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The Epigraphic Habits of the Slaves and Freed Slaves of the Julio-Claudian Households

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UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

The Epigraphic Habits of the Slaves and Freed Slaves of the Julio-Claudian Households

by

Lindsay Rae Penner

A THESIS

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Abstract

This study examines the epigraphic evidence and literary texts relating to the slaves, freed slaves, and staff of the households of the Julio-Claudians. Rather than focusing on the Julio-Claudian emperors alone, the integration of their relatives places the Imperial household in its full domestic context, without separating it from other households which shared the same physical space and social situation. While the literary sources provide important context and details, the bulk of the information concerning the Julio-Claudian household comes from the epigraphic material, with nearly 1,800 names surviving. Through the use of rigorous statistical analysis, it becomes possible to achieve a thorough, multifaceted understanding of the Imperial household itself, its early development, and its interactions with other households with which it was closely associated. The epigraphic evidence plainly illustrates the shift from senatorial household to Imperial household, the development of separate domestic and civil service components, and the gradual formation of a new social class of Imperial slaves and freed slaves. Those belonging to the emperors themselves as well as to their relatives shared similar commemorative patterns, particularly with regard to the importance of occupation as a marker of Imperial identity and a way of recording one's position in the complex occupational hierarchy. Their marriage patterns and the epigraphic habits of their own households illustrated their high social status relative to their peers of equivalent legal status. As for the Julio-Claudian households themselves, there was a great deal of overlap between them, in terms of the transfer of slaves, the sharing of staff, the creation of familial units across household boundaries, and the development of a functional

system for running joint households. These Julio-Claudian households tended to specialize in particular areas, strongly delineated by gender: male-owned households had very different gender and occupational distributions of household staff than did female-owned households. This would have prevented occupational redundancy and enabled the smooth and regular integration and dissolution of joint households, emphasizing that elite households – and even the Imperial household – were not intended to function entirely self-sufficiently, but instead within the larger domestic context of the extended family.

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Next, I have called the Department of Greek and Roman Studies home for more years than I care to remember, and the academic and personal support and encouragement that I have received here have made me the scholar I am today. In particular, my supervisor, Dr. Hanne Sigismund Nielsen: she inspired me to start down this path twelve years ago when I wandered into her course about Roman women and family, and then stayed permanently. Hanne's useful comments and helpful pushes were invaluable in writing this dissertation. The members of my committee, Dr. Lisa Hughes and Dr. Peter Toohey, have given me years of support and advice, and their comments on earlier drafts of this dissertation were an enormous help. My external examiners, Dr. Francine Michaud and Dr. Ray Laurence, provided valuable comments on my writing and a great deal of encouragement in the final stage of revisions and during the defense. Finally, my graduate experience wouldn't have been the same without my fellow graduate students.

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Dedication

*Anton Penner, avo amantissimo, vixit annis LXXVII,
mensibus V, diebus VII.*

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List of Symbols, Abbreviations and Nomenclature

Throughout the text, I have included Latin inscription with conventional epigraphic notation, as developed by van Groningen and Hunt.¹

Symbol	Definition
()	Insertion of abbreviated letters
[]	Addition of missing letters
[3]	Blank within a single line
[6]	Entire blank line
]]	Blank at beginning of line
[]	Blank at end of line
[[]]	Erased letters
<e=F>	Correction: Inscribed F amended to E
<< >>	Text inscribed over erasure
{ }	Cancelled letters; errata
/	Line break
CIL x, xxxxx*	Forgery
CIL x, xxxxx+	Existence of bibliographic references
CIL x, xxxxx = CIL x, xxxxx	Inscription recorded in more than one volume

All primary sources have been abbreviated using the standards set in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. The abbreviations for the epigraphic volumes and other reference material used throughout the text are noted here:²

Abbreviation	Reference
AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris 1888-
AEA	Annuaire Epigraphica Austriaca, 1979-
Affaires	J. Andreau, Les affaires de monsieur Jucundus, Rome 1974
AIRoma	A. Ferrua, Antiche iscrizioni inedite di Roma: 01: Epigraphica 1, 1939, 142-150
Aletrium	L. Gasperini, Aletrium 1: I documenti epigrafici, Alatri 1965

¹ Van Groningen 1932, Hunt 1932.

² These abbreviations and their references come from the Manfred-Clauss database (<http://www.manfredclaus.de/abkuerz.html>).

Abbreviation	Reference
Anagni	H. Solin - P. Tuomisto (Hrsgg.), <i>Le iscrizioni urbane ad Anagni</i> , Rome 1996 (<i>Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae</i> 17)
BCAR	Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma [Bände 1987/88-2010]
Bosch	E. Bosch, <i>Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum</i> , Ankara 1967
Bovillae	G.M. De Rossi, <i>Bovillae</i> , Florence 1979
CAG	<i>Carte archéologique de la Gaule</i> , 1988-
CBI	E. Schallmayer - K. Eibl - J. Ott - G. Preuss - E. Wittkopf, <i>Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I: Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches</i> , Stuttgart 1990
CEACelio	G.L. Gregori, <i>La collezione epigrafica dell'antiquarium comunale del Celio</i> , Rome 2001
CECapitol	S. Panciera, <i>La collezione epigrafica dei musei Capitolini</i> , Rome 1987
CEPini	G. Paci - S.M. Marengo, <i>La collezione epigrafica di Villa due Pini a Montecassiano</i> , Tivoli 2005
CIA	S. Anamali - H. Ceka - É. Deniaux, <i>Corpus des inscriptions latines d'Albanie</i> , Rome 2009
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , Berlin 1828-1877
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CLE	<i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> , hrsg. v. F. Bücheler - E. Lommatzsch, Leipzig 1930
CMRDM	E. Lane, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis dei Menis</i> , 4 Bände, Leiden 1971-1978
Corinth	A.B. West, <i>Corinth. Results of excavations</i> 8, 2: <i>Latin inscriptions 1896-1926</i> , Cambridge/Mass 1931 (08-02); 8,3: <i>The inscriptions 1926-1950</i> , Princeton 1966 (08-03)
CSIR	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i>
D	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin 1892-1916
Denkm	M.P. Speidel, <i>Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter. Equites singulares Augusti</i> , Cologne 1994
EA	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i> .
EAOR	<i>Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano</i>

Abbreviation	Reference
ECortonese	A. Donati, Epigrafia Cortonese. Testi greci e romani, Cortona 1967
EE	Ephemeris Epigraphica
Epigraphica	Epigraphica. Rivista italiana di epigrafia, [Bände 1939-2012]
EpThess	P.M. Nigdelis, Epigraphika Thessalonikeia, Thessaloniki 2006
ERAssisi	G. Forni, Epigrafi lapidarie Romane di Assisi, Perugia 1987
ERCAnosa	F. Grelle - M. Pani, Le Epigrafi Romane di Canosa, Bari 1990
Espectaculos	A. Ceballos Hornero, Los espectáculos en la Hispania romana. La documentación epigráfica, 2 Bd., Merida 2004
GLIStone	V. Marek, Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Stone in the collections of Charles University, Prague 1977
GLISwedish	B.E. Thomasson, A survey of Greek and Latin inscriptions on stone in Swedish collections, Stockholm 1997
Gordon	A.E. Gordon, Album of dated Latin inscriptions, Berkeley 1958
Grabstelen	W. Faust, Die Grabstelen des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts im Rheingebiet, Köln 1998
Gummerus	H. Gummerus, Der Ärztestand im römischen Reiche nach den Inschriften, Leipzig 1932
HEp	Hispania Epigraphica, Madrid 1989-
ICUR	Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae. Nova series, Rome 1922-
IDRE	C.C. Petolescu, Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptiones extra fines Daciae repertae, Bucarest 1996-
IEAquil	G. Lettich, Itinerari epigrafici Aquileiesi, Trieste 2003
IFondi	G. Pesiri, Iscrizioni di Fondi e del circondario, Epigraphica 40, 1978, 162-184
IGLFriuli	F. Mainardis, Aliena saxa. Le iscrizioni greche e latine conservate nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia ma non pertinenti ai centri antichi della regione, Rome 2004

Abbreviation	Reference
IGLLipari	L. Bernabó-Brea - M. Cavalier - L. Campagna, <i>Meliguni Lipára 12: Le iscrizioni lapidarie greche e latine delle Isole Eolie</i> , Palermo 2003
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie</i> , Paris 1929-
IGUR	L. Moretti, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> , Rome 1968-1990.
IIBrindisi	Iscrizioni inedite recentemente inventariate del museo provinciale Francesco Ribezzo di Brindisi, <i>Epigraphica</i> 25, 1963, 32-97
IK	<i>Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> , Bonn 1973-
IKoeln	B. und H. Galsterer, <i>Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln</i> . Mainz 2010
ILA-Vell	<i>Inscriptions Latines d'Aquitaine (I.L.A.): Vellaves</i> , Bordeaux 1995
ILAin	F. Bertrand y u.a., <i>Inscriptions latines de l'Ain</i> , Chambéry 2005
ILAlg	<i>Inscriptions latines d'Algérie</i> , Paris 1922-
ILCV	E. Diehl, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> , Berlin 1925-1967
ILGR	M. Sassel Kos, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Graecia repertae. Additamenta ad CIL III</i> , Faenza 1979
ILJug	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia ... repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963-1986
ILLPRON	<i>Inscriptionum Lapidarium Latinarum Provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> , Berlin 1986
ILLRP	A. Degrassi, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> , Florence 1965
ILMN	<i>Le Iscrizioni Latine del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, 1: Roma e Latium</i> , Naples 2000
ILN	<i>Inscriptions Latines de Narbonnaise</i> , Paris 1985-
ILSanMichele	H. Thylander, <i>Inscriptions latines de San Michele d'Axel Munthe</i> , <i>ORom</i> 4, 1962, 129-157
ILSard	G. Sotgiu, <i>Iscrizioni latine della Sardegna</i> , Padua 1961
IMCCatania	K. Korhonen, <i>Le iscrizioni del museo civico di Catania</i> , Tammisaari 2004

Abbreviation	Reference
InscrAqu	J.B. Brusin, <i>Inscriptiones Aquileiae</i> , 3 Bde., Udine 1991-1993
InscrAtt	M.C.M. Miller, <i>Inscriptiones Atticae. Supplementum inscriptionum Atticarum VI</i> , Chicago 1992
InscrIt	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> , Rome 1931-
INVaticano	V. Väänänen, <i>Le iscrizioni della necropoli dell'autoparco Vaticano</i> , Rome 1973
IPOstie	H. Thylander, <i>Inscriptions du port d'Ostie</i> , Lund 1952
IRPCadiz	J. Gonzalez, <i>Inscripciones Romanas de la Provincia de Cadiz</i> , Cadiz 1982
IViaSalaria	L.M. Gigante - G.W. Houston, A collection of inscriptions from the Via Salaria necropolis now in the Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky, <i>MAAR</i> 53, 2008, 27-78
JIWE	D. Noy, <i>Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe</i> Cambridge 1993-
Lehner	H. Lehner, <i>Die antiken Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums in Bonn</i> , Bonn 1918
LIA	U. Ehlig - R. Haensch, <i>Die Lateinischen Inschriften aus Albanien (LIA)</i> , Bonn 2012
Libitina-01	<i>Libitina e dintorni</i> , Atti dell'XI Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie, Rome 2004
Libitina-02	F. Feraudi-Gruénais, <i>Inschriften und 'Selbstdarstellung' in stadtrömischen Grabbauten</i> , Rome 2003
LIHarvard	C.H. Moore, <i>Latin inscriptions in the Harvard collection of classical antiquities</i> , <i>HSPH</i> 20, 1909, 1-14
LIKelsey	S.L. Tuck, <i>Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum. The Dennison and De Criscio Collections</i> , Ann Arbor 2005
LMentana	<i>Il lapidario Zeri di Mentana</i> , Rome 1982
Lunensia	M.G. Angeli Bertinelli, <i>Lunensia antiqua</i> , Rome 2011
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> , Manchester 1928-
Manacorda	D. Manacorda, <i>Un'officina lapidaria sulla via Appia</i> , Rome 1980

Abbreviation	Reference
Mausoleum	H. von Hesberg - S. Panciera, Das Mausoleum des Augustus. Der Bau und seine Inschriften, München 1994
MIRoma	I.di Stefano Manzella, Roma: miscellanea d'iscrizioni
MNR	Museo Nazionale Romano.
MNursina	R. Cordella - N. Criniti, Mantissa Nursina, Epigraphica 62, 2000, 137-211
Nesselhauf	H. Nesselhauf, Neue Inschriften aus dem römischen Germanien und den angrenzenden Gebieten, BRGK 27, 1937, 51-134
NSA	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità [Bände 1938-2006/07]
Pais	E. Pais, Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementa Italica, Rome 1884
Philippi	P. Pilhofer, Philippi, Band 2: Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi, Tübingen 2. Aufl., 2009
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
RICIS	L. Bricault, Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques (RICIS), Paris 2005
RIS	E. Weber, Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften der Steiermark, Graz 1969
RIT	Die Römischen Inschriften von Tarraco, Berlin 1975
RSK	Die Römischen Steininschriften aus Köln, Cologne 1975
Schillinger	U. Schillinger-Häfele, Vierter Nachtrag zu CIL XIII und zweiter Nachtrag zu Fr. Vollmer, Inscriptiones Baivariae Romanae. Inschriften aus dem deutschen Anteil der germanischen Provinzen und des Treverergebiets sowie Raetiens und Noricums, BRGK 58, 1977, 452-603
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, 1923-
Sinn	F. Sinn. Stadtrömische Marmorurnen. Mainz 1987
SIPSurrentum	M.M. Magalhaes, Storia, istituzioni e prosopografia di Surrentum romana. La collezione epigrafica del Museo Correale di Terranova, Naples 2003
Stabiae	M.M. Magalhaes, Stabiae romana, Naples 2006

Abbreviation	Reference
Statili	M. Letizia Caldelli - C. Ricci, Monumentum familia Statiliorum, Rome 1999
SupIt	Supplementa Italica, Rome 1981-
TAM	Tituli Asiae Minoris, Vienna 1901-
Tit-Aq	P. Kovács - Á. Szabó, Tituli Aquincenses, Budapest 2009-
TPN	J.G. Wolf, Neue Rechtsurkunden aus Pompeji. Tabulae Pompeianae Novae, Darmstadt 2010
TPSulp	G. Camodeca, Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum. Edizione critica dell'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii, Rome 1999
Umbria	S. Diebner, Reperti funerari in Umbria, Rom 1986
Valnerina	R. Cordella - N. Criniti, Nuove iscrizioni latine di Norcia, Cascia e Valnerina, Spoleto 1988, 181-215
ViaImp	L. Avetta, Roma - via imperiale. Scavi e scoperte (1937-1950) nella costruzione di via delle terme di Caracalla e di via Cristoforo Colombo, Rome 1985
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik [Bände 1-183]

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

*Claudia Octaviae divi Claudi filiae lib(erta) Peloris / et
Ti(berius) Claudius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Eutychns
proc(urator) Augustor(um) / sororibus et lib(ertis)
libertabusq(ue) posterisq(ue) eorum / formas aedifici
custodiae et monumenti reliquerun[t]* (CIL 6, 09015 = CIL
6, 29847a = D 08120 = AE 1991, 00074 = AE 2002,
+00180)

Claudia Peloris, freedwoman of Octavia, daughter of the divine Claudius, and Ti. Claudius Eutychns, Imperial freedman, *procurator* of the emperors, to their sisters and freedmen and freedwomen and their descendents. They left the forms of this building, its guardianship, and this monument.

The Imperial household, which developed throughout the Julio-Claudian period from its origins in a Republican senatorial household, has long been acknowledged to be more complex than it might initially seem, mainly due to the extensive network of relatives who would have been closely affiliated with the emperor and whose households would have overlapped with his own, as with the freedwoman of Claudia Octavia above. Treggiari refers to “the interlocking *familiae* of the emperor’s family,”³ while Saller notes that “the *domus Caesarum* was in fact such a large group that there were bound to be factional houses or *domus* within it.”⁴ Both Weaver and Chantraine devote space in their works on the *familia Caesaris* to the slaves and freed slaves of the emperor’s relatives.⁵ However, to date, these households have only been discussed on an individual basis or as a tangent to a larger, more detailed discussion about the emperors’ households.

³ Treggiari 1981, p. 49.

⁴ Saller 1984, p. 346.

⁵ Chantraine 1967, Weaver 1972.

A joint analysis of the households of the Julio-Claudians has additional advantages. Most notably, it may provide an explanation for the lack of certain obvious occupations in particular elite households: Livia, for example, has no known cooks.⁶ As Livia certainly dined at home, the absence of epigraphically-attested cooks cannot simply reflect a lack of food workers within her household. It is possible that she had cooks who did not create epitaphs, whose epitaphs did not indicate their occupation, or whose epitaphs did not survive; it is equally plausible that she supplemented her household staff with those belonging to Augustus and, after his death, to Tiberius, so that the cooks that prepared Livia's meals are to be found there, among related, co-resident households rather than among her own. Preliminary work suggests that the tendency toward occupational specialization extends further than originally thought: beyond the obvious occupations necessary for the daily functioning of a household, individual households actually specialized in particular occupations.⁷ This would permit the development of a greater degree of mastery in particular economic areas, although it would only be possible through contact with other elite households, so that an analysis of a group of closely-related elite households may explain this phenomenon. A joint analysis may also produce further instances of overlap between Imperial households, such as the sharing of slaves and freed slaves where necessary⁸ or the existence and stability of slave families with multiple owners.⁹

⁶ Treggiari 1975b, pp. 56-57.

⁷ Penner 2012.

⁸ Cf. Rawson 2005.

⁹ Cf. Linderski 1988, Gardner 1988, Watson 1992.

Through a synthesis of epigraphic and literary evidence, it is possible to answer a wide variety of questions about the structure, organization, and functioning of the households of the Julio-Claudians, and about the characteristics, personal relationships, and occupations of the slave and freed slave members of those households. Because the Julio-Claudian dynasty marks the shift from Republic to Empire, their households form the basis for the development of the *familia Caesaris* as a discrete unit by the end of the dynasty,¹⁰ with slaves and freed slaves whose social status, occupational distribution, marriages and families, slaves and freed slaves, commemorative trends, and even nomenclature showed distinct differences from those of their peers outside the Imperial household. Furthermore, the Julio-Claudian period marks the peak of influence of Imperial slaves and freed slaves, particularly in the highest civil service posts, specifically because the civil service initially developed out of a Republican elite household;¹¹ by analysing the Imperial household throughout this period of transition, it becomes possible to understand the later *familia Caesaris* as well. On a broader scale, an overview of the households of individual Julio-Claudians illustrates the potential for variance within large elite households, their interdependence, and the extent of their influence on the children, slaves, and freed slaves of their own slave and freed slave members.

More specifically, the present study shall analyse the epigraphic evidence referring to the slaves, freed slaves, and other workers connected to the Julio-Claudians emperors and their close relatives, largely their funerary inscriptions. These inscriptions

¹⁰ Cf. Millar 1977, p. 3.

form the core source material available for the lives of Imperial slaves and Imperial freed slaves beyond the elite freedmen who held the highest posts of the civil service, and stretch from the beginning of Augustus' reign in 27 B.C.E. to well past the death of Nero in 68 C.E.¹² These inscriptions have been carefully selected and analysed with the help of statistical methodology, which is outlined in detail in Chapter Three. The resulting body of data has been analysed as a whole, to reveal overall patterns within the early *familia Caesaris*, as individual households, to illustrate the differences that existed within the Imperial household, and in distinct groups for purposes of comparison,¹³ to highlight the connections between households and the larger trends that affected individual households.

Epigraphic evidence can be used for a variety of purposes and studied with a variety of methods, so that an overview of its challenges and possibilities is required, as well as an outline of the literary sources, which provide contextual material for the development and administration of large elite households, the laws which governed them during the period in question, and general information about the households and houses of the Julio-Claudians themselves; Chapter Two will examine the literary and scholarly material that forms the background for the present study. Chapter Three focuses on the precise methodology used in this study, beginning with the search for inscriptions and progressing all the way to the statistical analyses used to draw reliable, valid conclusions. Chapter Four deals with the individual members of the Julio-Claudians households,

¹¹ Millar 1977, pp. 3, 60.

¹² Freed slaves could, naturally, outlive their patrons; hence, Julio-Claudian freedmen continue to appear in epigraphic sources into the reign of Trajan (r. 98-117).

including their demographic characteristics such as gender, legal status, and age at death, their nomenclature and use of *agnomina*, their occupations, and their behaviour with regard to burial and epigraphic commemoration. Chapter Five concentrates on the interpersonal relationships reported by members of the Julio-Claudian households, including marriage, children, other family members, and collegial participation; there is a particular emphasis on the importance of servile relationships and shared experiences of slavery within all these categories, as the basis for the social networks of Imperial slaves and freed slaves, and on their own households of slaves and freed slaves. Chapter Six analyses the individual households of the Julio-Claudians, separately where sufficient data are available, as well as in comparison to one another, in order to outline the ways in which the emperors' households differed from their relatives' households and the extensive, multi-faceted connections that existed between those households.

A few final notes deserve mention here. First, all translations of both inscriptions and literary texts are my own, as are any errors within those translations. Second, with regard to proper names, I have used the anglicized versions of the names of historical figures, using the names under which they are most commonly known: Julia the Elder instead of Iulia Maior, for example. In addition, I have opted to use the nickname Caligula for the third emperor rather than Caius or Caius Caesar, under which he also appears frequently (and more correctly), in order to avoid confusion with Caius Caesar, the son of Agrippa and Julia the Elder.¹⁴ I have left any names which appear only in the

¹³ For example, emperors' households as compared to their relatives' households, or male-owned households as compared to female-owned households.

¹⁴ Not to mention Caius Caesar, the elder brother of Caligula who died in early childhood (Suet. Calig. 7-8).

inscriptional material in their original Latin form, such as *Ianuarius* rather than *Januarius*; similarly, I have retained Latin spellings when I am discussing a generic *gens* or *nomen* (thus, *gens Iulia*). Finally, the Roman tendency to reuse names within the same family means that it can be difficult to differentiate between two individuals at a glance; in order to clarify things, a full list of all the proper names mentioned in the text as well as the accompanying illustrations is included in Appendix A, along with the appropriate reference numbers in *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (PIR).

