Ancient History (AHIS3120)
THE JULIO-Claudians

Course Co-ordinator: Jane Bellemore
Room: MCLG24
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Fax: 4921 6933
Email: Jane.Bellemore@newcastle.edu.au
Consultation hours: Open hours

Semester: Semester 2 - 2006
Unit Weighting: 10
Teaching Methods: Lecture and Tutorial

Brief Course Description
Studies aspects of the rule of the first Roman emperors. Emphasis falls on political change towards a court-based society, and the development of a dynastic system.

Contact Hours
Lecture for 2 Hours per Week for 13 Weeks
Tutorial for 1 Hour per Week for 12 Weeks
Tutorials run weeks 2-13

Learning Materials/Texts
Tacitus Annals
Suetonius Lives of the Twelve Caesars

Course Objectives
1. Isolating the most important sources on the Julio-Claudians and gaining an understanding of their coverage and limitations.
2. Developing of a critical approach to early imperial Rome.
3. Understanding the operation of imperial politics, and differences of emphasis from the Republican period.
4. Appreciation of the operation of court society and its impact on social structure.
5. Ability to express such appreciation and criticisms succinctly and accurately.

Course Outline Issued and Correct as at: Week 1 Semester 2 2006

CTS Download Date: 3 July 2006
Course Content
The emergence of the imperial system
The Senate and the Emperor
Imperial Succession
Social Change in the Empire
Change in the age of the Julio-Claudians

Assessment Items
Assessment is a combination of progressive coursework and a major essay.
Two tutorial papers or equivalent task @ 25% (circa 1000 words each) = 50%
due early-mid & late-end semester. These papers aim at training students in
assessing the bias and content of major sources in relation to a specific
historical problem.
One major essay or equivalent task = 50% (circa 2000 words) - due late-end
semester. This is a major individual research and writing assignment selected
from a choice of topics related to central themes of the course.
TOTAL : 4000 words

Assumed Knowledge
20 units at any level in Ancient History or History

Callaghan Campus Timetable
AHIS3120
THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS: THE EMERGENCE OF EMPIRE
Enquiries: School of Humanities and Social Science
Semester 2 - 2006
Lecture Tuesday 9:00 - 11:00 [V103]
and Tutorial Tuesday 11:00 - 12:00 [MCG25]
or Tuesday 12:00 - 13:00 [MCG25]

Plagiarism
University policy prohibits students plagiarising any material under any circumstances. A student
plagiarises if he or she presents the thoughts or works of another as one's own. Without limiting
the generality of this definition, it may include:
· copying or paraphrasing material from any source without due acknowledgment;
· using another’s ideas without due acknowledgment;
· working with others without permission and presenting the resulting work as though it was
  completed independently.
Plagiarism is not only related to written works, but also to material such as data, images, music,
formulae, websites and computer programs.
Aiding another student to plagiarise is also a violation of the Plagiarism Policy and may invoke a
penalty.
For further information on the University policy on plagiarism, please refer to the Policy on Student
Academic Integrity at the following link -

The University has established a software plagiarism detection system called Turnitin. When you
submit assessment items please be aware that for the purpose of assessing any assessment item
the University may -
· Reproduce this assessment item and provide a copy to another member of the University;
  and/or
· Communicate a copy of this assessment item to a plagiarism checking service (which may
  then retain a copy of the item on its database for the purpose of future plagiarism
  checking).
· Submit the assessment item to other forms of plagiarism checking
Written Assessment Items
Students may be required to provide written assessment items in electronic form as well as hard copy.

Extension of Time for Assessment Items, Deferred Assessment and Special Consideration for Assessment Items or Formal Written Examinations
Students are required to submit assessment items by the due date, as advised in the Course Outline, unless the Course Coordinator approves an extension of time for submission of the item. University policy is that an assessment item submitted after the due date, without an approved extension, will be penalised.
Any student:
1. who is applying for an extension of time for submission of an assessment item on the basis of medical, compassionate, hardship/trauma or unavoidable commitment; or
2. whose attendance at or performance in an assessment item or formal written examination has been or will be affected by medical, compassionate, hardship/trauma or unavoidable commitment; must report the circumstances, with supporting documentation, to the appropriate officer on the prescribed form.
Please go to the Policy and the on-line form for further information, particularly for information on the options available to you, at:

Students should be aware of the following important deadlines:
- Requests for Special Consideration must be lodged no later than 3 working days after the date of submission or examination.
- Requests for Extensions of Time on Assessment Items must be lodged no later than the due date of the item.
- Requests for Rescheduling Exams must be lodged no later than 5 working days before the date of the examination.
Your application may not be accepted if it is received after the deadline. Students who are unable to meet the above deadlines due to extenuating circumstances should speak to their Program Officer in the first instance.

Changing your Enrolment
The last date to withdraw without financial or academic penalty (called the HECS Census Dates) is: For semester 2 courses: 31 August 2006
Students may withdraw from a course without academic penalty on or before the last day of semester and prior to the commencement of the formal exam period. Any withdrawal from a course after the last day of semester will result in a fail grade.
Students cannot enrol in a new course after the second week of semester/trimester, except under exceptional circumstances. Any application to add a course after the second week of semester/trimester must be on the appropriate form, and should be discussed with the Student Enquiry Centre.
To change your enrolment online, please refer to http://www.newcastle.edu.au/study/enrolment/changingenrolment.html

Contact Details
Faculty Student Service Offices

The Faculty of Education and Arts
Room: GP1-22 (General Purpose Building)
Phone: 02 4921 5314

Ourimbah Focus
Room: AB1.01 (Administration Building)
Phone: 02 4348 4030
The Dean of Students  
Dr Jennifer Archer  
Phone: 02 4921 5806  
Fax: 02 4921 7151  
resolutionprecinct@newcastle.edu.au

Deputy Dean of Students (Ourimbah)  
Dr Bill Gladstone  
Phone: 02 4348 4123  
Fax: 02 4348 4145

Various services are offered by the University Student Support Unit:  

Alteration of this Course Outline
No change to this course outline will be permitted after the end of the second week of the term except in exceptional circumstances and with Head of School approval. Students will be notified in advance of any approved changes to this outline.

