

The restraint of luxury and lust was a way of rising to the challenge of leadership, specifically putting the needs of the one's subjects above one's own.²⁶⁴ Titus proved himself in this area by putting his own luxuries to the side when he assumed his position. He stopped his late-night revelry and also sent away Queen Berenice.²⁶⁵ Few emperors had shown the same restraint in late-night feasting. Nero held banquets from noon until midnight and Caesar is said to have feasted with Cleopatra until dawn.²⁶⁶ Even when the feasts had ended, Nero tried to keep them going by summoning a lyre-player late at night.²⁶⁷ Night is private time and it is acceptable for emperors to enjoy themselves a bit but these feasts go too far. It was when their excessive luxuries started to adversely affect the official duties that there was reason for censure. Claudius too often went to bed having gorged on food and drink, leading to disrupted sleep and in turn a need to rest during the day (infamously in the middle of a court session).²⁶⁸ The 'good emperor' balanced these indulgences with work.²⁶⁹ Yet even ending dinners at a reasonable hour did not automatically make an emperor virtuous in this category. Suetonius says that Domitian ended his banquets before sunset and chose to spend the remaining hours, walking in solitude.²⁷⁰ Domitian did tip the scale in favour of this virtue by restraining himself from excessive luxury, in this example, but at the same time chose not to put these last hours before bed to use in the same way as Augustus' *lucubratio* (see earlier discussion). Restraint was present but the true embodiment of *civilitas* is lacking.

While the focus for vices and virtues is generally within the public sphere of an emperor's actions, they are never off display even in their private time. The 'good emperor' was always wary of his public image and should use every opportunity to show virtue. By comparing emperors under the same specific categories an ideal of behaviour emerges to which an emperor should always be

²⁶³ Suet. *Cl.* 35.1.

²⁶⁴ Wallace-Hadrill (1983) 171.

²⁶⁵ Suet. *Tit.* 7.1-2.

²⁶⁶ Suet. *Ner.* 27.2; *Jul.* 52.1.

²⁶⁷ Suet. *Ner.* 20.1.

²⁶⁸ Suet. *Cl.* 33.1.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 78.1 – working after dinner; *Ves.* 21.1 – rising early to begin duties.

²⁷⁰ Suet. *Dom.* 21.1 – Domitian showed the same indifference to his position as Tiberius. He did not try to live by night or control it but showed no concern for how his private habits affect his public conduct.

striving. Along with this ideal of public conduct also comes an ideal of nocturnal behaviour. Even though these nocturnal actions may be taking place in an emperor's private time, it is these instances in which a true strength of character is tested. For this character to be praised an emperor needs to practice the same habits in his public and private life showing a consistency on which his people will be able to depend, and a reason to entrust him with such absolute power.

3.4: Case Studies: Augustus and Nero

Comparison between the caesars in Suetonius' biographies is a valuable tool to understand the behaviour he expected of his emperors. This standard of behaviour not only applied to their daily lives as emperors but also extended to their conduct at night. This section will focus on bridging the gap between public and private life with specific reference to night as private time. The aim is to compare emperors' private habits with their public image. Exploring the example of Augustus also determines the ideal of behaviour that was expected from subsequent emperors, and so I begin with him.

Augustus:

Augustus, as the first emperor, established his own ideas about appropriate imperial behaviour. His good character allowed his leadership to succeed by resisting the temptations of power. His character representation is consistent throughout his biography, both through his public and private conduct. Suetonius praised his choice of nocturnal activity and used Augustus as the standard against which his subjects are measured.

Augustus exhibits all the different areas of virtue as identified by Wallace-Hadrill. The emperor's examples of clemency and liberality are evident during his daily life but are less explored with reference to night itself. In regards to Augustus' clemency, Suetonius begins his discussion of this virtue by claiming that his examples of clemency were too many to mention; instead he chose a few select circumstances to illustrate the point.²⁷¹ Augustus exercised clemency towards those who spoke out against him and refused many honours and titles that were offered to him.²⁷² Even though attempts were made on Augustus' life under cover of darkness, no mention is made of punishment that the individual received.²⁷³ Either it did not occur or Suetonius omitted to mention

²⁷¹ Suet. *Aug.* 51.1-56.4.

²⁷² See Plin. *Pan.* 4.3; Aug. *RG.* 3.1, 5.1-6.1, 35.1.

