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THESIS

on

The Life and Principate

of the

Emperor Claudius

A study from ancient sources.

Albertine M. E. Larson.

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REPORT  
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COMMITTEE ON THESIS

THE undersigned, acting as a committee of  
the Graduate School, have read the accompanying  
thesis submitted by Albertine Larson  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
They approve it as a thesis meeting the require-  
ments of the Graduate School of the University of  
Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of Master of Arts.

J. W. Davis  
Chairman  
W. S. Davis  
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THE LIFE AND PRINCIPATE OF THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS.\*

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I. EARLY LIFE OF CLAUDIUS.

Claudius, the son of Drusus, the step-son of Augustus, and Antonia Minor was born at Lugudunum on the first day of August in the year 9 B.C. during the consulship of Julius Antonius and Fabius Africanus. He was named Tiberius Claudius Drusus, but shortly afterward, when his brother Germanicus had been adopted into the Julian family, he received the cognomen Germanicus.

Suet.Cl.1-2  
Dio LX,2.

His father died when he was a mere child and he was left to be cared for by his grandmother Livia, by his mother Antonia, and again by freedmen. He was reared with careful nursing but in the midst of terror. From childhood he was afflicted with various chronic diseases as a result of which he failed to grow strong either physically or mentally. In fact he never overcame the effects of these early disorders. His head and hands trembled, his voice faltered and his mind was not always

\* For a tabulation of the statements made by ancient authors and inscriptions covering all points of importance in the life and career of Claudius see Appendix II. For a complete and exhaustive reference to sources see Appendix Ia, 6 and 7.



clear. He became more like a slave than a free man and often pretended to be more stupid than he actually was. Even after attaining his majority he was purposely kept under the supervision of a pedagogue, or guardian, an unfeeling barbarian who had been an overseer of teamsters and would curb him most severely on the slightest pretexts. Such treatment only exasperated his shortcomings and he himself complains of this abuse in a book which he later wrote. On the occasion of a gladiatorial exhibition which he and his brother were giving in memory of their father, he presided, wrapped in a Greek cloak - a new custom, for which the only excuse was ill health. Likewise on the day for assuming the toga virilis he was carried to the Capitol at midnight in a sedan chair, without the usual elaborate and public ceremony characteristic of such occasions.

II. FROM YOUNG MANHOOD TO ACCESSION.

To say nothing of the unfortunate relations between Suet.Cl.3-6  
Claudius and the servants who had him in charge, he was  
heartlessly neglected and despised by members of his own  
family. His mother did not hesitate to call him a mon-  
strosity, an abortive creature, and when she wished to  
show her contempt for the stupidity of anyone she would  
say that he was more of a fool than Claudius. His  
grandmother Augusta always treated him with abhorrence,  
very seldom spoke to him, and whenever she wished to give  
him instructions she would do so by sending either a mes-  
senger or a brief and rigorous statement in writing. His  
sister Lavilla, on hearing that he would at some time  
become emperor, prayed in a manner distinctly to be heard  
that such an unjust and unmerited fate be averted from  
the Roman people. The following extracts from letters  
of Augustus to Livia show the attitude of Augustus toward  
him. In one he says something like this:

As you requested, me dear Livia, I have conferred  
with Tiberius in regard to what ought to be done with

your grandson Tiberius, i.e. Claudius, at the Ludi Martiales. We agreed that it was necessary to determine upon a definite plan of action in regard to him. For if he is quick, that is to say, complete in all parts, there is no reason why he should not hold the successive offices as well as Germanicus. But if he is defective physically or mentally, we should not give those who mock and sneer at such things a chance to deride both him and us. We shall always be at a loss as each case arises unless we come to a decision beforehand as to whether or not we regard him as fit to hold office. I do not mind his superintending the banquet at the Ludi Martiales if he will allow himself to be directed by the son of Silanus, who is related to him, so that he shall do nothing conspicuous or deserving of ridicule. I do not like to have him view the circus from the imperial box, for he will be exposed to view in the very front part of the amphitheatre. I do not wish that he should remain at Rome during the days of the Latin festival, neither do I wish that he should go to the Alban Mount, for if he is

able to go with his brother to the mountain, people will wonder why he is not made prefect.

In other letters he says: As long as you are absent, I shall daily invite the young man to dine with me, so that he shall not eat alone with his own Sulpicius and Athenodorus. I wish he would choose more carefully and less indiscreetly some one whose movements, carriages and gait he might imitate. The poor fellow is unfortunate, for in serious matters, when his mind is not clouded, his nobility of soul is quite evident. - - - -

- - - I am amazed that your grandson Tiberius succeeded in pleasing me by his declaiming. For I do not understand how one whose enunciation is so indistinct can speak clearly when he is delivering a speech in public.

Augustus evidently was of the opinion that Claudius was not fit for office and gave him no share in any except in the College of Augurs. He did not even name him heir to a sixth part of his estate except among those outside of the family and he gave him the meagre legacy of eight hundred sesterces.

Tiberius thought of transferring to him the government, inasmuch as he was a man of mature years, but on account of his imbecility, refused to give him any office. Instead he gave him the consular insignia. When Claudius rather insistently demanded the consular power instead of merely the title and ornaments, Tiberius disregarded his entreaties, and sent him a short note saying nothing further than that he had sent him forty "aurei" for the Saturnalia and the Sigillaria. Finally giving up hope of office Claudius is said to have spent his time in idleness, hiding now in the gardens, now in the suburban retreat of Campania, and through intercourse with the most sordid class of people, won the reputation for drunkenness and gambling in addition to his reputation of long-standing for slothfulness.

Yet he was not continually idle. From his earliest years he had been assiduously devoted to the pursuit of literature. He was not inferior in mental development and frequently published productions of his own in the various branches, though he did not thereby add to his

Suet.Cl.3&  
41-42.  
Tac.VI,13.

hopes of political recognition. At the suggestion of Titus Livy and with the aid of Sulpicius Flavius he undertook to write history, while still very young, and continued to write even after his accession. He began his history with the death of Julius Caesar, but later changed his plan and began with the peace following the civil wars, since he realized that he was not free to make a true record of earlier times, since his work was often criticized by his mother and great-grandmother. He left two volumes of the first work, forty one of the second.

He also wrote an autobiography in eight volumes, not particularly sound in thought, but in a not inelegant style. He also wrote a defense of Cicero against Asinius Gallus, quite a scholarly piece of work. He added three new letters to the alphabet on the pretext that they were very necessary. He followed the example of the Greek alphabet, which he noticed had not been begun and completed at the same time. Inasmuch as he wrote a pamphlet giving his reasons for the existence



of these letters, he had little difficulty when emperor in having them put into common use. Such characters appear in many books, in the daily registers and in inscriptions.

He was greatly devoted to Greek literature, and wrote in that language twenty volumes on Tuscan and eight on Carthaginian history. As a result of this the Claudian library was added to the old library at Alexandria.

In spite of these slights and indignities, he was always respectfully treated in a public way. He was ranked as a knight. The equestrian order twice chose him chief of a legation for them. Once when they demanded that the body of Augustus be brought to Rome on their shoulders and again when they congratulated the consuls on the overthrow of Sejanus. They even used to rise and lay aside their cloaks then he came to the shows. The Senate decreed that his name be added irregularly to the list of members in the college known as the Sodales Augustales, priests in charge of the worship of Augustus and chosen by lot; later, that his home



which had been destroyed by fire, should be restored at public expense, and that he should have the right to express his opinion in the Senate among men of consular rank. This last decree Tiberius annulled, alleging that Claudius was helpless and promising to repair the loss by his own generosity. Yet, notwithstanding his previous attitude, he made him heir to one third of his estate and also provided him with a legacy of about 2,000,000 sesterces, besides entrusting him, together with other relatives, to the army, the Senate, and the Roman people.

Under Gaius, son of his brother Germanicus, he held Suet.Cl.7-9. the consulship for the first time for two months beginning with July A.D. 37, since Gaius was trying with all the arts of a deceiver to create a favorable impression in regard to the beginning of his reign. It happened that as he was for the first time entering the Forum with the fasces an eagle flying by lighted upon his right shoulder. Lots were cast and he was chosen for a second consulship, his term to begin four years from that date. Sometimes he presided at the entertainments in place of Gaius and

the people would hail him saying, "Good luck to the uncle of the emperor" and "Good luck to the brother of Germanicus."

Regardless of the fact that he had held office and received such public expressions of good will, he was subject to dangers and insults of various sorts. If he came a little late to dinner he would reluctantly be given a seat and then only at a table some distance from the rest. When he fell asleep after eating they would assail him with the stones of palms and olives and sometimes buffoons would arouse him with a ferule or a whip. When he would be discovered snoring, they would put gloves on his hands so that on being suddenly awakened he would rub his face with them. In his first consulship he was rather slow in contracting for and setting up statues of Nero and Drusus, brothers of Gaius, and as a result came near being deprived of his office. Not only outsiders, but even his own domestics kept him disturbed by continually bringing in charges against him. When the conspiracy of Lepidus and Gaetulicus had been disclosed and he was sent to congratulate Gaius, the latter was seized

with a fit of indignation at the thought that his uncle, of all people, had been sent to him as if for the purpose of directing a child, and some authorities go so far as to say that he threw him into a river.

After this occurrence as a mark of disrespect he was always called on last to give his vote in the Senate. This body took up an investigation involving the forgery of a will which Claudius had signed as a witness. He was compelled to pay 8,000,000 sesterces for the office of priest to Gaius. He became so poor that when he could not pay his bond pledged to the treasury, his property was by an edict of the prefects of the treasury offered for sale in accordance with a law governing confiscation.

III. ACCESSION.

Suet.Cl.10.  
Dio LX,1.

It was by rather a remarkable circumstance that Claudius became emperor. He was already fifty years old and had held no office except the consulship. He was attending Gaius who was returning from the theatre when the conspirators gathered about the latter, causing great confusion. Then, while the conspirators were clearing away the crowd, he was shut out along with the rest. On the pretext of desiring quiet, he fled in terror from the scene of disturbance to a room in the Palace called the Hermaeum, but later, terrified by the report that Gaius had been killed, he crept out to a balcony near by and hid himself in a dark corner behind the curtains hung up before the doors. Here he was found by some common soldiers, who, taking advantage of the tumult, had gone to the Palace to seek spoils. One of them, it is said, saw his feet beneath the curtains and looking in, probably to satisfy his curiosity or perhaps thinking that he might have something worth taking,

found Claudius, recognized him and dragging him out greeted him as emperor. Claudius fell at his feet trembling with fear, but was presently taken to the rest of the soldiers, who were as yet uncertain what course to take, meanwhile giving vent to their rage. They placed him on a sedan chair, took him upon their own shoulders - because his own litter-bearers were not at hand - and carried him, terror-stricken, to the camp, while the people gathering about them pitied him as if he were an innocent man being hurried off to punishment. He was received in the camp, where he spent the night, entertaining slight hopes of becoming emperor and by no means confident that he would not be subjected to violence.

Meanwhile the consuls had despatched guards to every quarter of the city and together with the Senate and the city cohorts had seized the Forum and the Capitol, with the intention of asserting their freedom. Some favored a monarchy, others a democracy, some favored the choice of this man, others, of that. (Accordingly they spent

the whole night to no purpose). Claudius was summoned to counsel them as to the best method of procedure, but he sent back the tribunes of the plebs with the reply that he was necessarily and forcibly detained. A day and night passed without the Senate's reaching any definite conclusion, due to the prolonged contention among the various factions, who were causing general discontent by their disagreement. The crowds began to throng about them demanding one ruler, even mentioning Claudius by name. Meanwhile the soldiers delivered the entire government into his hands, because he was of the imperial family and considered suitable for the high office. At first he remonstrated, but when they insisted that they alone had the right to select an emperor of the world, he finally accepted. He then allowed the soldiers in the presence of the assemblage to swear allegiance to him and promised to each one fifteen thousand sesterces - the first of the Caesars to secure from the soldiers their pledge of loyalty by offering a reward. In spite of the demonstration in his favor, the consuls



forbade his assuming authority and ordered him to submit to the jurisdiction of the people, the Senate, and the laws, but when their soldiers abandoned them they too yielded and voted him all the privileges of an emperor.



IV. EARLY PART OF HIS RULE.

When his power was firmly established he considered it a matter of the greatest importance to remove from memory the two days of hesitation and controversy in regard to a successor and the form of government. Accordingly he pardoned all the acts and utterances of those days and also promised to forget them, putting to death only a few of the tribunes and centurions who had been prominent in the conspiracy against Gaius. This he did, not because they had killed Gaius, but because he knew that they had been plotting against him also and he wished them to be an example for others. Furthermore, he was less happy over having gained an empire than displeased at the idea of an emperor's being assassinated, and for his own safety he wished no precedent for taking emperors' lives to be established. Toward all who had favored a democracy and toward those who had been suggested as fit for supreme power he bore no malice, but even gave them honors and offices. He promised them

Suet. Cl. 11.  
Dio LX, 3.

all immunity, nor did he fail to keep his promise.

During the early years of his reign he attended the Dio LX.2. Senate regularly though due to the fact that his voice was weak and faltering he generally gave his measures to the quaestor to read or read them sitting down. He abolished all complaints of maiestas for either words or Dio LX, 3. deeds and punished no one on such charges for either earlier or later offences. He invented no complaints against those who had injured him as a private citizen though many were guilty of such wrongs, either because they thought him a man of no significance or to please Tiberius and Gaius. If, however, he found them guilty of some other crime he would avenge the former abuses also.

The following acts of Gaius were annulled: The Dio LX, 4. taxes introduced in the reign of Gaius and other measures that had led to the denunciation of the latter's acts were done away with as opportunity arose. Persons who had been exiled, among others Julia and Agrippina, sisters of Gaius, were recalled and restored to their property. Many had been imprisoned. Those guilty of real

crimes were to be punished, but those against whom there was only the complaint of maiestas or something similar, he set free. He investigated the cases very carefully so that criminals might receive due punishment while victims of blackmail were saved from ruin. The clubs and unjust institutions set up by Gaius were overturned. And seeing that forbidding a thing would be useless unless the life of the people were re-organized, he abolished the taverns where they were wont to gather and drink and commanded that no dressed meat or warm water - the drinking of which was ranked among the ancients as a luxury - should be sold. Some who disobeyed this ordinance were punished.

Dio LX, 6.

Claudius restored to the cities the statues which Gaius had required them to send. He restored to the Dioscuri their temple and the name of Pompey to his theatre. The name of Tiberius, who had rebuilt the theatre after its destruction by fire, was inscribed on the front of the stage. His own name was also inscribed in the same place, inasmuch as he dedicated it. The

funds confiscated by order of the government in the time of Tiberius he gave back to the owners if they were living, otherwise to their children. What had been given away by Gaius without justice or reason he demanded back, but returned to the road commissioners all Gaius had exacted in fines on account of Corbulo.

Claudius gave due attention to his obligations to his relatives. He used the oath, "By Augustus", most frequently and considered it the most binding. To his grandmother Livia he had divine honors decreed as well as the privilege of riding in the parade in the circus in a chariot drawn by elephants, like the chariot of Augustus. Equestrian contests were also given in her honor and he set up a statue to her in the temple of Augustus, charging the Vestal virgins with the duty of offering sacrifices in proper form. He also ordered women to use her name in taking oaths. To his mother he had the honor of using the *carpentum* granted. In this she was carried through the circus. He also gave her the cognomen Augusta, a name she had refused while living. To his

Suet: Cl. 11.  
Dio LX, 5.

dead parents, Drusus and Antonia Minor, he had public sacrifices given and besides he had exhibitions in the circus given annually on his father's birthday. He exhibited a Greek play at the contest at Naples in honor of his brother, Germanicus (whose memory was celebrated on every occasion) and crowned the victor with a garland according to the decision of the judges. He did not even fail to give due honor to Marcus Antonius, the father of Antonia Minor. He once declared by an edict that he was the more anxious to celebrate the birthday of his father Drusus because it was also the birthday of his grandfather Antonius. The Senate had previously decreed that an arch be put up in honor of Tiberius, but the decree had been disregarded. Claudius now had the arch erected near the theatre of Pompey in honor of his uncle. Although Claudius repudiated all the acts of Gaius, his nephew, and in spite of the fact that the day of his death was the beginning of his principate, he forbade its being counted among festal days. Gaius had despoiled Pompey of his cognomen saying that it was un-

safe for anyone to bear that title. He also had had intentions of killing him, but refrained from taking the life of a mere boy. Claudius restored this title to him and promised him his daughter in marriage.

Though very liberal in granting privileges and honors Dio LX,3. to others, he exhibited a remarkable degree of modesty in accepting honors bestowed on himself. He refused all honors except those pertaining to his offices. Later he took the title "Pater Patriae". On the first of DIO, LX,5. August equestrian contests were held annually, not because that was his birthday, but because on that day a temple to Mars had been dedicated. He forbade anyone's offering him divine worship or sacrifice, checking many excessive acclamations accorded him, and accepted only one silver image and two statues, one of bronze and one of stone, which had been voted to him at the start. He told the people that such expenses were useless and a loss and annoyance to the city besides, and further, that he should be burdened with the task of finding means of disposing of the statues and votive offerings with which



all the temples and public works had been filled. He forbade any one to bring him contributions such as had been brought to Augustus and Gaius, and refused to let any one who had relatives name him heir. On the day of the betrothal of his daughters he did nothing to commemorate the event, but attended the courts and assembled the senate as usual. He ordered that his sons-in-law should temporarily hold office among the viginti viri and later act as prefects of the city at the Feriae. After a long time he gave them the right to stand for office five years sooner than was customary.



V. REFORMS.

Official - In 45 A.D. Marcus Vinicius, for the second time and Statilius Carvinus for the first time held the consulship. Claudius took all the customary oaths in detail but prevented the rest from taking oath separately. Therefore, as in earlier times, one praetor, one tribune, and one each of the other officials repeated the oaths for those of the same class - a custom which lasted for several years. Furloughs had formerly been granted by the Senate, but were now bestowed by Claudius. That he might appear to be acting according to law he had the Senate issue a decree to that effect. Procurators receiving a salary of two hundred thousand sesterces were favored with the consular insignia. From those who refused the senatorial rank he took away the equestrian also. He gave the latus clavus even to sons of freedmen, ~~on the~~ provided ~~condition~~, that they had been adopted by a Roman knight, although he had at first declared that he would choose no one senator who was not a des-

Dio LX,25.

Suet.Cl.24.  
45 A.D.

endant of a Roman citizen. Fearing censure, he cited the example of Appius Caecus, the censor, the founder of his family, who had admitted sons of freedmen to the Senate. Claudius was ignorant of the fact that in the time of Appius those who had been freed were not called "libertini", but that the freeborn descendants of the freed were so called. In 47 A.D., through the influence of Dolabella, a decree was passed making it incumbent upon the quaestors elect to furnish gladiatorial exhibitions. They had formerly been required to contribute for the paving of roads. Governors for Achaea and Macedonia had been chosen by election since the reign of Tiberius. Claudius now had them chosen by lot, thus transferring them to the charge of the senate. He abolished the office of "praetor charged with the administration of funds", putting the business into the hands of the quaestors as formerly. These were no longer annual magistrates, but the two men continued in service for three years. Some of these secured a praetorship immediately afterwards and others drew a salary, the amount

Tac.XI,22.  
Suet.Cl.24.  
Dio 60,24.  
Suet.Cl.25.

depending on the impression of efficiency they had  
created while in office. He took away from the quaest- Suet.Cl.24.  
ors Cisalpine Gaul and Ostia, in fact, he did away with Dio LX,24.  
governorships in Italy outside of Rome, and gave back to Suet.Cl.24.  
them charge of the treasury of Saturn - a duty which mean-  
while the praetors and later the ex-praetors had performed.  
To compensate the praetors he entrusted to their care sev- Dio LX,24.  
eral kinds of judicial cases which the consuls were pre-  
viously accustomed to try. To prevent men who had held Dio LX,25.  
offices from eluding those who wished to bring them to  
trial, Claudius gave no one an office immediately suc-  
ceeding another, thus renewing a custom of earlier days  
which gave to any one a chance to institute a suit  
against ex-officials in the intervening period. Further,  
even those who were granted leave of absence from the  
city were not allowed to enjoy these absences in succes-  
sion. Claudius was so careful in guarding against both  
possibilities that he would not, without an intervening  
period, allow even one of his colleagues in office to  
be chosen by lot as governor of a province. Still he

allowed some to govern for two years and sometimes he would send out those who had been elected magistrates of Rome. The governors chosen by lot were in the habit of delaying in the city. Claudius ordered them to depart for their provinces by April first. Dio LX,17.

