

CLAVDIVS IMPERATOR RECEPTVS
INNOVATIONS IN ROMAN GOVERNMENT 41-54 A.D.

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS
in the Department

of

Classics

ACCEPTED
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DATE

25 Mar / 77

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UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

March 1977

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this thesis is to provide an analysis of the innovations in Roman government during Claudius' reign which led to the establishment of the princeps' power on a firmer and more absolute basis. Chapter I is intended to demonstrate the problems which faced Claudius on his accession. It is suggested that the fierce senatorial resistance encountered by the emperor was due to two major causes: firstly, the expression of family hatred which had been engendered as a result of persecution during the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, and Gaius; secondly, the opportunism of the old aristocracy which determined to make a final bid to establish a senatorial oligarchy and dispose of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. It is concluded that the resistance was most concentrated during the years 41-48 of Claudius' reign.

Chapters II and III are primarily concerned with the Claudian administration. The former illustrates Claudius' new outline for the *cursus* of freedmen and equestrians in which each stage of a man's career was more clearly delineated and the process of promotion more rigidly enforced. The purpose was to promote efficiency through a more closely supervised executive under the management of the emperor. The restructuring of the *cursus* symbolized what was perhaps the most idealistic aspect of Claudius' policy.

Chapter III deals with the more specific effects of Claudius' policy of centralization. It is in the final sections

of the thesis, namely, those concerned with jurisdiction and fiscal reforms, that the efficacy of the principate is fully revealed. The crucial development during this period was the rise in prominence of imperial procurators, both equestrian and freedmen, over the senatorial officials and their assumption of the latter's responsibilities in the administration. But it is stressed that this was not a political manoeuvre on Claudius' part undertaken to deprive the senate of its traditional prerogatives, but rather an attempt to stream-line the administration and place it under single management. It is suggested that Claudius considered the senate's function to be over and above the general business of administration; the latter could be adequately conducted by equestrian officials who now operated within the new imperial civil service. It is shown that Claudius preferred to reserve members of the senatorial order only for the more dignified positions of state; for example, the provincial governorships and the magistracies at Rome. The main conclusion which is drawn from this study is that the motives for Claudius' innovatory programme were rarely political and almost invariably in the service of expediency.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

Unless otherwise stated, references throughout the text and footnotes to 'Momigliano' and 'Scramuzza' are to:

A. Momigliano, Claudius, The Emperor and his Achievement (1961);

V.M. Scramuzza, The Emperor Claudius (1940).

References to the works of Dio Cassius, Frontinus, Josephus, Pliny (Elder and Younger), Quintilian, Seneca, Strabo, and Suetonius are from the texts of the Loeb Classical Library. For the works of Tacitus the Teubner edition has been used.

I. STANDARD WORKS:

CAH The Cambridge Ancient History (1st edition, 1934).

PIR E. Klebs, H. Dessau, and P. de Rohden, Prosopographia Imperii Romani (1st edition, 1897-98).

PIR² E. Groag, A. Stein, and L. Petersen, Prosopographia Imperii Romani (2nd edition [A-L], 1933-70).

RE A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, and K. Ziegler (edd.), Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (1893-972).

II. PERIODICALS.

<u>AAntHung</u>	<u>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</u>
<u>AJA</u>	<u>American Journal of Archaeology.</u>
<u>AJPh</u>	<u>American Journal of Philology.</u>
<u>AncSoc</u>	<u>Ancient Society.</u>
<u>AS</u>	<u>Anatolian Studies.</u>
<u>CJ</u>	<u>Classical Journal.</u>
<u>CPh</u>	<u>Classical Philology.</u>
<u>CQ</u>	<u>Classical Quarterly.</u>
<u>CR</u>	<u>Classical Review.</u>
<u>G&R</u>	<u>Greece and Rome.</u>
<u>G&R</u> ²	<u>Greece and Rome, 2nd series.</u>
<u>HSPh</u>	<u>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.</u>
<u>JRS</u>	<u>Journal of Roman Studies.</u>
<u>PBA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the British Academy.</u>
<u>PBSR</u>	<u>Papers of the British School at Rome.</u>
<u>PCPhS</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society.</u>
<u>P&P</u>	<u>Past and Present.</u>
<u>PTRSC</u>	<u>Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada.</u>
<u>RBPh</u>	<u>Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire.</u>
<u>REG</u>	<u>Revue des Études Grecques.</u>
<u>Rev. Hist. Droit.</u>	<u>Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger.</u>
<u>RhM</u>	<u>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.</u>
<u>TAPhA</u>	<u>Transactions of the American Philological Association.</u>

III. INSCRIPTIONS.

- AE L'Année Épigraphique (1888-).
- ARS A.C. Johnson, P.R. Coleman-Norton, F.C. Bourne, Ancient Roman Statutes (1961).
- Charlesworth,
Cl./N M.P. Charlesworth, Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero (1951).
- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (1863-).
- CIG Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum (1828-77).
- CRAI Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres (1857-).
- FIRA S. Riccobono, Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustini (1941).
- Gordon A.E. Gordon, Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions, I (1958).
- IG Inscriptiones Graecae (1873-).
- IGRR Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes (1906-).
- Inscr. Ital. Inscriptiones Italiae
- ILS H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (1892-1916).
- LR N. Lewis, & R. Rheinhold, Roman Civilization, II (1959).
- MARE F.F. Abbott, & A.C. Johnson, Municipal Administration of the Roman Empire (1968).
- Nds Notizie degli scavi di antichità (1876-).
- OGIS Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae (1903-05).
- RIB R.G. Collingwood, & R.P. Wright, The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, I (1965).
- SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (1923-).
- SIG³ W. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, 3rd ed. (1915-24).
- Smallwood E.M. Smallwood, Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius, and Nero (1967).

IV. PAPHYRI.

- Bell H.I. Bell, Jews and Christians in Egypt (1972).
- BGU Berliner grieschische Urkunde (Aegyptische Urkunde aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin (1892-)).
- Chrest L. Mitteis & U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde (1912).
- Musurillo H.A. Musurillo, The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs. Acta Alexandrinorum (1954).
- P Berol Berlin Papyri.
- P Lond Greek Papyri in the British Museum, edd. F.G. Kenyon, & H.I. Bell (1893-1917).
- (P Lond 1912 = Bell, Jews, 1-37).
- P Mich Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection, 12 vols. (1931-1975).
- P Ryl Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library at Manchester (1911-).
- PSI Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto (1912-20).
- Sel Pap Select Papyri, vol. II, edd. C.C. Edgar & A.S. Hunt (1956), Loeb.

V. COINS.

- BMC, Emp. I Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, vol. I, ed. H. Mattingly (1965).
- NC⁵ Numismatic Chronicle, series 5.
- RIC I Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. I, edd. H. Mattingly, & E.A. Sydenham (1968).
- Sutherland, CRIP C.H.V. Sutherland, Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy (1951).

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTE:

(i) The symbols used in the recording of inscriptions will correspond to those listed by Smallwood, p.xii. The major ones are the following:

- [] "enclose letters supposed to have been originally in the text."
- () indicate the resolution of an abbreviation.
- <> indicate a mistaken omission or error in the text.
- { } indicate superfluous letters.
- / marks the beginning of a line.
- // marks the fifth line.
- represent letters lost in the text "equal in number to the number of dots".
- represent an uncertain number of lost letters.

(ii) Unless otherwise specified, consular dates will be taken from the lists compiled by A. Degrassi, I Fasti Consolari dell'Impero Romano (1952).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Professor Geoffrey Archbold for his encouragement and guidance during the preparation of the thesis, and for his valuable help with proof-reading during the latter stages of completion. I should add that it was he who introduced me to the detailed study of Roman historiography and gave me the initial motivation to pursue my research on Claudius. I would also like to thank Professor Gordon Shrimpton for his helpful advice, often sought and cheerfully given, on various matters during the course of my studies at the University; also Professor David Campbell for giving me an opportunity to gain profitable experience in the teaching of Latin. I am grateful to Messrs. Terry Barnett and Rob Hunter for the interesting and fruitful discussions we have had on subjects within the field of this thesis. Tribute must also go to Mrs. Nancy Nasser who did the typing; I thank her for a truly splendid piece of work.

I remain indebted to the University of Victoria for its generous financial assistance over two academic years, *sine qua non*

D M

PATRIS MEI

VIRI FORTIS

AC PROVIDENTIS

MATRIQUE CARISSIMAE

ET AMICIS MEIS

BENE MERENTIBVS

HIC LIBELLVS

DEDICATVS

μετὰ γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτοκράτορα, ὑφ' οὗ τα Ῥωμαίων
 διεκοσμήθη, τυραννίδες οὕτω χαλεπαὶ ἴσχυσαν ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα
 ἔτη, ὡς μηδὲ Κλαύδιον τὰ μέσα τούτων τρισκαίδεκα ἄρξαντα
 χρηστὸν δόξαι.

Philostratus, Vita Apollonii v 27

hic medie imperavit, multa gerens tranquille atque moderate,
 quaedam crudeliter et insulse

Eutropius, Breuiarium vii 13

INTRODUCTION

The reign of Claudius marks an important stage in the development of the early principate in terms of the increase of monarchic power and the changing role of officials who served under the princeps. This phenomenon was to produce a final conflict between the old senatorial aristocracy and the gradually maturing imperial class which had evolved during the Augustan régime, and it was to be final in the sense that after Claudius there was never any serious attempt on the part of the senate to restore the old republic. In fact the term "republic" was rendered meaningless in practical terms and lingered on merely as an ideological concept in the minds of philosophers, poets, and historians.¹

The principate of Gaius had veered in the direction of a hellenistic monarchy in which the power invested in the princeps since the settlement of Augustus (23 B.C.) had been suddenly and unwisely converted to absolute autocracy with a complete lack of sensitivity towards the traditional claims of the nobility in the business of government.² The result was destruction for Gaius: his use of absolute power had been too sudden for conservative Roman tastes, and he was challenged by a senatorial revolution whose watchword was *libertas* and which aimed at restoring the republic. The senatorials, however, lacked the one important ingredient for a successful *coup d'état*, namely, the control of the military and, in particular, of the praetorian guard which had always enjoyed the generous patronage of the emperor. Not surprisingly, there-

fore, the praetorian cohorts stationed in Rome decided it was to their advantage to elect their own emperor rather than submit to a régime which would ultimately enforce their disbandment. Claudius was the only available candidate by virtue of his being a "Germanicus"³ and was accordingly hailed *Imperator* on January 24, 41 A.D.; he was fifty years of age.⁴

Claudius' first task as princeps was to reconcile the senatorial class and to ensure that the foundations of his government were secure and based on a firm trust between himself and the aristocracy; in short, he desired to obliterate the memory of Gaius' excesses and to return to the peace of the Augustan system.⁵ The theory was an admirable one, but it never came into effect. There were a number of causes. From the very outset Claudius' intentions were misunderstood as a result of prejudices. These were felt by the nobility against a man who was a virtual foreigner to government; for the emperor had not yet entered public life, save for a brief appearance as consul in 37 A.D. under Gaius, his nephew. But even in this office he was subjected to every type of insult and was never taken seriously.⁶ Under Tiberius he was rebuffed by the emperor in condescending fashion, even though he had been awarded the consular regalia.⁷ Augustus too had considered Claudius unfit for a public career and left him invested merely with an augural priesthood and made him an heir in the third degree; that is, with no prospect of receiving an inheritance. Similarly Tiberius had made him heir in the third degree, but in compensation he commended Claudius in his will to the armies and S.P.Q.R.⁸ In addition, under Tiberius

he had been elected patron of the equestrian order on two occasions and was clearly on friendly terms with the members of this class.⁹ His exclusion from public life seems to have been due to his physical and suspected mental infirmities which are vividly described in Suetonius' account. His appearance was unseemly and his head shook, he limped and he showed tactlessness, absent-mindedness, and rashness.¹⁰ As an embarrassment to the imperial family, he was kept out of the public eye and denied any advancement or favour, so that as a young man Claudius resorted to the avid pursuit of liberal studies and research into history and antiquities.¹¹ This devotion to the past coupled with his deep sense of tradition, a characteristic feature of most Claudii, resulted in a healthy respect for his country's republican institutions, a feature which was to play an influential part in his policy as an emperor later in life. A further prejudice against Claudius was his failure to live up to the image of his elder brother Germanicus, the charming and illustrious general who had enjoyed universal popularity until his untimely death in 19 A.D. Claudius, in contrast, spent his time in disreputable company drinking in taverns and playing the game of dice.¹² Nevertheless, the name "Germanicus" lived on and, as brother to the celebrated prince, Claudius enjoyed the affection of the Roman people as a whole and, in particular, of the *equites* and the army.¹³ On his elevation to the throne, however, Claudius was immediately considered unsuitable for the position by the nobility. The latter required their princeps to have at least proceeded through the established senatorial *cursus*, and not to be

one who had spent most of his time in the company of louts and degenerates. Claudius' antiquarian pursuits had shown that his interests lay more in theory and idealism than in practicality. As far as the nobility was concerned, Claudius' lack of experience both in politics and in military affairs made a mockery of the titles *Princeps* and *Imperator*.¹⁴

The second major reason for Claudius' failure to win the support of the senate was a result of his actual imperial policy, initially formulated on an *ad hoc* basis, but modified and developed into a coherent programme during the course of the reign. It was soon apparent that this plan was in direct conflict with the interests of the senatorial and equestrian orders who had carefully guarded prerogatives in the administration or in business monopolies throughout the empire. Claudius was a strange blend of the conservative and the innovator which tended to produce inherent conflicts in his policy-making, as Momigliano has shown in his book. His intellectual studies of Rome's past and traditions had instilled within him a firm respect for her formal institutions and the ideals of the republic, but at the same time he saw, as had his tutor Livy, that the republic was dead and buried. Whilst recognising the necessity of preserving Rome's tradition and the memory of her ancestors' illustrious deeds, he believed that it was the state's destiny to build upon that tradition and to grow outward as a centrifugal force transmitting the spirit and majesty of Rome to the rest of the world. It was evident that the republic, being essentially introvert in nature, was an outdated system. Claudius realised that his task

would be to carry on where Augustus had left off, namely, to carry the function of the principate to its logical extreme through the beneficent use of autocratic power. The senate, with the myopic interests of its members, would have to be convinced that it was their responsibility to further the needs of the empire and not parasitically to derive benefit from it in the old belief that this was its due by right of conquest.

This was Claudius' fundamental position in the operation of his policy, but in attempting to put those policies into effect, he discovered that the administrative machinery which had been handed down over the course of the centuries was greatly inadequate, if not archaic. His solution was to employ personally selected agents who were to operate in spheres of the administration which had traditionally been the concern of senate and equestrians. This was not a political manoeuvre, but the result of a genuine desire to promote efficiency. But Claudius realised that in order to achieve efficiency he would be forced to make a serious intrusion on Rome's age-old administrative structure. No area was to be left free from the influence of the imperial bureaucracy. It penetrated every concern, financial, judicial, managerial, and executive. Under Claudius the principate itself assumed a distinct personality and symbolized the hegemonic force in the empire to which all were subservient: aristocracy, plebs, soldiers, and provincials alike.

The paradox of the Emperor Claudius lies in the unusual struggle between his conservatism and progressiveness: on the one hand, he was a man devoted to the preservation of Rome's

traditional, political, and social institutions,¹⁵ and, on the other, a man who, face to face with the practical demands of government, decisively undermined those very institutions. Throughout his reign a conscious attempt was made to combine these two polarities of theory and practice, but the attempt was destined to failure. It can be argued, on the other side, that Claudius' policies were not deliberately formulated, but merely the product of the natural development of the principate which had been handed down in form by Augustus and crystallized under Tiberius. But it is my contention that the strong senatorial opposition which Claudius encountered in 41 A.D., and the continued resistance until 48 and even later are evidence that the principate was still in an unsettled position, being essentially a young phenomenon, and that it needed an individual such as Claudius to mould its final shape and form. In short, the discovery of the timorous cripple in the precincts of the Hermaeum by a common soldier in 41,¹⁶ one of those chance incidents which history is wont to reproduce, was fortuitous, to say the least, for the continued life and development of the principate.

INTRODUCTION: FOOTNOTES

1. The historian Tacitus, the stoics Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus, and the poet Lucan are among the more famous examples from the first century A.D.
2. The best study for Gaius' principate (37-41 A.D.) is by J.P.V.D. Balsdon, The Emperor Gaius (Oxford, 1934).
3. Suetonius, Claudius I; Josephus, Antiquitates Iudaicae, XIX.217. For the assassination of Gaius, the attempted restoration and the eventual accession of Claudius, the fullest account is given in Jos., AJ XIX.37-271, which appears to be a translation from an unknown Latin source.
4. Claudius was born at Lugdunum in Gaul on August 1, 10 B.C.; his parents were Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus and Antonia Minor. Claudius maintained the right to use the cognomen "Germanicus" which had been applied to his elder brother.
5. Cf. Seneca, Ad Polybium De Consolatione, 12.5: "acta hic [*sc.* Claudius] diui Augusti aequet, annos uincat!"; and 13.1: "patere illum generi humano iam diu aegro et affecto mederi, patere quicquid prioris principis [*sc.* Gaii] furor concussit in suum locum restituere ac reponere!". For Seneca's attitude toward Claudius in this work, see W.H. Alexander, "Seneca's Ad Polybium De Consolatione: A Reappraisal", PTSC 3, XXXVI (1943), 33-55. For an analysis of the literary models used by Seneca, see H. Dahlmann, "Studien zu Seneca's Ad Polybium", Hermes LXXII (1937), 301-316.
6. Suet., Cl. 7-9.
7. Ibid., 5.
8. Ibid., 4.7; 6.2.
9. Ibid., Cal. 15.2; Cl. 6.1; Dio, LIX.6.6. Until his consulship in 37 Claudius was in fact a member of the *ordo equester*.
10. Suet., Cl. 39. The words Suetonius employs to express Claudius' absent-mindedness and rashness are μετεωρία and ἀβλεψία. For an analysis of Claudius' physical and mental condition, see T. de Coursey Ruth, The Problem of Claudius (Johns Hopkins Univ. diss., Baltimore, 1916). Ruth believes his shaking head, limp, etc. were due to an infantile paralysis caused by a premature birth. See also E.F. Leon, "The *Imbecillitas* of the Emperor Claudius", TAPhA LXXIX (1948), 79-86, whose diagnosis is congenital cerebral palsy. Suetonius remarks, in Cl. 4.6, that

Augustus was perplexed how anyone could be so unclear in conversation, yet speak with such clarity and propriety while disclaiming: "nam qui tam ἀσαφῶς loquatur, qui possit cum declamat σαφῶς dicere quae dicenda sunt, non uideo"; cf. Cl. 4.5: "misellus ἀτυχεῖ nam ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις, ubi nōn aberravit eius animus, satis apparet ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ εὐγένεια". It appears, therefore, that in his youth Claudius was capable of accomplishment when he had the mind to concentrate.

11. Suet., Cl. 41-42. His tutors were T. Livius and Sulpicius Flavius. His works included a history of Rome in twenty-two books, an autobiography in eight books, a defense of Cicero "aduersus Asinii Galli libros", and a book on the theory of the three new letters he introduced to the alphabet (the Greek aspirate ἄ representing the sound between "u" and "i"; the antisigma Ϝ for "bs" and "ps"; the inverted digamma ϝ for consonantal "u"). His Roman History initially commenced at 44 B.C. but was terminated after two books at the insistence of his mother Antonia and grandmother Octavia, the widow of M. Antonius, who felt it more tactful for him to commence at 31 B.C.. All the latter works were in Latin. His publications in Greek included a history of Carthage and Etruria written in twenty and eight books respectively. See O.A.W. Dilke, "The Literary Output of the Roman Emperors", *G&R*² IV (1957), 78-97; D.M. Last and R.M. Ogilvie, "Claudius and Livy", *Latomus* XVII (1958), 476-487; E.R. Parker, "The Education of Heirs in the Julio-Claudian Family", *AJPh* LXVII (1946), 29-50.
12. Suet., Cl. 5.
13. *Ibid.*, 5 and 7; see note 9.
14. The title *Imperator* was initially rejected by Claudius according to Suet., Cl. 12.1, but it was soon afterwards assumed (cf. Dio, LX.21.4). We know that he was saluted by the legionaries at least twenty-seven times (see *ILS* 218 dated 52 A.D.: cf. Frontinus, *De Aq.* I.13). Thus it is probable that Claudius felt a need to make up for his former lack of contact with the army. Tacitus, however, plays down Claudius' emphasis on the title *Imperator* which is mentioned on only four occasions in the extant books; cf. the first hexad of the *Annals* in which Tiberius is constantly referred to as *Imperator*, although the title was officially conferred upon him only once during his reign.
15. The digressive passages in the *Annals* of Tacitus who draws on Claudius' works as a source, are sufficient witness to this; e.g., *Annals* XI.14-15, the history of the alphabet and the *collegium haruspicum*; XI.22, digression on the quaestorship; XII.23-24, the history of the *salutis augurium* and the *pomerium*. See R. Syme, *Tacitus*, vol. II

(Oxford, 1958), pp.703-710.

16. Suet., Cl. 10.

CHAPTER I: RELATIONS WITH THE ARISTOCRACY

Introduction: The *coup d'état* of 41.

We are told by Dio that after Gaius' assassination, the senate, which had been convened by the consuls on the Capitol, was divided as to its next move: whether they were to establish a democracy or a monarchy.¹ Matters became more complicated when the four urban cohorts which were supporting the attempted restoration, threatened to abandon the cause and join the praetorians who had already hailed Claudius as emperor. The latter had made doubly certain of the soldiers' support by a grant of fifteen thousand sesterces to each man; he became the first of the Caesars to acquire the empire by bribery.² The senate was forced to abandon their cause of liberty, although the conspirators, led by Cassius Chaerea who was actually a tribune in the praetorian guard, did their utmost to dissuade them from weakening.³ Finally the senators decided to compromise in a final attempt to gain military support and to promote some of their own members for the candidature of princeps; but presumably this man was to make provision for the re-establishment of senatorial rights in government.⁴ Thus the senate realised that to win the support of the army, the election of one leader was at least inevitable. Various claimants to the throne emerged such as Marcus Vinicius, who had been married to Gaius' sister Julia, and Valerius Asiaticus. But there followed much dispute over who was eligible for candidature; and eventually these men were deposed by the

consuls, Cn. Sentius Saturninus and Q. Pomponius Secundus, and by Vinicianus, one of Gaius' assassins, who himself had been proposed for the throne earlier.⁵ Although there was disagreement over the advisability of proposing a princeps, there was certainly a common opposition against Claudius' elevation to power. After all, they had formally decreed war on Claudius.⁶

Cassius Chaerea made a final attempt to win over the urban soldiers, by inciting them against Claudius, pointing to his unsuitability and asking them if they intended to subject Rome to the whims of an addlepate.⁷ The cohorts, however, were resolute and finally deserted, tired by proposals and counter-proposals made by the envoys who were constantly being exchanged by either side. King Herod Agrippa,⁸ Claudius' close friend, was supervising the exchange, and, acting as intermediary, he conveyed to the senate a number of assurances from Claudius: that he would be ὡσπερ ἀγαθὸς προστάτης, οὐχ ὡς τύραννος and would consult the people on all occasions,⁹ promises which no doubt rang hollow in the ears of the senators. Nevertheless they were compelled to acquiesce in view of military inferiority, but the grievances which had prompted their attempted restoration still lingered. They saw no reason to coalesce with the new régime. Claudius was thus faced with the problem of a hostile senate and he would have to employ skilfully his powers of diplomacy to induce their active cooperation.

(i) Concessions to the Senate; Claudian Propaganda.

Those who were involved in the conspiracy against Gaius were treated with leniency; only the leaders Chaerea and Lupus, the military tribunes, were executed. This sentence was passed according to Dio, as an example for the future, for although Claudius was grateful to them for removing a tyrant, he could not approve the assassination of an emperor; he thus acted for the sake of his own safety.¹⁰ Sabinus, another conspirator, was released, but he later committed suicide from a sense of duty towards his condemned comrades. To all others who had been involved in or who had supported the move for a new constitution,¹¹ Claudius granted a general amnesty¹² and even the consuls, Pomponius and Saturninus, were retained in office until June of that year. The documents of Gaius which incriminated senators were distributed to those concerned and then destroyed and the "unjust" *acta* of the former emperor were cancelled.¹³ Even the law of *maiestas* and its attendant evil of delation, by which so many senators had perished, were abolished. The actual memory of Gaius was not officially dishonoured, no doubt in order to preserve the dignity of the principate, but Claudius did order all his nephew's statues to be moved. Exiles were recalled by Claudius, after he had first secured the senate's approval; these included Agrippina and Julia (Gaius' sister), and prisoners who had been sentenced for *maiestas* were released with their property restored.¹⁴ The cases of others who had been imprisoned under Gaius were all reviewed with the result that the courts were flooded with

business. We are told the emperor personally conducted them on a tribunal in the forum.¹⁵ Claudius decreed that he would choose only senators whose great-great-grandfathers had been citizens,¹⁶ an assurance which would maintain the integrity of the élitist nobility. In general the senate was treated in a most deferential manner:¹⁷ Claudius would always rise to meet senators in the curia and may have been allocated an ordinary senator's seat, except for the occasions when he introduced business from the curule chair placed between the consuls or from the tribune's bench.¹⁸ Also out of deference, he initially refused the title of *Imperator* and any excessive honours,¹⁹ and he passed over without official ceremony occasions such as imperial birthdays or betrothals within his family. He was always careful to consult the senate on any business, however trivial, and made frequent use of the *senatus consultum*.²⁰

The stance adopted by Claudius, as a benevolent and courteous emperor, claimed such immediate respect and affection from the populace that they started to riot against the senate and soldiery when they heard a rumour of his death. It was the devotion of the senate, however, which was Claudius' major objective. One practical method of assuring friendship among its members was the marriage alliance which had been frequently used for expediency by his forerunners Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus. Consequently, in order to strengthen his ties with the leading senatorial families, he gave his daughter Antonia, by his second wife Aelia Paetina, in marriage to Cn. Pompeius Magnus of the Licinii Crassi, and Octavia, his daughter by Messalina, was betrothed to L. Iunius Silanus,

grandson of Julia, the granddaughter of Augustus.²¹ A further device was to redirect senatorial hostility and channel it into helpful criticism rather than pleasantly to accept its abject flattery which served as a mask behind which lurked a growing bitterness.²²

The classic example of Claudius' insistence that the senate should participate in debate and present the emperor with helpful criticism is the Berlin papyrus which records a speech of Claudius to the senate on jury service, and on the extensions of the courts' regular session.²³ He asks the senate to vote on the proposal "candidly and on the dictate of your conscience",²⁴ but to give reasons for their choice and not merely to assent to the views of the consul designate and afterwards to maintain that they had genuinely expressed their opinions.²⁵ Moreover his concern for their active participation was bound up with his vision of the majesty of the senate: if this body were to retain its traditional sovereignty, it would have to make a contribution to government and assist the princeps as a partner in the management of state affairs. These sentiments of Claudius were delivered in good faith, but perhaps he was avoiding the true nature of the problem which lay in the difficulty of reconciling the theoretical supremacy of the senate with the practical, ever-increasing power of the princeps. But the desire for co-operation was constantly voiced by Claudius. He discouraged senators who gained promotion from expressing any gratitude toward him; instead he promoted an *esprit de corps*, asserting that both senate and emperor were dependent on each other's co-operation for an

efficient administration.²⁶ Claudius encouraged the senate to look upon their role in terms of a dyarchy and as coagent in the state with the princeps. But the type of freedom afforded to them by Claudius was unacceptable in the eyes of men who still savoured hopes of republican liberty. Perhaps Claudius was being unrealistic, but the aristocracy were no less at fault; the princeps was at least working for a solution, while they were resting on laurels which were rapidly fading.

Claudius had one more card to play in his policy of reconciliation with the senate, namely, representation on the imperial coinage. The coins produced in the first years of the reign reflect an ideological conflict between *libertas* and *principatus*. The watchword of the senatorial *coup d'état* had been liberty;²⁷ Claudius now appropriated this slogan and reproduced it on his coinage in an attempt to show that the liberty which the state was seeking before his accession was not to be incompatible with the new principate. This unprecedented legend appears on the coinage from the *aes* mint, on the reverse in the form *LIBERTAS AVGVSTA S.C.*,²⁸ and on the obverse the bust of Claudius with full titulature.²⁹ On the reverse appears the draped figure of Liberty, standing and holding the *pileus* (cap of freedom) in her right hand. This propaganda emphasised the freedom from Gaius' tyranny and also on a wider scale the five hundredth (or 550th, on another reckoning) anniversary of the expulsion of the kings from Rome.

Thus Claudius from the very beginning of his reign was insisting on the constitutional freedom inherent in his principate, and in particular with regard to the senate, both by

general advertisement to the empire via the coinage, and by his actual treatment of the senate whose constitutional prerogatives he placed on a parity with his own. But the form of liberty offered was not comprehensive enough for the aristocracy. The concept of *Libertas Augusta* was in turn answered by the ideals promulgated by the rebellion of Vinicianus and Camillus Scribonianus in the following year, which offered the mutinous troops of Dalmatia the prospect of ἀρχαία ἐλευθερία:³⁰ this was a pointed antithesis to Claudius' *Libertas Augusta* and a more explicit formulation of the senatorial position. The conflict was basically the old republican freedom versus the imperial version of it.

(ii) The *bellum ciuile* of 42.

Claudius was employing two methods in an attempt to gain universal support after his accession, *viz.*, by propaganda and by acts of deference, but the accounts in the sources relate that this attempt caused trouble and that his whole reign, in particular the early part, was subjected to conspiracy upon conspiracy. Suetonius (Cl. 13.1) tells us that Claudius, "nec tamen expers insidiarum usque quaque permansit sed et a singulis et per factionem et denique ciuili bello infestatus est". Moreover in Apocolocyntosis (13) we hear that no less than thirty-five senators and 221 *equites* were put to death, a figure partly confirmed by Suetonius (Cl. 29) who estimates thirty-five senators and over 300 *equites*.³¹ But in view of Claudius' good-will towards the senate and attempt early in the reign to win support from all sections of society, it is inconceivable that these men were put to death without any justifiable cause, and hardly, as Suetonius and Dio would have us believe, because of the whims of the wives and freedmen of the emperor. In these literary accounts the real motives have been suppressed and have given way to more colourful versions of the final downfall of men and women who seem to have incurred the envy or hatred of Messalina and her accomplices. The final refutation of this tradition is pronounced by the author of Apocolocyntosis, the earliest extant document for this reign, which indicts Claudius alone for the executions during his reign, without any reference to the complicity of Messalina, Agrippina, or freedmen. If Claudius

were alone responsible, it seems certain that the unprecedented number of executions was due to an outward display of senatorial hostility, and that throughout his reign there was a serious threat to his position which he was reluctantly compelled to combat with the iron fist.