Web Address for Rules Governing Undergraduate Academic Awards  
Web Address for Rules Governing Postgraduate Academic Awards  
Web Address for Rules Governing Professional Doctorate Awards  

STUDENTS WITH A DISABILITY OR CHRONIC ILLNESS
The University is committed to providing a range of support services for students with a disability or chronic illness.  
If you have a disability or chronic illness which you feel may impact on your studies, please feel free to discuss your support needs with your lecturer or course coordinator.  
Disability Support may also be provided by the Student Support Service (Disability). Students must be registered to receive this type of support. To register please contact the Disability Liaison Officer on 02 4921 5766, or via email at: student-disability@newcastle.edu.au  
As some forms of support can take a few weeks to implement it is extremely important that you discuss your needs with your lecturer, course coordinator or Student Support Service staff at the beginning of each semester.

For more information related to confidentiality and documentation please visit the Student Support Service (Disability) website at: www.newcastle.edu.au/services/disability

Essential Criteria in Assessment
This course contains compulsory components or assessment items that must be satisfactorily completed in order for a student to receive a pass mark or better for the course. These essential elements are described in the CTS. Students must submit these by the designated times (see lecture and tutorial dates given below), and feedback on all work will be given within a three-week period.

Online Tutorial Registration:  
Students are required to enrol in the Lecture and a specific Tutorial time for this course via the Online Registration system:  
Registrations close at the end of week 2 of semester.
Studentmail and Blackboard: www.blackboard.newcastle.edu.au/
This course uses Blackboard and studentmail to contact students, so you are advised to keep your email accounts within the quota to ensure you receive essential messages. To receive an expedited response to queries, post questions on the Blackboard discussion forum if there is one, or if emailing staff directly use the course code in the subject line of your email. Students are advised to check their studentmail and the course Blackboard site on a weekly basis.

Written Assignment Presentation and Submission Details
Students are required to submit assessment items by the due date. Late assignments will be subject to the penalties described below.

Hard copy submission:
Type your assignments: All work must be typewritten in 11 or 12 point black font. Leave a wide margin for marker’s comments, use 1.5 or double spacing, and include page numbers.
Word length: The word limit of all assessment items should be strictly followed – 10% above or below is acceptable, otherwise penalties may apply.
Proof read your work because spelling, grammatical and referencing mistakes will be penalised.
Staple the pages of your assignment together (do not use pins or paper clips).
Assignments are to be deposited at any Student Focus located at:
  Level 3, Shortland Union, Callaghan
  Level 2, Student Services Centre, Callaghan
  Ground Floor, University House, City
  Ground Floor, Administration Building, Ourimbah
Any changes to this procedure will be announced during the semester.
Do not fax or email assignments: Only hard copies of assignments will be considered for assessment. Inability to physically submit a hard copy of an assignment by the deadline due to other commitments or distance from campus is an unacceptable excuse. Assignments mailed to Schools are accepted from the date posted.
Keep a copy of all assignments: All students must date stamp their own assignments using the machine provided. Mailed assignments to schools are date-stamped upon receipt. However, it is the student’s responsibility to produce a copy of their work if the assignment goes astray after submission. Students are advised to keep updated back-ups in hard copy and on disk.

Online copy submission to Turnitin
In addition to hard copy submission, students are required to submit an electronic version of the following assignment to Turnitin via the course Blackboard website:

Major essay, 2000 words
Prior to final submission, all students have the opportunity to submit one draft of their assignment to Turnitin to self-check their referencing.

Assignments will not be marked until both hard copy and online versions have been submitted. Marks may be deducted for late submission of either version.

Penalties for Late Assignments
Assignments submitted after the due date, without an approved extension of time will be penalised by the reduction of 5% of the possible maximum mark for the assessment item for each day or part day that the item is late. Weekends count as one day in determining the penalty. Assessment items submitted more than ten days after the due date will be awarded zero marks.
Special Consideration/Extension of Time Applications
Students wishing to apply for Special Consideration or Extension of Time should obtain the appropriate form from the Student Focus.
http://www.newcastle.edu.au/study/forms/index.html

No Assignment Re-submission
Students who have failed an assignment are not permitted to revise and resubmit it in this course. However, students are always welcome to contact their Tutor, Lecturer or Course Coordinator to make a consultation time to receive individual feedback on their assignments.

Remarks
Students can request to have their work re-marked by the Course Coordinator or Discipline Convenor (or their delegate); three outcomes are possible: the same grade, a lower grade, or a higher grade being awarded. Students may also appeal against their final result for a course. Please consult the University policy at:

Return of Assignments
Students can collect assignments from a nominated Student Focus during office hours. Students will be informed during class which Focus to go to and the earliest date assignments will be available for collection. Students must present their student identification card to collect their assignment.

Preferred Referencing Style
In this course, it is recommended that you use in-text referencing of ancient sources, and that you use footnotes (or endnotes) for modern sources. In footnotes, it is enough to use the surname of the modern authority, followed by a page number (e.g. Jones, 52), unless there is some ambiguity (e.g. Jones (1966) 52, Jones (1989) 21). Consistency and comprehensibility are the only criteria. At the end of the paper, however, provide a bibliography of all works cited, separating ancient from modern, and give full bibliographical listing of all works, including translators, etc. This section should appear on a separate page, headed ‘Bibliography’. Further information on referencing and general study skills can be obtained from: Infoskills: www.newcastle.edu.au/services/library/tutorials/infoskills/index.html

Student Representatives
We are very interested in your feedback and suggestions for improvement. Student Representatives are the channel of communication between students and the School Board. Contact details of Student Representatives can be found on the School website.

