

SUETONIUS

NERO

Edited with Introduction,
Notes and Bibliography by

B.H. Warmington

Second Edition



Bristol Classical Press

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Preface to the 1999 Edition

After some twenty years of useful life, the format of the 1977 edition has become obsolete, and this new edition has been entirely reset. The opportunity has been taken to make a number of revisions and additions to the notes. In the intervening years our understanding of Suetonius has been advanced by the works of A. Wallace-Hadrill and B. Baldwin, of the *Nero* by the Commentary of K. R. Bradley, and of the principate of Nero by M. T. Griffin (see the Bibliography for details). I have not normally engaged in scholarly dialogue with these and other recent authors in the notes, though obviously differences in interpretation will be found. I am grateful to Donald Hill for additional notes compiled by him in the course of teaching with this text, some of which have been used or adapted.

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Preface to the First Edition

This edition of Suetonius' *Nero* is designed primarily for students in schools and universities to read as an important example of Latin biography and as a major source for some of the most dramatic events in the history of the first century AD. The notes are almost all devoted to the explanation of historical points in the text, the elucidation of Suetonius' approach to the principate of Nero, and a comparison of his version of events with those found in the other authors who cover the same period of history. I have accordingly indicated parallel references in Tacitus and Dio wherever appropriate, though I am conscious that completeness in this respect has not been obtained. Nevertheless, I hope that within its limitations, the commentary (the first on *Nero*) will be of some use to students of the Julio-Claudian principate. The short bibliography lists the books and articles referred to in the introduction and notes; I have restricted these to recent works in the English language which are of immediate use in amplifying points made in the notes. I have not referred to articles in the standard handbooks except in a very few cases.

All dates are AD unless otherwise indicated, though in some cases where ambiguity might arise, the AD dates have been so specified. References to other *Lives* by Suetonius are by title without the author's name, and references to *Nero* by chapter and section numbers alone.

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Introduction

More is known about C. Suetonius Tranquillus than about most other Latin writers, though even so it is little enough. He is generally supposed to have been born about 70, or perhaps a few years earlier, though the evidence is not strong. His grandfather appears to have been familiar with the court of the emperor Caligula, perhaps as a freedman but more likely as a praetorian guard. His father was Suetonius Laetus – the *cognomen* of the two presumably have some private family significance – who served as an equestrian tribune with the *Legio XIII* on the side of the emperor Otho at the battle of Bedriacum in the civil war of 69 (*Otho* 10). Although Laetus was on the losing side, it seems clear he was not one of those victimised by Vitellius. From a fragmentary inscription discovered at Hippo Regius (Bone) in Algeria and set up in honour of Suetonius Tranquillus, it has been thought that the family had some connection with the place as settlers or landowners; see Townend (1961). It was during the lifetimes of both Laetus and Tranquillus that the North African provinces began to produce men who had equestrian and then senatorial rank. However, it is certain that Suetonius spent most of his life at Rome, and no convincing trace of provincial origin can be detected in his work. He was educated at Rome – his teachers are not known – and was an eyewitness, as a young man, of events towards the end of the reign of Domitian (*Domitian* 12, *Nero* 57). After the death of Domitian in 96, we find him in close contact with Pliny the Younger, his senior by ten years, a man of senatorial rank, soon to be consul in 100, and active as a patron of men of literary talent, among whom Suetonius was to be numbered. At first Suetonius seems to have thought of a career as an advocate but shortly after 96 Pliny wrote to a friend about a piece of property which Suetonius, described as a house-friend, wanted to buy, asking him to see that the vendor put a fair price on it. According to Pliny, Suetonius wanted it because it was close to Rome and a road, was a house of modest size and had sufficient but not too much land for him to enjoy as a scholar (*scholasticus*). Suetonius was therefore already engaged in literary pursuits, which, as his own career was to show, were regarded as a suitable background for office holding. He was presumably wealthy enough to be enrolled among the *equites* and thus eligible for offices of equestrian standing. About 101, Pliny obtained a military tribunate for him through the influence of another senator, but before the appointment was confirmed, Suetonius asked for it to be transferred to a relative, a request to which Pliny agreed. This is a good example of