The figure of thirty-five senators condemned appears all the more extraordinary when we consider that in the first seventeen years of Tiberius' reign not a single senator was condemned; Claudius ruled for only thirteen years. The names of eighteen of the senators are known to us, and also seven women, two of whom were wives of senators.³² In addition, there were the accomplices of Scribonianus, who led a military revolt in Dalmatia, and these included a number of *equites* and senators who had rallied to the cause.³³ We are told that "many others" were also executed, but the sons of the conspirators were granted immunity and also received money; i.e., some part of their father's confiscated estate.³⁴

The series of executions began in 42 with the condemnation of G. Appius Iunius Silanus who had been consul in 28 and was the husband of Domitia Lepida, Agrippina's sister-in-law. According to Suetonius and Dio, there was no definite charge brought against Appius, but he was condemned *intra cubiculum*, allegedly as a conspirator.³⁵ They also report that the reason for his death was Messalina's indignation at her father-in-law when he refused to lie with her and consequently she and Narcissus contrived his downfall by reporting to Claudius a dream in which Appius had assassinated the princeps.³⁶ But it is inconceivable that Claudius should have submitted to

Messalina's chicanery during such a delicate political situation and thus incurred the hostility of a senate whose very favour he was striving to cultivate. But information implicating Appius in any conspiracy is lacking, save the fact that in 32 A.D. he was tried, but acquitted, for *maiestas*.³⁷ The motives, therefore, are dubious, but for whatever reasons, Appius was given summary treatment "nec defensione ulla data".³⁸ The outcome of this arbitrary judgement was a general disillusionment among the people in their hopes for a beneficent and enlightened princeps whom they had been promised a year earlier.³⁹

This episode was soon followed by a revival of hostilities from the faction involved in the *coup d'état* of the previous year. Lucius Annius Vinicianus who had been proposed for the throne soon after Gaius' murder, now enlisted the support of L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus to lead a military revolt against Claudius. It is perhaps interesting to note that both men had histories of family grievances under the emperors; Vinicianus and his father Annius Pollio had been accused of *maiestas* under Tiberius (32 A.D.) together with Appius Silanus whose recent condemnation had prompted Vinicianus to action.⁴⁰ Camillus' father L. Arruntius had been condemned under Tiberius in 37 A.D.; according to Tacitus, Augustus had described this man as a possible contender for the principate, "non indignum et, si casus daretur, ausurum".⁴¹ His son appears to have inherited these qualities. As legate of Dalmatia, Camillus commanded two legions (the seventh and the eleventh) within easy striking distance of Rome; moreover, he was sup-

ported by a number of *equites* as well as senators.⁴² The situation was perilous, but aleatory: the legions under Camillus deserted. Claudius was fortunate, for it was essential that he should maintain the loyalty of the troops and any sign that this was weakening would in turn undermine his position as *Imperator*. In 41 the senate without troops was forced to acquiesce; in 42 troops were available, but their desertion to the emperor had reconfirmed his position as head of the state. But the *bellum ciuile*, as Suetonius calls it,⁴³ had strong senatorial support and perhaps an indication as to the solidarity of the opposition is to be found in the number of consulars who participated. There were four in all: Vinicianus, Camillus,⁴⁴ A. Caecina Paetus, and Q. Pomponius Secundus,⁴⁵ and of these Vinicianus and Secundus had both played major roles in the abortive republican restoration in the year before.⁴⁶ The idea of a restoration was still prevalent; Camillus had given his troops the watchword of the previous year, *libertas*, but the legionaries recalling the horrors of the protracted civil wars which had been fought for the sake of this elusive ideal during the last century, decided on a safer course, deserting to Claudius within four days of the rebellion. The emperor with characteristic diplomacy rewarded the troops by conferring upon the two legions the title *Claudia pia fidelis*.⁴⁷

The rebels were dealt with severely; many were put to death including the consular Paetus, Camillus and others; Vinicianus committed suicide.⁴⁸ Scribonianus, son of Camillus, was granted immunity and even favoured by Claudius who wished

to avert any ill-feeling which might have lingered after his father's death.⁴⁹ However, the initial pardons and expressions of good-will promulgated at the beginning of the reign had now been nullified out of necessity. Claudius had made a brave attempt at reconciliation but within twelve months he was compelled to use countermeasures in order to survive. But the princeps did not despair of his situation and once again attempted to appease the senators by ceding to them control over the consular appointments in 44. For until this date he himself together with his *amici* had held office.⁵⁰ However, this act of good-faith met with disastrous results; the following six years of senate-princeps relations were to be even more turbulent.

(iii) Continued Resistance 44-48.

The years 44-48 account for well over half of the casualties among the senators who were engaged in plots during the reign, and these included many consulars who had been duly appointed by the senate after Claudius' conciliatory measure of surrendering consular nominations.⁵¹ It is during these years that Suetonius' statement, "nec tamen expers insidiarum" takes on a full meaning.⁵² The mood of this period is best reflected by the choice of ordinary consuls for 44, 45, and 46 who we shall see were all hostile towards the emperor, either from personal and family grievances or from a desire for power. Thus the removal of barriers to the consulate had been fully exploited by the senate in what was now to be a consistent policy of opposition.

Those who were condemned at this time appear to fall into two groups: men who were related to the imperial family; and men who had a traditional family hatred of the princeps. Of the former category, Cn. Pompeius Magnus, Claudius' son-in-law, was put to death in 47 A.D..⁵³ He had been granted many privileges by Claudius, and had been allowed to stand for the consulship five years before the regular age.⁵⁴ Dio says that Messalina was the cause of the prosecution which was brought on nominal charges, but, in fact, was due to his family and his own relationship with the emperor.⁵⁵ This charge is perhaps explained by the condemnation in the same year of Pompeius' father and mother, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi and Scribonia, whose deaths are strangely omitted in all our sources

except Apocolocyntosis.⁵⁶ Crassus had twice received the *ornamenta triumphalia*⁵⁷ and was probably the first governor of Mauretania which had been one of Claudius' celebrated conquests,⁵⁸ and in the British expedition (43 A.D.) both father and son had been singled out for honour.⁵⁹ It seems strange, therefore, that such a favoured family should have been suddenly victimized in this manner, unless we postulate disloyalty to the princeps. This is a possibility since members of this family had a history of prosecutions under Tiberius. On Pompeius' mother's side, Scribonia's uncle Drusus, one of the Scribonii Libones, who were relations of Pompey the Great,⁶⁰ had been found guilty twice of plotting against Tiberius and had committed suicide (16 A.D.).⁶¹ At about the same time as the Licinii Crassi, three consular senators, Cornelius Lupus, Lusius Saturninus, and Pompeius Pedo lost their lives, the first two being indicted by Suillius.⁶²

In 46 A.D. there was a conspiracy launched by the consul for 45, Statilius Taurus Corvinus, grandson of the orator Messala, and by Asinius Gallus, grandson of the orator Asinius Pollio, who employed a number of the emperor's freedmen and slaves in an attempt to overthrow Claudius.⁶³ Gallus was the great-grandson of Cornelius Gallus, the prefect of Egypt who had been condemned under Augustus (26 B.C.), and his father Asinius Gallus had been the literary antagonist of Claudius, condemned in 33 A.D. under Tiberius.⁶⁴ Moreover, his brother Servius Asinius Celer, a consular, was executed by Claudius before 47,⁶⁵ if we may judge *ex silentio* from Tacitus whose

extant account begins at that date. The brother of the fellow conspirator Corvinus, a Ti. Statilius Taurus, later committed suicide (53 A.D.)⁶⁶ after a charge was brought against him for *res repetundae* and *magicae superstitiones*.⁶⁷

It appears, therefore, that of the conspirators in 46, Gallus at least, if not Corvinus, had family histories of prolonged and definite opposition to the principate. The freedmen who were employed in the conspiracy probably included those whose executions are referred to in Apocolocyntosis (13): Myron, Harpocras, Amphaeus, and Pheronactus. Again in 46 there is the case of M. Vinicius, a prominent senator who had been among those proposed for the throne after Gaius' murder.⁶⁸ Our sources record that he was poisoned by Messalina, but the reasons behind this are not given.⁶⁹

In the following year (47), Valerius Asiaticus (consul II in 46) was condemned *intra cubiculum principis* which would indicate that the emperor was anxious to deal with the case under strict personal supervision, and consequently that it was of an explosive nature. The account given in Tacitus is deliberately distorted in an attempt to exemplify a warped arbitrary judgement by the princeps.⁷⁰ Officially the charges of adultery, effeminacy, and of undermining the loyalty of the army were brought according to Tacitus, and in Dio's account that of conspiracy.⁷¹ The motive appears to be Messalina's jealousy of Asiaticus' wealth and a desire to possess his famous gardens. More probably political motives were involved, as Tacitus himself implies: Asiaticus was at the time preparing an expedition to the armies in Germany, but it was

feared that he might create trouble among the native people, since he himself was a native of Vienne and had many powerful connections there. But why this fear? He was clearly a man of capability since he had gained the consulship before his native town Vienne had received the full citizenship,⁷² and had been among those competing for the throne in 41.⁷³ His complicity in the conspiracy of Gaius was evident when he expressed his regret to the assembled populace that he himself had not delivered the fatal blow to the emperor.⁷⁴ Afterwards he had been pardoned by Claudius and was even made one of his *amici* and a member of his staff on the campaign to Britain.⁷⁵ In 46 something had happened to arouse the emperor's suspicions, for he was removed from his office as consul (held for the second time) as early as March 1 and replaced by C. Antistius Vetus.⁷⁶ But that in the following year the wealthy consular should be tried for adultery alone, as Tacitus relates, seems most unlikely and we may conclude, on Dio's evidence,⁷⁷ that there was a genuine charge for conspiracy and intent to cause sedition in the northern provinces. This theory is supported by the fact that the witnesses for the prosecution in Dio's account are privates from the army and others whom Asiaticus pleaded he "neither knew nor recognised".⁷⁸ The latter, therefore, could not have been senators or *equites*, but witnesses from the provinces, thus indicating the origin of the conspiracy. This concurs with the prosecution's apprehension, related in Tacitus' account, concerning Asiaticus as a potential trouble-maker in the north.⁷⁹

The condemnation of Ti. Statilius Taurus has already been

noted (see p.24, above), but the circumstances surrounding the case are of interest in connection with the charge against Asiaticus. Taurus also, according to Tacitus, was the victim of the emperor's wife, Agrippina on this occasion, who coveted the defendant's gardens and secured a condemnation, just as Messalina had done. Thus we have a clear reduplication from an earlier incident; the scenery and plot are exactly identical, but the characters have changed. This feeble reproduction obviously weakens the integrity of the literary account. A closer look is required at the actual charges which are so often pushed to the side by Tacitus in order to make way for the promotion of the more exotic and baser motives on the part of the imperial court. It now seems likely from the evidence of archaeology that the reasons for appropriating the gardens of Taurus were to acquire land for Claudius' central system of aqueducts.⁸⁰ Moreover, as Scramuzza has noticed, the charge of irreligion may have been justified since the decorations unearthed from Taurus' property seem to belong to a mystic cult.⁸¹ We know from Claudius' religious policy that while he was tolerant, if not accommodating, toward foreign religions, he had a distinct aversion to any form of mysticism and in particular to astrology. The cases of Asiaticus and Taurus, therefore, may be taken as two classic examples of distortion of motive and suppression of facts by the literary sources; they finally dispel the tradition that the prosecutions brought against senators under Claudius were due to the caprice of his wives.⁸²

The execution of the consul designate for 47, G. Silius,

occurred in the following year, after a desperate attempt to win the throne which he had hoped to secure by his illicit marriage to Claudius' wife Messalina.⁸³ Silius was a patrician whose father had been condemned for extortion under Sejanus,⁸⁴ and thus he possessed the two factors which usually prompted men to aim for supreme power, namely inherent family nobility making him a worthy candidate for the monarchy, coupled with family prejudice and resentment. In the same conspiracy were involved a number of *equites* and one senator, Iuncus Vergilianus.⁸⁵ The names of six *equites* are mentioned by Tacitus,⁸⁶ two of whom at least had military support. Decrius Calpurnianus, who as *praefectus uigilum*⁸⁷ would have been in charge of seven cohorts which were mainly recruited from freedmen; and Sulpicius Rufus who as *procurator ludi*⁸⁸ would have commanded a large body of gladiators. The collaboration of these *equites* and their contribution of military force in a senatorial conspiracy is of no little significance and cases such as the above (and also revolts such as Scribonianus' in which many *equites* had played a part) are examples which perhaps go some way to explaining the figure of 221 *equites* condemned under Claudius, recorded in Apocolocyntosis (14).

Claudius had tried to link the imperial house by marriage alliances to the most distinguished senatorial families of that time, the Licinii Crassi and the Iunii Silani. Antonia was married to the son of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi,⁸⁹ Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and Octavia was betrothed to Lucius Iunius

Silanus.⁹⁰ These dynastic ventures, however, had no real effect in winning the favour of the houses concerned; within the space of a few years six members of these families were either condemned on charges or met unnatural deaths.⁹¹ We have already mentioned the dubious case of G. Appius Silanus⁹² in 42; his second cousins, Lucius and Marcus Silani, also met their doom in this reign. Lucius was dismissed by Claudius prior to the emperor's marriage to his niece Agrippina in 49 A.D., who in turn was scheming for the advancement of her son Domitius (later Nero) and planned to remove L. Silanus to enable her son to take Octavia in marriage. Ironically enough the charges brought against L. Silanus by Vitellius were for incest with his wayward sister.⁹³ At the same time the prosecutor was making a speech in the senate condoning Claudius' marriage and ordering a decree to allow uncles to marry their nieces without charge of incest.⁹⁴ Silanus, one of the praetors for 48, was by an edict of Vitellius, *qua censor*,⁹⁵ removed from his office and from the senatorial order, his marriage alliance cancelled, and the remaining day of his praetorship conferred on Eprius Marcellus.⁹⁶ At the beginning of 49, on the day of Claudius' marriage, he committed suicide,⁹⁷ probably because condemnation was imminent. Silanus' downfall had three causes according to our sources: the charge of incest (Tacitus); plotting against the emperor (Dio);⁹⁸ Agrippina's ambition for her son (Dio and Tacitus). The charge of conspiracy is feasible since even in 54 Silanus' brother Marcus, as proconsul of Asia, posed a threat to Nero's position in Agrippina's eyes, and was subsequently poisoned.⁹⁹

From lack of evidence we are unable to estimate the guilt of the Silani during Claudius' reign, especially in view of the conflicting charges and motives; for example, there is no mention in Dio of the charge of incest against Lucius, but instead one of conspiracy, whereas Tacitus includes the former and suppresses the latter, no doubt to achieve ironic effect within an episode which concerns Claudius' incestuous marriage to his niece. Moreover, since Lucius Silanus had received privilege and advancement from Claudius, being allowed to stand for the consulship five years before the official age,¹⁰⁰ it seems reasonable to suppose he had put a foot in the wrong direction, possibly in a conspiracy, to have caused such a rapid fall from favour. The least we can say is that the Silani were the cause of considerable friction during Claudius' reign, again probably due to deep-seated grievances against the principate.

Finally, there is the case of Furius Scribonianus, the son of Camillus who had revolted in 42. After his father's rebellion, Scribonianus had become a senator, but in 52 he was indicted on a charge of employing astrologers to predict the date of the emperor's death; he was driven into exile and later poisoned according to one version.¹⁰¹ This is probably another example of a family grievance causing animosity towards Claudius, although, as we have seen, the emperor was always careful not to give offence to the relatives of condemned persons and had even encouraged Scribonianus in his senatorial career.¹⁰²

These cases seem to demonstrate that the sternest oppo-

sition towards Claudius came before the censorship in 48, for after that date only two of the eighteen condemnations recorded (see note 32) took place: that of L. Iunius Silanus (49) and of Ti. Statilius Taurus (53). During the censorship itself (47-48) occurred the trials of Asiaticus, Silius, and Iuncus Vergilianus. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the year 48 marked a turning point in Claudius' relations with the aristocracy. Until this date the senate had been given a free rein over consular appointments, but this act of reconciliation was treated with contempt since those consuls elected all proved hostile. Of the twenty-two *consules ordinarii* of this reign, no less than six lost their lives, and moreover these had all held office within three consecutive years, 44, 45, and 46: respectively, Ti. Statilius Taurus and C. Passienus Crispus;¹⁰³ M. Vinicius and Ti. Statilius Taurus Corvinus; D. Valerius Asiaticus and M. Iunius Silanus, and a seventh G. Silius who was consul designate in 47. It is evident, therefore, that the senate after the revolt of Camillus Scribonianus in 42 had taken umbrage, and when given a measure of independence they used the opportunity to elect a succession of consuls hostile to the emperor. This spate was terminated by Claudius' decisive action, firstly in 47 with his resumption of the consulship (IV) with Vitellius (III), secondly in 48 with the revival of the censorship.

(iv) The Censorship.

The failure of Claudius' policy of rapprochement forced him to reform his partnership with Vitellius, firstly in the consulship of 47 and then in the censorship of 48, in which they conducted what amounted to a purge on the senatorial order.¹⁰⁴ The censorship had been in abeyance for sixty-eight years (it was last held by Plautus and Plancus in 22 B.C.) and was held for the regular eighteen months. Its main purpose was to enable the princeps to carry out a partial re-constitution of the senate by the promotion of new members and by the expulsion of old. Tacitus remarks that Claudius applied himself to the task with vigour, avoiding any *parerga* such as the title *Pater Senatus*, proposed by the consul L. Vipstanus Poplicola; he probably sensed the honour was a trifle ironic.

Claudius commenced his work by introducing new members into the patriciate, his object being to infuse fresh blood into this old Roman institution, which had been on the path to extinction, due to its continued isolation.¹⁰⁵ The members who received this honour were those of long-standing service in the senate or those whose parents had been *clari* (famous), a word implying distinction and eminence rather than mere nobility.¹⁰⁶ Among those ennobled we know of L. Salvius Otho, father of the later emperor; P. Plautius Pulcher, the brother of Claudius' first wife Plautia Urgulanilla; and M. Helvius Geminus.¹⁰⁷ Even outside the office of censor, Claudius would occasionally enrol men into the patriciate; for example,

Quintus Veranius, the consul of 49.¹⁰⁸ Advancement to this ancient and noble institution meant that Claudius was able to introduce a new element into the aristocracy which would be favourable to the principate and free from the narrow-minded prejudices of the past. The programme, therefore, was both backward - and forward-looking, characteristically for Claudius who again was bringing together two conflicting ideas into one measure. On this occasion, he was successful both in maintaining an ancient institution, albeit at the same time he was altering its content, and in preserving the prestige of the senate by creating a new class of upright loyal senators.

Claudius now proceeded to expel all members of "a flagrantly scandalous character",¹⁰⁹ a policy which of course could also include those who were enemies to the principate. He did, however, allow each offender first the option of applying for resignation in order to save face,¹¹⁰ but then he published the names of the expelled and the excused together. Four years later in 52, the emperor again had recourse to dismissing members whose income was not sufficient for their rank.¹¹¹ In their places were enrolled new men of a more acceptable nature. We know of two cases from epigraphy, M. Calvius Priscus¹¹² and M. Salonius;¹¹³ the latter was promoted *inter tribunicios*, by-passing the initial stage of *quaestor*, a practice which the emperor was to employ frequently with *equites*.¹¹⁴

Another heavy blow to the aristocracy during this purgatory year was the admission of the chiefs of the Aedui from Gallia Comata to the Roman senate.¹¹⁵ The Gallic chieftains had been citizens for many years but without the eligibility

of entering the senate because they did not possess the *lati-clauus* or the *ius honorum*. Claudius' intention was to grant this right to all the citizens of Gaul and in fact he hints in his speech that he saw a possibility of allowing all provincials to receive this prerogative.¹¹⁶ A decree of the senate was passed admitting the Aeduan chiefs directly into the senate¹¹⁷ which in Claudius' eyes was another instance of Rome's pursuing a destiny of building upon tradition and extending her institutions to the provinces.¹¹⁸ This irrevocable step marked a further stage in the transformation of the Roman senate and, in the old aristocracy's view, the decline of the *auctoritas* of the noble senatorial families. Also significant is the fact that the emperor now assumed control over petitions from senators seeking leave from Italy;¹¹⁹ senators from Narbonese Gaul, however, were granted the privilege of going to their estates outside Italy without asking permission.¹²⁰ The necessity for the last provision is possibly an indication that the senators from that province had increased in number. There is, therefore, a distinct switch of emphasis away from the capital to the wider aspect of the provinces and the talent which they could offer.¹²¹ The new restrictions and revisions enforced in this pivotal year of his reign enabled Claudius to proceed more openly in his relations with the senate which seemed in turn to respond with a new spirit of co-operation - they now knew the penalty if they did not.

(v) Senatorial Co-operation 49-54.

After 48 Claudius selected for the consulship only men whose loyalty was confirmed.¹²² The number of senators favourable to the emperor had been increased by promotions to the senate, and now a stricter control was kept over the consular elections with the result that no hostile consul appears after 47. It is probable that Claudius resorted to the method of *destinatio*, which had been used by Tiberius, for consular appointments: "Nam et cum consules designaret [*sc.* Claudius], neminem ultra mensem quo obiit designavit."¹²³ In 48 the sons of Vitellius, Aulus and Lucius held office, Lucius as *suffectus* for his brother half-way through the year;¹²⁴ in 50 C. Antistius Vetus for the second time and M. Suillius Nerullinus, son of the prosecutor and *amicus* of Claudius. Vetus had also been the *consul suffectus* who replaced Asiaticus in 46 on March 1 which marked the end of the sequence of hostile consuls before Claudius IV. In 51 Claudius was in office again (V), and in 52 Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix, his new son-in-law,¹²⁵ was consul with the father of the future emperor Otho, L. Salvius Otho, who was also an *amicus* of Claudius.¹²⁶ The choice of these individuals reflects a transition from the Augustan senate to the Flavian with the consolidation of a new imperial nobility which had been born under Augustus and grown up with the principate. From Claudius' time onward the new imperial class within the senate increased with the power of the princeps and this led to the situation in 69 after the death of the last Julio-Claudian, in which the candidates who aspired to the throne were from the imperial nobility and not from

the republican aristocracy; the latter finally disintegrated after the last burst of resistance between the assassination of Gaius and the censorship of Claudius.¹²⁷

The history of the senate in the Julio-Claudian era centres around its adaptation to the new constitution and the changing role it had to play in the state. This had been cleverly masked under Augustus who in theory maintained the government of the republic, but *de facto* invested sovereign power in one man. The pretence of senatorial puissance was gradually dispelled and gave way to disillusionment under Tiberius and Gaius. This in turn instilled resentment in future generations who inherited a family hatred of the principate. These were the ramifications of the so-called peaceful settlement of Augustus which plagued his successors, and not least Claudius.

Claudius was perhaps being unrealistic in his attempt to revert to the superficial dyarchy of Augustan times in deference to the senate, only to be coerced later into displaying the right of autocratic power in the interests of self-survival against conspiracy. It was after all not Claudius' responsibility that a monarchy had evolved, and so he can only be judged in terms either of excess in abusing the power he had for personal aggrandizement, or of failure to perform his duty as the head of state. Moreover, it must be remembered that the chief weapon used against him, the ideal of *libertas* announced by men such as Cassius Chaerea and Camillus Scribonianus was clearly a myth and often used to cloak the ambitions of men who themselves aspired to the throne,¹²⁸ thus making a

mockery of the republican idealism so dearly treasured by Tacitus and other literary exponents.

(vi) *Amici Caesaris*; The Consolidation of the Imperial Order.

Although Claudius was held responsible for the deaths of thirty-five senators, a far greater number than in any previous reign, he had more senatorial *amici* than was usual. His *consilium* numbered twenty-two senators and only three *equites*, where-
as Augustus had ten senators and eight *equites*,¹²⁹ an increase probably due to Claudius' initial reliance upon advisers.

After his unexpected elevation to the throne the emperor naturally turned to close family friends for guidance. Consequently most of the time he was surrounded by advisers and subordinates, but the character and talent of many of these men are in turn a reflection upon Claudius' acumen in discerning men of ability. Most of the *amici* and *comites* were consulars, and in particular army commanders and provincial administrators, but none of the men in this category was allowed to hold a second consulship; e.g., Aulus Plautius¹³⁰ (who led the British campaign); Galba¹³¹ (commander in Africa); P. Petronius¹³² (who had been governor of Syria in 39); C. Cassius Longinus¹³³ (legate of Syria under Claudius). Other *amici* and *comites* in military positions included Aulus Didius, Plautius Silvanus and Flavius Vespasianus, all of whom enabled Claudius to maintain close links with the armies throughout the empire.¹³⁴ Claudius, however, made sure that the powerful provincial governors were not allowed to extend their influence towards Rome, hence the restriction on the tenure of consulship, with the one exception of L. Vitellius who was not only allowed to hold two consulships under Claudius (43 and 47) but also the censor-

ship, traditionally the crown of a senatorial career.

Vitellius had had a celebrated provincial career as governor of Syria under Tiberius (35-37 A.D.) and in 43 he was even left in charge of Rome while Claudius went to Britain. He was probably Claudius' most trustworthy friend and earned the title of "*Pietatis immobilis erga principem*".¹³⁵

Other influential *amici* at Rome included Suillius,¹³⁶ whom we have seen at work as chief prosecutor, and Caecina Largus¹³⁷ who shared the consulship with Claudius in 42, and in fact had the honour of holding office for the full twelve months. Acilius Aviola and M. Tarquitius Priscus were also consulars in Claudius' advisory committee and were present when the ambassadors Lampon and Isidore came from Alexandria to complain about the behaviour of King Herod Agrippa II in 53 A.D..¹³⁸ In this *consilium*, it was Acilius who advised Claudius to allow the Alexandrians' case to be heard. We are told that they delivered their petition before a full council of thirty-six senators, of whom sixteen were consulars, a phenomenal number if the figure is to be trusted, and unusual in that it excludes *equites* who were customarily present at such meetings.¹³⁹

Claudius' advisers, therefore, were from senatorial circles, but they represented the rise of a new imperial class out of which emerged the future emperors Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, all of whom had received advancement in one form or another under Claudius.¹⁴⁰ An attempt to mollify the grievances of the old aristocracy had been made, but the problem could not be solved so long as the principate existed. Unfor-

Unfortunately, Claudius' belief that senatorial privilege was compatible with the principate was proved wrong but it was due rather to the nobility's unwillingness to compromise than a lack of effort on the imperial side. The issue was decided once and for all in the censorship of 48 where the lists were revised, new patricians created, and new blood infused into the senate by the choice of the princeps.¹⁴¹ This was the conception of Rome's new-born nobility, one which was to show increasing servility to the emperor, but one which Claudius hoped would serve the empire and justify its existence as an organic part of Rome's government, rather than reside in the capital as a disruptive anti-body.

The maintenance of senatorial integrity and autonomy about which Claudius had continually expressed concern, had been decisively undermined by imperial pragmatism, a tendency which was to pervade every section of the administration. After an unsuccessful search for a compromise Claudius had chosen a policy of innovation in his dealings with the senate not from a political point of view but for the sake of efficiency. This development at the heart of Rome's central government was to be a microcosm of the larger issue of the administration of the empire in which imperial absolutism was to develop its full potential.

CHAPTER I: FOOTNOTES

1. Dio, LX.1. The Capitol was chosen rather than the *curia* which had been rebuilt in 44 B.C. by Julius Caesar, the dictator whose *regnum* marked the virtual end of the republic.
2. Suetonius, Cl. 10.4. Yet justification for this is possible because it was normal for an emperor in his will to bequeath a certain amount to the troops and people, but no such provision had been made by Gaius. Claudius could be said, therefore, to be distributing what was their due; this also explains the early grants of *congiaria* to the people. But Suetonius' point is valid, that Claudius had established a dangerous precedent; he had shown that the second aspect of the *arcana imperii* was to have enough money to pay for the troops' support.
3. Josephus, AJ XIX.255ff..
4. Josephus, BJ II.205: καταστήσεσθαι γὰρ δι' ἀριστοκρατίας, ὡσπερ οὖν πάλαι διωκεῖτο, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ κρινεῖν ψήφῳ τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἡγεμονίας.
5. Dio, LX.15.1; Jos., AJ 251-252. A third candidate (according to Suet., Galba 7) was Galba, the future emperor. Dieter Timpe, "Römische Geschichte bei Flavius Josephus", Historia IX (1960), 474-502, believes that Vinicianus was backed by a faction of prefects and certain officers of the praetorian guard, and was from the start set on acquiring the principate for himself, but later, seeing that his chances were so poor, he promoted his ally Vinicius. Against this view see M. Swan, "Josephus, Antiquitates Iudaicae, XIX, 251-252; Opposition to Gaius and Claudius", AJPh XCI (1970), 149-164. After proposing some emendations to the text, he demonstrates that the various "factions" at this time were working together rather than against one another. It seems that only in the last resort were certain senatorial candidates proposed for the principate, and this was for the sake of expediency and not an act of desertion from the cause of *libertas*.
6. Jos., BJ II.205: Κλαυδίῳ πολεμεῖν ἐψηφίζετο.
7. Jos., AJ XIX.258.
8. Marcus Julius Agrippa (10 B.C.-44 A.D.), a grandson of Herod the Great; he had spent his youth at the imperial court as a friend of Drusus, son of Tiberius. His participation in the events leading to Claudius' accession has been greatly exaggerated for propaganda purposes by Josephus in AJ. In the BJ, however, which was written

twenty years earlier (70 A.D.), Agrippa plays a minor role.

9. Jos., BJ II.208.
10. Dio, LX.3.4. The sources for the first year of Claudius' reign are Dio, LX.3.2-8; Jos., AJ 272-291, and references in Suetonius, Cl.
11. Dio, LX.3.5: οὐ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκφανῶς ἐσπούδασαν ἢ καὶ ἐπίδοξοι λήψεσθαι τὸ κράτος ἐγένοντο.
12. Suet., Cl. 11.1; Dio, LX.3.5. The latter remarks that Claudius claimed he was imitating the example of the Athenians in granting them immunity (i.e. the return of the Party of the Piraeus, cf. Dio, XLIV.26). This is typical of the emperor's obsession of searching for a precedent for anything he did, and again indicates historical bias.
13. Dio, LX.4.5; 5.1.
14. Suet., Cl. 11.3; Dio, LX.3.6; 4.1.
15. Dio, LX.4.3; an important feature of Claudius' reign was his involvement in the judiciary.
16. Suet., Cl. 24.1.
17. Suet., Cl. 12.1-2; Dio, LX.6.1; 11.6-7; 12.3
18. The curule chair: Dio, LX.16.3; Suet., Cl. 23.2 (*qua imperium proconsulare*); the tribune's bench: Dio, LX.6.1 (*qua tribunicia potestas*).
19. See Introduction, note 14, above. Claudius did, however, include the name "Caesar" in his nomenclature, to which he was not officially entitled since he was not a member of the Julian family, and also the cognomen "Germanicus". Both names were dear to the people and army.
20. Suet., Cl. 12.1; cf. Tac., Ann. XII.53; 60.
21. Suet., Cl. 27.2; Dio, LX.5.7; Tac., Ann. XII.3.2.
22. E.g., the favourable reception of Domitius Afer's speech in the senate (Hieronymus, Epistulae 52.7.3; PIR², D 126) and the curbing of Vipstanus' proposal that Claudius should receive the title *Pater senatus* (Tac., Ann. XI.25.7).
23. BGU, 611, dated ca 42 A.D.; Dio seems to refer to this in LX.28.6; cf. Seneca, Ad Polybium 7.2.
24. See Scramuzza's translation of the text, pp.110-111.
25. BGU, 611, col. iii, 11.17-22: "Mini[me] dec[o]r[um] est, p.c., ma[iestati] / huius or[di]nis hic un[um] ta[n]tummodo / consule[m] designatum [de]scriptam [ex] //

relatio[n]e consulum a[d ue]rbum dicere / senten[tia]m, ceteros unu[m] uerbum dic[ere] / 'adse[nt]ior', deinde c[um e]xierint 'diximus'."