²⁷³ Suet. *Aug.* 19.2 – the absence of any comment on the punishment leaves the reader to assume it was suitable for the crime, based on Augustus' other examples of just punishment.

the punishment meted out to these individuals in order to preserve the positive image of Augustus. Nonetheless, in Suetonius' portrayal, Augustus did not need to punish these individuals severely, indicating restraint over his exercise of power at all times.

Augustus also showed his liberality by providing entertainment for the people.²⁷⁴ During his reign, he held the Saecular Games which included nocturnal shows and performances.²⁷⁵ These Games signalled a return to traditional morals and he took care to preserve such standards: youths were able to attend the nocturnal performances but only with a male relative in accompaniment.²⁷⁶ This restriction suggests that it was not necessarily the content of these shows which was objectionable, but the danger of being alone in the city by night, or what youths might get up to in the evening (the reason why Otho was punished by his father for his nocturnal wanderings).²⁷⁷ Augustus did his best to protect against the dangers and temptations of night, but did not need to control it. He did not choose to live by night and the sentiment in his actions was always connected to the public good. Night was still acting as an appropriate period of entertainment; he simply worked with the nocturnal conditions in a novel way.²⁷⁸

In general, the virtues of clemency and *liberalitas* have limited connection to the night. This is because the nature of these virtues is centred upon the role and powers of an emperor in their daily lives. This is not to say that an emperor's role was only judged by his daytime activities: it is simply that daylight was his primary time of action. By displaying these particular virtues, an emperor is automatically assumed to have been working for the people and functioning in daylight as a suitable leader. In contrast, the virtues of *civilitas* and restraint of luxury require more presence of mind to keep the day (and imperial duties) at the forefront of a ruler's thoughts.

²⁷⁴ See also Plin. *Pan.* 33.1: "Citizens and allies alike had had their needs supplied. Next came a public entertainment – nothing lax or dissolute to weaken and destroy the manly spirit of his subjects, but one to inspire them..." (Trans. by Radice)

²⁷⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 31.4 – the Saecular Games were a novelty in themselves without night adding an extra element of difference; 43.1: "No one before had provided so many, so different, or such splendid public shows." (Trans. by Graves); see also *Aug. RG.* 9.1, 22.1-21.3.

²⁷⁶ Carter (1982) 136 – The Saecular Games ushered in 'a new age in which proper standard of religious and moral behaviour would be restored.'

²⁷⁷ See above for earlier discussion of Otho and Nero's escapades by night. The depiction of Augustus' nocturnal shows does not have the same effect as those of Caligula and Domitian. Caligula was not aware of those who might want to engage in other activities. Augustus was aware of other activities and protected his people against them.

²⁷⁸ Augustus also protects his people from the danger of fire starting during the night by establishing night-watchmen whose express purpose was to guard against fire (Suet. *Aug.* 30.1 – *adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilisque commentus est* 'he established nocturnal guards and night-watchmen as a way of opposing fires).

Augustus surpassed others in the area of *civilitas* or 'citizenly behaviour'. He once wrote to Tiberius explaining that he did not eat until the first hour of the night while attending the baths.²⁷⁹ He even presided in court into the night.²⁸⁰ Augustus was willing to modify his own habits and work within the parameters of daily life as a time devoted to the public sector. The aim was to benefit his people in the best possible way. An adequate emperor (e.g. Claudius) kept night as private time but to excel in this virtue area, a 'good emperor' had to convert private to public use.²⁸¹ This same idea holds true in abstaining from the temptations of power and luxury.

The restraint of luxury and lust is the virtue with the strongest connection to the night itself as it is an appropriate time to enjoy the luxuries of life. Augustus' behaviour in this area is viewed positively. He did at times exhibit luxurious behaviour at dinner, being fond of gambling and taking women to his bedroom during the middle of a meal.²⁸² Apart from these isolated instances, Suetonius modestly displays Augustus' more routine activities, eating and sleeping habits, preferring to sacrifice these simple routine acts in order to put the time towards his imperial duties.²⁸³ Augustus enjoys the simple pleasures of life when it is appropriate for him to do so; but Suetonius deliberately avoids any negative associations that the night might bring to mind in describing these anecdotes. He praises Augustus for not letting his choice of relaxation have a negative impact on his abilities to perform his duties during the day.

