

8) où ne se passait alors rien qui réclamât l'attention. L'histoire de l'histoire-Live ait jugé digne de mention (cf. *Annales* de Ligurie afin d'organiser les élections (*Annales gestae re*). Le lustre de -188 aurait eu un caractère républicain, et les consuls seraient élus en apparence seulement: on était en

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SUETONIUS AND CHRONOLOGY IN THE 'DE VITA NERONIS'

As a result of the failure of the more basic historical narratives to survive, the "Caesares" of Suetonius have been elevated to an important position among the literary sources for the early Principate.¹ The biography of the emperor Nero, despite the adverse judgement of an eminent historian,² remains a vital source for the history of the reign.³ One of the major criticisms levelled at Suetonius by historians is his total lack of regard for chronological matters.⁴ My aim in this paper has been to produce a brief commentary elucidating the chronological errors and confusions found in the Life. As no full commentary on the 'Life of Nero' has yet been written,⁵ I hope that such an undertaking will be found useful by students of the early Empire.⁶

¹ Apart from Suetonius, two major sources survive for the reign of Nero - Tacitus and Cassius Dio. That there were others which are no longer extant, is attested by Tacitus (ANN. 1. 1. 5) and Josephus (ANT. IUD. 20. 154.).

² R. Syme. *Tacitus*. (Oxford. 1967.). p. 463. n. 5. "Much of the matter is trivial, and the author is vague and careless about points of historical detail."

³ Suetonius' outstanding value is that along with Tacitus and Dio, he is an independent witness for the reign. (see K. Heinz. *Das Bild Kaiser Neros bei Seneca, Tacitus, Sueton und Cassius Dio*. (Diss. Bern. 1948.). esp. p. 134; A. Momigliano "Osservazioni sulle fonti per la storia di Caligola, Claudio, Nerone." in *R. A. L.* ser 6. 8. 1932. p. 323 ff.). Although the sources he used are difficult to ascertain (see A. Macé. *Essai sur Suetone*. (Paris. 1900.). p. 357 ff.; J. P. Balsdon. *The Emperor Gaius*. (Repr. Oxford. 1966.). p. 226 f.; F. Della Corte. *Suetonio Eques Romanus*.³ (Firenze. 1967.). p. 114 ff.), they appear to have been for the most part those employed by Tacitus and Dio. (Momigliano. *op. cit.* p. 325 ff.; cf. for Dio, F. J. Millar. *A Study of Cassius Dio*. (Oxford. 1964.). p. 85 ff.). The major literary sources were Pliny the Elder, Cluvius Rufus and Fabius Rusticus. (see C. Questa. *Studi sulle fonti degli Annales di Tacito*. (Roma. 1960.), which contains a useful bibliography of earlier scholarship.). For the other sources available to Suetonius, see R. Syme. *op. cit.* p. 287 ff.

Biographers of Nero have noted the value of Suetonius, e. g. B. W. Henderson. *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*. (London. 1903.). p. 430 f.; J. Bishop. *Nero. The Man and the Legend*. (London. 1964.). p. 186 f.; B. H. Warmington. *Nero: Reality and Legend*. (London. 1969.). p. 7 f.

⁴ e. g. R. Syme. *op. cit.* p. 781; Henderson. *op. cit.* p. 430; Warmington. *op. cit.* p. 7.

⁵ See M. Hammond. *The Augustan Principate*. rev. (New York. 1968.). p. 382, for a list of commentaries already published on the Suetonian Lives. He notes - "The Life of Nero appears to have been wholly neglected." I hope my present researches will remedy this situation.

⁶ The text used throughout is that of Ihm in the Teubner Series. (Stuttgart. 1967.). The following abbreviations are used throughout: *A. F. A.* (Henzen) = *Acta Fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt*. ed. G. Henzen. (Repr. Berlin. 1967.); *M. R. R.* = T. R. S. Broughton. *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. (Repr. Michigan. 1968.); *B. M. C.* = *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*. Vol. I. (Repr. London. 1965.); *R. I. C.* = *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. Vol. I. (London. 1923.); *Staatsr.* = Th. Mommsen. *Das römische Staatsrecht*.³ (Repr. Stuttgart. 1963.).

1. 1

"victoriam, de qua incertum adhuc erat; . . ."

The date of the Roman victory over the Latins at Lake Regillus is usually given as 496 B. C. (see Broughton. *M. R. R.* 1. p. 10 f.).

1. 2

"Functi autem consulatibus . . . inter patricios adlecti . . ."

The evidence of the fasti Capitolini shows that the Domitii Ahenobarbi held nine consulships, but Suetonius is most likely counting only those offices held under the Republic here. The seven occasions were: 192, 162, 122, 96, 94, 54 and 32 B. C. (see Broughton *op. cit.* under the relevant years. The other two were held in 16 B. C. and A. D. 32). The triumph was held at sometime between 120 and 117 B. C., probably in 118 B. C. (I. I. 13. 1. = Greenidge and Clay. *Sources*² (Repr. Oxford 1966) p. 48.);⁷ the two censorships in 115 and 92 B. C. (Broughton *op. cit.* 1. p. 531; 2. p. 17.). The family was raised to the patriciate during the reign of Augustus. (see PIR². D. 128).

2. 1

"Cn. Domitius in tribunatu . . . ad populum transtulit, . . ."

Tribune in 104 B. C. (Ascon. 71. 2 is more likely to be correct than Vell. Pat. 2. 12. 3 who gives 103 B. C.). The 'lex Domitia de sacerdotiis' was already in force in 103 B. C. (Mommсен *Staats*. 2.³ p. 29 f.) and as a result of the law, Domitius was probably elected Pontifex Maximus. (Broughton. *op. cit.* 1. p. 565.). Praetor in 99 B. C. (*ibid.* 2. p. 1.), he was consul in 96 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 9.) and censor in 92 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 17.). He remained a 'pontifex' until 89 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 37.).

"at in consulatu Allobrogibus . . . triumpho prosequente."

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, not his son as Suetonius relates here, was consul in 122 B. C. (*ibid.* 1. p. 516). His victories over the Salluuii, Allobroges and Arverni⁸ should be dated to his proconsulship in 121 B. C. and not to his consulship as does Suetonius here. (Livy. EPIT. 61; Orosius. 5. 13. 2.)

2. 2-3

"huius filius praetor . . . hostium numero habendos."

L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, quaestor in 66 B. C. (Broughton. *op. cit.* 2. p. 153), curule aedile in 61 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 179),

⁷ It is possible that Domitius was still proconsul in 118 B. C. (I. L. L. R. 460 = Greenidge and Clay. *op. cit.* p. 49; Broughton. *op. cit.* 2 p. 644). E. Badian. *Foreign Clientelae*. (Oxford. 1958.) p. 315 would date his proconsulship as 121-119 (?) B. C.

⁸ For the battles, *R. E.* 5. 1. col. 1322 ff.; *C. A. H.* 9. p. 111 ff.; C. H. Benedict in *A. J. Ph.* 63. 1942. p. 38 ff.

praetor in 58 (*ibid.* p. 194) and He was taken prisoner and rary 49 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 261 f.) by Suetonius all belong to 1

"Reliquit filium . . . transfugis

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarb ward in 43 B. C. by Caesar's colleague of Octavian.⁹ The 23 October 42 B. C. (C. A. 1 41/40 B. C., Domitius w: Antonius by Asinius Polli B. C. 5. 50, 55; Dio 48. 16. 40 - c. 34 B. C. he was gov: of tenure, see Broughton c: ordinarius' in 32 B. C. (*ibid* fore the battle of Actium, (C. A. H 10 p. 104).

"Ex hoc Domitius . . . monitu

L. Domitius Ahenobarbu tor at some time before c. (PIR². D. 128.). The chron: of 7-2 B. C. is difficult. (see Domitius was legate of 7-2 B. C. He led an army a to the Elbe for which he ANN. 4. 44; Dio 55. 10a. 2 1 B. C. is attested by Dio. (Tac. *ibid.*).

" . . . patrem Neronis . . . mor

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarb of an unknown year. (*A. . lxxvi*). He can not have be 1 B. C. as Suetonius says fo fant (if born at all) at that tit ions to Suetonius' report, s

⁹ Further on this 'lex', see R. A. Bauman. *The Cri: Augustan Principate*. (Johannesburg. 1967.). p. 171 ff.

¹⁰ The argument depends on the age at which he: could have become consul about the age of thirtytwo. for the Principate" in *L. F.* 12. 1964. p. 316 ff., esp. p.

certum adhuc erat; . . ."

Roman victory over the Latins at Lake Regillus as 496 B. C. (see Broughton. *M. R. R.*

atibus . . . inter patricos adlecti . . ."

the fasti Capitolini shows that the Domitii held the consulships, but Suetonius is most likely to refer to those offices held under the Republic here. The consulships were: 192, 162, 122, 96, 94, 54 and 49 B. C. (Broughton *op. cit.* under the relevant years. The date of the first is in 16 B. C. and A. D. 32). The triumph was celebrated between 120 and 117 B. C., probably in 118. (Greenidge and Clay. *Sources*² (Repr. 1913, p. 8.);⁷ the two censorships in 115 and 114 B. C. (*op. cit.* 1. p. 531; 2. p. 17.). The family was in decline during the reign of Augustus. (see

hunc . . . ad populum transtulit, . . ."

Asconius Pedianus (Ascon. 71. 2 is more likely to be correct than 12. 3 who gives 103 B. C.). The 'lex Domitia' was already in force in 103 B. C. (Mommson, *op. cit.* f.) and as a result of the law, Domitius was elected Pontifex Maximus. (Broughton. *op. cit.* p. 99 B. C. (*ibid.* 2. p. 1.), he was censor in 99 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 9.) and censor in 92 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 17.). Domitius was 'censor' until 89 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 37.).

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. . . hostium numero habendos."

Domitius Ahenobarbus, quaestor in 66 B. C. (Broughton. *op. cit.* p. 61 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 179),

consul in 118 B. C. (I. L. L. R. 460 = Greenidge and Badian. *Foreign Clientelae*. (Oxford. 1958.) p. 19 (?) B. C.

A. H. 9. p. 111 ff.; C. H. Benedict in *A. J. Ph.* 63.

praetor in 58 (*ibid.* p. 194) and consul in 54 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 221). He was taken prisoner and released at Corfinium on 21 February 49 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 261 f.). The remaining events reported by Suetonius all belong to the year 49 B. C.

3. 1-2

"Reliquit filium . . . transfugisse iactavit."

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. The 'lex Pedia' was put forward in 43 B. C. by Caesar's nephew Q. Peditius, the consular colleague of Octavian.⁹ The Battle of Philippi was fought on 23 October 42 B. C. (C. A. H. 10. p. 24 n. 1.). In the winter of 41/40 B. C., Domitius was won over to the side of M. Antonius by Asinius Pollio. (Vell. Pat. 2. 76. 2; Appian. B. C. 5. 50, 55; Dio 48. 16. 2). Between September/October 40 - c. 34 B. C. he was governor of Bithynia. (On the length of tenure, see Broughton *op. cit.* 2. p. 560.) He was 'consul ordinarius' in 32 B. C. (*ibid.* p. 417). He defected shortly before the battle of Actium, i. e. before 2 September 31 B. C. (C. A. H. 10 p. 104).

4. 1-2

"Ex hoc Domitius . . . monitum edicto coercere."

L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. Curule aedile in 22 B. C., praetor at some time before c. 18 B. C. and consul in 16 B. C. (PIR². D. 128.). The chronology for the German campaigns of 7-2 B. C. is difficult. (see Syme in *C. A. H.* 10. p. 364. ff.). Domitius was legate of Illyricum sometime between 7-2 B. C. He led an army across Germany from the Danube to the Elbe for which he won triumphal honours. (Tac. ANN. 4. 44; Dio 55. 10a. 2). His presence on the Rhine in 1 B. C. is attested by Dio. (55. 10a. 3.). He died in A. D. 25. (Tac. *ibid.*).