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND

Definitions

Before proceeding, it is necessary to define some of the potentially unclear terms I will be using throughout.

Dynasty

I refer throughout this study to the Julio-Claudian dynasty and its members, but as the term “dynasty” can be vague, it merits some elaboration. The Julio-Claudian emperors – Augustus (r. 27 B.C.E.-14 C.E.), Tiberius (r. 14-37), Caligula (r. 37-41), Claudius (r. 41-54), and Nero (r. 54-68) – should not be considered in isolation, but rather within the context of their familial relationships, behind which lay each emperor’s claim to legitimacy. Their extended family members held power and status within the new system through their blood relationships with emperors. In addition, for centuries, senatorial families had cemented their power through marriage alliances, and the Julio-Claudian emperors did likewise,¹⁵ pairing endogamous marriages to relatives¹⁶ with exogamous marriages to other senatorial families¹⁷ meant to secure support and promote those deemed worthy.

¹⁵ Cf. Syme 1986, p. 11.

¹⁶ Marriages between cousins were particularly common: Marcellus and Julia the Elder (second cousins), Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder (second cousins), Caius Caesar and Livilla (second cousins), Drusus the Younger and Livilla (first cousins), Nero Caesar and Livia Julia (first cousins), Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Agrippina the Younger (first cousins, once removed), Claudius and Messalina (first cousins, once removed), Nero and Claudia Octavia (first cousins, once removed). When relationships through marriage are included (such as step-siblings), the list grows considerably longer.

¹⁷ Such marriage alliances were often solidified every generation or thereabouts, so that the Aemilii (Marcella the Younger, Julia the Younger, Julia Drusilla, Drusus Caesar), the Junii (Domitia Lepida, Aemilia Lepida, Caligula), and the Valerii (Marcella the Younger, Domitia Lepida, Claudius) all provided spouses to several Julio-Claudians.

The question remains: which individuals should be considered as part of the Julio-Claudian dynasty? The strict legal definitions of *cognati* and *agnati*,¹⁸ which rely entirely on blood relationships, do not correspond with the flexibility of familial relationships among the late Republican and early Imperial aristocracy, as they do not incorporate connections through marriage. Some of the possibilities for the boundaries of the Julio-Claudians illustrate how simple it would be for a scholarly analysis to exclude individuals whose membership in the dynasty cannot be denied. To begin with, including only those with the dynastic *nomina* Iulius and Claudius would exclude a variety of Octavii, Antonii, Livii, and Vipsanii, among many others, all of whom were clearly members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, despite the differences in *nomina*. Similarly, restricting the source material to descendents of Augustus would exclude Octavia the Younger and her children, who obviously formed part of the extended Imperial household. In an attempt to be more rather than less inclusive, and thus to replicate the Julio-Claudians' own perception of their extended family as accurately as possible,¹⁹ I have used the descendents of C. Octavius, the father of Augustus, as a starting point, then added their spouses²⁰ and any associated step-children. The full family tree is available in Appendix B.

¹⁸ Generally, *agnati* are related by blood (or adoption) through the male line (Gai. Inst. 3.10), while *cognati* are related through the female line (D.38.8.1). Cf. D.50.16.195.1-4 on the definition of *familia*.

¹⁹ Tacitus, for instance, includes various distantly-related individuals among the Julio-Claudians, and Nero's elimination of potential heirs to the throne extended well beyond the Iulii and Claudii to D. Junius Silanus Torquatus and Rubellius Plautus. (Tac. Ann. 15.35, Tac. Ann. 14.60)

²⁰ Or, in two cases, betrothals that were ended by death: Livia Medullina died prior to her marriage with Claudius (Suet. Claud. 26.1), while L. Junius Silanus, betrothed to Claudia Octavia, committed suicide in reaction to the marriage of Claudius and Agrippina the Younger (Tac. Ann. 12.4; Cass. Dio 60.5.7, 60.31.7-8; Suet. Claud. 24.3, 27.2).

Civil Service

Much of the work on the Imperial household has focused on the Imperial civil service, that is to say, on the slaves and freed slaves who carried out much of the administrative work of running the Roman Empire. However, the Julio-Claudian period poses considerable problems, primarily because it marks the shift from Republic to Empire, from an administrative system built around elite magistrates, equestrian administrators, and their personal staffs to one composed primarily of slaves and freed slaves who were recruited entirely from within the Imperial household.²¹ The Imperial civil service as an organized, hierarchical system was not built in a day, but rather developed gradually over the course of the Julio-Claudian era. The individuals in question belong to a transitional phase, during which the Imperial household and particularly its civil service component were still solidifying into their eventual structures, and during which the boundaries between public civil service and private domestic service were porous and undefined. While the separation between the civil service and the domestic staff later created a clear division in the Imperial household,²² this separation had yet to coalesce during the period in question, so that any assumption of a clear dichotomy between “domestic” and “civil service” would be anachronistic and inaccurate. As such, I have not analysed the two groups separately, but rather, I have included occupational titles indicating work in the nascent civil service alongside the domestic occupations to be found within the Imperial household.

²¹ Mouritsen 2011, pp. 93-96.

²² Weaver 1972, p. 227; Boulvert 1974, p. 111.

Domus and Familia: Household and Family?

The first problem in understanding the Roman household and the Roman family comes from the terminology, which is ambiguously defined at best.²³ Although the Latin terms *familia* and *domus* both relate to household structure, they do not precisely correlate to the English terms “family” and “household,” with which they are, respectively, most frequently associated. Indeed, the strict legal definition of *familia*²⁴ does not take into account the realities of social organization, most notably the high frequency of marriage *sine manu* by the late Republic,²⁵ wherein the wife forms part of her husband’s household, but not technically part of his *familia*.²⁶ However, outside the legal texts, the wife appears as part of her husband’s *familia*,²⁷ a clear indication that the legal definition was not strictly applied even among the Roman elite. *Familia*, therefore, might encompass a kinship group of individuals connected solely by blood or marriage.²⁸ However, *familia* also frequently indicates the complement of slaves owned by a single master, and at times the freed slaves who formerly belonged to that same group,²⁹ a completely different group of individuals than in the first definition. The meaning of the term *domus* is somewhat clearer, although perhaps more broadly defined than we would prefer. The *domus* refers to both the house, the physical building itself, as well as the

²³ Saller 1984.

²⁴ D.50.16.195.1-4.

²⁵ Saller 1984, pp. 338-339. Cf. Gai. Inst. 1.136, which refers to a law of 11 B.C.E. under which even a woman married under the old ceremony of *confarreatio*, which resulting in marriage *in manu*, was not removed from her father’s *potestas*.

²⁶ She remained, legally, part of her father’s *familia* until his death, at which point she became independent and *sui iuris*, although in practice, she was generally treated as part of her husband’s household.

²⁷ Saller 1984, p. 339.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 341.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 343; Weaver 1972, p. 299.

residential unit associated with it, including a wife married *sine manu*, and frequently encompassing any slaves or freed slaves dependent upon those individuals.

As a result of this ambiguity, it is difficult to achieve a precise correlation between the English and Latin terminology: *domus* does not precisely correspond to “household,” and *familia* does not remotely correspond to “family.” In fact, there is no Latin word that corresponds to our notion of “family,” and particularly to our over-riding concept of “nuclear family,” so that we ought not assume that the Romans had a concept of “family” that reflected ours to any significant degree.³⁰ Because the present study focuses on the large households of the Julio-Claudians, the question of family becomes increasingly complex. Wallace-Hadrill clearly articulates the problem of family and *familia* within large elite households:³¹

... would all the inhabitants regard themselves as a single *familia*, or do houses hold composite groups of *familiae*?
And are large *familiae* extended family groups, or nuclear families with large servile staffs?

³⁰ Despite this, the modern concept of the nuclear family has been erroneously applied to studies of the Roman family. In her analysis of lower-class family life, Rawson (1966, p. 71) restricted her epigraphic sample to “those epitaphs in which two parents are named along with a child or children,” thereby excluding a large proportion – indeed, the majority – of the familial relationships represented in the epigraphic material. Saller and Shaw’s extensive epigraphic study of familial relationships (1984) concluded that the nuclear family was the principal family structure (p. 146), based on the prevalence of its component relationships in the epigraphic sources; for additional commentary on this study as well as on Martin’s critique of its methods and conclusions (1996), see pp. 28-30. Even Saller’s lengthy analysis of the definitions of *familia* and *domus* (1984) concludes with a statement on the nuclear family as the dominant type (p. 355), despite the lack of a term for such a grouping. As recently as 2000, Curchin (pp. 536-537) still argued for the nuclear family as the predominant familial structure in Rome. Increasingly, scholarly work points away from the nuclear family as the primary Roman unit: for instance, Huebner’s comparison of the epigraphic evidence and census returns from Roman Egypt (2011) shows that nuclear groupings were far more common in the epigraphic evidence, whereas census returns were more likely to include multiple-family households, so that any evidence for the predominance of the nuclear family may be an artefact of the commemorative habit rather than a reflection of actual living situations.

³¹ Wallace-Hadrill 1991, p. 214.

Because of its problematic nature, I have opted to avoid the term “family” as much as possible as a description of a cohesive, discrete group of individuals. Instead, I prefer to use “familial unit” as a description of the smaller units contained within (and creating connections between) elite households.³² These units are generally based around close familial relationships – they frequently feature children, parents, spouses, and siblings – but they are by no means independent from the elite household surrounding them. In most cases, they would not have formed a separate residential unit: they may have lived within the large *domus*, with or without discrete living quarters, or they may have inhabited apartment blocks owned and operated by the household to which they belonged. However, the prevalence of inscriptional evidence commemorating such familial relationships demonstrates that, even within the context of a large elite household, the individuals involved must have perceived themselves as a single unit, as a “family” of sorts.

As for the household, the simplest definition would initially seem to be the most useful: those living under the same roof belong to the same household. However, the elite household frequently included multiple estates, houses, apartment blocks, and workshops, through which their dependents would have been distributed, thereby eliminating any co-residency requirement. Furthermore, individuals may have resided within the property without directly belonging to the household: the formation of familial units within the elite household could and did involve marriages outside the boundaries

³² Mouritsen (2011, p. 194) correctly points out that such familial units would in fact have been specific to large elite households, simply by virtue of numbers: it is unlikely that small households would include numerous groups of familial and marital connections.

of the household, with partners and children potentially incorporated within the physical space of a household without necessarily having any legal connection to it. In order to simplify matters as much as possible, I will therefore use “household” to indicate the slaves, freed slaves, and other workers directly connected to a particular elite individual. This does not necessarily imply that these individuals lived or worked in a single unit, only that their legal relationships and economic activity connected them to the same individual.

It is vital to note that elite households did not exist in isolation, nor were they entirely self-sufficient, but instead, they were closely intertwined with the households of their owners’ spouses, siblings, children, and other relatives by blood or marriage within the aristocracy. In addition, although the basis for the elite household was a large group of slaves and freed slaves, the resulting structure was not merely a top-down hierarchy, from freeborn to slave, with little or no interaction among the various members of the household. It was instead an interconnected web, with the elite members of the household at the centre, and their individual complements of slaves and freed slaves connected through occupational or social bonds (and frequently through both), forming small units within the larger context of the wide household, as well as to other individuals outside of it.

Epigraphic Evidence

Inscriptions can be a valuable source for social history. Like any source material, however, their usefulness depends on an understanding of the context of inscriptional evidence, the particular challenges inherent in their use, and the possible biases that could skew conclusions by influencing scholarly interpretation and analysis.

Challenges

Upon opening any epigraphic volume, one is immediately confronted with what is perhaps the most frustrating limitation of inscriptions: they are brief. The majority are epitaphs, funerary inscriptions set up in commemoration of the deceased.³³ These are, in general, very brief, most often consisting of no more than a few lines, which severely limits the quantity of available information. Such brevity produces other related issues as well. In order to save space, abbreviations are frequent. Many of these are epigraphic formulae, stock phrases which are typical of funerary commemoration: many inscriptions begin with the letters D.M.,³⁴ for *dis manibus* (to the gods of the dead), individuals are frequently commemorated as B.M., for *bene merens* (well-deserving),³⁵ and household tombs intended for multiple burials within the same household are marked out as H.M.H.N.S., for *hoc monumentum heredem non sequetur* (this monument shall not follow the heir).³⁶ Unfortunately, because of the frequency with which formulae appear, their initial intention can become obscured and even lost altogether.³⁷ Beyond formulae, however, the use of abbreviations can prove problematic for the reading of an individual inscription: the abbreviation “*pat,*” for example, may mean “*pater*” or “*patronus*”

³³ Or, with some regularity, in anticipation of death and to mark the future site of burial. This is particularly common in the *columbaria* inscriptions.

³⁴ This is particularly true of the time period in question, and the use of the abbreviation can provide valuable information with regard to dating an inscription: inscriptions from the first half of the first century C.E. frequently spell out the words *dis manibus* in their entirety, while inscriptions from the second half of the first century C.E. are more likely to use the abbreviated formula.

³⁵ The term is in fact so frequent in the abbreviated form that it is little more than a formula itself (Nielsen 1997, p. 181).

³⁶ This ensures that the funerary monument remains within the household of origin rather than passing outside of it.

³⁷ A search for “*bene merenti*” (the most frequent form of the epithet) produces nearly 20,000 occurrences. See Nielsen’s discussion of the lack of information provided by the abbreviated form (1997, p. 181).

depending on the context.³⁸ Furthermore, the information provided in inscriptions is generally inconsistent. Not all inscriptions provide the same pieces of information. There are formulaic ways of relating, for example, the age at death or the length of a marriage, but not all inscriptions include those formulae. It therefore becomes vital to recognize what information a particular inscription has provided as well as why such information was considered important enough to warrant inclusion. Because of these factors, any analysis of inscriptions relies on a number of interpretative decisions and assumptions.

When it comes to the body of evidence available, the sample of inscriptions studied should be as large as possible, in order that the results derived from the data are as widely applicable as they can conceivably be. In specific instances, of course, case studies featuring individual inscriptions (or very small groups of associated inscriptions) can be invaluable aids to interpretation, particularly when an inscription is lengthy or when its interpretation requires historical or legal context.³⁹ However, this is the exception rather than the rule: in general, the larger the sample, the more useful and applicable the results.

Where a study concentrates on a particular sub-group, the selection of material is simple enough: inscriptions from a particular region, inscriptions containing a particular term or formula, and so forth. However, the vast number of inscriptions can easily make it unfeasible or impossible to use every inscription in a particular analysis, even when a

³⁸ For example, “*pat*” should be expanded as *pater* in CIL 6, 03536 (= Sinn 00209), CIL 6, 10444, and CIL 6, 25981 (= IKoeln 00527), but as *patronus* in CIL 6, 08973 (= CIL 5, *00429,056 = CIL 5, *01120,1 = CIL 5, *01120,2 = D 01830), CIL 6, 11481, CIL 6, 15027, CIL 6, 15073, CIL 6, 20546, and CIL 6, 27570.

sub-group has already been selected for study.⁴⁰ The solution is to take a sample of all the eligible inscriptions and analyse that sample, maintaining the assumption that the qualities of the sample also apply to the epigraphic evidence as a whole, much as opinion polls question a small segment of the population in order to understand the opinions of the population in general. Any sample must have similar characteristics to the group being sampled; most notably, there should be no difference in the relative proportions of inscription types, status groups, or inscription dates relative to the entire collection. In order to accomplish this without knowing the necessary characteristics, it is necessary to take a random sample, either through the use of a random number generator or through counting inscriptions and using, for example, every fifth readable instance of a particular search term or of an entire set of inscriptions.⁴¹ Other methods of sampling inscriptions, such as selecting specific number ranges within CIL, cannot be considered representative of inscriptions as a whole due to the non-random organization of the inscriptions within CIL.⁴²

³⁹ For example: Magi 1962, Degrassi 1963, Boulvert 1981, Kajava 1986, Linderski 1988, Bruun 1989, Carlsen 1996, Weaver 2004a, Weaver 2005.

⁴⁰ There are well over 100,000 inscriptions from the city of Rome alone, for instance, and even restricting a sample to those contained in CIL 6 alone still produces approximately 40,000 inscriptions.

⁴¹ For example, Nielsen (1997, p. 170; *Roman Relations*, pp. 47-49) uses every fifth inscription, while Jeppesen-Wigelsworth (2010, p. 371) uses every third inscription.

⁴² CIL 6 in particular was deliberately organized by inscription type as well as by other characteristics such as occupation and *nomen*, and as a result, sequential selection of inscriptions is never random. This can most easily be illustrated by the approximate dates of particular sections of CIL 6. The inscriptions numbered 04000 to 04500 all belong to the Julio-Claudian *columbaria* and thus the early first century C.E., while the inscriptions numbered 13000 to 13500 largely contain individuals with the *nomen* Aurelius and thus must date after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (212 C.E.) granted citizenship to all those residing within the Roman Empire (Cass. Dio 78.9.4), thereby making those who had not previously had *nomina* Aurelii (cf. Heichelheim 1941, Bell 1942). Sequential selection risks including more of one group than another relative to the overall distribution within CIL 6, thus eliminating any possibility of representing CIL 6 as a whole.

Methodological Possibilities

Because epigraphic evidence can be applied to a diverse set of topics, I will outline the purposes for which inscriptions have been used in the past as well as the methods that have been used in their interpretation and analysis. I have focused here on those topics which are particularly relevant or applicable to the present study.

Demographics of Ethnicity and Status

The earliest attempts at mass analysis of inscriptional data focused on the basic demographics of the population of Rome.⁴³ More specifically, they concentrated on status distributions and on ethnic origin, seeking to determine what proportions of the Roman population were freeborn, freed, and slave, as well as what proportion was of Italian origin versus foreign origin. Because inscriptions frequently lack such detailed information, scholars used names alone in order to draw conclusions about population demographics. Names that consist only of one name without a *nomen* or *praenomen* were assumed to be slaves, while names made up of *tria nomina* could indicate either freeborn citizens or freed slaves.

Determining the ethnic composition of the Roman population relied heavily on the linguistic origins of their *cognomina*: individuals with Greek or other foreign *cognomina* were automatically assumed to be of foreign origin, but a Latin *cognomen* could indicate either slave origin or Italian origin.⁴⁴ The results seem to confirm Tacitus'

⁴³ Frank 1916, Gordon 1924, Taylor 1961. Frank gives a particularly clear explanation of his methodological assumptions (pp. 690-692).

⁴⁴ See Frank 1916, pp. 691-692, for his classifications of Italian and foreign origin according to Latin-based *cognomina*. Gordon (1924, p. 97) further assumes that Latin-based slave *cognomina* are frequently translations of the slave's original name.

complaint of the paucity of freeborn Romans:⁴⁵ Frank calculated that 83% of the Roman-born population was not of Italian origin.⁴⁶ The problems with this approach quickly become apparent, as the linguistic origin of an individual's name does not automatically reflect his or her ethnic origin, particularly in a population as ethnically diverse as that in Rome.⁴⁷ Even names which apparently indicate ethnic origin, such as Germanus, Afer, or Bithus, are frequently misleading:⁴⁸ among those individuals who specifically indicate their ethnic origin through the use of the term *natione*, supposedly-ethnic *cognomina* only match the reported ethnicity in two of twenty-two cases.⁴⁹ It is a small sample, to be certain, but the results are striking and cast considerable doubt on the assumption that *cognomina* are obvious reflections of ethnic origin. *Cognomina* clearly deriving from a particular language within the Empire are perhaps more reflective of ethnic origin – Serapion, Anubis, and Ammonianus all appear with clearly-stated Egyptian origin⁵⁰ – but

⁴⁵ Tac. Ann. 13.27.

⁴⁶ Frank 1916, p. 691.

⁴⁷ Cf. Gordon 1924, pp. 105-107.

⁴⁸ Gordon provides a few examples as well (1924, p. 98). The *cognomen* Bithus in particular is clearly of Thracian origin (AE 1929, 00145 = NSA-1928-196 = AE 1988, 00310, CIL 3, 00104 = IGLS-13-01, 09194, CIL 6, 03195 = Denkm 00598), despite its apparent indication of Bithynian origin.

⁴⁹ AE 1929, 00145 = NSA-1928-196 = AE 1988, 00310 (Bithus, from Thrace); AE 1936, 00163 = TitAq-02, 00682 (Pamphilus, from Noricum); AE 1962, 00058 = IRPCadiz 00398 = EAOR-07, 00029 = Espectaculos-02, 00098 = HEp-06, 00525 = NILCadiz 00281 (Germanus, from Achaia); CIL 2-5, 00375 = HEp-08, 00146 (Acaicus, from Moesia); CIL 3, 00104 = IGLS-13-01, 09194 (Bitus, from Thrace); CIL 5, 01658 = InscrAqu-03, 02908 = ILCV 00284 (Romana, from Aquileia); CIL 6, 03112 (Germanus, from Egypt); CIL 6, 03190 = Denkm 00324 = D 02203 = CBI 00943 (Africanus, from Raetia); CIL 6, 03192 = Denkm 00325 = CBI 00944 (Armenius, from Pannonia); CIL 6, 03195 = Denkm 00598 (Bithus, from Thrace); CIL 6, 13820 (Graecula, from Hispania); CIL 10, 03424 (Antiochus, from Cilicia); CIL 10, 03565 = LIKelsey 00055 (Isauricus, from Phrygia); CIL 10, 03617 (Asiaticus, from Egypt); CIL 10, 03648 = CIL 11, *00250,2c (Germanus, from Asia); CIL 11, 00029 = Gummerus-01, 00232 (Romanus, from Egypt); CIL 11, 00105 (Arabica, from Bithynia); CIL 11, 00349 = D 02860 (Macedo, from Dalmatia); CIL 13, 02007 = CAG-69-02, p 669 (Galatia, from Achaia); CIL 13, 06824 = Nesselhauf 00111a = IDRE-01, 00195 = CSIR-D-02-05, 00012 = Grabstelen 00174 = AE 1940, 00117 (Germanus, from Dacia); CIL 13, 07510 = Lehner 00664 = CSIR-D-02-14, 00051 (Breucus, correctly identified as from Pannonia); CIL 13, 07577 = CSIR-D-02-11, 00005 = Grabstelen 00305 (Germanus, correctly identified as from Germany).