26. Dio, LX.11.7: ... εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐχ οὗτοι ἐμοὶ χάριν ἔχειν ὀφείλουσιν ὥσπερ ἐσπουδαρχηκότες, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τούτους ὅτι μοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι...." Cf. SEG, IV.516; F.K. Dörner, Der Erlass des Statthalters von Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus (Greifswald, 1935), pp.37-40. Fabius expressed the belief that governors of provinces ought to administer their office with a sense of responsibility. In this, he says, he is following the example of Claudius τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἀλ[η]/θῶς δικαιοτάτου ἡγεμόνος, ὃς πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνα<δε>δεῖγμένος κηδεμονί//αν κτλ (*ibid.*, p. 37: col. ii, 17.12-15).
27. Jos., AJ XIX.54: σημεῖον ἐλευθερίας.
28. BMC, Emp. I, Claudius nos. 145, 146; RIC I, Claudius no. 69.
29. TI. CLAUDIVS. CAESAR. AVG. P.M. TR.P. IMP. See Sutherland, CRIP, pp.123-147; "The Personality of the Mints under the Julio-Claudian Emperors," AJPh LXVIII (1947), 47-63; and "The Intelligibility of Roman Imperial Coin Types," JRS XLIX (1959), 46-55.
30. Dio, LX.15.3.
31. See B. Baldwin, "Executions under Claudius. Seneca's Ludus de Morte Claudii," Phoenix XVIII (1964), 39-48.
32. Senators:
1. Furius Camillus Scribonianus (Dio, LX.15.2; PIR², A 1140).
 2. A. Caecina Paetus (Pliny, Ep. III.16.7; PIR², C. 103).
 3. L. Annius Vinicianus (Dio, LX.15.5; PIR², A 701).
 4. M. Vinicius (Dio, LX.27.4; PIR, V 445).
 5. Ti. Statilius Taurus (Tac., Ann. XII.59.2; PIR, S 618).
 6. Ti. Statilius Taurus Corvinus (Suet., Cl. 13.2; PIR, S 595).*
 7. D. Valerius Asiaticus (Tac., Ann. XI.3.2; PIR, V 25).
 8. Q. Pomponius Secundus (Tac., Ann. XIII.43.3; PIR, P 564).
 9. Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Dio, LX.29.6A; Suet., Cl. 27.2; 29.2; PIR, P 477).
 10. M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (Apocol. 11; PIR, L 130).
 11. L. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (Tac., Ann. XII.8.1; Apocol. 8; Octavia 1.149; PIR, I 559).
 12. G. Appius Silanus (Dio, LX.14.3; PIR, I 541).
 13. Cornelius Lupus (Apocol. 13; PIR², C 1400).
 14. Saturninus Lusius (Apocol. 13; PIR, L 327).

15. Pompeius Pedo (Apocol. 13; PIR, P 481).
16. Iuncus Vergilianus (Tac., Ann. XI.35.7; PIR, I 462).
17. Servius Asinius Celer (Apocol. 13; PIR², A 1225).
18. G. Silius (Tac., Ann. XI.35.4; PIR, S 507).

*Corvinus, it is presumed, was condemned as a result of his conspiracy, unlike his partner Asinius Gallus who was exiled (see Dio, LX.27.5).

Women:

PIR², A 1113; PIR, S 221 (cf. Apocol. 11); PIR², D 180; PIR, I 422; PIR, I 444; PIR, L 242; PIR, V 161.

See D. McAlindon, "Senatorial opposition to Claudius and Nero," AJPh LXXVII (1956), 113-132; also "Claudius and the Senators," AJPh LXXVIII (1957), 279-286.

33. Dio, LX.15.3: συχνοὶ μὲν καὶ βουλευταὶ καὶ ἱππῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν [sc. Σκριβωνιανὸν] ὤρμησαν.
34. Dio, LX.16.1: ἄνδρες τε οὖν ἐν τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ γυναῖκες ... ἐκολάσθησαν. Immunity: *ibid.*, 16.2. Dio remarks that the cases were tried in the senate in the presence of Claudius, the prefects, and the freedmen.
35. Suet., Cl. 29.1; 37.2; Dio, LX.14.2-15.
36. Dio, LX.14.3-4.
37. Tac., Ann. VI.9.
38. Suet., Cl. 29.1.
39. Dio, LX.15.1: οὐκέτι χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα <οἱ> Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἔσχον.
40. Tac., Ann. VI.9. Appius, Vinicianus, and his father Pollio with two others were indicted *aceruatim*.
41. Tac., Ann. I.13; Dio, LVIII.27.4. Arruntius had been consul in 6 A.D.
42. See note 33, above.
43. Suet., Cl. 13.
44. *Ibid.*; Dio, LX.15.
45. Paetus (cos. 37 A.D.): Pliny, Ep. III.16; Secundus (cos. 41 A.D.): Tac., Ann. XIII.43.2 (which surely must refer to this incident).
46. Jos., AJ XIX.263; BJ II.205. Secundus persisted in his strong opposition to Claudius despite the latter's leniency toward him; Claudius had even rescued Secundus

- from sure peril at the hands of the soldiers in 41 (AJ XIX.264).
47. Dio, LX.15.4 (πιστὰ καὶ ἐβοεβῆ); cf. ILS, 1419, 1026, 2702, 2700 for the title of legions VII and XI, C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis).
 48. Paetus: Plin., Ep. III.16.7; Camillus: Tac., Hist. II.75.3, which records that he was killed by a common soldier (cf. Plin., Ep. III.16.7-9; Aurelius Victor, Epitome IV.4); Vinicianus: Dio, LX.15.5.
 49. Dio, LX.16.2. Scribonianus became a senator but later perished: Tac., Ann. XII.52; PIR², A 1147.
 50. 42: Ti. Claudius Caesar II (for two months - Dio LX. 10.1) and C. Caecina Largus; 43: Ti. Claudius Caesar III (for two months - Suet., Cl. 14) and L. Vitellius II. Largus was an *amicus* of Claudius who was allowed to ride with L. Vitellius in the emperor's carriage (Tac., Ann. XI.33).
 51. See McAlindon, "Claudius and the Senators" (note 32, above), p.281.
 52. I.e., provided we reject Suetonius' and Dio's tendency to implicate Messalina at the basis of the condemnations: the latter were due neither to her jealousy, nor to the prejudice of prosecutors such as Suillius, but stemmed from solid senatorial opposition. On this, see McAlindon, "Senatorial Opposition" (note 32, above), pp.118-119.
 53. Dio, LX.29.6A; Suet., Cl. 27.2; 29.1-2. The Cognomen "Magnus" had been refused by Gaius, but granted by Claudius (Suet., Cal. 35.1; Apocol. 11; Dio, LX.5.8-9).
 54. Dio, LX.5.8; 21.5; 23.1.
 55. *Ibid.*, 29.6A: διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ τὸ κῆδος (= *affinitas*, connection by marriage).
 56. Apocol. 11.
 57. Suet., Cl. 17.3.
 58. See S.J. de Laet, De Samenstelling van den Romeinschen Senaat gedurende de eerste eeuw van het Principaat (Univ. of Ghent Publication, Antwerp, 1941), p.248.
 59. Dio, LX.21.5; Suet., Cl. 17.3.
 60. See R. Syme, The Roman Revolution (Oxford, 1968), Genealogical Table V, "The Descendants of Pompeius".

61. Tac., Ann. II.27-32; cf. Seneca, Ep. 70.10.
62. Apocol. 13; Tac., Ann. XIII.43.3. Cornelius Lupus had been an *amicus* of Claudius, acting as *cos. suffectus* for him in 42; see PIR², C 1390.
63. Corvinus: Suet., Cl. 13.2; PIR, S 595; Gallus: Suet., *loc. cit.*; Dio, LX.27.5; PIR², A 1228.
64. Cornelius Gallus: Dio LIII.24.1; Asinius Gallus (literary antagonist of Cl.): Suet., Cl. 41.3; Dio, LVIII. 3.1-6; 23.6; Tac., Ann. VI.23.1-3; 25.2.
65. Apocol. 13.5; PIR², A 1225. For the history of this family under the principate see J.H. Oliver, "The Descendants of Asinius Pollio," AJPh LXVIII (1947), 147-160. The Asinii appear to have regained their influence by 54 when a M. Asinius Marcellus became consul, no doubt through the favour of Agrippina.
66. Tac., Ann. XII.59.2.
67. The latter charge, in effect, constituted that of *maiestas* which had in theory been abolished by Claudius, and was probably used as a cloak over the real issue of treason. In any event, the punishment against those who practised astrology or magic was very severe; Claudius did his utmost to suppress such practices and eventually expelled all astrologers from Italy (Tac., Ann. XII.52). For similar condemnations, cf. that of Lolia Paulina (Tac., Ann. XII.22) and of Domitia Lepida (*ibid.*, XII.65). Also see F.H. Cramer, Astrology in Roman Law and Politics (Philadelphia, 1954), pp.259-264.
68. Jos., AJ XIX.251.
69. Dio, LX.27.4; PIR, V 445.
70. Tac., Ann. XI.1ff..
71. Dio, LX.29.4-6.
72. Or possibly the actual right of sending its citizens to be members of the senate (*ius honorum*); cf. ILS, 212, Claudius' speech on the *Primores Galliae*, col. ii, 15-17: "quod ante in do/mum consulatum intulit [sc. Asiaticus], quam colonia sua solidum ciuitatis Roma/nāe beneficium consecuta est." Vienne was a Roman colony but did not have the *ius honorum*, here figuratively expressed by *solidum C.R. beneficium*. Cf. E. Kornemann in RE s.v. "Colonia", IV, col. 542.
73. Jos., AJ XIX.252.
74. *Ibid.*, 159: "εἴθε γὰρ ἔγωγε," φησί; Dio, LIX.30.1c

- (epitome): "εἶθε ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἀπεκτόνειν", (*sic*).
75. Tac., Ann. XI.3.1.
 76. According to the *Fasti Teanenses*. See Degrassi, p.13.
 77. Dio, LX.29.4: μηνυθέντων δὲ τινῶν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιεν αὐτῷ (*sc.* Κλαύδιῳ) ... ὁ δὲ Ἀσιατικὸς ἐκρίθη μὲν παρ' αὐτῷ ὀλίγου δὲ δεῖν ἀπέφυγεν.
 78. *Ibid.*, 29.5: "οὐκ οἶδα οὐδὲ γινώρισκω τῶν καταμαρτυρού- των μου τούτων οὐδένα."
 79. Tac., Ann. XI.1.2: "quando genitus Viennae multisque et ualidis propinquitatibus subnixus turbare gentiles nationes promptum haberet."
 80. The central aqueduct complex at the Porta Maggiore, completed ca 53 A.D. (cf. CIL, VI.1256), i.e., the same year as Taurus' death, is located a few hundred feet from the gardens of the accused (see Scramuzza, pp.97, 264 [n.62]). According to Frontinus the Roman Government had right of way over private property along the course of the aqueduct (De Aq. 125-128). Therefore, the eight or nine aqueducts which converged at Porta Maggiore formed the axis of Rome's water system; Claudius probably decided to take control of the whole area for administrative convenience (cf. Front., De Aq. 105).
 81. Scramuzza, pp.97-98, 264 (nn.62, 65, 68). For the *horti Tauriani*, see CIL, XV.7542; and for the mystic character of the objects there found, CIL, VI.6632.
 82. For a discussion of Tacitus' treatment of Claudius' reign see D.W.T.C. Vessey, "Thoughts on Tacitus' Portrayal of Claudius," AJPh XCII (1971), 385-409; also A. Mehl, Tacitus über Kaiser Claudius (München, 1974).
 83. A full account of this farcical episode is related in Tac., Ann. XI.26ff..
 84. In 24 A.D. for *perduellio*. Silius was convicted and later committed suicide: Tac., Ann. IV.18-20; cf. XI. 35.2; Velleius, II.130.
 85. PIR, I 462.
 86. Tac., Ann. XI.35.3.
 87. A semi-military post in charge of Rome's night police and fire brigade, instituted by Augustus in 6 A.D. (Dio, LV.26).
 88. This procurator maintained and trained bands of gladia-

tors for the games exhibited by the emperor. The post was a stepping-stone towards the more important financial offices in the equestrian *cursus*.

89. *Cos.* 27 A.D.; he had married the great-great-granddaughter of Pompey the Great (PIR, L 130).
90. Dio, LX.5.7; PIR, I 559. He was the grandson of Julia, the granddaughter of Augustus.
91. Appius Silanus: Suet., Cl. 37.2; Dio, LX.14.3; Apocol. 11; Lucius Silanus: Tac., Ann. XII.4 and 8; Marcus Silanus, brother of Lucius: ibid. XIII.1; Cn. Pompeius: Dio, LX.29; Suet., Cl. 27.2; 29.2; Licinius Crassus and his wife Scribonia: Apocol. 11.
92. *Cos.* 28, indicted for *maiestas* in 32: Tac., Ann. VI.9.3; legate of Hispania Tarraconensis, and married to Messalina's mother: Dio, LX.14.3.
93. Tac., Ann. XII.4.
94. Ibid., XII.6.
95. Although, as Tacitus remarks (Ann. XII.4.3), the *lustrum* had actually been closed; but in practice Vitellius was acting *ex officio*.
96. A *delator* and later famous under Nero: Tac., Ann. XIII.33; Dialogus, 8 (his humble origins); Ann. XVI.22ff. (his indictment of Thræsea Paetus).
97. Suet., Cl. 29.2.
98. Dio, LX.31.8.
99. Tac., Ann. XIII.1.
100. Claudius had also promoted him through the vigintivirate to a temporary urban prefecture on the occasion of festivals; he gave him triumphal insignia and was in general a close ally: Dio, LX.5.8; cf. 21.5; 23.1; Suet., Cl. 24.3; cf. Tac., Ann. XII.3; Dio, LX.31.7.
101. PIR², A 1147; Tac., Ann. XII.52. For the charge of astrology, see Cramer, Astr. in Roman Law (note 67, above), pp.261-262.
102. Dio, LX.16.2. He was the *a[bnepos]* or *a[dnepos]* of Pompey the Great: IGRR, IV.675 = ILS, 976.
103. PIR, p.109. Passienus was poisoned according to Schol. Juv., IV.81.

104. The sources for the censorship: Tac., Ann. XI.23-25; Suet., Cl. 16; Dio, LX.29.
105. Tacitus (Ann. XI.25.2) tells us that there were few families remaining in the Greater and Lesser Houses of Romulus and Lucius Brutus which formed the original patriciate of Rome. The Claudii themselves were introduced in the early republic according to one tradition (cf. Livy, II.16.5), but under Tatius according to another (cf. Vergil, Aeneid, VII.708; Suet., Tib. 1). See the note on this passage by H. Furneaux, The Annals of Tacitus, 2nd. ed., vol. II (Oxford, 1951 [text and commentary]). Julius Caesar and Augustus had taken similar steps by law of co-opting families into the patriciate, by the lex Cassia of 45 B.C. (Dio, XLIII. 47.3) and by the lex Saenia of 29 B.C. (Res Gestae, ii. 1). The only practical object besides the winning of esteem would be to increase the scope of candidature for those offices still reserved for patricians, few though they were; e.g., the *flamines maiores* (cf. Tac., Ann. IV.16.2).
106. *clarus* and its cognates *claritudo*, *claritas* are used with this meaning in Tacitus: cf. Ann. IV.61.1; XII. 22.2; 64.4; II.33.5.
107. Otho: Suet., Otho 1.3; Plautius: ILS, 964; Helvius: ILS 975. The usual formula in the inscriptions is "adlecto inter patricios a diuo Claudio."
108. Gordon, no. 109. For a thorough analysis of the inscription see Gordon, "Quintus Veranius, Consul A.D. 49," Univ. California Publications in Classical Archaeology II, 5 (1952), 231-352; also J.H. Oliver's review of this article in AJPh LXXV (1954), 206-210.
109. Tac., Ann. XI.25.3: *famosos probris*.
110. Augustus also had forced fifty members to resign their rank "voluntarily": Suet., Aug. 35; Dio, LX.42.2.
111. Tac., Ann. XII.52.4. Presumably Dio's statement (LX.29. 1) that Claudius did so as early as 47, must refer to the latter half of the year when he would have assumed the censorship.
112. CIL, X.6521.
113. CIL, V.3117 = ILS, 968.
114. NdS (1924), pp.346-8; Smallwood, 237.
115. Tac., Ann. XI.24-25; ILS, 212. The latter inscription was recorded on a bronze tablet found in two columns at Lyons, France, in 1528. According to Pliny, NH iv.106-

107, the Aedui, Carnuti, Remi, and Lingones were *ciuitates foederatae* whose leaders possessed the Roman citizenship. The measure was not restricted to the Aedui, but applied to them before the others as a mark of honour which was due to their old and intimate connection with Rome. For a text and commentary of the tablet see P. Fabia, *La table claudienne de Lyon* (Lyon, 1929). For translations see *ARS*, 175; *LR*, pp.133-4. There has been much discussion on the discrepancies between Tacitus' version of Claudius' speech and the original tablet; for which, see in particular K. Wellesley, "Can You Trust Tacitus?", *G&R*² I (1954), 13-33; N.P. Miller, "The Claudian Tablet: A Reconsideration", *RhM* XCIX (1956), 304-15; F. Vittinghoff, "Zur Rede des Kaisers Claudius über die Aufnahme von 'Galliern' in den römischen Senat", *Hermes* LXXXII (1954), 348-71; U. Schillinger-Häfele, "Claudius und Tacitus über die Aufnahme von Galliern in den Senat", *Historia* XIV (1965), 443-54; D. Flach, "Die Rede des Claudius de iure honorum Gallis dando", *Hermes* CI (1973), 313-20.

116. *ILS*, 212, col. ii 11.6-8: "sed ne provinciales quidem si modo ornare curiam poterint, reiciendos puto." 11.10-15 mention Claudius' intention to confer privileges on his friend Vestinus who was from the colony of Vienne, indicating that the issue was not confined to the request of the *Primores Galliae*, and implies the promotion of a fair number of worthy citizens from *municipia* and *coloniae*. Claudius' successful policy of romanization in northern Gaul had probably signified that the whole province was ready to acquire recognition of their Roman status. Cf. S.J. de Laet, "Claude et la romanisation de la Gaule septentrionale", *Mélanges A. Piganiol* (Paris, 1966), pp.951-961.
117. It is unlikely that the chieftains were admitted by a grant of the *laticlauius*, for the bestowal of which by emperors see Pliny, *Ep.* II.9. This was probably performed through an *adlectio* by Claudius, *qua censor*, directly into the quaestorship. (The senate was consulted by the emperor no doubt out of politic consideration.) The sons of the chieftains who were made senators would automatically become *laticlauii* and thus eligible for a senatorial career. See H.J. Cunningham, "Claudius and the Primores Galliae", *CQ* VIII (1914), 132; for a similar view, see H.F. Pelham, "The Emperor Claudius and the Chiefs of the Aedui", *CR* IX (1895), 441-43.
118. *ILS*, 212, col. i 11.3-7: "deprecor, ne / quasi nouam istam rem introduci exhorrescatis, sed illa // potius cogitetis, quam multa in hac ciuitate nouata sint, et / quidem statim ab origine urbis nostrae, in quo <t> formas / statusque res p(ublica) nostra diducta sit."

119. Dio, LX.25.6; 29.7A; Suet., Cl. 23.2. Under the republic absent senators could be compelled to return to Rome by the consuls, but now it appears Claudius was assuming that power. Augustus had already prevented senators from residing permanently outside Italy except by special dispensation (Tac., Ann. VI.14.3).
120. Tac., Ann. XII.23.1. This was a privilege already possessed by senators from Sicily; cf. Dio, LIII.42.6-7.
121. See Syme, Tacitus (Introduction, note 15, above), vol. II, pp.783-788 for the rise of provincials from Spain and Narbonese Gaul, and especially pp.786-788 for the provincial consuls under Gaius, Claudius, and Nero.
122. E.g., Quintus Veranius, *cos.* 49. He had been appointed as first governor of the new province of Lycia-Pamphylia in 43 (see Dio, LX.17.3; Suet., Cl.25.3) where he remained until 48; cf. IGRR, III.703; IV.902; Gordon, no. 109. Smallwood, 231(c); also Gordon's "Quintus Veranius" (note 108, above), pp.240-253. As a result of Veranius' tested reliability and success in Lycia, Claudius felt that he was an automatic choice for the consulate. It seems certain that Claudius knew exactly whom to trust and whom not, and his foresight in delegating responsibility in the provinces has been recognized - of at least twenty-seven consular and seven praetorian legates all remained loyal; see de Laet, Samenstelling (note 58, above) pp.230ff..
123. Suet., Cl. 46.
124. *Ibid.*, Vitellius 3.1; Degrassi, p.14.
125. PIR², C 1464; Suet., Cl. 27.2; Tac., Ann. XIII.23.1. Sulla had been given in marriage to Antonia sometime after Pompeius' death.
126. Suet., Otho 1.2; CIL, IV.5512.
127. See D. McAlindon, "Senatorial Advancement in the Age of Claudius", Latomus XVI (1957), 252-262.
128. Cf. Tac., Ann. XVI.22.8 where Cossutianus Capito generalizes about men who seek power in the name of liberty: "ut imperium euertant, libertatem praefecerunt; si peruerterint, libertatem ipsam adgredientur."
129. See Scramuzza, pp.81, 257-58 (n.5): Tiberius' *consilium* comprised fourteen senators, seven *equites*; Gaius, four senators, one *eques*. For the members of Claudius' *consilium* see T.A. Dorey, "Claudius und seiner Ratgeber", Altertum XII (1966), 144-155, and on this subject in general see J. Crook, Consilium Principis (Cambridge, 1955).

130. *Cos. suff.* 29 A.D. He received an *ouatio* in 47 A.D. after his successful term as the first governor of Britain; cf. Tac., Ann. XIII.32.2; Suet., Cl. 24.3; PIR, P 344; D. Atkinson, "The Governors of Britain from Claudius to Diocletian", JRS XII (1922), pp.60, 62; D.R. Dudley, "The Celebration of Claudius' British Victories", Univ. Birmingham Historical Journal VII (1959), p.13.
131. Ser. Sulpicius Galba, *cos. ordinarius* 33 A.D.; PIR, S 723; leading military adviser and *amicus* of Claudius; Suet., Galba 7. Galba was extremely important in the administration of Africa under Claudius.
132. *Cos. suff.* 19 A.D., *amicus* of Claudius; see Apocol. 14.2; PIR, P 198.
133. *Cos. suff.* 30 A.D.; governed Asia and Syria. He was one of the chief jurists of the day and was the founder of the *Schola Cassiana*; PIR², C 501. For his interventions in the senate see Tac., Ann. XIV.42-5; cf. Pomponius ap. Digest, I.ii.51: "plurimum in ciuitate auctoritatis habuit."
134. Aulus Didius Gallus: *cos. suff.* before 37; *curator aquarum* after 38; legate of Moesia when he placed Cotys on the Bosporan throne in 45/46; proconsul of Asia; legate of Britain 52-58. He had been a *comes* of Claudius in the British campaign and received the *ornamenta triumphalia*. See J.H. Oliver, "Greek and Latin Inscriptions", Hesperia X (1941), 239-42 (= Smallwood, 226); ILS, 5745; Tac., Ann. XII.15, 40; PIR², D 70. Also see Atkinson, "Governors of Britain" (note 130, above), pp.60, 62. On the granting of triumphal honours after the British campaign, cf. Dio, LX.23.2-3; Suet., Cl. 17.3; 24.3; Gordon, "Quintus Veranius" (note 108, above) pp.305-330; and for the celebrations after the campaign, see Dudley (note 130, above), "Celebration of Cl.'s Brit. Victories," 6-17.

Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, *cos. suff.* 45 A.D.; *comes* of Claudius in Britain; *amicus* of the Flavians; *procos.* Asia and governor of Moesia under Nero. See ILS, 986; Inscr. Ital. IV.1.125; LR, pp.115-116; PIR, P 363.

Ti. Flavius Vespasianus (future emperor), *cos.* 51 (Suet., Vesp. 4.1); *amicus* and adviser of Claudius; see PIR², F 398. He was a *comes* of Nero in Greece (Philostratus, Vita Apollonii V.29.1; Suet., Vesp. 4.4); commander of Upper Germany under Claudius (Suet., Vesp. 4.1); legate of legion II in Britain (Tac., Hist. III.44; cf. Agricola 13). He also received the *ornamenta triumphalia* (Tac., Hist. II.77, 78; IV.8; Suet., Vesp. 4.2).

135. Suet., Vit. 3.1; cf. Jos., AJ XX.12: ὁ κράτιστος καί μοι τιμιώτατος.
136. P. Suillius Rufus, *amicus* of Claudius; *procos.* Asia under Claudius. See Tac., Ann. IV.31.6; PIR, S 700.
137. C. Caecina Largus, *amicus* of Claudius; *cos. ordinarius* 42 with Claudius (II): PIR², C 101.
138. Chrest. 14 (ap. Musurillo, IV, *Acta Isidori*), col. i, l.1 (Ταρκύνιος = Tarquitius); *ibid.* l.8 ('Αουϊόλαος = Aviolus).
139. P. Lond. inv. 2785 (ap. Musurillo, IV), col. i, l.2: σ]υκλητι[κῶ]ν κ', <ῶν> ἑπατι/[κῶν δέκα ἕξ], i.e., a total of thirty-six. The *equites* known to have been in Claudius' *consilium* were C. Turranius, *praefectus annonae* 14-48 A.D. (Tac., Ann. XI.31.1; PIR, T 297); Lusius Geta, *praefectus praetorio* until 52 (Tac., Ann. XII.42.1; PIR, L 322); Ti. Claudius Balbillus, P Lond. 1912 (The letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians, ed. Bell, pp.1-37), ll.16, 36, 105. The latter perhaps = the Balbillus of the *Acta Isidori*, P Berol. 8877, (ap. Musurillo, IV) col. ii, l.19.
140. Otho's father was *cos. ord.* 52; A. Vitellius was *cos. ord.* 48; Galba, see note 131; Vespasian, see note 134, above.
141. Tac., Ann. XI.23-25; Dio, LX.29.1.

CHAPTER II: THE FREEDMEN'S AND EQUESTRIAN *CVRSVS*

Introduction: The Machinery of Government

Princeps, as the word implies, was the title given to the head of the Roman state in whom were invested many *de facto* powers, but *de iure* merely the *tribunicia potestas*, *imperium proconsulare*, and equality of rank with the consuls, as set forth in the provisions of Augustus' settlement (23 B.C.).¹ The selection of the princeps depended on circumstances -- we have already studied those surrounding Claudius' accession (see Chapter I, intro.) -- but usually he was destined by the former emperor by the bestowal of various powers; for example, the proconsulship and designated consulship which Nero received in 51.² The settlement handed down by Augustus was initially very ambiguous and tenuous, since it was evolving from empirical arrangements; these were maintained throughout Tiberius' reign *in statu quo*. After Gaius' brief tyranny, the principate returned to stability under Claudius and began to take on a firm shape after the first official attempt to crystallize the rather nebulous features of the constitutional arrangement of the past sixty years.

Claudius' innovations were neither radical nor comprehensive, but rather a patchwork of minor alterations, all of which pointed towards a clearer formulation of the function of the principate. Tacitus accuses Claudius of promoting the centralization of power, an indictment similar to the one he had already aimed at Augustus:³ "nam cuncta legum et magistratum munia in se trahens princeps materiam praedandi

patefecerat" -- "for the concentration of all legal and magisterial functions in the person of the sovereign had opened a wide field to the plunderer."⁴ Here Tacitus is concerned that the centralization of power has reduced basic civic rights since jurisdiction is subject to the caprice of one man. We shall see how the infringement of magisterial *munia* was to develop in matters of finance, in which Claudius centralized the control over treasuries in the form of a central fisc, and in the growth of *extra ordinem* jurisdiction in which the emperor himself and his procuratorial agents were to interfere. The organisation and maintenance of public services were also to come directly under imperial control; e.g., the roads, postal service, and the waterways. This was the pattern of the new principate which stood at the centre of the administration of empire, aided by men who were now from the imperial upper classes and not from the old metropolitan nobility.

A further reason for these bureaucratic developments under Claudius was the need to boost Italy's economy, and in particular to secure a regular supply of grain for the province. This necessitated a general reshuffle in this branch of the administration which, in short, ousted the outdated senatorial offices and replaced them with a more efficient and reliable body of imperial agents, composed of slaves, freedmen and equestrians. This was not a political manoeuvre designed to encroach upon senatorial authority, but was precipitated by the grave economic situation of Italy, for she was rapidly falling behind her rivals in the East, in Asia

Minor and Alexandria, who were enjoying great prosperity as a result of their new trade links with India. The situation appeared even worse than it was because in the West also, that is, in Spain and Gaul, provincials were experiencing economic growth. The decline in the Italian economy had depressing ramifications among the businessmen of Italy, since they could no longer profit from exploiting markets in the provinces. Their situation was aggravated by Claudius' decision to debase the Italian coinage; silver *denarii* were plated and *aurei* were reduced in weight.⁵ This measure was precipitated by the rise in inflation resulting from the enormous expenditure on public works, the loss of gold to the Far East in exchange for luxury goods and perfumes, and the drop in the market price of metals as a result of extensive mining activities in the West.⁶ Also the spread of citizenship which escalated during Claudius' reign,⁷ marked the decline of Italy's supremacy over the provinces so that she herself was rapidly becoming absorbed into the universal world empire. The *equites*, in particular, were annoyed at this threat to their business interests and more so when they saw easterners being admitted to their order and freedmen being promoted to procuratorships, grievances against which they appear to have reacted to their detriment: we have observed that from 221 to 300 *equites* were condemned by Claudius (see Chapter I, ii).

The main cause of friction between senate and *equites* was due to the limited administrative functions of the *principes*, since officially there were no subordinates or assis-

tants appointed to aid the holder of the post; in constitutional terms all the emperor had were lictors (*qua* his *imperium proconsulare*) and the soldiers of the praetorian guard (*qua* his position as *imperator*). Accordingly, in practice, those who were close to the emperor, either by virtue of their personal friendship or by nature of their office, as personal secretaries for example, acquired great influence, although in some cases the actual offices were relatively humble ones. The freedmen of the emperor were originally no more than secretaries and treasurers, but they came to exercise *de facto* authority on behalf of the emperor far in excess of their position. These freedmen "officials" were in turn in charge of their own subordinates and beneath these again were the sub-clerical grades which were staffed by imperial slaves. This development tended to form a hierarchy of officials at the head of a regular *cursus* based on a scale of promotion.⁸ In the equestrian *cursus* also there were several modifications under Claudius who provided men with a more clearly defined scale of posts ranging from military service to financial procuratorships and in turn to the main prefectures in the empire. This strict systematization of the *cursus*, both for freedmen and for equestrians, was characteristic of Claudius' fastidiousness generally; the scholarly emperor was fond of reducing and filing his business into compartments with precision and neatness, a trait no doubt developed during the years he spent in the pursuit of liberal studies.