Student Communication
Students should discuss any course related matters with their Tutor, Lecturer, or Course Coordinator in the first instance and then the relevant Discipline or Program Convenor. If this proves unsatisfactory, they should then contact the Head of School if required. Contact details can be found on the School website.

Essential Online Information for Students
Information on Class and Exam Timetables, Tutorial Online Registration, Learning Support, Campus Maps, Careers information, Counselling, the Health Service and a range of free Student Support Services can be found at:
Grading guide

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<th>Percentage Range</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49% or less</td>
<td>Fail (FF)</td>
<td>An unacceptable effort, including non-completion. The student has not understood the basic principles of the subject matter and/or has been unable to express their understanding in a comprehensible way. Deficient in terms of answering the question, research, referencing and correct presentation (spelling, grammar etc). May include extensive plagiarism.</td>
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<tr>
<td>50% to 64%</td>
<td>Pass (P)</td>
<td>The work demonstrates a reasonable attempt to answer the question, shows some grasp of the basic principles of the subject matter and a basic knowledge of the required readings, is comprehensible, accurate and adequately referenced.</td>
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<tr>
<td>65% to 74%</td>
<td>Credit (C)</td>
<td>The work demonstrates a clear understanding of the question, a capacity to integrate research into the discussion, and a critical appreciation of a range of different theoretical perspectives. A deficiency in any of the above may be compensated by evidence of independent thought. The work is coherent and accurate.</td>
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<tr>
<td>75% to 84%</td>
<td>Distinction (D)</td>
<td>Evidence of substantial additional reading and/or research, and evidence of the ability to generalise from the theoretical content to develop an argument in an informed and original manner. The work is well organised, clearly expressed and shows a capacity for critical analysis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>85% upwards</td>
<td>High Distinction (HD)</td>
<td>All of the above, plus a thorough understanding of the subject matter based on substantial additional reading and/or research. The work shows a high level of independent thought, presents informed and insightful discussion of the topic, particularly the theoretical issues involved, and demonstrates a well-developed capacity for critical analysis.</td>
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Weekly outline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>July 17</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>July 24</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>July 31</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>August 7</td>
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<td>August 14</td>
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<td>August 21</td>
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<td>August 28</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>September 4</td>
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<td>September 11</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>September 18</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>September 25</td>
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<td>Mid-Semester Recess: Monday 2 October - Friday 13 October</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>October 16</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>October 23</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>October 30</td>
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<td>Examination period: Monday 6 November - Friday 24 November</td>
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# Lecture and Tutorial List - 2006.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Lectures</th>
<th>Tutorial</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>18&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; July</td>
<td>Sources for the Julio-Claudians</td>
<td>No tutorial</td>
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<td>The Empire in A.D. 14</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>25&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; July</td>
<td>Domus Augusta</td>
<td>1. ‘Serial Killer’</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession of Tiberius</td>
<td>Stalks Rhodes</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; August</td>
<td>Tiberius and Germanicus</td>
<td>2. Livia: wife, mother, stepmother and murderess</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Trial of Piso</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; August</td>
<td>Tiberius and the Senate</td>
<td>3. The death of Germanicus</td>
<td>21-2</td>
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<td>Rise and Fall of Sejanus</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; August</td>
<td>Treason Trials</td>
<td>4. Drusus as son and heir</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>Trial of Jesus</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>22&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; August</td>
<td>‘I Claudius’ – video (Sejanus)</td>
<td>No tutorial</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘I Claudius’ – discussion</td>
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**First Take-home Commentary Due 22<sup>nd</sup> August**

7. 29<sup>th</sup> August | Last years of Tiberius                                                  | 5. Conspiracy of        | 27   |
|     |                     | Reign of Gaius/Caligula                                                 | Sejanus                 |      |
| 8.  | 5<sup>th</sup> Sept. | Claudius’ accession                                                     | 6. Gaius in the North   | 28   |
|     |           | Claudius and the Senate                                                 |                         |      |
| 9.  | 12<sup>th</sup> Sept | Claudius’ court                                                          | 7. What was wrong with  | 29   |
|     |           | Emperor and Provinces                                                   | Claudius?               |      |
| 10. | 19<sup>th</sup> Sept | Death of Claudius quinquennium Neronis                                  | 8. Video discussion     | 30   |
|     |           |                                                                          | Gaius/Caligula           |      |

**Second Take-home Commentary Due (19<sup>th</sup> September)**

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School of Humanities and Social Science
# Lecture and Tutorial List

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Lecture</th>
<th>Tutorial</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>26&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Sept.</td>
<td>Advisers to Nero, Nero as Emperor</td>
<td>9. The murder of Agrippina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>17&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; October</td>
<td>Corbulo in the East, Pisonian Conspiracy</td>
<td>10. Fire of Rome and the Christians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>24&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; October</td>
<td>Nero’s Building programme, Fall of the Julio-Claudians</td>
<td>No tutorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>31&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; October</td>
<td>No Classes - Major Essay Due (Friday, 3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; November)</td>
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**SEMESTER BREAK** (Monday, 2<sup>nd</sup> – Friday, 13<sup>th</sup> October)

**Consolidated Bibliography**

**Assessment:**

1. Sources assignment One 25% (Tues 22<sup>nd</sup> August)
2. Sources assignment Two 25% (Tues 19<sup>th</sup> September)
3. Major Essay 50% (Friday, 3<sup>rd</sup> November)