Men having only the status of foreigners were forbidden to take names belonging to the Roman gentes. Those who violated this rule were executed on the Esquiline hill. Suet.Cl.25.

The city was rapidly becoming filled with images, for any one who wished might have his likeness put up in public. Accordingly Claudius had most of those already existing set elsewhere and forbade the continuation of the practice by private citizens unless they had received permission from the Senate or had built or repaired some public work. In that case their relatives had the same privilege. Dio,LX, 25.  
45 A.D.

A regulation for women who had married slaves was suggested in the Senate and a decree was passed to the effect that those who entered into that relationship Tac.XII,53  
A.D. 52.

without the knowledge of the slave's master should become slaves of that master, while those who had done so with his consent should be regarded as freedwomen. To Pallas, who, the emperor insisted, was the author of this proposal, was decreed the praetorial distinctions and fifteen million sesterces. Cornelius Scipio added that he, a descendant of Arcadian kings (a mythical pedigree) deserved public thanks for thinking less of his nobility than the welfare of the state and allowing himself to be a minister of the Emperor. Claudius asserted that Pallas was content with the honor and continued to live within his former means. A decree of the Senate, inscribed on a bronze tablet, was put up. In this <sup>Pallas</sup> was highly praised as a frugal freedman, the possessor of three hundred million sesterces.

Military. - He regulated the advancement of members Suet. Cl. 25. of the equestrian rank who were serving in the army, with the result that those who had had charge of a cohort, next took charge of a wing, <sup>of a legion</sup> and, after serving in that capacity, were promoted to the tribuneship of a legion.

And he instituted a kind of fictitious service which they performed even in absence and only in name. He prohibited by decree of the Senate the soldiers' entering the homes of praetors for the purpose of saluting them. He placed a cohort at Puteoli and one at Ostia to check the losses caused by fires.

He confiscated the property of freedmen who were conducting themselves as Roman knights. Ingrates and those of whom patrons complained he reduced to servitude and denied the pleas of their advocates, saying that he would himself exercise jurisdiction in such cases. To the delight of the people Claudius disapproved of the action of a man who was seeking the aid of the tribunes against the one who had set him free. Both the man and his associates were punished and the Emperor forbade any one to help freedmen in suits against former masters on pain of being deprived of the right of bringing suit against others.

When the practice of exposing weak and sickly slaves upon the island of Aesculapius became prevalent,

Suet. Cl. 25.  
& Dio LX 29.



a decree was passed declaring that all who were exposed should be free and should not be compelled to return to their masters in case they recovered; but that if any one preferred killing a slave to exposing him, he should be held on a charge of murder.

In regard to the viatores, Claudius ordered that they should not pass through towns in Italy except on foot, in a sedan chair, or on a litter.

Once when some German envoys were at Rome, they were taken to the theatre and given seats among the masses. On seeing some Parthian and Armenian representatives seated among the senators, they crossed to the same place of their own accord affirming their right with the assertion that they were not inferior in courage to other foreigners, nor was their condition more humble. Claudius, moved by their simplicity and self-confidence, gave them permission to sit in the orchestra.

Suet. Cl. 25

Religious. - The religion of the Druids, a most heinous and savage cult, the practice of which had been

Suet. Cl. 25.



forbidden the Roman citizens by Augustus, was entirely abolished among the Gauls by Claudius. On the other hand he tried to transfer the sacred Eleusinian rites from Attica to Rome and at his suggestion a temple of Venus at Eryx in Sicily, which had collapsed because of its antiquity, was repaired with money taken from the treasury of the Roman people. He renewed the old custom of killing a swine and repeating the formula of the fetiales whenever he made treaties with kings. In co- Suet.Cl.22.  
opting the priests for the colleges he would never nominate any one until he had taken an oath to perform the duty faithfully. Whenever the city was shaken by an earthquake, he was very careful to have the praetor assemble the people and proclaim holidays, and if an ominous bird chanced to be seen on the capitol a public supplication would be held. Claudius himself as pontifex-maximus would utter a prayer to be repeated by the people, after removing the crowds of slaves and workmen who, it was thought, would defile the holy rites. He annulled the regulation in the lex Papia Poppaea which Suet.Cl.23.

had been added by Tiberius Caesar. In 43, when Claudius was consul for the third time, he put an end to many sacrifices and feast days, which were so numerous as to interfere seriously with business matters. In 44, the weekly market was transferred to a different day on account of some religious rites. This occurred on many occasions. In the case of the Saturnalia he restored the fifth day which had been added by Gaius but had been neglected after his time. Inasmuch as the sun was to undergo an eclipse on his birthday, he feared that some disturbance might result, for certain portents had occurred. Accordingly he gave notice that an eclipse would take place, stating not only the time and the length of its duration, but also the reasons therefor.

The question of the establishment of a college of haruspices for the purpose of preventing an old Italian custom from falling into disuse came up before the senate. Those in favor of the proposition argued as follows: "The haruspices have often been summoned to Rome in times of adversity and at their suggestion the

Dio LX.17.

Dio LX, 24.

Dio LX,25.

Dio LX, 26.

Tac.XI, 15.

ceremonies have been renewed and more strictly observed for a time. The leading men of Etruria either of their own accord or at the instigation of the Roman Senate used to retain the science and pass it on in their own families. At present the matter is being neglected, due to lack of interest on the part of the people in general as well as to the fact that foreign superstitions are gaining ground. To be sure, circumstances are favorable just now, but thanks ought to be rendered the immortal gods by preventing the sacred rites, cultivated in times of peril, from being neglected because of prosperity." A decree of the Senate was passed to the effect that the pontiffs should determine what features of the institution of the haruspices should be kept up or strengthened.

Judicial. - Nearly every day alone or with the Senate Claudius would sit on a platform trying cases, generally in the Forum, whether he was consul or not. (Claudius held the consulship five times, the first two in succession, the rest at intervals of three years. Dio LX.4. Suet.Cl.24.

The last was held for six months, the others for two months each. His third term he served as consul suffectus - a precedent in the case of an emperor.) He made one continuous session of the courts, which had formerly convened twice annually, during the winter and summer months respectively, nor did he have them cease activities on days sacred to himself or his family or even on days observed as sacred from of old. On the day that he betrothed one daughter to Lucius Junius Silanus and the other to Gnaeus Pompeius he did nothing out of the ordinary to commemorate the event but went to court as usual and convened the Senate.

Dio LX,6.

He often joined the consuls and praetors and especially those in charge of finances in their investigations and some few matters he turned over entirely to the courts. He gave the consuls the power extraordinary to appoint guardians for wards. Those who were forbidden by the magistrates to reside in the provinces were expelled also from Rome and Italy. He

Dio LX,4.

Suet.Cl.23.

expelled also from Rome and Italy.

expelled others on his own initiative, establishing the precedent, however, of their not going farther than three miles from the city. Jurisdiction over bequests left for heirs to fulfil, formerly delegated yearly and to the magistrates in the city only, was made perpetual and extended even to provincial governors.

In the year 47 A.D. a discussion came up in the Senate respecting the payment of fees to advocates. Treachery among men of this profession was the most saleable of wares in the public market. The evil has proceeded so far that a bribe easily led to the betrayal of cases committed to their care. Suillius and others were incessantly bringing charges of this character. Claudius had assumed practically all judicial functions, thereby furnishing ample opportunity for dishonesty as any one was subject to accusation as long as all decisions depended on him alone. Things came to a climax in the case of Samius, an illustrious Roman knight, who had paid Suillius to defend him, or rather to see that his case was decided favorably for him. Samius was betrayed

Tac XI,5-7.

by his advocate, lost his case, and, certain of impending ruin, committed suicide at the home of Suillius, thus bringing the scandal home to the advocate. At the suggestion of the consul elect, Gaius Silius, the Senate demanded the restoration of the Cincian law, which had been passed in 204 B.C., and provided, among other things, that no one should accept money or gifts for pleading cases. Those who would be affected by such a measure objected, and Silius, an enemy of Suillius, made a fierce attack upon the practice saying that the pleaders of old had thought fame sufficient reward for eloquence, that oratorical ability, a talent which would otherwise be the noblest, was becoming detestable by service for money; that advocates were not even trustworthy when profit was the object of their aim; that if cases were tried without advantage to any one there would be fewer cases, while as it was, enmity and hatred were engendered and these in turn brought unjust and harmful accusations; just as violent diseases were a source of income to physicians, so legal disputes, a disease of



the Forum you might say, was the support of advocates. Then he cited as examples Asinius, Messala, Arruntius and Aeserninus who had attained the highest rank without degrading either their lives or their oratorical talent. These words won the approval of many and the consul elect was about to put before the Senate a measure recommending that pleaders who accepted fees should be charged with extortion, when Suillius and others, fearing that the decree would apply to their past deeds, crowded around Claudius, begging pardon for their previous acts. And after Claudius had given his consent they argued as follows: "Who is so haughty as to take eternal fame for granted d.e. to pursue the profession of advocate with only fame as a reward? The aim of the professional pleader is to prevent any one's losing a suit for lack of one to defend him against powerful antagonists. Furthermore, an advocate must spend time and money in preparation for his work, neglecting his own private business that he may serve others. Many gain a livelihood by war, some by agriculture. No one enters a pro-

fession without foreseeing an income from it. It was easy enough for men like Asinius and Messala, who were loaded with spoils from the wars between Antony and Octavius, or rich heirs such as the Aesernini and the Arruntii to be magnanimous advocates. Publius Clodius and Gaius Curio are examples of how large a reward was given to advocates for addressing the people. We are senators of moderate means and since there is no longer war, we seek only the emoluments of peace. Think of the plebians who have risen to distinction by forensic practice. If rewards for pursuits are taken away, the pursuits themselves will disappear." Claudius, feeling that these arguments were not entirely groundless, decreed that advocates might take a fee not exceeding ten thousand sesterces, and that any one exceeding this limit should be considered guilty of extortion.

In regard to his own procurators, men of equestrian rank, Claudius expressed the opinion that their decisions should have as much weight as his own. Therefore, to avoid seeming hasty in arriving at this conclusion, he

Tac. XII 60.  
A.D. 53.

had the Senate pass a decree defining more clearly, as well as extending, the power of the procurators. He is Suet.Cl.12. said, too, to have urged the Senate to grant him the favor of passing such a decree. For Augustus had granted Tac.XII 60. to the men of equestrian rank who governed Egypt the right to try cases and that their decisions should be as binding as those of the Roman magistrates themselves. Later throughout the provinces and also in Rome, the procurators were given charge of many judicial investigations which had formerly been in the hands of the praetors. Claudius now gave the procurators every right about which there had so often been contention. (between the senatorial and equestrian orders). After that many others acquired such power and even the freedmen of Claudius were placed on a level with himself and the laws.

VI. THE CENSORSHIP OF CLAUDIUS; CLAUDIUS AS A JUDGE.

The Censorship. - In 47 A.D. Claudius held the censor- Suet.Cl. 16.  
ship - an office held by no private citizen since the time  
of Plancus and Paulina (21 A.D.). He assumed all the dut- Tac.XI.13  
ies of the censor. By passing edicts he criticized the  
people severely for their insolent behavior in the theatre.  
They had uttered insults against Publius Pomponius, a man  
of consular rank who composed songs for the stage, and  
against women of distinction. He had a law passed to  
check the cruelty of creditors, forbidding their loaning  
money on interest to young men with the idea of being  
repaid on the death of their parents. The water from  
the springs in the Sumbruinian hills he had brought to  
the city. (This was the great aqueduct begun by Gaius  
and completed by Claudius).

These measures were rational and sane, but many of  
his acts were conspicuous for their lack of sound judg-  
ment and seriousness as well as for their stupid care-  
lessness, their insignificance and injustice. In re- Suet.Cl. 16.

vising the list of knights he dismissed without ignominy a young man who was leading a disreputable life but who was said by his father to be of most excellent character, saying that he had his own father as a censor. Another, notorious for his corruption and lasciviousness, was simply warned to be more sparing or at least more cautious in his vices, so that the emperor should not find him out. At the request of the friends of a certain man who was branded with ignominy, Claudius took away the mark but said "Let the erasure remain, however." An illustrious man, chief of the province of Greece, because ignorant of the Latin tongue not only had his name removed from the register of judges but was also reduced to the status of a foreigner. He branded many who were not expecting it and for a new reason, namely, that they had withdrawn from Italy without his knowledge and without a furlough; one, because he had been the companion of a king in a province, citing the fact that in the time of their ancestors a charge of treason had been brought against Rabirius Postumus, because he had followed Ptolemaeus

to Alexandria to recover a loan. .

He attempted to brand several, but because of the carelessness of those who were to acquire information, they were generally found innocent. Those whom he had charged with celibacy, childlessness, or poverty proved themselves to be husbands, fathers, and wealthy men. One man, accused of attempting to take his own life, showed that there were no marks on his body to indicate anything of the sort. A silver war chariot extravagantly made and for sale at the Sigillaria he ordered to be purchased and destroyed in his presence. One day he proposed twenty edicts among which were these two; one advising that the wine jars be well covered with pitch, inasmuch as the vineyards had yielded an abundant crop, the other conveying the information that nothing was so efficacious in counteracting the bite of a snake as the sap of a yew-tree.

(It is uncertain whether he continued in this office for more than one year. At any rate, he continued the duties of a censor by virtue of his imperial power.)



The question of filling vacancies in the Senate came up for discussion before the councillors of Claudius as well as that of granting to the chiefs of Gallia Comata, who had long held Roman citizenship, eligibility to the Roman magistracies. There was a conflict of opinion. Some were strongly opposed to it. They argued as follows; "Italy is not so weak as to be incapable of furnishing a senate for her own capital. In early times the tribes in Italy, our own kin, were content with a senate made up of native-born Romans (not outside of the "ager Romanus"), and they surely had a fairer claim to a share of power than the Gauls, total strangers. Is it not enough that the Insubres and the Veneti have been admitted to the Senate without suffering our city to be captured, so to speak, by an alien race? For if we let all these foreigners compete for the highest honors, what chance for winning distinction will be left to the remaining nobility or to any poor senator from Latium? All offices will be filled with those rich foreigners, whose ancestors, as leaders of hostile nations, destroyed our armies in

Tac. XI 23,  
& 24.  
47-48 A.D.

violent warfare, nay, even besieged the divine Julius at Alesia. These are recent memories. What if we should forget those who died at their hands under the Capitol and citadel of Rome? Let them, to be sure, enjoy the title of citizens, but let not the distinctions of the Senate, the honors of the magistracies be made common property."

These arguments failed to convince the Emperor. He made objections, evidently without success, for he later assembled the Senate, and addressed them (see Appendix III) thus: "My ancestors, the most ancient of whom is Clausus, of Sabine origin, impel me to exercise as much discretion as they in administering the affairs of state by transferring to Rome whatever is meritorious, no matter where found. I am not ignorant of the fact that the Julii came from Alba, the Coruncanii from Camerium, the Parcii from Tusculum, and, not to look too closely into the past, that some from Etruria and Lucania and all Italy were admitted to membership in the Senate (after the Social war), finally that all Italy it-

self was extended to the Alps with the result that not only individuals, but whole lands and tribes were united under our name. Then, when the tribes dwelling north of the Po were given citizenship, (thus making all Italy Roman), and when, by providing homes for our veteran legions, we were given the opportunity of admitting to citizenship the best of the provincials, our exhausted empire received support from them, we had undisturbed peace at home, and were powerful against foreign influences. Do we regret that such men as Balbus from Spain (the first foreigner to be made consul) and equally illustrious men from Gallia Norbonensis came to us. Their descendants are still with us and are no less patriotic than we. What else caused the downfall of Athens and Sparta but this, that they treated those whom they had conquered as slaves? On the other hand, Romulus, our founder, was so wise that on the same day he regarded several peoples first as enemies, then as fellow-citizens. We have been ruled by foreigners. Granting to sons of freedmen the right to hold offices is not a sudden innovation, the same was

repeatedly done during the early years of our existence.

But some one may object on the ground that we fought with the Senones and were captured by the Gauls. The Volsci and the Aequi, who are now Roman citizens, never I presume arrayed themselves against us. We gave hostages to the Etruscans and passed under the yoke of the Samnites, and as for the Gauls, if you should review all our wars, you would find that none has been finished in so short a time as that against them. Since then they have been loyal and maintained unbroken peace. Inasmuch as they are united with us in customs, education, and intermarriage, let them bring in amongst us their gold and wealth rather than possess it for themselves alone. All things, conscript fathers, which are now considered very old, were once new. Patrician magistrates were followed by plebeian, plebeian by Latin, and Latin by those of other Italian nations. This practice of admitting foreigners will also become established, and that which we are today taking up supported by precedent, will itself become a precedent."

A decree of the Senate followed the emperor's speech Tac.XI.25. and the Aedui, because of their ancient alliance and the fact that they alone of the Gauls were called brothers of the Roman people, were the first to win the honor of becoming senators at Rome.

As there were only a few members left of the "greater gentes" of Romulus and the "lesser gentes" of Lucius Brutus, and those who had been substituted in their place by Caesar and Augustus were exhausted, Claudius enrolled as patricians the senators of longest standing and those who had distinguished ancestors. (The object of this measure was to increase the number of those eligible to the few offices still restricted to patricians). Tac.XI,25  
A.D. 48.

After anxiously considering how to remove men of infamous character from the Senate, Claudius decided to follow a practice recently devised, less severe than the earlier method (by which removal depended upon the judgment of the censor). He advised each senator that he wished removed to consider his own case and to ask for the privilege of withdrawing, promising that such a re-

quest would be readily granted. Further, he said that he would publish in the same list the names of those who had been expelled and those who had voluntarily retired, in order that, by thus confounding the two classes, the disgrace might be lessened. The majority withdrew willingly on account of their poverty. Among those brought in to fill up the Senate was Surdinius Gallus, who had emigrated to Carthage. Claudius summoned him speedily and said, "I will bind you with golden fetters". Therefore, Gallus, fettered by his rank, remained at home. Dio LX,29.

Claudius praised those who retired voluntarily because of poverty but expelled those who added impudence to their poverty by remaining. The rest he forced to attend the senate whenever they were notified. He was so severe upon those who were remiss in this matter that some committed suicide. Tac.XII,52. Dio LX,11.

The consul Vipstanus moved that Claudius be called the "Father of the Senate". The title of "Father of his Country", he argued, had been given to others, while new services ought to be distinguished by unusual titles. Tac.XI,25.



The emperor refused the honor. After completing the census, which showed an enumeration of 5,984,072 citizens, he completed his work as censor by performing a lustrum.

Claudius in his Judicial Capacity. - As in his censorship, so as judge Claudius displayed that same strange inconsistency of character. He was at times patient, just, lenient, yet perhaps oftener rash, unjust, severe, and pitiably silly. As in other departments of life, he did not always follow the dictates of law and custom, but settled all things by considering the merits of the case, regulating his severity or lenity according as he was moved by considerations of justice and equity.

Some praetors, entrusted with the administration of funds, incurred charges, but Claudius took no legal measures against them. He went about to those who sold goods and let buildings, and corrected whatever he deemed to be abuses. To those who had lost their suits as a result of the technicality of claiming excessive damages before the judges trying cases between private citizens,

Suet.Cl.14.

Suet.Cl.14.

he restored the right of bringing suit, and they who were found guilty of fraud greater than indicated in the indictment, going beyond the lawful punishment, he gave Suet.Cl.15. over to wild beasts. When he was revising the "decuriae" for the prosecution of judicial business, a certain man had appeared, concealing the fact that he was exempt by virtue of his children. Claudius dismissed him as one over eager to be selected as a juror. Another juror was accosted by his adversaries with regard to a suit of his own, and stated that his case did not properly come before the tribunal of Claudius, but was a matter for the ordinary courts to settle. Claudius compelled him to plead his case at once in his presence, saying that in a matter touching his own interests, the man would show how just a juror he would be in a case pertaining to another. He forced a woman not acknowledging her son, since the evidence on both sides was contradictory, to a confession by ordering her to marry the man.