The different hierarchies of the freedman, equestrian,

and senatorial *cursus* were not mutually exclusive but were bonded together under the immediate control of the princeps whose function was to maintain the efficiency of all three and to encourage a flexibility by dissuading officials, particularly senatorial and equestrian, from clinging to their former jealously guarded prerogatives. Claudius, therefore, was attempting a unity of the orders with the aim of an efficient imperial administration. Perhaps he had in mind Cicero's ideal of a *concordia ordinum* which he had promulgated after his consulship in 63 B.C.⁹ If one employs the image of a pyramid to exemplify the structure of the upper echelons of the administration at this time, it is observed that the men at the summit of the pyramid were those directly appointed by the emperor: the freedmen secretaries, prefects of Egypt, of the praetorian guard, and of the city, the consuls, and consular *legati* of imperial provinces (see Appendix I). The one exception was the appointment of proconsuls for senatorial provinces since these were selected by lot for one year,¹⁰ whereas the other posts were of longer tenure. For example, the *praefectus annonae*, C. Turranius, had been in office since Augustus' reign and was not replaced until ca. 48.¹¹ The appointment of the proconsul by lot remained as a final prerogative of the senate, although the very fact that it was an aleatory and not an elected position had detracted from the eminence of that office.

In any discussion dealing with bureaucratic developments during the reign of Claudius, one must not be misled into regarding the princeps as the head of an impersonal machine

of government. For instance, it is known that the emperor communicated personally with peoples throughout the empire; his speeches before the senate were written by his own hand and delivered personally.¹² He was an individual supervising a collection of men from different social classes and backgrounds who were rewarded and promoted to the next rung on the hierarchic ladder in proportion to the good service they had rendered to the empire, or conversely demoted for failure to live up to expectation. The path to success in an imperial career was earned, in theory at least, by hard work and not attained simply by privilege from noble birth or connections with the emperor. Claudius had no time for parasites, as in the case of Umbronius Silo, the governor of Baetica, who was dismissed from office because he failed to supply sufficient grain for the soldiers in Mauretania.¹³ Claudius was eager to make his administrators feel a sense of responsibility not only towards himself, but to the empire as a whole, since he and they were fellow workers in the same cause, as Dio remarks:

καὶ τοὺς αἰρετοὺς μηδεμίαν οἱ (sc. Κλαυδίῳ) χάριν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ γινώσκειν, ὅπερ κατὰ τι ἔθος ἐποίουν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐχ οὗτοι ἐμοὶ χάριν ἔχειν ὀφείλουσιν ὥσπερ ἐσπουδαρχηκότες, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τούτοις ὅτι μοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι· καὶ ἄν γε καὶ καλῶς ἄρξωσι, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσω."

"And he would not permit those who were directly appointed to express any thanks to him in the senate, as it was their custom to do, for he declared: 'These men ought not to thank me, as if they had been seeking office, but I should rather thank them, because they cheerfully bear the burden of government; and if they acquit themselves well in office,

I shall praise them much more still.'"¹⁴

Claudius' attitude was that if a job were well done, it would be rewarded, but no provision was to be made for the former privileges or outdated prerogatives of the nobility. Senators, equestrians, and freedmen alike were all to work in concert to share with the princeps the burden of government.

(i) The Development of the Freedmen's *Cursus*.

A. Palatine Slaves and Freedmen

The freedmen's *cursus* did not complete its evolution until the reign of Trajan under whom we can trace a definite programme of promotion from duties in the domestic service of the emperor to administrative and senior procuratorial grades. Under Claudius the seeds for this fully developed *cursus* were being sown and from this reign we can trace in particular the beginnings of a systematic scale of posts held by imperial slaves and freedmen. Firstly it is pertinent at this juncture to establish the reasons for the appearance of such a *cursus*. Claudius had grown up in the midst of a palace bureaucracy in which his predecessors, including Augustus, had utilised the services of imperial slaves and freedmen for the performance of certain duties, particularly in matters of finance, for which many Greek slaves seem to have had an aptitude.¹⁵ The emperor found it more convenient to employ these men as personal agents in administrative offices. Accordingly, they attained positions which were far above their stations in life, and those in senior grades even ranked in social status with some equestrians, although, of course, they were far lower in legal status. Therefore, on the criteria of wealth, influence, intelligence, and life-style, men of the lowest juridical class could equal men among the highest.¹⁶

The legal classes in Roman society were divided as follows: the senatorial order, equestrian order, freeborn plebs

and rural peasantry (*ingenui*), freedmen (*liberti*), slaves (*serui*), and lastly slave of a slave (*serui seruus* or *uicarius*). The latter constituted the bottom grade, and he could be promoted to *liberti seruus* or *liberti libertus* if his master received manumission. The slaves and freedmen within the *familia Caesaris* broadly speaking divided into two groups: slaves who were in the domestic service of the emperor in sub-clerical grades and who rarely attained an administrative position; and slaves who received early manumission (at about thirty years of age) and were promoted through the intermediate and perhaps to senior freedmen's posts.¹⁷ Of the first group the majority would have menial tasks, although some would have extensive influence because of their propinquity to the emperor; e.g., the *praegustator* (food taster),¹⁸ *tricliniarchus* (in charge of the dining room), and a *cubiculo* (in charge of the imperial chamber). For the rest, the duties performed were very humble and entailed little influence compared with those in the bureaucratic section, since service in the latter demanded the acquired skills and abilities which accompany professional status. Other members of the sub-clerical staff included *tabellarii* (postmen), *pedisequi* (ushers), *custodes* (watchmen), *nomenclatores* (monitors),¹⁹ *uilici* [*ex horreis*] (stewards), *aeditui* (temple keepers), and *ab marmoribus* (in charge of building materials).²⁰ Of these the *uilicus* and *ab marmoribus* had tasks of a semi-administrative nature outside the palace and may have been destined for higher grades, but in general the sub-clerical staff rarely rose to forming part of the regular *cursus* for

slaves and freedmen.²¹ The ages of men holding the above offices ranged between twenty and forty after which they presumably received manumission in reward.²² The head of the domestic staff was the *procurator castrensis*, who had overall financial responsibility for the household's budget; directly beneath him were other managerial posts governed by the *procurator* or *subprocurator domus Augustianae*.²³

In the fully developed *cursus* of the following century the junior clerical posts were filled by *serui* aged between twenty and thirty, but under Claudius there is no evidence for this age-group and instead it is found that junior grades were administered by freedmen who were thirty years and older.²⁴ These acted as assistants (*adiutores*) or secretaries (*scriuarii*) to senior officials.²⁵ The next grade included the intermediate posts, probably held from the ages of forty to forty-five, which were usually financial positions; e.g., *a commentariis* (chief accountants); *tabularii* or *principes tabulariorum*; and *arcarii* (treasurers) all of whom served beneath the minister of finance, the *a rationibus*, or the procurator in charge of their particular branch of the imperial finance.²⁶ Also in this grade was the post of *dispensator* (pay-master) which was held by slaves above the age of thirty whose manumission had been delayed.²⁷ The assistants to these officers were always *seruorum uicarii*, but they held the same rank as the freedmen *adiutores* who were assisting other financial officers in the intermediate grade.²⁸ The *uicarius* on promotion to *dispensator*, passed from the ownership of the imperial slave or patron and became *Caesaris*

seruus, i.e., the property of the emperor, and usually remained a slave until his mid-forties, after which time he might try for a higher position.²⁹ But generally these posts were filled by freedmen from the other intermediate grades, notably by the *tabularii*. Thus the *dispensatores* who were dealing with cash transactions had the best means of acquiring wealth (legitimately or otherwise) and influence, but less chance of promotion.³⁰ This class, however, seems to have been a favoured section within the élite of slaves and freedmen, an advantage which was usually enjoyed by officers directly concerned with finances. As *serui*, they were more closely controlled by the emperor and this meant that Claudius was able to have direct supervision over those responsible for cash transactions and payments in each provincial fisc (see Chapter 3 [iii]) and in the various departments in Rome.

The senior grades were all held over the age of forty and in many cases over fifty. In this respect Claudius was always careful not to allow men of inadequate experience to hold posts of responsibility in the state. Deputies for the senior freedmen were called *proximi* or *melloproximi* who served as replacements when necessary; for example, to the secretaries (*ab epistulis*), finance officers (*a rationibus*) or senior procurators.³¹ Epigraphical evidence for freedmen's procuratorial posts which developed under Claudius and which ranked with the equestrian junior procuratorships, records men in various specialized fields; e.g., those in charge of the manumission tax, the water supply, imperial

libraries, and the port of Ostia.³² It is not certain how these officials ranked in the administration, but probably they were equivalent to those in junior equestrian offices, serving beneath a senior procurator.³³ For example, the *procurator a muneribus* and *procurator ad elephantos*³⁴ in all probability were subordinates of the equestrian *procurator ludi*,³⁵ just as the *procurator bybliotheocarum* was responsible to equestrian officials in the same field.³⁶ However, the authority of the *procurator aquarum* and *procurator portus Ostiensis*³⁷ (both of whom had replaced senatorial officials), and the status of the financial *procuratores a patrimonio* and *uicissimarum hereditatum*,³⁸ seem to imply a higher rank by virtue of their administrative functions. Presumably they did not rank higher than any of the *equites* in similar areas, but worked in concert with them since they were all ultimately responsible to the senior prefects; i.e., to the *praefectus annonae* who had jurisdiction over matters related to the corn supply and the port of Ostia, and in financial spheres to the provincial procurators.³⁹ (It should be remembered that there was a sharp distinction between the freedman and equestrian procurator in nomenclature as well as in status: the former is always styled *libertus Augusti* and the latter *procurator Augusti*.⁴⁰) These procuratorships formed part of the regular freedmen's career which would include employment both in the domestic and in the administrative services. For example, the *procurator castrensis*⁴¹ overlapped both these areas since he was head of finance in the Palatine and in charge of the domestic staff.⁴² But it

was not until they lost their domestic shackles entirely that these procuratorial posts could constitute a junior grade in the equestrian *cursus* proper; there was to be no sign of such an emancipation before the time of Trajan.

The senior freedmen's offices in the imperial secretariat of *ab epistulis* and *a rationibus* were probably the most important and since the freedmen in these positions were in close contact with the emperor, they exercised extensive influence. We know of a number of freedmen who in the time of Claudius were designated *a rationibus* or *ab epistulis* which presumably means that they merely served in that particular bureau and they should be differentiated from the *ab epistulis* or the *a rationibus* who were the actual heads of the bureaux.⁴³ The tendency to refer to freedmen by the names of their offices disappeared in the second century when the bureaucracy became more highly developed and the titles *ab epistulis* and *a rationibus* were specific posts each administered by one man.

This was the approximate structure of the freedmen's *cursus* under Claudius, not yet clearly defined nor rigidly enforced, but the beginning of a scale of posts which later became standardized and delineated on the basis of promotion. The ages at which posts could be held varied at this early stage but eventually each of the grades was staffed by a particular age group. Slaves were not yet allowed to form part of the *cursus* in the junior administrative class which Claudius reserved for freedmen, but the practice of employing slaves as *dispensatores*, (and *uicarii* as their assistants)

seems to have been established at this time. For senior posts, Claudius employed only men of mature years and experience: Pallas, for example, was in his fifties at the height of his power.⁴⁴ The slaves and freedmen in Claudius' service were basically performing tasks which would normally be carried out in a master's house, from the menial duties of the *pedisequus* to the more weighty responsibilities of the personal secretary or chief accountant. Because the patron happened to be the most powerful man in the world, the duties performed by his domestic subordinates accordingly increased in importance. The *pedisequus* would be associating with ambassadors and foreign diplomats, while the *a rationibus* would be balancing the accounts of the empire. The power of the freedmen under Claudius is no mystery, and it is no surprise to see those members of the *familia Caesaris* who were closest to the emperor, being among the first to gain influence. It was only after a period of time, with the consolidation of the imperial civil service, that regular promotion to official posts rather than advancement to positions within the familial household became the rule. And with the later systematization under Trajan and Hadrian came the replacement of freedmen by equestrians in the key positions of state beside the emperor. The freedmen eventually played a more subservient role in the administration, although it was to be many years before the equestrians could rival their acumen for business and financial organisation, and finally usurp their position.

B. The Secretariat.

Unquestionably the four most influential freedmen during Claudius' reign were Pallas, Narcissus, Polybius, and Callistus who held positions in the bureaux of the *a rationibus*, *ab epistulis*, *a studiis*, and *a libellis* respectively. But the power which they enjoyed was not necessarily derived from the exercise of functions within these posts, but rather from their legal and personal relationships with the emperor. Our sources tend to concentrate on the freedmen's *potentia* and advisory capacities and less on their administrative functions, with the result that it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions on the nature of their duties. Firstly, we must not be misled by the elaborate bureaucratic system which evolved in the second century A.D.; the offices which centred around the princeps in this early period were basic and necessary ones, and not an intricate network of bureaux. The emperor certainly handled a great deal of business personally and it would be a misconception to imagine a barrier of red tape preventing the ordinary individual from gaining access to the emperor's presence. For example, Suetonius (Cl. 37.1) tells an anecdote of a man who personally handed Claudius a *libellus* (i.e., a petition concerning a civil matter or information against a third party). It can also be inferred from Suetonius' account that documents concerning grants or legal decisions emanated from the emperor himself but were sometimes modified by his secretaries, and sometimes "official orders were substituted or

even openly changed."⁴⁵ There is certainly no suggestion of bureaux which prepared documents for the emperor beforehand, but more likely freedmen revised his original drafts before final publication. Claudius also used his freedmen as advisers in matters of state particularly with regard to the Greek-speaking East with which they were more familiar. The ancient sources, however, have exaggerated the extent of their advisory capacity to the point where the emperor is portrayed as a puppet manipulated by the whims of his freedmen. But in the majority of cases their influence over Claudius is confined to domestic affairs and not political issues.⁴⁶ As advisers on world affairs their duty was to present different view-points of the issue in question upon which Claudius would make the decision he deemed best. For example, in 44 when he was about to install young Herod Agrippa II in his father's kingdom of Judaea, it was pointed out to him by his freedmen that a youth of sixteen might not be mature enough for the responsibilities involved, whereupon Claudius considering the plausibility of their argument reversed his decision.⁴⁷ It is important to remember that ultimately it was Claudius who made the decisions for his policies and that he alone was responsible for his actions. Similarly the composition of speeches, letters, and edicts addressed to the senate or peoples of the empire were essentially his own work and probably only subject to modification by his secretaries on technical points. From the documents which survive from this reign we can trace a consistent style which exactly corresponds to what is known of

Claudius' character: he is generally rather pedantic and fond of displaying scholastic accomplishment in his knowledge of antiquity, a feature particularly evident in his speech to the senate on the Gallic citizenship.⁴⁸ The style of the letters and edicts is reminiscent of the industrious scholar with an eye for minute detail, and in several instances the same formulaic expressions of the emperor can be seen recurring in different documents.⁴⁹ Finally, Suetonius provides evidence that it was Claudius himself and no other who composed the drafts for his edicts: "uno die xx edicta proposuit."⁵⁰ In his speeches too it is known that Claudius did not rely on other people's eloquence, a practice resorted to by his successor, Nero.⁵¹

Thus the office *ab epistulis* was concerned primarily with revising material received from the emperor for final drafting and possibly in the case of documents proceeding to the eastern world officials would make translations from the Latin version into Greek.⁵² Narcissus was the head of this bureau according to our sources⁵³ and we may assume that from 41 to 49 he was the most influential member in the state.⁵⁴ But, as we have noted, his authority was not derived from the function of his office but from personal influence. Our sources describe Narcissus' involvement in a variety of fields: obtaining a military legateship for Vespasian; addressing mutinous troops in Britain; and participating as a member of the emperor's council in the debate on Claudius' fourth marriage. He also supervised a public works programme, the draining of the Fucine Lake for economic and agricultural

purposes.⁵⁵ None of these functions is even remotely connected with the office *ab epistulis*. The only instance where his influence can be connected to his official position is in his capacity of receiving foreign embassies and kings,⁵⁶ but no doubt this entailed merely the arrangement of appointments with the emperor who evidently received all foreign visitors personally.⁵⁷

The evidence concerning Callistus, *libertus a libellis*,⁵⁸ again is more illustrative of his *potentia* than of his function in that office. For the bureau *a libellis* Claudius could look for a precedent under Tiberius for whose reign there is evidence of an *a subscriptionibus* which was a similar bureau for justice or petitions.⁵⁹ Claudius, therefore, was not being completely innovative in the institution of this office. Indeed the importance of freedmen in state affairs was certainly not a new phenomenon, although it became far more evident during Claudius' reign. Callistus, for example, had been Gaius' first minister of state⁶⁰ and in the same reign a freedman Homilus was the official in charge of letters and petitions.⁶¹ For Claudius' time we have evidence of another freedman (*a libellis*), a certain Lemnius, who was probably a subordinate in the same bureau.⁶² There appears to be some confusion over the position held by Polybius who is usually regarded as *libertus a studiis*, as recorded in Suetonius and supported by references in Seneca's Ad Polybium de Consolatione.⁶³ However, one passage in the latter source mentions duties concerning petitions: "audienda sunt tot hominum milia, tot disponendi libelli."⁶⁴ Polybius either

held this office early in the reign or was in charge of both *a studiis* and *a libellis* until his death in 47 at which time they became separate offices. The office *a studiis* was concerned with cultural affairs and embraced a wide range of duties, basically serving as a repository for information on the historical background and customs of nations in the provinces and possibly dealing with the promotion of motifs and legends for Claudius' programme with regard to coinage.⁶⁵

The enormous increase in *extra ordinem* jurisdiction (see Chapter III [i]) under Claudius in the form of the imperial *cognitio* necessitated the institution of a bureau to supervise the business connected with the trials. In fact, there is epigraphical evidence for a specific office *a cognitionibus*, although some scholars have contested its Claudian date and have placed the inscription as late as Hadrian.⁶⁶ Whatever the date, one might conclude on *a priori* grounds that a *libertus a cognitionibus* in all probability existed under Claudius (although perhaps not with that specific title) in order to deal with the influx of trials at the emperor's tribunal. The existence of the office is in fact implied by the author of the Apocolocyntosis where Claudius is ironically sentenced to serve as *a cognitionibus* to Aeacus' freedman Menander. The penalty was intended as a parody both on the emperor's preference for *cognitiones* and on his domestic subservience to freedmen.⁶⁷

Finally, perhaps the most important official was the *a rationibus*, a post which had already been in existence under Tiberius,⁶⁸ but no doubt the authority of the freedmen

appointed earlier had been very limited; their duties may have been confined to the household's accounts or at the most they dealt with the imperial *patrimonium*. The freedman Pallas held this office under Claudius and, as far as we can tell from Tacitus' narrative, he became prominent in the administration after Silius' and Messalina's conspiracy (48) in which his rival Narcissus had reached the peak of his influence with Claudius.⁶⁹ Narcissus' audacity in ordering the execution of the emperor's wife without his knowledge and his subsequent rewards including the grant of quaestorian insignia are sufficient witness to his power.⁷⁰ But from this point onwards Pallas is in the ascendant under the patronage of Claudius' new wife Agrippina, and his *potentia* is illustrated by the senate's grant of praetorian insignia and a sum of fifteen million sesterces.⁷¹ The honour he accepted, but the money he magnanimously declined, an act which later infuriated Pliny since Pallas had virtually placed material wealth above the honour of senatorial office.⁷²

As in the case of other imperial freedmen, Pallas' functions ranged far beyond the limits of financial affairs. For instance, he was consulted by Claudius on the legislation which regulated the marriage of free women with slaves, and he was also influential in advancing his brother Felix to the procuratorship of Judaea.⁷³ Pallas' position after about 50 was unchallenged when he became virtually chief minister of state after the eclipse of his colleagues Callistus and Narcissus.⁷⁴ In the sphere of finance he seems to have possessed great acumen and served Claudius well in the emperor's

policy of the centralization of the empire's finances (see Chapter III [ii]). But his loyalties were more inclined toward Agrippina than the emperor and it was Pallas who was largely responsible for the success of Agrippina's plan to place Nero on the throne.⁷⁵

It is an open question whether the above ministries were organized by Claudius himself as part of a preconceived plan for administrative efficiency or whether the system evolved naturally from a collection of functionaries appointed on an *ad hoc* basis. Claudius was not the creator of these bureaux as such, since they had existed in some form or another under Tiberius and Gaius, but certainly he increased considerably the scope of their business by a greater division of administrative duties. This development was a natural consequence of the growth of absolute power. The princeps' authority was exercised on a constitutional basis but his effective power could not be analysed by such a criterion because it stemmed from a *de facto* authority which the emperor would in turn delegate to personal agents loyal to himself alone. The authority which these men possessed, whether they were slaves or freedmen, was no less proper than that of senatorial magistrates or equestrian officers. They had in effect become ministers of state through their semi-official positions in the secretariat, although the sources, with their senatorial bias, still regarded these "ministers" as domestic servants who persisted in interfering in matters which were really not their concern. But in the course of time, the authority of those officials who were in

close proximity to the princeps became accepted and was finally regarded as "legitimate".

In brief, the offices of a *libellis*, *ab epistulis*, and a *rationibus* were, in Tacitus' words, "the epitome of the business of empire."⁷⁶ Their ascendancy, however, at the expense of the senate's authority is regarded by the historian as a sign of political servitude.⁷⁷ The senate now ceased to have a monopoly of power in the administration; their role in this sphere had steadily decreased since the régime of Augustus and the birth of the equestrian *cursus* which under Claudius received further reinforcements. The freedman's *cursus* had not fully evolved at this time, but Claudius had already worked out a blueprint which later emperors could use as a guide. The essential difference between the freedman's hierarchy and the equestrian offices, as we shall see, was the stability within the former *vis-à-vis* the mobility in terms of promotion in the latter. The permanence of freedmen, particularly in the higher offices of the secretariat, was certainly a major factor in the effective power they were able to exercise.

(ii) The Systematization of the Equestrian *Cursus*A. *Militiae Equestres*

The initial stage of an equestrian career had always been service in the military. Evidence from epigraphy before Claudius' time does not present a consistent picture of the order in which the various posts were held, but we can make the following generalisations: the *equus* would firstly be expected to hold a civil post in the staff of a provincial governor⁷⁸ and afterwards the prefecture of auxiliary cohorts in preparation for the military tribunate within a legion. The latter was held together with five other *tribuni* who were all subordinate to the *legatus*; the post was usually required before further advancement to administrative positions within the empire and, for additional experience, the prefecture of auxiliary cavalry (*praefectura alae*) was sometimes added. However, a definite hierarchy of posts is not discernible before Claudius and there was no real distinction between posts held by senators, equestrians, or *primipilares*. For example, the command of an *ala* or cohort could be held by all three categories,⁷⁹ but after Claudius' reign these positions were restricted to equestrians alone, and the senatorial *laticlauii* were barred from all auxiliary commands and left only with the military tribunate. This reform in the military offices illustrates Claudius' tendency to systematize procedures which had emerged in less clearly defined forms from the empirical arrangements of Augustus. The transition from republic to empire

was a gradual process which had resulted in the initial overlapping of functions between the equestrian and senatorial orders until their respective roles in the empire had become fully delineated. Claudius was the first emperor to attempt to define clearly the function and rôle of each stratum of the administration. This is clearly illustrated by the reorganization of the military career: senatorials, equestrians and *primipilares* were all guided into definite categories in which there would be no room for an overlapping of function. The nature of these categories becomes clear after a comparison between the system as it existed before Claudius and as it evolved after the reforms.

Previously, the *primipilares* were eligible for the following posts:

primus pilus legionis
praefectus fabrum
praefectus cohortis
tribunus legionis
praefectus equitum
praefectus castrorum

After the last prefecture the *primipilaris* was eligible for posts at Rome as tribune of a praetorian cohort or a second primipilate.⁸⁰ Under Claudius the scope of offices available was drastically reduced: the prefecture of the camp was the only post which remained from the above since now the *primipilares* were exempt from all auxiliary and legionary commands. However, in compensation Claudius expanded their career at Rome to include the following:

tribunus cohortis uigilum
tribunus cohortis urbanae
tribunus cohortis praetoriae
primus pilus bis

After these offices a man might be eligible to receive command of the Egyptian legions under the equestrian prefect or a senior procuratorship. Thus the primipilate was successfully excluded from the equestrian career and no longer constituted its first grade, but existed in its own right in a purely military capacity.⁸¹

The sons of senators (*laticlauii*) who had served in an office in the vigintivirate were normally eligible for the following posts:

tribunus legionis
praefectus equitum
*legatus Augusti legionis*⁸²

But Claudius restricted their field to the military tribunate and legateship.⁸³ The prefecture of cavalry was excluded from the service no doubt to facilitate young senatorial candidates' promotion to the quaestorship. This now meant that the only military service required was the tribunate and even this could be by-passed, as Suetonius relates: "stipendiaque instituit et imaginariae militiae genus, quod uocatur 'supra numerum', quo absentes et titulo tenus fungerentur."⁸⁴ *Laticlauii* who wished to opt out of military service altogether could now do so by holding the military tribunate *in absentia*.⁸⁵ Whereas the senatorial class suffered a reduction in its participation in the initial military services, the *equites* now assumed a monopoly in that area. After Claudius' reform the posts were held strictly in the following order:

praefectus cohortis
tribunus legionis
praefectus equitum

Previously these posts had been held in a more haphazard order. The prefecture of the cohort was held sometimes before and sometimes after the tribunate⁸⁶ and even the command of the cavalry varied; usually it followed the tribunate but occasionally it preceded.⁸⁷ After Claudius, however, the order became rigid,⁸⁸ albeit after an attempt was made by the emperor to reverse the order of the tribunate and prefecture of the cavalry. The latter detail is again provided by Suetonius: "equestris militias ita ordinavit, ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum legionis daret."⁸⁹ This statement looks questionable at first sight since it is not immediately apparent what induced Claudius to reverse the order. But epigraphical evidence confirms that this reform was carried out (see Appendix II) and, furthermore, we may be certain of Suetonius' reliability on this point in as much as the biographer was evidently knowledgeable on the mechanics of the equestrian *cursus*.⁹⁰ What, therefore, was the reason behind Claudius' innovation? If we turn our attention back to the republic, we notice that *tribuni militum* had exercised a more important function, since they were initially magistrates invested with *imperium* having responsibility over Roman citizens. Claudius probably wanted to reassert the tribunate's importance in the *cursus* by raising it above the prefecture of cavalry and thus designate it as the crown of the military career.⁹¹ Logically, it should have ranked highest since it entailed command over legionaries, whereas the cavalry command was over auxiliaries. But theoretical importance could not displace practical. Since the end of

the republic, command of the horse had carried much more authority than the tribunate since the former had charge over an independent unit while the latter comprised a group of six officers subordinate to the legate.⁹² Thus, although there was no definite hierarchy of posts before Claudius, the tribunate definitely seemed to rank lower than the prefecture.⁹³ Nevertheless, Claudius adhered to the claims of tradition and reversed the order. But he also had definite practical purposes in his reform. Firstly, he intended to bring the equestrian military offices into alignment with the senatorial; just as senatorials after their tribunate proceeded to the quaestorship, equestrians also could proceed to administrative offices or indeed themselves gain admission to the senate via the quaestorship (the latter phenomenon became regular procedure under Claudius⁹⁴) without having any further military offices to negotiate. Secondly, Claudius wanted his future administrators to have additional experience in the military before proceeding to procuratorships. Previously the tribunate could be attained after the command of a cohort and sometimes after minor offices such as *praefectus fabrum*, *iudex selectus*, or after duties in municipal offices. But Claudius' reorganization meant that an *eques* could not reach the end of his military training until he had first served as prefect both of cohort and *ala* and finally as tribune of a legion. The increased importance of the tribunate signified a rise in equestrian prestige at the expense of senatorial privilege in the military field. For there were five *tribuni angusticlauii* to one senatorial *tribunus lati-*

clavius a legion and, moreover, the *equites* would be the more experienced officers having reached this position after two important military commands, whereas the *laticlavii* had come straight from service in the vigintivirate. Momigliano has even suggested that Claudius' reform aimed at supplanting the senatorial legate or at least at weakening his position in favour of the *equites*.⁹⁵ This is certainly one of the first signs of equestrians tending to oust senatorials in military positions. Ultimately, when officers were needed for commands at the frontiers, military aptitude had to take precedence over administrative talents and eventually in the second and third centuries, senatorial commanders were replaced entirely by equestrians. But it is doubtful whether Claudius foresaw this development. For the time being he was concerned only with establishing a systematic procedure for the recruitment of his future agents, and also with providing equestrians with a *cursus* parallel to that of the senatorial order in recognition of their increasing responsibilities in the empire.

Claudius' reform of the tribunate, however, was short-lived and was repealed probably as a result of strong opposition from the senate who felt that their traditional prerogatives in the military were being undermined, and possibly as a result of equestrian discontent also. No doubt the extra compulsory service in the cavalry proved most inconvenient for a young equestrian since it would delay his progress to civil posts. (It should be remembered that over half those who served were destined for administrative

rather than military careers.) Accordingly, the revised order of cohort-tribune-*ala* became the rule;⁹⁶ this was certainly the case from Nero's time onward and there is some evidence to suggest that this became the procedure later in Claudius' reign.⁹⁷

Despite the failure of this reform, the overall policy of Claudius is clear. He succeeded in systematizing the equestrian military service on a clearly defined scale of promotion. By this method he hoped to encourage mobility through the various posts and to terminate the tendency of previous years for men to hold offices for long periods of time, which in turn had disrupted the flow and continuity essential to the functioning of the *cursus*.

B. Procurators and Prefects

The functions of imperial procurators which had been formulated under Augustus became more clearly defined under the emperor Claudius. During the republican period their duties had been confined to cases in private law where they acted as personal agents or representatives of an individual.⁹⁸ Later, under Augustus they served as private agents in charge of the imperial estates and properties in the empire. But in the course of time, as the emperor's private business became interwoven with world administration, personal agents of the emperor became equated with public servants of the empire. The result was a new brand of civil servant - the equestrian procurator. In the imperial provinces they collected tribute, having superseded the senatorial quaestor in this field, paid troops and managed the finances of imperial estates.⁹⁹ Other imperial agents of this time were called *praefecti* who served under the provincial legate and were in charge of areas within a province with primarily military but increasingly administrative functions. The *praefectus* was eventually placed in charge of a small province where his military function disappeared completely. Other *praefecti* retained their military duties, but these were usually of lower rank, in some cases centurions; for example, the *praefecti ciuitatum (et leuis armaturae)* or *praefecti cohortis et ciuitatum* who supervised difficult areas which were not yet organized into a province.¹⁰⁰ At the other end of the equestrian scale, above the imperial

procurator, were the holders of the major prefectures; for example, at Rome the *praefectus praetorio*, *praefectus annonae*, *praefectus uigilum*, and abroad the exceptional post of *praefectus Aegypti*. Thus, when Claudius came to the throne, there were in existence three branches of the equestrian civil service: firstly, the financial procurators who in the imperial provinces collected the direct and indirect taxes (e.g., *portoria*, *XX hereditatum*, *XXV uenaliu mancipiorum*), or who controlled the imperial estates (*res familiares*) in the senatorial provinces; secondly, the prefects of small provinces (sometimes called praesidial governors); and thirdly, the major administrative posts in Rome and in Egypt. Under Claudius these three, somewhat disjointed branches were consolidated into a more unified system. The first signal of this development is the use of the title *procurator Augusti* to describe all imperial agents.¹⁰¹ Since there had been a decline in the military duties of the praesidial prefects, Claudius saw no necessity to preserve the military title and proceeded to style all such men *procuratores*. There is firm evidence for this transition: the equestrian governors of the new provinces Mauretania and Thrace automatically received this title¹⁰² and the prefectures of Cappadocia, Noricum, and Rhaetia were also converted to procuratorships.¹⁰³ In two of the newly styled procuratorships, Mauretania and Rhaetia, the title *pro legato* was appended, no doubt because in these areas command over military units was necessary, and this prompted the use of a military title. The use of *pro legato*, however, was a tem-

porary measure until the term *procurator* had become accepted as the title for praesidial prefects. It is interesting to note that Claudius still avoided the use of *praefectus* even to the extent of introducing what was clearly a manufactured title.¹⁰⁴ As a further illustration, when Claudius restored the kingdom of Judaea to provincial status we again find that the governor is styled *procurator* rather than *praefectus*.¹⁰⁵ The standardization of the praesidial prefectures as procuratorial offices was a major innovation which finally dispelled the myth of military function and revealed the true nature of these equestrian officials as administrators in the provinces. They could now govern in their own right without having to hide behind military cloaks.