5. 1-2

" . . . patrem Neronis . . . morbo aquae intercutis, . . ."

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. He was born on 11 December of an unknown year. (*A. F. A.* (Henzen). p. lxi, lxiv, lxx, lxxvi). He can not have been with Gaius in the East during 1 B. C. as Suetonius says for he would have been a mere infant (if born at all) at that time.¹⁰ (For some suggested corrections to Suetonius' report, see PIR.² D. 127.). He was consul

⁹ Further on this 'lex', see R. A. Bauman. *The Crimen Maiestatis in the Roman Republic and the Augustan Principate*. (Johannesburg. 1967.) p. 171 ff.

¹⁰ The argument depends on the age at which he attained the consulship. As a patrician, he could have become consul about the age of thirtytwo. See further, J. Morris. "Leges Annales under the Principate" in *L. F.* 12. 1964. p. 316 ff., esp. p. 332.

for the whole year in A. D. 32. (PIR.² *ibid.*) In A. D. 37 he was charged with complicity and adultery with Albucilla "multorum amoribus famosa". (Tac. ANN. 6. 47. 2. Dio 58. 27. 5.). Tiberius died on 16 March A. D. 37. (see Ch. 6. 1.). The date of his death is not attested, but can be ascertained. At Ch. 6. 3, Suetonius says "Trimulus patrem amisit". Since Nero was born on 15 December A. D. 37 (see below), the death must be placed in A. D. 40. This accords with the surviving evidence of the Arval records, for in late A. D. 39 (October?), Domitius is reported present (*A. F. A. op. cit.* p. xlvii) but not after this time. His failure to be present at the meeting of 1 June A. D. 40 (*ibid.* p. li) need not tell against the date of late A. D. 40, however, since Domitius seems to have been absent from about one third of the known meetings of A. D. 38 and 39. (*ibid.* pp xl-xlix.). Suetonius' precision in the use of words such as "trimulus" has been demonstrated elsewhere.¹¹ Therefore, since Nero was not three years old until 15 December A. D. 40, the date of his father's death is to be placed in late A. D. 40 or very early in A. D. 41. A 'terminus ante quem' can be established. In Ch. 6. 3, Suetonius reports that Gaius seized Nero's inheritance. Since that emperor died on 24 January A. D. 41, Domitius' death must have occurred before that date.

"... sublato filio Nerone ex Agrippina Germanico genita."

Julia Agrippina was born on 6 November A. D. 15.¹² She was married to Domitius in A. D. 28. (Tac. ANN. 4. 75. 1-2.).

6. 1-2 "Nero natus est . . . inter ludibria aulae erat."

Tiberius died on 16 March A. D. 37 at Misenum. (Tac. ANN. 6. 50; Suet. TIB. 73. 1; Dio 58. 28. 5 where he wrongly gives the date as 26 March; C. I. L. 14. 4535; CIL. 1.² (fasti capitolini). Nine months after this would be December.

All evidence is in agreement that Nero was born on 15 December. (S. H. A. Verus. 1. 8; *A. F. A. op. cit.* p. lxi (A. D. 55), p. lxxv (57), p. lxx. (58), p. lxxvi (59) and p. lxxvii (60).). The year has caused confusion, since the years A. D. 35-39 have been suggested as possibilities. For A. D. 36, Tac. ANN. 12. 58. 1; Suet. Ch. 8, 57. 1;

¹¹ By R. M. Geer. "Notes on the Early Life of Nero." in *T. A. Pb. A.* 62. 1931. p. 60.

¹² This date was established by Mommsen in *HERMES*. 13. 1878. p. 254 ff. = *Gesammelte Schriften*. (Berlin. 1906 f.). 4. p. 271 ff.

Dio 61. 3. 1; for A. D. 37 for A. D. 38, Tac. ANN. Suet. Ch. 7. 1 (which is n script.). Egyptian inscript New Egyptian evidence¹⁴ Of the years A. D. 36-38, fits the known chronolog cepted, e. g. Hohl in *R. PIR*². D. 129.

The 'dies lustricus' for a ter his birth. (Macrob. SA' Festus. p. 120. Mull.).

For the adoption, see b

3-4

"Trimulus patrem amisit ; .

For the death of Nero's na was banished to th (Dio. 59. 22. 6F; Suet. CA aunt's was not very long : December A. D. 40 and 24 January A. D. 41. For Passienus Crispus died (p Schol. Iuv. 4. 81) in 11. 3806).¹⁵ For Nero's p Ch. 7.

2 1

"Tener adhuc necdum matura

Tacitus dates the Troy Nero was adopted or ANN. 12. 25-26. 1; Suet. Zonaras. 11. 10. p. 32; A. tonius' "undecimo anno" years and two months old the probable cause of this.

Britannicus was some t was born on 12 February .

¹³ W. F. Snyder. "Hμερας Σεβαρτα" in *AEGYPT*

¹⁴ W. F. Snyder. "Nero's Birthday in Egypt and i 503 ff.

¹⁵ The date for his death is variously estimated, e. o A. D. 48, while R. Syme. *Tacitus*. (Oxford. 1967, the latest." Professor P. R. C. Weaver kindly allowe Dated Inscriptions of Imperial Freedmen and Sla STUDIEN in which he establishes the date given i

in A. D. 32. (PIR.² *ibid.*) In A. D. 37 he was in complicity and adultery with Albius Tullius Calpurnius Pisonis "famosa". (Tac. ANN. 6. 47. 2. Dio 58. 28. 5 where he wronged Nero on 5 March; C. I. L. 14. 4535; CIL. 1.² (fasti) months after this would be December. agreement that Nero was born on 15 December A. D. 37 (see below). Verus. 1. 8; A. F. A. *op. cit.* p. lxxvii (58), p. lxxvi (59) and p. lxxviii (60) has caused confusion, since the year 1931 has been suggested as possibilities. For Tac. ANN. 12. 58. 1; Suet. Ch. 8, 57. 1.

me ex Agrippina Germanico genita."

was born on 6 November A. D. 15.¹² She was with Domitius in A. D. 28. (Tac. ANN. 4. 75.

ster ludibria aulae erat."

16 March A. D. 37 at Misenum. (Tac. ANN. 16. 31. 1; Dio 58. 28. 5 where he wronged Nero on 5 March; C. I. L. 14. 4535; CIL. 1.² (fasti) months after this would be December.

agreement that Nero was born on 15 December A. D. 37 (see below). Verus. 1. 8; A. F. A. *op. cit.* p. lxxvii (58), p. lxxvi (59) and p. lxxviii (60) has caused confusion, since the year 1931 has been suggested as possibilities. For Tac. ANN. 12. 58. 1; Suet. Ch. 8, 57. 1.

of Nero." in T. A. P. A. 62. 1931. p. 60.

in HERMES. 13. 1878. p. 254 ff. = *Gesamm.*

Dio 61. 3. 1; for A. D. 37, Tac. ANN. 13. 6. 2; Dio 63. 29. 3; for A. D. 38, Tac. ANN. 12. 25. 3; for A. D. 39, Tac. *ibid.*; Suet. Ch. 7. 1 (which is most likely a mistake in the manuscript). Egyptian inscriptional evidence suggests A. D. 35.¹³ New Egyptian evidence¹⁴ dismisses the dates A. D. 35 and 39. Of the years A. D. 36-38, it has been found that A. D. 37 best fits the known chronology for the reign and is generally accepted, e. g. Hohl in R. E. Suppl. 3. col. 350 and Stein in PIR.² D. 129.

The 'dies lustricus' for a boy took place on the ninth day after his birth. (Macrob. SAT. 1. 16; Plut. MOR. 288c; Paul. ex Festus. p. 120. Mull.).

For the adoption, see below.

6. 3-4

"*Trimulus patrem amisit; . . . rebus frustra requisit.*"

For the death of Nero's father, see above on Ch. 4. Agrippina was banished to the Pontian Islands in A. D. 39. (Dio. 59. 22. 6F; Suet. CALIG. 29. 1.). Nero's sojourn at his aunt's was not very long since his father did not die until c. December A. D. 40 and Agrippina was back shortly after 24 January A. D. 41. For Lepida, see Ch. 7. 1. C. Sallustius Passienus Crispus died (poisoned by Agrippina according to Schol. Iuv. 4. 81) in A. D. 44. (C. I. L. 6. 10399 = 11. 3806).¹⁵ For Nero's public career under Claudius, see Ch. 7.

7. 1

"*Tener adhuc necdum matura . . . a qua rea premebatur.*"

Tacitus dates the Troy game to A. D. 47 (ANN. 11. 11.). Nero was adopted on 25 February A. D. 50. (Tac. ANN. 12. 25-26. 1; Suet. CLAUD. 27. 2; Dio 60. 33. 22; Zonaras. 11. 10. p. 32; A. F. A. *op. cit.* p. lxxvii, lxxi.). Suetonius' "undecimo anno" is incorrect as Nero was twelve years and two months old at this time. A manuscript error is the probable cause of this. (See the text of Ihm.).

Britannicus was some three years younger than Nero. He was born on 12 February A. D. 41. (PIR.² C. 820.).

¹² W. F. Snyder. "Hμέρου Σεβαστου" in AEGYPTUS. 18. 1938. p. 222.

¹³ W. F. Snyder. "Nero's Birthday in Egypt and His Year of Birth" in HISTORIA. 13. 1964. p. 503 ff.

¹⁴ The date for his death is variously estimated, e. g. Hanslik in R. E. 18. 4. col. 2097 assigns it to A. D. 48, while R. Syme. Tacitus. (Oxford. 1967.). p. 328 n. 12. suggests "early in A. D. 47 at the latest." Professor P. R. C. Weaver kindly allowed me to see a type-written copy of his article "Dated Inscriptions of Imperial Freedmen and Slaves", forthcoming in EPIGRAPHISCHE STUDIEN in which he establishes the date given in the text.

L. Annaeus Seneca, exiled in A. D. 41, was returned to Rome in A. D. 49. (Tac. ANN. 12. 8. 3.). He had become a senator in A. D. 38 when he gained the quaestorship.¹⁶

Lepida was sentenced to death in A. D. 54. (Tac. ANN. 12. 65. 1.).

7. 2

"*Deductus in forum tiro . . . circenses et uenationem.*"

Nero received the toga virilis early in A. D. 51, i. e. before the legal age. (Tac. ANN. 12. 41. 1.). The "congiarium", "donativum" and "decursio" are to be dated to the same time. (ANN. 12. 41. 3.). Nero's speeches, according to Suetonius belong to A. D. 51. (for Claudius' consulship, Degrassi *I. Fasti*. (Roma. 1952.). p. 14; E. M. Smallwood. *Documents Illustr. the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero*. (Cambridge. 1967). p. 4.). However Tacitus (ANN. 12. 58.) places them in A. D. 53. His date is more trustworthy.¹⁷ The "Feriae Latinae" was usually held in March or April. (Livy. 21. 63; 22. 1; 24. 12.). The date of Nero's tenure is unknown, but probably belongs to A. D. 53.¹⁸ Claudia Octavia, born in late A. D. 39 or early A. D. 40,¹⁹ was married to Nero in A. D. 53. (Tac. ANN. 12. 58. 1; Dio 60. 33. 11.).

8.

"*Septemdecim natus annos . . . recusato propter aetatem.*"

Suetonius is not quite correct about Nero's age at this time, i. e. 13 October A. D. 54 (Tac. ANN. 12. 66-69.), as he was not seventeen for another two months. Suetonius' "inter horam sextam septimamque" is much more accurate than Tacitus' "medio die" (ANN. 12. 69. 1); Seneca (who certainly knew the exact time!) gives the time of death as "inter sextam et septimam." (APOC. 2.)