⁵⁰ AE 1929, 00146 (= NSA-1928-196); CIL 6, 03159; CIL 10, 03396; CIL 10, 03515.

given the predominance of both Greek and Latin throughout the Empire, it is impossible to assume that a Greek *cognomen* indicates Greek or even eastern origin, nor that a Latin *cognomen* reflects Italian or slave origin.⁵¹

In a similar vein, Taylor attempted to categorize the free population represented in CIL 6 according to status, in order to determine the relative proportions of freeborn and freed Romans.⁵² The actual status of the uncertain free is indeed a vital problem in working with inscriptions, simply because of their prevalence: Taylor estimates that two-thirds of the names in CIL 6 are uncertain free,⁵³ with *tria nomina* but without any indicator of either free birth or manumission. While she concludes that the majority of the uncertain free were in fact freed slaves,⁵⁴ the validity of her conclusions is severely hampered by methodological problems, especially with the selection of the sample to be analysed,⁵⁵ and by contradictory assumptions regarding freed slaves. The assumption that freed slaves are more likely to omit a status indication than the freeborn is particularly problematic,⁵⁶ because there is no possible way of proving the assumption using inscriptional evidence. However, it completely contradicts the additional assumption that freed slaves were more likely to purchase an epitaph due to their pride in

⁵¹ The assumption remains in use and appears in Mouritsen's recent analysis of the Roman freedman (2011, pp. 126-127).

⁵² Taylor 1961, p. 116.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 118. This is in fact an over-estimation: Huttunen counts (rather than estimates) that approximately half the names in CIL 6 belong to uncertain free Romans (1974, p. 137).

⁵⁴ Taylor 1961, p. 123.

⁵⁵ Most notably, the use of sequential sampling (*ibid.*, p. 116), which eliminates all possibility of obtaining a representative sample, particularly as Taylor excluded particular sections (such as the Julio-Claudian *columbaria*, p. 116, n. 12).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-122. The assumption relies entirely on "the freedman's unwillingness to declare his inferior status and his dependence on and obligation to his patron." (p. 122).

their newly-acquired citizenship.⁵⁷ Although both of these factors could explain a predominance of freed slaves in the epigraphic material, they do not in themselves constitute proof that the uncertain free were freed slaves without any additional evidence to support that hypothesis.

The Epigraphic Habit

Although inscriptions provide demographic information and have been used for such purposes, it is still necessary to question whether the available information is thorough, unbiased, and representative of the population as a whole. Despite Taylor's flaws, she did acknowledge that the inscriptional evidence was not representative of the true demography of the Roman population.⁵⁸ Ery has shown that the mortality of the Roman population, if it were accurately recorded in inscriptional age at death,⁵⁹ does not correspond with any possible mortality distribution and must therefore be disproportionately recorded for certain age groups in inscriptional evidence due to cultural and social factors:⁶⁰ indeed, mortality profiles in inscriptions vary considerably across the Roman Empire, indicating that certain age groups were more or less likely to have their age at death recorded in different locations.⁶¹ Indeed, Mouristen's recent analysis of the Roman freedman focused largely on literary and legal evidence regarding the ideological aspects of slavery and manumission and the elite perspective on freedmen

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 129-130.

⁵⁸ Taylor 1961, p. 132.

⁵⁹ This alone is problematic. First, not all inscriptions include age at death: roughly 20% of those commemorated provide an age at death (McWilliam 2001, p. 75). Second, age-rounding – the tendency to record ages ending in 0 or 5 – is known to have occurred, but it appears disproportionately in particular areas of the Roman Empire (Duncan-Jones 1977, Duncan-Jones 1979).

⁶⁰ Ery 1969, p. 56.

⁶¹ Ibid.

rather than on the epigraphic sources due to the problems of obtaining reliable demographic information.⁶²

True demographic representation in the inscriptional material seems highly unlikely given the nature of the evidence. The survival of inscriptions can be assumed to be more or less random,⁶³ so that the extant body of inscriptions can be assumed to be roughly representative of the multitude of inscriptions which either did not survive the centuries or have not yet been discovered. However, the population who purchased and composed inscriptions is self-selecting and not a true representation of the population of the Roman Empire. There are a number of contributing factors. The very poorest Romans would not have been able to afford commemoration in stone and were thus buried in mass grave pits,⁶⁴ so that their lives, ideals, and family structures do not appear at all in the epigraphic evidence.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the number of inscriptions was not consistent over the centuries: more inscriptions are available from the first and second centuries C.E. than from the third and fourth centuries C.E.⁶⁶ In addition, inscriptions are largely an urban phenomenon: the rural population, which would have made up the vast majority of the total population of the Empire, is barely represented at all.⁶⁷ Finally, we must remember that the population of the Roman Empire was not entirely or necessarily culturally “Roman,” while the practice of commemoration through epigraphy was:

⁶² Mouritsen 2011, pp. 120-141.

⁶³ Although not entirely, given the varying degrees of excavation in certain areas of the Roman Empire.

⁶⁴ Lanciani (1888, pp. 65-67) provides an evocative description of the excavation of one such pit, which he estimates to have contained as many as 24,000 bodies.

⁶⁵ Mann 1985, p. 204.

⁶⁶ MacMullen 1982, pp. 242-243; Meyer 1990, p. 74.

⁶⁷ MacMullen 1982, p. 241.

Romanized populations appear far more frequently in inscriptions than do non-Romanized populations.⁶⁸

Even within surviving inscriptions, the epigraphic habit influenced content and wording through the use of stock phrases and formulae, which further limits the freedom of dedicators in expressing their personal lives, relationships, and experiences through epigraphic commemoration. By understanding epigraphic conventions, however, it becomes possible to understand under what additional circumstances particular epithets appear⁶⁹ or what factors influence deviations from the usual patterns.⁷⁰

Households of the Elite

Despite its problematic nature, epigraphic material remains a major source for the lives of slaves and freed slaves, as it is the only available evidence composed by the groups in question and thus, presumably, is a more accurate representation of their actual experiences and values. This leads to another avenue of exploration: where slaves appear in inscriptions, they do so largely within the context of the household.

Unfortunately, inscriptions do not always provide the type of data we would like to have. Alföldy attempted to calculate average age at manumission and to estimate the likelihood that any individual slave could expect manumission from the inscriptional evidence.⁷¹ While his results show an extremely high rate of manumission – with two-thirds of slaves freed before age 30⁷² – the sample is not necessarily representative of the

⁶⁸ Meyer 1990, Cherry 1995.

⁶⁹ Nielsen 1997.

⁷⁰ Flory 1984.

⁷¹ Alföldy 1972.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

slave population as a whole, due to both the self-selecting tendency of epitaphs and the urban bias.⁷³

However, for particular groups, extensive evidence is available in the inscriptions. The best-studied of these is the *familia Caesaris*, the slaves and freed slaves belonging to the emperors. Over four thousand inscriptions record the names, occupations, status, and personal relationships of the members of the *familia Caesaris*,⁷⁴ belonging primarily to the first two and a half centuries of the Empire.⁷⁵ There have been three major monographs on the *familia Caesaris*, all based on dissertations presented in 1964:⁷⁶ Chantraine's *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der Römischen Kaiser*, published in 1967, Weaver's *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves*, published in 1972, and Boulvert's *Domestique et fonctionnaire sous le haut-empire romain*, published in 1974. Even more interestingly, although there is a certain amount of overlap between the three works, each takes a slightly different perspective and focuses on a different aspect of the *familia Caesaris*. Chantraine is most interested in questions and problems of nomenclature, including the choice of the status indication used to denote membership in the *familia Caesaris* and the usage and patterns of *nomina*, *cognomina*, and *agnomina* within the *familia Caesaris*.⁷⁷ Boulvert focuses primarily on the legal, administrative, and public aspects of the *familia Caesaris*, including the rights

⁷³ See Harris (1980) and Wiedemann (1985) for a thorough critique of Alföldy's method, assumptions, and conclusions.

⁷⁴ Weaver 1972, p. 17.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26: the latest dated inscription of an Imperial freedman with a *nomen* belongs to May 238 (CIL 6, 00816 = D 01928), and it is unlikely that many of the undated inscriptions fall much beyond that date.

⁷⁶ Weaver comments on the coincidence in his introduction and notes that they were each unaware of the others until after the fact (1972, pp. 12-13).

and powers of the emperor over his slaves and freed slaves and the legal inferiorities of Imperial slaves and freed slaves, and including an extensive section reconstructing the civil service through the occupations listed by Imperial slaves and freed slaves.⁷⁸ While Weaver discusses nomenclature and the occupational hierarchy of the civil service at some length as well, he also concentrates heavily on the social and personal relationships of Imperial slaves and freed slaves, most notably their marriages and children,⁷⁹ as well as their own slaves and freed slaves.⁸⁰

Beyond the *familia Caesaris*, other elite households have been studied to a certain extent, mainly those whose surviving *columbaria* provide easy access to a large sample: namely, the household of Livia, the household of the Volusii, the household of the Statilii, and the household of Agrippa.⁸¹ These studies have largely focused on individual aspects of the households in question, such as status, marriage, childbearing, or occupation, rather than detailed analyses of all aspects of household organization and management.

Between 8% and 10% of names in CIL 6 are associated with an occupational title,⁸² and for certain groups, such as the slaves and freed slaves of the elite, the proportion is much higher. Indeed, Joshel's thorough study of workers in CIL 6 reveals

⁷⁷ His section on *agnomina* in -ianus/a, which indicate previous ownership, is incredibly thorough (Chantraine 1967, pp. 293-388).

⁷⁸ Boulvert 1974, pp. 111-198.

⁷⁹ Weaver 1972, pp. 93-196. Boulvert discusses this as well (1974, pp. 257-328), although from a legal perspective rather than a social one.

⁸⁰ Weaver 1972, pp. 200-211. Cf. Chantraine 1967, pp. 389-395.

⁸¹ Livia: Treggiari 1975b. Volusii: Treggiari 1975a, Hasegawa 2005b. Statilii: Treggiari 1975a, Joshel 1992, Caldelli and Ricci 1999, Hasegawa 2005b. Agrippa: Fabre and Roddaz 1984.

⁸² Huttunen (1974, p. 48) calculates 10% from his sample, while Nielsen (*Roman Relations*, p. 75) calculates 8% from her sample, with much higher rates for slaves (27%), but not for freed slaves (9%).

that nearly three-quarters of individuals providing occupational titles are affiliated with an elite household.⁸³ The elite household, therefore, cannot be ignored as the context of economic activity,⁸⁴ nor can the contribution of labour to slaves' identities and relationships with one another be underemphasized.⁸⁵ The high degree of specialization among occupational titles demands some sort of categorization, in order to permit comparison between occupations and in order to avoid producing little more than an extensive list of occupational titles and each title's definition;⁸⁶ Joshel categorizes those occupations into nine different categories, and clearly indicates which occupations belong to which category in order to make her subsequent analyses fully transparent.⁸⁷

Moving beyond workers in general, inscriptions including specific job titles can be used to help understand the characteristics commonly associated with those occupations and thus the implications of the occupational term. Occupations are convenient search terms, and inscriptions can provide information about who was working in a particular job, where they were working, during what periods particular jobs were more common, and even employers' identities. The potential range of occupations available in sufficient quantity for study is vast, and previous works have focused on agricultural workers,⁸⁸ library workers,⁸⁹ wet-nurses,⁹⁰ gladiators,⁹¹ the military,⁹² and the German bodyguard,⁹³ among others.

⁸³ 74% (Joshel 1992, p. 74).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55, p. 106.

⁸⁶ For example: Treggiari 1975b, pp. 49-57; Treggiari 1976, *passim*; Treggiari 1979b, *passim*; Chantraine 1980, pp. 396-398; Garland 1992, *passim*.

⁸⁷ Joshel 1992, p. 69, pp. 174-175. She provides a list of Latin occupations and their definitions in an appendix (pp. 176-182).

⁸⁸ Scheidel 1990, Carlsen 1996, Carlsen 2000.

The organization of members of a large elite household extended to a concern for their burial as well, through the formation of *collegia* associations. Such associations have left a considerable record in epigraphic sources through their involvement in the administration of elite households' *columbaria*, as the inscriptions inside periodically provide titles indicating that an individual was a magistrate in that particular *collegium*.⁹⁴ Other *collegia*, most notably that belonging to the Imperial estate at Antium, have left lengthy records of their magistrates, organized by consular year.⁹⁵ These organizations aimed to provide financial support for burial, although the way in which the finances and the *collegium* itself were organized remains unclear:⁹⁶ we do not know how large or how small a role the aristocratic master of a household may have played in the creation of a *collegium* for his or her household members. The master's contributions may extend as far as managing the *collegium* as part of the regular household administration, donating the building, or providing a portion of the *collegium*'s income, as part of a sense of responsibility for one's dependents, even after death;⁹⁷ conversely, it is also possible that such matters were considered beyond the scope of the master's concerns, so that the *collegium* was organized and funded entirely on an independent basis, even when all or most of its members were affiliated with a particular household. Furthermore, such a

⁸⁹ Bruce 1986, Houston 2002.

⁹⁰ Dixon 1984, Joshel 1986.

⁹¹ Hornero 2003.

⁹² Nutton 1970 (military physicians specifically), Lendon 2006.

⁹³ Speidel 1984.

⁹⁴ Among others, the terms *decurio*, *quinquennialis*, *quaestor*, *curator*, *honoratus*, and *immunis* denote official status within a *collegium*. See also Hasegawa 2005a, p. 251; Nielsen 2006, pp. 204-205.

⁹⁵ CIL 10, 06637 (= CIL 6, 08639 = InscrIt-13-01, 00032 = GLISwedish 00149 = Epigraphica-2003-98 = AE 1997, +00102 = AE 2002, 00309 = AE 2003, +00298) and CIL 10.06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055) both belong to the Imperial estate at Antium.

collegium did not necessarily restrict the physical *columbarium* to the household within which it originated, nor were the slaves or freed slaves of a particular household bound to burial within a *columbarium* dedicated to that household.⁹⁸ both scenarios can be illustrated by the Julio-Claudian *columbaria* that form part of the present study. The *Monumentum Liviae* served primarily the household of Livia and her close relatives, with nearly 80% of the names within the *columbarium*'s inscription belonging to slaves or bearing the *nomina* Livius, Iulius, Claudius, or Antonius. However, of all Livia's slaves and freed slaves attested in the inscriptional evidence, slightly more than half come from the *Monumentum Liviae*, while the remainder were found elsewhere, unaffiliated with the *columbarium* within which they could easily have been commemorated if they had wished it.⁹⁹ The *Monumentum Marcellae*, by contrast, was dedicated by a freedman of Marcella the Younger¹⁰⁰ and served her household heavily, but a considerable proportion of the names within are completely unconnected to the Julio-Claudians,¹⁰¹ with 178 different *nomina* represented within the *columbarium*. Thus, while the *Monumentum Marcellae* may have been connected to the households of Marcella the Elder and Marcella the Younger, it did not serve them exclusively and space was available for purchase by individuals outside the *familia Caesaris*.

⁹⁶ Hasegawa 2005a, pp. 254-257, 261-262.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 259.

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 259-261.

⁹⁹ A few additional examples come from other Julio-Claudian *columbaria* (one from the *Monumentum liberorum Drusi* and three from the *Monumentum Marcellae*), but nearly half of the attested names are unrelated to the extant *columbaria*.

¹⁰⁰ CIL 6, 04421 (= D 07879): *C(aius) Claudius Marcellae / Minoris l(ibertus) Phasis decurio / monumentum dedicavit et / decuriae epulum dedit d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) huic / decuria ex aere conlato imaginem / decreverunt.*

Taking such factors into consideration, epigraphic evidence can offer insight into the formation of close personal relationships among slaves and freed slaves of the same household, whether through joint membership in a *collegium*, shared occupation, or other social activities, illustrated through the frequent mention of relationships between *conservi* and *colliberti*.¹⁰² The elite household itself formed the pool from which potential marriage partners were selected,¹⁰³ and within which additional familial relationships formed. The existence of slave families and marriage within the elite household should be – and was – taken for granted as an aspect of the social organization of an elite household.¹⁰⁴

Families of the Non-Elite

Moving away from elite households, epitaphs have long been used as evidence for the family structures and lives of non-elite Romans, including both those affiliated with elite households as well as those with no such connection. This includes both the general structure of the Roman family, as well as the component relationships that are considered to be “familial” in nature.

Saller and Shaw’s massive study of approximately twelve thousand inscriptions¹⁰⁵ attempted to illustrate that Roman families were generally of the nuclear type – father, mother, and shared children – rather than the extended type, which includes other relatives as well. In order to accomplish this, they analysed the types of relationships

¹⁰¹ Some are the descendants of Julio-Claudian freed slaves, as is the family represented in CIL 6, 04923, CIL 6, 05035, and CIL 6, 05074.

¹⁰² Flory 1978, pp. 83-86. Not to mention those *conservi* and *colliberti* who do not use the terms explicitly, along with those who have gone undetected due to the lack of a status indication. Cf. p. 206.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 86.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 86-87.

recorded in inscriptions from servile, civilian, and military populations,¹⁰⁶ and noted whether each individual relationship represented the nuclear family (including conjugal, parent-child, and sibling relationships), the extended family, heirs, friends, or slavery.¹⁰⁷ Based on the predominance of nuclear family relationships,¹⁰⁸ they concluded that the nuclear family was the primary household unit for the lower classes.¹⁰⁹ Their clearly-explained methodology,¹¹⁰ however, has permitted Martin to replicate their study (albeit on a much smaller scale) and thereby critique both their underlying assumptions and their conclusions.¹¹¹ Most significantly, he found fault with their separation of each epitaph into its component relationships,¹¹² which over-simplifies the potential complexity of familial relationships and over-estimates the importance of the “nuclear family” as a unit. He acknowledges that the individual relationships that make up a nuclear family – between spouses, siblings, or parents and children – are indeed most common, but questions whether an inscription in which, for example, a man commemorates his wife, his parents, and his freedman should count as three nuclear and one non-nuclear

¹⁰⁵ Saller and Shaw 1984, p. 125.

¹⁰⁶ Although their method of assigning inscriptions to one group or another – particularly given the immense overlap between so-called “servile” and “civilian” populations – was admittedly “somewhat arbitrary” (Saller and Shaw 1984, p. 131).

¹⁰⁷ Saller and Shaw 1984, pp. 131-132.

¹⁰⁸ Within the civilian population, this was about 75% to 90% of the total number of relationships (Saller and Shaw 1984, p. 134).

¹⁰⁹ Saller and Shaw 1984, p. 137, pp. 145-146.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-133. The sampling methods used are particularly problematic (p. 131), and most likely skew the results. In some cases, entire sets of inscriptions from a particularly location were used, but when those sets proved too large, some were sampled randomly (every fiftieth inscription from CIL 6, for instance) while others were sampled consecutively (the first thousand inscriptions from a location or volume).

¹¹¹ Martin 1996, p. 41.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

relationship rather than as one extended family.¹¹³ In any attempt to analyse the Roman family as a single entity, the entire family structure represented in a single inscription ought to be more important than its component relationships,¹¹⁴ if indeed it can be assumed that a funerary inscription is a representation of a family as we (and as the Romans) would understand it.¹¹⁵ While the component relationships are valuable as well, revealing the relationships in which commemoration after death was considered an important duty, when they are only analysed separately, they cannot provide a more complex picture of the network of relationships that make up the family as a whole. Furthermore, the family is not by any means a static entity, with one structure that remains the same for decades, and we should not expect to find a single structural composition that applies to all families in a given society or time period:¹¹⁶ family structures, living organization, and household composition changes throughout the life of the family itself and of the individuals within it, so that the family structures visible among the lower classes reflect a variety of families at a variety of stages of development.¹¹⁷

However, setting aside the problems in determining Roman family structure, its component relationships have also been studied through the use of inscriptions. Marriages – whether *de jure* or *de facto*¹¹⁸ – are extensively represented in the epigraphic material, and previous studies have focused on the variety of terms used to describe a

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 43-44.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 42-47.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 49-51.

¹¹⁶ Huebner 2011, p. 78.

¹¹⁷ Huebner's (2011) analysis of Egyptian inscriptions and census returns takes this into consideration.

¹¹⁸ See below for the distinction (p. 34).

marital relationship,¹¹⁹ the status pairings of married couples,¹²⁰ the age at which first marriage generally occurred,¹²¹ and the average duration of marriage.¹²² As for children, epitaphs can resolve questions about their status as it relates to those of their parents (and, by consequence, about the stability of slave families),¹²³ about burial and commemoration practices in a society with such high child mortality,¹²⁴ and about children's economic contributions through participation in the labour market.¹²⁵ Beyond the obvious nuclear relationships, however, are the quasi-kin relationships that Romans formed (and recorded extensively in inscriptions) to supplement familial relationships and to take care of the social, personal, and commemorative needs that would normally be fulfilled by family members. These are most frequently quasi-parental relationships, such as *alumni*, *delicia*, and *mammae* and *tatae*,¹²⁶ but other iterations certainly occurred,¹²⁷ and the prevalence of such relationships reveals the inherent flexibility and practicality of the Roman conception of the family.

¹¹⁹ Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010.

¹²⁰ Treggiari 1981. Cf. Rawson 1974, which is basically a summarized list of inscriptions.

¹²¹ Shaw 1987, Saller 1987, Schiedel 2007. These are particularly innovative as they rely not only on the few epitaphs that include information about age at death as well as length of marriage, but also on the analysis of the ages when both men and women shift from being commemorated as sons and daughters to being commemorated as spouses.

¹²² Shaw 2002.

¹²³ Rawson 1966.

¹²⁴ McWilliam 2001.

¹²⁵ Nielsen 2007, Laes 2008.