Augustus showed a generally consistent pattern of behaviour between his public and private actions. He was comfortable in his position of power and did not need to exert control over the night. Instead, he worked in conjunction with nocturnal conditions to give as much as he could to the people and conform to their ways of living. Analysing his example also shows that a virtuous emperor will shine through in the areas of civility and restraint from luxury in their nocturnal habits. A middle ground is acceptable for many of Suetonius' caesars but a vicious emperor will display opposing behaviour in these virtue/vice categories.

Nero:

The biography of Nero is an interesting one to study. He feigned good intentions at the start, but ultimately allows vices to dominate his life. Suetonius' begins this biography by attempting to attribute some good qualities to Nero, even emphasising Nero's intention to

²⁷⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 76.2.

²⁸⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 33.1 – 'in noctem'; see also Ker (2009) 282-283 – emperors received strong praise for the 'pushing of temporal boundaries' in relation to time limits within judicial proceedings.

²⁸¹ This links back to Quintilian's writer (see Chapter 2 above) using nocturnal hours for his writing so that he can make the most out of daylight hours.

²⁸² Suet. *Aug.* 69.1-71.4.

²⁸³ Suet. *Aug.* 74.1-78.2.

replicate the examples provided by Augustus.²⁸⁴ This passage comes early in the biography and clearly indicates that Nero knew exactly what was expected of him as an emperor. Suetonius even shows examples of Nero's piety, for example in providing a sumptuous funeral for his step-father, Claudius.²⁸⁵ Despite some examples of positive behaviour, there is no mistake that in Nero's case, these cannot outweigh the bad, and his vices overshadow any examples of virtue. The transition between the façade of Nero and the examples of his true character is even clearly marked for the reader.²⁸⁶

In terms of clemency and liberality, Nero attempted to exhibit these virtues in his early reign. Nero initially displayed positive intentions, lowering taxes and offering stipends to the people.²⁸⁷ He also held varying entertainments for the public by scattering gifts to the crowd.²⁸⁸ But he later descended into vice squandering his money through frivolous actions, such as never wearing clothes twice and famously building the Domus Aurea for his own use, rather than using the money for public infrastructure.²⁸⁹ He initially showed clemency, lamenting the signing of an execution order for criminals but his true character soon came to light.²⁹⁰ He meted out cruel punishment and then showed leniency on the grounds of the comic nature of individuals rather than questioning whether they deserved it.²⁹¹ He even forgave crimes on the grounds of acknowledging one's own vices and an inescapable desire for sexual deviance.²⁹² Even in the areas of clemency and liberality, Nero lets his own vices overcome a desire for just punishment or concern for his people's welfare.

Aside from providing some entertainment for the people, Nero showed little civility or concern for his people. His cruel acts, in particular the Great Fire of Rome – if one assumes that he was responsible for it as Suetonius implies – can even be seen as indicators of the extreme end of the virtue/vice scale and his innately vicious character. His actions showed no concern for the public good. He attempted to use night to hide this vicious character but the notoriety of his actions foiled these attempts. Nero also let his desire for luxury dominate his later life, manipulating the structure of day and night-time hours to suit his own pleasures. He summoned a

²⁸⁴ Suet. *Ner.* 10.1; See Griffin (2008) 110 – Suetonius will come to present the view of other early historians on Nero – that he disrespected the example of Augustus and other early caesars.

²⁸⁵ Suet. *Ner.* 9.1

²⁸⁶ Suet. *Ner.* 19.3; see Griffin (2008) 111 – Tacitus, Cassius Dio and Suetonius all see Nero's 'natural inclination to vice'.

²⁸⁷ Suet. *Ner.* 10.1; see also Aug. *RG.* 15.1-18.1 for Augustus generosity with money.

²⁸⁸ Suet. *Ner.* 11.1-2.

²⁸⁹ Suet. *Ner.* 30.1-31.4.

²⁹⁰ Suet. *Ner.* 10.2; 7.1 – Seneca's dream of Nero as another Caligula is proven true 'when the cruelty of his nature was revealed' (*prodita immanitate naturae*).

²⁹¹ Suet. *Ner.* 39.3.