¹⁶ The date for his quaestorship is uncertain. R. Waltz. *Vie de Sénèque*. (Paris. 1909.). p. 58 would limit to the last few years of Tiberius. The first year of Gaius' reign is perhaps more likely, for the emperor was prepared to forget the bias of Tiberius against the group known as "Seianiani" with whom Seneca was connected. (Suet. CALIG. 15; for the Seianiani, see Z. Stewart "Sejanus, Gaetulicus and Seneca" in *A. J. Ph.* 74. 1953. p. 70 ff.).

¹⁷ So also Ph. Fabia "Néron et les Rhodiens" in *R. Ph.* 20. 1896. p. 129 ff.; against, E. R. Parker "The Education of Heirs in the Julio-Claudian Family" in *A. J. Ph.* 67. 1946. p. 46, M. A. Levi. *Nerone e i suoi tempi* (Milano. 1949.). p. 104. The fragmentary inscription (C. I. L. 11. 720) from Bologna - "dius Aug. Parens / dedit . . . Augustus / Germanicus . . . / refecit . . .", if restored as "Nero Caes. Augustus" would certainly strengthen the date of A. D. 53, but unfortunately "C. Caesar Augustus" is also a possible restoration.

¹⁸ Hohl in *R. E. Suppl.* 3. col. 354 places it in A. D. 52, while B. W. Henderson. *op. cit.* p. 39 prefers A. D. 51. Neither of these dates is based on any evidence. I have adopted the date suggested by R. M. Geer. *op. cit.* p. 65 f.

¹⁹ See my "Confusion Concerning the Age of Claudia Octavia" in *LATOMUS* forthcoming.

Nero's "dies imp D. 129.). He later as: between 4 Decembe (*B. M. C. Emp. I. NERO.* 18; the earliest A. D. 60 - C. I. L. 3. n. 4.).

"*Orsus hinc a pietatis.*"

The funeral took p ANN. 12. 69; Dio 60 out doubt, before th Tac. ANN. 13. 2; *B.* 4-6 (A. D. 55 accord *Roman Imperial Policy op. cit.* NERO. 9.).²⁰ Nero sought a statu A. D. 54. His birthday (see above, Ch. 5.).

The settlement of A. D. 60 (Tac. ANN. unknown.

10. 1-2.

"*Atque ut certiore . . .*"

Nero attempted to a (Tac. ANN. 13. 50-51 abolishing dues on the provinces. (Tac. *ibid.*). for informers is unkn A. D. 9 (*C. A. H.* 10. 1

Nero's first "congia ANN. 13. 31. 2.).²¹ An A. D. 58 to M. Valeri and Q. Haterius Anto monthly allowance of ANN. 15. 72. 1.).

²⁰ In general on the time lapses between W. Clarke. "The Date of the Consecratio of V

²¹ The coins, CONG. I. DAT. POP. S. C. (*B.* A. Sydenham. *The Coinage of Nero*. (London. cannot be dated earlier than A. D. 64. A second *B. M. C. op. cit.* 137-141, 309-310; *R. I. C. op.* commemorate a second congiarium, the date of which ected with the Neronia. (see Chs. 12, 21).

exiled in A. D. 41, was returned to Rome in A. D. 41. He had become a senator in 39 when he gained the quaestorship.¹⁶ He died of death in A. D. 54. (Tac. ANN. 12. 8. 3.).

circenses et uenationem."
 virilis early in A. D. 51, i. e. before the death of Nero (Tac. ANN. 12. 41. 1.). The "congiarium" and "aerario" are to be dated to the same time as Nero's speeches, according to Suetonius (Suet. NERO. 14; E. M. Smallwood. *Documents from the reign of Nero, Claudius and Nero.* (Cambridge 1951). Tacitus (ANN. 12. 58.) places them in the month of March or April. (Livy. 21. 63; 22. 1. 1.). Nero's tenure is unknown, but probably in the reign of Augustus and Livia Octavia, born in late A. D. 39 and married to Nero in A. D. 53. (Tac. ANN. 13. 11.).

recusato propter aetatem."
 correct about Nero's age at this time (Tac. ANN. 12. 66-69.), as he was only two months. Suetonius' "inter hostes" is much more accurate than Tacitus (Tac. ANN. 12. 69. 1); Seneca (who certainly died at the time of death as "inter sextam

Waltz. *Vie de Sénèque.* (Paris. 1909.). p. 50. The year of Gaius' reign is perhaps more likely than that of Calpurnius Pisonis. Seneca's attack on Calpurnius against the group known as "Seianians" (Tac. ANN. 12. 15; for the Seianians, see Z. Stewart "Seneca's attack on Calpurnius Pisonis" *J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 1. 70 ff.).
Pb. 20. 1896. p. 129 ff.; against, E. R.ieu. *Seneca's "De Beneficiis"* in *A. J. Ph.* 67. 1946. p. 46, M. A. Leighton. *Seneca's "De Beneficiis"* in *Journal of Roman Studies* 36. 1945. p. 100. The fragmentary inscription (C. I. L. 11. 720) from the tomb of L. Valerius Messala Corvinus / Germanicus . . . / refecit
 The inscription may only strengthen the date of A. D. 53, but the date is not certain.
 The date of the inscription is A. D. 52, while B. W. Henderson. *op. cit.* p. 30. The inscription may only strengthen the date of A. D. 53, but the date is not certain.
 The date of the inscription is A. D. 52, while B. W. Henderson. *op. cit.* p. 30. The inscription may only strengthen the date of A. D. 53, but the date is not certain.

Octavia" in *LATOMUS* forthcoming.

Nero's "dies imperii" was 13 October A. D. 54. (PIR². D. 129.). He later assumed the title "pater patriae" sometime between 4 December A. D. 55 and 4 December A. D. 56. (*B. M. C. Emp. I.* NERO. 9, 10; *R. I. C. Emp. I.* NERO. 18; the earliest epigraphic evidence dates from 2 July A. D. 60 - C. I. L. 3. p. 1109; Mommsen *Staatsr.* 2³. p. 779. n. 4.).

"Orsus hinc a pietatis . . . sumptuosissimi fecit."

The funeral took place shortly after the date of death (Tac. ANN. 12. 69; Dio 60. 35. 2.), and Claudius was deified, without doubt, before the end of A. D. 54. (Suet. CLAUD. 45; Tac. ANN. 13. 2; *B. M. C. op. cit.* NERO 1-3 (A. D. 54); 4-6 (A. D. 55 according to C. H. V. Sutherland. *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy.* (London. 1951). p. 155 n. 2.; *R. I. C. op. cit.* NERO. 9.).²⁰ Tacitus (ANN. 13. 10. 1) relates that Nero sought a statue of his father from the Senate in A. D. 54. His birthday was honoured by the Arval Brethren. (see above, Ch. 5.).

The settlement of the colony at Antium belongs to A. D. 60 (Tac. ANN. 14. 27. 1.). The date of the harbour is unknown.

10. 1-2.

"Atque ut certiozem . . . Ioui Capitolino dicata."

Nero attempted to abolish all indirect taxation in A. D. 58. (Tac. ANN. 13. 50-51.). At the same time a law was passed abolishing dues on the transportation of grain, from overseas provinces. (Tac. *ibid.*). The date for the reduction of rewards for informers is unknown. The "lex Papia" was passed in A. D. 9 (*C. A. H.* 10. p. 441 ff.).

Nero's first "congiarium" took place in A. D. 57. (Tac. ANN. 13. 31. 2.).²¹ Annual grants of money were made in A. D. 58 to M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, Aurelius Cotta and Q. Haterius Antonius. (Tac. ANN. 13. 34. 2-3.). The monthly allowance of grain was given in A. D. 65. (Tac. ANN. 15. 72. 1.).

²⁰ In general on the time lapses between death and deification for the emperors, see G. W. Clarke. "The Date of the Consecratio of Vespasian." in *HISTORIA*. 15. 1966. p. 318 ff.

²¹ The coins, CONG. I. DAT. POP. S. C. (*B. M. C. op. cit.* 136, 308; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 109-114; E. A. Sydenham. *The Coinage of Nero.* (London. 1920.). XXI. 1-5) while referring to this event, cannot be dated earlier than A. D. 64. A second series of coins, CONG. II. DAT. POP. S. C. (*B. M. C. op. cit.* 137-141, 309-310; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 115-126; Sydenham *op. cit.* XXI. 6-18) commemorate a second congiarium, the date of which is not attested in the sources. It might be connected with the Neronia. (see Chs. 12, 21).

11. 1-2.

"Spectaculorum plurima . . . naues, insulae, agri."

The "iuvenales" were instituted in A. D. 59. (Tac. ANN. 14. 15; Dio. 61. 19-21; Pliny. N. H. 37. 19.). Contrary to what the name implies, Nero held the games again (perhaps annually) before A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 15. 33. 1.). Men and women of both orders appeared on the stage and in the arena in A. D. 55 (Dio. 61. 9. 1 - the date is probably too early and should perhaps refer to games given in A. D. 57 - cf. Tac. ANN. 13. 31. 1); A. D. 59 (Dio 61. 17. 3-5; Tac. ANN. 14. 14. 5); at the "iuvenales" (see above); A. D. 60 (see Ch. 12); A. D. 63. (Tac. ANN. 15. 32. 3.).

The assignation of seats to Equites took place in A. D. 63. (Tac. ANN. 15. 32. 2; Pliny N. H. 8. 21.). The "ludi maximi" can perhaps be dated to A. D. 59. (Dio 61. 17. 1 describes the tight-rope walker during a festival which took place in this year.)²² The "missilia" were scattered in A. D. 59. (61. 18. 1-2.).

12. 1-4.

"bos ludos spectavit . . . sacerdotibus spectare conceditur."

According to Dio (62. 18. 2), the "amphitheatrum Neronis" was built in A. D. 64, but this seems too late.²³ The date of the "naumachium" is unknown. The Neronia took place in A. D. 60. (Tac. ANN. 14. 20. 1; Dio 61. 21. 1.).²⁴ Nero dedicated the baths and gymnasium in A. D. 61. (Tac. ANN. 14. 47. 3; cf. Dio (ibid.) who attributes the dedication to A. D. 60). Dio (61. 19. 1) connects Nero's dedication of his beard with the Juvenalia of A. D. 59.

13. 1-2.

"Non immerito . . . nullo residuo bello."

Tiridates finally reached Rome in A. D. 66. (Dio. 63. 1-7.). Suetonius is correct in his report that Nero added the praenomen "imperator" to his titles in A. D. 66. (*B. M. C. op. cit.* p. clxvi, clxviii n. 3.). The dating of the closure causes difficulty. The earliest coins depicting the shrine with closed doors are dated to A. D. 64. (For the coins, *B. M. C. op. cit.* NERO. 111-113, 156-167, 198-204, 225-233, 319-322,

²² Arguing for the possibility of A. D. 57, see A. E. Gordon. "Q. Veranius, Consul A. D. 49." in *UNIV. CAL. PUBLIC. in CLASS. ARCH.* 2. 5. 1952, p. 262 ff.

²³ L. Friedländer. *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire.* (Repr. London. 1965.). 4 p. 529. would place the construction in A. D. 57.

²⁴ Although called "quinquennale certamen", the games were probably to be held every four years, not every five. (see further, J. D. P. Bolton. "Was the Neronia a Freak Festival?" in *C. Q.* 42. 1948. p. 82 ff.). For the second Neronia, see Ch. 21.

374-375; *R. I. C.* XXII. 1-62. They MARIQ. PARTA P. R. UBIQ. PAF *B. M. C. op. cit.* C. H. V. Sutherland ence is that Nero c nouncement of vi Rome.²⁵

"Consulatus quattuor

The first cons ANN. 13. 11. 1; C. I. L. 3. 7830 = Nero remained in o C. I. L. 4. 5513 whic the emperor. The ANN. 13. 31. 1; I. L. S. 5365.). Suet held this office "sem ice on 23 December. xxxix, xl.). Nero wa (Tac. ANN. 13. 34. 1 "quadrimenstrem" i p. 417.). The fourth ANN. 14. 20. 1; A. dence that he did not omits here Nero's fifth (?) A. D. 68. (see Ch. Suetonius, he was (C. I. L. 6. 9190) reco alicus.²⁶

"candidatos, qui supra n.