the way patronage worked in imperial Rome, and although we may suppose (perhaps wrongly) that Pliny's characteristic good nature was taxed by Suetonius' change of mind, their friendship continued unbroken. About 105, Pliny wrote to him saying that his delay in publishing his work – no details are given – was disappointing their mutual friends. Later, in 111, he appears to have been on Pliny's staff when the latter was governor of Bithynia; Pliny wrote to the emperor Trajan asking for the important privilege of the *ius trium liberorum* for Suetonius (who was childless), commending him as *virum probissimum honestissimum eruditissimum*. This gave financial aid, if he entered public life, career advantages to Suetonius. Again we see the working of patronage and the standing a man of learning could acquire.

It was probably shortly after this that Suetonius did in fact enter on an official career, rather late in the day. The inscription from Hippo appears to say that Trajan made him a member of the panel of *equites* who sat on the juries at Rome. Other minor posts may have followed – the inscription is fragmentary – and he then became in succession a *studis* and a *bibliothecis*. The duties of the former post are not exactly known but seem to have involved work on the drafting of imperial pronouncements, and advising the emperor about his contacts with the literary world. The post a *bibliothecis* had the supervision of the public libraries at Rome, which by this date were extensive, and also further involvement in the working of imperial patronage of liberal studies. Both posts seem to accord with an easily formed image of Suetonius as a scholar. Finally he became *ab epistulis* to Hadrian shortly after he became emperor in 117. During the first century the post of *ab epistulis* or chief secretary of the emperor had become important as the flow of imperial correspondence increased, and the *ab epistulis* wrote, or at least drafted, imperial replies to petitioners of all sorts, besides overseeing imperial correspondence with provincial governors. Originally an appointment in the emperor's household, under Claudius it was held by Narcissus, the most powerful of his freedmen. Later in the century, Greek literary figures of free birth and equestrian status came to be used for the emperor's Greek correspondence, and during the period from Domitian to Hadrian men of similar status replaced freedmen in the handling of material in Latin, Suetonius being one of the earliest known. Expertise in law or finance was not required, and the development testifies to the importance of literary culture and to Suetonius' own standing in it; see Millar (1977) 90 ff. He may have owed his final promotion to the praetorian prefect Septicius Clarus who had also been a close friend of Pliny (who was now dead) and had been the recipient of the dedication of Pliny's collected letters. But in 121 or 122 they both, together with others, fell from office perhaps during Hadrian's visit to Britain; excessive familiarity with the empress Sabina is alleged by late and unsatisfactory sources (Joh. Lydus, *de Mag.* 2.6; *Hist. Aug.* *Hadr.* 11.31).

Assuming that the chronology set out here is roughly correct [see Baldwin (1983) 8 ff. for some controversial alternatives], Suetonius was dismissed when little over fifty. Nothing is known of the rest of his life but he appears to have been still alive in 130. We have the titles of many of his works but not their dates except in the case of the *Caesares* (to give a short title to the *de vita Caesarum*), which were probably begun when he was *ab epistulis* and finished when he was out of office. It is clear from Pliny that he must have produced many titles, however brief, before this, if only to warrant continual patronage. The Byzantine compilation known as the *Suda* regarded Suetonius not as an administrator but as a *philologos*, a scholar, and gave a formidable list of his works in both Greek and Latin. Among these were books on Greek games, on words of abuse (both in Greek), on famous courtesans, on Cicero's *de Republica*, on kings, both Roman and non-Roman, on the origins of Roman public offices and on Roman games (*ludicra historia* as it was called). All are lost, but from the material on games and spectacles under most emperors in the *Caesares* it is clear he was using his own collection. Some fragments remain of his *de viris illustribus*; very short lives of literary figures of various sorts such as teachers of rhetoric, historians and poets. Although admired later and used as a model by St. Jerome, these literary lives are hardly to be compared in length and detail with the *Caesares*. It should however be said that to find information about the lives of these persons, who were normally not public figures, was extremely difficult. Although the variety of subjects handled by Suetonius suggests that he was no more than a cultivated dilettante, the same superficial judgement could be made of some of the work of Rome's greatest scholar, M. Terentius Varro (116–27 BC). Suetonius in fact stands in the tradition of Varro in his many-sided interests, though he was probably less assiduous, and he was also a less voluminous writer than either Varro or the encyclopaedist Pliny the Elder (23–79), the uncle of his patron, and also an administrator of equestrian rank.