²⁹² Suet. *Ner.* 29.1.

lyre player after dinner when a good emperor would turn to sleep and ensure he was well rested for the day; he extended the time of races and musical contests so that he could compete himself, with the contests then finishing only just before the fall of darkness.²⁹³ Along with Nero's habit of holding banquets from noon until midnight, it shows a lack of concern for the daily duties expected of an emperor. He was not able to resist the temptations of night and thus, feels a need to exert control over it.²⁹⁴

Nero tries to use night to keep his true character in the dark. But the escalation in his activities (both cruelty and luxurious behaviour) had too large an effect upon his daily life and ability to function as an emperor. Nero falls short in all virtue categories and any positive behaviour that he initially showed was overcome by an abundance of cruelty and selfishness. Trying to switch the roles of nature and the structure of the day means that his true character is no longer a secret but open to the eyes of all who know where to look for his true self. It seems only fitting then that just prior to a description of his death, Suetonius attributed a dream to Nero in which he is pulled into the darkness by Octavia.²⁹⁵ Suetonius evokes the final image of darkness to show that Nero's attempts to invert day and night are fruitless. Night cannot be controlled and Nero must accept that this is where he truly belongs

Final Observation:

Virtues can be displayed in both the public and private lives of the Caesars. *Civilitas* and continence become the most important virtues for analysing an emperor's behaviour at night. These virtues are defined thus because they are the virtues which offer the opportunity to show reverence and respect for the day. *Liberalitas* is concerned with the people at its centre. Displaying this virtue automatically means that the people are at the forefront of an emperor's mind. Clemency, as the restraint of power, requires that power is invested in the individual at all times – thus a connection to an emperor's duties constantly. *Civilitas* and the restraint of luxury or lust require the emperor to maintain a connection with the day in order to lean towards the virtue scale of these categories. Disengaging with the accepted structure of the day (and at the same time from his people) encourages the temptations of night to take over both the day itself and an emperor's concern for his subjects.

²⁹³ Suet. *Ner.* 20.1; 22.2.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Suet. *Ner.* 31.2 – the dining room in his Domus Aurea was circular and moved to keep track of day and night-time hours.

²⁹⁵ Suet. *Ner.* 46.1.

Conclusion

The analysis of character in ancient texts is not as simplistic as it may first seem. There are differences in the way that the ancient mind viewed character and often examples of conflicting behaviour. Being aware of the different ways in which character is understood and expressed in ancient texts, enables the reader to explore what Suetonius was trying to achieve with his discussion of character. Suetonius uses his work to build up the image of an ideal emperor. If an emperor's character was truly worthy of praise, virtues would show through in his nocturnal habits. Suetonius takes the view that character is consistent in his caesars but may be hidden behind façades until their true attitude towards power revealed it. When they could not resist the influence and temptations of power, emperors exhibit a desire to control this time in order to facilitate how they wanted to behave rather than how they should behave. Many emperors may have followed Suetonius' ideal as best they could but it is often an image created for Suetonius own perfect world rather than one which the reality of the past exhibited.

Conclusion

Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum* is a multi-faceted work offering understanding of the men who shaped the nature of the principate. His biographies have amused and informed readers for centuries, offering a glimpse of his own expectations of an emperor. Bringing night into an examination of Suetonius' material gives a new perspective on his text and adds valuable insight into this topic area. Suetonian scholarship appreciates that his motivation and goal in writing the *De Vita Caesarum* is closely tied to his own experiences in early life. Suetonius knew that discussing the emperors of his own time would come with added difficulties. Instead, he set out to give his readers examples of some of the best and worst emperors from the recent past. This allowed him more freedom to analyse the private aspects of their lives, a vital part in understanding their true character. In this way he created an ideal standard of behaviour that he expected from the *princeps* in his own time. This ideal can only be understood by examining both daytime and night-time activities.

Night had a negative reputation in Roman society. However, this is not the whole picture. Suetonius develops the idea that night-time can in fact be put to positive use. It was essentially a period of private time for the general population. The distinction that emerges between the private night and public day is vital in his analysis of the caesars. As human beings the emperors enjoyed private relaxation to a certain extent. However, their position of power entailed increased responsibilities and it was expected that their public duties were never far away from their minds. Even in the night-time, an emperor must consider how his behaviour might impact on his public persona by day.

Thus, an emperor's choice of night-time action can alter perception of his character. A variety of nocturnal activities were available to an individual. The late-night writer closed himself off from distractions of the world outside his solitary room; groups of people settled down for a long night of feasting; the drunkard – or in the cases of Nero and Otho, a sober emperor – roamed the city streets, often attacking those walking home from their own evening meals. It is these negative actions from figures such as the *lucifugae*, which allow a pessimistic perception of night to dominate, as these are more likely to take place at this time. The key to overcoming such a perception is to understand the way in which individual activities affected the public day of the *princeps*. The practice of *lucubratio*, in particular, enhances an emperor's character representation as it uses night for the purpose of exploiting the time for his public responsibilities.