¹²⁶ *Alumni*: Nielsen 1986, Bellemore and Rawson 1990; *delicia*: Nielsen 1992, Laes 2003, Laes 2010; *mammae* and *tatae*: Nielsen 1990, Bradley 1991 (pp. 76-102).

¹²⁷ *Collactanei* and *vernae*, for example, although the latter did not necessarily indicate a quasi-kin relationship, particularly when used within the *familia Caesaris* (Weaver 1972, pp. 51-53). Cf. Nielsen 1991, Hermann-Otto 1994, Penner 2007.

Statistical Analyses

By far, the largest shift in the use of epigraphic material in recent decades has been in the increasing use of statistical analysis. The advent of computers has revolutionized the scholarly approach to epitaphs, providing new (and far less time-consuming) methods of searching, organizing, and analysing the available evidence.

Weaver's seminal study of the *familia Caesaris* laid the groundwork for future epigraphic studies. He provides a detailed, transparent discussion of his methodology throughout as well as the rationale behind his interpretations, thereby fulfilling several vital criteria for the proper use of epigraphic material. His interpretations, furthermore, are highly conservative, using only the information available within the inscription itself with no assumptions of freed or freeborn status based on etymological origin.¹²⁸ Most notably, he analysed over four thousand inscriptions in detail without the use of a computer, a feat that would be inconceivable today.

Huttunen has conducted the only extensive numerical analysis of CIL 6 in its entirety.¹²⁹ Like Weaver, his methods are clearly identified: he sampled every fifth epitaph in CIL 6¹³⁰ – a much more reliable sampling method – and, innovatively, brought the analysis of epitaphs into the computer age, coding a database with the use of punch cards.¹³¹ He carefully defines his demographic and relational terminology in order to ensure complete transparency,¹³² a necessity when working with such a large body of evidence. The topics included are broad, ranging from patterns of occupational

¹²⁸ Weaver 1972, p. 11.

¹²⁹ Huttunen 1974.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

indicators, to the inclusion of age at death, to status indicators and distributions, as well as the effects that various social relationships had on the inclusion or exclusion of such information.

Saller and Shaw's work on family structures marks a major shift in epigraphic methodology. However, although their methodology offered a novel approach to epitaphs, analysing them in large numbers and moving beyond name, status, and job, made problematic assumptions regarding household structure and sampling technique,¹³³ as I have discussed above. Furthermore, Saller and Shaw's statistical approach was not always applied thoroughly or correctly by others. Both Rawson and Bradley's attempts at statistical analysis have resulted in complex, frequently unclear tables.¹³⁴ In order for statistical analysis to be effective, one must analyse large numbers of epitaphs rather than discussing each individual epitaph and providing all known examples.

More recently, several authors have successfully applied statistical analysis to the epigraphic material. Joshel's analysis of occupational epitaphs in CIL 6, like Weaver's, clearly outlines its methodology and interpretations,¹³⁵ and performs detailed analyses of status, gender, and occupational type, among others. Overall, she successfully applies numerical results to the understanding of the Roman household and occupational attitudes and patterns among the lower classes within Rome.¹³⁶ Nielsen has studied a wide variety of epigraphic material using her methodology, calculating percentages for her samples and comparing those percentages in her analyses to offer definitive

¹³² Ibid., pp. 18-21.

¹³³ Saller and Shaw 1984, pp. 130-132.

¹³⁴ Rawson 1974, p. 289, p. 294, p. 302; Bradley 1991, pp. 15-16, pp. 77-80.

¹³⁵ Joshel 1992, pp. 16-20.

conclusions regarding typical commemoration patterns for family relations, quasi-kin relationships, and children.¹³⁷

Legislating Slaves, Freed Slaves, and the Household

There is by no means the need to enumerate every article of Roman law dealing with slaves, freed slaves, or the household. However, some passages have bearing on the understanding of inscriptions and the situations that produced them, as well as on the elite household as a whole, and these relevant laws I will discuss below.

However, simply because these laws existed does not necessarily mean that they were always obeyed: indeed, the laws against slave marriage seem to have had absolutely no impact on slaves' willingness to contract such unions, their masters' encouragement and even initiation of slave marriages, and the epigraphic use of terms that, strictly speaking, should apply only to legal Roman marriage. In fact, the laws themselves acknowledge the existence of slave marriages and encourage masters to respect such relationships, despite their lack of legal recognition.¹³⁸ However, they do provide a legal context for the inscriptional evidence and can assist in its interpretation, both for individual inscriptions and for aggregate results.

Slavery

The large households of the elite generally comprised not only the urban *domus*, but also various suburban villas and rural estates. As a consequence, the owner's slaves were also divided between different properties, generally separated into the *familia*

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Nielsen 1986, Nielsen 1990, Nielsen 1991, Nielsen 1992, Nielsen 2007.

¹³⁸ D.23.3.9, D.33.7.12.7, D.38.10.10.5. Cf. D.40.4.59.

urbana – those whose occupations are connected to the urban *domus* – and the *familia rustica* – those working on one of the rural estates or villas.¹³⁹ The distinction between the two was not always clear-cut, even to the legal sources.¹⁴⁰ The place of residence was an important factor, but occupational duties and even parental connections could supersede it. Certain occupations could belong to the *familia urbana*, despite taking place in the countryside,¹⁴¹ and the children of urban slaves being reared in the countryside belonged to the *familia urbana* by virtue of their mother's affiliation.¹⁴² For ease of administration, large-scale slave owners must have maintained a slave register,¹⁴³ which seems to have included their affiliation with the *familia urbana* or *familia rustica*¹⁴⁴ as well as their occupation.¹⁴⁵

Matters become more complicated when marriage is brought into the picture. Although joint ownership of slaves was possible, married couples generally owned separate groups of slaves.¹⁴⁶ Although it may seem as though this should have impacted the interactions between slaves and master (or mistress) along with the everyday functioning of the household in general, it seems that the law merely delineated legal ownership, while in a practical sense, the distinction mattered very little. The joint

¹³⁹ D.50.16.166: "*urbana familia*" et "*rustica*" non loco, sed genere distinguitur: potest enim aliquis dispensator non esse servorum urbanorum numero: veluti is, qui rusticarum rerum rationes dispenset ibique habitet. non multum abest a vilico insularius: autem urbanorum numero est. videndum tamen est, ipse dominus quorum loco quemque habuerit: quod ex numero familiae et vicariis apparebit.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. D.32.1.99.

¹⁴¹ D.32.1.99.1-2 notes that hunters (*venatores*) and bird-catchers (*aucupes*) could be either urban or rural, depending on the location of the *paterfamilias*, while muleteers (*muliones*) were generally urban. D.33.7.27.pr reports a case wherein fishermen (*piscoatores*) were included in the *familia urbana*.

¹⁴² D.32.1.99.3, D.50.16.210.

¹⁴³ D.32.99.pr (*libellis familiae*), D.40.4.59.pr (*rationibus*).

¹⁴⁴ D.32.99.pr.

¹⁴⁵ D.40.4.59.pr.

¹⁴⁶ D.29.5.1.15.

household was considered as a single, comingled entity under law,¹⁴⁷ and spouses used one another's slaves on a regular basis.¹⁴⁸ In fact, certain types of slaves, such as litter-bearers (*lecticarii*) and hairdressers (*ornatrices*), seem to have been intended primarily for the wife's use, regardless of their actual owner.¹⁴⁹

But what about the slaves themselves? In the most technical sense of the law, slaves had no relatives, so that their only legal relationship was to their master. However, this does not seem to have reflected common practices in owners' treatment of their slaves, and the legal sources repeatedly acknowledge that slaves contracted marriage (and even exchanged dowry),¹⁵⁰ bore children,¹⁵¹ and maintained the usual familial relationships in slavery.¹⁵² They even specify that the inheritance of members of slave families by different heirs would constitute a "cruel separation" (*duram separationem*).¹⁵³ There is no outright ban on separating slave families, and it certainly must have happened, but the law acknowledges that it is not an ideal situation.

As for children, the status of a child is dependent on the parents' relationship.¹⁵⁴ If the parents are legally married under Roman law (*matrimonium iustum*), both parents must necessarily be free: the resulting child is freeborn and takes the father's *nomen*. If

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*: Both the husband's and the wife's slaves are liable to punishment where one of their number has killed both the master and the mistress.

¹⁴⁸ D.24.1.18, D.24.1.28.1-2, D.24.1.31. The law did distinguish between the ownership of the slave and the ownership of goods produced by the slave (D.24.1.31), which could be either the husband or the wife depending on who ordered production and the purpose of the goods.

¹⁴⁹ D.32.1.49.

¹⁵⁰ D.23.3.39, D.40.2.14, D.40.4.59. On slaves and dowry, see Buti (1997).

¹⁵¹ D.32.1.99, D.33.7.12.7, D.50.16.210.

¹⁵² D.33.7.12.7, D.33.7.27.1, D.38.10.10.5. See also the discussion of the *lex Aelia Sentia* below (p. 39), which by its very nature accepts the existence of slaves' familial relationships.

¹⁵³ D.33.7.12.7. Cf. D.21.1.38.14ff., which describes slave brothers as a group which ought not be separated.

¹⁵⁴ Gai. Inst. 1.80-82, Ulp. 5.8-10, Inst. 1.4

the parents are not legally married, for whatever reason, the child's status follows the mother's, regardless of the father's status. Thus, the child of a slave woman is a slave, generally the slave of her master,¹⁵⁵ and the child of a free woman is freeborn and takes her *nomen*.

In addition, slave status did not necessarily preclude the ownership of property. A slave's property was classified as *peculium*, an allowance granted by the master and which technically forms part of the master's assets,¹⁵⁶ although it is reserved for the slave's use.¹⁵⁷ The logical extension of the slave's financial assets is the ownership of slaves by slaves,¹⁵⁸ which was legally possible and definitely occurred within the Imperial household.¹⁵⁹ Such slaves were known as *vicarii*, and the owner-slave could train them and earn profit from their labour.¹⁶⁰

Manumission

Slaves did not necessarily remain slaves, of course, as manumission granted the slave freedom and the right to use a *tria nomina* derived from that of his or her patron. For the slaves of the emperor alone, nothing more than the emperor's expressed wish was

¹⁵⁵ The sole exception is *partus ancillae*, where a female slave's labour is assigned to someone other than her legal master and, for all intents and purposes, she is considered the slave of her employer (the laws on *usufructus* are at D.7.1); however, any children born to her become the property of her original owner and must be surrendered (D. 7.1.68, D.22.1.28.1, Gai. Inst. 2.50, Cic. Fin. 1.12). Cf. Kaser 1958, Gardner 1988 (p. 96).

¹⁵⁶ D.15.1.4ff.

¹⁵⁷ Mouritsen (2011, pp. 159-180) provides a thorough analysis of the legalities and practicalities surrounding the *peculium*, including the potential (or lack thereof) for its use in the purchase of manumission.

¹⁵⁸ D.15.1.6, D.15.1.7.4, D.21.1.44.pr.

¹⁵⁹ The *vicarii* of Julio-Claudian slaves fall within the purview of this study and will be discussed later (pp. 218-219). Cf. Weaver 1972, pp. 200-206.

¹⁶⁰ D.14.3.11.8, D.18.1.31.pr.2.

required for full, formal manumission,¹⁶¹ but normal manumission laws would have applied to other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The laws regarding manumission were significantly changed during the Julio-Claudian period and will therefore be thoroughly explored below.

Lex Fufia Caninia: 2 B.C.E.

The *lex Fufia Caninia* (2 B.C.E.) placed restrictions on the number of slaves that could be manumitted in a testator's will, as well as the method by which testamentary manumission must occur.¹⁶² Slaves must be named in a will, or otherwise personally identified within reason,¹⁶³ in order to be considered legally manumitted. The restrictions on the proportion of the household that can be manumitted in a will vary according to the number of slaves owned: no restriction for households of one or two slaves, up to half for households between three and ten slaves, up to a third for households between ten and thirty slaves, up to a quarter for households between thirty and one hundred slaves, up to a fifth for households between one hundred and five hundred slaves, and no more than a hundred for households over five hundred slaves. This only applied to testamentary manumission: it was still explicitly possible for a master to manumit his entire household while alive.¹⁶⁴ For the Julio-Claudians' slaves, these restrictions would have meant that a considerable number could expect to be transferred to a new owner rather than manumitted upon the death of their original owner.

¹⁶¹ D.40.1.14.1.

¹⁶² Paulus Sent. 4.14, Gai. Inst. 1.42-46, Gai. Inst. 2.228, Inst. 1.7 (which only explains the law in order to justify its repeal by Justinian in the sixth century).

¹⁶³ It seems an occupation alone is sufficient, provided that only one such slave exists with the occupation in question (Paulus Sent. 4.14.1).

¹⁶⁴ Gai. Inst. 1.44.

Lex Aelia Sentia: 4 C.E.

The *lex Aelia Sentia* further restricted the manumission of slaves, by limiting the circumstances under which full manumission could occur.¹⁶⁵ A master could not fully manumit anyone before he himself attained the age of twenty, nor could a slave under the age of thirty be fully manumitted. Extenuating circumstances did apply that did not require either party to be of the appropriate age, particularly in the case of close personal relationships: a parent, natural child, or sibling could still be manumitted, as could various quasi-kin relations,¹⁶⁶ a slavewoman the master intended to marry, or a slave *procurator* (manager). This could have had numerous effects with regard to the manumission of the Julio-Claudians' slaves. First, it limited the age at which the Julio-Claudians themselves could manumit their slaves, although it was certainly possible for them to take advantage of the exceptions permitting the manumission of certain classes of workers.¹⁶⁷ Second, it would have affected the ability of Imperial freed slaves themselves to manumit their own slaves, particularly any family members whom they may have purchased or been given for that purpose. It would also have restricted the citizenship of those manumitted under the age of thirty, making them Junian Latins (the implications of which I will discuss below), but this may not have been sufficient deterrent to restrict manumission to those slaves over the age of thirty, as it is frequently understood.

¹⁶⁵ Inst. 1.5-6, Gai. Inst. 1.13, Gai. Inst. 1.17-19, Gai. Inst. 1.36-41, Gai. Inst. 1.80.

¹⁶⁶ These include paedagogues (*paedagogi*), wet-nurses (*nutrices*), childcare workers (*educatores*), foster-children (*alumni*), and milk-siblings (*collactanei*).

¹⁶⁷ Most notably, there are two epitaphs naming Lemnus, a freedman of Nero with the *nomen* Domitius (CIL 6, 08499 and CIL 11, 01753 = CIL 6, 08500 = D 01490 = AE 2004, +00042), who must have been

Lex Papia Poppaea: 9 C.E.

Several provisions of the *lex Papia Poppaea*¹⁶⁸ are relevant to the financial and personal lives of Imperial freed slaves. First, if a freedman dies, testate or intestate, with a living patron,¹⁶⁹ with an estate valued at more than 100,000 sesterces and fewer than three children, the patron has the right to inherit an equivalent share to a child. That is to say, if one child survives, the patron can claim half the estate; if two children survive, the patron can claim a third of the estate; but if three children survive, the patron is excluded from the estate altogether (barring, of course, any additional bequests). For a freedwoman, the requirements are even more stringent: five children are required to bar the patron from inheriting altogether. This cannot have come into force often, but among the wealthy and powerful Imperial freedmen, it certainly must have been relevant: the value of Pallas' estate is recorded, ten years before his death, at 300 million sesterces,¹⁷⁰ Nero's contribution alone to the estate of Doryphorus was 10 million sesterces,¹⁷¹ and Callistus' wealth easily exceeded the 100,000 sesterces threshold as well.¹⁷² They are, of course, anomalies, but a career within the Imperial administration certainly made the accumulation of sufficient wealth to meet the criteria of the law possible.

Furthermore, both the *lex Papia Poppaea* and its predecessor, the *lex Iulia* (18 B.C.E.) regulate manumission *matrimonia causa*; that is, manumission of a female slave

manumitted prior to Nero's adoption in 50 at the age of 15; his occupation is given as *procurator*, which falls within the allowable exceptions for early manumission.

¹⁶⁸ Gai. Inst. 3.42-53.

¹⁶⁹ Or a male descendent entirely within the male line.

¹⁷⁰ Plin. HN 33.134, Tac. Ann. 12.53.

¹⁷¹ Cass. Dio 61.4.4.

¹⁷² Plin. HN 33.134, Plin. HN 36.60.

by her male owner specifically for the purpose of contracting a legal marriage.¹⁷³ This is, of course, not relevant to the Julio-Claudians themselves, who were barred through their membership in the senatorial class from any marriage with freed slaves,¹⁷⁴ but to the marriages of their freed slaves, for whom Weaver posits that this was frequently the case.¹⁷⁵ As I have previously mentioned, manumission for this purpose is exempt from the limitations of the *lex Aelia Sentia* on the age of the patron and the age of the freed slave. While the law demands the freedwoman's consent to such a relationship,¹⁷⁶ the conditions imposed upon her are highly restrictive. The freedwoman-cum-wife has no right to divorce her patron-cum-husband, as long as he wishes her to remain his wife,¹⁷⁷ and if a divorce should occur, the freedwoman cannot marry another without her patron's consent.¹⁷⁸

Lex Iunia Norbana: Augustan

Over the course of Augustus' reign, restrictions on manumission and the practice of informal manumission produced two separate groups of freed slaves: those who were full Roman citizens and those who had Latin status only, known as Junian Latins after the *lex Iunia Norbana*.¹⁷⁹ Gaius puts the distinction between manumission to Junian Latin status and manumission to citizen status most succinctly:

Nam in cuius persona tria haec concurrunt, ut maior sit annorum triginta, et ex iure Quiritium domini, et iusta ac

¹⁷³ D.23.2.45.

¹⁷⁴ D.23.2.44.pr.

¹⁷⁵ Weaver 1972, p. 99, p. 185, pp. 209-210.

¹⁷⁶ D.23.2.28.

¹⁷⁷ D.24.2.11: *quamdiu patronus eam uxorem esse volet*.

¹⁷⁸ D.23.2.45.

¹⁷⁹ Gai. Inst. 1.22-35, Gai. Inst. 1.65-81, Gai. Inst. 3.55-76, Inst. 1.5 (again, just to emphasize Justinian's abolishment of the distinction between manumitted Romans and Junian Latins).

legitima manumissione liberetur, id est vindicta aut censu aut testamento, is civis Romanus fit; sin vero aliquid eorum deerit, Latinus erit. (Gai. Inst. 1.17)

For one in whose person these three things concur, that he is older than thirty years of age, and that he is owned by a master under the Quirite law, and that he is freed by legal and legitimate manumission, that is by vindicta or by the census or by testament, becomes a Roman citizen; but when any one of these things is lacking, he becomes a Latin.

Junian Latins could neither make a will nor be included among the heirs of another's will: their property, technically, remained a *peculium* and thus reverted to the former patron or his or her heir upon the Junian Latin's death. There were, of course, methods of converting Junian Latin status into full Roman citizenship, such as the presentation of a one-year-old son or daughter born in *matrimonium iustum* before a magistrate,¹⁸⁰ service in the guards or the military, ownership of a ship importing grain to Rome, construction of a *domus* within the city of Rome,¹⁸¹ or through the re-manumission of an informally-manumitted Junian Latin.

The question of Junian Latin status is important primarily because of its implications for property. Weaver has proposed that the majority of the uncertain free Romans in the inscriptional material are in fact Junian Latins, manumitted informally and therefore lacking full Roman citizenship.¹⁸² Junian Latin status likely did not apply to

¹⁸⁰ The procedure appears to have been quite complex: legal tablets from Herculaneum document the process as experienced by one L. Venidius Ennychus (Camodeca 2006, Wallace-Hadrill 2011, pp. 138-140).

¹⁸¹ Gai. Inst. 1.32-34. Under Trajan, it also became possible for Latins to obtain Roman citizenship by working as a miller.

¹⁸² Weaver 1990. However, he assumes a great deal of knowledge of the nuances of manumission law on the part of Junian Latins that they were unlikely to have possessed: it is a stretch to argue that Junian Latins would have been fully aware of what status indicators they were permitted to use or what those implied (p.

many of the freed slaves belonging to emperors themselves: manumission seems to have regularly taken place between the ages of thirty and forty,¹⁸³ although women may have been favoured for early manumission.¹⁸⁴ However, it would have applied to the other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and certainly a sizeable minority of the Imperial freed slaves would have been Junian Latins. Barred from inheriting and from writing wills, their property – both financial assets and slaves – would have reverted to the Imperial household after death, thereby augmenting the Imperial coffers and replenishing the supply of Imperial slaves.

Senatusconsultum Claudianum: 52 C.E.

The enactment of the *Senatusconsultum (SC) Claudianum* created additional circumstances that could alter the child's status depending on the particular situation of the parents. Our main sources for the details of the law are Gaius and Tacitus.¹⁸⁵ The pertinent passages are as follows:

Ecce enim ex senatus consulto Claudiano poterat civis Romana, quae alieno servo volente domino eius coit, ipsa ex pactione libera permanere, sed servum procreare; nam quod inter eam et dominum istius servi convenerit ex senatus consulto ratum esse iubetur. Sed postea divus Hadrianus iniquitate rei et inelegantia iuris motus restituit iuris gentium regulam, ut cum ipsa mulier libera permaneat, liberum pariat. (Gai. Inst. 1.84)

280), or what status indicators their freeborn Latin children ought to have used in the strictest sense of the law (p. 278).

¹⁸³ Weaver 1972, p. 104.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. pp. 100-102.

¹⁸⁵ There are also mentions of the *SC Claudianum*, with no further information, in Ulp. 11.11, Paulus Sent. 4.10.2, Gai. Inst. 1.91, Gai. Inst. 1.160, Cod. Iust. 7.24, Inst. 3.12, and Tert. Ux. 2.8. Suetonius (Vesp. 11) seems to credit the law to Vespasian: *auctor senatui fuit decernendi, ut quae se alieno servo iunxisset, ancilla haberetur.*

For from the *senatusconsultum Claudianum*, it was possible that a female Roman citizen who joined herself with another's slave with the master's consent should remain free according to this agreement, but that she should give birth to a slave; for what was agreed between her and the master of that slave was ordered to be valid by the *senatusconsultum*. But later, the divine Hadrian, moved by the iniquity of the matter and the inelegance of the law, restored the usual *ius gentium*, so that when a woman is free, she shall bear a free child.