The next stage in promotion after the procuratorship was service in one of the major prefectures. In this category the post of *praefectus classis* was available to equestrians, but during the reigns of Claudius and Nero freedmen also appear to have been eligible. This development was due to the decline in military responsibilities of the fleet and the establishment of the prefecture as a civil post. There were two main prefectures of the fleet in Italy, one based at Misenum and the other at Ravenna; others existed around the Mediterranean, such as the prefecture at Alexandria.¹⁰⁶

There was a major change in the recruitment of senior prefects, notably for Egypt and the praetorian guard. From Claudius' reign onward, promotion was gained after regular service in the junior grades, *viz.*, the initial military service and junior procuratorships, rather than by the more

arbitrary method of preferment from outside the *cursus*. For instance, Cn. Vergilius Capito, the prefect of Egypt in 48,¹⁰⁷ had originally been *pontifex* of temples in Asia under Gaius, and early in Claudius' reign he had been procurator of Asia and Egypt, a post involving an extensive area with many responsibilities.¹⁰⁸ This would have served as excellent preparation for the senior prefecture. Also Afranius Burrus who was made *praefectus praetorio* in 51, replacing the prefects Rufrius Crispinus and Lusius Geta, had had a full equestrian career which had commenced under Augustus with the military tribunate and included procuratorships under Tiberius and Claudius.¹⁰⁹ These were good credentials for a senior prefect. Burrus, who was retained in this office until 62, had come from Gallia Narbonensis and serves as a good example of a western provincial gaining a high ranking position.¹¹⁰

More common under Claudius was the entry of easterners to imperial procuratorships and prefectures. H.G. Pflaum has observed that after Claudius' reign there was a steady increase of provincial procurators over Italian, notably from Gallic and Hellenistic communities, a development which he attributed to "la tendance cosmopolite de Claude."¹¹¹ The earliest known recruits from the East are Ti. Claudius Balbillus (from Alexandria) and C. Iulius Aquila (from Amastris).¹¹² Balbillus, who was later prefect of Egypt (55-59), had originally held junior equestrian posts followed by a series of duties as procurator in Asia and Egypt, perhaps similar to the post held by Capito.¹¹³ Also the chief

priesthood at Alexandria, which was held before the procuratorship (again corresponding to Capito's career), and the experience derived from the posts held in Egypt at the museum and library would have made Balbillus a promising candidate for the prefecture in that area. After the military tribunate Balbillus had held the post of *ad responsa Graeca* and *ad legationes* which involved charge over the replies of the princeps to embassies and petitions from cities and kings of the east.¹¹⁴ These junior posts, held after the compulsory military service, formed the foundation to the procuratorial career which was rapidly developing a complete structure from top to bottom. The junior grades, however, were not yet firmly established as part of the *cursus*, mainly because the minor administrative functionaries, as we have seen, were imperial freedmen. By the second century, however, the latter gave way to equestrians, just as they were to do in the secretariat, and these offices became part of the regular equestrian career.

A further example of recruitment from the east was Ti. Iulius Alexander, an ex-Jew, promoted to the procuratorship of Judaea in 46; he later became prefect of Egypt in 66 after holding a special military office under the general Corbulo.¹¹⁵ As in the case of other easterners, he had had the regular military training required in the equestrian *cursus* as *epistrategus* of the Thebaid in 42.¹¹⁶ Similarly, G. Serstinus Xenophon had held the military tribunate before becoming prefect in charge of architects and then *procurator ad responsa Graeca*.¹¹⁷ From Corinth in Achaëa we hear of a

C. Iulius Spartiaticus who went through military service before becoming *procurator Caesaris et Augustae*, possibly an honorary post bestowed to mark the return from exile of the Euryclid family.¹¹⁸ That Claudius was very particular in conforming to the unwritten rules of promotion through the *cursus* is exemplified by the events surrounding the promotion of Felix, brother of M. Antonius Pallas, to the procuratorship of Judaea. Felix, as a freedman, was exempt from holding a praesidial procuratorship which was the prerogative of equestrians;¹¹⁹ to overcome this difficulty he was given equestrian status by a grant of the *ius anulorum*, and put through the military offices before receiving his procuratorship.¹²⁰ Claudius, therefore, was trying not to make any exceptions, especially in the case of easterners, to his ruling that equestrians who were to be *procuratores Augusti* had to proceed firstly through the military posts of at least *praefectus alae* and more usually of *tribunus militum* as well. Thus, although the above cases are isolated instances, taken as a whole the *cursus* of Iulius Alexander, Balbillus, Aquila, Xenophon, Spartiaticus, and Felix would indicate that Claudius never allowed provincials to by-pass the normal system of promotion. It is also noticeable that Orientals were recruited specifically for offices to which they were suited. The Egyptian prefects, in particular, from this period seem to have acquired more experience as a result of previous offices held in the East.¹²¹

The introduction of Greeks and Orientals to the procuratorial service marks another feature of Claudius' outward-

looking policy towards the provinces. He utilized the talents of easterners by placing them in offices where they could show more competence but at the same time he ensured that they complied with the requirements of the *cursus*, partly in deference to the *equites* and partly to provide the necessary experience for later administrative positions. However, we may postulate a fair amount of discontent as a result of this policy from Italian businessmen whose field of interest in the East would have been considerably narrowed.

Claudius achieved the consolidation of the equestrian career on a basis of systematization in the principles of recruitment and promotion. Formerly the various offices held under Augustus and Tiberius had not conformed to an ordered system. Senior prefectures were granted to men of capability but not necessarily to those who had previously served in procuratorships. Praesidial governors still maintained their military title of *praefecti*, although in reality they had outgrown their function in the army and were part of the administration. By two major innovations Claudius organized the officials in the civil service into one coherent scheme; firstly, by establishing the term *procurator* as the title of the imperial civil servant; secondly, by ensuring that equestrians should always comply with the regulations of the *cursus* at each of its stages. Claudius had even attempted to increase the importance of the tribunate in order to provide men with additional experience before their administrative careers. In the light of these innovations it would be justifiable to conclude that Claudius contributed more to the development

of the imperial civil service than any other emperor bar Augustus, its originator.

Chapter II: FOOTNOTES

1. Dio, LIII.32.
2. Tac., Ann. XII.41. On Claudius' adoption of Nero see G. May, "Notes complémentaires sur les actes de l'empereur Claude", Rev. Hist. Droit. XXIII (1944), pp.101-105. His predecessors had similar constitutional grants: Tiberius had been virtual coregent with Augustus from 11 A.D. and had received *imperium proconsulare*, the consulship, and *tribunicia potestas* before Augustus' death (14 A.D.) - Suet., Tiberius 9.3; 21.1. Tiberius had appointed Gaius heir to his estate in his will, but did not confer upon him any extraordinary powers. On his accession he was invested by the senate and people with *ius arbitriumque omnium rerum* - Suet., Cal. 14.1; probably a law was passed, similar to the Lex de imperio Vespasiani (ILS, 244), formulating Gaius' various powers.
3. Tac., Ann. I.2.1: "munia senatus, magistratum, legum in se trahere."
4. Ibid., XI.5.1: Loeb edition, Tacitus: Histories and Annals, trans. J. Jackson (London, 1937), vol. III, pp.254-255.
5. See H. Mattingly, Roman Coins, 2nd ed. (London, 1967), pp.122ff. and 132.
6. See Scramuzza, pp.158-159. Imports from the east exceeded exports by 100,000,000 sesterces *per annum* (Pliny, NH xii.84), India alone taking ca. 55,000,000 (ibid., vi.101) - figures are for a few years after Claudius' death.
7. For a full analysis see A.N. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1973), esp. pp.237ff..
8. For the freedmen in the emperor's service see A.M. Duff, Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire (Cambridge, 1958), in particular Appendix III, p.221 ("The Imperial Civil Service"); also P.R.C. Weaver, "The Slave and Freedman 'Cursus' in the Imperial Administration", PCPhS X (1964), 74-92.
9. Cicero had realised "that unless the *equites* stood by the senate it would be the end of a constitutional government" - D. Stockton, Cicero, a Political Biography (Oxford, 1971), p.50. Claudius had been a supporter of Cicero's political ideals and had written a literary defense of the orator *aduersus Asini Galli libros* (Suet., Cl. 41.3).
10. Dio, LIII.13.2-4; the imperial *legati* served until they

were replaced, *ibid.*, 13.6-8.

11. Cf. Tac., Ann. I.7.2; XI.31.1.
12. There is abundant evidence for Claudius' communication with provincials; e.g., ILS, 212, speech on the *Primores Galliae*; P Lond., 1912, letter to the Alexandrians (ed. Bell, pp.1-37; Sel. Pap., 212); the letter of Claudius to the Thasians declining the honour of a temple, edd. C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos (Paris, 1954-58), vol. II, pp.66-69, no.179. Cf. also ILS, 206 = MARE, no.49, edict on the Anaonian citizenship; PSI, 1160 (ap. Musurillo, I, pp.1-3) the embassy of Alexandrians to Claudius (for dating see Musurillo, pp.84-88). For composition of speeches cf. Tac., Ann. XIII.3.2: "nec in Claudio, quotiens meditata dissēreret, elegantiam requireres." Against this cf. Fronto, Ad Verum, III.7: "quis eorum oratione sua populum aut senatum, quis edictum quis epistulam suismet uerbis componere potuit?" The latter was referring to the empire of a century later by which time one might infer the principate had become more impersonal and even more immersed in bureaucracy. See F. Millar, "Emperors at Work", JRS LVII (1967), 9-19.
13. Dio, LX.24.5 (in 44 A.D.). Cf. Claudius' dismissal of a procurator on account of excessive requisitions of grain at Cibyra; see D. Magie, "A Reform in the Exaction of Grain under Claudius", Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in honour of A.C. Johnson (New York, 1969), pp.152-154.
14. Loeb edition, Dio Cassius: Roman History, trans. E. Cary (London, 1955), vol. VII, pp.396-397.
15. For example, during Augustus' reign the freedmen Licinius and Celadus (Suet., Aug. 67.1). On the employment of slaves and freedmen in state business generally see G. Boulvert, "'Serui' et 'Liberti' du Prince", Labeo XII (1966), 94-103.
16. On the question of status of slaves and freedmen see P.R.C. Weaver, "Social Mobility in the Early Roman Empire", P & P XXXVII (1967), 3-20; also K. Wachtel, "Sklaven und Freigelassene in der staatlichen Finanzverwaltung des römischen Kaiserreiches", AAnthung XV (1967), 341-346.
17. See A.H.M. Jones, "The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical Grades)", JRS XXXIX (1949), 38-55.
18. Under Claudius this was Halotus who was later implicated in Claudius' murder (Tac., Ann. XII.66.2; Suet., Cl. 44.2). On Halotus' part in the conspiracy see G. Bagnani,

- "The Case of the Poisoned Mushrooms", Phoenix I (1946-47), 14-19.
19. Their task was to remind the emperor of the names of the other slaves; cf. Pliny, NH xxxii.26.
 20. Examples under Claudius: ILS, 1689 (*nomenclator*); ILS, 5000 (*aedituus*); ILS, 3481 (*ab marmoribus*). For the latter post under Augustus, cf. ILS, 1598; 1600; it entailed supervision of the purchasing and working of marble for buildings.
 21. For further illustration of the range of the duties of Claudius' slaves, see an excerpt from the Fasti Antiaties ministrorum domus Augustae (Pag. II, iii) = Inscr. Ital. XIII.1, pp.324-7. Under the year 41 A.D. the following slaves are mentioned: *ensor*; *atriarius*; *subuilicus*; *tector*. Under 42: *politor*; *topiarius*; *atriensis*. Under 43: *lintio*; *a bybliothece* (to be distinguished from the administrative post held by *proc. bybliothe-carum* [ILS, 1587]); *aedituus*; *tabellarius*. Under 44: *camparius*; *speclariarius*.
 22. See Weaver, "Sl. and Fr. *Cursus*" (note 8, above), pp. 77-78. The ages at which posts were held have been calculated by Weaver after a careful study of the "age-at-death figures" provided from epigraphy. Unlike the inscriptions describing the equestrian *cursus*, only the last post held is recorded for freedmen and slaves; this enables us to pinpoint the age at which these positions were held provided the age at death is recorded also.
 23. E.g., ILS, 1942: "C. Iulius Aug. l(ibertus) Sam[ius] / *proc(urator)*, / *accensus diui Claudii et / Neronis Augusti / patronorum*." These domestic procurators should be distinguished from the junior administrative posts held by freedmen in Italy.
 24. According to the *lex Aelia Sentia* passed in 4 A.D., the minimum age for manumission was thirty.
 25. There are two examples of *adiutores* under Claudius: ILS, 1535, assistant to the *praefectus annonae*; ILS, 1697, assistant to the *a cognitionibus* who supervised cases heard before the emperor's tribunal. Both of these were *liberti* as were the *scrinarius ab epistulis* and *scrinarius a libellis* (cf. ILS, 1671, 1675) who were clerks in the offices of the emperor's secretary and master of petitions.
 26. E.g., ILS, 1643: "diis manibus / Ti. Claudi Aug. l. / Dai / *tabulari rationis / patrimoni / Caesarum*, / uixit LIX" (an example of an age-at-death figure: he was fifty-nine when he held this post, thus quite old for

- one in an intermediate grade). This man would be subordinate to the freedman *procurator patrimonii* (cf. ILS, 1487). For an example of an *a commentariis*, see ILS, 1689. The latter inscription shows he served in the office dealing with the five percent tax on inheritances and therefore would be subordinate to the *procurator XX hereditatum* (cf. ILS, 1546).
27. Cf. ILS, 1655; CIL, VI.8843; Pliny, NH xxxiii.145.
 28. For examples of *uicarii dispensatorum*, see ILS, 1514; 3502; 969.
 29. On the change of the *uicarius*' status upon promotion see P.R.C. Weaver, "'Vicarius' and 'Vicarianus' in the Familia Caesaris", JRS LIV (1964), 117-128; on the titles of imperial slaves, see by the same author "The Status Nomenclature of the Imperial Slaves", CO XIV (new series, 1964), 134-139. When the *uicarius* became *Caesaris seruus* he was *ipso facto* a member of the *familia Caesaris*; but from Hadrian's time recruitment of *dispensatores* came from the slave's children rather than the *uicarii* within his *peculium*, thus putting a stop to another avenue for entrance to the *Fam. Caes.*
 30. For the wealth of the *dispensatores*, cf. Pliny, NH.vii.129; ILS, 1514.
 31. Cf. ILS, 1683 (date?), *Aug. lib., proximus a studiis*.
 32. CIL, VI.8450A, *procurator fisci libertatis et peculiorum*; Frontinus, *De Aq.* 105, *procurator aquarum*; ILS, 1587, *procurator bibliothecarum*; ILS, 1533, *procurator portus Ostiensis*.
 33. Cf. Pliny, Ep. X.27.
 34. ILS, 1567; 1578.
 35. Cf. Tac., Ann. XI.35.3; XIII.22.1.
 36. E.g., Ti. Claudius Balbillus, an equestrian who was in charge of libraries at Alexandria: see J. Keil, *Forschungen in Ephesos* (Wien, 1923), vol. III, p.128, no.42 (= Smallwood, 261 [a]).
 37. See note 32, above.
 38. Cf. ILS, 1487; 1546 (freedmen in charge of the emperor's personal property and the tax on inheritances).
 39. For which we have two examples: the freedman Helius who served under P. Celer, *proc. rei familiaris* in Asia (Tac., Ann. XIII.1) and the freedman *proc. XX hereditatum* who operated in Achaea (ILS, 1546) and must have been subor-

- minate to the financial procurator of that province (cf. AE 1919, no.5).
40. See O. Hirschfeld, Die kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diokletian, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1905), pp.381, n.4; 411, n.4; also P.R.C. Weaver, "The Status Nomenclature of the Imperial Freedmen", CQ XIII (new series, 1963), 272-278.
 41. Cf. ILS, 9027; 1567.
 42. See P.R.C. Weaver, Familia Caesaris (Cambridge, 1972), p.6.
 43. E.g., ILS, 1670, "Ti Claudio Augusti liberto / Primioni ab epistulis"; Gordon, no. 122, "Aphnius Caesaris Aug. ab epistulis"; ILS, 1666, "Narcissi Aug. l. ab epistulis" (the latter was the ab epistulis). From Egypt we have an example of a freedman *a rationibus* in charge of imperial accounts (IGRR, I.1262, col. ii l.35); cf. also ILS, 1473, "dis manibus / Ti Claudi / Aug. l. Abascanti / a rationibus, / uix(it) ann. XLV." Pallas was the a rationibus in the bureau at Rome; see Tacitus, Ann. XI-XII, *passim*; XIII.14.1; Dio, LX.30.6B; Suet., Cl. 28.
 44. See S.I. Oost, "The Career of M. Antonius Pallas", AJPh LXXIX (1958), p.114.
 45. Suet., Cl. 29.1: "suppositos aut etiam palam immutatos datorum officiorum codicillos."
 46. For references in the sources to Claudius' subservience to freedmen cf. Suet., Cl. 25.5; 28; 29; Tac., Ann. XIII.6.3; Dio, LX.2.4; 28.2; Aurelius Victor, De Caesaribus, 4.5; Ausonius, De XII Caesaribus, Tetras-ticha V, ll.3-4; Apocol. 6.2; 15.2; Pliny, NH xii.12; xxxiii.134-135; Julian, Caesares, 310 B-C.
 47. Jos., AJ XIX.362: ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῦς εἰκότα λέγειν ὁ Καῖσαρ.
 48. ILS, 212, especially col.i, ll.8-27 (the excursus on the kings of Rome).
 49. See Scramuzza, pp.246 (n.6), 268 (n.32); also A. Cameron, "The Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians", CQ XX (1926), p.45; Dunant and Pouilloux (note 11, above) Thasos, vol. II, p.68. The following comparisons have been noted: P Lond., 1912, col.ii, ll.37, 49 and ILS, 212, col.i, l.38; P Lond., 1912, col.iii, ll.48-51 and letter to the Thasians (edd. Dunant and Pouilloux), ll.5-6; P Lond., 1912, ll.31-32 and ILS, 206 (edict on the Anaunian citizenship), ll.29-30. Claudius was also fond of referring to his friends in

- cordial manner: cf. Παρβίλλωι τῶι ἐμῶι ἐτέρωι (P Lond., 1912, col.v, l.105); "Plantam Iulium amicum et comitem meum" (ILS, 206, l.16); "L. Vestinum familiarissime diligo" (ILS, 212, l.10); Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος Ἰουλιανὸς οἰκιακὸς μου (Charlesworth, Cl. 9, l.10); [Λούκιος Ἰούβ]νιος Γαλλίων ὁ φ[ίλος] μου (SIG³, 801 D, l.6 = Smallwood, 376).
50. Suet., Cl. 16.4.
 51. Tac., Ann. XIII.3.2; see note 12, above.
 52. For this office under the empire see M. Rostovtzeff in RE, s.v. "ab epistulis", VI, coll. 210ff..
 53. Dio, LX.30.6b: ὃς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπεστάται; *ibid.*, 34.5: οἷα τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ διοικῶν. Dio further elaborates that Narcissus had access to the emperor's private *grammata* including incriminating evidence against Agrippina and others.
 54. *Ibid.*, 34.4: μέγιστον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων δυνηθεῖς.
 55. For references in the sources see PIR, N 18.
 56. Dio, LX.34.4: προσεῖχον αὐτῷ καὶ πόλεις καὶ βασιλεῖς.
 57. Cf. Tac., Ann. XII.36-37 where Caratacus and his family, captives from the British campaign, are given an audience with Claudius.
 58. Dio, LX.30.6 B: ὃ τε Κάλλιστος, ὃς ἐπὶ ταῖς βίβλοις [= *libellis*] τῶν ἀξιώσεων ἐτέτακτο. See PIR², I 229; A. von Premerstein in RE, s.v. "a libellis", XIII, coll. 15 ff..
 59. CIL, VI.5181 = ILS, 1676. Cf. Hirschfeld, Verwaltungs. (note 40, above), p.327 n.2; and Duff, Freedmen in E.R.E. (note 8, above), p.152.
 60. Cf. Jos., AJ XIX.64-55; Dio, LIX.19.6; 25.7-8; Suet., Cal. 56.1.
 61. Philo, Legatio ad Gaium, 181.
 62. ILS, 1682.
 63. Suet., Cl. 28; Sen., Ad Polybium, 5.2; 6.2; 8.2-3; 11-5.
 64. *Ibid.*, 6.5.
 65. For this office under the empire see Kübler in RE (2nd series), s.v. "a studiis", IV, coll.397ff. In Ad Polybium, 14.2 Seneca mentions a specialized post to which

- Polybius was assigned: "ad fastus te et annales perducam publicos" (supervision of the state calendar and chronicle).
66. ILS, 1697: "Ti. Claudii Aug. / lib. Auiti i<nu>i/tatoris et T. Aeli Aug. lib. Theo//doti adiutoris a cognitionibus), / et Scetasiae / Octaviae filis / carissimis, // Antonia Rhodine / mater fecit." The *nomen* "Aelius" suggests he is a freedman of Hadrian (so Weaver, FC [note 42, above] p.35) but the other *nomina* mentioned in the inscription look positively Claudian.
 67. Apocol. 15.2. For this office under the empire see Hirschfeld, Verwaltungs. (note 40, above), p.329 and A. von Premerstein in RE, s.v. "a cognitionibus", IV, col. 220.
 68. See CIL, VI.8409; 8412.
 69. Suet., Cl. 28; Dio, LX.30.6B: ὁ Πάλλας ᾧ ἡ τῶν χρημάτων διοικήσεις ἐμπεπίστευτο. See Oost "Career of Pallas", (note 44, above), pp.113-139; for the financial bureau under the empire see Liebenam in RE (2nd series), s.v. "a rationibus", I, coll.263ff..
 70. Tac., Ann. XI.37-38.
 71. Ibid., XII.53.
 72. Pliny, Ep. VIII.6; VII.29; Pallas already possessed an enormous fortune of three hundred million sesterces (Tac., Ann. XII.53.3). Pliny also refers to Pallas as "custos principalium opum" (Ep. VIII.6).
 73. Legislation, Tac., Ann. XII.53.1; procuratorship, ibid., XI.54; Jos., BJ II.247; AJ XX.137.
 74. Polybius had been executed on an unknown charge in 47 or 48 (Dio, LX.31.2); Callistus had died naturally in 50 or 51 (ibid., LX.33.3A); and Narcissus died soon after Claudius (Apocol. 13; Tac., Ann. XIII.1.4; Dio, LX.34.4).
 75. Tac., Ann. XII.25.1: "adoptio in Domitium auctoritate Pallantis festinatur."
 76. Ibid., XV.35.2: "nomina summae curae et meditamenta"; cf. XVI.8.1.
 77. E.g., Tac., Ann. XIV.39; when the freedman Polyclitus was sent to inspect the state of affairs in Britain, he became the subject of derision among the enemy forces "apud quos flagrante etiam tum libertate nondum cognita libertinorum potentia erat." Cf. Germania, 25.2 (contrast between position of freedmen among barbarians and

their status at Rome): "liberti non multum supra seruos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in ciuitate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur. ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt; apud ceteros in pares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt."

78. Usually as *praefectus fabrum* which under the empire lost its original connection with engineers and came to be any post of responsibility delegated by the governor. See J. Suolahti, The Junior Officers of the Roman Army in the Republican Period (Helsinki, 1955) pp.205-209.
79. E.g. (before Claudius), senatorials: ILS, 911; 912; cf. Suet., Aug. 38.2: "liberis senatorum ... militiamque auspicantibus non tribunatum modo legionum, sed et praefecturas alarum dedit; ac ne quis expers castrorum esset, binos plerumque laticlauios praeposuit singulis alis." *Equites*: CIL, V.2160; X.7351; XI.969. *Principilares*: CIL, X.1262; 5583; ILS, 2692; CIL, XII.3177; 4230; 4241; AE 1952, no.169; AE 1954, no.104.
80. I.e. *primipilus bis* which entailed service on the staff of a *legatus* and ranked immediately below a *tribunus militum laticlauius*. For this *cursus* see H. Zwicky, Zur Verwendung des Militärs in der Verwaltung der römischen Kaiserzeit (Zurich, 1944), pp.52-53 cited by H. Dévijver, "Suétone, Claude, 25, et les milices équestres", AncSoc I (1970), p.74, n.26.
81. See Zwicky, Verwendung, pp.52-53 cited by Dévijver, "Suétone", p.75, n.32 (see note 80, above).
82. See D. McAlindon, "Entry to the Senate in the Early Empire", JRS XLVII (1957), 191-195 and note 79, above.
83. See E. Birley, "Senators in the Emperors' Service", PBA XXXIX (1953), 197-214, and esp. pp.200-201.
84. Suet., Cl. 25.1: "He also instituted a series of military positions and a kind of fictitious service, which is called 'supernumerary' and could be performed *in absentia* and in name only": Loeb edition, Suetonius, trans. J.C. Rolfe (London, 1950), vol. II, pp.48-49.
85. But as Birley and McAlindon have noted (see nn.82,83, above) recruitment for higher senatorial offices generally required men with good military training, and, therefore, not from this category which presumably included men of lower ambition.
86. E.g., before the tribunate, ILS, 5004; CIL, X.5583; ILS, 2692. After the tribunate, CIL, X.7351; ILS, 9196 (= AE 1909, no.58).
87. E.g., after the tribunate, ILS, 2679; 2677; 2707.

- Before the tribunate, ILS, 9007 (= AE 1902, no.189).
88. Cf. ILS, 2712; CIL, II.2637 and AE 1966, no.187; ILS, 1374; 2729; 2737; CIL, XII.2535; XIV.4456; AE 1933, no.269 (twice) and no.270; AE 1936, no.1.
 89. Suet., Cl. 25.1.
 90. As *ab epistulis* under Hadrian (see G.B. Townend, "The Hippo Inscription and the Career of Suetonius", Historia X (1961), 99-109), Suetonius must have been familiar with the method of promotions in the *equestres militiae*, for we know that appointments to the latter were supervised by this official; cf. Statius, Silvae, 5.1, ll. 94-98 (on the duties of Abascantus, *ab epistulis* under Domitian): "praeterea, fidos dominus si diuidat enses, / pandere quis centum ualeat frenare, maniplos / inter missus eques, quis praecepisse cohorti, / quem deceat clari praestantior ordo tribuni, / quisnam frenigerae signum dare dignior alae." Moreover Suetonius himself had been through the equestrian *cursus* and according to Pliny (Ep. III.8) he had been asked to transfer his military tribunate to one of Pliny's relatives. The biographer thus had first-hand knowledge of his subject-matter.
 91. See A. von Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres, 2nd ed. (Köln, 1967) p.129.
 92. See Suolahti, Junior Officers (note 78, above) pp.211-212.
 93. Cf. Suet., Aug. 38.2 (see note 79, above).
 94. See McAlindon, "Entry to the Senate" (note 82, above), pp.192-193. Some *equites* were admitted directly to the plebeian tribunate: M. Calvius Priscus (CIL, X.6520; PIR², C 362); M. Iulius Romulus (NdS [1924], pp.346-8 = AE 1925, no.85); ILS, 968, an unidentified person appointed by Claudius when he was censor = PIR, M 1 (possibly = PIR, S 81); Ti. Clodius Eprius (CIL, XIV.2612; PIR², E 84; cf. Tac., Ann. XII.4; Suet., Cl. 29.2). For the procedure of appointment under Augustus, cf. Dio, LIV.30.2; LVI.27.1; Suet., Aug. 40; under Claudius, cf. Dio, LX.11.8: ἕκ τε τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ἐς τὰς δημαρχίας ἐσεδέχετο.
 95. Momigliano, p.48.
 96. See note 88, above.
 97. Cf. ILS, 8848 = IGRR, III.263: [Κ]λαυδ[εικονιέ/ω]ν ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί/μησεν [Λε]ύκιον Πούπιον Λευ/[κ]ίου υἱὸν Σαβατεῖνα // [Π]ραῖσεντα χειλίαρχον [= *tribunum militum*],/

[Ἔ]παρχον ἰππέων ἄλη[ς / Π]εικεντελευῆς [= *praefectum alae*] κτλ (the remainder of the inscription mentions procuratorships held under Claudius and Nero).

98. A full account of their duties is provided by Cicero, *Pro Quinctio*, §27-29; §61-73.
99. Cf. Dio, LIV.21; Strabo, III.4.20 = C 167.
100. Cf. Strabo, IV.6.4 = C 203, on the Maritime Alps. For the *praefecti ciuitatum* under Augustus and Tiberius cf. ILS, 1349; 2689; 2684; 94. Posts were usually held between the primipilate and the military tribunate.
101. See A.N. Sherwin-White, "Procurator Augusti", *PBSR* XV (1939), 11-36; also A.H.M. Jones, "Procurators and Prefects in the Early Principate", *Studies in Roman Government and Law* (Oxford, 1960) pp.117-125.
102. Mauretania formed as province, Dio, LX.9.5; Pliny, *NH* v.11; Tac., *Hist.* I.11.2. Evidence of procuratorial governorship, *AE* 1924, no.66 (dated 44). Thrace made province, Tac., *Ann.* XII.63. As procuratorship, *SEG*, XVI.415; ILS, 231; cf. Tac., *Hist.* I.11.2. The other newly acquired provinces were Britain (cf. Tac., *Agric.* 14.1) and Lycia-Pamphylia (cf. Suet., *Cl.* 25.3; Dio, LX.17.3). The latter were governed by senatorial legates; Britain was later given a financial procurator once Roman rule had become established (cf. *RIB*, 12 = Charlesworth, N. 20).
103. Cappadocia had been annexed by Tiberius and entrusted to an imperial legate (Tac., *Ann.* II.42.2-4; 56.4) and soon afterwards handed over to an equestrian prefect (Dio, LVII.17.7). Under Claudius the latter was styled *procurator Cappadociae* (Tac., *Ann.* XII.49.1) and under Nero there was a *proc. prouinciae Cappadociae et Ciliciae* (see W.M. Calder, "Colonia Caesareia Antiocheia", *JRS* II (1912), pp.99-100). For Rhaetia's governor under Claudius, ILS, 1348: "procur. Augustor. et / pro leg(ato) prouinciai / Rhaitiai et Vindelic. / et uallis Poenin". (cf. ILS, 2689). For Noricum see ILS, 1349 where a *proc. Augusti* also occurs for the first time.
104. Equestrian prefects, in theory, could only command auxiliary troops since they were not invested with *imperium* to command citizen troops. But, in fact, they were allowed to do so by a delegation of authority from the senatorial legate. In this instance, the procurators were invested with the "power of legate" in order to legitimize their command over legionaries without actually adopting the title *legatus* which was reserved for senatorials alone.