Jane Bellemore, course co-ordinator, ph. 4921 5231, room MCLG 24

Jane.Bellemore@newcastle.edu.au
Notes on Bibliography

Ancient Sources for Julio-Claudians

Dio’s Roman History, vol 7 (books 56-60), translated by E. Cary (Loeb Classical Library)
Suetonius, The Twelve Caesars, translated by R. Graves (Penguin)
Tacitus, The Annals of Imperial Rome, translated by M. Grant (Penguin)

Translations of these works and others are available on the internet, many from the useful site known as Lacus Curtius. The important ones are as follows:

Dio Cassius (complete works):

Suetonius (all the ‘Lives’):
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/home.html

Velleius Paterculus:
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Velleius_Paterculus/home.html

Also Tacitus Annals:
http://classics.mit.edu/Tacitus/annals.html

Some important documentary sources for the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius have been translated by the Documentary Research Centre at Macquarie University:

http://www.anchist.mq.edu.au/doccentre/Aug&Tib.html

Modern References:

Wiedemann, Th., The Julio-Claudians (Bristol, 1989)

Although I have asked the bookshop to get some copies of Wiedemann’s book, there are many reference books that you may consult otherwise for his course, most particularly, the Oxford Classical Dictionary, edd S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford, 1996) available in the reference section of the library (R938.003 OXFO 1996).

Apart from searching the net (Google, Google Scholar, Google Books), you might also see also these databases for further bibliography:
http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/cgi-bin/amphoras/tocfind

Also in the reference section of the library is the very useful collection of the details of all books and journals published on Classical topics each year:
L’Année philologique (Paris, 1928-2000) S016.88 1. For this journal on-line, see:
http://www.annee-philologique.com/aph/

All books and articles cited as reading for the tutorials are available in the Short-Loans Section of the Auchmuty Library. They may, in addition, be available as 3-day loans or on the open shelves.

Since there are books on all of the major characters of the Julio-Claudian period, for example: on Tiberius, by Levick (also on Claudius), Seager and others; a number of books by A.A. Barrett, on Caligula, etc.; and on later characters by M.Griffin and others, I will assume that you will be using these survey books to fill gaps in the reading for tutorials and lectures.
Notes on Assessment

Commentaries

I have compiled an exemplar of a commentary-style exercise, which can be found on pages 25 and 26 of this booklet. This example is not meant to be prescriptive, although the general format should be followed, since each excerpt from the sources is different and must be treated individually.

Essay

Precise topics for the essay will be handed out during the semester, but the general thrust will be to examine the historical reliability of the sources as they portray some incident, theme or personality. All the work that we do during tutorials and for the commentary exercises will give you practice in the techniques required for the essay, and, on this basis, you will be in a good position to evaluate any material to be found in the ancient sources.
Tutorial 1: Week 2

'Serial Killer' Stalks Rhodes

The rationale behind this tutorial is a review of the major sources for the reign of Tiberius to determine the nature of their bias against him. In this series of readings, we will be considering some comments concerning Tiberius' self-imposed period of exile on the island of Rhodes during the period from 6 B.C. until A.D. 2.

In 6 B.C., after having just been elevated to the position of second man in the empire behind the princeps Augustus, Tiberius effectively abdicated and left Rome for an unspecified period. In his absence, Augustus began to promote his adopted sons (in 6 B.C. Gaius Caesar turned 14 and Lucius Caesar, 11), but both these died young, Lucius in A.D. 2 and Gaius, two years later. In A.D. 4 Augustus adopted Tiberius, making him once again his heir-apparent, and Tiberius served Augustus obediently for ten years, and then succeeded him as emperor in A.D. 14.

Read the following material from the ancient sources:
- Tacitus Annals 6.20-2
- Suetonius Tiberius 10-14, esp. 14
- Dio Cassius 55.11.1-3 (A.D. 4)

Note differences between the accounts, and also consider illogical points, irregularities and even the impossibilities of the events described.
What is the evident thinking behind each of the sources?
What are their accounts really trying to say about Tiberius?

Modern Sources
(If required, read one or two of the following to orient yourself in terms of source bias, etc.)

- Tacitus
  Martin, R. H., Tacitus (London, 1981) 3 Day Loan 878.6/20 B
  Syme, R. Tacitus (Oxford, 1957) 937.06 TACI-2 SYME V.1, 2
  Walker, B. The Annals of Tacitus. A Study in the Writing of History (Manchester, 1952) 937.07 TACI-2 WALK

- Suetonius
  Baldwin, B. Suetonius (Amsterdam, 1983) 937.07092 SUET-2 BALD
  Hurley, D.W. An historical and historiographical commentary on Suetonius' Life of C. Caligula (Atlanta, c1993) 937.07092 SUET-2 HURL
  Lindsay, H.M. Caligula /Suetonius (London, 1993) 878.01 SUET-1 CALI 1993
  Lounsbury, R.C The arts of Suetonius: an introduction (New York, c1987) 937.07092 SUET-2 LOU

- Dio Cassius
Tutorial 2: Week 3

Livia: wife, mother, stepmother and murderer

Read the sources for comments concerning Livia:

1. Role in the promotion of Tiberius: Tacitus Annals 1.3-4, 10, 13-4, cf. 2.42; Suetonius Tiberius 12, 14, 21, 26, cf. 50-1; Dio 56.31, 57.3, 12, cf. 58.2 (excerpt from Dio’s Roman History)
2. Role in the death of Augustus: Tacitus Annals 1.5 (See Goodyear’s commentary); Dio Cassius 56.30.1-2; cf. Suetonius Augustus 98-9, Tiberius 21; Dio 56.30
3. Role in the death of Agrippa Postumus: Tacitus Annals 1.6, Suetonius Tiberius 2; Dio 57.3, cf. 55.32.1-2
4. Hatred of Germanicus/Agrippina: Tacitus Annals 1.33, 2.43, cf. 5.2; Dio 57.18 (excerpts)
5. Livia’s obituary: Tacitus Annals 5.1; Dio 58.2; cf. Velleius Paterculus 2.130

How can such criticism of Livia be rated? Is any of it true? Was it contemporary gossip or did it ‘come to light’ only after the downfall of the Julio-Claudians? Are charges being levelled at Livia alone, or are their other target; for example, Tiberius or even the principate itself?