... refert ad patres de poena feminarum quae servis coniungerentur; statuiturque ut ignaro domino ad id prolapsae in servitute, sin consensisset, pro libertis haberentur. Pallanti, quem repertorem eius relationis ediderat Caesar, praetoria insignia et centies quinquagies sestertium censuit consul designatus Barea Soranus... (Tac. Ann. 12.53)

... he proposed to the senators punishments for women who married slaves; and it was stated that those who did this without the master's knowledge should be reduced to slavery because of it, but when [the master] consented, they should be held among his freed slaves. To Pallas, whom Caesar claimed was the initiator of this motion, the consul-elect Barea Soranus decreed praetorian insignia and 150,000 sesterces...

It should be noted that the *SC Claudianum* did not, and was not intended to, prevent a freedwoman from marrying her own slave. Such a relationship is entirely plausible, particularly given the benefits to a slave couple of purchasing the woman's freedom first. First, the woman's freedom was most likely cheaper, if the relative valuation of male and female slaves changed little between the Julio-Claudian period and the publication of Diocletian's price edict nearly two centuries later.¹⁸⁶ Second, a freed mother and a slave father will produce freeborn, albeit illegitimate children. Finally, it is

easy to conceive of a situation in which a freedwoman, either through purchase or inheritance, comes to own her slave husband,¹⁸⁷ both in order to eliminate the potential instability of slave families and in order to manumit him herself;¹⁸⁸ the law acknowledges this as a very real possibility.¹⁸⁹

Paulus provides some detail about the possible situations covered by the law,¹⁹⁰ but one thing is extremely clear: a woman would only be reduced to slave status for her marriage with a male slave if his master did not consent to the union and subsequently denounced her for it. The master's disapproval is the key component. One cannot assume that the Imperial household had either the time or the inclination to denounce the marriages of all Imperial slaves; instead, I suspect that Weaver is correct in surmising that the matter related more to property rights and was intended primarily to promote the financial interests of the Imperial household.¹⁹¹ By the reign of Claudius, there was already a tendency for male Imperial slaves to marry free women (whether free or freeborn is irrelevant here),¹⁹² and all resulting children, who would automatically take their mother's status, would pass outside the control of the *familia Caesaris*, limiting both

¹⁸⁶ Between the ages of 16 and 40 (which corresponds with the period of peak fertility), the maximum value of a female slave in Diocletian's price edict was 83% of the maximum value of a male slave (Saller 2003, p. 202).

¹⁸⁷ Evans-Grubbs 1993, p. 131.

¹⁸⁸ It was certainly to a couple's advantage to ensure that the wife was manumitted first (Flory 1984, pp. 217-219). There are examples of *patrona-libertus* marriage in the epigraphic sources (CIL 6, 14014, CIL 6, 14355 = ILMN-01, 00217, CIL 6, 14462, CIL 6, 15106, CIL 6, 15548, CIL 6, 16445, CIL 6, 21657 = CECapitol 00228, CIL 6, 25504 = CIL 10, *01089, 183 = IMCCatania 00481, CIL 6, 28815, CIL 6, 35973 = MNR-01-07-01, p 3, CIL 6, 38375, CIL 10, 02453, CIL 10, 07311), but the legal status of the *patrona* is not always known. On slave-mistress marriage in general, see Evans-Grubbs (1993).

¹⁸⁹ D.40.2.14.1: *sunt qui putant etiam feminas posse matrimonii causa manumittere, sed ita, si forte conservus suus in hoc ei legatus est.*

¹⁹⁰ Sent. 2.21.1-18.

¹⁹¹ Weaver 1972, pp. 164-168. Cf. Crook 1967, p. 7.

¹⁹² Weaver 1972, p. 112ff.

internal recruitment and natural growth. The judicious application of the *SC Claudianum* would, first, result in increased revenue from the estates of the free wives of Imperial slaves, and second, enlarge the pool of young Imperial slaves from which recruits for the civil service were generally selected. Clearly, the *SC Claudianum* was a financial and administrative law intended for the benefit of the Imperial household, rather than a social one aiming at preventing slave marriages.

Other Legal Issues

Firstly, although the transfer of slaves into and within the Imperial household depended heavily on inheritance during the Julio-Claudian period, the laws of testate and intestate inheritance would have had little impact on these transfers. It can safely be assumed that most, if not all the Julio-Claudians had legal wills in force at the time of their deaths;¹⁹³ occasionally, we know a few details of heirs, amounts, and legacies,¹⁹⁴ but very little beyond that. Furthermore, in a number of cases, wills were most likely never executed as they had been written: several emperors repeatedly ignored the testamentary requests of their relatives and even invalidated their wills altogether.¹⁹⁵ Any of those who were executed or committed suicide according to the emperor's wish might have expected Imperial confiscation of their property,¹⁹⁶ and perhaps its further distribution within the dynasty.¹⁹⁷ Champlin touches briefly on the importance of *bona damnatorum*

¹⁹³ Champlin (1992, p. 902) argues that the wealthiest of the Roman elite had "a positive *duty of testacy*" (emphasis his) and would have therefore ensured that they had legal wills in force throughout adulthood.

¹⁹⁴ Most notably, the details of Augustus' will (Tac. Ann. 1.8, Suet. Aug. 101.1-4).

¹⁹⁵ For example, Tiberius did not fulfill Livia's bequests (Suet. Galb. 5.2), and Caligula invalidated Tiberius' will (Cass. Dio 59.1.1-2, Philo Leg. 26, Suet. Tib. 76).

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Millar 1977, pp. 163-169.

¹⁹⁷ There are numerous examples of the distribution of such funds according to the emperor's will. Antonia the Elder and Antonia the Younger received money from the estate of their father Antony, while their half-

to the treasury: vast sums of money would have passed into Imperial hands in this manner both from relatives and from close friends and senatorial connections tried for *maiestas* during the Julio-Claudian period.¹⁹⁸

Secondly, the ownership of property in the form of land, houses, or slaves, was never restricted to the male members of the Julio-Claudian household. However, the Julio-Claudian women, like other women of the senatorial class, remained liable to the requirement for guardianship of adult women, at least until the *lex Papia Poppaea*, already discussed above as it relates to the status of freed slaves and the potential for manumission *matrimonia causa*, reformed the relevant laws.¹⁹⁹ It had been usual for women to retain a legal guardian throughout adulthood, whose approval was necessary for financial transactions, just as it was necessary for children under the age of puberty. However, by the late Republic, certainly among elite women and probably at other levels of society as well, this had become a mere formality. A guardian could easily be coerced into giving his agreement against his will, making his existence little more than a minor legal obstacle.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, guardianship was not necessarily lifelong: guardianship over a freeborn woman was terminated when she had given birth to three children, and guardianship over a freedwoman was terminated when she had given birth to four

brother Iullus did not (Cass. Dio 51.15.7), which suggests that Octavian distributed the funds himself, particularly as Antony's house on the Palatine passed into Agrippa's ownership (Cass. Dio 53.27.5). Agrippina the Elder's gardens on the banks of the Tiber were subsequently owned by Caligula (Philo Leg. 181), which may be due to normal inheritance, if Tiberius allowed her will to be carried out, or due to an Imperial grant, if he merely wished to show favour toward Caligula. T. Statilius Taurus (cos. 44) was forced to suicide in 53, supposedly ruined so that Agrippina the Younger could confiscate his gardens (Tac. Ann. 12.59). The estate of Rubellius Plautus was part of the divorce settlement granted Claudia Octavia soon after the former's execution (Tac. Ann. 14.60).

¹⁹⁸ Champlin 1992, p. 903.

¹⁹⁹ Gai. Inst. 1.189-196. Cf. Inst. 1.13-26.

children.²⁰¹ The right to freedom from guardianship could be granted separately as well: Augustus granted it to both Livia and Octavia the Younger as early as 35 B.C.E.²⁰² In fact, such grants were rarely necessary within the dynasty, as many of the Julio-Claudian women were highly prolific and would have thus become exempt from guardianship automatically, giving them independent control of their own vast wealth and enormous households.

Running the Household

The Julio-Claudians were, at their inception, an aristocratic faction, and their household management ought to reflect their elite origins; it would be surprising if the Julio-Claudians, particularly those who lived earlier in the dynasty, arranged their households much differently than the senatorial classes of which they had been a part. As such, any information concerning aristocratic households and their management must surely be relevant to the topic at hand.

It had been usual to keep a register, a record of household management, although we know little about what information this would have included.²⁰³ Petronius may give us a hint, although Trimalchio's register certainly ought to be taken with a grain of salt, as the parody it was intended to be:

²⁰⁰ Gai. Inst. 1.190.

²⁰¹ Gai. Inst. 1.194. Cf. Gai. Inst. 3.44.

²⁰² Cass. Dio 49.38.1. The requisite number of children was not necessary for such Imperial grants. The relative dates explain why a specific grant of freedom from guardianship should be necessary for Octavia the Younger, who had borne five children by 35 B.C.E. For a more detailed discussion of the grant of freedom from *tutela* and the other associated honours bestowed upon Livia and Octavia the Younger in 35 B.C.E., see Purcell 1986, pp. 85-88.

²⁰³ Treggiari 1976, p. 76: "It does not seem likely that we shall ever dig up the register of his *familia urbana* kept by a Roman *paterfamilias*." The register is called both *libelli* (D.32.99) and *rationes* (D.33.7.27, D.40.4.59).

Et plane interpellavit saltationis libidinem actuarius, qui tanquam Urbis acta recitavit: "VII kalendas Sextiles: in praedio Cumano, quod est Trimalchionis, nati sunt pueri XXX, puellae XL; sublata in horreum ex area tritici milia modium quingenta; boves domiti quingenti. Eodem die: Mithridates servus in crucem actus est, quia Gai nostri genio male dixerat. Eodem die: in arcam relatum est, quod collocari non potuit, sestertium centies. Eodem die: incendium factum est in hortis Pompeianis, ortum ex aedibus Nastae vilici. Quid, inquit Trimalchio, quando mihi Pompeiani horti empti sunt? Anno priore, inquit actuarius, et ideo in rationem nondum venerunt." Excanduit Trimalchio et: "Quicumque, inquit, mihi fundi empti fuerint, nisi intra sextum mensem sciero, in rationes meas inferri vetuo." Iam etiam edicta aedilium recitabantur et saltuariorum testamenta, quibus Trimalchio cum elogio exheredabatur; iam nomina vilicorum et repudiata a circumitore liberta in balneatoris contubernio deprehensa, et atriensis Baias relegatus; iam reus factus dispensator, et iudicium inter cubicularios actum. (Petron. Sat. 53)

And the bookkeeper, who recited as if it were the acts of the city, interrupted the fit of dancing: "Seven days before the Kalends of August [i.e., July 26]: at the estate belonging to Trimalchio at Cumae, thirty boys and forty girls were born; 500,000 *modii* of wheat were carried from the warehouse to the threshing floor; 500 oxen were yoked. On the same day: the slave Mithridates was put to the cross because he spoke badly of the spirit of our Gaius. On the same day: 10,000,000 sesterces were put into the chest, because it could not be invested further. On the same day: there was a fire in the Pompeian gardens, which began under the roof of the overseer Nasta." "What," said Trimalchio, "when did I buy Pompeian gardens?" "Last year," said the bookkeeper, "and that's why they aren't yet on the accounts." Trimalchio raged and said: "Whenever lands are bought for me, unless I know of it within six months, I refuse to have it entered into my accounts." So too were read out the aediles' edicts and the wills of farm managers, in which Trimalchio had been disinherited by codicil; then the names of overseers and a freedwoman divorced by a watchman for being caught in adultery with a bath attendant, and a majordomo exiled to Baiae; then a suit brought against a steward, and a judgement made among bedroom attendants.

While Trimalchio's register includes a variety of information, it is impossible to know now which parts accurately reflect a large household's register and which are meant as satirical, with the information included to be regarded as frivolous and not worthy of inclusion. We can say with certainty that, at the very least, the register included lists of slaves and freed slaves along with their occupations, as well as their primary residence, information which the *Digest* suggested be obtained from a household's register when it is in question.²⁰⁴ The list of punishments for infractions is also a likely candidate for inclusion, as a record of such actions would serve the master well in determining who to promote and who to manumit.

Familia Urbana

The literary sources reveal little about the organization and management of the *familia urbana*, primarily due to their intended audience. These are details that were considered to be common knowledge, too mundane to warrant inclusion, and thus are rarely written down. There are a few scattered clues, however, particularly within the published collections of personal letters that refer more frequently to minor details of daily life. While the letters of Cicero and those of Pliny the Younger do not precisely belong to the era in question,²⁰⁵ they are nevertheless close enough to provide some insight into the elite urban household in the late Republic and early Empire.

²⁰⁴ D.32.99. Cf. D.33.7.27, D.40.4.59.

²⁰⁵ Cicero is too early, while Pliny the Younger is too late: Cicero's correspondence covers approximately the period from his consulship in 63 B.C.E. to his death in 43 B.C.E., while Pliny the Younger's letters date approximately between 90 and 110 C.E.

Among elite males, the master seems to have maintained the closest relationship with his *a manu*, or personal secretary.²⁰⁶ Cicero's *a manu*, Tiro, is a prominent figure in his correspondence,²⁰⁷ and took care of its publication after Cicero's death. Cicero in turn worries greatly over Tiro's health,²⁰⁸ The *a manu* was expected to know virtually everything about his master's affairs,²⁰⁹ was capable of administering his master's affairs in his absence,²¹⁰ and enjoyed a privileged status within the internal hierarchy of a household's slaves and freed slaves.²¹¹

Within the household, Cicero and his wife Terentia do indeed maintain separate groups of slaves,²¹² although this does not preclude involvement with one another's slaves, to the point where Cicero has input into the manumission of Terentia's slaves, and vice-versa.²¹³ Even Atticus has input into the management of Cicero's staff, providing assistance when problems arise²¹⁴ or when Cicero is not available to handle matters

²⁰⁶ Cic. Fam. 16.16, from Quintus to Cicero, emphasizes the close relationships both men have with their respective *a manu*. It also seems that elite females maintained prominent *a manu*: Antonia Caenis, mistress of Vespasian, had been Antonia the Younger's *a manu* (Suet. Vesp. 3).

²⁰⁷ Letters from others include greetings for Tiro as well (Cic. Fam. 7.29)

²⁰⁸ The health of his family, friends, and household members is a common theme in Cicero's correspondence. Fam. 16 consists entirely of letters to Tiro and frequent mentions of his health by Cicero, his son Marcus, and his brother Quintus. Atticus seems to have corresponded separately with Tiro as well (Cic. Att. 5.20).

²⁰⁹ When Cicero cautions M. Fadius Gallus to secrecy, he specifies that even the latter's freedman Apelles should not know: this is likely Gallus' *a manu* (Cic. Fam. 7.25).

²¹⁰ Cic. Fam. 16.21, 16.22; Cic. Att. 7.7, 12.10. This was one of many points of contention between Pomponia and Quintus, as she felt it was her responsibility rather than that of his *a manu* Statius (Cic. Att. 5.1).

²¹¹ Cic. Fam. 16.15, 16.18, 16.20. Cf. Cic. Att. 13.52, which emphasizes the hierarchy of slaves and freed slaves within a large household (Caesar's, in this case).

²¹² Cicero advises Terentia to move her entire *familia urbana* to his estate at Arpinum if the cost of food rises (Fam. 14.7).

²¹³ Cic. Fam. 14.4.

²¹⁴ This includes both Cicero's own freedman (Cic. Att. 1.12), as well as Terentia's freedman Philotimus, who was involved with Cicero's financial matters and whom he suspected of embezzlement (Cic. Att. 6.4, 6.5, 6.9, 7.1.7.3, 11.1, 11.24). Interestingly, the most damning portions of the Philotimus discussion are

himself.²¹⁵ Cicero routinely borrows slaves from or lends slaves to his intimates, including his brother Quintus,²¹⁶ his friend Atticus,²¹⁷ his grandson,²¹⁸ and his freed slaves.²¹⁹ His motives for doing so are highly informative: such borrowing often occurred when there is some lack of available manpower²²⁰ or when the skills of a particular occupation were necessary,²²¹ which presumably were not available within the borrower's household.

Familia Rustica

The agricultural manuals of Columella, Varro, and Cato provide a wealth of information concerning the management, organization, and equipment of a rural estate. The workers in question are largely those who have left virtually no record even in the epigraphic sources, beyond the *vilicus* who supervised the estate's workers. These workers were generally slaves²²² and mainly agricultural, although artisans, physicians, fullers, and carpenters would have also been necessary for the estate's functioning. These could belong to the *familia rustica* itself,²²³ they could be imported temporarily

conducted in Greek, presumably to conceal their content from others who may have access to the letters (cf. Att. 7.1, 11.24).

²¹⁵ Cic. Att. 12.28, 12.30. Cf. Att. 12.19: Atticus was in charge of Cicero's financial interests during his divorce from Terentia.

²¹⁶ Cic. Q.Fr. 3.9.

²¹⁷ Cic. Att. 4.4a, 4.5, 4.8, 7.4.

²¹⁸ Cic. Att. 12.28, 12.30. The letters are from 45, barely a month after Tullia's death.

²¹⁹ Cic. Att. 10.15: Cicero uses a slave of the aforementioned Philotimus in his business affairs.

²²⁰ Cic. Q.Fr. 3.9: Cicero's workforce needs to be shored up both in the city and in the countryside.

²²¹ Cicero borrows library workers (whom he calls both *glutinatores* and *librarii*) from Atticus to arrange his library (Cic. Att. 4.4a, 4.5, 4.8); the source comes as little surprise, as Atticus is known to have owned an extensive library staff (Nep. Att. 13.3). He also seems to have borrowed an instructor for Marcus and Quintus (Att. 7.4, Q.Fr. 2.8). Similar transfers would have also occurred within the household itself: Cicero sends a cook (*cocus*) to the ailing Tiro (Cic. Fam. 16.15) and Tiro sends a book copier (*librarius*) to young Marcus, studying at Athens (Cic. Fam. 16.21).

²²² Varro Rust. 1.5.4. Free workers could also be used (Varro Rust. 1.17.2, Columella Rust. 1.7.6).

²²³ Varro Rust. 1.2.21.

from the *familia urbana* when needed, or the labour could be contracted out to other workers on an intermittent basis.²²⁴

The *vilicus* was in charge of the general agricultural functioning of a villa, along with the supervision and overall management of the slaves working the land.²²⁵ Columella discusses the selection criteria for the ideal *vilicus* at great length: he recommends a man born in the countryside,²²⁶ neither too young nor too old,²²⁷ who serves an apprenticeship in order to learn the tasks involved in the role.²²⁸ As a reward for the *vilicus*' service and in order to assist him with his work, the general agreement is that he should be rewarded with a wife.²²⁹ She is frequently identified as a *conserva*, a female slave from the same villa, and the agricultural texts indicate that she was assigned by the master in that role rather than selected by the *vilicus*.²³⁰ Her duties are quite varied and would have included childrearing,²³¹ general housekeeping duties such as cooking and cleaning,²³² managing the villa's poultry,²³³ supervising the slaves working indoors and particularly those producing fabric,²³⁴ overseeing the villa's inventory and accounts,²³⁵ and ensuring that sick slaves received the appropriate care.²³⁶

²²⁴ Varro Rust. 1.16.4.

²²⁵ Varro Rust. 1.2.14, 1.13.2; Columella Rust. 1.6.7, 1.8.9, 11.1.19; Cato Agr. 51.

²²⁶ Columella Rust. 1.8.1, 11.1.7.

²²⁷ Columella Rust. 1.8.3, 11.1.3.

²²⁸ Columella Rust. 11.1.9. He compares the apprenticeship to those involved in training to become a potter (*figulus*) or carpenter (*faber*).

²²⁹ Cato Agr. 143; Columella Rust. 1.8.5. Varro advocates an increased *peculium* as well (Rust. 1.17.5).

²³⁰ Cato Agr. 143 (*si eam tibi dederit dominus uxorem*); Columella Rust. 1.8.5 (*assignanda est*).

²³¹ Varro Rust. 1.17.5.

²³² Cato Agr. 143, Columella Rust. 12.2.8.

²³³ Cato Agr. 143.

²³⁴ Columella Rust. 12.1.5, 12.2.6.

²³⁵ Columella Rust. 12.1.5, 12.2.1, 12.2.9.

²³⁶ Columella Rust. 12.1.6, 12.2.7-8.

Beyond the *vilicus* and the *vilica*, however, there is a surprising emphasis on the master's duty to keep his slaves and farm workers content. The methods recommended range from the practical – provide adequate food and clothing,²³⁷ protect slaves' *peculia*,²³⁸ control with words rather than violence²³⁹ – to the personal – encourage the development of slave families (or, more aptly, the production of economically-valuable *vernae*),²⁴⁰ provide *conservae* as incentives,²⁴¹ encourage slaves' pride in their experience and occupation²⁴² – to the bizarre – purchase slaves of a variety of ethnic origins to prevent quarrels.²⁴³ This was, at its base, a selfish investment: happy slaves who were attached to the household through personal connections were productive, loyal slaves who were less likely to cause trouble.²⁴⁴ Even the suggestions for villa layout reveal both a practical mindset and the attention paid to the conditions of slaves' lives.²⁴⁵ Although farm slaves were generally restricted to the villa's land,²⁴⁶ specific facilities seem to have been constructed for their use, including *cubiculae* for sleeping,²⁴⁷ *balneae* and *sellae* as bathing and toilet facilities,²⁴⁸ and *valetudinaria* as hospital facilities.²⁴⁹

²³⁷ Varro Rust. 1.17.7; Columella Rust. 1.8.9, 1.8.18; Cato Agr. 51, 56-59. Cato specifies the quantities of food, wine, and clothing to be provided (Agr. 56-59), while Columella goes so far as to suggest that the master test slaves' food and clothing to ensure its quality (Rust. 1.8.18).