Tacitus (ANN. 14. cess candidates to A. end of his term was

The attempt by E. Gabrici "La cronolog 25 f., to date the closure as far back as A. D. For the sake of completion, it might be ac December A. D. 54. (see further, M. Hammo " in *M. A. A. R.* 15. 1938. p. 23 ff., with v

. *naues, insulae, agri.*"

ere instituted in A. D. 59. (Tac. ANN. 15. 32. 3; Pliny. N. H. 37. 19.). Contrary to what is usually held, Nero held the games again (perhaps in A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 15. 33. 1.)). Men and women appeared on the stage and in the arena – the date is probably too early and the games given in A. D. 57 – cf. Tac. ANN. 15. 32. 3; Dio 61. 17. 3–5; Tac. ANN. 15. 32. 3. "iuvenales" (see above); A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 15. 32. 3.).

Games to Equites took place in A. D. 63. (Tac. ANN. 15. 32. 3; Pliny N. H. 8. 21.). The "ludi maximi" were held to A. D. 59. (Dio 61. 17. 1 describes the gladiator during a festival which took place in A. D. 59. The "missilia" were scattered in

dotibus spectare conceditur."

18. 2), the "amphitheatrum Neronis" was built but this seems too late.²³ The date of the festival is unknown. The Neronia took place in A. D. 60. (Tac. ANN. 15. 20. 1; Dio 61. 21. 1.).²⁴ Nero dedicated a gymnasium in A. D. 61. (Tac. ANN. 15. 32. 3; Dio 61. 21. 1.) who attributes the dedication to Nero. (Tac. ANN. 15. 32. 3.) connects Nero's dedication of his gymnasium to A. D. 59.

duo bello."

Games were held in Rome in A. D. 66. (Dio. 63. 1–7.) Tacitus reports that Nero added the praenotia to the games in A. D. 66. (B. M. C. op. cit. p. 198–204, 225–233, 319–322.) The dating of the closure causes difficulties. Tacitus depicting the shrine with closed doors in A. D. 64. (For the coins, B. M. C. op. cit. p. 198–204, 225–233, 319–322.)

Gordon. "Q. Veranius, Consul A. D. 49–50." *Journal of Roman Studies* 1952, p. 262 ff.

Early Empire. (Repr. London. 1965.).

Games were probably to be held every four years. "Was the Neronia a Freak Festival?" *Journal of Roman Studies* 1952, p. 21.

374–375; R. I. C. op. cit. NERO. 159–204; Sydenham. op. cit. XXII. 1–62. They bear the legends – PACE. P. R. TERRA. MARIQ. PARTA. IANUM. CLUSIT. S. C. and PACE. P. R. UBIQ. PARTA. IANUM. CLUSIT.. For the dates, B. M. C. op. cit. p. clxxiv; R. I. C. op. cit. p. 156; C. H. V. Sutherland. op. cit. p. 167 n. 1.). The obvious inference is that Nero closed the shrine twice – once after the announcement of victory and again when Tiridates came to Rome.²⁵

"Consulatus quattuor gessit : . . . annua spatia uariavit."

The first consulship was held in A. D. 55. (Tac. ANN. 13. 11. 1; C. I. L. 8. 8837 = I. L. S. 6103; C. I. L. 3. 7830 = I. L. S. 5682.). Suetonius' statement that Nero remained in office for only two months is supported by C. I. L. 4. 5513 which names a certain N. Cestius as suffect for the emperor. The second tenure was in A. D. 57. (Tac. ANN. 13. 31. 1; C. I. L. 6. 845; C. I. L. 10. 5204 = I. L. S. 5365.). Suetonius is incorrect in reporting that Nero held this office "semenstris", for the emperor was still in office on 23 December. (C. I. L. 4. 3340, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxviii, xxxix, xl.). Nero was consul for the third time in A. D. 58 (Tac. ANN. 13. 34. 1; A. F. A. op. cit. p. lxxvi). Suetonius' "quadrimenstrem" is correct. (C. I. L. 4. 3340. cxlvi and p. 417.). The fourth consulship was in A. D. 60. (Tac. ANN. 14. 20. 1; A. F. A. op. cit. p. lxxvi.). There is no evidence that he did not step down after six months. Suetonius omits here Nero's fifth consulship which he assumed c. April (?) A. D. 68. (see Ch. 43. 2; Pliny. PAN. 57. 2.). According to Suetonius, he was sole consul, however an inscription (C. I. L. 6. 9190) records that he was "suffectus" for Silius Italicus.²⁶

"candidatos, qui supra numerum . . . plerumque recitabat."

Tacitus (ANN. 14. 28. 1.) dates Nero's handling of the excess candidates to A. D. 60. The consul who died before the end of his term was not T. Curtilius Mancina in A. D. 55

²³ The attempt by E. Gabrici "La cronologia delle monete di Nerone" in *R. I. N.* 10. 1897. p. 285 ff., to date the closure as far back as A. D. 56/7 has found no favour.

²⁴ For the sake of completion, it might be added that Nero assumed the tribunician power on 23 December A. D. 54. (see further, M. Hammond. "The Tribunician Day during the Early Empire." in *M. A. A. R.* 15. 1938. p. 23 ff., with whose arguments I am in full agreement.)

- (C. I. L. 6. 32352).²⁷ C. Caninius Rebilis was consul in 45 B. C. (Broughton. *op. cit.* 2. p. 305). Tacitus records the award of honorary triumphs to P. Petronius Turpilianus, M. Cocceius Nerva and Tigellinus in A. D. 65. (ANN. 15. 72. 2.).
16. 1-2. "*Formam aedificiorum urbis . . . simul relegatae;*"
The building regulations belong to A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 15. 43). The plan to extend the city walls as far as Ostia and the intended canal between Rome and Ostia can perhaps be dated to the same time as the Ostia-Lake Avernus canal. (see Ch. 31.). Dio (62. 14. 2) dates the laws about the sale of food in taverns to A. D. 62. Nero's punishment of the Christians occurred after the fire of A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 15. 44.; Sulpic. Severus. CHRON. 2. 29; Euseb. HIST. ECCLÉS. 2. 25. 2 places the event four years after the fire, i. e. A. D. 68.). The "pantomimi" were expelled in A. D. 56. (Tac. ANN. 13. 25. 4.).
17. "*aduersus falsarios . . . ad senatum fierent.*"
Dio perhaps dates the regulations for wills to A. D. 55. (61. 7. 6.). The law regarding advocates' fees can not be dated, but must come after the law of A. D. 54 (Tac. ANN. 13. 5. 1.). The other regulations can not be dated.
18. "*Augendi propagandique imperii . . . formam redegit.*"
The plan for withdrawal is usually attributed to A. D. 61.²⁸ Pontus was annexed late in A. D. 64.²⁹ Eusebius-Jerome (CHRON. p. 184. Helm.) places the annexation of the Cottian Alps in A. D. 65.
19. 1-2. "*Peregrinationes duas . . . phalanga appellabat.*"
For the tour to Greece, see Ch. 22. The expedition to Alexandria was intended to take place in A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 15. 63. 3.). The phalanx of Alexander, Legio I. Italica, celebrated its "dies natalis" on 20 September A. D. 67. (I. L. S. 2295; 9199).³⁰
- 2-3. "*et prodit Neapoli*
Nero's debut (ANN. 15. 33. 1.).
venalia in A. D.
Suetonius is descri
- 1-3. "*Cum magni aestim.*
The second Nero (ANN. 16. 4), but
describing different e
in A. D. 64, shortly
to be trusted on thi
ly like one made b
Dio (62. 10. 2) plac
during the Greek t
- 1-3. "*Equorum studio . . .*
From his early l
(Tac. ANN. 13. 3. 7.
suggests that the ar
Seneca became Nerc
a chariot in a private
A. D. 59. (Tac. ANN
pearance in the Circ
Nero first planned
but at Naples. (Tac
forth on 25 Sept
p. lxxxiv).³²
- 2-3. "*nam et quae diuersissi*
The last Olympic
A. D. 65, the next w
end of August A. D.
Nemean in July A. l
- for a date of c. July A. D. 64, see J. D.
(variously abbreviated) CERTAMEN.
B. M. C. *op. cit.* 259; R. I. C. *op. cit.* 37
2-15, 17-23, 35) are definitely pre-reform
immediate event, do refer to the first
C. *op. cit.* 261-278; R. I. C. *op. cit.* 3
see also D. W. MacDowall "The Num
(ff.), are post-reform and refer to the sec
The date has been unconvincingly chall
ste in der Regierung Neros. (Diss. Leipzig
H. 10, p. 735; Sydenham. *op. cit.* p. 120

²⁷ So also Groag in PIR³ C. 1605; Degraasi *op. cit.* p. 15; G. B. Townend, "The Consuls of A. D. 69/70." in *A. J. Ph.* 83. 1962. p. 114.

²⁸ e. g. I. Richmond. "The Four Coloniae of Roman Britain." in *A. J.* 103. 1947. p. 61. n. 2; J. Crook. *Consilium Principis* (Cambridge. 1955.) p. 46; for an unconvincing attempt to argue for A. D. 58 see C. E. Stevens, "The Will of Q. Veranius" in *C. R.* 65. 1951. p. 4 ff.

²⁹ The evidence comes from coinage - see D. Magic. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor.* (Repr. Princeton. 1966.) p. 1417. n. 62.

³⁰ See also H. M. D. Parker. *The Roman Legions.* (Repr. Cambridge. 1961.) p. 98 f.

. Caninius Rebilis was consul (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 33. 1. p. 305). Tacitus records triumphs to P. Petronius Turpilianus and Tigellinus in A. D. 64.

is . . . simul relegatae ;"

ations belong to A. D. 64. (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 33. 1. p. 305) to extend the city walls as far as Ostia. The distance between Rome and Ostia can perhaps be measured as the Ostia-Lake Avernus canal. Tac. *Ann.* 15. 44. 2) dates the laws about the sale of the city. Nero's punishment of the Christians by fire of A. D. 64. (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 44. 2; Euseb. *HIST. ECCL.* 5. 1. 2) places the event four years after the fire, i. e. A. D. 60. "mimi" were expelled in A. D. 56.

renatum fierent."

regulations for wills to A. D. 55. "The fixing advocates' fees can not be dated after the law of A. D. 54 (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 3. 7). Earlier regulations can not be dated.

perii . . . formam redegit."

al is usually attributed to A. D. 61. The date in A. D. 64.²⁹ Eusebius-Jerome places the annexation of the Cottian

balanga appellabat."

see Ch. 22. The expedition to Alexandria took place in A. D. 64. (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 44. 2) Alanx of Alexander, Legio I. Italica "Alalis" on 20 September A. D. 64.

cit. p. 15; G. B. Townend, "The Consuls

nan Britain." in *A. J.* 103. 1947. p. 61. n. 6; for an unconvincing attempt to argue "in *C. R.* 65. 1951. p. 4 ff.

ie. Roman Rule in Asia Minor. (Repr. Princeton. 1961.). p. 98 f.

20. 2-3.

"et prodit Neapoli . . . milia sestertia merebant."

Nero's debut at Naples took place in A. D. 64. (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 33. 1.). Nero's first claue was formed for the Juvenalia in A. D. 59. (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 15. 8; Dio 61. 20. 4). Suetonius is describing his later claue here.

21. 1-3.

"Cum magni aestimaret . . . ferendae opis gratia."

The second Neronia is dated to A. D. 65 by Tacitus. (ANN. 16. 4), but he and Suetonius would appear to be describing different events. Suetonius' narrative suggests a date in A. D. 64, shortly after the debut at Naples. He is probably to be trusted on this point.³¹ The praetor's offer is suspiciously like one made by a Lydian in A. D. 67. (Dio. 63. 21. 2.). Dio (62. 10. 2) places the anecdote about the young recruit during the Greek tour. (see. Ch. 22.).