All the aforementioned activities are part of the Roman societal construction of the night. Suetonius was well aware of the associations that night could evoke in a Roman mind. He carefully manipulates this societal construction for his own character representation. Careful word choice can enhance or detract from the moral judgement Suetonius wanted his readers to gain from each anecdote. This goal can also be achieved by not including night or relevant words in his passages, even when such a connection to the time-period was expected or even implicit in the text. These subtle manipulations bring Suetonius' passages to life, by adding an emotional element and multiple layers of meaning to his methodical presentation of material.

An analysis of the way that night is used in Suetonius' text offers us more insight into his representation of character. This is achieved most commonly through describing the deeds of each caesar. However, nocturnal imagery can be manipulated to allow characterisation through other means, for example, comparison between individuals. Suetonius takes the view that character is consistent in his caesars, even in their nocturnal actions. He is aware that examples of conflicting behaviour can be present in these individuals but explains such actions in different ways. Often, the individual's true character has not been evident, especially when his nocturnal habits have not come under intense public scrutiny. Thus, for virtue to be truly worthy of praise, it must be displayed in all areas of life. Vices do tend to dominate nocturnal habits; however, because of this, night offered the opportunity for Suetonius to praise, by emphasising virtues and positive character traits.

Suetonius uses a caesar's relationship to the night, especially his urge to control night and its conditions, in order to reveal the true nature of the individual. Emperors who showed concern for the way in which they were perceived and ability as *princeps* attempted to control night for their own ends. Their characters were unable to resist the temptations of night and power, choosing this time period as their primary sphere of action. Their habits were dominated by activities appropriate for the night, even when such actions occurred during the hours of daylight. They both exploit the conditions of darkness and allowed night to encroach upon the day's activities.

The ideal emperor put his people first. He chose to work in night as much as he could so that even more time might be devoted to his public life. In his nocturnal habits, he held modest banquets, was vigilant in crisis management if needed, did not use night for the purpose of his own crimes and generally undertook actions which were appropriate for this time period. Basically, nocturnal conduct did not stop him being an effective ruler during the day. His relationship to night was such that it allowed his innate good character to be maintained, even upon assuming a

position of power. He did not need to control night and kept daytime and night-time activities in appropriate spheres. This type of ideal emperor could still exploit nocturnal conditions for his own purposes. However, he did not do this with the intention of distracting from his responsibilities. His behaviour is essentially a rejection of the temptations night offers in favour of duty to the *populus*. The public ideally should be put first and protected from the perils of night life in the Roman city; it is simply that sometimes, a caesar cannot protect the people from himself.

Bibliography

Primary Material:

Apuleius. *The Golden Ass*. Trans. by E. J. Kenney. London: Penguin, 1998.

Catullus. *The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus*. Trans. by Francis Warre Cornish. 2nd ed. Revised by G. P. Goold. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Cicero. *De Officiis*. Trans. by Walter Miller. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1968.

_____. *Pro Caelio*. Trans. by R. Gardner. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958.

Columella. *On Agriculture and Trees*. Trans. by E. S. Forster and Edward H. Heffner. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1955.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus. *Roman Antiquities Volume II*. Trans. by Earnest Cary. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1939

Horace. *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*. Trans. by H. Ruston Fairclough. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961.

Juvenal. *The Sixteen Satires*. Trans. by Peter Green. London: Penguin, 2004.

Livy. *Ab Urbe Condita: Books I and II*. Trans. by B. O. Foster. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1952.

_____. *The Early History of Rome: Books I-V*. Trans. by Aubrey de Sélincourt. London: Penguin, 2002.

_____. *Rome and the Mediterranean: Books XXXI-XLV*. Trans. by Henry Bettenson. London: Penguin, 1976.

Martial. *Epigrams: Volumes I-III*. Trans. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Ovid. *Fasti*. Trans. by Sir James George Frazer. 2nd ed. Revised by G. P. Goold. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989.

Pliny. *Panegyricus*. Trans. by Betty Radice. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.