105. Annexation of Judaea, Jos., AJ XIX.363. For titlature of governor under Tiberius cf. AE 1963, no.104 where Pontius Pilate is referred to as *praefectus Iudaeae*. For procurators of this province under Claudius see Tac., Ann. XII.54; Jos., AJ XX.2. Josephus is inconsistent in his nomenclature, sometimes referring to the governor as *praefectus* (cf. AJ XIX.363).
106. At Ravenna the prefect was an equestrian, P. Palpellius Clodius (ILS, 2702, dated 42-56); at Misenum a freedman, Ti. Iulius Optatus (ILS, 1986, dated 11 Dec., 52). The status of the prefect at Alexandria for this period is unknown, but the sub-prefect was also a freedman (ILS, 2816). By 69 the *classis Miseniensis* was under an equestrian once more (Tac., Hist. II.100.3) and from Vespasian's time onward the naval prefectures were reserved exclusively for equestrians. See C.G. Starr, The Roman Imperial Navy, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1960), pp.32-34.
107. OGIS, 665, dated 7 Dec., 48.
108. For the pontificate of the temple of Gaius at Miletus cf. Dio, LIX.28.1; for Capito's post see L. Robert, "Le culte de Caligula à Milet et la province d'Asie", Hellenica VII (1949), 206-238 (text of inscription, p.206 = Smallwood, 127). His procuratorship, AE 1909, no.136: Αἴγυπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτ[ρ]οπος.
109. ILS, 1321: "Vasiens. Voc. / patrono, / Sex. Afranio Sex. f. / Volt. Burro / trib. mil., proc. Augus/tae (sc. Liuliae), proc. Ti. Caesar., / proc. diui Claudi, / praef. pra[e]tori, orna/m[ent]is consular." (cf. Tac., Ann. XII.42.1; CIL, XII.1309; XI.1531; VI.16963). For Burrus' career see W.C. McDermott, "Sextus Afranius Burrus", Latomus VIII (1949), 229-254.
110. For Burrus' origin see Dessau's note on the above inscription. He came from Vasio in Narbonensis and belonged to the tribe Voltinia which traditionally comprised citizens from that province.
111. H.G. Pflaum, Les procurateurs équestres sous le haut-empire romain (Paris, 1950), p.174 and on this question generally pp.171ff..
112. Aquila was *praefectus fabrum bis* in 45 (ILS, 5883; IGRR, III.83); prefect of Roman cohorts in the Bosporus in 49 (Tac., Ann. XII.15); and procurator of Pontus and Bithynia in 57/58 (CIL, III.346; IGRR, III.15).
113. See note 108, above. For Balbillus' career see the inscriptions ed. Keil, Forschungen in Ephesos (note 36, above), III, pp.127-128, nos.41-42 (= Smallwood, 261 [a] and [b]).

No. 42: Ti. Claudio]o Ti Claudi
i] f. Quir(ina)
 Bal]billo
 proc(uratori) Asiae et] aedium diui Aug(usti) et
 5 magni Sarapidis? e]t lucorum sacro-
 rumque omnium qu]ae sunt Alexan-
 dreae et in tota Aegypt]o et supra mu-
 s]eu[m] e[t ab Alexandri]na bybliothece
 et archi[ere]i et ad Herm]en Alexan-
 10 dreon pe[r annos] et ad legati-
 ones et res[pon]sa Graeca? Ca]esaris Aug(usti)
 diui Claud[i] e[t trib(un) milit(um) le]g(ionis)
 XX et prae[f(ecto)
 fabr(um) diui Cla[udi] et d(onis) d(onato) in
 triu]m[pho] a diuo
 Claudio [corona ----- et hasta]
 15 pura [et uexillo ---

There is some dispute whether the following Balbilli refer to the same man: (i) the prefect of Egypt (Tac., Ann. XIII.22.1; OGIS, 666; Pliny, NH xix.3; Sen., NQ IV.2.13); (ii) the Alexandrian friend of Claudius (P Lond. 1912, ll. 16, 36, 105); (iii) the equestrian procurator in Asia and Alexandria (see the above inscription); (iv) the member of Claudius' *consilium* of 53 mentioned in the Acta Isidori (P Berol. 8877, col. ii, ll. 19, 31, ap. Musurillo, IV). For a discussion see A. Stein, "Balbillus" (and "Nachtrag zu Balbillus"), Aegyptus XIII (1933), 123-136; 331-332; also Musurillo, pp.130-131.

114. See the inscription cited in note 113, above, ll. 10-11; the post corresponds to that held by the father of Pompeius Trogus, an equestrian under Julius Caesar (cf. Justin, 43.5.12: "epistularumque et legationum simul et anuli curam"). Under Claudius the position was also held by Xenophon, the emperor's physician (SIG³, 804 = Smallwood, 262) and by a certain Dionysius of Alexandria (cf. the Suda, s.v. Διονύσιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς [= the Dionysius of P Lond. 1912, l. 17]).
115. Procuratorship, Jos., AJ XX.100; prefecture, OGIS, 669; military office, Tac., Ann. XV.28. See V. Burr, Tiberius Iulius Alexander (Bonn, 1955), esp. pp.25-33.
116. OGIS, 663 = IGRR, I.1165 (dated 3 April, 42).
117. SIG³, 804, ll. 4-8: ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλη//νικῶν ἀποκριμάτων, χει/λιάρχῆσαντα (= *trib. mil.*) καὶ ἑπαρχον / γεγονότα τῶν ἀρχιτεκτό/νων. Ti. Claudius Cleonymus, his brother, had also held the military tribunate (of legion XXII in Germany) and later served as an emissary for his native city Cos where he held the eponymous magistracy (IGRR, IV.1060 = SIG³, 805; cf. Tac., Ann. XII.61).

118. AE 1927, no.2. He was a member of the Euryclid family and the son of G. Iulius Laco, the Spartan dynast who had been exiled by Tiberius (Tac., Ann. VI.18). Epigraphical and numismatic evidence confirm that Claudius restored the family to its former position: IG, V.i. 1243; Smallwood, 200 (a). The latter records a bronze coin found in Laconia with obverse TI. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, reverse ΛΑ. ΕΠΙ ΛΑΚΩΝΟΣ. Claudius strengthened relations with this powerful family with the grant of an imperial procuratorship to Spartiaticus' brother which was also held at Corinth (AE 1927, no.1). For a discussion of these inscriptions and an appraisal of the family's career under the early principate, see L.R. Taylor and A.B. West, "The Euryclids in Latin Inscriptions from Corinth", AJA² XXX (1926), 389-400; and G.W. Bowersock, "Eurycles of Sparta", JRS LI (1961) 112-118.
119. See P.R.C. Weaver, "Freedmen Procurators in the Imperial Administration", Historia XIV (1965), 460-469. He argues against F. Millar, "Some Evidence on the Meaning of Tacitus, Annals XII.60", Historia XIII (1964), p.187, who asserts "there was no type of procuratorial post from which (freedmen) were rigidly excluded."
120. Suet., Cl. 28: "Felicem quem cohortibus et alis prouinciaeque Iudaeae praeposuit [*sc.* Claudius]"; cf. Suetonius' earlier statement (Cl. 25.1): "libertinos, qui se pro equitibus R. agerent, publicauit". If this were the case, Claudius must surely have changed Felix' status to avoid contradiction in his policy. (On the granting of equestrian status cf. Suet., Diu. Iul. 33.) For a discussion on this procuratorship see C. Saumagne, "Saint Paul et Félix, procureur de Judée", Mélanges A. Piganiol (Paris, 1966), pp.1373-1386.
121. As a further example one might add G. Caecina Tuscus (prefect in 63 - Dio, LXIII.18.1) who had been *iuridicus Alexandreae* in 51/52 (P Ryl., II.119, ll.4-6 = Sel. Pap., 279).

CHAPTER III: THE CENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT.

(i) Senatorial Officials.

The administration of the empire, as we have seen, was beginning to require a more sophisticated civil service and within this network the traditional senatorial magistracies had to be interwoven and adapted to form part of the whole system. We have seen how Claudius finally engaged the co-operation of the senate in the censorship of 48. New men were admitted including knights and provincials, and from this period onward there was increasing interference by the emperor in quaestorial elections. Gaius had taken the election of magistrates from the senate, and redirected them to the *comitia*, thus reducing its control over the appointment of candidates.¹ Claudius restored elections to the senate as an act of good will, but no doubt their effective control over appointments still remained weakened.² As a result, Claudius was able to introduce a series of *noui homines* whose service he was able to utilize in imperial offices; for example, in the new quaestorial office in charge of the *aerarium*.³ Claudius had transferred the latter from the praetors to the quaestors, the traditional holders of the post, but the major innovation was that the officers were now appointed directly by the emperor and not by lot.⁴ Moreover, their tenure was extended from one to three years, and they were allowed promotion outside the usual order, sometimes proceeding directly to the praetorship, i.e., by-passing the preliminary tribunate or aedileship.⁵ They were, in effect,

acting as imperial agents rather than senatorial officials
and they were salaried accordingly. The direct appointment
 by the emperor and the lengthy tenure of office meant closer
imperial control over the senatorial treasury. On completing
 their term, the *quaestores aerarii* usually assumed praetorian
 duties as *curatores tabularum publicarum*,⁶ a new office intro-
 duced by Claudius, comprising a board of three ex-praetors.
 They were to supervise the collection of debts owed to the
 state and to phase out the unreasonable taxes introduced by
 Gaius.⁷ Claudius no doubt felt an urgent need to bring order
 to the financial chaos left in the wake of Gaius' princi-
 pate, and, to do so efficiently, he required closer super-
 vision over senatorial finance. This, in effect, was now
 exercised through his personal appointment of the quaestors
 in charge of the treasury and the praetors in charge of
 public accounts. The emperor's interference at the very
foundation of the senatorial *cursus* is an indication of the
further decline in the senate's autonomy and the prevailing
power of the princeps.

The additional quaestorial positions at the treasury
 resulted in a reduction of their duties elsewhere. In the
 same year (44) the *quaestores classici*, of which two still
 remained in Italy, were finally abolished:⁸ the *quaestor*
Gallicus stationed at Ariminum⁹ and the *quaestor Ostiensis*.
 Their functions at these naval bases were presumably taken
 over by the prefects of the fleet stationed at Misenum and
 Ravenna. The occasion of this reform was connected with
 Claudius' project for the harbour at Ostia for which he had

appointed a *procurator portus Ostiensis*.¹⁰ It was considered that the duties of the *quaestor Ostiensis* would now be adequately covered by this new procurator and the prefect of the fleet at Misenum. Nevertheless, the total abolition of the *quaestores classici* in preference to imperial officials was a radical step and constituted yet another infringement on senatorial participation in the administration.

The duties of the aediles were also restricted under Claudius. Suetonius relates that their supervision of eating-houses was removed;¹¹ this was probably transferred to the *praefectus urbi*.¹² The aediles do not seem to have been able to cope with the situation in cook-shops and eating-houses. The latter, which had served as a spring-board for riots and disturbances, had already come under the scrutiny of previous emperors.¹³ But Claudius aimed at the total disbandment of the clubs which tended to gather at these taverns and, in order to deal with the situation promptly, he took charge of the matter himself rather than rely on the aediles who had been unsuccessful so far.¹⁴ Furthermore, the senatorial curators of public properties had proved inefficient in dealing with the problem of the enormous accumulation of statues and columns which had been unofficially erected by private individuals. The situation had been aggravated when citizens claimed as their own property the sites on which monuments had been placed. In 48 Claudius decided to settle the dispute by legislation in his capacity as censor and ordered all those encumbrances illegally erected to be cleared away.¹⁵ These two interventions by the emperor may

have been considered encroachments in the sphere of senatorial magistrates, but they both stemmed from good intentions toward the public interest.

Further instances of imperial interference were the changes in personnel in the public administration of Italy and the provinces, notably in the replacement of senatorial *curatores* by imperial procurators. For example, the *curator aquarum* was replaced by a freedman procurator on the occasion of the construction of the aqueducts Claudia and Novum Anio.¹⁶ Furthermore, the maintenance of the roads in Italy was taken out of the hands of the quaestors and transferred to the princeps' supervision; the quaestors received instead the production of gladiatorial shows.¹⁷ Under Tiberius and Gaius the *curatores viarum* had led a chequered career of inefficiency and corruption, often being accused of embezzling public funds in collusion with the state contractors.¹⁸ Once again Claudius solved the problem by assuming direct control.

In the provinces only minor changes are seen in the method of senatorial appointments. Since the time of Augustus, proconsuls had been selected by lot and given one year's tenure in office, whereas the *legati Augusti pro praetore* served until they were replaced.¹⁹ Generally speaking, both types of governors enjoyed complete independence within their provinces, but there was far more communication between the emperor and the imperial governors, who were subject to mandates, than with the proconsuls, who, in theory, could not be given directives by the princeps.²⁰ Even when the emperor

held the consulship, he was not empowered to issue orders by virtue of his *maius imperium* which he could only do if he were acting on the spot issuing direct commands to one with *imperium minus*. This did not mean, however, that the emperor had no effective control over the senatorial provinces, for the proconsuls were always eager to comply with the princeps' recommendations.²¹ As a rule, Claudius did not interfere with the rights of proconsular magistrates; communications were usually in the form of letters expressing recommendations. The imperial edicts which did affect their provinces were usually addressed to the empire as a whole and were not directed specifically to the proconsuls; for example, the edict on *uehiculatio* in 49 which relieved provincials of the burden of providing transport for the imperial postal service. This was addressed to "et colonias et municipia non solum Ita[lia]e uerum etiam prouinciarum item ciuita[t]es."²² The one exception, however, was the edict of Claudius issued to Fabius Persicus, proconsul of Asia; this is mentioned by Fabius in his own edict to the provincials which concerned the control over the administration of funds for the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus.²³ Normally, however, Claudius corresponded by letter; for example, Claudius' communication with L. Iunius Gallio, proconsul of Achaea, concerning the civil disturbances at Delphi. The proconsul appears to have written firstly to Claudius for advice, to which the emperor replied (possibly to Gallio's successor) with specific instructions.²⁴ Similarly, we find Claudius in correspondence with M. Valerius Iunianus, another

proconsul of Asia (48-49), regarding the traditional rights of the guild of Dionysiac artists in the province.²⁵ But the above can hardly be termed as direct infringements of the proconsul's authority.

In the case of prosecutions brought in the senatorial provinces there are signs of imperial interference in the judicial process. Early in his reign Claudius had taken measures against provincial maladministration by invoking a previous law forbidding proconsuls to assume a second office immediately after their term as governor; this was in order to allow provincials time to bring forward charges. Also the emperor forbade them to leave Rome immediately after their office, again to facilitate prosecution.²⁶ The reform seems to have had some effect since we hear of the prosecution of four proconsuls during this reign. In 44, Umbonius Silo, proconsul of Baetica, was prosecuted, probably for *maiestas*; he was tried before the senate, convicted, and expelled from the order.²⁷ Statilius Taurus, proconsul of Africa, was tried in 53 before the senate for *res repetundae* and *superstitiones* and Cadius Rufus, proconsul of Bithynia in 49, was convicted for *res repetundae* again before the senate after charges had been brought by the provincials.²⁸ Also during this reign Lurius Varus, a proconsul, was expelled from the senate on charges of extortion.²⁹ All four cases were heard before consuls and senate in cognitionibus extra ordinem, rather than before the regular quaestiones perpetuae. The latter stage tended to be excluded in special cases which were instead taken directly to the supreme court

of the consuls. Claudius did not interfere in any of these cases, but there were two other instances which indicate definite usurpation of proconsular jurisdiction.

In 52/53 the procurator of Bithynia, Iunius Cilo was accused by the provincials of malversation, but instead of being taken before the proconsul, he was submitted to the emperor's jurisdiction.³⁰ There was a tendency during this period for provincials to bring charges before the supreme court of appeal (the senate for the public provinces, and the emperor's tribunal for the imperial provinces) thus by-passing the court of the provincial governor.³¹ But that a case from a senatorial province should be tried directly by the emperor was quite irregular.³² This tendency, however, marked the beginning of a development which led to the emperor's complete jurisdiction over all provinces and which probably became legally formulated in the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* of 70.³³ The second case of interference concerned the province of Cyrenaica. Tacitus tells us that in 59 an Acilius Strabo was brought for trial before the senate by the Cyrenaeans for an unjust decision over the ownership of property in their province which he had made during the reign of Claudius.³⁴ The latter had originally sent Strabo with praetorian powers to settle disputes over the lands of King Apion which had been bequeathed to the Roman people in his will, but which had, in fact, been annexed as private property by some of the provincials. Strabo decided against their claims and was later prosecuted, presumably for an abuse of power since he had no authority in Cyrenaica. The senate, however,

rejected the case since it concerned an imperial agent and accordingly referred the dispute to the emperor. Clearly Claudius had encroached upon proconsular territory, but no doubt he felt justified in this case since it involved the imperial fisc and therefore necessitated the appointment of an imperial agent to settle the dispute. This was a phenomenon of Claudius' reign which finally found expression in the *senatus consultum* of 53, a decree which conferred financial jurisdiction on the emperor's procurators throughout the empire.³⁵ This meant that the proconsul's authority over finance became drastically undermined (see [ii], below).

On the other hand, there are two significant events which display Claudius' regard for proconsular integrity. Firstly, in 44 the province of Macedonia and Achaëa was returned to the senate after having been under an imperial legate since Tiberius' reign. The reason for its restoration was the easing of barbarian threats from the north; this had necessitated the stationing of legions in Macedonia to support those in Moesia. By Claudius' time, the military reinforcements were no longer required and since the province reverted to the status of *inermis* it could be returned to the senate. It should be remembered that Africa was the only senatorial province after the settlement of Augustus which had retained a legion (III Augusta). Under Gaius in 37 this legion was removed from the proconsul's command and given to a separate *legatus* who was appointed to solve the disturbances in the western part of the province.³⁶ In practice, the proconsul now merely had civil power over the old

province of Carthage, while the legate had military power over the western district of Numidia. This brings us to the second of Claudius' proconsular revisions. Since internal strife prevailed in Africa, Galba was appointed directly by Claudius as proconsul to take charge of the province as a whole in both civil and military capacities, and, furthermore, the appointment was to be for two years.³⁷ Claudius' answer to the civil disturbances in North Africa was at least more tactful than that of Gaius. Rather than appoint a special legate and thus usurp the proconsul's authority, he decided to dispense with the regular method of appointment by lot and give an extraordinary command for two years. The compromise, as well as displaying deference to the senate, resulted in a complete settlement of the disturbances and a total vindication of Claudius' policy.³⁸

In conclusion, the emperor had shown the senate a degree of respect notably in his maintenance of its prerogatives in the provinces. However, the functions of the old republican magistrates were severely curtailed under Claudius and never really recovered after his reign. The policy of abolishing senatorial *curatores* in favour of imperial procurators, albeit initiated in the interests of efficiency, deprived the senate of a major administrative concern. Moreover, the dignity of the actual magistracies was impaired by the emperor's peculiar insensitivity in the frequent grants of magisterial *ornamenta* to individuals outside the order.³⁹ But although the senate was becoming less a source of legislation and its *raison d'être* was no longer justifiable in terms of constitu-

tional function, for the time being it still served as the
chief entrepôt for experience and ability in provincial admi-
nistration, both civil and military.

(ii) Consular and Procuratorial Jurisdiction.

It has already been observed that there was a tendency for civil and criminal cases from the provinces to pass directly to Rome to be tried under the emperor or the consuls (or their delegates). Similarly, cases in Rome and Italy which were usually tried before *iudices* or magistrates by means of the *ordo iudiciorum*, under the empire tended to come before *cognitiones extra ordinem*.⁴⁰ Either magistrates themselves or *iudices extra ordinem dati* presided over such cases and since these were no longer statutable, in that they were based on a magistrate's *imperium*, appeal was possible to any official with higher authority.⁴¹ Under Claudius there was a marked increase in trials by *cognitio* and the emperor probably appointed a special freedman *a cognitionibus* to organize the cases which came before his court.⁴² Claudius himself had taken a keen interest in the general supervision of trials; it was his intention to reduce quickly and efficiently the surplus of cases which had been carried over from Gaius' reign. For this purpose he revised the court sessions which he made continuous throughout the year with a vacation only for winter.⁴³ The ordinary procedure was found to be too slow and involved for Claudius' purposes and consequently he opted for the more convenient method of trial by *cognitio*.⁴⁴ Suetonius provides us with an interesting anecdote concerning this new development; he relates that a defendant protested specifically because his case was being tried before the emperor's tribunal (i.e. by *cognitio*⁴⁵) and

not under the ordinary courts.⁴⁶ Such a remark would imply that this form of imperial jurisdiction was improper where the *ius ordinarium* was applicable. However, the practice of extraordinary trials which Claudius encouraged, later became established as the regular form of judicial procedure.

Extra ordinem jurisdiction was also extended to the consuls and praetors in certain cases. For instance, guardians for orphans could now be appointed by the consuls by this method.⁴⁷ Similarly, *fideicommissa* (trusts) at Rome were assigned to the consuls and two newly appointed *praetores fideicommissarii*, and in the provinces to the provincial governors. Originally, this jurisdiction had been delegated by the emperor to magistrates at Rome, but Claudius included this as an aspect of their own *imperium* "for all time".⁴⁸ Jurisdiction over trusts was also exercised by *cognitio* and not by the formulary method of the *ius civile*.⁴⁹

Apart from the use of *cognitiones*, Claudius interfered extensively in the ordinary execution of justice. Even if we do not take literally the more apocryphal accounts of Dio and Suetonius, we must allow a certain basis in truth for their origin. For example, Suetonius relates that Claudius did not always follow the letter of the law but altered it according to his personal sense of justice.⁵⁰ He allowed plaintiffs in civil cases who had lost their cases before a private judge, a chance for a retrial⁵¹ - quite an irregularity under the formulary procedure where the decision of the *iudex* was final and inappellable.⁵² Claudius also commuted sentences passed in the *quaestiones* which he felt were

too lenient or too severe, once more displaying a very arbitrary policy, since the *poena legitima* decided upon by the magistrate in court was based on statute and could not be altered one way or the other.⁵³

Claudius, as princeps, enjoyed a wider jurisdiction in Rome and Italy; this was probably based on his *imperium proconsulare*, a power which, in theory, placed him directly below the consuls in terms of jurisdiction. But Suetonius in distinguishing Claudius' judicial work in the consulship and his activity outside the office,⁵⁴ implies that *de iure* Claudius' consular jurisdiction was confined to the tenure of the consulship, but that in practice it was exercised throughout the reign.⁵⁵ Even when he was not the presiding magistrate, the emperor interfered in the *cognitiones* of the consuls and praetors when he sat as their assessor; accordingly, he was able to exercise influence over their decisions.⁵⁶ In Claudius' own tribunal, the most famous case was the trial of Asiaticus in 47 which was held *intra cubiculum principis*. Traditionally, Asiaticus, as a senator, was entitled to be tried before his peers in the senate, but this right was denied.⁵⁷ Claudius perhaps felt confident enough to make such an exception since he and Vitellius, who was also presiding at the trial, were consuls for that year and, therefore, held supreme jurisdiction within Rome. Technically, they might claim to have set up a type of judicial committee outside the senate; nevertheless, the incident was uncircumspect to say the least. We may conclude that the introduction of the extraordinary procedure signified a more

absolute form of jurisprudence in that it was likely to infringe upon the basic rights of the individual.

In the provinces, Claudius' policy of centralization was further witnessed by the bestowal of jurisdiction upon financial procurators. This measure, ratified by a *senatus consultum* in 53, resulted in the reduction of the provincial governor's authority in matters concerning finance, since equestrian procurators could now act independently within each province.⁵⁸ Previously, financial disputes were directed to the proconsuls, the legates, or the authorities at Rome.⁵⁹ Claudius, therefore, had made a complete break with tradition. The *senatus consultum* of 53 confirmed not only the authority of financial procurators but also that of equestrian praesidial procurators. For until this date provincial prefects had only assumed *de facto* civil jurisdictional powers after their office had lost its military function, but now these powers were to become legally established.⁶⁰ This is implied by Tacitus when he writes, in connection with Claudius' measure, about the growth of equestrian jurisdiction which began with Augustus' institution of the prefecture of Egypt⁶¹ and gradually extended to other areas:

"nam diuus Augustus apud equestres, qui Aegypto praesiderent, lege agi decretaque eorum perinde haberi iusserat, ac si magistratus Romani constituissent; mox alias per prouincias et in urbe pleraque concessa sunt, quae olim a praetoribus noscebantur."⁶²

The last sentence clearly refers to the procurators in the provinces and prefects within the city; e.g., the *praefecti annonae, uigilum, and praetorio*. Hence, the bestowal of

imperium upon non-curule magistrates initiated by Augustus was developed further by Claudius with the grant of jurisdiction to financial officials.⁶³

There has been a degree of confusion over exactly which procurators were invested with jurisdiction, and, therefore, some clarification on this matter is required. Firstly, it would be helpful to list the five different types of procurators and then to examine those which were involved in this measure.

1. Major prefects (*Aegypti, annonae, uigilum, praetorio*).
2. Praesidial procurators (e.g., of Mauretania [2], Thrace, Noricum, Rhaetia and the small non-military provinces: Corsica, Sardinia, Cappadocia, Judaea).
3. *Procuratores patrimonii*⁶⁴ (operated wherever there were imperial estates, notably in Africa, Asia, and Bithynia).
4. Financial procurators (collectors of direct and indirect taxes in the provinces).
- [5. Freedmen procurators (served in Italy or in provinces as subordinates to the above).]

The last grade does not concern us since it is generally agreed that freedmen did not receive a grant of jurisdiction.⁶⁵ We may be certain that the *senatus consultum* reconfirmed the authority of (1) and (2) and bestowed jurisdiction upon (3). The dispute among scholars is with regard to (4).⁶⁶ Of the procurators within this category, it is reasonable to assume that those who collected tribute in imperial provinces,

having taken the place of the quaestor, now acted independently in fiscal matters.⁶⁷ In senatorial provinces where the quaestor had been superseded by an imperial agent,⁶⁸ fiscal jurisdiction would have been transferred from the proconsul to the procurator.⁶⁹ It is, however, doubtful, whether procurators who collected indirect taxes (e.g., *bona caduca*, *bona damnatorum*, *hereditates*, *portoria*) exercised such jurisdiction; but since Tacitus does not mention specifically which officials received the grant, the question should remain open.

Claudius' innovation in this measure is a further indication of the policy of centralized control over financial affairs as a whole. Since he had direct supervision over all his procurators, he could acquire effective control over the finances of the senatorial provinces.

(iii) Fiscal Reforms; *Annona* and *Frumentationes*.

The major development in financial administration under Claudius was the official recognition of the imperial *fiscus* which up until this point had existed in a quasi-official capacity as the emperor's private treasury *vis-à-vis* the public treasury or *aerarium*. This is not to say that the two became officially amalgamated - far from it - but the preponderance of the *fiscus* over the *aerarium* necessitated its recognition as a financial source.⁷⁰ Under Augustus there had been a differentiation between public revenue and the emperor's private *fiscus*.⁷¹ This distinction remained under Claudius but the *fiscus* was beginning to lose its connotation of "privy purse" and was coming to mean the imperial financial system as a whole. This phenomenon was due to the incorporation into the *fiscus* of certain public revenues which had previously been directed to the *aerarium*. These moneys, however, were kept in various fisca throughout the provinces and were not yet organized into a central bureau.⁷² Therefore, although Claudius was maintaining a tighter control over finance than his predecessors had done, the *fiscus* was not yet regarded as the public treasury; this was still officially the *aerarium*.⁷³

An indication of Claudius' concern for a more efficient financial system was his decision to review the existing state of the *patrimonium*. At the beginning of the reign restrictions were placed upon the number of legacies bequeathed to the emperor; this was more a matter of policy than of

good-will.⁷⁴ In the provinces Claudius appointed special procurators to inspect the various estates which came under his ownership.⁷⁵ For example, in the edict on the Anaunian citizenship, Claudius gave instructions to his patrimonial procurators that the newly discovered imperial properties in the region of Tridentum should be properly investigated and their areas clearly defined.⁷⁶ In Baetica there is evidence that Claudius re-examined disputes between private, senatoral, and imperial territories and fixed boundary stones to establish borders once and for all.⁷⁷ We have already seen how Claudius dispatched an agent with praetorian powers to settle boundary disputes in Cyrenaica (see p.109, above): the implication in this episode is that the imperial *fiscus* was also assuming control over *ager publicus* in the provinces.

The question of whether tribute collected within the provinces was directed to the *fiscus* or to the *aerarium* is debatable; but this may be a non-question since, generally speaking, money remained within the provinces and was not transported to Rome, except as payment in kind in corn shipments from Egypt, Africa, and Sicily. Since the provincial governor used the tribute to cover his expenses, there was rarely a surplus over expenditure, but if there were, he normally handed over the balance to his successor. There was, however, no formal rendering of accounts in the provinces;⁷⁸ accordingly the same conditions would apply to the emperor as proconsul over the imperial provinces. Indeed it is known that the emperor's chief accountant, Pallas, was not liable to render account to the *aerarium* when he laid

down his office.⁷⁹

Since the time of Augustus, the princeps had been allowed to dispose of public funds, in practice if not in theory.⁸⁰ Under Claudius this practice became more or less the rule, since the emperor's personal income was becoming intricately bound up with public funds. The increased demands made upon the emperor's personal resources necessitated a reform in the existing procedures. In the case of certain public revenues, Claudius dispensed with the intermediate stage of payment into the *aerarium* and assumed them directly into the *fiscus*. Such incomes accrued from *bona damnatorum* which were now regularly assumed for imperial revenue under Claudius.⁸¹ Furthermore, in cases tried by *cognitio*, the state was now regarded as the official prosecutor, *vis-à-vis* the procedure in regular courts where there was a private prosecutor. This meant that in the case of confiscation of property, the quarter which had formerly gone to the private prosecutor, now went to the *fiscus* together with the quarter which had gone to the *aerarium*.⁸² The vast number of condemnations under Claudius, becomes more explicable in the light of this reform.⁸³ Claudius was in dire need of hard cash in order to meet the enormous expenses incurred by his public works programme, especially when it is considered that at the beginning of his reign his personal income was virtually non-existent.⁸⁴

The financial expenditure incurred during Claudius' reign can be best illustrated by his building programme. For instance, his advisers had balked at the cost estimated for the building of the port at Ostia.⁸⁵ Costly too was the completion of Gaius' aqueduct.⁸⁶ The draining of the Fucine

Lake had required the work of thirty thousand men at a cost of four hundred million sesterces.⁸⁷ This is hardly surprising when we consider that the area reclaimed for agriculture amounted to fifty thousand acres.⁸⁸ Similarly, the price had to be paid for Claudius' generosity, albeit political, in his lavish donatives and costly production of games.⁸⁹ These enormous expenses prompted Claudius to assume a more direct control over public finance.⁹⁰ Apart from the income derived from *bona damnatorum*, the *fiscus* assumed control over properties which were left with no claimants (*bona caduca*), a source of revenue which had been previously claimed by the *aerarium*. Evidence for the latter reform is provided by an inscription from Volubilis in Mauretania Tingitana. Claudius had granted the town the status of *municipium* and a number of privileges including the restitution of *bona caduca* to the citizen body. The fact that Claudius had the authority to do this, would indicate that such properties were now under his control.⁹¹ Also directed to the *fiscus* were the revenues from two indirect taxes, the *uicissima hereditatum* and the *uicissima libertatis* (five per cent tax on legacies and manumissions). The former tax had previously gone to the *aerarium militare*⁹² while the latter was a new duty instituted by Claudius. More significant was the appointment of two freedmen procurators for the collection of these taxes and the separate financial bureaux for the accounts; this enabled the princeps to have a more direct control over the revenue.⁹³ The tax on manumissions necessitated the institution of a separate *fiscus libertatis et*

peculiorum into which went five per cent of the manumission fee presented to a slave's master; it also received fees paid by imperial slaves on manumission, together with the property (*peculia*) of deceased slaves in the *familia Caesaris*.⁹⁴ In 52 Claudius introduced a further reform to ensure that potential incomes from the *peculia* of imperial slaves did not escape fiscal control (see Appendix III).