In the case of the Annals, much of the criticism of Livia appears in the Book One. How would such material influence the reader?

What can we tell about the other sources through their criticism of Livia?

Modern Sources (read only a selection)

Barrett, A.A. Livia: first lady of Imperial Rome (New Haven, c2002) 937.07092 LIVI-2 BARR
Bartman, E. Portraits of Livia: imaging the imperial woman in Augustan Rome (Cambridge, 1999) Q733.5 BART
Bellemore, J. ’The Death of Agrippa Postumus and the Escape of Clemens’, Eranos 98 (2000) 93-114
Charlesworth, M.P. ‘Livia and Tanaquil’, CR 41 (1927) 55-7
Vidén, G., Women in Roman literature: attitudes of authors under the early empire (Göteborg, c1993) 870.9 VIDE
Watson, P.A. Ancient stepmothers: myth, misogyny and reality (Leiden, 1995) 880.09 WATS
In AD 19 Germanicus, the adopted elder son of Tiberius and heir-apparent to the principate, died near Antioch in Syria. In the following year, the ex-governor of Syria, Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso was arraigned on a number of charges, including that he had murdered Germanicus. The charges were examined in the senate, with Tiberius presiding. In Book Two of the Annals Tacitus gives us an account both of Germanicus’ and Piso’s movements leading up to Germanicus’ death, and of the subsequent proceedings in the senate, but we also possess an inscription (found in Spain - a half or dozen or so bronze copies of the same decree) transcribing a record of the relevant senatorial meetings concerning the treason charges laid against Piso. This decree of the senate has been validated by the hand of Tiberius himself, and, in effect, is the ‘official’ version of events. This gives us a unique opportunity to compare and contrast what the imperial house claimed as the true record of the events of AD 19 and how Tacitus covers these same happenings.

There are naturally some major differences between the accounts, the first being that the ambit of Tacitus’ version is much broader than that detailed by the Senatus Consultum, and, the second, that the official account accepts that Piso did not murder Germanicus, whereas Tacitus does not. In fact, Tacitus continues to see Piso not just as the murderer of Germanicus but even as the ‘secret’ agent of Tiberius and Livia, entrusted by them to eliminate Germanicus. There are a number of other points of disagreement between the two versions of events.

1. We will consider first whether Piso murdered or could have murdered Germanicus.

Read the relevant sections of the Senatus Consultum Concerning Gnaeus Piso the Elder, to be found in Latin with facing English at the following site (American Journal of Philology 120 (1999), translated by Cynthia Damon):
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/american%5Fjournal%5Fof%5Fphilology/toc/ajp120.1.html

A translation of and commentary on the inscription have also been prepared by M. Griffin, ‘The Senate’s Story’, Journal of Roman Studies 87 (1997) 249-63.


2. What can we deduce about the relatives strengths and weaknesses of both versions of these two affairs?

3. Can we say whether or not Tacitus used the Senatus Consultum as a main source, or was his debt indirect?

Modern Sources

There are many articles concerning the inscription to be found at the site:
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/american%5Fjournal%5Fof%5Fphilology/toc/ajp120.1.html#articles1


Otherwise, consult the JRS article by Griffin, and the commentary on Book Three of the Annals by A.J. Woodman and Martin (Cambridge, 1996).
Drusus as son and heir

After the death of Germanicus, the elder (adopted) son of Tiberius, Drusus Caesar became heir to Tiberius. Drusus is a minor, yet important character in the first three books of the Annals.

What role did Drusus occupy after AD 14 and prior to the death of Germanicus in 19? Was he being trained as a potential successor by Tiberius? On Drusus' command for 18, see Tac. Ann. 2.43-4, 62-4

What were Drusus' movements in AD 19-20? What status did he hold in this period? See, for example, Tac. Ann. 2.64, 84, 3.8, 11, 19, 22; Tabula Siarensis (Drusus in Rome on 16th December AD 19); Fasti Ostienses show Drusus in Rome in May (triumph on 28th) and possibly June AD 20; SCPP lines 126-30,132-6 (December 20).

Consider AD 21, the year of Drusus' second consulship. Did he perform creditably as consul? (Tac. Ann. 3.31-8). What happened that year?

What was the significance of Drusus' gaining tribunician power in 22 (Tac. Ann. 3.56, 59)? Was his treatment at this point by Tiberius different from that he was accorded while Germanicus was still alive? If so, was this difference significant?

In summary, what was the impact of Drusus Caesar on the historical tradition?
What was his impact on the literary tradition, particularly on the Annals?

Modern Sources

Rogers, R.S. 'Drusus Caesar's Tibunician Power', AJ Ph 61 (1940) 457-9
Sinclair, P. Tacitus the Sententious Historian (Pennsylvania, 1995)
Week 6 - Commentary Exercise 1

Comment on TWO of the following four passages, one taken from each of the first four tutorials. Do not link the passages you have chosen for your commentary.