22. 1-3.

"Equorum studio . . . deinceps obiit omnia."

From his early boyhood Nero was interested in riding. (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 3. 7; Dio. 61. 6.). The "inter condiscipulos" suggests that the anecdote should refer to the period before Seneca became Nero's tutor, i. e. c. A. D. 49. Nero first drove a chariot in a private enclosure located in the Vatican valley in A. D. 59. (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 14. 4.). The date of Nero's first appearance in the Circus is unknown.

Nero first planned to go to Greece in A. D. 64 after his debut at Naples. (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 33. 2, 36. 1.). He finally set forth on 25 September A. D. 66. (*A. F. A. op. cit.* p. lxxxiv.).³²

23. 1-3.

"nam et quae diuersissimorum . . . sibi dicens."

The last Olympic Games were held in July-September A. D. 65, the next were to be in A. D. 69; the last Pythian, the end of August A. D. 63, the next in A. D. 67; the previous Nemean in July A. D. 66, the next in A. D. 68 and the last

²⁹ For a date of c. July A. D. 64, see J. D. P. Bolton *op. cit.* p. 84 ff. Copper semisses with legend (variously abbreviated) CERTAMEN. QUINQUENNALE. ROMAE. CONSTITUTUM. (*B. M. C. op. cit.* 259; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 376, 383-5, 387-397, 407-409; Sydenham. *op. cit.* XVI. 8, 12-15, 17-23, 35) are definitely pre-reform by their weight, and while perhaps not coined at the immediate event, do refer to the first Neronia. The orichalcum semisses of similar legend (*M. C. op. cit.* 261-278; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 377-382, Sydenham *op. cit.* XVI. 2, 3-7, 9-11, 16, 17-34; see also D. W. MacDowall "The Numismatic Evidence for the Neronia" in *C. Q.* 8. 1958. 192 ff.), are post-reform and refer to the second festival.

³¹ The date has been unconvincingly challenged by G. Schumann. *Hellenistische und griechische Numismatik in der Regierung Neros.* (Diss. Leipzig. 1930.). p. 67 ff.; for acceptance, see Momigliano in *A. H.* 10, p. 735; Sydenham. *op. cit.* p. 120.

Isthmian took place in April/May A. D. 65 and the next were to be held in A. D. 67. Therefore those iterated were the Olympian and Nemean Games. The Olympic Games were perhaps postponed until November.³³

Nero's theatre regulations were in operation definitely in A. D. 65 (Tac. ANN. 16. 5; Dio 63. 15. 3.). They are also attested as operating during the Greek tour. (Suet. VESP. 4. 4; cf. Dio. 66. 11. 2.). Dio (63. 9. 2) also places his report about Nero's behaviour as a competitor during the tour of Greece.

24. 1-2. "*in certando uero . . . ipse noce pronuntiauit.*"
All the events in this chapter belong to the sojourn in Greece. (Dio 63. 8. 2. ff.). Mithridates of Iberia was ousted from Armenia in A. D. 51. (PIR¹. M. 457.). The date for Nero's proclamation of the liberation of Greece (S. I. G.³ 814 = I. L. S. 8794.) should be 28 November A. D. 67, not A. D. 66 as is often stated.³⁴
25. 1-2. "*Reuersus e Graecia . . . nummum percussit . . .*"
The exact date of Nero's return is unknown. (cf. Dio 63. 20. 1.) Coins from Corinth (Sydenham. *op. cit.* XLIV. 35-45; *B. M. C. Corinth.* 567, 570) dated to A. D. 68³⁵ commemorate Nero's safe return. No new coin of the type described by Suetonius is known, although he might be referring to a new issue of the Apollo Citharoedus type. (*B. M. C. op. cit.* NERO. 234-9, 254-8, 376-7; *R. I. C. op. cit.* NERO. 349-375; Sydenham. *op. cit.* XVII. 1-30.).
26. 1-2. "*Petulantiam, libidinem, luxuriam, . . . caput consauciauit.*"
Nero's nocturnal pranks occurred in A. D. 56. (Tac. ANN. 13. 25. 1-3; Dio 61. 9. 2-3.) and in A. D. 58. (Tac. ANN. 13. 47. 2.). The attack on the wife of C. Iulius Montanus took place in A. D. 56. (Tac. ANN. 13. 25. 2; Dio. 61. 9. 3.). The brawls in the theatre belong to the same year. (Tac. ANN. 13. 25. 4.).
27. 2-3. "*Epulas a medio die . . . aliquanto rosaria.*"
Tacitus attests Nero's habit of feasting from midday in A. D. 59 (ANN. 14. 2. 1) and Dio (61. 20. 5) reports a feast

³³ For the evidence, see my "Nero's Liberation of Greece," in *HERMES*. forthcoming.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ I follow the chronology of E. Fox. "The Duoviri of Corinth" in *JOURNAL INTERNAT. D'ARCH. NUMIS.* 2. 1899. p. 114. It is uncertain whether a coin of the ADVENTUS type (Sydenham *op. cit.* XXXVII. 1 and p. 124 f.) refers to the emperor's safe arrival in Italy.

on board boats in the spring in A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 14. 3-5.). Nero's marriage was made in A. D. 59. (Tac. ANN. 14. 3-5.). Suetonius places Suetonius Gellinus in A. D. 59. (Tac. ANN. 14. 3-5.). Nero was placed in A. D. 59. (Tac. ANN. 14. 3-5.). (Tac. ANN. 15. 51; H

28. 1-2. "*Super ingenuorum paedae*"
It is unknown when Nero's marriage might have been made. (Tac. ANN. 13. 12 f.; Dio. 63. 22. 4.) Dio Chrys. ORAT. 21-22. 4.). Tacitus places Nero's marriage in A. D. 59. (Tac. ANN. 14. 2. 3), but that author's date is anachronistic, as Suetonius' Acte and Nero were lovers.
29. "*Suam quidem pudicitiam*"
Dio (63. 13. 2) lists Nero's marriage in A. D. 59. This is uncertain. It was probably Suetonius her husband Doryphorus as Suetonius her husband (Tac. ANN. 15. 37. 8; Dio. 63. 28. 2.). Doryphorus died in A. D. 59.
30. 1-3. "*Diuitiarum et pecuniae . . .*"
For the visit of Tiridates in A. D. 66. (Tac. ANN. 63. 1. 1.), Menecrates died in A. D. 66.
31. 1. "*Non in alia re . . . staret.*"
Suetonius' comments on Nero's marriage serve careful scrutiny, for the greater number of the emperor's "storia" was destroyed in A. D. 68. (Tac. ANN. 15. 39. 1.), and the emperor died shortly afterwards. (Tac.

³⁶ See the list in Platner S. B. and Ashby. T. *A. D. 1929.* p. 595.

ril/May A. D. 65 and the next we
Therefore those iterated were t
Games. The Olympic Games we
November.³³

ons were in operation definitely
5; Dio 63. 15. 3.). They are also
; the Greek tour. (Suet. VESP. 4.
13. 9. 2) also places his report abo
petitor during the tour of Greece

ce pronuntiauit."

chapter belong to the sojourn
Mithridates of Iberia was oust
(PIR¹. M. 457.). The date for N
liberation of Greece (S. I. G.³ 814
e 28 November A. D. 67, n
34

umum percussit . . ."

Nero's return is unknown. (C
om Corinth (Sydenham. *op. 2*
Corinth. 567, 570) dated to A. D. 68
e return. No new coin of the ty
known, although he might be refe
Apollo Citharoedus type. (*B. M.*
-8, 376-7; *R. I. C. op. cit.* NER
t. XVII. 1-30.).

uriam, . . . caput consauciauit."

ts occurred in A. D. 56. (T
1. 9. 2-3.) and in A. D. 58. (T
ck on the wife of C. Iulius Mont
A. D. 56. (Tac. ANN. 13. 25.
; in the theatre belong to the sar
t.).

uanto rosaria."

abit of feasting from midday
and Dio (61. 20. 5) reports a fe

Greece," in *HERMES*. forthcoming.

viri of Corinth" in *JOURNAL INTE*
ertain whether a coin of the ADVENT
rs to the emperor's safe arrival in Italy.

on board boats in the same year. A banquet in public was held
in A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 15. 37. 1.) A boat trip into the Tiber
was made in A. D. 59. (Dio. *ibid.*) The famous banquet of Ti-
gellinus is placed in A. D. 64 by Tacitus. (ANN. 15. 37; cf.
Dio. 62. 15.). Nero was cruising around Baiae in A. D. 59.
(Tac. ANN. 14. 3-5.). Other known occasions are undated.
(Tac. ANN. 15. 51; HIST. 1-23.).

28. 1-2.

"Super ingenuorum paedagogia . . . proditum affirmant."

It is unknown when the Vestal was debauched. The mar-
riage might have been considered in A. D. 55. (Tac.
ANN. 13. 12 f.; Dio. 61. 7. 1.). Sporus was "married" short-
ly after the death of Poppaea, i. e. A. D. 65. (Dio. 62. 27. 3;
Dio Chrys. ORAT. 21-6; Aurel. Vict. EPIT. 5. 7.). He was
"married" a second time in Greece. (Dio. 63. 12. 4-13. 2, cf.
63. 22. 4.). Tacitus places the incest in A. D. 59. (ANN.
14. 2. 3), but that author's introduction of Acte into this epi-
sode is anachronistic, and a more likely date is A. D. 55 when
Acte and Nero were lovers. (see above).

29

"Suam quidem pudicitiam . . . uirginum imitatus."

Dio (63. 13. 2) lists Nero's animal game to A. D. 67, but
this is uncertain. It was the freedman Pythagoras, not Dory-
phorus as Suetonius here, who "married" Nero in A. D. 64.
(Tac. ANN. 15. 37. 8; Dio. 62. 28. 3; Sulpic. Sev. CHRON.
2. 28. 2.). Doryphorus died in A. D. 62. (see Ch. 35.).

30. 1-3.

"Diuitiarum et pecuniae . . . turba atque cursorum."

For the visit of Tiridates, see Ch. 13. According to Dio
(63. 1. 1.), Menecrates celebrated a triumph for Nero in
A. D. 66.

31. 1.

"Non in alia re . . . staret ipsius effigie, . . ."

Suetonius' comments about Nero's building activities de-
serve careful scrutiny, for an examination reveals that by far
the greater number of the emperor's new buildings were con-
structed in the last four years of the reign.³⁶ The "domus tran-
sitoria" was destroyed in the fire of A. D. 64. (Tac.
ANN. 15. 39. 1.), and the new "domus aurea" was begun
shortly afterwards. (Tac. ANN. 15. 42. 1.). Suetonius' report

³³ See the list in Platner S. B. and Ashby. T. *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. (Ox-
ford. 1929.). p. 595.

that the "colossus" was set up during the reign of Nero need not be doubted.³⁷

31. 3-4. "*Praeterea incohabat piscinam . . . molientium opera.*"

The date of the Misenum - Avernus pool (now confirmed by the evidence of a glass flask) is not known. The canal linking Avernus and Ostia was begun in A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 15. 42. 2-4; Pliny N. H. 14. 61.).³⁸ Nero's failure to acquire the wealth of Dido occurred in A. D. 65. (Tac. ANN. 16. 1. 1, 4. 2.).

32. 1. "*uerum ut spes fefellit, . . . intendit animum.*"

Suetonius' remarks here are true only for the latter part of the reign. Up until A. D. 62, Nero's finances had kept reasonably well balanced.³⁹ In that year, probably on account of the expenses incurred by the wars in Britain and Armenia, Nero was forced to set up a commission to examine finances. (Tac. ANN. 15. 18. 4.). The bulk of Nero's confiscations also fall after A. D. 62.⁴⁰ The date of the financial difficulties with the army is not known.