As a result of these reforms, Claudius had paved the way towards the gradual amalgamation of private and public moneys. This had been accelerated by the employment of procurators who were charged with the supervision of both public indirect taxes and private incomes to the *patrimonium*; and since both officials were imperial civil servants, there could be no real differentiation between the two bureaux. Finally, it was the increasing demand upon the *fiscus* in public expenditure which ultimately led Claudius to assume an overall control of the empire's financial system. This is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the emperor's reorganization of the grain trade.

The problem of providing Rome with sufficient grain had plagued the government since the days of the late republic. Pompey had made a noble attempt to improve regular provision in his campaigns in the Mediterranean during the 60's B.C., but his son Sextus Pompeius had also shown how an effective blockade could easily be maintained on Rome's supply. Neither Caesar, Augustus, nor Tiberius had provided a permanent solution to this problem. Their policies had been of a short-term nature in that they ensured that the price of

grain was regulated by governmental subsidies.⁹⁵ But it was left to Claudius to investigate thoroughly the existing system of provision and to introduce some long-awaited reforms. That a solution to this problem was a major priority on Claudius' agenda is indicated by the coinage during his reign. The *quadrantes* of 41 show on their obverse a corn *modius* and the *dupondii* of the same year display on their reverse the legend *CERES AVGVSTA S.C.* with a portrait of the goddess Ceres, seated and holding a torch and ears of corn.⁹⁶ In the following year (42) Rome suffered a severe famine; as a result Claudius vowed he would find a lasting solution for a regular food supply.⁹⁷

The major difficulty was that grain could only be imported during the summer and had to be stored in granaries for the rest of the year since there was far too great a risk for ships to operate during the winter months.⁹⁸ Moreover, there were insufficient harbour facilities at the mouth of the Tiber, and since Gaius' reign the tonnage of merchantmen had increased, making handling operations even more difficult.⁹⁹ Projects for building a port for the city of Rome had been pushed to one side by Claudius' predecessors because of the expense and difficulty involved.¹⁰⁰ Claudius, however, was determined in this endeavour and, ignoring protests from his financial advisers, he proceeded with the construction of the port with no expenses spared.¹⁰¹ The effects of Claudius' programme, however, were not felt during his reign, for we know that in 51 famine struck again and there were serious riots in Rome which resulted in personal

attacks upon the emperor.¹⁰² But by the year 62 regular supplies had been established to the extent that Nero could afford to dump surplus grain into the Tiber.¹⁰³

The problem of grain provision had been exacerbated during this period by the economic depression in Italy which seemed magnified by the corresponding prosperity of the surrounding provinces. Frank points out that an indication of this during Claudius' reign was the decline of Italy's erstwhile major export of Arretine pottery, otherwise known as *terra sigillata*, vis-à-vis the subsequent rise in activity of Gallic potters.¹⁰⁴ In the East, Alexandria was a booming entrepôt especially since the new trade links with India had been established.¹⁰⁵ Luxury goods, spices, and perfumes were being imported but there were no compensating exports from Rome; merchant ships returned empty. Traders, therefore, found it more profitable to deal with ports such as Alexandria where they could be assured of a return cargo. Since Claudius could not attract shippers to Italian waters with the prospect of trade, he had to resort to other incentives. Firstly, he extended to all merchants personal insurance against any losses they might incur in state contracts and he granted certain privileges to ship-builders who constructed vessels of ten thousand *modi*¹⁰⁶ and above, provided they were employed in governmental service over a period of six years.¹⁰⁷ If builders were citizens, they had exemption from the *lex Papia Poppaea*;¹⁰⁸ if they were of Latin status, they attained full citizenship; or if they were women, they received the *ius IIII liberorum*.¹⁰⁹ This policy seems to

have been aimed at freedmen in particular, for since most were *Latini Iuniani* in status, they could look forward to the prospect of gaining full citizenship with its accompanying privileges in terms both of status and law.¹¹⁰ Also possibly connected with the same programme were the new incentives offered to free provincials who joined the Roman navy. Marines were now granted citizenship on discharge after twenty-five years' service and were thus put on a par with provincials who served in the auxiliary service.¹¹¹ The fleet too played an important part in securing supplies of grain, since merchant ships required a military escort *en route* to Italy to protect them against piracy.

The second stage of Claudius' programme for promoting the shipment of grain concerned reforms in the existing body of personnel who organised operations. Until this time these had been virtually all senators who were involved in every stage of the provision and supply. This included the collection of grain from the provinces of Africa, Sardinia, Sicily, and Egypt; the actual handling operations at the bar of the Tiber; the subsequent shipment up river to Rome; the storage of grain in granaries; and finally the distribution of the corn dole to the people.¹¹² The senators involved in these operations had been the provincial governors (except in the case of Egypt), the *quaestor Ostiensis* and the various officials at the Tiber, notably the *curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis*,¹¹³ and the distributors of the *frumentationes*, the *praefecti frumenti dandi*.¹¹⁴ The senate who thus monopolised the administration also organised the

shipping contracts which were handed out to equestrians at Rome. Under Claudius there was a dramatic change in management. The emperor, having embarked on a programme of reforms which to be effective had to penetrate every concern, now proceeded to interfere in state contracts and transferred the administration from senatorial to imperial officials.¹¹⁵ Claudius' intention was to provide a completely uniform and reliable system, free from any prejudice on the part of senatorials or equestrians.

We have already observed the reforms at Ostia (see p.104, above): the *quaestor Ostiensis* had given way to a procurator who was now responsible to the *praefectus annonae* and was to deal with the new arrangements at the port. Also the programme at Ostia had required the stationing of an urban cohort to serve for police duty and as a fire-brigade.¹¹⁶ The senatorial flood controllers (*curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis ex s.c.*) were placed under the charge of an imperial prefect and, more significantly, they were no longer designated *ex s.c.*, but *ex auctoritate principis*. Also the supervision of dykes (*ad ripas Tiberis*) was now delegated to an imperial procurator.¹¹⁷ The more specialized control over the Tiber was introduced as a further attempt to deal with the serious problem of flooding which had continually plagued the city. For this reason Claudius built a canal leading from the Tiber to the port at Ostia and thus successfully reduced the water-level of the river.¹¹⁸

The actual distribution of grain to the populace had always been the prerogative of the senate. Under Augustus a

board of ex-praetors the *praefecti frumenti dandi* had been established to carry out this duty,¹¹⁹ but under Claudius these officials appear to have been abolished, if we may judge from the silence of epigraphy (see Appendix IV). The prerogative of *distribution* was now handed over to the equestrian *praefectus annonae*, a post which had previously been concerned with corn *provision* alone.¹²⁰ Claudius also reorganized the system of *frumentationes* at the Porticus Minucia; the dole was to be collected by recipients in rotation on appointed days throughout the month, rather than by the previous procedure of drawing in a body once a month.¹²¹ A final indication of the disappearance of senatorial officials was the institution of freedmen procurators at the gates of distribution at the Porticus Minucia.¹²² These officials would be directly subordinate to the *praefectus annonae* who had general supervision over the administration. The powers of the latter increased during Claudius' reign to the point where the prefect had control over the entire Mediterranean grain trade, from the supply in the provinces to the distribution at Rome.¹²³

The transference of the *frumentationes* from the senate to the emperor was of prime political importance, since it meant that the dole was now seen as a public service rendered by the emperor's generosity.¹²⁴ By means of such an expedient, Claudius was able to endear himself to the populace and gain their support against the opposition he encountered early in his reign. But apart from these political ramifications, Claudius' major concern was to provide Rome with a

regular supply of food throughout the year, and, to his credit, his programme eventually met with a resounding success although he himself did not live to see the effects.

The major effect of Claudius' reform of the *annona* was the total imperial control over the *aerarium*'s major income, the grain-tribute from Africa, Sicily, Sardinia and Egypt.¹²⁵ This was a logical progression since the *fiscus*, apart from having to meet the costs of shipment and the new harbour facilities, now had the financial responsibility of distributing the corn dole as well.¹²⁶ On the other hand, Claudius would be able to recoup the profits which accrued from the sale of excess grain in the open market. For it seems certain that as a result of the incentives offered to merchants and the improvements in handling at the bar of the Tiber, the quantity of grain imported would have far exceeded the amount required for the *frumentationes*.¹²⁷ The profits from open market selling would then be used to cover the expenditure incurred in the army and navy and the costs of the building programme.

The control of the *frumentationes* was the ultimate and logical step in Claudius' policy of centralization. The move, however, was somewhat inevitable, since even from Augustus' time imperial subsidies had eased the *aerarium*'s financial burden in providing the corn dole.¹²⁸ But it was under Claudius that decisive recognition was given to practices already inherent, but never officially recognized; the *fiscus* had openly assumed control over the grain-tribute and responsibility in financing the corn dole. The preponderance of

of the imperial chest meant that the *aerarium*, although it was officially still the public treasury, was, in effect, reduced to a subsidiary status.

CHAPTER III: FOOTNOTES

1. Dio, LIX.20.4.
2. This is based on *argumentum ex silentio* since after Gaius there is no trace of nomination by the *comitia*.
3. E.g., the *noui homines* L. Coiedius Candidus (ILS, 967; PIR², C 1257); P. Tebanus Cavidius Latiaris (PIR, T 34-35); [T.?] Domitius Decidius (ILS, 966; PIR², D 143). The latter was from the tribe Voltinia which, as we have seen, usually contained citizens from Narbonese Gaul (cf. M. Iulius Romulus, AE 1925, no.85).
4. The *aerarium* had been administered by quaestors under the republic, but under Augustus by ex-praetors elected by the senate (Suet., Aug. 36); from 23 B.C. these had been appointed by lot until Claudius' reform. See Tac., Ann. XIII.29; Dio, LX.24.1-3; Suet., Cl. 24.2.
5. Cf. ILS, 966 (see note 3, above):
 "[T.?] Do]mitio T. f. Vol. Decidio, / [III]uiro capitali, / [elect]o a Ti. Claudio Caesare / [Augus]to Germanico qui primu[s/ quaes]tor per triennium / citra [sorte]m praees set aerario Saturni, / praetori."
 Decidius was the first *quaestor aerarii* to be appointed in 44; after this office he was promoted directly to the praetorship.
6. Cf. ILS, 967 (see note 3, above):
 "L. Coiedio L. f. Ani / Candido / tr. mil. leg. VIII Aug., IIIv. / capital. quaest. / Ti. Claud. Caes. Aug. Ger., / quaest. aer. Satur., cur(atori) tab(ularum) p(ublicarum)."
 Candidus, after the military tribunate, went into the vigintivirate as *tresuir capitalis* (a variation on the usual procedure; see D. McAlindon, "Entry to the Senate", p.194); next he entered the quaestorship and the office at the *aerarium* which was presumably followed by the praetorship since he later received a praetorian post as *curator tab. pub.*
7. Collection of debts, Dio, LX.10.4; abolition of taxes, *ibid.*, LX.4.1. Other duties of these curators included supervision of the remittance of sums confiscated under Tiberius and Gaius (*ibid.*, 6.3) and the reclamation of money unlawfully distributed by Gaius (*ibid.*, 17.2). For the fines imposed by Gaius cf. Dio, LIX.15.3-5, and by Tiberius cf. Tac., Ann. III.31.7. The precedent for Claudius' board of curators may have been Tiberius' committee of three senators who had been installed to bring public accounts up to date (Dio, LVII.16.2).
8. Suet., Cl. 24.2.

9. See Momigliano, p.51. But H.F. Pelham, "Claudius and the 'Quaestura Gallica'", CR X (1896), 6-7, believes that this quaestor was a financial official in the north of Italy who was superseded by the patrimonial procurator sent by Claudius to supervise the imperial estates in that area (see the Anaunian Edict, ILS, 206). The latter, however, does not seem to have been connected with the quaestor whose duties are generally believed to have been concerned with the fleet.
10. ILS, 1533.
11. Suet., Cl. 38.2.
12. Cf. Digest I xii.1.11: "cura carnis omnis ut iusto pretio praebetur ad curam praefecturae [*sc.* urbi] pertinet et ideo et forum suarium sub ipsius cura est."
13. Tiberius had forbidden the sale of pastries (Suet., Tib. 34.1; Pliny, NH xxxiii.32); Gaius imposed heavy taxes on tavern-keepers (Dio, LX.28.8; 11.6).
14. Dio, LX.6.7.
15. ILS, 211:
 "[Ti. Claudius Caes. Aug.,/ L. Vitellius P. f./ ex] s.c./ [ce]nsores/ [l]oca a pilis et colum[nis],/ quae a priuatis¹/ possidebantur, causa/ cognita ex forma in/ publicum restituerunt."
 (1. For the new letters introduced by Claudius see Tac., Ann. XI.13.2-14; Suet., Cl. 41.3; Quintilian, Institutio oratoria, I.7.26; Priscian, Institutiones Grammaticae, I.42; R.P. Oliver, "The Claudian Letter 1", AJA LIII (1949), 249-257.)
 Claudius had encountered the same problem in 45 when he ordered the removal of a number of private statues from the city and forbade individuals from setting up their images in public (Dio, LX.25.2-3). Previously this would have been the concern of the *curatores locorum publicorum iudicandorum ex s.c.*, a body which had been instituted during Augustus' reign (Suet., Aug. 37; cf. ILS, 5939; 5940; 5941; T. Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht [3rd ed., Leipzig, 1887], vol. II, p.993, n.4). These officials appear to have been abolished either before or during Claudius' reign. In 48 their duties were executed by the censors, *ex s.c.* (see above) and in Vespasian's time by the tribunes, *ex auctoritate Caesaris* (cf. ILS, 5942). For further evidence on Claudius' programme of urban control at Rome cf. the *s.c. Hosidianum* of 45 (ILS, 6043 = FIRA, I.45); this was designed to curb the practice of profiteers who bought up individual properties only to demolish existing buildings and use the area for constructing larger estates.

16. Front., De Ag. 105. The *cura aquarum* had been assumed by Augustus in 11 B.C. (*ibid.*, 99); its supervision was given to a commission of senatorial curators.
17. Suet., Cl. 24.2. For the *cura uiarum* assumed by Augustus cf. Dio, LIV. 8; Suet., Aug. 37.
18. Corruption under Tiberius, Tac., Ann. III.31.5; under Gaius, Dio, LIX.15.3-4; LX.17.2.
19. Dio, LIII.13.2-4; 13.6-8.
20. See F. Millar, "The Emperor, the Senate, and the Provinces", JRS LVI (1966), 156-166.
21. See D. McFayden, "The Princeps and the Senatorial Provinces", CP XVI (1921), 34-50. This view is based on the assumption that the princeps did not exercise a *maius imperium proconsulare* and, therefore, was not above the senatorial proconsuls. Dio and Ulpian are the only sources who mention *maius imperium* (Dio, LIII. 32.5; Ulpian, ap. Digest I.xvi.8), but their statements are probably anachronistic and made in the light of the Severan constitution under which they were writing (see McFayden, *art. cit.*, p.35, n.4). The effective power of the princeps was based upon his *auctoritas* or influence in every sphere; this was quite different from constitutional *imperium*. Moreover, we have no reason to doubt Augustus' affirmation in Res Gestae xxxiv.3, that he had the same constitutional powers as the rest of his colleagues in the magistrature, but that he surpassed all others in *auctoritas*. Dio's statement (LIV.10.5) that Augustus received consular power for life in 19 B.C. is also incorrect; rather he received consular insignia and outward equality in rank with the consuls (cf. a similar grant made in 43 B.C.: Livy, CXVIII, epitome). Also see H.F. Pelham, "The Imperium of Augustus and his Successors", Essays on Roman History (Oxford, 1911), pp.60-88. For an opposite view supporting *maius imperium* see A.H.M. Jones, "The Imperium of Augustus", JRS XLI (1951), 112-119; and "Imperial and Senatorial Jurisdiction in the Early Principate", Historia III (1955), 464-488.
22. ILS, 214; MARE, no.51; ARS, no.177. Cf. Claudius' edict "to the rest of the world" on Jewish rights (Jos., AJ XIX.286-291).
23. F.K. Dörner, Der Erlass des Statthalters von Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus (diss., Greifswald, 1935), pp.37-40, col. ii, ll.1-4: Τιβηρίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ [Γερμανικοῦ προτρέ]/ψαντος αὐτοῦ ἐπίκριμα συμφέρον τῆι [τε Ἐφεσίων πόλει καὶ]/ ὅλη (sic) τῆι ἐπαρχείαι, ὃ ἐν Ἐφέσω προέθηκ[εν καὶ πρὸς εἰ Καλ.]/ Ἀπειλίων ἀναγραφῆναι ἐν στήλληι προε[νοήθη].

24. SIG³, 801 D (dated 52) = Smallwood, 376. See A. Plassart, "L'inscription mentionnant le proconsul Gallion", REG LXXX (1967), 372-378; he concludes that Claudius, "Informé par Gallion de la diminution, sans doute frappante, du nombre des citoyens de Delphes, a voulu qu'il fût remédié à cette situation: il était enjoint au nouveau gouverneur de faire appel aux habitants d'autres villes de sa province, invités à s'établir à Delphes pour en devenir citoyens, avec tous les privilèges attachés à ce titre" (pp.376-377). Plassart places Gallio's proconsulship May 51/52; instructions sent to Rome in April 52; Claudius' reply to new governor May/June 52. Cf. Tac., Ann. XV.73.3; Dio, LX.35.2-4; LXII.25.3; Acts of the Apostles xviii.12-17.
25. AE 1914, no.210; T. Wiegand, Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1889 (Berlin, 1914), Bd.I, hft.3, pp.381-383, no.156 (dated 48/49).
26. Dio, LX.25.4-5. See P.A. Brunt, "Charges of Provincial Maladministration under the Early Principate", Historia X (1961), 189-227.
27. Dio, LX.24.5. Since charges of *maiestas* had been technically abolished by Claudius (*ibid.*, 3.6; 4.2) the indictment against Silo may have been on different grounds.
28. Taurus, Tac., Ann. XII.59. Rufus, *ibid.*, 22.3. The latter was expelled from the senate (the normal penalty for conviction in cases of extortion; cf. Suet., Jul. XLIII.1) but was restored in 69 (Tac., Hist. I.77).
29. Tac., Ann. XIII.32.2; cf. Suet., Otho 2.2. Varus was probably proconsul of Africa or Asia and possibly the governor whose downfall is related by Dio, LX.25.4.
30. Dio, LX.33.6.
31. E.g., the dispute between Jews and Samaritans in 52; the case was given an initial hearing before the court of the governor of Syria but it was ultimately sent to Rome to be settled by Claudius. For these events see Jos., BJ II.245; AJ XX.125-136; cf. Tac., Ann. XII.54.
32. Dio's phrase (LX.33.6) δικάζοντος τοῦ Κλαυδίου seems to quell any suggestion that the emperor was acting as assessor to the consuls on a judicial committee from the senate.
33. ILS, 244; ARS, no.183.
34. Tac., Ann. XIV.18.2-3.
35. *Ibid.*, XII.60.

36. See J.P.V.D. Balsdon, The Emperor Gaius (Caligula) (Oxford, 1934), pp.154-155 and the sources cited in n.1, especially T. Mommsen, The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian (London, 1886), vol. II, p.310.
37. Suet., Galba 7.1.
38. There is no evidence for imperial legates in Numidia between the reigns of Gaius and Nero which would suggest *a priori* that this post was abolished by Claudius. Alternatively, Numidia and the African legion which was stationed there, were temporarily incorporated into the new province of Mauretania Caesariensis and placed under the control of the *procurator pro legato* (cf. AE 1924, no.66).
39. Suet., Cl. 28.
40. See Jones, "Imperial and Senatorial Jurisdiction" (note 21, above), pp.472ff..
41. Paulus ap. Digest V.i.58.
42. Cf. ILS, 1697; Apocol. 15.
43. Suet., Cl. 23.1; Galba 14.3.
44. According to Dio, LX.4.4, few cases ever went to the ordinary courts: ὀλίγα παντελῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαστηρίοις ἐπέτρεπε. This is no doubt an exaggeration but the truth of the growing prominence of *cognitiones* is undeniable.
45. The emperors' court was always in the form of a *cognitio*; cf. Suet., Aug. 93; Cl. 15.1; Nero 15.1; Domitian 8.1.
46. *Ibid.*, Cl. 15.1: "alium interpellatum ab aduersariis de propria lite negantemque cognitionis rem sed ordinarii iuris esse."
47. Justinian, Institutiones I.xx.3; Suet., Cl. 23.2.
48. Suet., Cl. 23.1. For the special praetors see Pomponius ap. Digest I.ii.2.32. For the consuls and provincial governors see Gaius, Institutiones II.278; Ulpian, Liber Singularis Regularum XXV.12; Quintilian, Inst. Or. III.vi.70. The latter source shows that application in such cases was made directly to the praetor or consul at Rome.
49. Gaius, Inst. II.278. On *fideicommissa* and *legata* see F. de Zulueta, The Institutes of Gaius (Oxford, 1953) vol. II (commentary), pp.113-119.

50. Suet., Cl. 14: "nec semper praescripta legum secutus duritiam lenitatemue multarum ex bono et aequo, perinde ut adficeretur, moderatus est."
51. *Ibid.*: "nam et iis, qui apud priuatos iudices plus petendo formula excidissent, restituit actiones."
52. Such was the case in *legitima iudicia* where judicial decisions were based on statute and not *imperium*; these included actions framed *in ius* under a set *formula* (dictated by the praetor's edict). See Gaius, Inst. IV.103-109 and Zulueta's commentary (note 49, above), pp.277-278; also Jones, "Imp. and Sen. Jurisdiction", pp.474-476. The other type of civil cases distinguished by Gaius (*loc. cit.*) were the *iudicia quae imperio continentur* which were subject to magistrates' *imperium*, and were valid for the appointing magistrate's tenure of office; as such they were subject to appeal or *exceptio rei iudicatae*.
53. Suet., Cl. 14: "et in maiore fraude conuictos legitimam poenam supergressus ad bestias condemnauit." Exposure before wild beasts was technically a legal punishment under Roman law but that did not justify Claudius' interference in the judicial process.
54. *Ibid.*: "ius et consul et extra ordinem laboriosissime dixit." The consulship was held four times during Claudius' reign, in 42, 43, 47, and 51; see Degrassi, pp. 12-14.
55. The *imperium* which Claudius exercised in Rome and Italy was by virtue of his proconsular office which emperors were allowed to hold within the *pomerium*. By means of this *imperium* he could command the cohorts of the praetorian guard, the night watch, and the urban troops and in the same way he could delegate authority to his prefects in the city; cf. Dio, LIII.17. See Jones, "Imperium of Augustus" (note 21, above), p.118.
56. Suet., Cl. 12.2; Dio, LX.4.4. The cases were usually concerned with financial matters, an area always closely scrutinized by Claudius.
57. Tac., Ann. XI.2.1.
58. Suet., Cl. 12.1; Tac., Ann. XII.60.1: "eodem anno saepius audita uox principis, parem uim rerum habendam a procuratoribus suis iudicaturum, ac si ipse statuisset."
59. Cf., under Tiberius, Dio, LVII.23.5; Tac., Ann. IV.6.3-4 (fiscal disputes tried before regular law-courts); *ibid.*, 15.2 (procuratorial authority confined to imperial estates).

60. The *de facto* powers already exercised by procurators are implied by Tacitus' phrase (Ann. XII.60.1) "Senatus quoque consulto cautum plenius quam *antea* et uberiorius" - "provision was made [for the procurators' jurisdiction] on a more extensive and fuller basis than *previously* by a decree of the senate as well" (my emphasis).
61. For the powers of this equestrian officer cf. Tac., Ann. II.59.3; Ulpian ap. Digest I.xvii.1. Also see O.W. Reinmuth, "The Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian", Klio, Beiheft XXXIV (Aalen, 1963).
62. Tac., Ann. XII.60.2.
63. For a discussion of the passage in question see D. Stockton, "Tacitus *Annals* XII.60: A Note", Historia X (1961), 116-120; R. Seager, "Tacitus *Annals* XII.60", Historia XI (1962), 377-379; F. Millar, "Some Evidence on the Meaning of Tacitus *Annals* XII.60", Historia XIII (1964), 180-187, and "The Development of Jurisdiction by Imperial Procurators; Further Evidence", Historia XIV (1965), 362-367. See also P.A. Brunt, "Procuratorial Jurisdiction", Latomus XXV (1966), 461-489; R. Besnier, "Les procurateurs provinciaux pendant le règne de Claude", RBPh XXVIII (1950), 439-459.
64. E.g., Tac., Ann. XIII.1.2: "ministri fuere P. Celer eques Romanus et Helius libertus, rei familiari principis in Asia impositi."
65. See Stockton and Seager on Tac. Ann. XII.60 (note 63, above); also Sherwin-White, "Procurator Augusti", p.21, n.67. For different views see Millar, "Some Evidence" (note 63, above) p.187, and Brunt, "Procuratorial Jurisdiction" (note 63, above), pp.461-462, who believe that freedmen were not excluded from Claudius' measure.
66. Mainly because, apart from Tacitus' statement, there is no further evidence for cases of procuratorial jurisdiction under Claudius and no indication of the empire-wide jurisdictional powers which are found later; cf. Pliny, Panegyricus 36; Suet., Dom. 12.2; FIRA, I.49; Plutarch, Galba 4.1; Ulpian, ap. Digest I.16.9. pr: "nec quicquam est in provincia quod non per ipsum [*sc.* proconsulem] expediatur. sane si fiscalis pecuniaria causa sit, quae ad procuratorem principis respicit, melius fecerit, si abstineat." The conclusions of other scholars range from the belief that Claudius' measure was confined to patrimonial procurators alone (so Millar, "Development of Jurisdiction" [note 63, above]) to the theory that it included revenue collectors of both direct and indirect taxes (so Brunt "Procuratorial Jurisdiction" p.487).
67. For the functions of these procurators cf. Dio, LIV.21.3-6; Strabo, III.4.20 = C 167.

68. E.g., the procurator in Achaëa (AE 1919, no.5) and the procurator in Bithynia and Pontus (Tac. Ann. XII.21; Dio, LX.31.6). During Claudius' reign the latter province appears to have been under the dual control of procurator and proconsul. This is confirmed by numismatic evidence: legends on coins found in Bithynia record the names of both senatorial and equestrian officials. See C.T. Seltman, "The Administration of Bithynia under Claudius and Nero", NC⁵ VIII (1928), 100-103; F.M. Heichelheim, "Attius Laco, the Proconsul, and Iunius Gilo, the Procurator, in Bithynia", AJA XLVIII (1944), 176-177.
69. For this view see Momigliano, p.45; Scramuzza, p.124.
70. On the question of imperial and public finances under the Julio-Claudians see the following: H. Last, "The 'Fiscus': A Note", JRS XXXIV (1944), 51-59; C.H.V. Sutherland, "'Aerarium' and 'Fiscus' during the Early Empire", AJPh LXVI (1945), 151-170, and "Claudius and the Senatorial Mint", JRS XXXI (1941), 70-72; A.H.M. Jones, "The Aerarium and the Fiscus", JRS XL (1950), 22-29; F. Millar, "The Fiscus in the First Two Centuries", JRS LIII (1963), 29-42, and "The Aerarium and its officials under the Empire", JRS LIV (1964), 33-40; P.A. Brunt, "The 'Fiscus' and its development", JRS LVI (1966), 75-91.
71. Cf. Dio, LIII.22.4: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐτ' εἴ ποτε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τι χρημάτων ὁ ἀεὶ κρατῶν ἔλαβεν, οὐτ' εἴ ποτε αὐτὸς ἔδωκε, γνῶμην ἔχω συγγράψαι.
72. See Momigliano, p.106, n.12; Rostovtzeff in RE, s.v. "Fiscus", VI, coll. 2389-2391. M.P. Charlesworth, CAH X, p.687, takes the opposite view, *viz.*, that the *fiscus* was a central treasury. The main difficulty in assessing this question is in evaluating the terminology used by our sources. E.g., an inscription from Arcadia, dated 41-2 (IG, V.516 = Smallwood, 404), mentions the city of Lykosoura which honoured a man Nicasippus who paid the city's debt to the *fiscus* (ll.14-16, τῶν τε χρημάτων μὴ πεσόντων τοῖς μυστηρίοις, ἀπέδωκεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου βίου τῶι φίσκω). This does not necessarily mean that he paid to a central *fiscus* at Rome, but simply to the provincial fisc which was supervised by the provincial procurator. *Fiscus* seems to have had three different meanings: the emperor's privy purse; the provincial fisc; and the overall financial administration. Cf. the passages in Pliny which illustrate the different usages of this word: NH vi.84; xii.112-113; xviii.114.
73. Cf. Sen., De Beneficiis VII.6.3: "Caesar omnia habet, fiscus eius priuata tantum ac sua; et uniuersa in imperio eius sunt, in patrimonio propria."

74. Dio, LX.6.3; cf. Pliny, Ep. X.70.2-4; CIL, VI.27032. Generally, the policy of emperors was not to accept legacies from persons who had surviving children. See R.S. Rogers, "The Roman Emperors as Heirs and Legatees", TAPhA LXXVIII (1947), 140-158.
75. Cf. ILS, 1489 (*procurator patrimonii*); 1643 (*tabularius rationis patrimonii*). For an indication of the intricate organization of personnel within imperial estates in Egypt cf. P Mich. V.244, ed. A.E.R. Boak (dated 43); see also Boak, "An Ordinance of the Salt Merchants", AJPh LVIII (1937), 210-219.
76. ILS, 206 (cf. MARE, no.49; LR, pp.130-131), ll.13-21; "et postea/ detulerit Camurius Statutus ad me agros plerosque// et saltus mei iuris esse: in rem praesentem misi/ Plantam Iulium amicum et comitem meum, qui/ cum, adhibitis procuratoribus meis qui{s}que in alia/ regione quique in uicinia erant, summa cura inquisierit et cognouerit, cetera quidem, ut mihi demons// trata commentario facto ab ipso sunt, statuat pronuntietque ipsi permitto."
77. ILS, 5971 (see Scramuzza, p.123).
78. Augustus had rendered account in his will but after this such practice became very rare: Suet., Aug. 101; Tac., Ann. I.11.4; Dio, LVI.33.2.
79. Tac., Ann. XIII.14.1: "sane pepigerat Pallas, ne cuius facti in praeteritum interrogaretur paresque rationes cum re publica haberet."
80. Dio, LIII.22.3-4.
81. Cf. O.Hirschfeld "Der Grundbesitz der römischen Kaiser in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten", Klio II (1902), pp.56-58.
82. Tac., Ann. IV.20.1-2. Usually the remaining half of the property went to the dependants of the condemned person; cf. *ibid.*, III.17.4; IV.20.2; Digest, XLVIII.xx.1 and 7, pr. See A.H.M. Jones, The Criminal Courts of the Roman Republic and Principate (Oxford, 1972), p.110.
83. See T. Frank, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome (Baltimore, 1940), vol. V, p.42. Examples of lucrative confiscations under Claudius: Lucullan gardens of Asiaticus (Tac., Ann. XI.1.1); Lamian gardens at Rome (CIL, VI.8668); gardens of Lollia Paulina (CIL, VI.31284-31285; Tac., Ann. XII.22); gardens of Statilius Taurus (*ibid.*, XII.59; see Hirschfeld, "Grundbesitz" [note 81, above], p.58, n.3).