The full title of Suetonius' work on the emperors was *de vita Caesarum*. It was not originally organised as 12 *Lives* (Julius Caesar to Domitian) but in eight books. One book was allotted to each ruler from Julius Caesar to Nero, making six; a seventh covered the short-lived rulers of 68/69 (Galba, Otho and Vitellius), and the eighth dealt with the Flavian emperors. The text is complete with the exception of the dedication to Septicius Clarus and the first few sections of *Divus Julius*. It is possible that the books were not all given to the public together and that the earlier lives were written, or at any rate had preliminary work done on them, while Suetonius was *ab epistulis*; see Townend (1959). A well known feature of the work is that the *Lives* show a consistent decline in quality. *Divus Julius* stands somewhat apart, though it has substantial merits while ignoring what Cicero and Livy had to say. *Divus Augustus* is unique in its wealth of detail,

which is not matched in his work on the later Julio-Claudian rulers, of which Nero was the last; the remaining *Lives*, even those of the Flavians under whom he spent his youth, are even more insubstantial. The reason for the decline, especially after the death of Nero, can only be surmised. There was little to say of Galba, Otho and Vitellius, whose brief periods of rule were largely taken up with civil war, about which Suetonius was not concerned to write (see below). He may have felt the Flavians, especially Domitian, rather too close for comfort, though Tacitus did not. Perhaps he just lost interest; for his contemporary Juvenal, the reign of Nero seemed already to close an admittedly shameful but an exciting and exotic era.

In some respects biography was the literary form least developed in antiquity. No ancient biographer could approach his subject with the knowledge of psychology available today, and the notion of putting him in the political, economic and social context of his age was lacking. Among the great majority of Greek and Roman biographers, as far as we can tell, since relatively little has survived, the genre always had a pronounced ethical concern and tended to serve didactic purposes. This was evident in the work of Suetonius' great contemporary, Plutarch of Chaeronea (c.50-120), who, as Grant [(1970) 118] put it 'was a convinced adherent of the venerable tradition that the past must be studied so that we may derive some moral uplift in contemplating it'. Suetonius is different in that the amount of moralising is negligible, though this is not to say that he lacked a firm moral standpoint, and there is no evidence of a didactic concern. It is of course true that if we had the dedication and preface we might find that he expressed conventional commonplace about the value of his work. However, just like biographers with a more definite purpose, he concentrated on the actions and character of his subjects. In excluding what he considered irrelevant he may have adhered more rigidly than most to what has been called the 'Law of Biographical Relevance' (see Townend [1967] 84) but he did not differ in principle in this respect from his Greek predecessors, who tended to include less detail but more explanatory philosophising. The concentration on the actions of the subjects affected the dimensions of Suetonius' *Lives* more than those of most Greek parallels; all are of negligible length compared with modern biographies, yet Suetonius' *Caesares* are many times longer than, for example, the *jeune surnames* of Cornelius Nepos (99-24 BC). Above all, biography differed from historiography, which for Greek and Roman alike meant narrative history with a pronounced emphasis on military and political history chronologically arranged. Suetonius had so little concern with military history that, for example, he could summarise the wars of Julius Caesar in a few lines.

Although both Greek and Roman literary culture regarded historiography as qualitatively superior to biography, the prestige of the latter had been growing in

the first century, the genre being flexible enough to include Tacitus' *Agricola*, the lost lives of victims of Nero by Fannius, and Suetonius' own literary lives. Suetonius was the first Latin writer to attempt to write the lives of Roman emperors although, only shortly before him, Plutarch had written lives of Galba and Otho. What prompted him to adopt the biographical form, other than his habit of using a compilatory method in previous work, is uncertain. He may have felt that Tacitus' historical work, which had recently appeared, could not be emulated; perhaps he believed that biography was more appropriate than the traditional annalistic form to Roman imperial history because it corresponded to historical reality. Even Tacitus, though formally adhering strictly to the annalistic form, could not avoid the natural breaks caused by the deaths and accessions of emperors.