32. 2-4. "*Ante omnia instituit . . . mox Galba restituit.*"

The date of these laws is nowhere attested, but should be assigned to the latter part of the reign. Suetonius' use of the

³⁷ So also Platner and Ashby *ibid.*; A. Boëthius. *The Golden House of Nero*. (Michigan. 1961.). p. 111; against, P. Howell "The Colossus of Nero" in *ATHENAEUM*. 46. 1968. p. 292 ff. argues for A. D. 75 on the basis of Dio. 66. 15. 1. However Dio's report refers to the version of the statue after it was altered by Vespasian (Pliny. N. H. 33. 45; Suet. VESP. 18).

³⁸ For convenience, some comments on the harbour at Ostia begun by Claudius in A. D. 42 may be appended. The date of completion is nowhere attested. Coins of Nero survive with legend - AUGUSTI. POR. OST. S. C. (*B. M. C. op. cit.* 131-5, 323; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 88-108; Sydenham. *op. cit.* XXVII. 1-20), which can definitely be dated to after A. D. 64. It has been often argued, e. g. C. H. V. Sutherland *op. cit.* p. 168; R. Meiggs. *Roman Ostia*. (Oxford. 1960.) p. 56, that these coins commemorate the formal completion of the harbour by Nero. Some support is perhaps given to this view by the change in nomenclature for the port, for under Claudius the charge of the port was transferred from the "quaestor Ostiensis" to a freedman procurator who was known as "proc. portus Ostiensis." (I. L. S. 1533; for the change, A. Momigliano. *Claudius. The Emperor and his Achievement*. (Repr. Cambridge. 1961.). p. 51 and n. 23.). Under Nero, as the coins show, it was named "portus Ostiensis Augusti." However the actual date for the change is uncertain as post-reform Neronian coinage often commemorates events earlier in the reign. (see D. W. MacDowall. *op. cit.* p. 192 ff.). Neronian completion is denied by A. A. Boyce "The Harbour of Pompeiopolis" in *A. J. A.* 62. 1958. p. 72 ff; "Nero's Harbour Sestertii" in *ibid.* 70. 1966. p. 65 f. A pretext for the coins could have been a propagandist motive after the fire to keep up public spirit. More important, Nero's canal (see above), also took place about this time and the association of the two events is very tempting. (so also Sydenham. *op. cit.* p. 110.).

³⁹ See T. Frank. *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*. (Repr. New York. 1959.). 5. p. 42 f.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* for a list of these confiscations.

"fiscus" is anac-
der the Julio-C
be explained 2
months of the
coinage, were p
controlled the
um was closed
A. D. 68. (Tac.
took place in A

33. 1-3. "*Parricidia et ca.*
Claudius was
C. 942.). The de
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op. cit. 1, 10; C.
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Britannicus v
A. D. 55. (Tac.
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by Tacitus (ANT
equiarum" woul

34. 1-5. "*Matrem facta di.*
Agrippina los
well as her great
in A. D. 55. (Ta
Silana unsuccess

⁴¹ See P. A. Brunt. "The Fiscus and i

⁴² After A. D. 55, Claudius is not me
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NERO. 405-427; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 11-17.
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Claudius is named under the years A. D
lxxi); inscriptions as late as A. D. 66 in
Ti. Iulius Alexander calls him "θεός" in
val records for A. D. 69. (*A. F. A. op.*
de-Olympianize Claudius (C. I. L. 10. 80
tury. (see M. P. Charlesworth "Flavian
di" was abandoned in A. D. 59 by Nerc
op. cit. p. 120 f.).

⁴³ According to Josephus (ANT. IUI
in fact murder. An inscription from Ar
tions Nero, Poppaea and Britannicus, w
cus was officially accepted at that time.

et up during the reign of Nero nec

m . . . molientium opera."

um - Avernus pool (now confirmed
flask) is not known. The canal link
was begun in A. D. 64. (Tac.
J. H. 14. 61.).³⁸ Nero's failure to a
ido occurred in A. D. 65. (Tac.

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at year, probably on account of the
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owever Dio's report refers to the version o
H. 33. 45; Suet. VESP. 18).

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-5, 323; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 88-108; Sydenham
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loman Ostia. (Oxford. 1960.) p. 56, that the
bour by Nero. Some support is perhaps giv
e port, for under Claudius the charge of the
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nge, A. Momigliano. *Claudius. The Emperor*
ad n. 23.). Under Nero, as the coins show, is
ic actual date for the change is uncertain
events earlier in the reign. (see D. W. Mac
ied by A. A. Boyce "The Harbour of Port
rbour Sestertii" in *ibid.* 70. 1966. p. 65 f.
notive after the fire to keep up public spirit
lace about this time and the association
op. cit. p. 110.).
r. (Repr. New York. 1959.). 5. p. 42 f.

"fiscus" is anachronistic, as there was no such department under the Julio-Claudians.⁴¹ The stripping of the temples may be explained and dated by the fact that during the final months of the reign, precious metals needed especially for coinage, were probably running out of supply. Galba in Spain controlled the major source of mineral wealth, and Lugdunum was closed against Vindex. Galba's action is dated to A. D. 68. (Tac. AGRIC. 6. 5.). Some looting of temples also took place in A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 15. 45. 1.).

"Parricidia et caedes . . . et discipulos dedit."

Claudius was poisoned on 13 October A. D. 54. (PIR². C. 942.). The deified emperor was definitely not assailed in the early part of the reign. (*B. M. C. op. cit.* 4-8; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 1, 10; C. H. V. Sutherland *op. cit.* p. 155 n. 2. dating the coins to A. D. 55.).⁴²

Britannicus was murdered some time before 12 February A. D. 55. (Tac. ANN. 13. 15. 1.). Tacitus (ANN. 13. 17. 1.). relates that Britannicus was buried the same night; Dio's mutilated account (61. 7. 4.) implies day-time. The edict, quoted by Tacitus (ANN. 13. 17. 3.), to justify the "festinationem equiarum" would seem to verify the Tacitean version.⁴³

34. 1-5.

"Matrem facta dictaque . . . ne quid abscederet."

Agrippina lost her sentinels and German bodyguard, as well as her great receptions and was given a separate residence in A. D. 55. (Tac. ANN. 13. 18. 3-5; cf. Dio. 61. 8. 4.). Iunia Silana unsuccessfully prosecuted Agrippina in the same year.

⁴¹ See P. A. Brunt. "The Fiscus and its Development" in *J. R. S.* 56. 1966. p. 75 ff.

⁴² After A. D. 55, Claudius is not mentioned on the gold and silver minted at Rome, however the provincial coinages still call him "diuus" as late as A. D. 64. (*B. M. C. op. cit.* p. cxxxv, NERO. 405-427; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 11-17, 37-40; Sydenham. *op. cit.* III. 1-12.). The above coinage clearly shows that Nero did not annul the deification as reported by Suetonius. (CLAUD. 45.). Claudius is named under the years A. D. 58 and 59 in the Arval records (*A. F. A. op. cit.* p. lxvi, lxxi); inscriptions as late as A. D. 66 in Italy refer to him as "diuus" (I. L. S. 233.); the edict of T. Iulius Alexander calls him "θεός" in A. D. 68 (O. G. I. S. 669) and he is mentioned in the Arval records for A. D. 69. (*A. F. A. op. cit.* p. xcii). During the last half of the reign, Nero did de-Olympianize Claudius (C. I. L. 10. 8014), but the cult of the emperor lasted until the third century. (see M. P. Charlesworth "Flaviana" in *J. R. S.* 27. 1937. p. 57 f.). The "templum diui Claudii" was abandoned in A. D. 59 by Nero, but later restored by Vespasian. (See Platner and Ashby *op. cit.* p. 120 f.).

⁴³ According to Josephus (ANT. IUD. 20. 153), few people at the time knew that the death was in fact murder. An inscription from Amisos (*A. E.* 1959. no. 224.) dated to c. A. D. 63-65 mentions Nero, Poppaea and Britannicus, which suggests that Nero's version of the death of Britannicus was officially accepted at that time.

(Tac. ANN. 13. 21. 9.). Her activities in the period A. D. 56–59 are unknown, nor are Suetonius' reports of Nero's harassment attested elsewhere. Nero planned to kill his mother in A. D. 59. (ANN. 14. 3. 2.). Suetonius' statement that three attempts were made to poison Agrippina are not found in any other source, nor is the collapsible ceiling which probably should be disregarded. The collapsible-boat attempt was made c. 19–23 March, A. D. 59. (Tac. ANN. 13. 3 ff.; cf. Dio 61. 12. 3 ff.). Agrippina was murdered shortly after this time. (Tac. ANN. 14. 8.; Dio 61. 13. 5.). The other events date to immediately after the death. (Tac. ANN. 14. 9 ff.; Dio. 61. 13 ff.). Sacrifices "pro salute Neronis" and "Providentiae" are attested for 5 April, A. D. 59. (*A. F. A. op. cit.* p. lxxiv.).

Nero's aunt, Domitia, died in A. D. 59, for it was in this year that Nero shaved his beard. (Tac. ANN. 14. 15; Dio. 61. 17. 1–2, 19. 1.).

35. 1–3.

"*Uxores praeter Octaviam . . . admodum infantem.*"

For the marriage to Octavia, see Ch. 7. Statilia Messalina was married to M. Iulius Vestinus Atticus (cos. A. D. 65.), sometime before A. D. 65. (Tac. ANN. 15. 48. 1.). Vestinus voluntarily suicided in A. D. 65. (Tac. ANN. 15. 69.). Her marriage to Nero did not take place before A. D. 66 as it is not mentioned in the surviving books of the Annals. No more definite date than "sometime in A. D. 66" is permitted by the evidence. (PIR². A. 49; PIR¹. S. 625; *A. F. A. op. cit.* p. lxxxiii–iv; *B. M. C. op. cit.* 61–63; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 43; Sydenham *op. cit.* VIII. 1–2; XXXII.) T. Statilius Taurus was consul in 37 and 26 B. C. (C. I. L. I². p. 65; 4. 2437; 10. 409; 3770; 2. 3556.) and triumphed in June 34 B. C. (Dio. 49. 38; C. I. L. I². p. 50.).

Nero decided to divorce Octavia in A. D. 62 (Tac. ANN. 14. 60. 1.). Shortly after the divorce she was banished to Campania. (Tac. ANN. 14. 60. 5.). In the same year, Anicetus laid his charge against her – (Tac. ANN. 14. 62. 2.), and she was confined to the island of Pandateria. On 9 June A. D. 62, she was forced to die. (Tac. ANN. 14. 64. 3; Dio 62. 13; Jos. ANT. IUD. 20. 153; Plut. GALBA 19; Juv. 9. 218; Suet. Ch. 57. 1.).

The exact date of the marriage to Poppaea is unknown. Octavia was murdered on 9 June A. D. 62 and Poppaea's child

was born c. 21] was pregnant w earlier than Apr (The event is re are of a later NERO. 52–55; *cit.* XL. 1–2.; th p. 116, 126. Gre and Poppaea – *i*

The child, (A. D. 63. (*A. i* lxxxiv, lxxxv; 7 less than four r *A. F. A. op. cit.* A. D. 65. (Tac. I. L. S. 233.).

35. 4–5.

"*Nullum adeo neu*
Antonia died (Tac. ANN. 15. an Conspiracy.) M. Iunius Silantus in A. D. 55 Plautus in A. I D. Iunius Sil ANN. 15. 35. 2-Torquatus in A of the murders appear elsewhere

C. Caecina T A. D. 63 when I his successor is the two above is (Tac. ANN. 15. met his death Dio. 62. 13. 3 w

Suetonius is § (ANN. 14. 65. 1 died in A. D. 6:

⁴⁴ A. Stein. *Die Präfecten von Ägypten*.
Les Carrières procuratoriennes équestres sou

Her activities in the period prior are Suetonius' reports of Nero elsewhere. Nero planned to kill his mother (Tac. ANN. 14. 3. 2.). Suetonius' statements that the attempts made to poison Agrippina are not successful or is the collapsible ceiling which was destroyed. The collapsible-boat attempt failed (Tac. ANN. 13. 3 ff.; cf. Dio 61. 13. 5.). The other events are the death (Tac. ANN. 14. 9 ff.; Tac. ANN. 14. 9 ff.; "Pro salute Neronis" and "Providentia pro salute Neronis" and "Providentia pro salute Neronis" April, A. D. 59. (*A. F. A. op. cit.*

and in A. D. 59, for it was in this year that Nero shaved his beard. (Tac. ANN. 14. 15-

admodum infantem."