As the number of lawsuits was beyond reckoning, and fear of losing their cases prevented many from

Dio LX,28.

attending, Claudius gave written notice that by a given day he would decide the case against them by default so that they would lose even if absent. He did not deviate from this rule and made no distinction as to whether the absence was premeditated or necessary.

When a certain man exclaimed that a forger ought to have his hands cut off, Claudius immediately demanded that the executioner with his sword and butcher's table be summoned. When a number of advocates were disputing whether a man who had unlawfully exercised the rights of Roman citizenship should plead his case in the toga or the pallium, Claudius with a show of justice ordered him to change his garment according as he was being accused or defended. In regard to a certain matter he is believed to have reported in writing that he formed his decision in favor of those who had presented the truth. As a result of this he became openly and on many occasions an object of contempt. One man who came to make excuses for a witness whom Claudius had summoned from one of the provinces, said that he could

Suet. 61.15.

not be present, but for a long time concealed the reason. After being questioned at length he replied, "He is dead; his excuse, I take it, is a good one." Another, after thanking him for allowing the accused to be defended, added, "And yet that usually happens", implying thereby that no thanks were due the emperor. It is said that his patience was abused to such an extent that when he descended from the tribunal not only did the advocates call him back, but even detained him by grasping the edge of his toga and at times seizing him by the feet. Also that on the occasion of a dispute in court a Greek litigant let these words fall from his lips, "Thou art both an old man and a fool." A Roman knight, falsely accused by powerless enemies of leading a dissolute life, on seeing that unprincipled women were heard as witnesses against him, became so enraged and disgusted with the folly and cruelty of Claudius that he hurled the pencil and the pamphlets which he had in his hands with considerable force in the face of the emperor. On one occas- Dio LX,33.

ion when a certain orator, Julius Gallicus, was pleading a case, Claudius, becoming vexed, ordered him cast into the Tiber, near which he was holding court.

Domitius Afer, the most capable advocate of his time, made a neat joke on this. A man whom Gallicus had disappointed came to Domitius for assistance and Domitius said, "Who told you I could swim better than he can?"

VII. PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS AND CARE OF THE CITY.

The most important of the great engineering works of Claudius were the famous Claudian Aqueduct, the Portus Romanus, and the drainage <sup>of</sup> the Fucine Lake. Julius Suet.Cl.20. Caesar had often thought of constructing an aqueduct, but had given up the project because of the difficulties involved. Gaius began the task and Claudius brought it to a successful completion. A copious supply of water was thus brought into the city from the two springs, Caeruleus and Curtius. At the same time, through the channel of the new Anio, constructed of stone, a further supply was secured. It was stored in numerous reservoirs at Rome and from these distributed to the various parts of the city.

The occurrence of a severe famine led Claudius to make provision against similar ills in the future. All grain products were imported, but on account of the dangers attendant upon sea-voyages in the winter time little could be procured during that season. The landing places Dio 60 & Suet.Cl.20.



near the mouth of the Tiber were very unsafe. Accordingly Claudius undertook the building of a harbor at enormous expense. Some thought it a needless extravagance. The architects trusted that he would desist from the attempt when he heard the estimated cost, but he persisted, saying that he wished something worthy of the dignity and greatness of Rome. He excavated a large piece of land at the mouth of the Tiber near Ostia, forming a small bay. Around this quays were built. Then he threw up large embankments on either side and between them an artificial island. To make a firm foundation for this island an enormous ship was sunk, piers were set upon it and on the piers a lofty lighthouse tower like the one on the island of Pharos at Alexandria, to guide the ships entering by night.

This harbor proved to be of great service. Several Suet.C1.18. years later, when the food supply was very low, in fact, Rome had grain enough left for only fifteen days, due to the continued failure of the crops, the crowds in the Forum, where the emperor was rendering justice, assailed

him with violent reproaches, at the same time hurling at him fragments of bread, so that only with the help of a compact body of soldiers was he able to escape into the Palace by an unknown entrance. He then thought of every means possible for bringing in supplies even in the winter. He assured the traders a definite profit and himself made good such of their losses as were incurred by storms. To those who built ships for commercial purposes he granted important privileges in accordance with each one's station, as for instance, to a citizen, Suet.Cl.19. exemption from the lex Papia Pappaea, or to one possessing the Latin rights, the full rights of citizenship.

When the Aemiliana was incessantly suffering from Suet.Cl.18. fires, he remained two nights in the Diribitarium and as his own soldiers and slaves failed him, summoned to his aid the plebians from all the villages. With actual cash at hand he encouraged them to assist, paying each one on the spot in proportion to the amount of service rendered.

He also extended the pomerium. This had been done Tac.XI,23&  
24.

before according as acquisitions to the city were made. He had an account of this extension recorded in public inscriptions.

The country of the Marsians was at a great disadvantage because of the frequent overflow of Lake Fucinus. Dio LX, 11 & Suet. Cl. 20. As this rendered their lands untillable, they had persistently begged Augustus to drain their territory, but without success. Claudius took up the tack, probably with a view to glory as well as utility, inasmuch as private citizens offered to defray the expenses provided they might obtain the lands thereby drained. A channel three miles long was cut through a mountain and thirty thousand men, kept steadily employed, only with great difficulty completed it in eleven years. The outlet carried the water into the Liris rendering that stream more navigable.

VIII. AMUSEMENTS.

Claudius gave numerous magnificent spectacles, not Suet.Cl.21.  
only those that were customary, but many newly invented  
or revived from antiquity. They were at times given in  
unusual places, too. He forbade the praetors' giving Dio LX,5.  
gladitorial exhibitions and others who superintended  
public amusements were not allowed to say that they were  
held for the preservation of the emperor. It had been  
the custom to repeat the games if precedent was not ob-  
served in every detail. Many schemers took advantage of Dio LX,6.  
this practice and with intention frequently caused the  
games to be repeated three, four, and five times, even  
as often as ten times. The abuse was remedied by an  
enactment allowing only one day for repetition. Even  
that privilege the emperor seldom granted.

The various classes, senators, knights, and the DioLX,7.  
people had formed the habit of viewing the exhibitions  
from special positions in the Circus Maximus, but it was  
not until 41 A.D. that Claudius assigned the senators Suet.Cl.21.  
a definite place. If, however, any senator wished, he

might view the performances from any other part, now was he obliged to appear in his official robe.

At the opening of the games held for the dedication of the theatre of Pompey, which he had restored after its destruction by fire, the emperor worshipped in the temple in the upper part of the building, and when all were seated and silent, descended through the midst of them to preside from a tribunal placed in the orchestra. Knights and the wives of those who were accustomed to appear in dances regularly during the time of Gaius were introduced by Claudius into the orchestra, not that he took any pleasure in this, but that he might reprove the past conduct of the husbands. At any rate, the latter never exhibited themselves again during this reign. The boys whom Gaius had selected to give the Pyrrhic dance were allowed to appear once, and were then given citizenship and dismissed.

In 45 A.D. he arranged a votive festival to commemorate his campaign of two years before. He gave seventy-five denarii each to all whose support depended on public

Suet.Cl.21.

Dio LX,7.

Dio LX,25.

doles. In some cases he gave more, even as high as three-hundred twelve denarii. His sons-in-law helped him in the distribution, which lasted several days, as he was anxious to get back to attend to his judicial duties.

The anniversary of his accession was commemorated Suet.Cl.21. in the praetorian camp without pomp, and with an appropriate and modest celebration in the Saepta Julia. Here he suddenly arranged games and invited the people to share a hastily prepared lunch, so to speak. At no show was he more condescending or under less restraint. He even went so far as to join with the crowd in counting out the money on his fingers for the victors and to provoke laughter by repeatedly calling the men "Sir" or "Mr." or by throwing in flat and far-fetched jokes. For example, a certain gladiator named Palumbus was fighting. (The word palumbus signifies wood-pigeon). Claudius promised Palumbus to those who should ask for him, in case he was captured. Again, after honorably discharging a gladiator, whose four sons were praying for his release, with



the approval of all the crowd, he gave a written notice to the people on the spot reminding them of the advantage of rearing children, who he noticed were a protection and an honor even to a gladiator.

His son's birthday was observed voluntarily by the praetors with a spectacle and dinners. As many as chose repeated this event once more. Dio LX, 17.

Following his triumph for his campaign in Britain he held a festival and for the occasion assumed some of the consular authority. The celebration took place in two theatres simultaneously. Claudius frequently let some one superintend in his place. Only ten horse races took place though he had announced as many as could be given in a day, for between courses there were athletic contests and slaughter of bears, and exhibitions of the Pyrrhic dance by boys from Asia. Another event commemorating the victory was given by the theatre performers with the consent of the Senate. In the Campus Martius a representation of a war, in particular the storming and plundering of a town was presented, Claudius presiding. Dio LX, 23.

in the cloak of a general. He arranged gladiatorial shows Dio LX,13. so often that he was severely criticized for it. Fewer beasts than human beings were destroyed. The latter lost their lives not only in fights with each other but in struggles with wild animals as well. The majority of those who were guilty of extorting blackmail or of bearing false witness, together with numerous freed slaves who had conspired against their former masters aroused such violent hatred in Claudius that he gave them over to such a death. Some of the freed slaves were given over to their masters for punishment. So many were slaughtered in public that a statue of Augustus near by was turned aside so as not to view the bloodshed and also to prevent its continually being covered up. The emperor was justly ridiculed for such an inane act. Even at lunch time he used to take great delight in watching those who were incidentally slaughtered, yet a lion that pleased the crowd by eating men was killed, Claudius saying that it was a sight not fit for Romans to see. Though he was criticized, his presence at the games, his lavish generosity in satisfying their cravings as well as the fact

that he employed no heralds, announcing the events merely by notices written on boards, highly pleased the people.

He often presided over the games of the circus on the Vatican Hill west of the Tiber, where a hunt would be introduced at intervals between the chariot races. In the Circus Maximus he exhibited contests among four-horsed chariots, also the games of Troy and hunting of wild beasts. The praetorian horsemen, led by the tribunes and the prefects would hunt them down. Then, too, Thessalian riders would chase wild bulls around the race course, and when the animals became wearied, would leap upon them and drag them down to the ground by their horns.

Suet.C1.21.

The Ludi Saeculares were held in 47 A.D., sixty four years after they had been held by Augustus. Then they had been celebrated ahead of time, although in his histories Claudius himself says that they had been discontinued and that Augustus after a very careful calculation of the years had restored them to their proper period. The herald who was summoning the people to the games was ridiculed for crying that the spectacle was

Tac.XI,11.

something that no one had ever seen or was ever likely to see, inasmuch as there were some living who had witnessed them on the last occasion and some of the same actors performed both times. Claudius presided while boys of noble birth on horses gave the "Ludicrum Troiae", (a sham battle consisting of elaborate equestrian maneuvers). Among the performers were Britannicus, son of Claudius, and Lucius Domitius, who was later adopted by Claudius, given the cognomen Nero and then the imperial power. Tac.XI,11.

The fact that the people expressed a warmer appreciation of Domitius than of Britannicus was regarded as an omen. The report spread that in his infancy Nero had been guarded by serpents - a fabulous tale made up to resemble foreign superstitions. Nero himself, who was by no means one to detract from himself used to say that only one snake was seen in his couch.

Before letting the water out of Lake Fucinus into the channel constructed to drain it, Claudius gave a magnificent naval display in order that a great number of people might see the splendor of the work. The spectacle was in the nature of a sham naval battle such as

DioLX, 33.  
Tac.XII,56-  
57.  
Suet.Cl.21.

Augustus had given on an artificial lake across the Tiber, but on a smaller scale. Around the lake he made a platform of rafts to guard against any probable attempts at escape on the part of the soldiers. The space enclosed was large enough to admit of the exhibition of the rowers' skill as well as the naval maneuvers customary in battle. He equipped triremes and quadriremes with nineteen thousand condemned criminals. Maniples and squadrons of the praetorian soldiers were stationed on the rafts and before them were placed catapults and hurling-engines which might be directed at any one trying to escape.

The banks, hills and lofty mountains round about were filled with an innumerable multitude from the neighboring towns as well as from Rome, who had come either for pleasure or as a mark of honor to Claudius. By means of a machine, Triton with a silver trumpet emerged from the middle of the lake to summon them to battle. After drawing their ships together they saluted the emperor with the words, "Salve, imperator, morituri salutamus." (Hail, emperor, about to die we salute thee). Claudius replied, "Or not about to die they greet me." The fighters

interpreted this as a word of release and did not commence battle. Claudius was enraged and for some time considered putting them all to death. Finally he rushed down and forced them to fight either by threats or encouragement. Though criminals they fought with the spirit of brave men and not until many wounds had been inflicted were they released from the slaughter. (They used simple smashing tactics and took good care not to harm each other. This went on until they were cut down by outside force). Claudius wore a gorgeous military cloak and not far from him was Agrippina wearing a chlamys embroidered with gold. Dio LX,33.

After the entertainment was over the channel was opened, but it had not been dug deep enough to drain the lake. The tunnel was then further excavated and that done another spectacle was displayed. This time bridges were put up on which an infantry battle was fought. A banquet was spread near by the outlet. When the water was let into the tunnel it came with such force that it carried away part of the wooden structure nearest it with a loud crash and noise, frightening and



throwing the multitude into confusion. Agrippina taking advantage of Claudius' excitement and fear accused Narcissus of carelessly constructing the work in order to satisfy his greed and desire for plunder. Claudius joined in the accusation charging him with imperiousness and excessive ambition.

IX. WARS IN THE EAST.

Tac.XI,8-10.

In 47 A.D. Mithridates, who had previously ruled Armenia, but by the order of Gaius been imprisoned at Rome, was sent back to his kingdom by Claudius. His brother, Pharasmenes, king of the Hiberi, informed him that there were internal dissensions among the Parthians and as a consequence they were giving little heed to Armenia. Gotarzes, king of the Parthians, among other cruelties, had killed his brother Artabanus as well as his wife and son. His subjects, becoming alarmed, had summoned Vardanes, another brother of Gotarzes. Vardanes, a man of daring, made haste, attacked his brother and drove him out in terror from his kingdom. Without delay he occupied the nearest provinces, Seleucia alone resisting. To this city, well fortified and supplied with provisions, he laid siege. Meanwhile Gotarzes, having secured aid from the Hyrcanians and Dahares, renewed the war and forced Vardanes to retreat to Bactria.

Dio LX,8.

Tac.XI,8-10.

Accordingly Mithridates, with the help of the Roman

soldiers and the army of the Hiberi, was given an opportunity of occupying Armenia. He met with no resistance as the Armenian satrap Demonax, who had risked a battle, had been routed. But king Cotys of lesser Armenia, his brother, was unwilling to yield, until constrained by a message from Caesar. Then entire control passed into the hands of Mithridates, who proved to be somewhat more unconciliatory than was advantageous to a new kingdom.

Again the Parthian commanders were on the point of engaging in battle, when suddenly they made a treaty, Gotarzes having apprised his brother of a plot among their subjects. They agreed to avenge the treachery and to make concessions each to the other. Vardanes seemed better fitted to retain the kingdom, so Gotarzes, to avoid any possible rivalry between them, went far into Hyrcania. Vardanes then caused Seleucia to surrender, whose long resistance had <sup>been</sup> anything but a credit to the Parthians. Next he inspected the nearest provinces and began to form plans for seizing Armenia, and would have done so had he not been prevented by Vibius Marsus, legate of Syria, who was threatening war, and by Gotar-

zes, who, repenting of his agreement, and urged on by the nobles, had gathered together his forces. The brothers met at the river Erindes where, after a stubborn resistance Gotarzes was defeated.

Vardanes continued successfully and subdued the nations as far as the river Sindes, the boundary between the Dahae and the Arii. Here his men, though victors, became mutinous, detesting military service so far distant. Vardanes erected monuments to bear witness to his power and returned in glory. Wherefore he was more cruel and more intolerable to his subjects, who, by a preconcerted trick, killed him while he was intent on the hunt. Though but a young man his fame was equalled by few even among the long-lived kings.

By his death the Parthians were divided in regard to the choice of a king. Many favored Gotarzes, some, Meherdates, grandson of Phraates, who had been given as a hostage to Rome. The majority, favoring Gotarzes, prevailed, but after gaining power, his cruelty and extravagance compelled the Parthians to send secret entreaties to the emperor, asking that Meherdates be

allowed to assume the sovereignty of his fathers.

The envoys at Rome addressed the Senate saying that they were well aware of the treaty existing between them and the Romans, that they had not revolted from the family of the Arsacidae, but were seeking Meherdates, son of Vonones and grand-son of Phraates, as king to resist the despotism of Gotarzes, who had tried to hide his feebleness both as a king and commander in war by the murder of his own brothers, other relatives, nay even women and children. In view of the long standing friendship between the two nations, the Romans ought to give aid to them, rivals in power and yielding only out of respect. Their kings had sent their children to Rome as hostages in order that, when Parthia became wearied with the home government, she might come to the emperor and the Senate and receive a king who would prove better for having become familiar with Roman customs.

Tac. XII?  
10-14.

Claudius then discoursed upon the sovereignty of the Roman people and the homage of the Parthians, mentioning the fact that they had also come to Augustus for

a king. As Meherdates was present, he advised him to regard himself as a governor among freemen, not as a despot among slaves, to exercise clemency and justice, which would be the more pleasing to the barbarians because unknown to them. Then, turning to the envoys, he praised Meherdates highly as a foster child of Rome, a man of tried character, and stated that even should he change, it would be better to endure him, for frequent changes were unprofitable. Further, that Rome had won such a sufficiency of glory that she had no desire to profit by their internal dissensions.

Gaius Cassius, governor of Syria was then commissioned to conduct Meherdates to the banks of the Euphrates. Summoning those at whose request a king had been sought, he pitched his camp at Zeugma, where the river was most easily fordable. After the arrival of illustrious Parthians and Acbarus, king of Arabia, he warned Meherdates that the eager enthusiasm of the barbarians would lessen with delay and that it were better for him to advance against Gotarzes at once.



This advice was disregarded, because of the treachery of Acbarus, who, taking advantage of the young man's ignorance, detained him at Edessa for many days. Though Carenes, governor of Mesopotamia, promised him an easy victory if they should advance at once, he did not go to Mesopotamia, but by a detour to Armenia, unfavorable at that time, as it was the beginning of winter.

At length, wearied with the snows and the mountains, on approaching the plains, they were joined by the forces of Carenes. Crossing the Tigris, they passed through the territory of the Adiabeni, whose king Izates made an alliance with them though secretly favoring Gotarzes.

Meanwhile Gotarzes near Mount Sanbulos was offering prayers to the gods of the place, the especial worship being that of Hercules. As his army had not yet been sufficiently strengthened, he used the river Corma as a fortification and despite the fact that he was invited to fight invented excuses for delay, frequently changed his position, and won over the enemy by bribes. Among them were Izates and Acbarus.

Deprived of his strongest support, Meherdates,

anticipating disloyalty on the part of the rest, decided to trust to luck and to risk a battle - his only resource. Gotarzes, confident because of the diminished forces of his opponent, met him in a bloody encounter, the outcome of which was doubtful until Carenes, who had advanced too far after crushing those who resisted, was surrounded from behind by a fresh group of soldiers. Then all hope lost, Meherdates, relying on the promises of Parrax, a client of his father, was treacherously bound and delivered to Gotarzes, who, upbraiding him as a foreigner and a Roman, cut off his ears and ordered him to live as a witness of his clemency and a disgrace to the Romans.

Later Gotarzes fell ill and died and Vonones, then ruling over the Medes, was summoned to the throne. His rule, brief and inglorious, was succeeded by that of his son Vologeses.

To Mithridates, a descendant of Mithridates the Great, Claudius had given the country of the Bosporus. Losing his power there, he wandered about and seeing that Didius, the Roman general and the main body of the army was absent, also that Cotys, young and inexperienced,

Dio LX,8.  
A.D. 41.

Tac.XII,15-  
21.

with a few of the auxiliary cohorts, together with Julius Aquila, a Roman knight, had been left in Bosporus, disregarding both these men, instigated nations, allured refugees, and with such an army drove out the king of the Dandaridae and got possession of his kingdom.