²³⁸ Varro Rust. 1.17.7.

²³⁹ Varro Rust. 1.17.5; Columella Rust. 1.8.10, 1.8.12.

²⁴⁰ Varro RR 1.17.5, 2.10.6; Cato Agr. 143; Columella Rust. 1.8.19. Columella exempts mothers of three children from labour, and grants manumission to mothers of four children in order to encourage the production of highly-desirable *vernae*.

²⁴¹ Cato Agr. 143, Columella Rust. 1.8.5

²⁴² Columella Rust. 1.8.15, 1.9.5-6.

²⁴³ Varro Rust. 1.17.5; Cato Agr. 143.

²⁴⁴ Columella acknowledges this outright (Rust. 1.8.19), as does Varro (Rust. 1.17.5), who further adds that slave families sold together bring a premium price. Cf. Columella Rust. 12.1.6.

²⁴⁵ Columella even advises inspecting the chain gangs to ensure reasonable conditions (Rust. 1.8.16).

²⁴⁶ Varro Rust. 1.13.2, 1.16.5; Columella Rust. 1.6.7.

²⁴⁷ Columella Rust. 1.6.3, 1.6.8.

²⁴⁸ Varro Rust. 1.13.4, Columella Rust. 1.6.19-20.

Pliny the Younger also gives us a considerable amount of information about his own villa management practices. In his thorough descriptions of his Laurentine and Tuscan villas,²⁵⁰ he includes several noteworthy pieces of information regarding the layout of a villa and its use by slaves and freed slaves. Separate staircases led to the dining rooms, used solely as service corridors,²⁵¹ and dedicated rooms along a peristyle housed slaves and freed slaves,²⁵² although these rooms were not private or personal, but could be shared with others as locations and schedules demanded.²⁵³ Like his neighbours in an unspecified area of Italy, he does not use chained slaves for cultivation, which adds to his costs.²⁵⁴ He comments on the existence of *paedagogia* for the education of slave children in private elite households,²⁵⁵ and on the possibility of using particular workers on several estates located in close proximity.²⁵⁶ In general, Pliny the Younger is anxious to present himself as a kind, humane master, who perceives the household as the slave's nation (*res publica et civitas*);²⁵⁷ as such, he performs deathbed manumissions²⁵⁸ and

²⁴⁹ Columella Rust. 11.1.18, 12.1.6, 12.2.7-8.

²⁵⁰ Plin. Ep. 2.17, 5.6.

²⁵¹ Plin. Ep. 5.6.30.

²⁵² Plin. Ep. 2.17.9.

²⁵³ Plin. Ep. 7.27.12.

²⁵⁴ Plin. Ep. 3.19.7.

²⁵⁵ Plin. Ep. 7.27.13.

²⁵⁶ Plin. Ep. 3.19.2-4. In general, these jobs are either high in the household hierarchy or require considerable training; they include managers (*procuratores*), business agents (*actores*), majordomos (*atrienses*), ornamental gardeners (*topiarii*), and carpenters (*fabres*). The *topiarii* seem to be high enough in the household's internal hierarchy to warrant inclusion here: their prevalence in the Julio-Claudian *collegia* (see p. 235, n. 849, along with the relevant inscriptions in Appendix C) supports that supposition. Pliny the Younger also comments on the *topiarii* carving trees into words, including Pliny the Younger's name and that of the *topiarius* in question (Ep. 5.6.35), which implies some degree of literacy.

²⁵⁷ Plin. Ep. 8.16.3.

²⁵⁸ Plin. Ep. 8.16.1.

even permits his slaves to write wills, which he honours provided that their *peculia* have been distributed within his own household (*dumtaxat intra domum*).²⁵⁹

The Julio-Claudians

The literary sources do provide tantalizing hints regarding the overall management and structure of the Julio-Claudian households. There are, of course, some references to the specifics of the Julio-Claudian households in the literary sources as well, particularly with regard to the more prominent slaves and freed slaves who gained influence and wealth through their proximity to the throne. In order to use such evidence as context for the epigraphic data, I will discuss it thoroughly in Chapter Six, and will concentrate here on the general organization and overall characteristics of the Imperial household.

The information available is scant; far more was once available. It would be remiss not to mention here sources that would have been invaluable for an understanding of the inner workings of the Julio-Claudians' personal lives and households, but which are, unfortunately, no longer extant. First, as early as Augustus' reign, the Imperial household kept records (*diurnos commentarios*) noting all important events within the Imperial household.²⁶⁰ "Important" seems to have been rather loosely defined, as Suetonius remarks that Augustus "forbid them [i.e., his daughter, nieces, and granddaughters] to say or to do anything except openly and which could be recorded in the household diary."²⁶¹ If the mundane actions and conversations of the various Julio-

²⁵⁹ Plin. Ep. 8.16.2.

²⁶⁰ Suet. Aug. 64.2.

²⁶¹ Ibid: *vetaretque loqui aut agere quicquam nisi propalam et quod in diurnos commentarios referretur.*

Claudians were important enough to warrant inclusion in the household diaries, even if they focused primarily on the elite, these must certainly have also included a great deal of information about the domestic life of the household; it is impossible to know how much of the information on household administration found in the *libelli* they would have included. Second are the commentaries of various Julio-Claudians. Of these, the best-known are those of Agrippina the Younger, which Tacitus used as a source and through which she “commemorated her life and the fall of her relations.”²⁶² They were likely written during her retirement from political life early in Nero’s reign.²⁶³ Much has been written about Agrippina the Younger’s commentaries,²⁶⁴ suggesting information that may have been included in them as well as offering evidence of their use by later authors.²⁶⁵ There were once other, similar works available as well. Tiberius seems to have composed a brief autobiography (*de vita sua summatim breviterque composuit*)²⁶⁶ as well as commentaries (*commentarios*) which were still available to Domitian, who preferred them over all other reading material.²⁶⁷ Claudius’ extensive literary career included an autobiography along with numerous historical works,²⁶⁸ although he omitted

²⁶² Tac. Ann. 4.53. His full statement reads: *reperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit*. Dio may also reference them, using the term τὰ ὑπομνήματα (Cass. Dio 61.33.1).

²⁶³ Their composition may very well accompany her willingness to lay bare all the faults of the Julio-Claudians (Tac. Ann. 13.14).

²⁶⁴ Wilkes 1972, Clack 1975, Lazzeretti 2000.

²⁶⁵ Tacitus (Ann. 4.53) and Pliny the Elder (HN 7.8) both acknowledge her as a source, and Clack (1975, p. 49) argues for Juvenal’s use of the commentaries as well.

²⁶⁶ Suet. Tib. 61.

²⁶⁷ Suet. Dom. 20. Wilkes (1972, p. 181) believes that these are to be distinguished from the autobiography (Suet. Tib. 61), and the difference in word choice supports that conclusion.

²⁶⁸ Suet. Claud. 41-42.

the period between the assassination of Caesar and the battle of Actium due to his inability to give an accurate, unbiased account.²⁶⁹

A household naturally requires a house, and in the case of the Julio-Claudians, the physical structures in which they, their slaves, and freed slaves were housed changed considerably over the course of the dynasty. There are archaeological remains of several Julio-Claudian villas throughout Italy, such as the villa of Livia at Prima Porta,²⁷⁰ the palace of Tiberius on Capreae,²⁷¹ the villa of Poppaea Sabina at Oplontis,²⁷² and the villa at Antium.²⁷³ We know of still others through literary sources.²⁷⁴ Antonia the Younger inherited a villa at Bauli from the orator Hortensius;²⁷⁵ Agrippina the Younger received the same villa upon her expulsion from the Imperial household and was hastily buried nearby.²⁷⁶ There was a nearby property at Baiae, mentioned with regard to Augustus,

²⁶⁹ Suet. Claud. 41.2: cum sentiret neque libere neque vere sibi de superioribus tradendi potestatem relictam, correptus saepe et a matre et ab avia. The comment in the Loeb edition (1997, p. 73) mentions the potential bias of Octavia the Younger and Antonia the Younger, the widow and daughter of Antony and Claudius' grandmother and mother, respectively. *Avia* could also refer to his paternal grandmother Livia, the wife of Augustus; her contempt for Claudius is noted elsewhere in Suetonius (Claud. 3.2).

²⁷⁰ Reeder 1997.

²⁷¹ Ihm 1901, Houston 1985. Construction began under Augustus (Suet. Aug. 72.3, Strabo 5.4.9). The large staff at Capreae is most likely reflected in the enormous number of Imperial slave and freed slave burials at Surrentum, just across the water on the mainland.

²⁷² De Franciscis 1979, Thomas and Clarke 2009.

²⁷³ Several Julio-Claudians were born there, including Nero (Suet. 6.1), his daughter Claudia Augusta (Tac. Ann. 15.23), and probably Caligula (Suet. Calig. 8). There must certainly have been others as well, as the area was heavily used by the Imperial household during the Julio-Claudian era and beyond. Among the brick and pipe stamps at Antium are various connections of the Domitii (CIL 15, 00992,22; CIL 15, 01755,3) and numerous indications of Imperial property (CIL 10, 08043,007 = CIL 15, 00764,16; CIL 10, 08043,008 = CIL 15, 00762,42; CIL 10, 08043,010 = CIL 15, 00159,15; CIL 10, 08043,011 = CIL 15, 00166,11; CIL 10, 08043,012 = CIL 15, 00219,2 = Bloch 00051,2; CIL 10, 08043,013).

²⁷⁴ On the suburban estates of the Roman elite near Rome and extending throughout Campania, see Champlin 1982 (for the Imperial household in particular, see p. 105).

²⁷⁵ Pliny NH 9.172. As Augustus' original house on the Palatine had also belonged to Hortensius (Suet. Aug. 72.1), one wonders if Antonia the Younger inherited the villa via Augustus or Livia, as there is no mention of whether it passed directly from Hortensius to Antonia the Younger or whether there were other, intermediary owners. Cf. Kokkinos 2002, pp. 153-157.

²⁷⁶ Tac. Ann. 13.18, 14.4-5, 14.9; Suet. Ner. 34. Cf. Bicknell 1963.

Caligula, and Nero,²⁷⁷ which was close enough to Bauli to permit travel for dinner parties between the two villas.²⁷⁸ Villas in Campania were always fashionable: they are attested for Augustus,²⁷⁹ Claudius,²⁸⁰ Claudia Octavia,²⁸¹ and possibly Julia the Younger²⁸² and Agrippa Postumus.²⁸³ Due to the chronological distribution of the references, there is no way of knowing which, if any, of these indicate different villas;²⁸⁴ Claudius, for example, could certainly have inherited a villa previously owned by Augustus. Suetonius provides a list of Augustus' preferred vacation spots, at which he may likely have owned villas, including Lanuvium, Praeneste, and Tibur,²⁸⁵ and to this should be added an estate at Laurentium in Latium,²⁸⁶ a villa just outside Rome on the Via Flaminia,²⁸⁷ and the Alban villa that was used throughout the Julio-Claudian period.²⁸⁸ Livia owned an estate at Veii prior to her marriage with Augustus,²⁸⁹ Agrippa had property in Sicily,²⁹⁰ and Agrippina

²⁷⁷ Suet. Aug. 64.2, Suet. Ner. 31.3, 34, Joseph. AJ 18.7.2, Tac. Ann. 14.4-5, 14.9. In Nero's case, the villa at Baiae may be the same as that owned by Augustus and Caligula, or it may be the villa her inherited from his aunt Domitia in 55 (Tac. Ann. 13.21, Cass. Dio 61.17).

²⁷⁸ Tac. Ann. 14.4-5, 14.9; Suet. Ner. 31.3, 34.

²⁷⁹ This includes the villa inherited from Vedius Pollio and subsequently razed (Cass. Dio 54.23.5-6) and another favoured vacation villa (Suet. Aug. 72.3).

²⁸⁰ Suet. Claud. 5.

²⁸¹ Formerly owned by Rubellius Plautus and confiscated by Nero when he forced the former to suicide. She received it, along with Burrus' house in Rome, as part of her divorce settlement in 62 (Tac. Ann. 14.60), and it likely reverted to Imperial ownership after her suicide a few months later.

²⁸² Suet. Aug. 72.3.

²⁸³ The villa at Boscotrecase includes a brick stamp with Postumus' name (Fantham 2006, p. 76); the decoration is similar in style and taste to the Villa Farnesina (ibid., pp. 77-78), for which the identification is more certain.

²⁸⁴ The villa at Herculaneum, within which Agrippina the Elder had been imprisoned and which was subsequently razed by Caligula (Sen. Ira 3.21.5), might be any of these, or might be a different villa altogether. Cf. Kokkinos 2002, p. 157.

²⁸⁵ Suet. Aug. 72.3.

²⁸⁶ Gell. NA 10.2.

²⁸⁷ Plin. HN 15.136-137, Suet. Galb. 1, Cass. Dio 48.52.3-4. Both Pliny and Suetonius report that Augustus owned this villa prior to his marriage to Livia, and that it was known as Ad Gallinas.

²⁸⁸ Cass. Dio 53.32.3, 54.24.1, Sen. Polyb. 17.4, Suet. Ner. 25.1.

²⁸⁹ Suet. Galb. 1.

²⁹⁰ Hor. Ep. 1.12.

the Younger had estates at Tusculum and Mevania.²⁹¹ Records of estates outside Italy are generally sparse, but they are sufficient proof that the Julio-Claudians' property reached far beyond Italy: these included Imperial estates at Byzacium near Carthage from the time of Augustus,²⁹² Livia's copper mines in Gaul and palm plantations in Phasaelis,²⁹³ and Agrippa's land along the Hellespont.²⁹⁴

The most detailed information about Julio-Claudian estates outside of Italy comes from the papyrological sources, which detail Julio-Claudian possessions throughout Egypt; for this, I am greatly indebted to Parassoglou's thorough catalogue of the known Imperial estates in Egypt.²⁹⁵ The Julio-Claudians started accumulating these estates no later than 8 B.C.E., when Maecenas' property passed into Augustus' hands,²⁹⁶ and Julio-Claudian estates continue to appear within the Imperial property, still retaining their original owners' names, well into the third century.²⁹⁷ These properties stretched from the Nile delta far up the river, and were heavily agricultural, encompassing fields of grain, vineyards, orchards, vegetable fields, pastures for animals, and marshes for papyrus and fish, as well as buildings for the processing and storage of agricultural proceeds, such as oil-presses and wine-presses.²⁹⁸ As for the Julio-Claudian owners attested, they are

²⁹¹ Agrippina withdrew to her estates at Tusculum as her power over Nero waned (Tac. Ann. 14.3). As for the estate at Mevania, it is known only through an anecdote in Phlegon's work describing miraculous events (Mir. 7): in 53, a Smyrnan girl named Philotis, who lived on the estate, reportedly turned into a man shortly before her marriage.

²⁹² Plin. HN 18.94.

²⁹³ Plin. HN 34.3, Joseph. BJ 2.9.1, Joseph. AJ 18.2.2.

²⁹⁴ Cass. Dio 54.29.5.

²⁹⁵ Parassoglou 1978.

²⁹⁶ Cass. Dio 55.7.5.

²⁹⁷ Parassoglou 1978, pp. 69-83.

²⁹⁸ Parassoglou 1978, p. 69.

numerous:²⁹⁹ Egyptian properties are known for Livia,³⁰⁰ Tiberius,³⁰¹ Antonia the Younger,³⁰² Livilla,³⁰³ Livilla's children,³⁰⁴ Germanicus,³⁰⁵ Germanicus' children (as joint owners),³⁰⁶ Caligula,³⁰⁷ Claudius,³⁰⁸ Messalina,³⁰⁹ Nero,³¹⁰ one or both of Agrippina the Elder and Agrippina the Younger,³¹¹ Claudia Antonia,³¹² and possibly Agrippa or Agrippa Postumus.³¹³ While estates are not directly attested for Augustus, they can be inferred from the presence of Maecenas' estates among the Imperial property.³¹⁴ Estates

²⁹⁹ For the full list of properties, along with the dates of the papyri referring to the estates, the locations of the estates, and the type of agricultural activity occurring there, see Parassoglou 1978, pp. 69-83; the references to papyri I have given below have also been taken from Parassoglou.

³⁰⁰ SB 9150, P. Lond. 445 (II. P.166), P. Soc. 1028, SB 10536, P. Sorbonne inv. 2364, P. Med. 6, P. Ryl. 126, P. Mich. 560 (possible), P. Vindob. Tandem 10.

³⁰¹ P. Ryl. 134, P. Ryl 138 (possible).

³⁰² Specifically naming Antonia the Younger (as *Antonia Drusi* or *Antonia Augusta*): P. Osl. 123, P. Oxy. 244, P. Ryl. 140, P. Ryl. 141, P. Ross.-Georg. II 12, P. Vindob. Tandem 10, P. Ryl. 171, P. Strassb. 267 (possible). Naming only "Antonia," but most likely Antonia the Younger: P. Princ. 11, P. Tebt. 401, P. Princ. 14, P. Lond. 900 (III, p.89, possible), P. Phil. 19, P. Mil. Vogl. 52 (possible), P. Mil. Vogl. 75, P. Fay. 60, BGU 1893, P. Berl. Leihg. 31, BGU 1894, BGU 212, BGU 280, P. Chic. 7, P. Col. 1 verso 1a, P. Col. 1 verso 4, P. Berl. Leihg. 1 verso, P. Mich. 224, BGU 2064 = SB 10761 (possible), P. Mich. 225, P. Aberd. 24, BGU 277, SB 5670, SB 11011, BGU 199 verso, BGU 653, P. Giss. Univ.-Bibl. 52.

³⁰³ P. Ryl. 127, P. Ryl. 138, P. Mich. 560 (possible), BGU 277 (possible).

³⁰⁴ P. Ryl. 138.

³⁰⁵ SB 9150, P. Lond. 445 (II, p.166), P. Ryl. 134, P. Ross.-Georg. II 12, P. Mich. 540, P. Hamb. 3, P. Phil. 19, P. Ryl. 207, P. Mich. 374, P. Mich. Diss. Michael. 14, P. Coll. Youtie 63, BGU 1894, BGU 160, BGU 441, P. Chic. 6, P. Chic. 10, P. Chic. 31, P. Chic. 70, P. Chic. 81, P. Col. 1 verso 1a, P. Berl. Leihg. 29, P. Bour. 42, P. Mich. 224, P. Yale inv. 254, BGU 810. Some of Germanicus' estates were jointly held with Livia (SB 9150).

³⁰⁶ SB 10536, P. Sorbonne inv. 2364, P. Med. 6, BGU 277 (possible). It is unclear whether the jointly-owned properties were held by Germanicus' sons alone or by his daughters as well.

³⁰⁷ P. Athen. 32, P. Ryl. 148.

³⁰⁸ P. Ryl. 138 (possible), P. Ryl. 148, P. Mich. 121 recto 1.xii, P. Mich. 121 recto III.x, P. Mich. 244, P. Mich. 274-5, BGU 650, P. Oxy. 2837, P. Vindob. Tandem 10.

³⁰⁹ SB 6019, P. Ryl. 684, P. Flor. 40, CPR 243, P. Ryl. 87.

³¹⁰ P. Lond. 280 (II, p.193), BGU 181.

³¹¹ SB 4226, P. Vindob. Tandem 10, BGU 1047 (possible), P. Rein. inv. 2062, SB 10893, P. Thead. 53 (possible).

³¹² P. Ryl. 138 (possible), P. Fay 40, P. Bour. 42.

³¹³ BGU 1047 (possible).

³¹⁴ Parassoglou 1978, pp. 15-16, 79-80; P. Coll. Youtie 19, P. Mich. 274-5, P. Aberd. 29, SB 9224, P. Ryl. 171, BGU 181, SB 7742 = SB 10947, P. Hamb. 3, P. Phil. 19, P. Ryl. 207, P. Berl. inv 11529 + SB 10512, SB 4414, BGU 889, SB 8972, BGU 2286, BGU 1894, BGU 1895 (possible), P. Chic. 23, P. Chic. 42, P. Chic. 61, P. Chic. 65, P. Chic. 81, P. Hamb. 34, P. Col. 1 verso 1a, P. Osl. 26a, P. Berl. Leihg. 29, P. Berl.

also passed into Imperial property from prominent freed slaves – Pallas,³¹⁵ Narcissus,³¹⁶ Doryphorus,³¹⁷ and Acte³¹⁸ all appear, along with Anthos,³¹⁹ an otherwise unknown slave or freedman of Germanicus – or from elite advisors such as Seneca³²⁰ and Calvia Crispinilla;³²¹ additionally, the emperors were always receiving inheritances from various other individuals whose connection to the Imperial household is not always clear.³²² Through the process of inheritance, these properties gradually found their way into the emperor's ownership by the end of Nero's reign, and thereafter formed part of the emperor's own property.

But what about the Julio-Claudians' houses in Rome? Augustus' house is widely known to have been adjoined to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine,³²³ a part of which, known as the House of Livia, has been excavated.³²⁴ Caligula and Nero both added to the

Leihg. 1 verso, P. Bour. 42, P. Mich. 223, P. Mich. 224, P. Mich. 357A+B, P. Mich. 225, P. Mich. 372, P. Tebt. 343, P. Ryl. 383, SB 11011, P. Aberd. 50.

³¹⁵ P. Lond. 195 (II, p.127), P. Ryl. 171, P. Phil. 19, P. Ryl. 207, P. Berl. inv. 11529 + SB 10512, P. Med. 65, BGU 1894, BGU 438, P. Berl. Leihg. 29, P. Berl. Leihg. 1 verso, P. Bour. 42, P. Mich. 224, P. Mich. 225, P. Mich. 372.

³¹⁶ P. Ryl. 171, WChr. 176.

³¹⁷ P. Ryl. 171, P. Osl. 21, P. Strassb. 210, P. Berl. inv. 11529 + SB 10512, P. Mil. Vogl. 75, P. Berl. Leihg. 37, P. Chic. 52, P. Bour. 42, P. Mich. 223, P. Mich. 224, SB 10892, SB 10893, P. Ryl. 387, SB 9205, SB 11011, P. Giss. Univ.-Bibl. 52, P. Ryl. 99.