1. Tacitus Annals 6.21

‘Thrasyllus, after reaching Tiberius by this steep route, had impressed him, when interrogated, by his intelligent forecasts of future events – including Tiberius’ accession. Tiberius then inquired if Thrasyllus had cast his own horoscope. How did it appear for the current year and day? Thrasyllus, after measuring the positions and the distances of the stars, hesitated, then showed alarm. The more he looked, the greater became his astonishment and fright. Then he cried that a critical and perhaps fatal emergency was upon him. Tiberius clasped him, commending his divination of peril and promising he would escape it. Thrasyllus was admitted among his closest friends; his pronouncements were regarded as oracular.’

2. Tacitus Annals 1.6

‘The new reign’s first crime was the assassination of Agrippa Postumus. He was killed by a staff-officer – who found it a hard task, though he was a persevering murderer and the victim taken by surprise unarmed. Tiberius said nothing about the matter in the senate. He pretended that the orders came from Augustus, who was alleged to have instructed the colonel in charge to kill Agrippa Postumus as soon as Augustus himself was dead.’

3. Senatus consultum de Cn Pisone Patre 23-9 (trans M Griffin)

‘That accordingly, inasmuch as the case has been pleaded over a number of days by the prosecutors of Cn. Piso Senior and by Cn. Piso Senior himself, letters have been read out as well as copies of the memoranda which Germanicus Caesar had written to Cn. Piso Senior, witnesses of every order have been brought before the court, < the senate > is convinced that the exceptional restraint and patience of Germanicus Caesar was exhausted by the brutish behaviour of Cn. Piso Senior and that for this reason, when dying, Germanicus Caesar, who himself bore witness that Cn. Piso Senior was the cause of his death, renounced his friendship with the man, not without good cause:’

4. Senatus consultum de Cn Pisone Patre 126-30 (trans M Griffin)

‘… it [the senate] makes a strong plea and request that he [Tiberius] devote all the care that he previously divided between his two sons to the one whom he still has, and the senate hopes that the immortal gods will devote all the more care to one who remains, the more they realise that the benefit of the commonwealth rests for the future on one man alone…’
Commentary Exercise - Exemplar

How to deal with a source-examination exercise

The following is an exemplar to help you deal with commentary-style answers. For example, you might be provided with the following extract by Suetonius and asked to comment upon it:

‘Such virtuous conduct brought Germanicus rich rewards. He was so deeply respected and loved by all his acquaintances that Augustus – I need hardly mention his other relatives – wondered for a long time whether to make him his successor, but at last ordered Tiberius to adopt him.’

[Suetonius Life of Gaius 4]

1) **Set the piece of evidence given within a context**, both the immediate and the broader context. Often this will include a specific reference to the episode and general story-line of a particular work, or to the thematic imperatives. Where possible you should date and locate the material. Consider my ‘comments’on the above passage:

‘In the opening of Gaius’ biography, Suetonius is drawing a contrast between the universally loved Germanicus and his ‘monster’ son Gaius. The life of the former was one of virtue and his death was regretted, whereas Gaius’ life was abhorrent and his death a source of rejoicing. After three chapters describing Germanicus, covering the period after AD 7 and mostly from his eastern command of AD 18-19, in chapter four, Suetonius claims that the virtues of Germanicus were so apparent that Augustus considered making him his outright successor in AD 4. Suetonius adds to this claim by referring to Germanicus’ triumphal return to Rome from Germany in AD 16/17.’

2) **Discuss the problems or issues raised by the extract**, citing where possible other evidence to substantiate or contradict the extract:

‘Although Suetonius’ claim is paralleled in Tacitus Annals 4.57, it is anachronistic. In AD 4, when Augustus adopted Tiberius, the latter was an experienced general and politician, forty-six years old. Germanicus was about 18 and untried politically and militarily, due to hold his first lowly post in AD 7. In addition, Suetonius omits here (although included in Tiberius 15; also Velleius Paterculus 2.103-4) that in AD 4 Augustus also adopted his grandson, Agrippa Postumus, which mirrored the earlier adoptions of his other two grandsons Gaius and Lucius in 17 BC. It seems clear that, while Augustus’ first thought was to make the experienced Tiberius his successor, he obviously wanted his natural grandson Agrippa Postumus to follow Tiberius. Since the political acumen of Germanicus was unknown in AD 4, and since Augustus’ aim was for a direct heir, it appears unlikely that Augustus preferred Germanicus to Tiberius in terms of experience, or to Agrippa in terms of connection. Both Suetonius and Tacitus tie the incident to AD 4, but they fail to consider the lowly position of Germanicus and they ignore Agrippa.

‘Had Augustus wanted Germanicus to succeed, he had ample opportunity to promote him. He could have given him fast-track promotion, as he had done in the cases of Gaius and Lucius, both of whom were to be consuls at the age of 19, or he could have made his will, written in AD 13 (Suet. Aug. 101), favour Germanicus, consul the previous year and then holding an important command in Germany.’

3) **Resolve the problem/s.**
In putting forward his suggestion, Suetonius was no doubt thinking, not of the period of the adoptions of AD 4, but of the period around death of Augustus in AD 14 (also Tacitus Annals 1.3), as his broader context reveals. At this time, Agrippa had been disowned by Augustus (Velleius Paterculus 2.112.7 - and note that Tacitus Annals 1.3 and Dio Cassius 55.13.1a-2 ignore the adoption of Agrippa by Augustus (cf. 55.32.1-2)), and Germanicus was a viable successor. Suetonius elsewhere mentions Augustus’ supposed doubts about Tiberius’ succession in the context of AD 14 (Tiberius 21), but he dismisses these as unfounded, and he has Tiberius easily brush aside potential rivals (Tiberius 22, 25). Suetonius condemns himself by his inconsistency.