On hearing this, Aquila and Cotys, expecting him at any time and distrusting their own strength, inasmuch as hostilities had been resumed by Zorsines, king of the Siraci, sent envoys to Eunones, a foreigner who governed the tribe of the Aorsi, to ask help and favor. He readily made an alliance with them as he believed them stronger than Mithridates. It was agreed that Eunones should fight in cavalry battles while the Roman forces should endeavor to blockade the cities. Thus the enemy was repelled and they marched to Soza, a town of the Dandaridae, deserted by Mithridates. Uncertain of the temper of the people they secured it by a garrison, they advanced to the Siraci, crossed the Panda, and surrounded Upse, situated on an eminence and well fortified. Spears and firebrands, hurled from towers upon the walls, threw the besieged into confusion. Night put an end

to the battle.

On the next day they sent envoys to ask indulgence for the free, offering ten thousand slaves. The victors refused the offer, as it would be cruel to kill those who had surrendered and difficult to surround such an enormous host with a guard. "Rather," they said, "let them perish by the right of war" and the signal for slaughter was given to the soldiers who had mounted the walls.

The destruction of Upse alarmed other tribes. Zor-sines, after long hesitating as to whether he should take thought for the desperate situation of Mithridates or his own kingdom, decided to protect his own and prostrated himself before the effigy of Caesar (which was carried with the standards). Such a bloodless victory was considered a great honor to the Roman army. But on their return by sea, some of their ships were surrounded by the barbarians, who killed the prefects and a great number of the soldiers of the auxiliary cohorts.

Meanwhile Mithridates, finding no support in arms,

began to think of an appeal for sympathy. His brother Cotys, once a traitor, later an enemy, he feared and there was no Roman present with sufficient authority to make his promises worth much. He then turned to Eunones, entered his palace, fell on his knees and said, "I, Mithridates, for so many years sought by the Romans on land and on sea am present of my own accord. Treat as you please the descendants of the great Mithridates - my glorious ancestry being the only thing of which I have not been deprived by the enemy." Eunones, moved by the renown of the suppliant, his changed circumstances and his not undignified appeal, sent ambassadors to Claudius to plead for Mithridates. Inasmuch as he deserved severer punishment, he did not ask for power, but only that he should not be led in triumph nor pay the death penalty.

Claudius hesitated, uncertain whether it would be better to receive the captive with an assurance of safety or to recover him in war. His passion for vengeance inclined him to the latter course but on the other hand

it was argued that he would undertake a war greatly to his disadvantage considering the nature and inhabitants of that country. If victory were won he would gain slight glory while defeat would result in deep disgrace. Why not let the king live on in poverty, an exile, who would be the more severely punished the longer his life? Following these arguments, Claudius wrote to Eunones that Mithridates certainly deserved the uttermost punishment, which he had the power to inflict, but observing the practice of his ancestors, he would show as much kindness to a suppliant as persistence against a foe.

Mithridates was then brought to Rome by Junius Cilo, procurator of Pontus. In the presence of Caesar he is said to have spoken with more spirit than was consistent with his condition. He said, "I have not been sent back to you, but have returned of my own accord. If you do not believe it, set me free and see if you can catch me." He also preserved a calm expression while being exhibited as an object of interest to the people. Consular insignia were decreed to Cilo, the praetorian to Aquila.

In 51 A.D. a war breaking out between the Armenians Tac.XII,44-51.



and the Hiberi, seriously involved the Romans and the Parthians. Vologeses was still king of Parthia, Pharasmenes had long ruled in Hiberia, while Mithridates, his brother, (who had previously been sent by Claudius) held Armenia. Radamistus, son of Pharasmenes, desired to get possession of his father's kingdom. Pharasmenes, in fear, turned the attention of his son to Armenia. Radamistus, then, pretending to be at variance with his father, went to his uncle Mithridates, by whom he was treated as a son, incited the nobles to revolution and then, under guise of a reconciliation, returned to his father. Meanwhile Pharasmenes invented excuses for war, at the same time furnishing his son with troops. Radamistus drove Mithridates from the open field into a fortress at Gorneas, protected by Roman soldiers, with Caelius Pollio the prefect and Casperius, the centurion, in charge. When Radamistus had unsuccessfully made an attempt upon the fortifications, he began a blockade. Unsuccessful also in this he succeeded in bribing Pollio, in spite of the objections of Casperius. The latter finally agreed upon a truce and withdrew, intending, if he could not deter Pharasmenes from war,

of informing Ummidius Quadratus, governor of Syria, of the condition of Armenia. Pollio then tried to urge Mithridates to make a treaty with Pharasmenes.

While Mithridates was hesitating, Casperius went to Pharasmenes and demanded that the Hiberi withdraw. Pharasmenes pretended to comply while secretly he was urging on his son. Pollio secretly bribed the soldiers to mutiny, thus forcing Mithridates to submit. Radamistus rushed into his arms, feigning compliance, calling him father-in-law and parent. (He was son-in-law of Mithridates). He promised under oath not to do him violence either with poison or sword. Then he led him to a sacred grove in order that peace might be established with the gods as witnesses. While arranging the treaty Mithridates was seized and thrown prostrate. Immediately a crowd rushed up, bound his hands, and applying shackles to his feet dragged him along, besides offering him insults and blows. Some however commiserated such a reversal of fortune. His wife and children followed, overcome with grief. Pharasmenes' greed for

dominion was stronger than his love for his brother. He ordered him killed but spared himself the sight of the deed. Radamistus, as though mindful of his oath, used neither sword nor poison to destroy his sister (wife of Mithridates) and uncle, threw them upon the ground and encompassed their death by covering them with a mass of heavy garments. The sons of Mithridates were also killed because they had wept over the death of their parents.

Quadratus, learning that Mithridates had been betrayed, called a council to ask whether he should take vengeance or not. The majority preferred a safe course, saying that it were better for Radamistus to keep his ill-gotten gains, provided he was hated, as that would prevent a powerful union among them, which might be detrimental to the power of Rome. This sentiment prevailed, yet to avoid the appearance of assenting to the crime, messengers were sent to Pharasmenes to bid him withdraw and also to remove his son.

Julius Paetignus, procurator of Cappadocia, a man of low character but a former friend of Claudius, collected

the auxiliary forces, ostensibly to recover Armenia, but instead plundered the allies. His men deserted him, the barbarians rushed in, and Paelignus fled to Radamistus, whom he persuaded to assume the royal insignia, which Radamistus did. When the report of this disgraceful act spread, Quadratus, fearing that Paelignus might be taken as an example of Roman character, sent Helvidius Priscus to restore order. He quickly crossed Mt. Taurus and had adjusted affairs, when ordered back to Syria, lest occasion for war with Parthia should arise. For Vologeses, thinking that he saw an opportunity to invade Armenia, was preparing to bestow the kingdom upon his brother, Tiridates, in order that no member of his family might be without dominion. (Pacorus, another brother held Media). The Parthians entered, dispersed the Hiberi without a battle and captured Artaxata and Tigranocerta. A severe winter together with an inadequate food supply resulted in a pestilence which compelled Vologeses to relinquish his present plans.

Armenia, again unoccupied, was invaded by Radamistus,

who was more cruel than before on the pretext that the Armenians were rebellious and likely to revolt at any opportune time. Though accustomed to servitude, their endurance gave out and they surrounded the palace in arms. Radamistus' only resource was his swift horses, on which he and his wife Zenobia escaped. Zenobia held out for a time, but unable to continue suppliantly begged to be released from the humiliation of captivity by an honorable death. Radamistus at first hesitated, admiring her courage and sick with fear that she might be captured if left behind. Finally because of his intense love, and not untrained for acts of violence he drew his sword, inflicted a wound and dragged her to the bank of the Araxes into which he threw her dead body, that it also might escape the hands of the enemy. He then speedily made his way to Hiberia.

Meanwhile Zenobia, still breathing and showing signs of life, was discovered in the water's edge by shepherds. Thinking, from her noble appearance that she was not base-born, they bound up her wounds, and on hearing of her misfortune took her to Artaxata, whence she was taken to Tiridates, by whom she was courteously received and treated as a queen.

X. WARS IN GERMANY.

Tac. XI, 16-21

The Cherusci, a German tribe, having lost all their nobles in civil wars except Italicus, who was living at Rome, sent for him as their king. He was the son of Flavius, brother of Arminius, and a daughter of the chief of the Chatti. Italicus was handsome, skilled in horsemanship and the use of weapons of war. Claudius gave him money and attendants and sent him off saying that never before had a Roman citizen gone to rule a foreign nation.

On his arrival he became at once popular, showing no preference for any of the factions, at times courteous and temperate, displeasing none, at times given to drinking and wantonness, pastimes pleasing to the barbarians. His popularity had spread far among his neighbors, when some, suspicious of his power, won adherents by making them believe that Germany was being deprived of her freedom by Rome, that Italicus, brought up on foreign soil, was untrustworthy and would surely, if he were like his father, be disloyal to them. A large force



gathered about them but equally numerous was the support of Italicus. They declared that he had not usurped the power but had come at their call; that they should try his valor to see if he were worthy of his family; that the word liberty was a mere pretext on the part of men, base and dangerous, whose only hopes lay in civil discords. A fierce conflict took place in which the king was victorious. Then as a result of his good fortune he became despotic, was driven out, restored with the aid of the Langobardi, and in prosperity and adversity alike brought injury upon the Cherusci.

About the same time (47 A.D.) the Chauci, while Corbulo was on his way, invaded lower Germany, led by Gannascus, a Canninefate, who had deserted from the Roman auxiliary service and as a plunderer descended upon Gaul. Meanwhile Corbulo entered the province, brought his fleet up the Rhine, sunk the enemy's ships, drove out Gannascus, and restored among the soldiers, who preferred plundering to actual military service, the discipline of former times. No one was allowed to leave the line or to fight without orders; they were to be always in arms,

while offenders were severely punished.

Thus Corbulo inspired terror both in his own troops and in the enemy. The Frisians, who had been disloyal, gave hostages and settled on lands marked out by Corbulo. He also gave them a senate, magistrates, and laws. To prevent infidelity, he built a strong garrison, then sent envoys to win the Chauci to surrender and to kill Gannascus. The Chaucæ were aroused by his murder and Corbulo was sowing the seeds of rebellion, news of which was pleasing to most, displeasing to but few. Accordingly Claudius prohibited further attacks in Germany and ordered him to remove his garrisons to the west of the Rhine.

Corbulo received the message as he was planning to encamp on hostile soil. Though many thoughts filled his mind, of fear from the emperor, scorn from the barbarians, and ridicule from the allies, he said nothing more than "Happy were the Roman generals in earlier times", and gave the signal for retreat. To keep his soldiers occupied he had them dig a ditch between the Meuse and the Rhine that the changes and delays of the Ocean might be

avoided. The emperor, though he had denied him the opportunity of carrying on the war, gave him triumphal honors.

Not long after Curtius Rufus obtained the same honor. He had opened up silver mines in the territory of the Mattiaci, but the labor was burdensome and dangerous and the reward slight and of short duration. The soldiers performed tasks underground that were difficult enough in the open. Worn to exhaustion, they sent a secret despatch to Caesar asking that triumphal distinctions be given in advance to any one to whom he was about to entrust his forces, thereby hoping to forestall for the future such activity on the part of their commanders.

The marauding excursions of the Chatti in upper Ger- Tac.XII,27-  
many were causing wide-spread terror. Thereupon Publius 30.A.D.50.  
Pomponius sent the Vangionae and the Nemetae who served as his auxiliary forces, together with the allied cavalry, to cut off the plunderers on their retreat or to surround them when dispersed and off their guard. The soldiers vigorously carried out the general's plan. Their joy was

augmented by the recovery of some who had been in slavery ever since the disaster of Varus forty years previous. They returned loaded with booty to Mount Taunus where Pomponius was waiting with his legions to see whether the Chatti in their desire for vengeance would offer an opportunity for battle. The Chatti, fearing that they would be surrounded by the Romans on the one hand, on the other by the Cherusci with whom they were at variance, sent envoys and hostages to Rome. For this achievement the insignia of triumph were decreed to Pomponius.

At the same time Vannius, placed over the Suebi by Drusus Caesar, was expelled from his kingdom. During the early part of his reign he was renowned and acceptable to his people. Later, because of his continuation in power, he became tyrannical and lost his position through the hatred of his neighbors and strife among his own people. The instigators were Vibilius, king of the Hermanduri, and Vangio and Silo, nephews of Vannius. Claudius, though often implored, sent no army to interfere with the contending forces of the barbarians, but simply promised Vannius a safe retreat if he should be driven out.

He also wrote to Palpellius Hister, who was governor of Pannonia, telling him to station a legion and the auxiliary forces from his province along the bank of the Danube and to aid the vanquished and strike terror into the victors, thus preventing them, elated with their success, from also disturbing the peace of the Roman empire. For an enormous force of the Lugii and other tribes were drawing near, lured by the report of a rich kingdom, which Vannius, during his thirty years' rule, had augmented by plunder and tribute. His own troops consisted of foot-soldiers and cavalry from the Sarmatian Iazyges, a force unequally matched with that of the enemy. He therefore decided to make his defense in the forts and to protract the war.

But the Iazyges, who were impatient of a siege, by wandering over the neighboring plains made a battle unavoidable, as the Lugii and the Hermunduri had advanced in that direction and made an attack. And so Vannius left his fortress and was routed in battle and though fortune was against him, was praised because he had

entered the fight himself and been wounded. He escaped to the fleet awaiting him on the Danube. Later his clients followed and were given lands in Pannonia. Vangio and Silo divided the kingdom between them and proved very loyal to the Romans.



XI. WARS IN BRITAIN.

At the request of Bericus who had been driven from Britain by a revolution, Claudius sent (43 A.D.) Aulus Plautius, a senator of great renown, with troops. The soldiers refused to follow their commander beyond Gaul to an unknown world, and delayed until Narcissus arrived and attempted to address them. Refusing to listen to a freedman, they turned to Plautius and proceeded to cross the channel in three divisions. On landing they met with no opposition as the Britons had not expected them. At first they even refused to meet the invaders in battle and hid in the forests and swamps, hoping to exhaust the Romans. Plautus had considerable trouble in searching for them. They were divided into small districts ruled by kings. Caratacus and Togodumnus were conquered and fled. The Bodunni made a treaty and leaving a garrison there Plautius advanced to a river on the other bank of which the Britains were carelessly encamped, believing that the Romans would be unable to cross. But the Celtae, in full armor, swam the stream, wounded Dio LX,19-22.

many of their horses which were yoked to chariots so that in the confusion even the mounted soldiers were unable to save themselves. Plautius also sent across Flavius Vespasian, afterwards emperor, and his brother Sabinus, a lieutenant of his. They killed and wounded many who were taken off their guard. The next day the survivors joined in battle. The forces were evenly matched until Gnaeus Hosidius Geta, at the risk of capture, conquered the barbarians. For this he received triumphal honors, though he had never held the consulship.

The Britons then retired to the mouth of the Thames. Familiar with the stream they easily crossed while the Romans were unfortunate in their attempt to follow. Again the Celtae swam the river while others crossed by a bridge farther up. Many of the Britons were killed and in pursuing the rest the Romans lost several men in the swamps. Soon Togodumnus perished. To avenge his death the Britons united. Plautius in alarm sent for Claudius as he had been ordered in case of necessity. A large reinforcement had accordingly been assembled in

advance.

Claudius left his colleague Vitellius the consul in charge at Rome and sailed for Ostia, from there to Massilia, then through Gaul, partly by land, partly by water, crossed the channel and joined the army near the Thames. He crossed the river, defeated them in a battle, and captured Camulodunum. Next he gained control over several tribes, some by treaty, others by force, deprived them of arms and assigned them to Plautius, leaving him to subjugate the remaining tribes. He was frequently saluted as emperor, <sup>contrary to precedent</sup> since no one was allowed to receive this title more than once in the same war. Sending ahead the news of his victory by his sons-in-law, Magnus and Silanus, Claudius hastened back to Rome.

In recognition of his campaign the Senate voted him a triumph and an annual festival commemorating the event, also an arch bearing a trophy to be erected at Rome, another in Gaul. The title of Britannicus was bestowed upon him and his son and Messalina was granted the use of the carpentum as well as the privilege of

front seats.

Claudius had been absent from Rome sixty days, only sixteen of which were spent in Britain. He celebrated his triumph (44 A.D.) with great pomp and extravagance. Suet.Cl.17  
Dio LX,23.  
Governors of some of the provinces and even some exiles were allowed to be present for the spectacle. The chariot of Claudius was followed by Messalina riding in the "carpentum." Next followed those who had won the triumphal ornaments in the same war. The rest followed on foot wearing the praetexta, while Crassus Frugi wearing a tunic embroidered with palm branches in gold followed on a horse with trappings. Claudius observed the precedent of ascending the steps of the Capitol on his knees supported by his sons-in-law on either side. On the top of the Palace, as a symbol of the Ocean crossed and conquered, he placed a naval crown near the civic crown. Following the triumph was held the festival mention of which had been previously made.

In 47 A.D. (no account is given of the intervening years) Vespasian, hemmed in by the barbarians and in Dio LXI,30.

danger of annihilation, was saved by his son Titus, who with unusual daring broke through the enclosing line, pursued and destroyed the enemy. Plautius, for his skill in handling the war, was highly praised by the emperor and given an ovation.

Ostorius, the successor of Plautius and propraetor Tac.XII,  
31-40.  
in Britain, found that the enemy (50 A.D.) had invaded the territory of the Roman allies, who thought that a new general as yet unacquainted with his army would not oppose them in the beginning of winter. Ostorius hurried against them, quickly cut down all who resisted him, pursued those who fled, and to avoid a hostile peace, prepared to disarm those whom he suspected, and to bring into subjugation the country between the Avon and the Severn. The Iceni, a strong nation, who had voluntarily formed an alliance with the Romans were the first to resist. They instigated their neighbors to revolt and took their position in a place fortified by a crude barrier, inaccessible for cavalry. Though Ostorius had only allied troops, he trained his cavalry for the duties

of foot-soldiers, broke through the fortifications, routed the enemy, who became entangled in their defenses, yet resisted bravely for a time.

By their defeat, others who were on the point of revolting were quieted. The army next marched upon the Decangi, devastating their fields, and when within a short distance of the sea facing Hibernia, troubles arose among the Brigantes, compelling <sup>Ostorius</sup> A to return. After a few had been killed and the rest pardoned, they calmed down, but the Silures were moved neither by severity nor mercy and were kept down only by an encampment of legions in their territory. Accordingly a colony of veterans were settled at Camulodunum as a defense against the rebels and to imbue the allies with respect for the Roman laws.

The army next encountered the Silures, a fierce people relying on Caratacus, who had won great military renown. Inferior in military strength he shifted the war into the territory of the Ordovices, where, supported by all who feared peace with the Romans, he tried the



issue of a decisive battle. He took up a position with entrances and exits alike unfavorable to his foe, but advantageous to himself. Then on the lofty mountains wherever approachable, stones were piled up for a rampart, while a river served as a defense in front. The armed men took their position in front of the fortifications. Their leaders went about encouraging them, especially Caratacus, flying hither and thither, declaring that that day and that battle would mean either recovery of freedom or eternal bondage. He reminded them of the expulsion of Julius Caesar by their ancestors, through whose courage they had escaped Roman dominion and had preserved their wives and children inviolate. Every soldier bound himself by an oath not to give way before weapons or wounds.

Their enthusiasm astounded the Roman general. Besides, the immense fortifications and numerous foe terrified him. But the soldiers demanded battle, encouraged by the prefects and tribunes. Then Ostorius crossed the river and came up to the rampart. The barbarians

were gaining the advantage until the Romans formed the testudo, tore down the stone fence and fought hand to hand. Then the barbarians retreated to the heights but were followed and cut down on all sides. Caratacus, his wife and daughter were captured, and his brothers, too, surrendered.

Caratacus sought the protection of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, but was chained and delivered up to his conquerors, nine years after the war in Britain began, (counting the years from 43 to 51 inclusively). His fame spread and became known even in Italy. All were eager to see the man who had so long resisted the Roman power. The emperor summoned the people; the praetorian cohorts were stationed before the camp; in the procession were displayed the royal vassals and spoils which Caratacus had obtained in wars. Next came his wife and daughter and last of all Caratacus himself. All the rest were humble on account of fear, but Caratacus sought no compassion either by expression or by words. When placed before the tribunal of the emperor, he said, "If my

prosperity had been less, you would not have disdained to receive under a treaty of peace a king descended from illustrious ancestors and ruling many nations. My present lot is as glorious to you as it is degrading to me. If you choose to rule the world does it follow that all will submit to slavery? Were I being delivered as one who had surrendered without a struggle, neither my misfortune nor your glory would have become famous; my punishment would be forgotten, but if you save my life unharmed, I shall be an everlasting example of your clemency."