_____. *The Letters of the Younger Pliny*. Trans. by Betty Radice. London: Penguin, 1983.

Plutarch. *The Age of Alexander*. Trans. by Ian Scott Kilvert. London: Penguin Books, 1973.

____ *Plutarch's Lives in Eleven Volumes*. Trans. by Bernadotte Perrin. London: William Heinemann, 1919.

Quintilian. *Institutio Oratoria*. Trans. by H. E. Butler. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1953.

Res Gestae Divi Augusti. Trans. by Alison E. Cooley, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Sallust. *The War with Catiline*. Trans. by J. C. Rolfe. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1947.

Seneca. *Epistulae Morales*. Trans. by Richard M. Gunmere. London: William Heinemann, 1925.

Suetonius. *De Vita Caesarum: Volume I*. Trans. by J.C. Rolfe. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1951.

____ *De Vita Caesarum: Volume II*. Trans. By J. C. Rolfe. London: William Heinemann, 1924.

____ *The Twelve Caesars*. Trans. by Robert Graves. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982.

____ *The Twelve Caesars*. Trans. by Robert Graves. London: Penguin Books, 2007.

Tacitus. *The Annals*. Trans. by John Jackson. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1937.

____ *The Annals of Imperial Rome*. Trans. by Michael Grant. London: Penguin, 1996.

The Laws of the Twelve Tables, The Institutes of Gaius, The Rules of Ulpian, The Opinions of Paulus, The Enactments of Leo: In Seventeen Volumes. By S. P. Scott. Cincinnati: The Central Trust Company, 1932.

Varro. *On the Latin Language*. Trans. by Roland G. Kent. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1951.

Virgil. *The Aeneid*. Trans. by C. Day Lewis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Secondary Material:

Baldwin, Barry. *Suetonius*. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1983.

____ "Hadrian's Dismissal of Suetonius: A Reasoned Response." *Historia* 46.2 (1997): 254-256.

Balsdon, J. P. V. D. *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*. London: Bodley Head, 1969.

Barton, Tamsyn. "The *inventio* of Nero: Suetonius." In Jás Elsner and Jamie Masters (eds.) *Reflections of Nero: Culture, History and Representation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Beard, Mary. *Pompeii: the life of a Roman town*. London: Profile, 2008.

Benario, Herbert W. *A Commentary on the Vita Hadriani in the Historia Augusta*. Ann Arbor: Scholars Press, 1980.

Birley, Anthony R. *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Bradley, K. R. "Imperial Virtues in Suetonius' *Caesares*." *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 4.3 (1976): 245-253.

_____. *Suetonius' Life of Nero: An Historical Commentary*. Bruxelles, Latomus, 1978.

_____. "The Significance of the *Spectacula* in Suetonius' *Caesares*." *RSA* 11 (1981): 129-137.

_____. "The Rediscovery of Suetonius." *Classical Philology* 80.3 (1985): 254-265.

_____. "The Imperial Ideal in Suetonius' 'Caesares'." *ANRW* 33.5 (1991): 3701-3732.

Butler, H. E. and M. Cary. *Divus Iulius*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

Carter, John M. *Divus Augustus*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1982.

Carcopino, Jérôme. *Daily Life in Ancient Rome: The People and the City at the Height of the Empire*. Translated from French by E. O. Lorimer. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1946.

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

Chong-Gossard, James H. Kim On. "Who slept with whom in the Roman Empire? Women, sex, and scandal in Suetonius' *Caesares*." In Andrew J. Turner, James H. Kim On Chong-Gossard and Frederik Juliaan Vervaeke (eds.) *Private and Public Lies: The Discourse of Despotism in the Graeco-Roman World*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Connors, Catherine. "Imperial space and time: the literature of leisure." In Taplin, O. (ed.) *Literature in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A New Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Cooley, Alison E. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Cristopoulos M., Karakantza E.D., Levaniouk O. (eds.) *Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Myth and Religion*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth UK: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2010.

Duff, Tim. *Plutarch's Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

Gallivan, Paul A. "Suetonius and Chronology in the 'de vita Neronis'." *Historia* 23.3 (1974): 297-318.

Gill, Christopher. "The Questions of Character-Development: Plutarch and Tacitus." *The Classical Quarterly* 33.2 (1983): 469-487.

____ "The Character-Personality Distinction." In Christopher Pelling (ed.) *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Grant, Michael. *The Ancient Historians*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1970.