One of the most obvious features of the *Caesares*, the arrangement of the material under separate headings (*per species*) is found in Greek biography as early as Xenophon in the fourth century BC, but Suetonius' choice of the topics he considered essential for inclusion in a life, and his general approach, were thoroughly Roman. Each of the *Lives* contains all or most of the following: family origin, remote ancestors and parents of the subject, the place of his birth, with appropriate omens of his future character, childhood, entry into the public view, accession to the principate, aspects of government including legislation, behaviour in a judicial capacity, public works undertaken and games provided, campaigns (without detail) and various aspects of private and public behaviour. Concern with facts of this sort had long been the basis of the traditional form of *laudationes* – often but not necessarily funeral orations – on great men, and many of the same features can be observed in a work very different from a Suetonian biography, namely Pliny the Younger's panegyric on Trajan, and, in yet another different form, in the semi-autobiographical *Res Gestae* of Augustus himself. Similarly, Suetonius had a traditionally Roman view of what virtues and vices were, and this is exceptionally clear in *Nero*; the values may be simplistic compared with some Greek moral philosophy, or even Cicero and Seneca, but they are firmly rooted in the social outlook of the Roman tradition. Furthermore, although the great majority of Suetonius' possible models, whether biographies or *laudationes*, were of approved characters and hence concentrated on the virtues, he had no difficulty in writing five major *Lives* (*Thiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero* and *Domitian*) which were not just critical but almost totally hostile. These emperors had been condemned outright by the social class to which he belonged and in the historical sources he used. Here too, however, there was a long standing Roman tradition. The malevolent treatment of Catiline by Sallust shows how personalities could be denigrated and Cicero's *Ferrine Orations* are also relevant. The indiscriminate allegations of all sorts of depravity, with details, however unfounded, had been traditional in the political and judicial contests of the

republican era and provided the language and rhetoric used to discredit emperors – once they were safely dead. Even Tacitus, who expressed his own misgivings about the reliability of such posthumous abuse, nevertheless reproduced much of it with little hesitation.

The lack of chronological detail for which Suetonius is often criticised is in fact common to all ancient biographers. In any case, the brevity which was customary for the genre in which he was writing, as well as elementary concern for style, made it impossible for him to keep referring to consular years, a highly inconvenient method of dating, or to give more than the occasional reference to the age of his subject. In the case of *Nero* it can be shown that within the general arrangement *per species* the details are normally listed in chronological order though not, unfortunately for the historian, with complete consistency. Suetonius' conception of character, like that of most ancient writers, was essentially static; a man was born with a certain disposition which manifested itself during his life as and when age, opportunity and the lack of external restraints allowed. Thus, although Tacitus covered Nero's principate annalistically, he did not provide much more sense of character development than Suetonius. A more serious defect in the biographer was his failure in all the *Lives* to relate the actions of his subjects to developing political situations or even to changes in Roman society; this was implicit in his arrangement of material under the various headings. Nero's cultural pretensions and his wholehearted enthusiasm for Greek culture are only described anecdotally, and their significance for Rome remains unexamined, in spite of the fact that there was an ebb and flow in the process of Roman acculturation to Hellenistic influences. It is also surprisingly difficult to show that his experience at the heart of the imperial government as *ab epistulis* to Hadrian had any effect on what he had to say about the earlier emperors.

Suetonius' style reflects his rejection of the explicit moralising, highly coloured descriptive writing, and dramatic presentation of crises which were a feature of Roman historiography in such diverse writers as Sallust, Livy and Tacitus. He avoids almost all traditional rhetorical devices. There is little elaboration of subordinate clauses, nor does he seek to express himself sentimentously. There seems to be a deliberate attempt to fit the language to the listing of factual details, and in many cases the sentence structure is closely connected with the content. This is not to say that his style is clear and straightforward like that of Caesar (whose force and clarity in any case had their own part in his self-justification); it avoids the prolixity of Pliny the Elder but can be unduly compressed in an attempt to include as much material as possible with the brevity of his chosen form. Only isolated episodes, such as the last days of Nero, reveal a talent for concentrated and dramatic presentation of events.