As a result of this speech the emperor granted pardon to Caratacus, his wife and his brothers. Released from their bonds they did homage to the emperor and to Agrippina also, who was conspicuous on another throne - an innovation, for a woman to sit surrounded by the standards. In fact Agrippina was displaying herself as a sharer in the empire won by her ancestors.

The Senate then assembled, highly eulogized Ostorius for the capture of Caratacus, and decreed him triumphal honors. Later Ostorius was less successful, either because his soldiers were less persistent since Caratacus

was out of the way, or because the enemy was more eager for vengeance. They rushed upon the Roman soldiers drawn up against the Silures and would have routed them entirely had help not come from neighboring towns and fortresses. The camp prefects and centurions were killed and many soldiers lost their lives. But Ostorius defeated them again and followed up his victory by a series of skirmishes. The Silures resisted most stubbornly, having heard a report that a Roman commander had said that the Silures ought to be blotted out. Therefore they cut off two of our auxiliary cohorts who were incautiously foraging and were bribing other nations to revolt, when to the delight of the enemy Ostorius died.

Aulus Didius was appointed to succeed Ostorius. Though arriving quickly he found matters in confusion. In the meantime the legate had been defeated by the Silures. The disaster was exaggerated by the enemy in order to alarm the new general, while he in turn magnified it that he might win greater glory if he quelled the disturbance and more indulgence if he were unsuccessful. The Silures scoured the country far and wide until de-

feated by Didius.

After the capture of Caratacus, Venutius became leader of the Brigantes. He had been loyal to Rome and had been defended by their armies as long as he was the husband of Cartismandua. Subsequently when a war broke out between them he became hostile to Rome. At first they fought against each other and Cartismandua by stratagem captured the brother and kinsman of Venutius. The enemy was enraged at the thought of falling under the power of a woman. They invaded her kingdom, aided by some cohorts sent to her by the Romans who had foreseen this event. Venutius was practically defeated. The legion under Cassius Nasica, an officer of Didius, fought with a similar result.

XII. OTHER WARS AND DISTURBANCES.

With the Moors. - The country of the Moors was over- Dio LX,9.  
run by Suetonius Paulinus, an ex-praetor, and later, their  
general Salabus was twice defeated by Gnaeus Hosidius  
Geta. Salabus took refuge in a sandy district whither  
Geta followed, after having provided himself with water.  
But when the supply gave out and no more could be found,  
he was unable either to advance or withdraw. The bar-  
barians through knowledge of the country could always  
get water. While Geta was trying to think of some means  
of getting out of his difficulty, one of the natives who  
was friendly to him persuaded him to make use of incan-  
tations. Geta took the advice and immediately enough  
rain to satisfy the thirst of the soldiers fell, at the  
same time terrifying the enemy who thought that the gods  
were assisting the Romans. Consequently they came to  
terms. Claudius divided them into two districts and  
appointed two knights as governors.

The Lycians had been deprived of their liberty be- Suet.Cl.25.  
cause of internal dissensions, and, having risen in revolt Dio LX,17.



and slain some of the Romans, were added to the praefecture of Pamphylia (A.D. 43).

Shortly after his accession Claudius had confirmed the authority of Agrippa in Galilea, the kingdom which had been given to him by Gains, and also added to it Judaea and Samaria, over which his grandfather Herod had ruled.

Joseph  
Antiq. 19-1

About this time sedition arose at Alexandria between the Greeks and the Jews, for on the death of Gains, the Jews, who had been abused both by him and by the people of Alexandria, took up arms to defend themselves, Claudius sent an order to the governor of Egypt to quell ~~quell~~ the tumult. At the request of Agrippa and Herod, younger brother of Agrippa and King of Chalcis in Syria, he sent both to Alexandria and to Syria an edict to this effect: "The Jews at Alexandria have obtained from the kings of Egypt equal privileges with the other inhabitants of the city, as the public records and edicts show. After Alexandria was subjected to Rome by Augustus, her rights and privileges were preserved without dispute by those who had charge of that province. On the

death of the Jewish ethnarch Augustus did not prohibit them from choosing a successor, wishing that peoples be granted the right of preserving their own customs and that they should not be compelled to act contrary to the religion of their country. In the time of Gaius the people of Alexandria acted insolently toward the Jews and Gaius tried them severely by attempting to make them set up his statue and worship him as a god. I wish the Jews to continue to enjoy their former rights, privileges, and customs, and I charge both parties to avoid trouble after the promulgation of this edict."

To the rest of the empire he sent this edict:  
"At the request of king Agrippa and king Herod that I gave the same rights and privileges to all the Jews in other parts of the Empire as I give to those at Alexandria, I gladly comply, as I think that the loyalty and friendship exhibited towards us by the Jews make them worthy of the favor, likewise do I think that no Greek city should be deprived of its rights and customs, since they were allowed to preserve them under Augustus. Therefore I think it proper to permit the

Jews to keep their customs, but inasmuch as I am showing them this kindness, I charge them to be moderate and not to show contempt for the superstitious observances of their nations, but to keep their own laws only. Let this decree be engraved on tables by the magistrates of the of the various cities, colonies and municipalities of the Empire, and let them expose it to the public for thirty days in a place such that it may be easily read from the ground."

On the death of Agrippa, Claudius sent Cuspius Joesph  
Fudus to be procurator of Judaea and that entire kingdom. Antiq. 19, 9;  
20, 5.  
He was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, who in turn was  
succeeded by Cumanus. Later trouble arose between the  
Jews and Samaritans. The Jews, on their way to Joseph.  
Jerusalem, were passing through the land of the Samaritans. Antiq. 20, 6.  
There they were assaulted and some were killed. On hearing  
this, the Jewish leaders appealed to Cumanus to avenge the  
murders, but he was bribed by the Samaritans to silence.  
Accordingly the Jews rose in arms and began plundering  
their enemy's villages. Cumanus armed the Samaritans  
against them and slew many. Finally the Jews were pre-

vailed upon by the eminent persons at Jerusalem to end this warfare. The leaders of the Samaritans went to Quadratus, governor of Syria, and accused the Jews of plunder, and thus of insult toward the Romans; the Jews, on the other hand, accused the Samaritans of originating the tumult. On further investigation, Quadratus ordered the chief men of both parties, including Cumanus and Celer the tribune to go to Claudius for a hearing. On the day appointed, the freedmen and friends of Claudius showed their zeal in favor of Cumanus and the Samaritans, but Agrippa junior entreated Agrippina to persuade Claudius in favor of the Jews. Claudius therefore was so well disposed beforehand that on hearing that the Samaritans were ringleaders in this trouble, ordered those who <sup>had</sup> come to him to be slain, Cumanus to be banished, and Celer to be drawn through the city of Jerusalem in the sight of all and then slain. Claudius then sent Felix to be procurator of Judaea.

Felix, relying on the power of his brother Pallas (who had recently acquired wealth) thought that he could commit acts of injustice with impunity. The Jews had shown signs of sedition and on hearing of the assassination of Galus exhibited further disloyalty. Meanwhile Felix by untimely remedies stimulated them to anger and thus increased their misdeeds. In wickedness he had a rival, Cumanus, who held part of the province, including Galilee. Samaria was in the domain of Felix, Galilee and Samaria had long been hostile and now, out of contempt for their rulers, engaged to some extent in fighting, more in plundering each other and carrying the booty to their procurators. The latter were at first pleased with this, but on seeing that the increasing mischief was becoming detrimental to their territory, interposed with an armed force and some of their soldiers were killed. Quadratus, governor of Syria, came to the rescue (Ituraea and Judea had, on the death of their kings, Sohaemus and Agrippa, been annexed to the province of Syria in A.D. 49). He had the Jews who had slain Roman soldiers executed. Felix and Cumanus were to

be brought to trial according to the order of Claudius, who had heard of the causes of the rebellion. But Quadratus managed to prevent the trial of Felix, while Cumanus was condemned for the crimes of both. Then quiet was restored.

Shortly afterwards the Clitae, a nation of Cilicia Tac XII, 55 under the leadership of Troxobor, established their camp upon the rough mountain heights and descended in plundering raids upon the cities and coasts. They besieged the city Anemurium and routed a force which had been sent from Syria under Curtius Severus. After a time Antiochus (who Dio D X, 8. had been restored to Commagene, the kingdom of his father, by Gaius, deposed by him and restored by Claudius) by flattering the people and deceiving their leader, killed Tac XII, 55. Troxobor and by mild measures pacified the rest.



XIII. FAVORS CONFERRED UPON INDIVIDUALS AND NATIONS.

When Bosphorus was granted to Mithridates, Polemon Dio LX,8.  
was given land in Cilicia in place of it. The domain  
of Agrippa of Palestine, was enlarged and consular honors  
bestowed upon him. To his brother Herod were given  
praetorial dignities. They were allowed to enter the  
Senate and express their thanks to the emperor in Greek.  
On Rufrius Pollio Claudius bestowed an image and a seat Dio LX,23.  
in the Senate as often as Rufrius would enter that assem-  
bly with him. And lest this might seem an innovation,  
he declared that Augustus had done this in the case of a  
certain Valerius, a Ligurian. Laco, formerly "praefectus  
vigilum", now procurator of the Gauls, received the same  
mark of esteem, besides honors belonging to ex-consuls.  
Marcus Julius Cottius received an increase in his ances- Dio LX, 24  
tral domain, which included the Alps named after him, and  
was for the first time called king. An ovation was Suet.Cl.24.  
granted Aulus Plautius. Claudius want to meet him as he  
entered the city and on his approach to and return from  
the capitol the emperor walked on his left. Triumphal Dio LX,23.

distinctions were granted most lavishly on any occasion and with the slightest excuse. The honor was bestowed upon the Senators who took part in Claudius' triumph after the campaign in Britain. Silanus, who was betrothed to his daughter and as yet a mere boy, was distinguished in the same way. Many others obtained this token of regard so easily that the legions begged the emperor to grant this distinction to legates of consular rank at the time that they received the army so as to prevent their seeking occasion for war. After the Chauci, a German nation, had been overcome, Claudius allowed Gaius Secundus to take the cognomen Chaucius. Suet.Cl.24.

Though many persons unworthy of citizenship were excluded from its privileges, it was granted to some individuals and even nations quite without restrictions. As practically everywhere Romans were esteemed above foreigners, many sought the franchise by personal application to the emperor and many bought it from Messalina and the imperial freedmen. Though the right was at first bartered only for great sums, it later was so Dio LX,17

cheapened by the facility with which it was obtained that it came to be said that if a person only gave a man some broken glassware he might become a citizen. This behavior subjected the emperor to all sorts of jests.

Many persons were continually annoyed by blackmailers, who asserted that all who had received citizenship were supposed at all times to address the emperor with the proper title and bequeath him property at their death. The emperor interposed and forbade any one's being called to account for such negligence.

The Jews had increased so greatly that by reason of their multitude it would have been hard without a tumult to bar them from Rome. Claudius decided not to expel them but ordered them to follow the mode of life prescribed by their ancestors and not to assemble in numbers.

(The Jews, with Christ as instigator, were continually causing disturbances; therefore Claudius expelled them from Rome.") Suet. Cl. 25.

Inasmuch as Gallia Norborensis had shown especial reverence for the Senate, it received this privilege, that the senators from that province might visit their Tac. XIII, 23.

estates without seeking the approval of the Emperor.

The Rhodians were deprived of their liberty because Dio LX,24.  
they had impaled certain Romans. Claudius returned their Suet.Cl.25.  
liberty because of their repentance of their former mis-  
demeanors. The Rhodians had their freedom restored, which Tac.XII,58.  
had often been taken away or confirmed, according to their A.D.53.  
services to the Romans, in foreign wars, or their seditious  
misdeeds at home. Apamea, a city in Phrygia, shaken by  
an earthquake had her tribute remitted for five years.

According to an old stipulation, the Romans had Suet.Cl.25  
promised friendship and an alliance with king Seleucus & Tac.XII,58  
on condition that he would be responsible for the Tro-  
jans and thus render them immune from all burdens. Nero,  
then 16 years of age, anxious to distinguish himself as  
an orator, advocated their cause eloquently. By this  
he gained for his clients exemption from all public  
burdens. Bononia, too, by his pleading, was assisted  
with a bounty of 10,000,000 sesterces. It had been  
destroyed by fire.

The people of Cos were granted immunity from tax Tac.XII,61.

because the Argives of Coeus, father of Latona, had been its earliest inhabitants. Later Aesculapius, who introduced the art of medicine, which was practiced there by his descendants, had dwelt there, also Xenophon, a member of the same family, of whose medical skill Claudius took advantage. His request, the emperor thought, should be granted and out of deference to him the concession was made without any attempt at concealment on the part of Claudius, though their numerous services to Rome might have been given as a reason for asking the favor.

Envoys from Byzantium complaining to the Senate of Tac. XII, 62 & 63. their burdens, recounted the whole history of their relations with Rome, beginning with the treaty made when the latter were at war with the pseudo Philip of Macedonia. Then they reminded them of their services in war at numerous times since. Their enormous fish trade had made them wealthy, but their burdens had been so heavy, due to the late wars in Thrace and Bosphorus, that they petitioned for immunity or at least relief. Claudius remitted their tribute for five years.

XIV. LIFE IN THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

Wives and children of Claudius. - Claudius was twice betrothed while very young; to Aemilia Lepida, great-great-grand-daughter of Augustus, a maiden whom he had hitherto rejected because her parents had offended Augustus, and to Livia Medullina, whose cognomen was Camilla, whom he lost, as a result of ill-health, on the very day set for the wedding. Then he married, first, Plautia Urgulanilla, whose father had been honored with a triumph, but divorced her on account of the shamelessness of her passions and the suspicion of murder; next Aelia Paetina, daughter of a man of consular rank, whom he dismissed because of some trifling offenses; after these, Valeria Messalina, daughter of Barbatus Messala, and finally, on the murder of Messalina, Julia Agrippina, daughter of his brother Germanicus.

He had children by three wives; by Urgulanilla, Drusus and Claudia, by Paetina, Antonia, by Messalina, Octavia and Britannicus. Drusus died at Pompeii when a mere child, being strangled by a pear which he had tossed

Suet.Cl.  
26 & 27.



up into the air and then caught in his mouth. Some believed that he had been treacherously put to death by Sejanus, although he had been betrothed to his daughter a few days before. Claudia, daughter of one of his freedmen, born some time before he divorced Urgulanilla, had been acknowledged by Claudius, yet he ordered her to be thrown out and exposed at the door of her mother's house. Antonia was betrothed, first to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, later to Faustus Sulla; Octavia to Silanus, a nobleman, later to Nero, step-son of Claudius; Britannicus, born on the twentieth day of Claudius' reign, was a great favorite of his father, who would carry him, while yet a very small boy, into the assembly of the soldiers, hold him in his lap during the public games or lift him up in his arms, expressing hopes for his happy future, in which he was joined by the applauding crowds. Both Magnus and Silanus were later killed by Claudius.

Freedmen. - Among the especial favorites of Claudius were Suet. Cl. 28. Posides, to whom, at the time of his triumph over Britain, he had given a "hasta pura" in token of having saved the

life of a citizen; Felix, procurator of Judaea, whom he placed in charge of the cohorts and auxiliaries of that province, the husband of three queens; Harpocras, whom he honored with the privilege of being carried through the city in a sedan chair and of giving exhibitions in the name of the state; Polybius, his literary adviser, who often walked between the two consuls; and above all, Narcissus, his secretary, and Pallas, his accountant. By a decree of the Senate they were granted unprecedented privileges and even quaestorial and praetorial distinctions. Besides, he allowed them to make such free use of the imperial treasury that once when he complained of the scarcity of funds, some one wittily remarked that he would have means in abundance if he would enter into partnership with his two freedmen. Another of his freedmen was Callistus who had charge of the records of value. Dio LX,30.

Influenced by his wives and freedmen he lived, not as Suet.Cl.29. an emperor, but as a mere tool, and according to their advantage or even whims, bestowed offices, armies, exemptions, punishments, often unaware and ignorant of what he

was doing. Not to mention his lesser offences, he would recall gifts, annul decisions, substitute false letters patent for the original, or make flagrant changes in those already granted.

After becoming accustomed to gaze upon murder and bloodshed in the arena, he more readily resorted to homicide in other forms. Whenever Messalina and the freedmen desired any one's death, they would terrify him, with the result that their desires were regularly satisfied. Often by a sudden alarm his momentary terror led him to order some one's death. On recovering his senses and realizing what had been done he would be sorry and repentant. Dio LX, 14.

Though he punished the freedmen of others most cruelly in case he caught them in any crime, he was very lenient with his own. One day an actor in the theatre uttered the well known saying, "A knave who prospers scarce can be endured", whereupon all looked toward Polybius, who shouted out, "The same poet, however, says, 'Who once were goatherds now have royal power'", but received no punishment for his behavior. Dio LX, 29. A.D. 47.

Umbonius Silo, governor of Baetica, was ejected from the Senate for sending, as was alleged, too little grain to the soldiers in Mauretania. The actual cause was that he had offended some of the freedmen. Dio LX,24.

Narcissus openly made sport of Claudius. Once when he was holding court the Bithynians were accusing Junius Cilo, their governor, of bribery. Not hearing on account of the din, Claudius asked those near him what they were saying. Thereupon Narcissus said, "They are expressing their gratitude to Junius". Claudius replied, "Then let him have charge of them two years more." Dio LX,33.

Claudius killed thirty-five senators and more than three hundred Roman knights with so little concern that when a centurion reported that a certain man of consular rank had been killed according to his command he declared that he had never given any such order. However, he approved of the deed as the freedman affirmed that the soldiers had done their duty by anticipating the emperor in taking vengeance. He was forever giving to the soldiers as a watchword this verse about its being necessary Suet.Cl.29. Dio LX,16.

"In one's first anger to ward off the foe". He threw out many other hints to the same effect in Greek before them and the Senate. Those who could understand what he said simply laughed at him.

Excesses of Messalina. - Messalina, herself a wanton, compelled other women to share her vices, and men who were willing to comply with her every request she cherished, while those who refused were brought to destruction. These deeds, carried on so openly, for a long time escaped the notice of Claudius as Messalina intercepted by threats or bribery those who were able to afford him information. Dio X,18.  
A.D. 43.

Out of hatred for Gaius, the senators resolved to melt all the bronze coinage which had his image stamped upon it. This bronze was converted by Messalina into statues of Mnester the dancer, as a mark of gratitude to him for playing the role of her paramour. She had been madly infatuated with him and when he avoided her advances she begged Claudius to order him to obey her, pretending that she wished his services. By this design she succeeded, Dio LX,22.

Mnester believing that Claudius knew her real purpose.

The people were vexed at seeing Claudius so much the slave of his wives and freedmen. This was especially shown when he and all the rest wished to kill Sabinus, formerly governor of Celtae, in a gladiatorial fight, but he appealed to Messalina and was spared. They were also annoyed to think that Mnester no longer appeared on the stage, as he was a great favorite with them. Whenever any talk of his not dancing was heard, Claudius would feign surprise and protest that he was not in his house. Though all were grieved to see him so ignorant of affairs in his own house, they were prevented from revealing anything to him through fear of Messalina, and partly to save Mnester from punishment.

Messalina was on the point of bringing an accusation against Agrippina, whom she hated, but was prevented only by her mad passion for Silius. She was so enamoured of him that she induced him to divorce his wife and give his attention wholly to her. He was conscious both of his wickedness and his danger, but he knew that refusal would

Dio LX, 28.  
A.D. 46.

Tac. XI, 12-  
13.



mean death, while, if he complied, he might still have some chance of escaping detection. Accordingly he enjoyed the present and risked the future. Messalina openly went, with a large retinue, to his house, dogged his footsteps when he went out, gave him wealth and offices and, finally, as though the very empire had changed hands, the very slaves, freedmen, and household treasures of the emperor were seen at the home of her paramour. Claudius, ignorant of all this was busy with his censorial duties.