³¹⁸ P. Rein. inv. 2062, SB 10893, P. Ross-Georg. II 42.

³¹⁹ P. Mich. 555-6, P. Mich. 557, BGU 985, P. Strassb. inv. 1108, SB 10566, P. Mich. 223, P. Mich. 224, P. Mich. 225, BGU 277, P. Mich. 372, BGU 199 verso, BGU 810, P. Oxy. 3170.

³²⁰ P. Oxy. 2873, P. Hamb. 3, P. Yale inv 443, P. Oxy. 3051, P. Hib. 279, P. Soc. 448 (possible), P. Lond. 900 (III, p.89), P. Ryl. 207, P. Lips. 115 (possible), P. Berl. inv 11529 + SB 10512, BGU 202, BGU 1894, BGU 104, BGU 172, P. Chic. 5, P. Chic. 16, P. Chic. 18, P. Chic. 26, P. Chic. 35, P. Chic. 53, P. Chic. 62, P. Chic. 65, P. Chic. 67 (possible), P. Chic. 71, P. Col. 1 verso 1a, P. Rein. inv. 2062, P. Berl. Leihg. 1 verso, P. Bour. 42, P. Mich. 223, P. Mich. 224, P. Mich. 225, P. Aberd. 152, P. Aberd. 50, P. Giss. Univ.-Bibl. 52, P. Flor. 337, P. Ryl. 99.

³²¹ P. Aberd. 151 (possible).

³²² Parassoglou's list (1978, pp. 75-83) includes papyri of Julio-Claudian date naming Imperial estates formerly belonging to C. Iulius Alexandros, Camelius, Dionysodorus, Eros, Falcidius, Lurius, Petronius, Gallia Polla, Rutilius, and Ti. Claudius Sarapion.

³²³ Suet. Aug. 29.3. Cf. Fantham 2006, pp. 68-74.

³²⁴ Carettoni 1967. Cf. Fantham 2006, pp. 68-74.

family's domestic buildings as well. Caligula reconfigured the Forum and Palatine for his own needs, building the palace toward the Forum; he incorporated the Temple of Castor and Pollux as part of the Imperial complex and even built a bridge over the Temple of Augustus to extend his living quarters.³²⁵ Nero's *Domus Aurea*, his Golden House, is extensively described in the literary sources.³²⁶

Non in alia re tamen damnosior quam in aedificando domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit, quam primo Transitoriam, mox incendio absumptam restitutamque Auream nominavit. De cuius spatio atque cultu suffecerit haec rettulisse. Vestibulum eius fuit, in quo colossus CXX pedum staret ipsius effigie; tanta laxitas, ut porticus triplices miliarias haberet; item stagnum maris instar, circumsaeptum aedificiis ad urbium speciem; rura insuper arvis atque vinetis et pascuis silvisque varia, cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum. In ceteris partibus cuncta auro lita, distincta gemmis unionumque conchis erant; cenationes laqueatae tabulis eburneis versatilibus, ut flores, fistulatis, ut unguenta desuper spargerentur; praecipua cenationum rotunda, quae perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumageretur; balineae marinis et albulis fluentes aquis. Eius modi domum cum absolutam dedicaret, hactenus comprobavit, ut se diceret quasi hominem tandem habitare coepisse. (Suet. Ner. 31.1-2)

Nevertheless, in no other matter was he [i.e., Nero] more ruinous than in building; he built a house from the Palatine all the way to the Esquiline, which at first he called Transitoria, but when it was consumed by fire shortly thereafter and rebuilt, he called it Aurea. These things shall

³²⁵ Suet. Calig. 22.2-4, Cass. Dio 59.28.2-5. Van Deman (1924, p. 370) places the new domestic portions of the Imperial palace near Domitian's later additions on the Palatine.

³²⁶ There are a few additional mentions in Pliny the Elder, mostly related to its size, opulence, and the art housed within it (HN 33.54, 34.84, 35.120, 36.111, 36.163). Similarly, Seneca the Younger's complaints of the unnecessary luxury of modern houses most likely reflect the contents of the Golden House (Ep. 90.15): *hodie utrum tandem sapientiore putas qui invenit quemadmodum in immensam altitudinem crocum latentibus fistulis exprimat, qui euripos subito aquarum impetu implet aut siccat et versatilia cenationum laquearia ita coagmentat ut subinde alia facies atque alia succedat et totiens tecta quotiens fericula mutantur...*

suffice to relate its size and appearance. Its vestibule was such that within it stood a colossal statue 120 feet high and in his own image; it had such spaciousness that it had a triple portico a mile long; and there was also a standing pool, circled with buildings with the appearance of cities; in addition, rural parts, varied by plowed fields and vineyards and pastures and forests, with a multitude of all sorts of domestic and wild animals. In other parts, everything was covered with gold and adorned with gems and mother-of-pearl; the dining rooms were paneled with revolving ivory tablets, so that flowers could fall, and with pipes, so that perfumes could be sprinkled from above; the main dining room was circular, and it revolved constantly day and night like the world; the baths flowed with sea water and sulfur water. In this manner, when he had dedicated the finished house, he approved it only to this point, that he said that at he began to live like a human being.

Ceterum Nero usus est patriae ruinis exstruxitque domum, in qua haud proinde gemmae et aurum miraculo essent, solita pridem et luxu vulgata, quam arva et stagna et in modum solitudinem hinc silvae, inde aperta spatia et prospetus, magistris et machinatoribus Severo et Celere, quibus ingenium et audacia erat etiam, quae natura denegavisset, per artem temptare et viribus principis includere. (Tac. Ann. 15.42)

Meanwhile, Nero made use of the ruin of his fatherland and constructed a house, in which the gems and gold were scarcely as much a miracle – indeed, they were customary and vulgar in their luxury – as the plowed fields and standing pools and here the forests in the manner of the wilderness, and there the open spaces and views, with Severus and Celer the directors and creators of this, who even had the genius and audacity to attempt by art what nature had denied and to mock the emperor’s resources.

*Hic ubi sidereus propius uidet astra colossus
et crescunt media pegmata celsa uia,
inuidiosa feri radiabant atria regis
unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus;
hic ubi conspicui uenerabilis Amphitheatri
erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant;
hic ubi miramur uelocia munera thermas,
abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager;*

*Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras,
ultima pars aulae deficientis erat.
Reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te preside, Caesar,
deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini.* (Mart. Spect. 2)

Here, where the starry colossus watches the stars more closely, and where tall scaffolds grow in the middle of the street, the hated halls of a cruel king glowed and one house stood over the whole city; here, where the venerable mass of the striking Amphitheatre rises, were the standing pools of Nero; here, where we marvel at the baths, a quick gift, a proud field stole walls from the wretched; where the Claudian portico casts far-spreading shadows, was the final part of a failing court. Rome is restored to herself and with you presiding, Caesar, these are the delights of the people, which had been the delights of the master.

While much of the parks were subsequently used for building sites – most notably, the Colosseum still stands on the estate’s artificial lake – a large part of the domestic wing of the Golden House has been excavated near Trajan’s Baths on the Esquiline.³²⁷ The surviving rooms, including an immense octagonal dining room, give a sense of the scale of the full house and its resemblance to rural villas rather than to urban *domus*.³²⁸

As well, each successive emperor would have added his own property and that inherited from his closest relatives to the Imperial estates: this must include Tiberius’ houses on the Esquiline,³²⁹ Claudius’ house in the suburbs,³³⁰ and Agrippina the Elder’s gardens on the Tiber, which Caligula inherited after her death.³³¹ However, while individual Julio-Claudians seem to have owned and managed distinct households, the

³²⁷ For a map of the estate and its extent, see Ward Perkins (1956, p. 214).

³²⁸ Ward Perkins 1956, pp. 215-219. For a detailed analysis of the *Domus Aurea*, see Ball (2003).

³²⁹ He owned two (Suet. Tib. 15.1): he inhabited one, formerly owned by Pompey, prior to his self-imposed exile at Rhodes, and moved to the other, formerly owned by Maecenas, after his return to Rome.

³³⁰ Suet. Claud. 5.

buildings in which they were housed seem to have gradually merged into a larger complex over the course of the early Julio-Claudian period. In his account of Germanicus' death, Tacitus states that Tiberius, Livia, and Antonia the Younger were housed within a single *domus* by 19;³³² this is consistent with Valerius Maximus' claim that Antonia the Younger was co-resident with Livia following Drusus the Elder's death in 9 B.C.E.³³³ Josephus' thorough account of Caligula's assassination reveals that by 41, the Imperial house consisted of a single building, composed of formerly-separate houses belonging to individual Julio-Claudians which had retained the names of their original owners.³³⁴ Thus, more than twenty years after Germanicus' death, a portion of the complex was still called "the house of Germanicus" (Γερμανικοῦ οἰκίαν). Beyond doubt, some of these houses bore the names of female Julio-Claudians such as Octavia the Younger, Livia, or Antonia the Younger:³³⁵ these three women in particular are recorded as housing children of the dynasty whose parents were absent due to travel, exile, or death.³³⁶

Archaeological remains of the Julio-Claudians' houses within Rome do exist. I have already mentioned the House of Livia in Rome, and additional portions of the

³³¹ Philo Leg. 181, Sen. Ira 3.18.4. How they passed into Agrippina the Elder's hands is unknown.

³³² Tac. Ann. 3.3.

³³³ Val. Max. 4.3.3.

³³⁴ Wallace-Hadrill (1990, p. 158) discusses the possibility of interconnecting doors and separate-yet-connected houses.

³³⁵ And indeed, one structure on the Palatine has long been identified as the House of Livia (cf. Carettoni 1967).

³³⁶ Octavia the Younger housed her own children along with all of Antony's surviving children (Plut. Ant. 35.5, 54.1, 57.3, 87.1). The children of Agrippina the Elder and Germanicus lived with Livia after their mother's exile, and, following Livia's death, they remained with Antonia the Younger (Suet. Calig. 10.1, 24.1, 36.1; Cass. Dio 59.3.6); one must imagine the four of them who were in Rome rather than with Germanicus at the time of his death were also housed with Livia and Antonia the Younger (cf. Tac. Ann. 3.1-2).

palace structures built under Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero can be added. The Villa Farnesina, located on the opposite bank of the Tiber and decorated with ornate, richly coloured frescoes, is generally considered to have belonged to Agrippa and Julia the Elder.³³⁷ Unfortunately, these are of minimal use for any reconstruction of the internal workings of the Imperial household. For Roman domestic buildings in general, it is barely possible to assign functions to many rooms,³³⁸ beyond rooms with very distinctive layouts or features, such as *atria*, peristyles, *triclinia*, and kitchens, let alone to assign specific rooms or groups of rooms to particular individuals³³⁹ or to estimate the size of the household based on the number and size of the rooms.³⁴⁰

³³⁷ Fantham 2006, pp. 74-76.

³³⁸ Wallace-Hadrill 1991, p. 202. Rooms used for economic production within a domestic context – which would have been particularly useful for an understanding of the Imperial household – are all but impossible to identify (Wallace-Hadrill 1990, pp. 165-166).

³³⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1988, p. 92.

³⁴⁰ Wallace-Hadrill 1991. He remarks on the particular difficulty of estimating population sizes for larger houses (p. 213).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

As I have already discussed the general trends and development of epigraphic methodologies, interpretations, and analyses, I will now outline the methodology used in the present study.

Sources

The primary source material for this study comprises both literary and epigraphic material. In addition, I have used archaeological material in order to provide context to other evidence where this was both relevant and possible.

I conducted a full literature review of the primary sources focusing on the Julio-Claudian period, roughly from the rise of Augustus to the death of Nero,³⁴¹ concentrating on the accounts of Tacitus, Suetonius, Cassius Dio, Appian, and Plutarch.³⁴² I also searched for additional references concerning the private lives and households of the Julio-Claudians, which are scattered in a wide variety of sources; a careful reading of PIR was invaluable. Literary sources also provide considerable information about elite household functioning in general during the late Republic and early Empire, which provides an external context for the functioning of the Julio-Claudian households.

It is impossible to conduct any study of this kind, however, without extensive use of epigraphic evidence. The literary sources name a few prominent, infamous, or otherwise atypical Imperial slaves or freed slaves, but remain silent about the vast numbers needed to keep the large Julio-Claudian households – and the civil

³⁴¹ I have also considered, of course, the lives of the Julio-Claudians born prior to Augustus' accession as well as those of the few Julio-Claudians who survived Nero's death.

³⁴² Tacitus: *Annales, Historiae*; Suetonius: *Divus Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius Caligula, Divus Claudius, Nero*; Cassius Dio: *Roman History* 45-63; Appian: *Bella Civila* 3-5; Plutarch: *Antony*.

administration, for that matter – functioning smoothly. By contrast, inscriptions record primarily the names and lives of the lower classes, generally those with enough money to afford burial. The Julio-Claudian period is particularly well-documented in the city of Rome due to the preference for burial in *columbaria* during the first century, as well as the survival of three *columbaria* directly connected to the Julio-Claudians.³⁴³

From Stone to Data

Reliable conclusions can only be drawn from inscriptional evidence when the methodology applied to those inscriptions is clear and precise. The methodology used, along with all interpretative assumptions and categorical definitions, must be clearly outlined so that the process of converting the raw inscription into data for analysis can be understood and the origins of all conclusions are easily apparent.

Searching for Stones

In order to compile my source material, I needed to find all Latin inscriptions mentioning slaves, freed slaves, or other workers affiliated with the extended Julio-Claudian family. By far, the simplest way to find a specific sample of inscriptions is through the use of the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby,³⁴⁴ which currently comprises well over 400,000 Latin inscriptions from a wide variety of publications. The Clauss-

³⁴³ The *Monumentum Liviae* (CIL 6, 03926 – CIL 6, 04326), the *Monumentum liberorum Drusi* (CIL 6, 04327 – CIL 6, 04413), and the *Monumentum Marcellae* (CIL 6, 04418 – CIL 6, 04880) are all specifically linked with individual Julio-Claudians. As well, the *Monumentum Statiliorum*, which belonged to the family of Statilia Messalina, Nero's third wife, is also extant (CIL 6, 06213 – CIL 6, 06640) and contains a number of her slaves and freed slaves.

³⁴⁴ <http://www.manfredclauss.de/gb/index.html>. Other databases are available, most notably the Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (http://www.edr-edr.it/English/index_en.php) and the Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (<http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/index.html.en>), which are not yet as comprehensive as the Clauss-Slaby database. They do, however, render Greek text in its entirety, which Clauss-Slaby does not, making them more useful for the interpretation of bilingual inscriptions (cf.

Slaby database is fully searchable, instantly producing all inscriptions including a particular search term (e.g., “Agrippa”). However, the constraints of digital entry of inscriptions can result in problems in their interpretation: for instance, abbreviations are sometimes filled in without sufficient information, and inscriptions with multiple columns or stone faces are not always laid out in an obvious manner. There are an increasing number of photographs attached to the inscriptional data,³⁴⁵ which can aid in their interpretation by presenting all possible information about the artifact itself. Where inscriptions remained unclear due to factors such as fragmentation, layout, or ambiguous wording, I also used the physical volumes of various epigraphic collections that contained the relevant inscriptions, which have the further advantage of including editorial commentary on inscriptions’ content and potential interpretations.

However, any search for Julio-Claudian slaves and freed slaves faces one major problem: the obvious search terms – the *nomina* Iulius or Claudius or the *agnomina* Augustus or Caesar – appear very frequently, and often not in the relevant context for this particular study. A quick search of the Clauss-Slaby database at the time of writing produced 21,341 results for Iuli-,³⁴⁶ 9,084 results for Claudi-, 32,391 results for August-, and 15,481 results for Caesar. Some of these are honorific, votive, or statue inscriptions to the relevant emperors, with no mention of any household members, others belong to

CIL 3, 00560 = InscrAtt 00014, in which the occupation is only listed in the Greek portion of the inscription).

³⁴⁵ Just over 50,000 at last count. However, this does not represent the number of inscriptions with photographic information available, as some inscriptions are linked to more than one photograph.

³⁴⁶ It is always necessary to search for the stem of any search term, in order to include all possible declensions. Epitaphs most frequently include names in the nominative, genitive, and dative, and a search for Iuli- encompasses Iulius, Iuli, and Iulio.

later emperors with the same *nomina*³⁴⁷ or using the Imperial *agnomina*,³⁴⁸ and still others are private individuals bearing the same *nomina*, but unaffiliated with the Julio-Claudians.³⁴⁹

Unfortunately, because of the nomenclature habits of the first century C.E. and the space-saving tendencies of the epigraphic material, the slaves and freed slaves of the Julio-Claudians are generally identified in the simplest possible ways. Many are identified as “*Aug(usti) lib(ertus)*,” or “*Caesaris s(ervus)*,” or with the relevant agnomen providing the indication of ownership or manumission. As a result, the only way to find all the relevant inscriptions was to cast as wide a net as possible by using very wide search terms, and then to read each inscription individually, separating the relevant from the irrelevant at that stage. This is, admittedly, time-consuming, but it does result in the most complete body of epigraphic material for eventual analysis.

I therefore compiled a comprehensive list of *nomina*, *cognomina*, and *agnomina* belonging to any member of the Julio-Claudian extended family, which is available in Appendix D, and used that as the basis for the search terms I entered into the Clauss-Slaby database. In order to narrow down the massive search results for the stems Iuli-

³⁴⁷ This is particularly problematic from the Severans onward: it would be a simple matter to confuse freedmen of Julia Domna (wife of Septimius Severus, r. 193-211), C. Julius Maximinus (r. 235-238), M. Antonius Gordianus (r. 238-244), or M. Julius Philippus (r. 244-249) with those of the Julio-Claudians (Weaver 1972, pp. 24-25). However, the importance of Imperial slaves and freed slaves diminished after the Severan dynasty amid Septimius Severus' administrative and military reforms and the crises of the third century, and epigraphic mentions subsequently disappear (ibid., p. 17, p. 25), with the latest dated inscription of an Imperial freedman (CIL 6, 00816 = D 01928) belonging to May 238 (ibid., p. 26); as a result, it is highly unlikely that any of the inscriptions within the present sample have been incorrectly assigned to the Julio-Claudian dynasty when in fact they belong to the third century.

³⁴⁸ That is to say, all subsequent emperors.

³⁴⁹ Imperial *nomina* are particularly prone to this issue: the number of freed slaves who have legitimate freeborn children or freed slaves of their own results in an exponential increase in free Romans bearing Imperial *nomina* for a few generations after the emperor in question.

and Augusti-, I added *serv-*, *libert-*, and *verna* to the search as well. As well, I searched for common misspellings, such as Kaisar, Aimili-, and Klaudi-, in order to make my database as comprehensive as possible. Finally, I automatically included the contents of the three *columbaria* in Rome known to have belonged to Julio-Claudian households: the *Monumentum Liviae* (CIL 6, 03926 – CIL 6, 04326), the *Monumentum liberorum Drusi* (CIL 6, 04327 – CIL 6, 04413), and the *Monumentum Marcellae* (CIL 6, 04418 – CIL 6, 04880).³⁵⁰

I then carefully read through the initial search results, compiling all those inscriptions that might possibly have some connection to the Julio-Claudian dynasty into a preliminary database. At this stage, I did not apply any strong selection criteria to the inscriptions, merely eliminating those that clearly belonged to other dynasties or other centuries, or those that only shared a single *nomen* with the Julio-Claudian dynasty without any status indicator.³⁵¹ This preliminary database collected more than 3,400 inscriptions, which I narrowed further into my final database by applying specific inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Inclusion and Exclusion

Inscriptions were included in the final database if they met any one of the following criteria:

1. The individual specifically identifies a known Julio-Claudian as patron, owner, or employer.

³⁵⁰ The *columbaria* are particularly associated with the city of Rome itself: all the *columbarium* inscriptions in the sample were found in Rome.

2. The individual bears the *nomen* of a known Julio-Claudian along with an Imperial status indicator.³⁵²
3. The individual bears an Imperial status indicator and the inscription is located in one of the known Julio-Claudian *columbaria*.
4. The individual bears an Imperial status indicator predominantly used during the Julio-Claudian period, namely “*Caesaris l(ibertus)*,” “*Caesaris Augusti l(ibertus)*,” or “*Caesaris Augusti ser(vus)*.”³⁵³
5. The individual bears an *agnomen* clearly indicating origin in the Julio-Claudian households, regardless of present status.
6. The inscription includes a consular year earlier than 69 C.E. as well as another indicator of Imperial ownership or patronage.³⁵⁴
7. Where a very young child is explicitly a Julio-Claudian slave or freed slave, or (far more frequently) where any individual is explicitly a Julio-Claudian *verna*, his or her mother, if named in the inscription, is included as well, as the child’s status must derive from hers.

³⁵¹ I did, however, include inscriptions that shared multiple *nomina* with the Julio-Claudian dynasty in this preliminary database, such as AE 1979, 00134 = Bovillae p 153 (*Ti(berio) Claudio / Quir(ina) Fado / Iulia Procula / marito optumo*).

³⁵² This is occasionally difficult, where *nomina* appear in later Imperial dynasties as well, and where there is confusion about the precise identification of the owner, I have used other inclusion and exclusion criteria to make my final decision.

³⁵³ “... in the absence of other data, the simple form ‘*Caesaris l.*’ is practically an indication of Augustan date.” (Weaver 1972, p. 49). Weaver’s work on the dating of and changes to Imperial status indicators is invaluable (pp. 48-54).

³⁵⁴ Most notable are several lengthy but fragmentary inscriptions (CIL 6, 04714 = CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023, CIL 10, 06638 = InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055, and CIL 10, 06637 = CIL 6, 08639 (p 3461) = InscrIt-13-01, 00032 = GLISwedish 00149 = Epigraphica-2003-98 = AE 1997, +00102 = AE 2002, 00309 = AE 2003, +00298) which include lists of the *decuriones* of Imperial *collegia*.

8. An individual specifically identifies a Julio-Claudian slave or freed slave (who meets at least one of the above criteria) as his or her owner or patron.