‘Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio consistently suggest that Tiberius was not the rightful heir to Augustus, and Suetonius and Tacitus agree that Germanicus was the preferred candidate, perhaps reflecting the propaganda of the later Julio-Claudians (Claudius, in particular). Tacitus suggests that Livia dissuaded Augustus from promoting Germanicus, but Dio 57.3.3 claims a story that Livia changed Augustus’ will, implying that Augustus had actually chosen as successor either Germanicus or Agrippa. They are all tapping into the same tradition, but Suetonius ignores the connection with Livia and attempts to validate his case simply by embedding the idea of Augustus’ preference for Germanicus in a pile of pro-Germanicus material, which, in any case, dates mainly from the period after the death of Augustus.

‘In essence, that Augustus preferred Germanicus appears implausible on chronological grounds and is denied by his will. Additionally, it is impossible to believe that Augustus made his unfulfilled intentions concerning Germanicus known. The story cannot have arisen in AD 4, but perhaps dates to the accession of Claudius in AD 41, when Claudius was seeking legitimacy for his claims to the principate. Suetonius may have included this suspect material simply to heighten the contrast between Gaius and his father.’
Tutorial 5: Week 7

Conspiracy of Sejanus

The ‘conspiracy’ of Sejanus needs to be examined in two parts: his alleged role in Drusus’ death in September AD 23, which was revealed only after Sejanus’ execution eight years later; and the reason for his execution in AD 31. The events are inextricably linked, however, and you may need to consider the two episodes together.

1. Consider Tacitus’ description of Drusus death (Annals 4.1-3, 7-12). What problems are apparent in his account? Note also Suetonius Tiberius 52, Claudius 57 and Dio Cassius 57.22. What problems are apparent in these accounts?

Can we really determine whether Sejanus poisoned Drusus? If not, why was this charge made against him? Note that Velleius Paterculus 2.127-8 knows nothing of suspicions against Sejanus (ca AD 30).

Unfortunately, the sections of the Annals covering the years from 29-31 are lacunose, and we need to guess how Tacitus depicted Sejanus’ exposure as Drusus’ murderer. See Tacitus Annals 4.11, cf. 5.6-9, 6.2, 3 (with Suetonius Tiberius 61), 7-10, 14, 19. On the other hand, both Suetonius (Tiberius 62, cf. 55, 61, 65) and Dio (58.11) refer to a connection between Sejanus and Drusus, but we may doubt their accounts (Dio exists only in excerpted fragments at this point, which reduces Dio’s culpability).

If there are problems establishing a firm connection between Sejanus and the death of Drusus, are there sufficient grounds for us to question the assertion that Sejanus and Livi(ll)a killed Drusus?

2. Secondly, consider the accusation of conspiracy made against Sejanus in October 31. Try to reconstruct the events after May AD 31. What precise form did Sejanus’ conspiracy allegedly take?

For this, read relevant sections of Dio Book 58. See also Suet. Tib. 48, 55, 61, 65; Cal. 12, 30; Claud. 6, cf. 27. See also the material inscribed on the Fasti Ostienses for A.D. 31 (Braud 98, but note that the name ‘Apicata’ has been restored by modern editors and one may question this name (and I have! See below. I suggest that Livi(ll)a is the restoration of Sejanus’ wife in October 31).

Modern Sources

Boddington, A. ‘Sejanus, whose conspiracy?’, AJ Ph 84 (1963) 1-16
Tutorial 6: Week 8

Gaius in the North

Discuss the chronology of Gaius’ northern campaigns? Did Gaius want military glory, or did he have other concerns? Why did the emperor return to Rome in AD 40?

Ancient Sources:

Tacitus Agricola 13; Suetonius Caligula 43-49; also Caligula 24, Galba 6, Vespasian 2; see Dio Cassius 59.21ff.

See also the following extract by Orosius Against the Pagans 7.5.5:

'It is true that Gaius set out fully equipped to find the enemy, while their forces were inactive, rushing across Germany and Gaul, and he set up camp on the shore of Ocean within sight of Britannia. When he had received there the surrender of Minocynobelinus, son of the king, who, expelled by his father, was wandering about with a few men, he returned to Rome, leaving behind his apparatus of war.'

Modern Sources

Hurley, D.W. An historical and historiographical commentary on Suetonius' Life of C. Caligula (Atlanta, 1993)
Lindsay, H. Suetonius: Caligula (London, 1993)
In a contemporary satire about the death of Claudius (attributed to Seneca), the physical, mental and personal traits of Claudius are mocked mercilessly. Read this work, the Apocolocyntosis and comment upon its content and reliability. See:

http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/apocolocyntosis.html

Suetonius also characterises Claudius as deficient in many attributes (e.g. Claudius 2-5, 6, 29, 30, 33-40). He, like Seneca, records instances when Claudius was treated with contumely by people of all stations (Cal. 23, Claud. 8-9, 15, 18, 21, 28). In contrast, however, note the honours given to Claudius during the reign of Gaius (Suet. Cal. 15, Claud. 5-7).

Tacitus and Suetonius differ in the way that they present Claudius. Tacitus (Annals 11 and 12; cf. his bemusement at Claudius’ accession in Annals 3.18) portrays Claudius as the passive recipient of the actions of his wives and freedmen, whereas Suetonius attributes to Claudius a more positive, if highly unattractive persona. Dio reports that Claudius suffered a number of physical infirmities and that he was timid, especially with respect to his wives and freedmen (60.2), but otherwise his portrait of Claudius appears quite neutral (60.3 ff.)

Lastly, Josephus gives no hint of any infirmities and even praises Claudius (e.g. Jewish Wars 2.205 ff. Antiquities 19.212 ff.)

What is the significance of these differing perspectives of Claudius?