Weary of the facility with which she gained her favorites, she proceeded to unheard of excesses. Silius, either through lack of sense or because he thought that the only safety against dangers was unrestrained audacity, urged her to discontinue concealment. They had numerous accomplices, he said, if they should be exposed. As for himself, he was ready to marry her and to adopt Britannicus. Messalina would have the same power, with added security if they could anticipate Claudius, who, though not looking for treachery, was yet prone to be hasty in his wrath.

Suet.Cl.29  
& Tac.XI,  
26 & 27.  
A.D. 48.

Messalina did not acquiesce at once, not out of love for her husband, but for fear that Silius, after gaining the power, might spurn her as an adulteress and estimate at their true worth the crimes which he had countenanced in the midst of perils. Yet she longed for a nominal marriage, i.e., without divorce, probably on account of the enormous infamy attached to such an act. She waited only until Claudius set out for Ostia to perform a sacrifice, when she celebrated a regular marriage.

On the day appointed, she and Silius, as if they were to be united in regular marriage, appeared before those who were to sign the marriage contract. The procedure customary at weddings was observed in detail, the auspices were taken, sacrifices offered to the gods, with the banquet following.

Tac.XI,27.

It has also been said that Claudius himself signed the marriage contract, induced to do so on the ground that it was being purposely feigned, but in reality to ward off and transfer danger, which portents indicated were threatening him as the husband of Messalina. This

Suet.61.29.

can scarcely be possible in view of the attitude exhibited by Claudius on having the facts disclosed to him.

The members of the imperial household shuddered at the events that were taking place. They felt that the outrages were no longer endurable, for surely, they thought, Silius was arming himself for no other purpose than to become emperor. The outcome was evident. Their hope was, through the enormity of the charge, to condemn Messalina before Claudius should hear her - defense or even her confession, as they feared that her words would easily win him to her side. Tac. XI, 28.

Murders and Exiles due to Messalina. - Messalina became enraged at her niece Julia, daughter of Germanicus, because the latter neither honored nor flattered her. She was also jealous of the girl's beauty and of the favor she received from Claudius. Accordingly she had her banished on a charge of adultery, for which Seneca also was exiled. Later without any definite charge and without allowing her to plead her defense, she had her put to death. Suet. Cl. 29.  
Dio LX, 8.  
A.D. 41.

Gaius Appius Silanus, a man of noble family and governor of Spain, had been sent for by Claudius, who had married him to Messalina's mother and held him in honor among his dearest friends. Then suddenly he killed him. Silanus had offended Messalina and by so doing alienated Narcissus. As they had no charge to bring against him, Narcissus invented a dream. Then early in the morning, like one struck with terror he rushed into the room of the emperor, who was still in bed, and told him of his dream, in which, he said, he had seen Claudius murdered by Appius. Messalina, feigning surprise, said that she had had the same dream for several nights. Shortly after it was announced, according to a pre-arranged plan, that Appius was forcing his way in. As a matter of fact, he had on the day previous been ordered by them to be present at that time. As though his appearance was palpable proof of his intention and the truth of the dream, Claudius ordered him to be put to death.

After the death of Appius an unsuccessful plot was formed against <sup>Claudius.</sup> Then he put many to death on the

Dio LX,14.  
Suet.C1.39.  
A.D.42.

Dio LX,15-16.  
A.D. 42.

charge of conspiracy. Messalina with Narcissus and the other freedmen, seized this opportunity of wreaking their vengeance upon their enemies. They employed slaves and freedmen as informers against their own masters. These masters and others of nobility, foreigners, plebeians, knights and senators alike were put to the torture, in spite of the fact that Claudius at the beginning of his reign had sworn not to torture any free citizen. Even many women were led in chains upon a scaffold and their bodies like those of others thrown down the Scalae Gemoniae. Of those executed outside the prison only the heads were exhibited in that place. Some of the most guilty, however, saved their lives by favoritism or money, with the help of Messalina and the imperial freedmen following Narcissus. Trials were held in the senate-house in the presence of Claudius, his prefects and his freedmen. With a consul on each side of him he made his report to the senators.

The death of Catonius Justus, captain of the praetorian guard, was compassed by Messalina before he could carry out his intention of telling the emperor of her

scandalous conduct.

Becoming jealous of Julia, daughter of Drusus, son of Tiberius (and later wife of Nero Germanicus), without any definite charge and allowing her no defense, she ordered her killed. About this time also a knight, charged with conspiracy was hurled down the Capitoline.

Dio LX, 18 &  
Suet. Cl. 29.  
A.D. 43.

Valerius Asiaticus when consul the second time resigned voluntarily before the end of the year. Many had done so on account of poverty, as the expenses connected with the horse-races had greatly increased. But Asiaticus withdrew simply because of his wealth. He was extremely rich and, by being consul for the second time, aroused the jealousy of many. He desired in a way, therefore, to overthrow himself, feeling that he would thus be less likely to encounter danger. Yet he was deceived.

Dio LX 27  
A.D. 47.

Messalina believed that Asiaticus was one of the lovers of Poppaea, her rival for the love of Mnester. She also coveted the gardens of Lucullus, which Asiaticus was magnificently beautifying. So she suborned Suillius

Tac. XLI-3  
and  
Dio LX, 29.



to accuse both him and Poppaea, and along with him, Sosibius, tutor of Britannicus, who was to warn Claudius that Asiaticus, the chief of the conspirators against Gaius, was threatening the throne, that he was planning a journey to the armies in Germany, that, born at Vienne, in Gallia Norbonensis, and supported by powerful kinsmen, he had ready means of arousing the nations of his fatherland.

Though Claudius generally paid no attention to information regarding plots against him, saying, "It doesn't do to adopt the same defensive tactics against a flea as against a beast of prey", yet in the case of Asiaticus he dispatched Crispinus, prefect of the praetorians and first husband of Poppaea, with troops as if to check a war. Asiaticus was found at Baiae, put in chains and hurried to Rome.

He was not granted the privilege of a trial before the senate, but was heard in the chamber of the emperor, in the presence of Messalina. There Suillius charged him with corruption of the soldiers, with being the paramour of Poppaea and with unchastity. At this he no

longer suppressed his emotion but burst out saying, "Ask your own sons, Suillius; they will own me a man." He further declared that he knew nothing of those who were testifying against him. A soldier who stated that he had been an associate of his, being asked which one Asiaticus was, pointed out a bald man, baldness being the only thing he was sure of about Asiaticus.

Claudius was deeply moved by the defense of the accused and even Messalina wept, but as she left the chamber, warned Vitellius not to let him escape. She herself hastening to the destruction of Poppaea, hired agents to drive her to suicide by threatening to put her in prison.

While Claudius was deliberating about the acquittal of Asiaticus, Vitellius, pretending not to notice Claudius' inclination in favor of the defendant, stated that Asiaticus had sent for him and requested the privilege of deciding upon the manner of his death. He then recounted the services of Asiaticus to the state, his friendship with himself and their respect for Antonia, Claudius'

mother, and suggested that he be granted the favor he desired. The emperor's reply was equally gracious. Some of his friends urged him to die of starvation but he declined with thanks. He took his usual exercise, bathed, dined, and after saying that he would rather have died by the treachery of Tiberius and the violence of Gaius than by the deception of a woman and the infamous mouth of Vitellius, opened his veins, but not before he had seen his funeral pyre and ordered it removed to another place lest the foliage of the trees should be injured by the heat, such composure did he show at the last hour.

Suillius next accused before the senate two Roman knights named Petra. The actual cause of their death was that they were supposed to have offered their home as a meeting place for Poppaea and Mnester. But Suillius reported that he had had a dream in which he beheld Claudius crowned with a garland probably of wheat with the ears turned downwards indicating a scanty harvest, or a vine-wreath with white leaves indicating that the

Tac. XI, 4.  
A.D. 48.

Emperor's death would occur in the autumn. At any rate, as a consequence of this vision, the brothers perished. Crispinus was voted 1,500,000 sesterces and the praetorial insignia. To Sosibius Vitellius gave 1,000,000 sesterces for training Britannicus and assisting Claudius with his counsels. It may be imagined what Suillius received as chief accuser. When Scipio, husband of Poppaea, was asked his opinion, he said, "I think what all men think of the deeds of Poppaea."

Vinicius suffered no harm from Claudius but was suspected by Messalina of having killed his wife. As he refused to associate with her, she poisoned him. He was accorded a public funeral and eulogies, an honor granted to many. Polybius the freedman was, for a reason as groundless, slandered and put to death. Until this time the freedmen of Claudius had been on good terms with his wife, but this act of violence procured for her their ill-will.

Last days and Death of Messalina. - Callistus, one of the conspirators against Gaius, Narcissus, the inventor of

Dio LX, 27  
A.D. 46.

Dio LX, 31.

Tac. XI 29-30.  
Dio LX, 31.  
A.D. 48.

the death of Appius Silanus, and Pallas, most highly favored at that time, were deliberating as to whether they should by secret threats divert Messalina from her attachment to Silius and at the same time conceal the fact that they knew her plans. Pallas through fear of ruin and Callistus, because of his experience at the court of Gaius, gave up. Marcissus remained firm, though he determined not to let Messalina know that he was taking measures against her.

Inasmuch as Claudius was prolonging his stay at Ostia, Narcissus bribed two of the favorite mistresses of his patron, Calpurnia and Cleopatra, to act as informers. Calpurnia, prostrating herself at his feet, told him of the marriage of Messalina and Silius. Then turning to Cleopatra, appealed to her to corroborate her statement. This Cleopatra did and Calpurnia next asked that Narcissus be summoned. He begged pardon for having concealed his knowledge of former misdemeanors of Messalina, then urged the emperor to demand back his wife and to force Silius to break the marriage contract, asserting that unless he hastened back to the city, Silanus would usurp

his power. Claudius summoned his retinue consisting of prefects and others. They urged him to strengthen his body-guard and take other precautions for his safety. Tac. XI, 31-38.

Meanwhile Messalina was apparently celebrating<sup>with</sup> a vintage through the house of Silius. The wine-presses were at work, women clad in fawn-skins or mad Bacchantes leaped about. Messalina herself with glowing hair, carrying a wand, and Silius crowned with ivy and wearing a cothurnus, were accompanied by a chorus. Vettius Valens in his gaiety is said to have climbed a lofty tree and, on being asked what he saw, replied, "I see a violent storm coming from Ostia", probably intending this as a prediction of what was coming.

Messengers came from all directions telling them that Claudius knew all and that he was coming to avenge himself. Messalina therefore repaired to the gardens of Lucullus and Silius, to conceal his fear, to the Forum. As they and others were trying to get away, all except Messalina were arrested. Though she had no time to deliberate, she was not slow in making up her mind to meet her husband and sent orders that Britannicus and



Octavia go to meet their father. She implored Vibidia, a vestal virgin, to intercede for her. She herself, with only three attendants, wandered the whole breadth of the city on foot; then in a conveyance which was used to carry away rubbish from the gardens, she entered the road leading to Ostia, without exciting the pity of any one, since the extent of her degradation was uppermost in their minds.

Caesar and his advisers were in a state of confusion and uncertainty. They did not wholly trust Geta, prefect of the praetorian guard. Therefore Narcissus, with others who had the same fears, affirmed that the only hope of safety for the emperor would be to transfer the control of the soldiers to one of his freedmen for that one day and offered himself as willing to accept the burden. And to prevent his being led to repent through the influence of Vitellius and Targus Caecina, Narcissus demanded a seat in the same vehicle as Claudius, and was granted the favor. Now the crimes of his wife, now the thought of his marriage and the infancy of his children,

was uppermost in his mind. Vitellius kept exclaiming, "O crime! O wickedness!" Narcissus pressed him to explain his riddle, but his answer was ambiguous and Largus Caecina followed his example. Presently Messalina appeared crying to him to listen to Octavia and Britannicus, but Narcissus drowned her voice by talking loudly of Silius and the marriage, and gave him letters as proof of the crime, thus turning his attention from her. Their children would have met him later as he was entering the city, had Narcissus not ordered them removed, but he was unable to ward off Vibidia who demanded that his wife be not given over to destruction without a chance to defend herself. Claudius replied that he would hear her and ordered the virgin to return to her sacred duties.

Claudius remained strangely silent, Vitellius resembled one unconscious, while everything went according to the will of Narcissus. He ordered the home of Silius to be opened up and then showed Claudius all the imperial treasures which had been removed thence, thereby inflaming the emperor to utter threats. Next he led him to

the camp where he spoke briefly, as his indignation, though just, could hardly express itself for shame. Then the soldiers demanded the name and punishment of the guilty one. Silius, brought before the tribunal, attempted no defense, but simply asked for a speedy death. Illustrious knights, various officials, and others were delivered over to the executioner. Mnester alone caused delay. Tearing off his garment he cried, "Behold the marks of blows; remember your order that I give myself over to Messalina. Others are guilty because of bribery or excessive ambition, I, through necessity. If Silius should receive the reins of government, no one would be more certain of death than I." Claudius was inclined to pity when his freedmen urged him not to spare an actor when so many illustrious men had been executed, that it made no difference whether he had committed such serious crimes of his own accord or under compulsion. Suillius Caesonius and Plautius Lateranus were exempted from death, the latter on account of his uncle's eminent service, the former on the ground that he had suffered humil-

iating disgrace.

Messalina had returned to the gardens of Lucullus. She drew up a petition partly in hope and partly in anger, and had not Narcissus hastened her death, destruction would have turned upon the accuser. For Claudius had returned home, was dining early, and, on becoming intoxicated, had given the order that his wife be told that she might plead her cause the next day. Hearing this Narcissus immediately rushed out and in the name of the emperor commanded the centurions and a tribune who was near to perpetrate the murder.

Euodus, one of Claudius' freedmen, was to guard her and superintend the execution. Going in ahead into the gardens, he found her lying prostrate on the ground and at her side her mother Lepida, who had not been on intimate terms with her daughter while at the height of her power, but had taken pity on her in her extremity. She was urging her not to await the executioner as nothing was now to be sought but an honorable death, inasmuch as she had lived her life. But she had no sense of honor left. Tears and entreaties were being prolonged in vain when the

sound of approaching steps was heard and the tribune appeared in silence, while the freedman reproached her with her numerous ignominies. Then she fully realized her fate and took the weapon. In vain through fear she put it now to her breast, now to her throat. Finally the blow of the tribune pierced her. The body was given over to her mother.

While still feasting, Claudius was told that Messalina had died, without a statement as to whether by her own hand or that of another. Nor did he ask, but called for his cup and continued banqueting in the usual way. Neither did he show any signs of hatred or joy, anger or sorrow or any human emotions during the days that followed, whether he gazed upon the happy accusers or his mourning children. His forgetfulness was assisted by a decree of the senate removing her name and likeness from public and private places. The distinctions of quaestor were decreed to Narcissus.

Agrippina chosen as wife of Claudius. - On the death of Messalina the imperial household was upset and a conflict

Tac.XII,1.  
& Suet.Cl.26

among the freedmen arose in regard to the selection of a wife for Claudius. He solemnly announced to the praetorians that he would never marry again as his marriages had turned out badly and that if he did not remain celibate they might do away with him. But he immediately began to make arrangements for a new union. The women too were ambitious. Each one compared with the others her beauty, wealth, nobility, and whatever might make her worthy of such a marriage. There was the greatest rivalry between Lollia Paulina, whose father was of consular rank, and Julia Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus the brother of Claudius. Pallas favored the latter, Callistus the former, while Narcissus preferred Aelia Paetina, whom Claudius had once married and divorced.

Claudius inclining now this way now that, called a council and asked for the various opinions and the reasons for them. Narcissus favored a renewal of his marriage with Paetina because he had a daughter by her and she (Paetina) was not a stranger in his house; neither was she likely to look with the hatred of a step-mother upon Octavia and Britannicus - pledges of

Tac.XII,2.



love next to her own child. Callistus declared Paetina disqualified because of the long separation and believed that she would be haughty if she were again received. It were much better for him to marry Lollia since she had no children to cause rivalry and would be a mother to his children. But Pallas gave as a special recommendation for Agrippina that she would bring with her the grand-son of Germanicus, who would soon be worthy of the imperial dignity, and urged him to unite himself with a noble race, the posterity of the Julii and the Claudii, lest Agrippina by marrying some one else should carry the fame of the Caesars into another house.

The words of Callistus, assisted by the charms of Agrippina, prevailed. Preferred to the rest, she would consult him constantly under guise of relationship and by her beauty, attractions, and flatteries, more than were becoming in a niece, won his love to such an extent that she exercised the influence of a wife even before marriage. Certain of her future position, she arranged for the marriage of Domitius (Nero), her son

Tac. XII, 3.  
Suet. Cl. 26.  
Dio LX, 31.

by Gnaeus Ahenobarbus, and Octavia, daughter of Claudius. This could not be lawfully accomplished, because Octavia was betrothed to Lucius Silanus, a young man of noble descent, who had won triumphal honors while still very young, was praetor before the legal age and in that capacity had given a festival by which he had won the favor of the people.

Therefore Vitellius as censor brought charges against Tac. XII, 4. Silanus whose sister, Junia Calvina, had previously been his daughter-in-law. The charge consisted in a distorted interpretation of the intimate association between Silanus and his sister. Because of his affection for his daughter, Claudius was the more ready to give heed to this doubtful accusation. Silanus, ignorant of the treachery, by an edict of Vitellius, was suddenly removed from the senatorial order, although the revision of the list had already been effected. At the same time Claudius severed his relationship with him and compelled him to abdicate the praetorship on the twenty-ninth day of December and to commit suicide on the first day of January, the very day of his wedding with Agrippina. His

term of office was completed by Epirus Marcellus.

Though the marriage had been agreed upon, yet they did not dare to solemnize the union as there was no precedent for an uncle's marrying his niece. They feared that if they disregarded the idea of such a connection's being incestuous, some public disaster might occur. Their hesitation continued until Vitellius took upon himself the consummation of their wish. When he asked Claudius whether he would yield to the order of the people or the authority of the senate, the latter replied that he was merely a citizen and unable to resist unanimity. Vitellius then ordered him to await his return in the palace, meanwhile addressing the senate as follows: "The highest interests of the state are involved in the question of this union. The emperor, weighed down with the burdensome affairs of an empire needs support so that, free from domestic care, he may give his whole attention to the welfare of the nation. What is a more worthy relaxation for him, a man accustomed to no wantonness or self-indulgence, but to obedience toward Tac.XII,5.

the laws from his early youth, than to take a wife, an associate in prosperity and adversity, one to whom he may confide his inmost thoughts and to whom he may entrust his small children." The senators approved and presently expressed their unanimous choice of Agrippina, because of her purity of life and her nobility, as they said. They felt also that it was due to the forethought of the gods that a widow should be chosen for an emperor, who had led a moral life in comparison with former Caesars who had abducted the wives of others at pleasure. Let them set an example according to which emperors should receive their wives. As for marriage between uncle and niece, that was new to them, but customary in other lands. As time went on such cases would increase and be generally adopted. Tac.XII,6.

Many rushed out from the senate protesting that they would use force if Claudius delayed. A promiscuous crowd also gathered about him crying out that the Roman people made the same demand. Claudius proceeded to the senate and requested a decree making marriage between uncles and nieces lawful. Scarcely a day intervened Tac.XII,7.

before the marriage took place. (The only ones known to follow their example were a freedman and a *primipilaris*, whose marriage Claudius and Agrippina attended.) On that day Silanus committed suicide and his sister Calvina was banished from Italy. Claudius ordered expiatory offerings for the alleged incest to be held in the grove of Diana. It excited general ridicule to think that at this time of all others punishment was inflicted and expiation offered for the crime of incest.

Agrippina's assumption of Power and her Cruelty. -

Immediately everything is said to have moved according Tac.XII,7. to the will of Agrippina, but she did not make affairs of state a pastime for her wantonness as Messalina had done. She gained complete control of Claudius for she Dio LX,32-3 possessed unusual capability and likewise won the devotion of all who were fond of him, partly by bribery, partly by fear. She made sure of the support of Pallas and Narcissus. (Callistus, who had attained great power, had already died). The reins of servitude were drawn tighter as if by a masculine hand. There was open

display of severity and general haughtiness. In the palace there was no unchastity unless it was thought to be advantageous to the government. Her avarice had the apparent excuse of collecting resources for despotism. She was gathering this wealth for Nero and she employed even the most humble citizens in her search for money either by adulation or murder. She often attended her husband in public on ordinary business or even when he was hearing ambassadors sat on a separate platform. But she was not satisfied. She wished even his title and was doing all in her power to have Nero gain the throne. She was exalted by the title Augusta. That she might show her power even among the allied nations, she obtained the privilege of having a colony of veterans established at a town of the Ubii, her birthplace, which was named for her.