Octavia, see Ch. 7. Statilia Messalina, Poppaea Sabina, Vestinus Atticus (cos. A. D. 65.), (Tac. ANN. 15. 48. 1.). Vestinus Atticus (cos. A. D. 65. (Tac. ANN. 15. 69.)). Her death took place before A. D. 66 as it is mentioned in the surviving books of the Annals. No mention of her death in A. D. 66" is permitted (Tac. ANN. 15. 69. 9; PIR¹. S. 625; *A. F. A. op. cit.* p. 61-63; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 43; Sydenham *op. cit.* LXXII.) T. Statilius Taurus was consul in A. D. 65; I. L. I². p. 65; 4. 2437; 10. 409; Tac. ANN. 14. 20. 153; Plut. GALBA 19;

Octavia in A. D. 62 (Tac. ANN. 14. 60. 5.). In the same year, Annius Sennecius - (Tac. ANN. 14. 62. 2.), and the island of Pandateria. On 9 June he was executed to die. (Tac. ANN. 14. 64. 3; Tac. ANN. 14. 20. 153; Plut. GALBA 19;

age to Poppaea is unknown. Octavia died in A. D. 62 and Poppaea's child

was born c. 21 January A. D. 63. (see below.). Since Poppaea was pregnant when married (Tac. ANN. 14. 61. 5.), a date no earlier than April is possible - indeed, May seems more likely. (The event is represented in the coinage, although the coins are of a later date - see *B. M. C. op. cit.* p. clxxxiii f., NERO. 52-55; *R. I. C. op. cit.* 41-42; Sydenham *op. cit.* XL. 1-2.; the identification is denied by Sydenham *op. cit.* p. 116, 126. Greek coins from the year A. D. 62 depict Nero and Poppaea - *ibid.* VI. 1-14.).

The child, Claudia Augusta, was born c. 21 January A. D. 63. (*A. F. A. op. cit.* p. lxxxviii; cf. p. lxxxix, lxxxii, lxxxiv, lxxxv; Tac. ANN. 15. 23. 1; I. L. S. 233.). She died less than four months later. (Tac. ANN. 15. 23. 4, 16. 6. 3; *A. F. A. op. cit.* p. lxxxii; I. L. S. 8902.). Poppaea died in A. D. 65. (Tac. ANN. 16. 6. 1, 21. 2; cf. Dio. 62. 27. 4; I. L. S. 233.).

35. 4-5.

"Nullum adeo necessitudinis . . . indito interceptit."

Antonia died sometime in late A. D. 65 or in A. D. 66 (Tac. ANN. 15. 53. 4-5 says she died as a result of the Pisonian Conspiracy.). The relatives removed by Nero were: M. Iunius Silanus in A. D. 54 (Tac. ANN. 13. 1-1); Britannicus in A. D. 55 (see Ch. 33); Cornelius Sulla and Rubellius Plautus in A. D. 62 (Tac. ANN. 14-57 ff.; Dio. 62. 14. 1.); D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus in A. D. 64 (Tac. ANN. 15. 35. 2-3; cf. Dio. 62. 27. 2.) and L. Iunius Silanus Torquatus in A. D. 65. (Tac. ANN. 16. 9. 2-5.). The details of the murders of A. Plautius and Rufrius Crispinus do not appear elsewhere.

C. Caecina Tuscus was banished sometime between A. D. 63 when he took up his post and May A. D. 66; when his successor is attested in office.⁴⁴ A date close to the latter of the two above is likely. Seneca committed suicide in A. D. 65 (Tac. ANN. 15. 60 ff.; cf. Dio. 62. 25); his partner Burrus met his death in A. D. 62. (Tac. ANN. 14. 51. 1-3; cf. Dio. 62. 13. 3 whose chronology is incorrect.).

Suetonius is generalizing about the freedmen here. Tacitus (ANN. 14. 65. 1) relates that Pallas and Doryphorus both died in A. D. 62.

⁴⁴ A. Stein. *Die Präfekten von Ägypten in römischer Zeit.* (Bern. 1950.). p. 35 ff.; H. G. Pflaum. *Les Carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain.* (Paris. 1960.). p. 44 f.

36. 1-2. "*Nec minore saevitia . . . prohibitos quaerere.*"
The comet referred to here appeared in A. D. 64, between 3 May and 16 July.⁴⁵ (Tac. ANN. 15. 47.). The Pisonian conspiracy occurred in A. D. 65. (Tac. ANN. 15. 48 ff.; Dio 62. 24.) and plans were known in the previous year. (Tac. ANN. 15. 50. 6.). The Vinician conspiracy is to be dated to the time of Nero's journey to Greece, i. e. late September A. D. 66. (*A. F. A. op. cit.* p. lxxxix probably refers to the event.). The titular head of the planned revolt, Annianus had returned to Rome with Tiridates earlier in the year. (See Ch. 13.) The conspiracy was perhaps brought to a head by the death of Domitius Corbulo in the winter of A. D. 66/67 (or perhaps even before the end A. D. 66.).⁴⁶
The behaviour of the conspirators described by Suetonius belongs to the time of the Pisonian conspiracy. (Tac. ANN. 15. 67. 2-3; 68. 1; Dio. 62. 24. 2.).
37. 1-3. "*Nullus posthac adhibitus . . . senatus mentione.*"
Most of the known deaths and banishments occur in the last few years of the reign. (see Tac. ANN. 14. 48 ff., passim.). The death of Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus took place in A. D. 66. (Dio. 62. 27. 1.). C. Cassius Longinus was banished, not executed as implied by Suetonius, in A. D. 65. (Tac. ANN. 16. 9. 1-2; DIGEST 1. 2. 2. 51-2) P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus suicided in A. D. 66. (Tac. ANN. 16. 34-35.).
For the canal through the Isthmus, see Ch. 19. The other reports are undated.
38. 1-3. "*Sed nec populo aut moenibus . . . census prope exhaust.*"
The fire occurred in A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 15. 38 ff.; Dio. 62. 16 ff.). It broke out on 19 July. (Tac. ANN. 15. 41. 3.). The blaze was contained on the sixth day (Tac. ANN. 15. 40. 1), but a second outbreak then occurred (Tac. ANN. 15. 40. 3.), which lasted for three days. (C. I. L. 6. 1. 826.)
The contributions sought from provinces and individuals are also placed in A. D. 64 by Tacitus (ANN. 15. 45. 1.) and Dio. (62. 18. 5.)

⁴⁵ The date is confirmed by Chinese records quoted by R. S. Rogers "The Neronian Comets" in *T. A. Pb. A.* 84. 1953. p. 240.

⁴⁶ It is widely held that the purpose of the plot was to substitute Corbulo for Nero, e. g. Morigliano in *C. A. H.* 10. p. 731; B. W. Henderson. *op. cit.* p. 387.

39. 1-3. "*accesserunt*"
Tacitus (The "clad A. D. 60/61 nomina ad ANN. 15. 1 chapter are
40. 1-4. "*Talem princ*"
For the le
rect about t
born in 3
Dio. 64. 6. 5
also, PIR¹.
about the en
see Ch. 34.).
41. 1-2. "*edictis tandem*"
The event
March. (cf. I
42. 1-2. "*Postquam de*"
Galba rece
at the end
BA. 4-5; Di
S. P. Q. R."
BA. 5. 2; S
GALBA. 22.
wards the mi
Rome to Sp
GALBA. 7. :
43. 1-2. "*Initio statim*"
Dio (63. 27
after the revo
to the Gallic
provinces of
of his army c
made knowr

⁴⁷ On the dating of the British re
ond "Corbulo and Nero's Easter
Syme *op. cit.* APP. 69, it is den
oudicca's Rebellion" in *A. J. Pb.*

⁴⁸ For the chronology of the Arn

ibitos quaerere."

re appeared in A. D. 64, between
ANN. 15. 47.). The Pisonian con-
D. 65. (Tac. ANN. 15. 48.)
re known in the previous year
e Vinician conspiracy is to be dated
rney to Greece, i. e. late Septem-
cit. p. lxxxii probably refers to
the planned revolt, Annus Vinicianus
with Tiridates earlier in the year
y was perhaps brought to a head
ius Corbulo in the winter
n before the end A. D. 66.).⁴⁶
aspirators described by Suetonius
the Pisonian conspiracy. (Tac.
io. 62. 24. 2.).

senatus mentione."

hs and banishments occur in the
see Tac. ANN. 14. 48 ff., passim
s Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus too
27. 1.). C. Cassius Longinus was
nplied by Suetonius, in A. D. 66.
(GEST 1. 2. 2. 51-2) P. Clodius
A. D. 66. (Tac. ANN. 16. 34-35)
e Isthmus, see Ch. 19. The other

... census prope exhaustit."

A. D. 64. (Tac. ANN. 15. 38 ff.)
e out on 19 July. (Tac. ANN.
e was contained on the sixth day
a second outbreak then occurred
which lasted for three days

: from provinces and individuals
y Tacitus (ANN. 15. 45. 1.) and

y R. S. Rogers "The Neronian Comets"

o substitute Corbulo for Nero, e. g. M.
cit. p. 387.

39. 1-3.

"accesserunt tantis ex principe . . . irritaret ingenia."

Tacitus (ANN. 16. 13. 1-3) dates the plague to A. D. 65.
The "clades Britannica" occurred in the winter of
A. D. 60/61 (Tac. ANN. 14. 29. 1; Dio 62. 1. 1.),⁴⁷ the "ig-
nominia ad Orientem" in the winter of A. D. 62/63. (Tac.
ANN. 15. 14. 5; cf. Dio 62. 21.).⁴⁸ The other reports in this
chapter are undated.

40. 1-4.

"Talem principem paulo minus . . . silentio oblit[er]avit."

For the length of the reign, see Ch. 57. Suetonius is incor-
rect about the age of Galba here. The future emperor was
born in 3 B. C., not 5 B. C. (Suet. GALBA. 4. 1, 23;
Dio. 64. 6. 52, Tac HIST. 1. 49; Aurel. Vict. EPIT. 6. 4. So
also, PIR¹. S. 723.). Nero received the news of the revolt
about the end of March A. D. 68. (for the death of Agrippina,
see Ch. 34.). The revolt, therefore, began in the same month.

41. 1-2.

"edictis tandem Vindicis . . . per Vindicem liceat."

The events in this chapter are to be dated to the end of
March. (cf. Dio. 63. 26. 1-4.).

42. 1-2.

"Postquam deinde etiam Galbam . . . occupationibus suis."

Galba received the letter from Vindex calling him to arms
at the end of March (Suet. GALBA. 9. 2; Plut. GAL-
BA. 4-5; Dio. 63. 23), and he declared himself "legatus
S. P. Q. R." on 2 April A. D. 68. (Dio 64. 6. 52; Plut. GAL-
BA. 5. 2; Suet. GALBA. 10. 1-2; cf. Dio. 63. 23; Plut.
GALBA. 22. 2.). Nero would have heard of the revolt to-
wards the middle of the month. (cf. the journey of Icelus from
Rome to Spain in seven days - Suet. GALBA. 22; Plut.
GALBA. 7. 1-3.).

43. 1-2.

"Initio statim tumultus . . . componi oporteret."