Suetonius can and no doubt should be read as the best exemplar of a specific

form, Latin biography, far removed from our concepts of the biographical genre. But the historian is bound to want more, and to ask at almost every line (of *Nero*) – is it true? The question of the reliability of *Nero* is bound up with the question of the sources used by Suetonius, the extent of unwritten collective memory being unknowable. Like nearly all ancient biographical writers – and historians as well for that matter – he used written historical accounts by earlier writers as the basis of his work. Also available were the lost memoirs of Nero's mother, Agrippina, whatever they may have contained, and the descriptions of the deaths of distinguished victims of Nero by Fannius. Some of his own researches on Roman games and spectacles, a significant feature under Nero, were naturally used. There seem to have been many witticisms of Nero apart from those known in other sources besides Suetonius which he found in sources unknown to us. In the earlier *Lives* he had quoted verbatim from letters of Augustus, a major stroke of originality out of line with the universal practice of writers up to his time, but these were only used to illustrate matters of a private nature in the imperial family. For whatever reason, such documents were no longer available to him when he wrote on Nero.

It seems possible that he wrote under the assumption that his readership knew the outlines of the general course of events in the early principate sufficiently well for him to compress, or even exclude, a huge amount of material one would have supposed essential to a full appreciation of what he was writing. This (in itself an assumption) would indicate a readership interested in works of history in the traditional form, and such were certainly available. The many similarities between Suetonius, Tacitus and the later Greek writer, Dio Cassius, in their accounts of Nero are all the more striking in view of the different forms in which the two Latin authors were writing and the heavily rhetorical production of Dio, even in the excerpted form in which we have his work. It is not just a question of Nero being viewed as a disaster for Rome, but of many identical details. The notes to the text in this edition indicate where these are described by the three authors in similar ways and with verbal coincidences so pronounced as to leave no doubt they were using at least one common source. It does admittedly seem certain that Suetonius knew of the work of Tacitus but did not make direct use of him.

That all three used a common source has been recognised for a century or more and it may be presumed that in spite of all the analytical work done on the problem, certainty as to the identity of the lost historian will never be reached. The view taken here is that the chief source of the three writers was probably the (lost) historical work of Pliny the Elder. This author's *Natural History*, published in 77, reveals that he had already written a historical work but that it would not be published until after his death, which took place when he fell victim to the

eruption of Vesuvius in 79. The lost work in 31 books seems to have covered the years 41-71 and was certainly used by Tacitus who refers to it twice. A number of hostile references to Nero occur even in the *Natural History*, some of them verbally identical with passages in one or more of the three later writers; it is assumed that Pliny copied these from his unpublished history. The nature of his historical work is variously estimated; from his surviving work we may deduce that he was verbose, uncritical in assembling material, and quite prepared to retail sensational anecdotes and exaggerated criticism of historical persons, including Nero. Far less is known of two other historians, Cluvius Rufus (see note on 21.2 below) and Fabius Rusticus, both quoted by Tacitus as historians of the principate of Nero, but it is logically possible that one or both provided material used by more than one of our three surviving accounts. On this subject, see Warmington (1969) 1-9, and for a different view Syme (1958) 287-303. Thus, if the character of Pliny's work was as described, much of the sensational material, true or false, had been written up within a decade of the death of Nero; Cluvius Rufus also seems to have written under Vespasian.