**Modern Sources**

Griffin, M. ‘Claudius in Tacitus’, CQ 40 (1990) 482-501
Kilpatrick, R. ‘Apocolocyntosis and the vision of Claudius’, CJ 74 (1979) 193-6
Levick, B. Claudius (London, 1990)
Lindsay, H.M. ‘Robert Graves on Claudius’, AH 25.2 (1995) 139-56
Townend, G.B. ‘Claudius and the digressions in Tacitus’, RhM 105 (1962) 358-68
Tutorial 8: Week 10

Video excerpts
and discussion

In this tutorial, we shall examine the basis of the characterisation of Gaius/Caligula, as given by Robert Graves and the TV adaptation of his book, I, Claudius. This episode will also throw light on the interpretation of Claudius’ character.

You will need a good working knowledge of Suetonius’ Life of Gaius and of Claudius.

For this tutorial, also read the following from Graves’ book:

On the divinity of Gaius, see chapter 29

Was Gaius mad?

Modern Sources

Graves, R. I Claudius (Victoria, 1978) 823.912 GRAV-1 ICLA 1978
Massaro, V. and Montgomery, I., ‘Gaius — Mad, Bad, Ill, or all Three?’, Latomus 37 (1978) 894-909
Yavetz, Z. ‘Caligula, Imperial Madness and Modern Historiography’, Klio 78 (1996) 105-29
Commentary Exercise 2

Comment on TWO of the following four passages, one taken from each of the four tutorials from the second part of the course. Do not link the passages you have chosen for your commentary.

1. Suetonius Tiberius 61

'With Sejanus out of the way his savageries increased; which proved that Sejanus had not, as some thought, been inciting him to commit them, but merely providing him the opportunities that he demanded. Nevertheless, in Tiberius’ dry, brief autobiography we find him daring to assert that Sejanus had been killed for persecuting Nero and Drusus; the fact being he had himself put Nero to death when Sejanus was already an object of suspicion, and Drusus after he had fallen from power.'

2. Suetonius Galba 6

'Galba came down just as severely on requests for leave. In gruelling manoeuvres he toughened old campaigners as well as raw recruits, and sharply checked a barbarian raid into Gaul. Altogether, he and his army made so favourable an impression when Caligula came to inspect them, that they won more praise and prize money than any other troops in the field. Galba scored a personal success by doubling for twenty miles, shield on his shoulder, beside the Emperor's chariot, while continuing to direct manoeuvres.'

3. Seneca Apocolocyntosis 5

'The news was brought to Jupiter that somebody had come, a rather tall man, quite gray-headed; that he was threatening something or other, for he kept shaking his head; and that he limped with his right foot. The messenger said he had asked of what nation he was, but his answer was mumbled in some kind of an incoherent noise; he didn’t recognize the man’s language, but he wasn’t either Greek or Roman or of any known race. Then Jupiter told Hercules, who had travelled all over the world and was supposed to be acquainted with all the nations, to go and find out what sort of a man it was. Hercules at the first sight was a good deal disturbed, even though he was one who didn’t fear any sort of monsters. When he beheld the aspect of this unknown specimen, its extraordinary gait, its voice belonging to no earthly creature but more like that of the monsters of the deep, hoarse and inarticulate, he thought that a thirteenth labor had come to him. When he looked more carefully, however, it appeared to be a man.'

4. Suetonius Gaius 22

'So much for Caligula the Emperor; the rest of this history must needs deal with Caligula the monster. He adopted a variety of titles: such as "Pious," "Son of the Camp," "Father of the Army," "Caesar, Greatest and Best of Men". But when once, at the dinner table, some foreign kings who had come to pay homage were arguing which of them was the more nobly descended, Caligula interrupted their discussion by declaiming the Homeric line:

‘Nay, let there be one master, and one king!"

‘And he nearly assumed a royal diadem then and there, doing away with the pretence that he was merely the chief executive of a republic. However, after his courtiers reminded him that he already outranked any king or tribal chieftain, he insisted on being treated as a god …'
Tutorial 9: Week 11

Murder of Agrippina

Examine the Tacitean version of the murder of Agrippina. Are there any notable inconsistencies in terms of overall plot and characterisation? Identify any signs that Tacitus has shaped the narrative for literary effect. What purpose has Tacitus attempted to achieve? Assess the reliability of the narrative.

Ancient Sources:

Tacitus Annals 13.12-22, 58; 14.1.13
Suettionus Nero 9, 28, 34
Dio Cassius Epitome of Book 62.11-17 (from A.D. 58-9

Biographies of Nero:

Warmington, B.H. Nero, Reality and Legend (London, 1969) especially Ch. 5

On the murder:

Barrett, A.A. Agrippina (London, 1996)
Dawson, A. ‘Whatever happened to Lady Agrippina?’, CJ 64 (1969) 253-67
Katzoff, R. ‘Where Was Agrippina Murdered?’, Historia 22 (1973) 72-8

On Nero’s helpers:

(http://www.ucd.ie/classics/2000/kleijwegt.html#fn6)
Mc Dermott, W.C. ‘Sextus Afranius Burrus’, Latomus 8 (1949) 229-54
Tutorial 10: Week 12

Nero, the fire and the Christians

Who was responsible for the fire of AD 64? Why did Nero burn to death those whom he held to be responsible for the fire?

What can we determine about Roman attitudes to Christians in the time of Nero and into the early second century?

**Ancient Sources:**

Tacitus Annals 15.38-44.1-8; Dio 62.16-18 (Loeb Vol.8 pp.110-117); Suetonius Nero 16, 38-39

**Modern Sources:**

De Ste Croix, G.E.M. ‘Why were the early Christians persecuted?’; Past and Present 26 (1963) 6-38.
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Suetonius, The Twelve Caesars, translated by R. Graves (Penguin) 937.06 SUET-1 DEVI 2003

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School of Humanities and Social Science