Dio (63. 27. 2) would place the formulation of Nero's plans
after the revolt of Galba. However the "tumultus" must refer
to the Gallic rebellion, for one of the plans was to ravage the
provinces of Gaul. Further, Nero may have been suspicious
of his army commanders after the letters sent by Vindex were
made known (Suet. Ch. 40), so that if Suetonius' report

⁴⁷ On the dating of the British revolt, I follow the emended chronology suggested by M. Ham-
mond "Corbulo and Nero's Eastern Policy" in *H. J. C. Ph.* 45. 1934. p. 96 f. Accepted also by
Syme *op. cit.* APP. 69, it is denied unconvincingly by J. C. Overbeck "Tacitus and Dio on
Vindex's Rebellion" in *A. J. Ph.* 90. 1969. p. 129 ff.

⁴⁸ For the chronology of the Armenian campaign, see Hammond. *op. cit.* p. 89 ff.

(GALBA. 9. 2) that letters ordering the death of Galba were discovered before 2 April is true, the date for the plans should precede the revolt of Galba.

Nero probably took up the consulship during April. The context of Suetonius here suggests that the emperor assumed the office at sometime before he heard of the outcome of the battle of Vesontio which took place probably about the middle of May.⁴⁹

44. 1-2. "*In praeparanda expeditione . . . quaecumque cepissent.*"

This information is not attested elsewhere, and if true, should be assigned to between the end of March (more likely during April) and 9 June A. D. 68.

45. 1-2. "*ex annonae quoque caritate . . . Vindicem posebant.*"

Although Suetonius' chronology is inconsistent, the chapters 40-50 do seem to form a unit, thus suggesting a date in the latter part of the reign for the grain cost. However it is difficult to see how Nero would have made his profits from the sale of the corn, and it is probable, therefore, that Suetonius is misinterpreting the rising price of grain at this time.⁵⁰

46. 1-3. "*Terrebat ad hoc eidentibus portentis . . . μήτηρ, πατήρ.*"

For the murder of Agrippina, see Ch. 34; the death of Octavia, Ch. 35. On 1 January every year the oath of allegiance was sworn by the army and the entire civilian population. "Vota" were offered for the safety of the emperor and his family on 3 January every year. (see Mommsen *Staatsr.* 2³. p. 810 ff.).

47. 1-49. 4. "*Nuntiata interim etiam . . . tumultu coniectus fuerat.*"

Neither the narrative of Suetonius nor that of Dio (63. 27 ff.) gives any specific dates but the events must be

⁴⁹ The date of this battle has been variously estimated. Early June (suggested by C. Krasz. "The Coinage of Vindex and Galba, A. D. 68, and the Continuity of the Augustan Principate" in *N. C.* ser. 6. 9. 1949. p. 129; G. E. F. Chilver "The Army in Politics, A. D. 68-70" in *J. R. S.* 47. 1957. p. 32. n. 40; J. B. Hainsworth "Verginius and Vindex" in *HISTORIA.* 11. 1962. p. 86.) is too late. More plausible is the suggestion of early May. (P. A. Brunt. "The Revolt of Vindex and the Fall of Nero" in *LATOMUS.* 18. 1959. p. 541.). Corinthian coinage suggests a date towards the end of May. (H. Mattingly. "Verginius at Lugdunum?" in *N. C.* ser. 6. 14. 1954. p. 32 ff.). When due allowance has been given for the battle and its aftermath to be reported to Nero before his death on 9 June, a date in May (preferably the latter half of the month) best fits the known chronology.

⁵⁰ There was a crisis in Italian grain production in the period A. D. 64-75, and it is probable that after A. D. 64, the price of grain was continually rising, although at no time did it exceed 5 H. S. per modius. (see T. Frank. *op. cit.* 5. p. 139 ff.).

placed on the death of Nero

"*Funeratus est* 1
The body w:

"*Statura fuit pr*
Only one of
occurred in A
possibly occur
Tac. ANN. 16.
Ch. 41. 1; Dio.
Suetonius was
cit. p. clxv.).

"*Liberalis discip*
Nero is know
A. D. 59. (Tac.
ing and scul
ANN. 13. 3. 7.).

"*Maxime autem p*
By "proximc
Games which v
Ch. 23.) The ide
early as A. D. 5
also equates Ne
254-8, 376-7;
cit. XVII. 1-30. 1
undated.).

"*. . . et sunt qui tra*
Dio (63. 18. 1.)

"*ideoque multis reb*
April was c
ANN. 15. 74. 1.).
wished to call
ANN. 15. 40. 3.):

⁵¹ Suetonius might have added that als
manicus" (Tac. ANN. 16. 12. 3.). The s
Dio 63. 7. 2; cf. Juv. 2. 170 who proves
was renamed "Neronias" (JOS. ANT. II
ended to substitute "Neronesus" for "Pe
the Peloponnese - "την ἕως νῦν Πελοπόννη
Secunda in the fourth century was orig
the Eastern Roman Provinces. (Oxford. 19

ordering the death of Galba were true, the date for the plans should

the consulship during April. This suggests that the emperor assumed office before he heard of the outcome of the battle, which took place probably about the middle

... *quaecumque cepissent.*" This is attested elsewhere, and if true, the date is between the end of March (more likely) and the middle of A. D. 68.

... *Vindicem posebant.*" This chronology is inconsistent, the chapter is a unit, thus suggesting a date in April for the grain cost. However it is probable, therefore, that Suetonius would have made his profits from the rising price of grain at this time.

... *portentis . . . μήτηρ, πατήρ.* This is attested elsewhere, and if true, the date is between the end of March (more likely) and the middle of A. D. 68.

... *multu coniectus fuerat.*" This is attested elsewhere, and if true, the date is between the end of March (more likely) and the middle of A. D. 68.

... *umultu coniectus fuerat.*" This is attested elsewhere, and if true, the date is between the end of March (more likely) and the middle of A. D. 68.

... *umultu coniectus fuerat.*" This is attested elsewhere, and if true, the date is between the end of March (more likely) and the middle of A. D. 68.

placed on the last few days before 9 June A. D. 68. (for the death of Nero, see Ch. 57.).

50. "*Funeratus est impensa . . . lapide Thasio.*"

The body was buried on or shortly after 9 June.

51. "*Statura fuit prope iusta . . . sine cinctu et discalciatus.*"

Only one of Nero's illnesses is specifically mentioned. That occurred in A. D. 60. (Tac. ANN. 14. 22. 6.). The second possibly occurred in A. D. 65 (Philostr. VIT. APOLL. 4. 44; Tac. ANN. 16. 13. 1-3.), the third perhaps in A. D. 68. (Suet. Ch. 41. 1; Dio. 63. 26. 1.). Nero's hairstyle as described by Suetonius was adopted mostly after A. D. 64 (B. M. C. *op. cit.* p. clxv.).

52. "*Liberalis disciplinas omnis . . . non mediocre studium.*"

Nero is known to have been writing poetry as early as A. D. 59. (Tac. ANN. 14. 16. 1.). He was interested in painting and sculpture from his earliest years. (Tac. ANN. 13. 3. 7.).

53. "*Maxime autem popularitate . . . populo nudus elideret.*"

By "proximo lustro", Suetonius means the Olympic Games which were next to take place in A. D. 69. (see Ch. 23.) The identification of Nero with Apollo was made as early as A. D. 59. (Dio. 61. 20. 5. Contemporary coinage also equates Nero with Apollo. (B. M. C. *op. cit.* 234-9, 254-8, 376-7; R. I. C. *op. cit.* 349-375; Sydenham *op. cit.* XVII. 1-30. The Athenian inscription - I. G. 2/3². 3278 is undated.)

54. "... *et sunt qui tradant . . . grauem aduersarium.*"

Dio (63. 18. 1.) places the death of Paris in A. D. 67.

55. "*ideoque multis rebus . . . Romam Neropolim nuncupare.*"

April was called "Neroneus" in A. D. 65. (Tac. ANN. 15. 74. 1.). There was a rumour in A. D. 64 that Nero wished to call the new city after himself. (Tac. ANN. 15. 40. 3.).⁵¹

⁵¹ Suetonius might have added that also in A. D. 65, May became "Clau dius" and June "Germanicus" (Tac. ANN. 16. 12. 3.). The new city of Artaxata was to be renamed "Neronias" (Dio 63. 7. 2; cf. Juv. 2. 170 who proves that the name was not retained.) and Caesarea Philippi was renamed "Neronias" (JOS. ANT. IUD. 20. 211; Smallwood *op. cit.* no. 211a.). Nero also intended to substitute "Neronesus" for "Peloponnesus", for in SIG.³ 814 = I. L. S. 8794, he calls the Peloponnesus - "την εως νυν Πελοπόννησον . . ." There is also evidence that Eirenopolis in Cilicia Secunda in the fourth century was originally called "Neronias". (See A. H. M. Jones. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces.* (Oxford. 1937.). p. 203 ff.).

56. "Religionum usque quaque contemptor . . . ut urina contaminaret."
The events in this chapter cannot be dated.

57. "Obiit tricensimo et secundo . . . uix redditus est."
The evidence for the date of Nero's death is conflicting, but is generally agreed to have been 9 June A. D. 68.⁵² Otho played upon Nero's popularity by restoring the statues of Nero and Poppaea, using the former emperor's name, continuing the "domus" and even planning to marry Statilia Messalina. (Tac. HIST. 1-78; Suet. OTHO. 7, 10; Plut. OTHO. 3.). Similarly, Vitellius. (Tac. HIST. 2. 71, 95; Suet. VIT. 11; Dio. 65. 7. 3; Eutrop. 7. 18). The belief that Nero would return was still common at the end of the first century (Dio Chrysostom. ORAT. 21. 10); among Christians it continued into the fourth century. (Sulpic. Sev. CHRON. 2. 28-29.).

Vologaeses I was king of Parthia from A. D. 51 until late A. D. 79 or early A. D. 80.⁵³ The false Nero mentioned by Suetonius here appeared in A. D. 88/89.⁵⁴

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⁵² e. g. by Stein in PIR.³ D. 129 following the conclusions of L. Holzapfel "Römische Kaiserdaten." in *KLIO*. 12. 1912. p. 483 ff., esp. p. 491; *ibid.* 15. 1918. p. 119. The date has been unconvincingly challenged by B. R. Reece "The Date of Nero's Death." in *A. J. Ph.* 90. 1969. p. 72 ff., who suggests 11 June A. D. 68.

⁵³ See N. C. Debevoise. *A Political History of Parthia*. (Chicago. 1938.). p. 174 ff.; D. Magie. *op. cit.* 2. p. 1411. n. 38; Hanslik in *R. E. Suppl.* 9 col. 1839 ff.

⁵⁴ See my "The False Neros: A Re-examination." in *HISTORIA*. 22 - 1973 - p. 364 f.

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Students of the Roman Emperor Majorian's judgment that "the sinews of the empire" were their municipal and imperial topic of modern discussions or a major source for such discussion collection, the *Codex Theodosianus* view of the 'flight',⁴ Paul Petit's writings of the Antiochene rhetoric topic. Because of the relative Paul Petit was able to describe in secular 'flight' from the city of collect and to interpret employing as sources the writing Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzen.

If we take a wide view, the "directions"⁶ - into the higher (afford it), into the *militia officiorum* motives for seeking to evade taxation and desire for prestige appear than the economic burdens of the *principales* or leading curials in

¹ Majorian, *Novellae* 7 (A. D. 458).

² See, for example, Samuel Dill, *Roman History*, London and New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915; H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.

³ The *Codex Theodosianus* will henceforth be cited as CT.

⁴ See CT 12: 1, *passim*.

⁵ Paul Petit, *Libanius et la Vie Municipale de Antioche*, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1955; *Revue Française d'Archéologie de Beyrouth*, 1955; *Revue de l'Orientaliste* Paul Geuthner, 1955, p. 100.

⁶ Dill, *Roman Society*, p. 253.

⁷ Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, p. 749.



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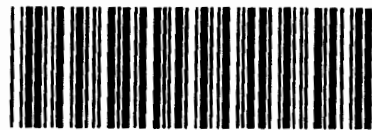
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