Inevitably, Tacitus has always been and will remain our primary source for Nero's principate. Apart from anything else, he includes substantial accounts of events in Britain and Armenia which Suetonius ignores. Yet his highly mannered and idiosyncratic approach should not allow us to forget the basic truth, shown by comparison with Suetonius and Dio, that the identical information which they transmit from their source or sources is not simply about items of major importance but also about rumour and anecdote. There are few stories to the discredit of Nero which are not to be found in Tacitus as well as the others. It is true that Tacitus is somewhat more cautious than Suetonius who is more likely to accept as truth what Tacitus has doubts about; an obvious case is the allegation that Nero set fire to Rome. Yet it is surprising how frequently Suetonius hedges by attributing some anecdote to rumour or common report (e.g. 7.1; 23.2; 28.2; 29; 30.3; 32.3; 34.3; 36.2). Perhaps the fact that the phenomenon is not frequently remarked upon, except to condemn Suetonius for evasion or unwillingness to make up his mind, is significant; both criticisms may be justified, but it is also arguable that so overwhelming is the cumulative effect of the discreditable anecdotes that the reader forgets the disclaimers, and indeed is meant to do so. Only the more attentive will notice similar caution when it occurs in Tacitus, whose narrative almost always emphasises the more damaging allegations. Since we have no external control for judging the truth of the stories, though some are so outrageous that Suetonius' inclusion of them can hardly be condoned (e.g. 37.2, not mentioned by any other source), it might be said that if Suetonius is condemned for his uncritical transmission of dubious material, similar condemnation must fall on Tacitus, who is superficially more fastidious. Just as reprehensible from the