Griffin, Miriam T. "Nero." In Anthony Barrett (ed.) *Lives of the Caesars*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.

Hägg, Thomas. *The Art of Biography in Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Hurley, Donna W. *An Historical and Historiographical Commentary of Suetonius' Life of C. Caligula*. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1993.

____ *Divus Claudius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2001.

Jones, Brian W. *Vespasian*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2000.

Ker, James. "Nocturnal Writers in Imperial Rome: The Culture of Lucubratio." *Classical Philology* 99.3 (2004): 209-242.

____ "Drinking from the Water-Clock: Time and Speech in Imperial Rome." *Arethusa* 42.3 (2009): 279-302.

Langlands, Rebecca. *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Lewis, R. G. "Suetonius 'Caesares' and their Literary Antecedents." *ANRW* 33.5 (1991): 3623-3674.

Lindsay, Hugh. "Suetonius as "ab epistulis" to Hadrian and the Early History of the Imperial Correspondence." *Historia* 43.2 (1994): 454-468.

Lounsbury, Richard C. *The Arts of Suetonius: An Introduction*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1987.

Momigliano, Arnaldo. *The Development of Greek Biography*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Mooney, George W. *De Vita Caesarum: Libri VII-VIII*. London, New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930.

- Morrison, Gary. "Romans, the Night and Martial." *Proceedings of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies* 33 (2012): 1-12.
- Mueller, Hans-Friedrich. "Nocturni Coetus in 494BC." In C. F. Konrad (ed.) *Augusto Augurio: Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum Commentationes in Honorem Jerzy Linderski*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004.
- Murphy, John P. "The Anecdote in Suetonius' Flavian 'Lives'." *ANRW* 33.5 (1991): 3780-3793.
- Nippel, Wilfried. "Policing Rome." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984): 20-29.
- Pitcher, L. V. "Characterization in Ancient Historiography." In John Marincola (ed.) *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*. Malden, Mass.: Black Publishing Ltd., 2007.
- Riggsby, Andrew. "'Private' and 'public' in Roman culture: the case of the *cubiculum*." *JRA* 10 (1977): 36-56.
- Rose, H. J. "Nocturnal Funerals in Rome." *The Classical Quarterly* 17.3/4 (1923): 191-194.
- Rowland, Megan. "Effeminacy as Imperial Vice in Suetonius' Nero and Caligula." *Classicum* 36.2 (2010): 23-30.
- Scioli, Emma and Christine Walde (eds.) *Sub Imagine Somni: Nighttime Phenomena in Greco-Roman Culture*. Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2010.
- Shelton, Jo-Ann. *As the Romans Did: A Source Book in Roman Social History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Spaeth, John W. Jr. "The Daily Life of a Roman Gentleman in the First Century A.D." *The Classical Weekly* 17.12 (1924): 90-95.
- Shuttleworth Kraus, Christina. "Historiography and Biography." In Stephen Harrison (ed.) *A Companion to Latin Literature*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2005.
- Stadter, Philip. "Biography and History." In John Marincola (ed.) *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*. Malden, MA: Black Publishing Ltd., 2007.
- Syme, Ronald. "Biographers of the Caesars." *Museum Helveticum* 37e (1980): 104-128.
- _____. "The Travels of Suetonius Tranquillus." *Hermes* 109.1 (1981): 105-117.

Thorburn, John E, Jr. "Suetonius' Tiberius: A Proxemic Approach." *Classical Philology* 103.4 (2008): 435-448.

Townend, Gavin. "The Date of Composition of Suetonius' *Caesares*." *The Classical Quarterly* 9.2 (1959): 285-293.

____ "The Hippo Inscription and the Career of Suetonius." *Historia* 10.1 (1961): 99-109.

____ "Suetonius and his Influence." In T. A. Dorey (ed.) *Latin Biography*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1967.

Tracy, H. L. "Notes on Plutarch's Biographical Method." *The Classical Journal* 37.4 (1942): 213-221

Vout, Caroline "Representing the Emperor." In Andrew Feldherr (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c2009.

Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. "The Emperor and His Virtues." *Historia* 30.3 (1981): 298-323.

____ *Suetonius: The Scholar and his Caesars*. London: Duckworth, 1983.

Wardman, Alan. *Plutarch's Lives*. London: Elek, 1974.

Warmington, B. H. *Nero*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1977.