84. Suet., Cl. 9.2.
85. Dio, LX.11.3.
86. Pliny, NH xxxvi.122; Front., De Aq. 14; Suet., Cl. 20.1. The aqueduct, forty-six miles in length, was completed in fourteen years at an estimated cost of 350 million sesterces.
87. Estimated by Frank, Economic Survey (note 83, above), V, p.42; cf. Suet., Cl. 20, 1-2; 21.6; Tac., Ann. XII.56-57; Pliny, NH xxxvi.124; cf. Scramuzza, p.174.
88. Frank, Economic Survey V, p.42, n.22; cf. ILS, 302; Strabo, V.3.13.
89. Suet., 10.4; 20; 21; Dio, LX.7.3. Donatives and *congiaria* amounted to about sixty million sesterces (Dio, LX.25.7; cf. Res Gestae xv.4 [300 HS. x 200,000 citizens who received the dole]; cf. Tac., Ann. XII.41.1; Suet., Nero 7.2). Claudius spent 760 thousand HS on the *ludi Romani* (CIL, I.248) and 380 thousand HS on the Apollinares (*ibid.*). The donative to the troops on his accession was, on a conservative estimate, 90 million HS (Suet., Cl. 10.4, i.e., with an estimation of six thousand for the strength of praetorian cohorts, and with the exclusion of the urban troops). For Claudius' relations with the people of Rome, see Z. Yavetz, Plebs and Princeps (Oxford, 1969), pp.118-120.
90. The basic expenditure of the Claudian principate (see notes 85-89, above) was as follows:

donatives to people	60,000,000 HS
donatives to troops	90,000,000 HS
games and circuses	760,000 HS
	380,000 HS
aqueduct	350,000,000 HS
Fucine lake	400,000,000 HS
TOTAL	<u>901,140,000 HS</u>

The greatest drain on Claudius' financial resources was the construction of the new port at Ostia, the cost of which remains incalculable.

91. CRAI 1915, pp.394-7 (= AE 1916, no.42; MARE, no.53), II.14-17: "bona ciuium bel//lo interfectorum quorum here/des non extabant suis impetra/uit." Claudius also rescinded Volubilis' taxes for ten years and granted the *ius conubii* to its citizens; cf. CRAI 1924, pp.77-78 = Smallwood, 407(a).
92. See Hirschfeld, Verwaltungs., p.99, n.2. Callistratus, ap. Digest, XL.xv.4, records that under Claudius there was a statute of limitations (five years under Nerva)

after which the property of the deceased was not subject to taxation.

93. ILS, 1546 (the earliest documentary evidence for such procurators): "d. M./ Ti. Claudii / Aug. liberti / Saturnini / proc. XX here(ditatum) / prouinciae / Achaiae, / et Saturnina coniunx f."

The tax was probably introduced on a world-wide basis, although the only evidence under Claudius is from Achaea. Cf. ILS, 1689 which records a freedman of Claudius, *a commentariis rationis hereditatum*, i.e. a junior official in the special bureau for this revenue.

There are two pieces of evidence (again the earliest we have) for the *uicissima libertatis*: CIL, VI.8450 A: "Matia Terti Ti. Claudio / Aug. [lib.] Prīmiano tabular(r)io / [f(isci) lib(ertatis)] et peculiorum." CIL, VI.8451: "Epaphra. Aug. / l(ibertus) Atticianus / tabular. Caesar. XX / lib." (possibly of Claudian date; for later examples of this tax cf. ILS, 1521, 1522).

94. CIL, VI.8450 A (see note 93, above).
95. Augustus, Suet., Aug. 42.3; Tiberius, Tac., Ann. II.87. The policy was continued by Nero (*ibid.*, XV.39.2).
96. *Quadrantes*, BMC, Emp. I, Claudius, nos. 173, 179, 180; *Dupondii*, *ibid.*, nos. 136, 137; RIC I, Claudius, no.67.
97. Dio, LX.11.1.
98. *Ibid.*, 11.2.
99. See C. Torr, Ancient Ships (Chicago, 1964), pp.26-30.
100. Cf. Suet., Cl. 20.1: Julius Caesar had been forced to abandon the project for a port at Ostia because of the difficulties involved.
101. Dio, LX.11.3-4; Suet., Cl. 20.3.
102. Tac., Ann. XII.43; Suet., Cl. 18.2.
103. Tac., Ann. XV.18.2.
104. Frank, Economic Survey V, pp.192-193.
105. Trade with India had started with Augustus (Strabo, XVII.1.13) and the route from Italy to India via the Red Sea soon became established (Pliny, NH vi.106, 168; Sen., NQ i, pr.13). The increase in eastern trade during this period is witnessed by the customs stations set up by Claudius to levy duties on luxury goods imported from Arabia and India; e.g., at Gaza (Pliny, NH xii.63-65), and at Leuce Come (a harbour at the northern end of the

- Red Sea). Also to facilitate the voyage to India Claudius occupied a port at the southern end of the Red Sea, Arabia Eudaemon; see Pliny, NH vi.84; CIG, 5075; Scramuzza, pp.177, 300 (n.126). In general see M.P. Charlesworth, "Roman Trade with India: A Resurvey", Studies in Roman Economic and Social History (New York, 1969), pp.131-143.
106. I.e., over seventy-five tons; see Miltner in RE, s.v. "Seewesen", suppl. V, col. 922.
107. Suet., Cl. 18.2-19.
108. Passed in 9 A.D. as a supplement to the *lex de maritandis ordinibus* (cf. Suet., Aug. 34); it imposed various restrictions upon the divorced, the unmarried, and the childless.
109. Cf. Dio, LV.2.4-6.
110. Gaius, Inst. I.32c: "item edicto Claudii Latini ius Quiritum consequuntur, si nauem marinam aedificauerint quae non minus quam X milia modiorum frumenti capiat, eaque nauis, uel quae in eius locum substituta sit, sex annis frumentum Romam portauerit"; cf. Ulpian, Reg. III.6. Many freedmen were *Latini Iuniani*, i.e., slaves who had been manumitted without full compliance with legal procedure; see Steinwenter in RE, s.v. "Latini Iuniani", XII, coll. 910ff.; cf. Gaius, Inst. I.29, 30; III.63. Tenney Frank suggests (in "Notes on Roman Commerce", JRS XXVII (1937), 72-79) that the *ius Quiritum* which was offered to freedmen of Latin status was even more comprehensive than the rights of freedmen who had been legally manumitted: normally citizen freedmen were still subject to the patrons' rights over their property (cf. Gaius, Inst. III.72), but the *ius Quiritum* offered by Claudius could mean complete emancipation.
111. ILS, 1986 (dated 52). This is the first record of the so-called military diploma, received on discharge from the fleet, which became common later in the empire.
112. See T.F. Carney, "The Emperor Claudius and the Grain Trade", Studies presented to H.L. Gonin (Pretoria, 1971), pp.41, 44.
113. A commission of five senators appointed by Tiberius and designated *ex s.c.* after the disastrous floods of 15 A. D.; cf. Dio, LVII.14.7-8; Tac., Ann. I.76.1; ILS, 5893; 5925; 2927; CIL, XIV.4704.
114. A board set up by Augustus initially of two, then of four ex-praetors chosen by lot and established *ex s.c.* (Dio, LIV.1.3-4; 17.1; cf. ILS, 907; Front., De Aq. 100; Suet., Aug. 37; Res Gestae v.2). On these prefects in

- general see Kornemann in RE, s.v. "Curatores", IV, coll. 1779ff..
115. See Carney, "Grain Trade", (note 112, above), p.44.
116. Suet., Cl. 25.2.
117. Imperial prefect, ILS, 5004. Abolition of title *ex s.c.*, ILS, 5926. Superintendent of dykes, CIG 3991 = ILS, 8848 (ἐπίτροπος Καίσαρος πρὸς ὄχθαις Τιβέρεως). For supervision of Tiber under Augustus and Tiberius cf. Suet., Aug. 37; Dio, LIV.1.1; and note 113, above.
118. ILS, 207 (dated 46):
 "Ti. Claudius Drusi f. Caesar / Aug. Germanicus pontif. max., trib. potest. VI, cos. design. IIII, imp. XII, p.p., / fossis ductis a Tiberi operis portu[s] / caussa emissisque in mare urbem / inundationis periculo liberavit."
 Cf. R. Meiggs, Roman Ostia (2nd edition, Oxford, 1973), pp.55, 159, 488.
119. See note 114, above.
120. Augustus had originally appointed a board of ex-consuls for the supervision of the grain supply in 6 A.D. (Dio, LV.26.2; 31.4) and later he instituted the equestrian *praefectura annonae*. As far as we know, the first man to occupy this post was C. Turranius (Tac., Ann. I.7.2); the prefect also had civil and criminal jurisdiction in cases arising from commercial transactions.
121. Indicated in three important inscriptions: ILS, 6069; 6070; 6071. Cf. O. Hirschfeld, "Die Getreideverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit", Philologus XXIX (1870), pp.1ff.
122. ILS, 6071 records a freedman *curator de Minucia*. For later examples of this procuratorship, cf. ILS, 2728; 1396. See Hirschfeld, "Getreideverwaltung", p.53; also Verwaltungs., p.238ff.
123. References in Seneca's De Breuitate Vitae 18-19 (written ca. 49) confirm that the *praefectus annonae* (Pompeius Paulinus, to whom the work was dedicated), had empire-wide powers; e.g. (18.3), "tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras tam abstinenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas."
124. See K.J. Marquardt, De l'organisation financière chez les romains (2nd ed., Paris, 1888), p.179.
125. This is certain since even the tribute grain from the imperial province of Egypt had gone to the *aerarium*;

cf. Velleius, II.39.2.

126. See D. van Berchem, Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'empire (Geneva, 1939), p.72; Momigliano, p.49; Carney, "Grain Trade", p.51.
127. See Frank, Economic Survey V, p.219; he estimates that the amount of grain required annually to feed Rome's population was ca. 14,400,000 *modii*. This would have been covered adequately by the Egyptian export to Rome of 20,000,000 *modii* (Aurelius Victor, Epit. I.6).
128. See note 95, above.

CONCLUSIONS

The political climate at the time of Claudius' accession was full of bitterness and resentment after the failure of the attempted restoration of the republic. The motto of the principates of Augustus and Tiberius had been *RESPUBLICA RESTITVTA*,¹ in their programme of masking *de facto* absolutism behind a facade of constitutionalism. Claudius, however, was left no such alternative since his elevation to the principate by the praetorians in defiance of the senate signified the quietus of republican freedom. In short, the more equitable name of *princeps*, the rubric of the Augustan régime, was replaced by the more authoritarian title of *imperator*; this was witnessed by the reverse legends *IMPER(ATOR) RECEP(VS)* and *PRAETOR(IANI) RECEP(I)*, printed on the gold and silver issues for 41.² The principate required a new image of openness and honesty which would reveal the true nature of the emperor's position in relation to senate, people, and provinces. Claudius decided the time had come to reveal the autocracy in its fullest colours, but also to stress that it had a beneficent purpose for the advantage of all men, rather than an arbitrariness confined to personal use, as the reign of Gaius had so clearly illustrated.

But in many ways Claudius' new condition involved paradoxes which must have confused his colleagues in the senate. Initially, the emperor asked for its active co-operation in sharing governmental responsibilities, but at the same time he radically reduced its participation in many spheres of the

administration. This contradiction stemmed from an inherent conflict in Claudius' personality between innovation and conservatism. The most explicit example of this is the emperor's speech on the Gallic citizenship in which he was at pains to reconcile Rome's traditional conservatism with his own innovative policy of extending the citizenship.³ In his upbringing Claudius was a conservative and traditionalist, but when he was suddenly elevated to the position of princeps and was faced with the practical demands of administration, he developed a more radical approach towards governmental policy.

The ideals which he had treasured earlier in life were pushed to one side and expediency became the prime motivator. In two major spheres, the judiciary and the administration, decisive imperial interference was brought to bear: the princeps' *imperium* was extended to cover jurisdiction within Italy as well as in Rome and was, in practice, established on an equal basis with that of the consuls. In the administration of Italy and the provinces, Claudius abolished senatorial *curatores* and appointed in their place equestrian officials in whom were invested full legal powers. There was no constitutional basis whatsoever for these measures, but during Claudius' reign the insistence upon constitutionalism, which figured so highly under Tiberius, was no longer a priority. The senate had finally bowed its head in subservience to the principate after it had failed to establish an oligarchy by military revolt and conspiracy in an attempt to reclaim its supremacy in the state. Senatorial puissance was no longer an issue after Claudius' display of imperial absolutism in the censorship of 48 --

again paradoxically, Claudius had used one of Rome's most austere institutions as an instrument for subversive measures. Moreover, as a result of the series of condemnations during the course of the reign, the old aristocracy had been virtually reduced to a nadir. A new imperial class was in the ascendant which comprised many *nouï homines* and senators from the western provinces. The latter were encouraged to co-operate fully with the principate and to comply with the modifications of their role in government. Claudius' new formula emphasized that the senatorial order was no longer associated with the business of administration and that its main function was to provide men for the more dignified positions of state, *viz.*, the provincial governorships and the magistracies at Rome. Claudius had thus reached a compromise which both maintained the senate's theoretical supremacy and provided a solution to the problem of establishing an efficient administration: the day-to-day business of the empire could be adequately conducted by the freedmen and equestrians who formed part of the new imperial civil service. Although the senate's authority was to be more theoretical than practical, this did not mean that its function was any less important: the senate was still regarded as the supreme body in the judiciary and it symbolized, as in republican times, the sovereignty of the Roman state. The major consolation which the senate could find in Claudius' principate was a sense of security and the reassurance of its *raison d'etre* which had been threatened during the reign of Gaius; also a release from the confusion and misunderstanding which had resulted from the equivocal arrangements of Augustus

and Tiberius. Under Claudius the senate at least knew exactly where it stood in terms of both function and duty.

The essence of Claudius' administration was to encourage individuals throughout the empire to participate in the new imperial civil service. This is evident in Claudius' bestowal of procuratorships upon equestrians from both eastern and western districts, a policy which helped to maintain the unity and balance necessary for the empire's stability. In general, Claudius redirected his attention from Italy towards the provinces in order to induce a spirit of internationalism. His intention was to break down national barriers and to encourage the upper classes within the provinces to regard themselves as an integral part of Rome's empire.⁴ In this respect, the famous jibe recorded in Apocolocyntosis may not have been as exaggerated as most people have thought - "constituerat enim omnes Graecos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos togatos uidere."⁵

In conclusion, the policy of centralization had disclosed the absolutism of the Claudian principate in full, but it also revealed that the princeps' power could be adapted to a purely functional use in the interests of universal progress. The attitude of provincials towards Claudius would certainly confirm this interpretation, if we may judge from the numerous dedicatory inscriptions to the emperor.⁶ From one point of view, these dedications, expressing profound gratitude for the renewed prosperity in the provinces, can be put down to pietism and blandishment. But perhaps a less cynical approach (although some will call it naïveté) should be adopted. For instance, when the citizen from Laertes in

Cilicia Tracheia set up his dedication to Claudius, he was probably sincere when he referred to him as "the saviour and restorer of the universe."⁷ Claudius had restored order to the world after the despotic rule of Gaius, and, in another context, he had restored the foundations of Rome's government to the extent that it became more centralized, bureaucratic, and efficient. Claudius' reforms, however, probably did not counteract the abuses which already existed in the administration and possibly opened up the way for even more. We know that this problem was very close to the emperor's heart when he lamented "the wickedness of men" who always tried to thwart his plans for the public good.⁸ Whether Claudius' administration served Rome for the better or worse is hard to estimate: certainly his governmental arrangements were final and irrevocable in that they formed the basis of the intricate bureaucracy which was to crystallize in the second century. But he had neither foreseen nor intended such a development. Perhaps all we can assert is that Claudius performed as well as could be expected in a position for which he was neither trained nor suited, and that to some extent he fulfilled Rome's hope for a principate which was adapted to the beneficent service of her people.

CONCLUSIONS: FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Res Gestae i and xxxiv; Tac., Ann. IV.9.1.
2. BMC, Emp. I, Claudius, nos. 5, 8-10; RIC I, Claudius, nos. 22, 38. See Sutherland CRIP, pp.126ff.; and "Claudius and the Senatorial Mint", p.72. Under Augustus the title *imperator* had been suppressed in the propaganda policy after 27 B.C. when emphasis was given to the princeps' *auctoritas* rather than to his *imperium* as the basis of his power in the state. See M. Grant From 'Imperium' to 'Auctoritas'" (Cambridge, 1969), pp.440-442. For Claudius' use of the title *imperator* see Introduction, note 14.
3. ILS, 212, col. i, 11.2-7: "Equidem primam omnium illam cogitationem hominum, quam / maxime primam occursuram mihi prouideo, deprecor, ne / quasi nouam istam rem introduci exhorrescatis, sed illa // potius cogitetis, quam multa in hac ciuitate nouata sint, et / quidem statim ab origine urbis nostrae in quo<t> formas / statusque res p. nostra diducta sit."
4. See T.F. Carney, Bureaucracy in Traditional Society (Kansas, 1971), p.52.
5. Apocol. 3; cf. J.M.K. Martin, "Seneca the Satirist", G&R XIV (1945), 64-71, for the treatment of Claudius in this work. For Claudius' policy with regard to citizenship see Sherwin-White, Roman Citizenship, p.237 ff. and for the numerous colonies established during Claudius' reign see Momigliano, pp.64-65. For Claudius' bestowal of citizenship upon individuals, cf. Dio, LX.7.2; H. Box, "Roman Citizenship in Laconia", JRS XXI (1931), p.205. Claudius did, however, insist that all Roman citizens should have a thorough knowledge of Latin; cf. Dio, LX.17.4; Suet., Cl. 16.2; 25.3. See May, "Notes complémentaires sur les actes de l'empereur Claude," pp.110-114.
6. See V.M. Scramuzza, "Claudius Soter Euergetes", HSPH LI (1940), 261-266.
7. G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford, "Sites Old and New in Rough Cilicia", AS XII (1962) p.197, no.13:

[Αβτ]οκράτορα
 [Τιβ]έρτιον Κλαύδιον
 [Καίσαρα Σεβαστ[ό]ν
 Γερμανικόν, τὸν σ[ω] -
 τῆρα καὶ κτίστην τοῦ
 κόσμου, Πολέμων
 Νοῦ Ὀλυμπιονίκης

N.B. the title of *imperator* in line 1; see note 2, above.

8. ILS, 214 (dated 49-50), the edict of Claudius on the public post which promised to alleviate provincials from the burden of providing transport along the postal routes within their province:

"T[i.] Claudius Caesar Aug. / G[erm]anicus pontif. max., / trib. potest. VIII, imp. XVI, p.p., dicit. Cu[m]et colonias et municipia non solum // Ita[lia]e, uerum etiam prouinciarum, item / ciuita[t]es cuiusque prouinciae leuare oneribu[s] ueh[icula]rum praebendorum saepe tem[ptat]issim[um] / [et] cu[m] sati[s] multa remedia inuenisse m[ichi] uiderer, p[ro]t[er] t[ame]n nequitiae hominum [non satis per ea occurri ----]."

On Claudius' policy of curbing abuses in the provinces see D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor (Princeton, 1950) vol. I, pp.541ff.

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APPENDIX I: THE STRUCTURE OF THE *CVRSVS*

PRINCEPS*

LIBERTI	EQVITES	SENATORES
A RATIONIBVS AB EPISTVLIS A LIBELLIS	PR. AEGYPTI PR. PRAETORIO	CONSVLES* PR. VRBI* PROCONSVLES LEGATI AVG. ¹ (<i>consulares</i>)
PROXIMI	PR. ANNONAE	LEGATI AVG. ¹ (<i>praetorii</i>) ¹
MELLOPROXIMI	PR. VIGILVM	LEGATI LEGIONIS PRAETORES
A COMMENTARIIS TABVLARII DISPENSATORES LIBERTI AVG. (<i>procuratores</i>)	PROCVRATORES AVG. 1. praesidial ¹ 2. financial 3. patrimonial	CVRATORES EX S.C. (FRUMENTI, ALVEI TIB., LOC. PVBLICORVM) AEDILES
ADIVTORES VICARII	AD LEGATIONES AD RESPONSA GRAECA	TRIBVNI PLEBIS QVAESTORES
TABELLARIIS CVSTODES AEDITVI VILICI (sub-clerical)	PR. ALAE TRIB. MILITVM (<i>angusticlauis</i>) PR. COHORTIS PR. FABRVM	TRIB. MILITVM (<i>laticlauis</i>) VIGINTIVIRI ² (<i>III uiri aere argento auro flando ferundo; X uiri (st)litibus iudi- candis; IV uiri uiarum curandarum; III uiri capitales</i>)

*Heads of Jurisdiction.

NOTES:

¹Imperial provinces and the status of their governors under Claudius: *legati Augusti pro praetore* (consular): Pannonia, Moesia, Britain, Syria
legati Augusti pro praetore (praetorian): Lycia-Pamphylia, Galatia, Cilicia, Hispania (2), Gallia (3), Germania (2), Illyricum
procuratores Augusti (equestrian): Judaea, Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana, Thrace, Noricum, Rhaetia, Cappadocia, Sardinia.

²The senatorials who were destined for military offices were usually recruited from the *III uiri a.a.a.f.f.* or *IV uiri*

uiarum curandarum. See E. Birley, "Senators in the Emperors' Service", pp.202-204; also D. McAlindon, "Entry to the Senate", p.195 for the social divisions within the vigintivirate.

APPENDIX II: THE *TRIBVNATVS MILITVM*: FURTHER EVIDENCE
FOR CLAUDIUS' REFORM

Suetonius, Claudius 25.1: "equestris militias ita ordinavit,
ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum legionis daret."

There are four inscriptions attributed to the reign of
Claudius which illustrate this reform.

(i) ILS, 2681:

... tío P. f. Ani Varo
[pra]ef. fabr., praef. cohort. German.,
[pra]ef. equit., trib. mil. legionis V

According to H. Dévijver¹ this dates to the middle of the
first century since it bears a similar style to other inscrip-
tions dated to this period (cf. CIL, V.2160; X.3871; XI.
6964; XIV.2105; AE 1938, no.173): the main feature is the
lack of precision in naming the *ala*.

(ii) CIL, V.4068:

Sex. Caecilio
Sex. f. Sab.
Senecioni, IIII uir.
bis, ponti.,
praef. fabr.,
praef. coh.,
praef. equ.,
ala Hispanorum pra.

This is an inscription dedicated by a Spanish *ala* to its
prefect; again the imprecision in naming *ala* and cohort de-
notes an early date.

(iii) AE, 1966, no.124:

L. Domitio M. f.
Pob. Seuero,
praef. coh. Camp.,
praef. alae Aurean.,
Hispan. I, trib. mil. leg. XX,
IIII uir. i.d., flam. design.,
ala Aurean. Hispan. I.

Here there is more precise documentation but the commentator on the above mentions that the placing of the number of the *ala* after the name of the corps is a sign of archaism and the fact that *legio XX* is without the title Valeria Victrix is another sign of early dating. (The twentieth legion had been serving in Britain since 43.)

(iv) CIL, II.4239:

M. Porcio
M. fil Gal(eria)
Narbonensi,
trib. mil. leg. XXII,
praef. alae T(h)rac(um)
Herc(u)lan(ae), praef.
orae maritimae,
flamini diuorum Aug.
prouinciae Hisp. Citer.
[P(rouincia) H(ispania) C(iterior)]

Dévijsver² argues for a Claudian dating; he maintains that the order of equestrian posts held by Narbonensis corresponds exactly to Claudius' reform if we allow that the post of *praefectus orae maritimae* was equivalent to post of *praefectus cohortis*. This hypothesis is supported by substantial evidence; cf. ILS, 2714; 2715; 2716; 2717; 2672; CIL, II.4217; 4224; AE 1948, no.3. Since the post of *praefectus orae maritimae* was held first, the order of the inscription is descending. The flamenship must have been appended at the end of the list to signify the crown of the career and does not, therefore, interfere with the descending order. G. Alföldy believes that the *terminus post quem* for the inscription is 70;³ but even if the flamenship were held in 70, it is unlikely that it came immediately after the tribunate and it was probably assumed some years later after a series of administrative

posts. The military posts would, therefore have been held under Claudius. Hence Alföldy concludes:⁴ "Es war keineswegs die Regel, dass der Flaminat sofort, ohne Intervall, auf die Offizierslaufbahn folgte. Alles in allem ist es gut möglich, dass die militärische Laufbahn des Narbonensis unter Kaiser Claudius, und *im Sinne der claudischen Ordnung* begonnen hat" (my emphasis).

NOTES:

¹H. Dévijver, "Suétone, Claude, 25, et les milices équestres", AncSoc I (1970), p.70-71.

²Dévijver, "The Career of M. Porcius Narbonensis (CIL, II. 4239)", AncSoc III (1972), 165-191.

³Ap. Dévijver, (*art. cit.*, note 2, above), p.189. The *terminus ante quem* is placed in the reign of Hadrian; *ibid.*, p.184.

⁴*Ibid.*, p.191.

APPENDIX III: THE *S.C. CLAUDIANVM*

Tacitus, *Annals*, XII.53.1: "Inter quae refert ad patres de poena feminarum, quae seruis coniungerentur; statuiturque, ut ignaro domino ad id prolapsa in seruitute, sin consensisset, pro liberta haberetur."

Gaius, *Institutiones*, I.84: "Ecce enim ex senatusconsulto Claudiano poterat ciuis Romana, quae alieno seruo uolente domino eius coit, ipsa ex pactione libera permanere, sed seruum procreare; nam quod inter eam et dominum istius serui conuenerit ex senatusconsulto ratum esse iubetur."

In 52, a reform was introduced, known as the *S.C. Claudianum*, whereby restrictions were imposed upon free-born women (*ingenuae*) who married slaves. Our sources inform us that an *ingenua* was reduced to slavery if she married without the consent of the slave's master, and to the status of freed-woman (*liberta*) if she married with his consent (see Tacitus, above); or possibly she could retain her status if such an agreement were made between her and the master (see Gaius, above).¹ But in either case, the offspring of the couple would remain slaves and the property of the master. This involved a major transgression of universal law which stipulated that the status of children always corresponded to that possessed by the mother.² Claudius' reform appears *prima facie* to have been passed in order to discourage the marriage of slaves with free-born women and thus to ensure the purity of citizen blood. But this decree, far from being connected with social reform, was primarily concerned with the maintenance of the masters' property rights over the slaves' children.³ The emperor, as the owner of the largest body of slaves, was the chief beneficiary under the new law; he

would no longer have to forfeit his rights over the children of slaves who married *ingenuae*. In the case of imperial slaves who married later in life, the normal date for their manumission might even be postponed until sufficient offspring had been produced in servitude. This policy resulted in a considerable bonus for the imperial *fiscus*: profits would now be guaranteed by the regular income of manumission fees from the emperor's slaves and, in due course, from the slaves' offspring. The decree of Claudius, therefore, was essentially another phenomenon of the emperor's programme of fiscal reorganization.⁴

NOTES:

¹For a discussion on the passages quoted from Gaius and Tacitus see H.R. Hoetink, "Autour du 'Senatus-Consulte Claudienne,'" Droits de l'antiquité et sociologie juridique; mélanges Henri Lévy-Bruhl (Paris, 1959), pp.153-162; also P.R.C. Weaver, "Gaius I.84 and the 'S.C. Claudianum'", CR LXXVIII (1964), 137-139; J. Crook, "Gaius, *Institutes*, I.84-86", CR LXXXI (1967), 7-8.

²Accordingly, the decree was later repealed by the Emperor Hadrian: Gaius, Inst. I.84, "sed postea diuus Hadrianus, iniquitate rei et inelegantia iuris motus, restituit iuris gentium regulam, ut, cum ipsa mulier libera permaneat, liberum pariat."

³That the reform was not social in nature may be illustrated by the continuation of mixed marriages: Weaver, "Social Mobility in the Early Roman Empire", p.8, estimates that between sixty-six and seventy-five per cent of imperial slaves married *ingenuae* from the Claudian period onwards.

⁴Cf. Weaver, Familia Caesaris, pp.167-168.

APPENDIX IV: THE *PRAEFECTI FRUMENTI DANDI EX S.C.*
FROM AUGUSTUS TO TRAJAN

Evidence for these prefects is extensive before Claudius; for example (under Augustus) ILS, 932; 913; 972; CIL, IX.3666; VI.1442; (under Tiberius) ILS, 947; 3783; CIL XIV.4005; VI.1544. But for the Claudian period there is only one piece of definite evidence, namely, the prefecture of M. Iulius Romulus;¹ after this time there is no record of the prefects until the reign of Trajan. It would appear, therefore, that there are two alternatives: either it is mere chance that there is no epigraphical record for the *praefecti frumenti dandi* between the reigns of Claudius and Trajan; or we may conclude *a priori* that Claudius (or one of his successors) passed a measure abolishing the prefects which remained in force until their reinstatement in the second century. G.E.F. Chilver has argued in support of the former alternative. He strengthens his case by dating Romulus' prefecture to Nero's reign and the post held by L. Caesennius Sospes to the reign of Domitian in an attempt to bridge the "gap" between Claudius and Trajan.² But his dating is suspect. After a careful study of the careers of both senators, H.G. Pflaum reasserts that Romulus was prefect under Claudius and that Sospes did not hold office until ca. 110.³ If we are convinced by Pflaum's evidence, there will be no difficulty in concurring with the assertions of M. Rostovtzeff and others who follow the latter alternative; *viz.* that Claudius abolished the *praefecti frumenti dandi* and entrusted the duty

of distribution of the corn dole to the *praefectus annonae*.⁴

NOTES:

¹AE 1925, no.85 = Nds 1924, p.346.

²G.E.F. Chilver, "'Princeps' and 'Frumentationes'", AJPh LXX (1949), pp.8-11.

³H.G. Pflaum, "La chronologie de la carrière de L. Caesennius Sospes", Historia II (1954), 431-450. For a list of the *praefecti frumenti dandi* from Augustus to Diocletian see Pflaum's table (*art. cit.*, between pp.444-445). He also proposes three other prefects besides Romulus for Claudius' reign, but their date is uncertain: [Q. Pomp]oni[us T]uscus (CIL, VI.1557); M. Calpurnius Rufus (CIL, III.6072; possibly post-Hadrian - cf. Digest I.16.10.1); M. "Οψιλος Νάουλος Φαννλιανός (IG, XIV.719).

⁴See M. Rostovtzeff in RE, s.v. "Frumentum", VII, coll. 177-8, and "Römische Bleitessarae", Klio, Beiheft III (Leipzig, 1905), pp.14ff.; Momigliano, p.50; Scramuzza, pp.118, 270 (n.56). For the view that responsibility for distribution had already been assumed by the *praefectus annonae* under Augustus see Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht II, pp.1040ff.

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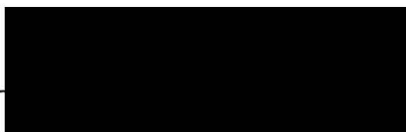
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Title of Thesis

Claudius Imperator Receptus; Innovations in Roman

Government 41-54 A.D.

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22nd March, 1977.

Date