point of view of the historian is his habit of generalising from a particular instance of which details were certainly available to him. It is also worth remarking on what he omitted, in addition to military matters. There is not a word on the praetorian prefect Tigellinus, so important in Tacitus' account, and hardly a word on Seneca, the Pisonian conspiracy, or the Stoic and literary victims of Nero. This may have been deliberate, since it is known Suetonius was out of sympathy with both Lucan and Seneca as literary figures.

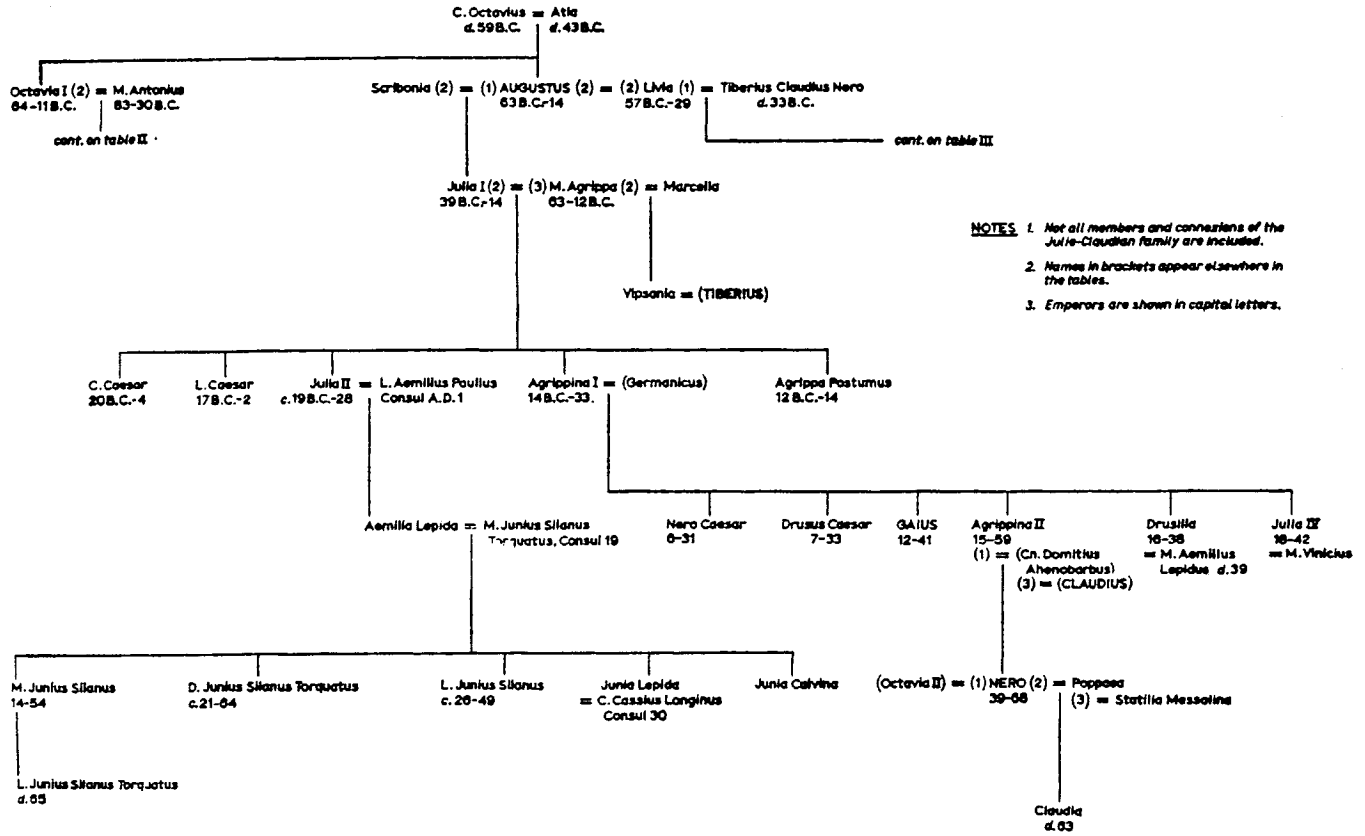
Attempts have been made from time to time to rehabilitate Nero by rejecting all the discreditable material as mere defamatory fiction emanating from a bitterly hostile upper class, alienated by his philhellenism, showmanship and popularity with the proletariat in the city of Rome, and by attributing to Nero vast schemes of a beneficial character on the strength of a few favourable indications, a number actually from Suetonius; his listing of actions by Nero which he viewed favourably is unique. No doubt the anti-Neronian stories lost nothing in the telling, and it is true that our surviving accounts all stem from the social milieu most offended by Nero. But there is little evidence that the general government of the empire under Nero was any better, though it may well have been no worse, than it was under other emperors. He won a better reputation in the Greek world, which was obviously flattered by his philhellenism and the grant of freedom to the province of Achaëa; but projects which might have brought some benefit to Rome and Italy would have been paid for by provincial tributes. There were strong social forces at work in Italy leading towards a century of somewhat more stable and effective administration of the empire than that provided by the last of the Julio-Claudians.