Dio IX, 33  
Tac. XII,  
26-7.

Relentless in her hatred and hostile to Lollia because of their rivalry for the hand of Claudius, she trumped up charges and suborned an accuser to declare Lollia guilty of having consulted the Chaldaean astrologers and the oracle of Apollo in regard to the nuptials

Tac. XII, 22.  
A. D. 49.



of the emperor. Claudius, without giving her a hearing, spoke before the senate of her great fame, recounted that she was the niece of Lucius Volusius, that Cotta Messalinus was her grand-uncle, that once she had been the wife of Memmius Regulus (he purposely omitted mentioning her marriage with Gaius) and added that measures destructive to the state should be checked and her wealth, a means for criminal enterprise, be removed. Her property was confiscated and she withdrew from Italy. Another Dio LX,31 version has it that she was put to death, and that as Agrippina did not recognize her head when it was brought to her, she opened with her own hand the mouth and inspected the teeth, which had certain peculiarities.

Calpurnia, another woman of rank, was ruined because the emperor had praised her beauty in a chance remark. Agrippina's resentment was aroused to the extent that a tribune was sent to Lollia to force her to commit suicide. Dio LX,30.

Furius Scribonianus was exiled on the pretext that he had consulted the Chaldeans in regard to the end of Tac.XII,22  
A.D.50.

the emperor and because he was the son of Vibia, who had been banished, and Furius Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia, who had led a revolt. Claudius set to him own credit the fact that he had twice spared a descendant of an enemy. Scribonianus died shortly afterwards, either naturally or voluntarily. A severe and yet futile decree concerning the expulsion of astrologers from Italy was passed.

Agrippina's designs compelled Claudius to perform most cruel deeds, evidently to make him unpopular. She coveted the gardens of Statilius Taurus, who was noted for his wealth. Tarquitiu<sup>s</sup> Priscus had been legate to Statilius while the latter was proconsul of Africa. On their return at the instigation of Agrippina, Tarquitiu<sup>s</sup> had accused Statilius of extortion and of superstitious rites. Statilius committed suicide before the senate had passed judgment. On account of their hatred for the informer, they succeeded in expelling Tarquitiu<sup>s</sup> from their order, contrary to the will of Agrippina. Tac.XII,59

Many prodigies occurred which were interpreted as  
Tac.XII,  
64-5.  
A.D. 53.

indicating a change of emperor. Agrippina was especially terrified, lest a chance remark dropped by Claudius when intoxicated might prove her undoing for he had said that his marriages, while unhappy, should not go unavenged. She planned to act quickly, first doing away with Domitia Lepida who she knew was as illustrious as herself. She was the daughter of Antonia Minor, the niece of Augustus, the first cousin of Agrippina herself and also her sister-in-law. Their beauty, age, and wealth were about equally matched, while they were rivals in wickedness as well. They contended for the love of Nero. Lepida, with her charms, won the heart of the young man, while Agrippina was always cruel and threatening. She in time succeeded in winning the throne for him but found him intolerable after his power was acquired. Lepida was charged with having sought the emperor in marriage and with disturbing the peace of Italy by not restraining her armies of slaves in Calabria. Though Narcissus opposed, she was condemned to death.

Agrippina would not have dared extreme measures had Tac. XII, 42. she not removed from their charge of the praetorian

cohorts Lusius Geta and Rufrius Crispinus, whom she believed to be devoted to Messalina and her children. The soldiers were separated into two factions. Agrippina declared that this trouble might be avoided by having only one man in charge thus preventing rivalry for the favor of the soldiers. Accordingly Burrus was placed in charge, a man of eminent military reputation, yet knowing at whose hands he was obtaining power. She was exalting her dignity still higher. She approached the Capitol in the carpentum - an honor that increased the regard already felt for the daughter of a commander (Germanicus), the sister of a previous emperor, the wife of an emperor and the mother of an emperor to be, - an unheard of distinction.

Her champion Vitellius, a man of greatest favor, now old, was brought to trial by Junius Lupus, who accused him of treason. Claudius would have heeded the charge had he not by the threats rather than by the entreaties of Agrippina been influenced to banish the accused.

Nero and Britannicus. - Agrippina had Britannicus brought up as if he were no relative of the emperor while her sole object was to put forward Domitius (Nero) with a view to his being made the successor of Claudius. She had Seneca returned from exile and bestowed upon him the praetorship, in order that her son might be instructed by one famous for his literary pursuits and that Claudius might have the advantage of his counsels. Seneca was believed to be faithful to her and hostile to Claudius because of the injustice of exile which he had suffered at his hands.

Tac. XII,  
8-9.  
Dio LX,  
32 & 33.  
A.D. 49.

At the request of Mammius Pollio, the consul-elect, and others, Claudius was induced to betroth his daughter Octavia to Domitius. He disowned his daughter by introducing her into another family, so that he might not be accused of uniting brother and sister. Nero was now placed on a par with Britannicus in relation to the emperor. This was accomplished through the zeal of his mother and the ingenuity of those who had reason to fear the vengeance of Britannicus because of their accusation of his mother.

The adoption of Domitius was hastened through the influence of Pallas who was pledged to the service of Agrippina as the one who had won for her her position and later had been associated with her in her wickedness. He urged Claudius to take thought for the state and make provision against probable events, reminding him that Augustus, in spite of his having two grand-sons, was obliged to transfer his power to a step-son whom he adopted, and that Tiberius too had fortified himself by adopting Germanicus, though the latter was already of close kin. Let him, he said, prepare himself by associating with himself a young man who would presently be able to assume part of his burdens. Swayed by his arguments, Claudius gave Domitius precedence over his own son, who was three years younger, and before the senate gave as his reasons for this step, those reasons by which Pallas had convinced him. Experts noticed that this was the first time that any one had been adopted into the patrician family of the Claudii, who had continued their existence from the time of Attus Clausus. A law was then passed according to which Domitius passed



into the Claudian family and received the name of Nero. After this event the neglected condition of Britannicus made him an object of pity in the eyes of all. He was gradually deprived of even his slave companions. The ill-timed obsequiousness of his step-mother he regarded as a mockery, knowing how false she was, for it was said that he did not lack intelligence.

Nero assumed the toga virilis when only thirteen Tac.XII,41. years of age, in order that he might be considered qualified to enter political life. Claudius easily yielding to the flattery of the senate, allowed Nero to hold the consulship at the age of twenty, and while consul-elect to hold the pro-consular power outside of Rome and to be called "princeps inventutis". In his name, too, a largess was given to the soldiers and grain distributed to the people. At the games given in the circus, that Nero might become conspicuous in the eyes of the people, Britannicus appeared in the praetexta (the dress of childhood) while Nero wore a triumphal robe, that the people might behold the latter as a man of imperial dignity, the former as a mere child, and by comparison

take for granted the future position of each.

Those centurions and tribunes who pitied the lot of Britannicus were relieved from duty, the majority on false charges, the rest on pretense of promotion. Even the freedmen who were looked upon as untrustworthy were removed from service on the following pretext. When Nero and Britannicus had met, Nero greeted Britannicus by name. Britannicus greeted Nero as Domitius, thus disregarding the fact that he had been adopted. Agrippina with many complaints reported this to her husband as if it indicated the beginning of discord. She said that Britannicus had overlooked the fact of Nero's adoption, that within their own home the decree of the senate and order of the people were being violated. And if the exhibition of such wickedness, the result of the evil influence of the teachers of Britannicus, were not checked, there would be an outbreak to the ruin of the state. Prompted by these hinted charges, he punished all the best instructors of Britannicus either by exile or death, and placed over him those chosen by his step-mother. She would not let him visit his father nor

appear before the people but kept him in imprisonment,  
so to speak.

Once when Claudius became ill, Nero before the senate Dio LX,33  
promised a horse-race in case his father recovered.  
Agrippina knew that equestrian contests were the favorite  
amusement of the people and she was again using her in-  
fluence to make Nero appear as the natural successor of  
Claudius. After instigating a riot, she persuaded her  
husband to publish an announcement that if he should die  
Nero was able to administer public affairs. This made  
Nero known to all, while many did not even know of the  
existence of Britannicus. Those who did know him were  
deceived by Agrippina's declaration that he was an  
epileptic and an idiot. Claudius recovered and Nero  
gave the exhibition in a sumptuous manner.

At the age of sixteen Nero married Octavia. It was Tac.XII,58  
about this time, too that he distinguished himself so and  
Dio LX,33.  
conspicuously by his eloquent pleading of the case of the  
Trojans.

After the murders of Lepida, Narcissus took up the Tac.XII,65  
cause of Britannicus. To his intimate friends he said:

"As for myself, I confront certain ruin, whether Nero or Britannicus gains the imperial power. (For he had killed the mother of Britannicus and opposed the mother of Nero). But if Britannicus is recognized as the successor, the emperor need have no fear, as the youth of the boy will make it to his advantage that his father should continue to live. But the imperial household is in a worse condition than it would have been had I given no information concerning Messalina and Silius. All sorts of vice prevails. Nothing is considered too high a price to pay for power." Then he prayed that Britannicus might speedily attain the strength of manhood and implored him to remove the enemies of his father and avenge the murderers of his mother. Narcissus shortly afterward compelled by ill-health to remove to a more favorable climate went to Sinuessa. Agrippina did not fail to take advantage of his absence for the consummation of her designs. Tac. XII, 68.

XV. CONSPIRATORS AGAINST CLAUDIUS; HIS DEATH.

Suet.Cl.13

Claudius' life was in danger several times. Once a plebeian was caught with a dagger near his couch at midnight. Again, two knights stood waiting for him in full view, one with a sword-cane, the other with a hunter's knife. The one attacked him after he had left the theatre, the other as he was sacrificing at the temple of Mars. Nonius, a Roman knight, was discovered carrying a sword as he came among many others to pay his respects to the emperor. The reason never became known. He confessed himself guilty when he had been put to the torture, but disclosed the names of no accomplices. Probably there were none.

Tac.XII,22

Gallus Asinius and Statilius Corvinus, grandsons respectively of Pollio and Messala, together with several of Claudius' own slaves and freedmen, formed a plot against him with revolutionary intent. After the murder of Appius Silanus the Romans lost confidence in Claudius and Annius Vinicianus with others formed a plot against him. Vinicianus had been one of those proposed for the

Suet.Cl.13

Dio LX,15  
Suet.Cl.13  
A.D.42.

imperial office at the death of Gaius and for that reason feared Claudius. He sent to Furius Camillus Scribonianus governor of Dalmatia for troops. Camillus, who had also been mentioned as a probable successor to Gaius, took up the revolt of his own accord. Many senators and knights joined Vinicianus, but the soldiers, favoring Camillus, who promised to restore the republic, refused to obey him. He fled in terror and committed suicide.

Claudius was for a time cowed with fear and ready to yield his sovereignty to Camillus, for the latter, trusting in his ability to terrify the emperor, had in an abusive, threatening, and haughty letter ordered him to surrender the imperium and spend his life in leisure. But as Camillus and his soldiers were about to set out, they found themselves unable to decorate the eagles or to move the standards. This omen prevented the journey and the trouble ceased, five days after it had begun.

The following portents were regarded as a sure indication of the death of the emperor. The standards and tents of the soldiers were set on fire by a thunder-

Tac. XII, 64.  
Suet. Cl. 46.  
Dio LX, 35.  
A. D. 53.



bolt, on top of the Capitol a swarm of bees had settled, monstrosities half animal and half human were born, within a few months had occurred the death of a quaestor, an aedile, a tribune, a praetor, and a consul, a comet visible throughout a large district had appeared in the sky, the monument of his father Drusus was struck by lightning, a shower of blood fell, and the temple of Jupiter Victor opened of its own accord.

Claudius himself did not seem to have been unaware of his impending death or to have concealed the fact. For when he designated the consuls he appointed no one beyond the month in which he died, and when he had urged his children to live together in harmony he entrusted them to the senate. Besides, when he conducted his last judicial investigation he declared again and again that his death was at hand, although those who heard him say so deprecated any such idea. He gave indications too of repenting his marriage with Agrippina and the adoption of Nero. He became aware of her intrigues and sought his son Britannicus, whom Agrippina continually kept out

Dio LX,34.

Suet.C1.43

of his sight, and prepared to put an end to her power. Shortly afterward he met Britannicus and expressed to him his desire that he would grow in strength and assume the imperial power in order that the Roman people might finally have a real Caesar (not one by adoption). He added in Greek, "He, who has inflicted the wound (that of adopting Nero) will also cure it." Presently he wrote his will and had it countersigned with the seals of all the magistrates. Agrippina, accused not only by informers but by her own conscience as well, determined to anticipate her husband's project by poisoning him. She was more confident of success too as Narcissus was absent. Her wish was to give him something that would not take effect too speedily, as that would give rise to suspicion, and yet a mixture that would not leave his mind clear. If the latter effect were not produced, on realizing his condition, he might make known his wishes concerning Britannicus. She chose Locusta, a woman skilled in drugs, who had already been condemned for poisoning, to prepare the drug. It was given to the victim at a banquet in a dish of mushrooms, a vegetable of which he was extremely fond. Either Agrippina her-

Suet. Cl. 44  
Dio IX, 34.  
Tac. XII,  
66-67.

self or her "pragustator" Halotus is said to have administered it. The accounts of the consequences vary. One has it that he suffered intense pain all night and died at daybreak; others that a second dose was necessary and that this was given either in his food or in something that was intended to give him relief.

His death was concealed until provision could be made for the succession of Nero. The senate was assembled and prayers were offered for the recovery of the emperor. Comic actors were admitted as if for the purpose of pleasing and entertaining the dying man. Agrippina, as if overcome with her sorrow and seeking consolation everywhere, embraced Britannicus, called him the image of his father, and in every way kept him from leaving the room. The daughters too, Octavia and Antonia, she kept under supervision. Every approach was closed by guards, while she frequently gave out the report that he was improving. He died at midnight October thirteenth at the age of sixty-three, having ruled almost fourteen years. The doors of the palace were thrown

Suet. Cl. 45  
Tac. XII, 68  
Dio LX, 34.

open, Nero, accompanied by Burrus, came out to the cohort which was on guard. On being told that the emperor was dead, they hailed Nero with shouts of approval. It was said that some asked where Britannicus was but that as there was no one to protect his right they took the one who was offered them. Nero was taken to the camp, where he made a suitable speech, promising a largess according to the example of his father. He was then saluted as emperor, and a decree of the senate followed.

The funeral ceremony was attended with the magnificence and pomp appropriate to the occasion, Agrippina emulating Livia, wife of Augustus, in this respect. The will of the deceased was not read lest it might arouse ill-will by the fact that Nero was given preference to Britannicus. (The circumstances under which Claudius is said to have written his will, however, seem to indicate that it was in favor of Britannicus.)

Divine honors were next decreed to Claudius just as previously to Augustus. The brother of Seneca has been credited with a witty remark in this connection. It

was the custom for executioners to drag the bodies of those who were killed in prison to the Forum with large hooks and thence to the river. He said that Claudius must have been raised to heaven with a hook. Nero is said to have declared that mushrooms were the food of the gods because Claudius by eating them had become a god.

The philosopher Seneca wrote a satire on the apotheosis of Claudius, in which he gives the following account: News was brought to Jupiter that somebody had come, a rather tall, gray-haired man, who limped with his right foot and seemed to be threatening some one with his shaking head. He mumbled his words in a language unknown to any human race. Jupiter commissioned Hercules to find out what sort of man he was. On beholding the sight and hearing the hoarse human voice, Hercules thought that a thirteenth labor had come. On closer investigation he found that it was a man. He asked him in Greek who he was and whence he had come. Claudius was delighted to hear a man of literary taste

Sen.  
Apoc.

and hoped he might find a place for his histories there. He replied in Greek that he was from Troy. Fever, his only divine attendant, contradicted him and told Hercules the truth. Claudius immediately became angry and ordered Fever killed. One might have thought all about him were his freedmen, so little attention was paid to him. Then Hercules became stern and in tragic attitude demanded the truth. Claudius felt that he had met his match and urged Hercules to stand by him, saying that he had held court all day long in July and August before his temple.

Hercules attempted to win admission to the gods for him and Claudius seemed to be winning favor until Augustus spoke. He complained of the enormous number of people Claudius had put to death without a trial, a procedure not customary in heaven. He accuses him of a crime worse than having killed Messalina -- that he did not know that he had killed her, and declares that the gods will lose their prestige if they admit such a man. He closes his speech by proposing strict punishment, no rest from trying cases, departure from heaven within



thirty days and from Olympus in three.

The resolution was carried and Mercury dragged him by the nape of the neck to the lower regions. As they were going along the Via Sacra, they beheld crowds of people in procession, in high spirits and acting like free men. Claudius seeing his own funeral realized that he was dead, for they were chanting a dirge. He wished to linger but his escort hurried him on his way. Narcissus had gone ahead and on seeing Claudius approaching ran up to him and said, "What! a god coming here!" Hercules bade Narcissus announce their coming. Narcissus did so and a crowd came forward with shouts of delight, saying "We have him!" Claudius asked how they had come here. "You ask" was the reply and forthwith he was led to the tribunal of Aeacus.

He was accused of killing thirty-five senators, two-hundred-twenty-one Roman knights, and of others a countless number. Only one man was found as counsel for the defense, but Aeacus condemned Claudius after hearing one side only. All were astounded at such a procedure. To Claudius it seemed more unjust than new. After a

long discussion over the nature of the punishment, Aea-  
cus commanded him to gamble with a bottomless dice-box.  
He began playing at once but accomplished nothing. Sud-  
denly his uncle Gaius appeared with witnesses who said  
that they had seen Claudius- whipped by Gaius. He was  
then delivered by Aeaclus to Menander, his freedman, to  
serve in the capacity of a law clerk.

XVI. PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND CHARACTER  
OF CLAUDIUS.

Suet. Cl.  
30-33.

Claudius was tall and not ungainly in appearance when he was standing, sitting, or at rest, but his knees were unsteady, and his head and hands trembled when he walked. His expression was pleasing, he had becoming white hair, but his neck was thick, he was unseemly in his laughter, and disgusting in his wrath, often foaming at the mouth. His health, poor in early life, improved to a degree later, yet he suffered from such severe disorders of the stomach that he was tempted to suicide. This was likely due to the excessive eating and drinking with which he has been credited.

He was continually giving sumptuous banquets, and that too in the most public places. He often had as many as six hundred guests. At meal time he regularly had his own children as well as boys and girls of noble birth, according to an old custom, dining at some distance from the other guests. One time while he was conducting a judicial investigation in the Forum he was

attracted by a luncheon which was being prepared for the Salii in the temple of Mars near by. He left his tribunal and went up to the priests and dined with them. He seldom ceased eating until he had gorged himself sometimes to such an extent that he would go to sleep or would be obliged to insert a feather in his throat to relieve his stomach. He slept very little, generally lying awake before midnight. At times he would fall asleep while on judicial duty and be awakened only with great difficulty. He took great pleasure in playing dice and even had his gambling board placed in his vehicle and so adjusted that he could enjoy this pastime when he was out for a drive.

As a rule he put himself on a level with his citizens and colleagues, and did nothing to exalt himself unduly. In 42 A.D. when he was consul with Gaius Larius, he allowed the latter to continue his office the whole year while he served only two months. He had the rest of the magistrates swear to support the deeds of Augustus, but allowed no one to do so in regard to his own deeds. He made the event of his son's birth in no

Dio LX, 6,  
11-12.  
Suet. Cl. 12.

way conspicuous, nor would he allow himself to be called Augustus or Messalina Augusta. On the first anniversary of his accession he had no celebration, only giving the praetorians twenty-five denarii. This he did every year thereafter. Some of the praetorians of their own free will celebrated that day and also the birthday of Messalina as often as they wished. When governors were elected for the provinces they usually thanked the emperor. Claudius said that it was he who ought to thank them for helping him to bear the burden of government. Though severe towards the senators who failed to attend meetings when summoned, in other respects he was friendly with them, joining in the amusements and visiting them when they were ill. In the senate he would regularly rise if the rest had been standing for a long time. Once when the consuls came down from their seats to talk to him he rose and went to meet them. As a man of consular rank he was often present when the magistrates were investigating cases and when they were giving exhibitions he would join with the crowd in their acclamations. When he wished to hold fairs on his private

estates, he would first get the consent of the consuls. For these marks of moderation he won great favor with the people. At the time that he visited Ostia, a rumor spread that he had been murdered. The people were seized with such consternation that they assailed the soldiers as traitors, the senators as murderers, and did not cease their abuse until they had been informed again and again that their emperor was safe. While on his visit to Naples he lived like an ordinary citizen. He affected the Greek manner of dress and life. At musical entertainments he wore a cloak and military boots, at gymnastic exercises, a purple robe and a golden crown.

