

vita. *Multos* magis tangit sepultura; ad cogitationem post se futurorum plerique gravior moventur.

Multos is impossibly weak as an answer to *non satis ... in vita*; the escalated version in *plerique* makes this more patent (and the weakness of *multos* itself vitiates the force of *plerique*).

Read *multo magis*, producing an even crescendo, with the object of *tangit* supplied from the drift of *non satis ... in vita*.⁴

(iii) *Decl. Min.* 291.6

adulteros tu dices iacentes in geniali toro? Duri mehercule viderentur si cito oblivisci coniugii potuissent.

Duri ... si oblivisci coniugii potuissent would make a suggestive and potent point. The qualification *cito* restricts and weakens it. (It would also allow the opposition to argue that enough time had elapsed to allow the adulterers decently to forget their earlier marriage.)

Cito is not an interpolation. But *tam* could easily have fallen out: it would tie the *sententia* to the relevant moment (the time of the adultery) and stress the recentness of the earlier marriage, a strong justification for the defence. Read, then, *si <tam> cito oblivisci ... potuissent*.

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⁴ The anonymous referee suggests that one might also consider *nullos* (sc. *quam tyrannos*).

CIRCA OR CITRA? ON SUETONIUS, *NERO* 15.2

defunctoque circa Kal. Ian. altero e consulibus neminem substituit (sc. Nero) improbens exemplum vetus Canini Rebili uno die consulis. (Nero 15.2)

Recently in this journal, R. Shaw-Smith suggested reading '*citra Kal. Ian.*': '*circa*, implying that the consul died either before or after 1st January, will not do.'¹ Will the example of *citra* at Aug. 43.4, adduced by Shaw-Smith (and the *OLD* [s.v. '*citra*' 3]) in support of the meaning '(shortly) before'?

Elsewhere, Suetonius uses *citra* only in the sense of *praeter* or *sine*, 'without', 'without regard to': *DJ* 28.1, '*citra senatus populi auctoritatem*'; *Aug.* 24.2, '*citra commoda emeritorum praemiorum*'; 66.4, '*citra honorem verborum*'; *Claud.* 35.2, '*citra bellum posse terri*'. This usage is common in Silver Latin,² and the context of *Aug.* 43.4 does not suggest a more restrictive meaning there, such as '(shortly) before the days of the *spectacula*'. The passage – the only instance of *citra* in what may be called a temporal sense in Suetonius – bears quoting in full: '*solebat etiam citra spectaculorum dies, si quando quid invisitatum dignumque cognitu advectum esset, id extra ordinem quolibet loco publicare, ut rhinocerotem apud Saepta, tigrim in scaena, anguem quinquaginta cubitorum pro comitio.*' This follows a description of exhibits during various *spectacula*, including the parading of Parthian hostages 'quodam muneris die' (*Aug.* 43.3), which context, together with the indefinite 'si quando quid' and the phrase '*extra ordinem*' makes it plain that *citra* at 43.4 stands

¹ *CQ* 37 (1987), 535.

² See W. Baumgarten-Crusius, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli opera*, iii (Torino, 1826), p. 110; E. S. Shuckburgh, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Augustus* (Cambridge, 1896), p. 53; and the *OLD* s.v. '*citra*' 4–7.

less for (*paulo*) *ante* than, as everywhere else in Suetonius, for *praeter*, *sine*, or here better, *extra*: 'not in connection with the days of *spectacula*', 'on days when there were no *spectacula*'.³ *Spectacula* certainly would follow in the due course of the year, but that is not the biographer's point: it is the exhibits' separation from them that matters. In short, there is no evidence that Suetonius ever uses *citra* with reference specifically to a (shortly) coming event.

And *circa*? Suetonius is fond of the word (fifty occurrences in the *Vitae Caesarum*),⁴ but by no means does it always imply 'on either side of something'. Often it simply signifies 'near', 'nearby', 'at', as in *Aug.* 43.1: 'navale proelium (*sc. edidit*) *circa* Tiberim cavato solo, in quo nunc Caesarum nemus est.' Evidently, *circa* here does not imply 'either to the right or to the left of the Tiber'; a Roman reader would know, as do we, on what side of the river the place was located.⁵ Temporally, *circa* is well attested for 'in the vicinity of an *approaching* event': 'puto fortiozem esse eum, qui *circa* mortem est quam qui in ipsa morte' (Seneca, *Ep.* 30.8). No question here of time after death. Which brings us back to the Kalends of January in *Nero* 15.2.

Shaw-Smith points out that a consul dying soon after the Kalends of January obviously would have to be replaced, while only a consul dying before that date could go without a *suffectus*. Just so. What is obvious to us would have been obvious, presumably, to Roman readers of Suetonius, especially if prompted by 'exemplum Canini Rebili uno die consulis'. 'Circa Kal. Ian.' means 'around January 1', but not necessarily on either side of it. At *Nero* 15.2, the logic of the situation excludes any possibility of the consul's death occurring on or after the Kalends. It does not exclude *circa*.

An exquisite parallel in Suetonius exists. At *Claud.* 7, we read: 'sub Gaio demum fratris filio secundam existimationem *circa* initia imperii omnibus lenociniis colligente honores auspicatus consulatum gessit una per duos menses.' Few will suffer torment in deciding whether *circa initia imperii* really may imply before as well as after the beginnings of Caligula's rule. The text of *Claud.* 7 is sound. So it is in the *Nero*: *circa*, not *citra*.

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³ Cf. Shuckburgh, p. 96: 'though not during the days fixed for a spectacle', and Baumgarten-Crusius, p. 110: 'praeter sp. dies, ubi illi nondum adessent'. See also Gell. 12.13.20, 'nam *citra* quod est, id *extra* est'.

⁴ See A. A. Howard and C. N. Jackson, *Index verborum C. Suetoni Tranquilli* (Cambridge, Mass., 1922), p. 41.

⁵ Cf. Caesar's *horti* 'circa Tiberim' (*DJ* 83.2), and *Aug.* 17.3, 'circa montes Ceraunios utrobique parte liburnicarum demersa': the rocks, being close to the shore, could be only on one side of the ships. For the site of the 'naumachia Augusti', we have the Princeps' own account: 'navalis proeli spectaculum populo dedi trans Tiberim, in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum' (*Res gestae* 23).

ANACHARSIS IN A LETTER OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

Philostratus remarks on the terseness of the letters of Apollonius of Tyana (*Vita Apoll.* 7.35, cf. 4.27), and letter 61 is a good example of that stylistic feature. Addressed to a Lesbionax, it says: 'Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης ἦν σοφός· εἰ δὲ Σκύθης, ὅτι καὶ Σκύθης' ('Anacharsis the Scythian was a sage. And if he was a Scythian, then it was because he was a Scythian that he was a sage'). In my commentary to the letters, I observed that Apollonius is drawing here on the tradition of the Scythians as an