There is no doubt that Suetonius' biographical approach was the one which appealed to later generations, though the virtual disappearance of Latin historiography for several centuries is easier to assert than explain. In the third century Marius Maximus wrote imperial biographies, and in the fourth the author of the *Historia Augusta* what passed as such, and even the slender summaries of Aurelius Victor and Eutropius stem ultimately from Suetonius. No doubt the format such needs as were felt for knowledge of recent times better than history written in the traditional manner; see Townend (1967) 108. In any case it was the history of the republican age, or at least its almost legendary heroes, which took pride of place in what educated Romans learned of the past. In the second century Suetonius' relatively simple and unselfconscious style was perhaps appreciated when the highly mannered writing of Tacitus went out of fashion and, while his readership would have agreed with his traditional standpoint on what was to be expected from an emperor, it might also have felt that explicit moralising was better left to imperial panegyrics, in which the emperor's virtues and the vices of his enemies could be dealt with in a highly rhetorical manner. Lastly, it was not

so much the mixture of rumour, scandal and scurrility but the artful blending of information with vivid anecdote within a very few pages that made Suetonius one of the most widely read of classical authors from the time of the Renaissance.

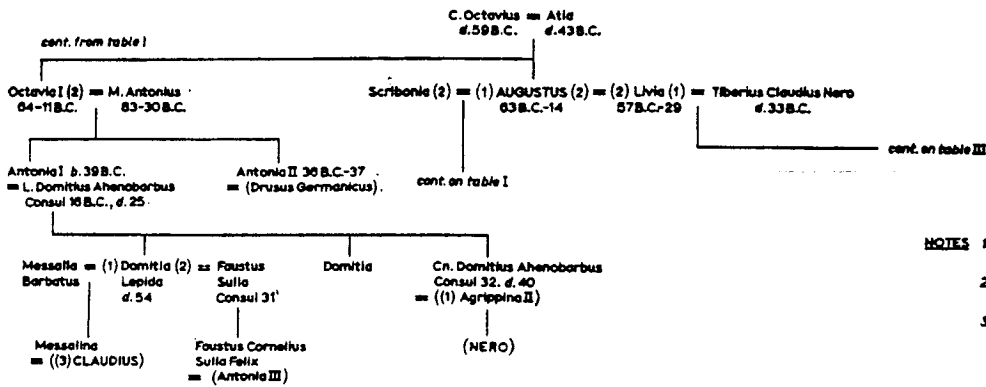
Structure of Nero

- 1-4: The early Ahenobarbi and Nero's recent ancestors.
 5: Nero's father.
 6: Birth and early years of Nero.
 7: Adoption of Nero by Claudius and his entry into public life.
 8: Nero's accession to the principate.
 9-10: The good beginning of Nero's principate.
 11-13: *spectacula* of various kinds, including (13) the visit of Tiridates.
 14: Nero's consulships.
 15-17: Nero's conduct as a magistrate and various good measures introduced under him.
 18-19.2: provincial and frontier policy and journeys outside Italy.
 19.3: The basic *divisio* of the work, with the previously mentioned praiseworthy aspects separated from the following *probra* and *scelera* of Nero.
 20-25: *probra*: Nero's musical and chariotteering exploits with public performances in Italy and Greece.
 26-38: *scelera*: subdivided, with each illustrated by anecdotes:
 26-27: *petulantia*
 28-29: *libido*
 30-31: *luxuria*
 32: *avaritia*
 33-38: *saevitia*, further subdivided:
 33-35: Murder of members of his own family and close connexions.
 36-37: Other murders.
 38: Nero sets fire to Rome.
 39: Disasters in the Empire, and Nero's reaction to lampoons.
 40-49: Extended description of Nero's last weeks and death.
 50: Nero's funeral.
 51: His personal appearance.
 52: His education and literary talents.
 53-54: His love of popular acclaim.
 55: His desire for everlasting fame.
 56: His attitude towards religion.
 57: Reaction to his death at Rome and in the East.



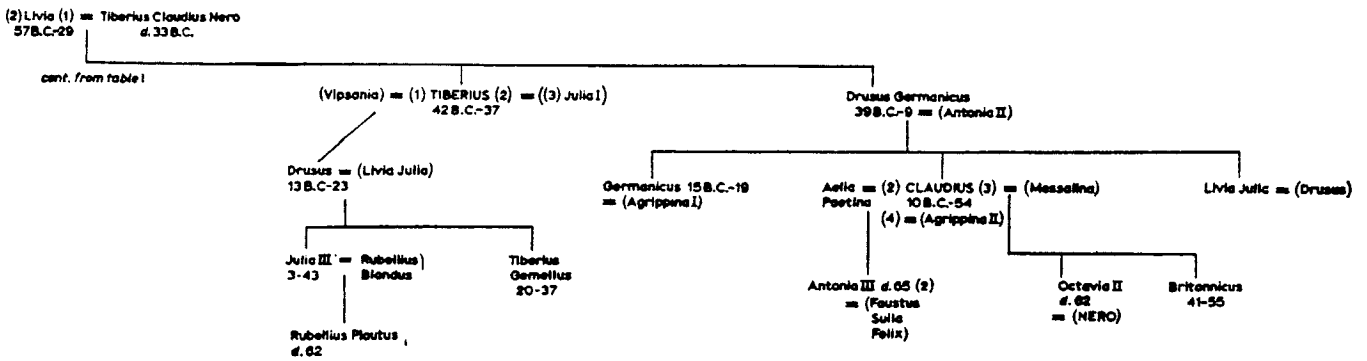
- NOTES**
1. Not all members and connections of the Julio-Claudian family are included.
 2. Names in brackets appear elsewhere in the tables.
 3. Emperors are shown in capital letters.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN FAMILY (I)



- NOTES**
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GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN FAMILY (II)



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN FAMILY (III)

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Nerva	96-98
Trajan	98-117
Hadrian	117-138

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