His literary tastes exhibited themselves on frequent occasions. Before the tribunal he would often quote Homer and whenever he had avenged an enemy he would give as a watchword to the palace guards, "To defend myself against a man who without cause does me harm" and frequently he would reply to ambassadors in Greek. Yet he was foolish and undignified, and had no sense of propriety. His very manner in reading

Suet.Cl.41.



his works before an audience repelled their attention. One time as he was beginning to read some of the benches collapsed, upsetting the occupants and causing temporary confusion. But as he continued reading, he would from time to time be reminded of the incident and burst out into loud unrestrained laughter.

He appears to have been cruel and sanguinary. He Suet.Cl.34 would order victims to be tormented or put to death in his presence. In order to see an old and cruel form of punishment administered he once kept a culprit bound to the stake waiting a whole day until the executioner came. At gladiatorial shows he often ordered those who accidentally slipped or fell to have their throats cut, that he might behold the expression of their faces when dying. The swords which had been used by a pair that fell he ordered made into knives for himself. He spent whole days feasting his eyes on the sight of men fighting with wild beasts, sometimes even forgetting his favorite indulgence - eating. If the workmen who were operating the machinery failed in any particular

they were liable to be given over to the beasts. One of his own attendants was thus sacrificed.

He was exceedingly cowardly and distrustful. His early training had no doubt developed or at least aggravated these traits. When alarmed he would entirely lose control of his wits and be unable to act rationally. During the first days of his reign he naturally had fear of those who had been interested in the conspiracy against Gaius. He did not dare to enter a banquet unless attended by the soldiers. Spies with lances were stationed around him. When he visited a person who was ill he had the room and the bed of the person examined. He made it a practice of having practically everyone who came near him searched. When he had been attacked while sacrificing, he complained to the senate of his insecurity everywhere, and for a time refrained from appearing in public. Any suspicion, however slight, led him to take precautions or to exact vengeance. One of his litigants, drawing him aside declared that he had had a dream in which he saw him being slain by a certain

Dio LX,3  
Suet. Cl.  
35-8.

man (his adversary). Later, when his adversary was handing Claudius a petition, pretending to recognize the man of his dream, he pointed him out to Claudius, who without further investigation had him punished as if caught in the act. The similar murder of Silanus has been previously mentioned. After that event he gave the senate a detailed account of the deed and thanked his freedmen for their solicitous regard for his safety.

He was easily angered. On coming to Ostia he bitterly reproached the people for not sending boats to meet him as he sailed down the Tiber. Then suddenly he forgave them as if he had done them some wrong. He punished those who failed to show him what he considered due respect. On that pretext he exiled a quaestor's clerk and a senator, who in his aedileship had fined the tenants of Claudius' estates for selling cooked victuals contrary to law and had scourged the overseer who intervened in their behalf, was exiled without being allowed a hearing.

Careless and coarse in his speech, he considered Suet. Cl. 40  
neither time, place, nor circumstance. When a discussion  
arose in regard to butchers and wine-pots, he cried out

in the senate, "Who can live without a snack?", then proceeded to speak of the abundance of the old shops where he used to procure wine. He gave as a reason for supporting a candidate that the man's father had given him a drink of cold water when he was ill. In regard to a witness he remarked, "She is the freedwoman and attendant of my mother, yet she has always considered me her patron. I say this because there are some men (overbearing freedmen) in my house who do not so regard me." Before the tribunal, as the Ostians had asked him some favor, he became incensed and said "There is no reason why I should oblige you". Such speech was the more disgusting in that he was the emperor and lacked neither eloquence nor training, nay was even a man of literary tastes.

Thoughtlessness and carelessness were exhibited to a Suet.Cl.39 marked degree. Sometimes he would summon to council or invite to a game of dice the very men whom he had only the day before ordered slain. After the death of Messalina he asked why his wife was not present. (Compare account previously given). When he was about to marry Agrippina, though contrary to all law, he would call her

his daughter and foster-daughter, and when about to adopt Nero, he continually boasted that no one had ever been adopted by the Claudian family.

He probably realized that he was a target for ridicule. He said that had he not feigned stupidity at the court of Gaius he would never have arrived at his present position. His words failed to convince, however, for shortly afterward he wrote an article the title of which was "The Elevation of Fools" which attempted to prove that folly is never feigned.

Suet.Cl.38

CONCLUSION.

The life of the emperor Claudius as presented to us by the ancient authorities elicits at once reproach and pity. Judged in the light of the age in which he lived and the unhappy circumstances into which it was his misfortune to be cast, his cruelty, his disgusting habits, his delight in bloodshed, his injustice and his lack of self-mastery fail to bring upon him the condemnation that at first thought may seem inevitable. Regarded with indifference and scorn in early childhood, debarred from political advancement by those in authority, ridiculed by his peers, he lacked the opportunity to develop the initiative, restraint, and self-reliance which are among the essential qualities of the head of a great nation. Hence the facility with which he succumbed to the sway of his wives and freedmen, whose intrigues were really responsible for much of his inhuman cruelty. Yet as advisers his freedmen often gave him valuable assistance. His position was an extremely difficult one, following



upon the reign of a madman who had left the nation in confusion and the people dissatisfied with the monarchy. He aimed to restore the dyarchy of Augustus, and to give due prominence to the republican magistrates and the senate, the latter of which was frequently consulted and regained some of its former prominence, while his colleagues in the magistracies were given equal power with himself. In spite of his follies, inconsistencies, and other numerous indications of weak character, his reforms, his public works, and his interest in the provinces evinced by his extension of Roman citizenship reveal sound judgment, loyal patriotism, and a true interest in the welfare of his subjects.

Finis.

APPENDIX I.

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APPENDIX II.

A tabulation of the statements made by ancient authors and inscriptions covering all points of importance in the life and career of Claudius.

Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus = Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. Private inscriptions: On the arch at Ticenum the last inscription, number 10, was, as it seems, dedicated to him CILV6416(1); inscriptions bearing his name have been found at Pola x x x x x x CILV24(2) and at Alexandria in the Troad CIL III 381(3) both of which were put up during the reign of Gaius; he is mentioned in an inscription of Livia Medullina, his betrothed, CIL X 6561(4); his name is also given in an inscription of a slave CIL III 321(5) and here and there among the names of freedmen and slaves on the monument of Drusus CIL VI 4334(6), 4338, 4340, 4346, 4348(10), 4356, 4359, 4362, 4363, 4375(15).

In the inscriptions (1), (2), (3), and (4) he is called Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus, in (5), (6),

(10), and (15)?, Tiberius Claudius Germanicus, and in the rest, Tiberius Germanicus. Suetonius Cl.2, says: "He was first called Tiberius Claudius Drusus. Later, when his older brother (Germanicus) was adopted by the Julian family (4 A.D.), he took the cognomen Germanicus." This is not exact, for after his boyhood, as the inscriptions show, Claudius surely used the cognomen Nero in addition to Germanicus, never that of Drusus. In 60,2, Dio calls him Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus, in 52,27, Tiberius Claudius Nero, but for the most part Claudius.

He was born on August first 10 B.C., according to Suetonius, Cl.2 and the fasti Vallenses CII<sup>8</sup> p. 240 as well as those of Antium p. 248; at Lugudunum, according to Suetonius, Cl.2, and Seneca (Apoc.6). During the years of his boyhood he was so severely afflicted with various chronic diseases that he became dulled at the same time both in body and in mind. As a result he was considered unfit, even as he grew older, for any public or private duty. (Suet. Cl. 2). On account of his ill-health, at the gladiatorial exhibition which he gave



together with his brother in memory of his father (9 A.D.), he presided muffled in a Greek robe (Suet. Cl. 2. Dio 55,27) and on the day of assuming the toga of manhood, he was carried in a sedan-chair to the Capitol about midnight without the usual ceremony. Augustus shared no office with him except that of the augural priesthood. (Compare inscription (1), put up about 7 or 8 A.D., where merely his names are given, and inscriptions (2) and (3), where he is called augur) and he did not even name him his heir except among those outside the family, bestowing upon him a moderate legacy also (Suet. Cl.4).

He was a Roman knight until the reign of Gaius (Suet. Calig. 15, Dio 59,6). The equestrian order chose him patron for heading an embassy for them when they were demanding of the consuls that the body of Augustus should be brought to Rome on their own shoulders (Suet. Cl.6). In 14 A.D. his name was added irregularly (extra ordinem) to the list of members of the college of priests of Augustus who were chosen by lot. (Tac. Ann. 1, 54 and Suet. Cl. 6). Tiberius bestowed upon him the insignia of the consulship when he asked for the public offices, but upon his more urgent demand for the offices due him Tiber-

ius denied them with mockery (Suet. Cl. 5). When the senate had decreed that he should have the right to express his opinion among the men of consular rank, Tiberius abolished the decree (Suet. Cl. 5). When (20 A. D.) the ashes of Germanicus were being brought to the city, Drusus the son of Tiberius, with Claudius went to Terracina to meet them (Tac. Ann. 3, 23). In the same year when Valerius Messalinus had recommended that thanks be given to Tiberius, to Augusta and to the other relatives of Germanicus for his deliverance, no mention was made of Claudius, but his name was later added (Tac. Ann. 3, 18). At the same time the daughter of Sejanus was betrothed to the son of Claudius (Claudius Drusus) (Tac. Ann. 3, 29). In 31 A.D. after the overthrow of Sejanus, as patron of the knights he offered congratulations (to Tiberius) in the presence of the consuls (Suet. Cl. 6). Near the close of his life Tiberius even thought of transferring the government to Claudius, since he was a man of mature years and devoted to literature, but his weak mind stood in his way (Tac. Ann. 6, 46). Yet Tiberius when dying named him heir to a third of his estate, also provided him

with no mean legacy and besides recommended him expressly, among other relatives, to the consideration of the armies, the senate, and the Roman people (Suet. Cl. 6).

After obtaining the empire Gaius made him a senator and his colleague in the consulship (Suet. Calig. 15, Cl.7). He was consul suffectus with Gaius Caesar for two months beginning July first, A.D. 37 (fasti). During this consulship, because he had been rather show in contracting for and erecting statues of Nero and Drusus, the brothers of Caesar (Gaius), he barely escaped being removed from office (Suet. Cl. 9). In 39 A.D., when the conspiracy of (M. Aemilius) Lepidus and (Cornelius Lentulus) Gaetulicus had been disclosed and Claudius as a member of an embassy had been sent to Germany to congratulate him, Gaius was angered to think that his uncle of all people had been sent to him and almost killed him (Suet. Cl. 9, Dio 59, 23). As a result of this he was always the last of the men of consular rank to express his opinion as he was called on last as a mark of dishonor. Altogether he was an object of contempt at the court of Gaius (Suet. Calig.

23, Cl. 8 and 9, Seneca Apoc. 15). He was accused before Gaius by Pollux, a slave (Joseph. Ant. 19,12). When Gaius began to be worshipped as Jupiter Latiaris, he made Claudius one of the priests of his worship. But as Claudius was compelled to pay 8,000,000 sesterces for his entrance upon the new priesthood, he had very little property left (Suet. Cl. 9 cf. Calig. 22, Dio 59, 28).

After the murder of Gaius on January twenty-fourth A.D. 41, Claudius had concealed himself in the palace, and, brought out of his hiding place by the soldiers, was hailed as emperor and carried to the praetorian camp. When a futile discussion on the restoration of liberty had been carried on in the senate for two days, Claudius allowed the soldiers to swear allegiance to his name on the day following the death of Gaius and was then recognized by all as emperor (Suet. Cl. 9 cf. Calig. 60, Dio 60, 1, Joseph. Ant. 19, 3sq., bell. 2, 11.) The name Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus appears here and there in inscriptions and on coins.

He refrained from the praenomen of imperator (Suet. Cl. 12). He was consul for the second time in A.D. 42,

for the third time in A.D. 43, for the fourth time in A.D. 47, and for the fifth time in A.D. 51 (fasti). He died at Rome on October thirteenth, A.D. 54. It is generally supposed that his death was due to poisoning, but it is uncertain whether he drank poison or ate drugged mushrooms. (Tac. Ann. 12, 66-69, Suet. Cl. 44-45, Ner. 33, Dio 60, 34, Plin. N.H. 2, 92; 11, 189; 22, 42, Martial 1, 20, 4, Juvenal. 5, 147; 6, 621 with scholia, Joseph. Ant. 20, 8,1).

He was twice betrothed while a very young man; to Aemilia Lepida, great-great-grand-daughter of Augustus, a maiden whom he hitherto rejected because her parents (probably L. Aemilius Paullus, consul 1 A.D., and Julia, great grand-daughter of Augustus) had offended Augustus, and to Livia Medullina, whose cognomen was Camilla, whom he lost as a result of her ill-health on the very day set for the wedding (Suet. Cl. 26). Then he married, first Plautia Urgulanilla, whose father had been honored with a triumph, but divorced her on account of the shamelessness of her passions and the suspicion of murder; next,

Aelia Paetina, daughter of a man of consular rank, whom he dismissed because of some trifling offences; after these, Valeria Messalina, daughter of (Valerius) Barbata Messala (Suet. Cl. 26); and then, on the murder of Messalina, A.D. 48, Julia Agrippina, daughter of his brother Germanicus, in A.D. 49 (Suet. Cl. 26, Tac. Ann. 12, 5 sqq.). He had children by three wives; by Urgulanilla, (Claudius) Drusus and Claudius, by Paetina (Claudia) Antonia, by Messalina, (Claudia) Octavia and (Claudius) Britannicus (Suet. Cl. 27).



APPENDIX III.

THE FRAGMENTS OF THE SPEECH OF CLAUDIUS.

In 1524 two bronze tablets containing the actual speech of Claudius on the question of admitting the citizens of Gallia Comata to the Roman magistracies were found at Lyons (Lugdunum) and are preserved in the Museum there. The tablets are mutilated to some extent so that parts are missing: Comparing this speech with the version given by Tacitus, we find that he has rearranged the order and wording of the sentences, adhering more strictly to the subject than Claudius, while greatly abbreviating the account. However, nothing of importance has been omitted. The style, though his own, must necessarily have been influenced, or rather hampered, by the original. Claudius is over copious in his use of illustration, which shows his interest in and familiarity with Roman history. He is detailed even to the extent of irrelevance, though nothing is thereby added to the weight of his arguments. Tacitus evidently felt at liberty to put the material into what he consid-

ered the most appropriate form, as long as he maintained the thought of the original.

TRANSLATION.

(An attempt has been made to reproduce the clumsy and tautological effect of the original.)

Col. I.

<sup>1</sup> Mae rerum nostr- - - - - Sii - - - -

To anticipate that first objection on the part of men, which I see is the very first thing that I shall be obliged to answer, I pray you not to be repelled by the thought that an innovation is being made, but may you rather consider the following facts, how many innovations have been made in this state and also how many different phases and constitutions the government has assumed even as early as the foundation of the city. Kings once ruled this city, and yet they did not succeed in making the succession hereditary. Members of other families and even foreigners succeeded to power, as when Numa, coming from the Sabines, a neighbor to be sure, but at that time a foreigner, succeeded Romulus, as when Tar-

Note. 1. The inscription opens with this mutilated sentence.

quinius Priscus succeeded Ancus Marcius. Although Tarquinius on account of polluted blood (for he was the son of <sup>2</sup>Demarathus, a Corinthian, and of a woman from Tarquinii of noble birth but <sup>3</sup>without means, as is shown by the fact that she had to submit to such a husband) was prevented from holding offices at <sup>4</sup>home, yet he attained the royal power after removing to Rome. Likewise between him and his son, or grandson, (for in regard to this relationship the authorities differ) was interposed Servius Tullius, son of Oeresia, a captive, if we follow our own historians. If we follow the Tuscans, he was a most faithful comrade of Caelius Vivenna and a sharer of all his misfortune. Compelled by changing fortune to leave Etruria with the <sup>5</sup>remnants of the army of Caelius, he seized the Caelian Mount and <sup>6</sup>called it so from his own leader Caelius. After changing his name (for his name had been in the Tuscan tongue <sup>7</sup>Mastarna) he was so called, as I have said, and held the royal power to the greatest advantage of the state.

Notes. 2. Probably, according to Furneaux, an error of the engraver for 'Demarato.'

3. inopi. The last letter has been supplied to harmonize with the thought following. 4. At Tarquinii.

5. The text gives reliquis, here equivalent to reliquis.

6. The text gives appellitatus, apparently an error of the engraver for appellitavit.

7. Mastarna. It is not known from what version Claudius got this name.

Then after the practices of Tarquinius Superbus began to be offensive to our state, both his own and those of his sons, the people became thoroughly disgusted with the monarchy, and the administration of the state was transferred to the consuls, yearly magistrates.

Why should I now make mention of the fact that the dictatorship, by which they profited in times of unusually severe wars or in case of critical civil disturbances, was among our ancestors found more effective even than the consular power? or that tribunes of the plebs were elected for the help of the plebs? why that the government was transferred from the consuls to the decemvirs, and that afterwards, when the power of the decemvirs had been broken, it was again returned to the consuls? why that the consular power was distributed among several, and tribunes of the soldiers were called tribunes with consular power, who were elected six and often eight at a time? why that finally the offices, not only of the government, but also of the priesthoods, were shared with the people? If I should recount the wars with which our ancestors began and those by which we have attained our present position,

I fear that I might seem to be too arrogant and to have sought a display of my fame for having extended the empire beyond the Ocean. But I would rather return to the following point. <sup>8</sup>Citizenship - - -

Note. Citizenship - - -. The passage probably spoke of the gradual extension of the civitas. 'cf. Tac. Ann. XI, 24, 2-4.

COL. II.

- - - <sup>1.</sup>isi sane novo - - - Divus Aug<sup>2</sup> - - no - - i

But my paternal uncle Tiberius Caesar wished the flower of all the colonies and municipia, that is to say, of the good and rich men, to be in this senate. What then? Is not an Italian senator preferable to a provincial? Presently when I shall have begun to commend to you this part of my censorship, I shall show by my acts what I think of this matter. But I do not think that even provincials should be rejected if only they can add dignity to the senate.

Lo! how long already has Vienne, a colony very well supplied and very strong, been furnishing senators for this assemblage? L. Vestinus, one of the few greatest ornaments of this colony, I esteem most highly and even now keep him in charge of my finances! Let his children, I pray you, enjoy the first step of the priestly offices with the assurance of afterward in due season advancing their rank. Not to mention the awful name of

Notes. 1. Column two begins with these fragmentary words.

2. This passage probably described Augustus' practice in regard to his lectio senatus. cf. N. Mom. on Mon. Auc.p.35.



the robber himself, I even hate that <sup>3</sup>monster of the palestra, because he brought the consulship into his home before his colony had gained the full privilege of Roman citizenship. I can say the same of his brother, a wretched man indeed and one most unworthy of this misfortune, which resulted in his not being able to serve you as a <sup>4</sup>senator.

It is time now, <sup>5</sup>Tiberius Caesar Germanicus, to disclose to the conscript fathers whither your words tend, for you have now come to the farthest boundaries of Gallia Narbonensis.

Behold, the many distinguished young men I see before me are no more to be regretted as senators than the fact that Persicus, a very prominent man, my friend, does not regret to read the name of Allobrogicus among the images of his ancestors. But if you agree that this is so, what more do you wish than that I should point out to you that that very land beyond the borders of Gallia Narbonensis is already sending senators to you, since we do not regret having men of our rank from Lugudunum.

Notes. 3. The reference is to Valerius Asiaticus. Tac.

Ann. XI, 1-3 and for the epithet paelestricum Ann. XI, 32.

4. The incident is unknown. The passage indicates however that he was expelled from the senate.

5. He is addressing himself.