Although these were not directly the slaves or freed slaves of the Julio-Claudians themselves, they emphasize their Imperial connection in inscriptions through their ownership indicators or their libertination, calling themselves *Caes(aris) ser(vi/ae) vic(arius/a)*, *Aug(usti) lib(erti/ae) ser(vus/a)*, or *Aug(usti) lib(erti/ae) lib(ertus/a)*, or some similar variant, depending on their precise situation. They are closely integrated into the fabric of the Julio-Claudian households and their members, and should therefore be treated as part of the extended household.³⁵⁵

Inscriptions were excluded from the final database if they met any one of the following criteria:³⁵⁶

1. The individual bears an Imperial slave or freed status indicator explicitly connected to a later emperor, either through specific identification or through use of a later Imperial nomen, without an agnomen indicating previous ownership by a Julio-Claudian.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ Cf. Weaver 1972, pp. 200-211.

³⁵⁶ Due to the reuse of already-inscribed stones, it is possible to have a Julio-Claudian inscription sharing the same stone as a later inscription. For example, CIL 6, 34909 (= ICUR-02, 06002 = ILCV 04233b) contains both a first-century Julio-Claudian inscription and a later Christian inscription: *Claudiae divi Claudi l(ibertae) A[3] / Claudiae Spei l(ibertae) [3] / Anteros Aug(usti) lib(ertus) [3] / coniugi carissimae et [3] / Claudiae Eumenia [3] nice / libertis libertabusque posterisqu[e] eorum] // Aurelia Agape / fecit Iulio Gemino / virginio suo q(ui) vix(it) an(nos) LIII m(enses) VII qui vix(it) cum comp(are) sua ann(os) XXX / d(e)p(osita) die XVII Kal(endas) Febr(uarias) in pace. I have taken this into consideration where it is relevant.*

³⁵⁷ Although Vespasian took ownership of the Imperial slaves and obtained patronal rights over the Imperial freed slaves upon his accession in 69, for any inscriptions after his accession, it is impossible to know whether a particular individual was part of that transfer without the clear use of a Julio-Claudian *agnomen* along with an Imperial status indicator, as in CIL 6, 08954 = D 01782 = AE 2000, +00132 (T.

2. The inscription includes a consular date or an emperor's reign after the accession of Hadrian in 117. I have selected this as a clear-cut reference point, based on Weaver's calculations of *termini ad quem* for emperors' freed slaves.³⁵⁸ Even young slaves or freed slaves belonging to Nero in the final days of his reign would be unlikely to survive the necessary 60 years past his death in order to be present in inscriptions dating after Hadrian's accession.³⁵⁹
3. The individual possesses an Imperial status indicator with no specifically named master or patron and uses the term *nostrum* within that status indicator. As the usage of *nostrum* does not appear in the Imperial household prior to the Flavian dynasty and does not become regular until Trajan,³⁶⁰ such inscriptions should be deemed to belong to later reigns.
4. The inscription was found in the Imperial columbarium at Carthage (CIL 8, 12590 – CIL 8, 13214 and CIL 8, 24681 – CIL 8, 24861), which was not used until after the accession of Vespasian, at the very earliest.³⁶¹
5. The individual's sole connection to the Julio-Claudians is the result of military service with one of the male Julio-Claudians, as a *comes* or *praefectus*, for

Flavius Parthenopaeus Poppeanus), CIL 6, 10172 = D 05152 = EAOR-01, 00033 = Gummerus-01, 00116 & CIL 6, 10173 = EAOR-01, 00034 = Gummerus-01, 00117 (Eutyclus Aug. lib. Neronianus), CIL 6, 15347 (Blastus Neronianus), CIL 6, 15551 = D 07933 (Successus Octavianus), CIL 6, 15616 (Anthus Agrippinianus), CIL 6, 18203 (T. Flavius Sedatus Antonianus), CIL 6, 24164 (Phoebus Agrippinianus), CIL 6, 33737 = AE 1896, 00092 (Polybius Agrippinianus), and CIL 6, 36911 (Narcissus Agrippinianus).

³⁵⁸ Weaver estimates that Neronian freed slaves were unlikely to survive beyond 110 C.E. (1972, p. 33).

³⁵⁹ Indeed, the latest inscription of a Julio-Claudian freed slave with a precise consular date (CIL 6, 00630 = D 01699 = D 03541) is dated August 1, 107 C.E. Thus, using the accession of Hadrian as a hard cut-off point gives me a decade of latitude.

³⁶⁰ Weaver 1972, pp. 54-57.

³⁶¹ Barton 1972, p. 18.

instance, rather than as a member of the domestic household, an urban estate, or the civil service, as this is beyond the scope of the present study.

6. Where the identity of the master or patron is Imperial but otherwise unspecified, I have consulted scholarly commentary regarding the probable date of an inscription in order to make a final decision regarding its inclusion.³⁶² I have only included such inscriptions when they are beyond a doubt of Julio-Claudian date, and not, for example, “earlier than Hadrian.”
7. When the inscription contains insufficient evidence to make any concrete argument for Julio-Claudian affiliation, I opted to exclude it in order to avoid making assumptions about ownership or patronage and potentially skewing my results with inscriptions that did not belong to the dynasty in question. Erring on the side of caution is absolutely necessary: for several generations after a particular emperor’s reign, his *nomen* spreads exponentially through the epigraphic material, as freed slaves have freeborn children as well as freed slaves of their own.³⁶³ While these individuals are loosely connected to the Imperial household (and indeed, their *nomina* illustrate its far-reaching influence), without concrete connections, they must be excluded from the database.

³⁶² Most notably, I consulted Chantraine 1967, Weaver 1972, and Boulvert 1974, along with the editors’ commentary in CIL, Dessau, and other epigraphic volumes.

³⁶³ For example, the necropolis at Isola Sacra belongs to the second century or later (Calza 1931, p. 511; Cumont 1931, p. 28), but it contains numerous Ti. Claudii and M. Antonii: these individuals must be at least one degree removed from the Imperial household, if not more.

Difficult Decisions

However, even after applying those criteria, I was left with some inscriptions that required further consideration regarding their inclusion or exclusion, due to various problems with fragmentation, inconsistency, or lack of clarity regarding dates, names, or status.

For example, consider CIL 6, 00376:

*Iovi Custodi / et Genio / thesaurorum / aram / C(aius)
Iulius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / Satyrus / d(onum) d(edit) //
dedic(avit) XIII K(alendas) Febr(uarias) / M(arco) Civica
Barbaro / M(arco) Metilio Regulo / co(n)s(ulibus)*

To Jupiter Custos and the spirit of the treasury, C. Iulius Satyrus, Imperial freedman, gave this altar as a gift. Dedicated on the 13th day before the Kalends of February, when M. Civica Barbarus and M. Metilius Regulus were consuls.

At first glance, the inscription appears simple enough: an Imperial freedman, manumitted by Augustus or Caligula according to his libertination and the combination of *praenomen* and *nomen*, dedicates an altar, including the consular date in his inscription. However, the consuls in question were in office in 157, well over a century after Caligula's death and far beyond any possibility of survival for a Julian Imperial freedman.

This anachronistic use of an apparent Julio-Claudian status indicator is not unique. In two further cases, apparent Julio-Claudian freedmen are paired with considerably later freedmen.

First:

*Ti(beri) Claudi Aug(usti) / lib(erti) Aviti imbi/tatoris et
T(iti) Ae/li Aug(usti) lib(erti) Theo/doti adiuto/ris a*

cognit(ionibus) / et Scetasiae / Octaviae fili(i)s / carissimis / Antonia Rhodine / mater fecit (CIL 6, 08634)

To Ti. Claudius Avitus, Imperial freedman, a summoner, and to T. Aelius Theodotus, Imperial freedman, an assistant in the Imperial law court, and to Scetasia Octavia, her dearest children, Antonia Rhodine, their mother, made this.

The family relationships involved are clear: Antonia Rhodine, of uncertain but free status, has three children. Two of these are Imperial freedmen, one bearing the *nomen* Claudius and one bearing the *nomen* Aelius. Therefore, Avitus must have been manumitted between Claudius' accession in 41 and Nero's death in 68, while Theodotus must have been manumitted by Antoninus Pius at some point after his adoption by Hadrian in 138. This places the date of the inscription no earlier than 138, well outside the usual age range for Julio-Claudian freed slaves; furthermore, the occupational title *adiutor a cognitionibus* also hints at a second century date.³⁶⁴ If we took the inscription at face value, these brothers would have been manumitted at least 70 years apart, and have a living mother at the end of those 70 years.

Similarly:

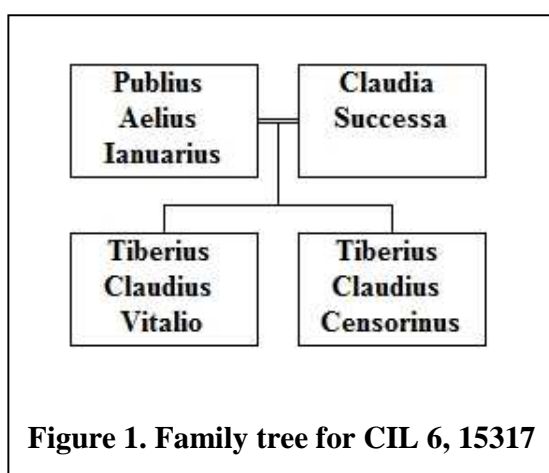
D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berio) Claudio Vitalioni filio / karissimo qui vix(it) ann(os) XI / m(enses) VII d(ies) XIII fecit / P(ublius) Aelius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Ianuarius pater / et Claudiae Successae coniugi / bene merenti et incomparabili feminae / cum qua vix(it) ann(os) XXXI cuius nulla(m) cupiditate(m) / est expert(us) et Ti(berio) Claudio Aug(usti) l(iberto) Censorino filio / karissimo et sibi et suis lib(ertis) libertabusq(ue) poster(is)q(ue) / eorum (CIL 6, 15317)

To the gods of the dead. To Ti. Claudius Vitalio, dearest son, who lived 11 years, 7 months, and 13 days, P. Aelius Ianuarius, Imperial freedman, his father, made this, and for

³⁶⁴ Weaver 1972, pp. 236-240.

Claudia Successa, his well-deserving wife and an incomparable woman, with whom he lived for 31 years in which he experienced no greed, and for Ti. Claudius Censorinus, Imperial freedman, his dearest son, and for himself and for his freedmen and freedwomen and their descendents.

Based on the inscription's text, the family involved forms the family tree in Figure 1. However, the relationships are not as simple as they first appear because of the status of the individuals involved. If Censorinus had not had any status indicator, the solution would be simple. Although they record a 31-year marriage, Successa and Ianuarius were not in *matrimonium iustum* at the time of either son's birth, likely because Ianuarius had not yet been manumitted and was incapable of contracting a legal Roman marriage; both Vitalio and Censorinus could have obtained the *nomen* Claudius either through their mother, if they were freeborn but illegitimate, or through a patron, if Successa was still a slave when they were born.³⁶⁵ However, Censorinus bears an Imperial status indicator which would place his manumission between 41 and 68,



whereas Ianuarius must have been manumitted by Hadrian between 117 and 138. It is so unlikely as to be virtually impossible that a son would receive manumission at least fifty years before his father.

So how ought these inscriptions be

³⁶⁵ Naturally, both circumstances might be the case: Successa could easily have been a slave at the time of the elder son's birth and a freedwoman at the time of the younger son's birth.

explained? It would be simple enough to claim misuse of the Imperial status indicator,³⁶⁶ but the answer most likely lies in the *SC Claudianum*, the details and implications of which I have discussed above.³⁶⁷ Other than the condition of the child's birth, there is no further indication in the legal sources regarding the child's later *nomen*. A woman reduced to freedwoman status according to the *SC Claudianum* would bear slave children, who might then reclaim their mother's *nomen* after manumission, pairing it incorrectly with the Imperial status indicator. This would easily explain CIL 6, 15317 and probably CIL 6, 00376 as well, if we assume that Satyrus' mother was named Iulia and married an Imperial slave. CIL 6, 08634 remains problematic, despite Weaver's suggestion that it can probably also be explained as an *SC Claudianum* case.³⁶⁸ At any rate, all three inscriptions must not belong to the Julio-Claudian period and have been excluded from the present study on that basis.

At times, the contents of an inscription offer a tantalizing hint, but the inscription is simply too fragmentary to be certain of its wording. For example, consider AE 2007, 00902, from Segusio in Alpes Cottiae:

*[re[3] / divi A[ug(usti) 3] / [3]tio Varian[o 3] / ne[p]oti /
[3]ae Q(uinti) Vari li(bertae) [*

... re ... of the divine Augustus... tius Varianus... *nepos*³⁶⁹...
freedwoman of Q. Varus...

³⁶⁶ This certainly occurred as well. Cf. CIL 6, 12533 = CIL 10, 02112 = CIL 6, 34057 = CIL 6, *03216 (C. Asinius Aug. lib.), CIL 6, 24316 = AE 2006, 00173 (C. Plotius Aug. lib.), CIL 8, 12922 = Gummerus-01, 00308 (M. Macrius Aug. lib.), and AE 2001, 00780 (Q. Ostorius *divae Augustae* lib.).

³⁶⁷ Cf. Weaver 1972, pp. 35-36.

³⁶⁸ Weaver 1972, p. 36. He makes the claim, but without any further explanation regarding the origins of the various *nomina*.

³⁶⁹ Without further information, *nepos* does not translate clearly into English, as it can refer to either nieces and nephews, or to grandchildren.

The Varus in question is undoubtedly Quintilius Varus, whose friendship with Augustus and loss of three legions in Germany is well-known. The inscription may – and probably does – involve a freedwoman of Varus, whose *nepos* (probably grandchild in this context, but uncertain) was a home-born slave of Varus, having been transferred to Augustus' ownership. Varus was indeed connected with the Julio-Claudians on a personal level as well, having been married first to a daughter of Agrippa,³⁷⁰ and then to Claudia Pulchra, daughter of Marcella the Younger, making such a slave transfer easily plausible. Unfortunately, it is simply too fragmentary for any degree of certainty in its interpretation, and must therefore be excluded.

CIL 8, 09344, from Caesarea in Mauritania, has a similar problem:

*Aeschinus Iu[b]ae / regis l(ibertus) Ant[3]us / (h)ic sit(us)
<e=I>st t(ibi) s(it) t(erra) l(evis)*

Aeschinus Ant---us, freedman of king Juba, is placed here.
May the earth lie lightly upon you.

Juba, king of Mauritania, was closely affiliated with the Julio-Claudians: he was educated in Augustus' and Octavia the Younger's households,³⁷¹ he received Roman citizenship from Augustus,³⁷² and he married Cleopatra Selene,³⁷³ daughter of Antony and Cleopatra. Unfortunately, the fragmentation in this particular inscription falls in the middle of the *agnomen*, which may originally have read Antonianus and thus indicated

³⁷⁰ Or so it seems, based on a fragmentary papyrus that refers to Varus as Agrippa's son-in-law (Reinhold 1972, pp. 119-121), but the precise identity of his wife is uncertain.

³⁷¹ There is no direct attestation of this education, but he likely numbered among the children of client kings Augustus educated (Suet. Aug. 48). Roller makes a persuasive argument for Juba's education in the households of Octavian and Octavia the Younger (2003, pp. 60-64).

³⁷² As illustrated by the *nomina* of his freed slaves, who are all C. Iulii (AE 1985, 00956, CIL 8, 21087, CIL 8, 21088); for further discussion of Juba's household, see pp. 242-243. Caesar is a remote possibility, although Juba was only five years old in 44 B.C.E. (Roller 2003, p. 75).

original ownership either by Antony himself or, more likely, by one of his other daughters.

Perhaps the most frustrating set of inscriptions are those hinting at Julio-Claudian origin, with a combination of the appropriate *nomina* and at times, even a location closely connected to the dynasty. Consider CIL 6, 04566, which was found in the *Monumentum Marcellae*:

*Flavia Zoe / Ti(berio) Claudio Ia/nuario con/iugi
carissi/mo fec(it) et f(iliae) ei/us Iuliae Ianu/ariae quae
vi/xit ann(os) XVI m(enses) / VI die(s) VIII ex / donatone /
loci // C(ai) Iuli T<hr=RH>epti / et colliberto/rum eius et /
ex donatio/ne Ti(beri) Claudi / Homeri et / colliberto/rum
eius*

Flavia Zoe, to her dearest husband Ti. Claudius Ianuarius and his daughter Iulia Ianuaria, who lived 16 years, 6 months, and 14 days, the site given by the donation of C. Iulius Threptus and his fellow freedmen and by the donation of Ti. Claudius Homerus and his fellow freedmen.

While the *nomina* of all five individuals belong to various first-century emperors, none of them have provided a clear indication of a Julio-Claudian connection. Threptus and Homerus are clearly freed slaves due to the use of *collibertus*, but who manumitted them? The combination of so many Imperial *nomina* is tempting,³⁷⁴ but could easily be the result of continued contact among the descendents or freed slaves of Julio-Claudian freed slaves. It is likely that some such inscriptions conceal Julio-Claudian

³⁷³ As Cleopatra Selene was certainly raised by Octavia the Younger, her marriage with Juba may indeed be further proof of Juba's education in the same household. Cf. Plut. Ant. 87; Roller 2003, p. 84.

³⁷⁴ Particularly when the inscription originates in the *Monumentum Marcellae*, e.g., CIL 6, 04548 (Claudia and Valerius), CIL 6, 04581 (Iulius and Livia), CIL 6, 04744 (Claudius and Iulia).

connections,³⁷⁵ but without specific evidence that the individuals in an inscription are Julio-Claudian freed slaves themselves, rather than first- or even second-generation descendents of those freed slaves,³⁷⁶ I have been forced to exclude these from my final database.

Even when an inscription clearly dates to the early first century and indicates affiliation with a Julio-Claudian, it is not always a simple matter to determine which Julio-Claudian is involved, due to the Roman tendency to reuse names within the same family. The most common problem is distinguishing emperors' freed slaves from one another. Augustus and Caligula share the same *praenomen* and *nomen* – Caius Iulius – which their freedmen receive in turn, making it difficult to distinguish between them without additional evidence.³⁷⁷ For freedwomen, the problem is even more severe, as Tiberius' freedwomen join those of Augustus and Caligula in bearing the *nomen* Iulia. Similarly, the freed slaves of Claudius and Nero are virtually indistinguishable from one another – the freedmen are all Tiberii Claudii and the freedwomen are Claudiae – barring any further identification in the status indicator, such as *divus Claudius* or *Nero Augustus*.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁵ For example, CIL 3, 07380 (= D 05682 = IK-19, 00029) features two Claudii, a dedication to the *familia Caesaris* and a consular date of January or February 55, but no indication of their actual connection, while CIL 6, 21399 (= CIL 6, 34136) contains a M. Livius and a Claudia who are *colliberti* with no information as to where that relationship originated.

³⁷⁶ See Weaver's (1972) discussion on the tendency of Imperial slaves and freedmen to marry the freeborn daughters of the freedmen of earlier reigns, pp. 130-133.

³⁷⁷ Due to the relative length of their reigns, however, the majority of the C. Iulii freedmen were certainly manumitted by Augustus.

³⁷⁸ *Divus Claudius*: AE 1946, 00099 (= AE 1946, +00173), CIL 6, 01921 (= AE 1999, +00024), CIL 6, 04305 (= D 01732), CIL 6, 08554 (= D 01765), CIL 6, 08636 (= CIL 5, *00072 = CIL 9, *00223,5 = CIL 10, *01089,067 = CIL 11, *00027,05 = D 01682 = IMCCatania 00400 = AE 1997, +00160 = AE 2000, +00019), CIL 6, 09060 (= D 01641), CIL 6, 15314, CIL 6, 34909 (= ICUR-02, 06002 = ILCV 04233b), CIL 10, 00527 (= InscrIt-01-01, 00172 = D 01671). There are considerably more examples of Nero

Adoptions and their resulting changes in *nomina* and even *agnomina* further complicate matters. The frequency of adoption, particularly during Augustus' reign due to his ongoing search for a male successor, results in constantly changing *nomina* for male Julio-Claudians. Tiberius, for example, belonged to the *gens* Claudia prior to his adoption in 4 C.E., after which he joined the *gens* Iulia, and as a result, his freed slaves bear both *nomina* in the inscriptions, depending on the date of their manumission. Similarly, both Livia and Nero have freed slaves with two different *nomina*: Livia's freed slaves are both *Livii* and *Iulii*,³⁷⁹ while a certain L. Domitius Aug. l. Lemnus records his profession as *procurator Germanici Caesaris*,³⁸⁰ and must therefore have been manumitted by Nero prior to his adoption by Claudius in about 50.³⁸¹

The reuse of personal names can lead to some confusion, particularly as the usual names we have adopted for ease of distinction when referring to members of the Julio-Claudian household are not necessarily reflected in the inscription. For example:

*Secunda / Livillaes / medica // Ti(berius) Claudius /
Caesaris l(ibertus) / Celer aeditu(u)s / a Vesta (CIL 6,
08711 = D 07803)*

Augustus, particularly because the German bodyguard provides extremely specific identifications. Other means of distinguishing Claudius' household from Nero's are sometimes possible, using associated *agnomina* (Acteani must belong to Nero, for instance) or other reference points; for example, one Imperial slave (CIL 6, 03719 = CIL 6, 31033 = D 01774) can be identified as Nero's through his occupation, which he lists as a *supellectile domus Auriae* (sic).

³⁷⁹ This means that any freedwomen she manumitted after 14 join the above list of indistinguishable Iuliae Aug. *libertae*, unless they do not abbreviate their patron's name and thus specify that they are *Augustae libertae*.

³⁸⁰ CIL 6, 08499 (= CIL 10, *01089,123 = D 01489 = IMCCatania 00399) and CIL 6, 08500 (= CIL 11, 01753 = D 01490 = Sinn 00122 = AE 2004, +00042).

³⁸¹ However, there remains the problem of L. Domitius Phaon (IFondi p 177 = AE 1914, 00219 = AE 2005, +00097b and CIL 10, 00444 = InscrIt-03-01, 00007 = D 03546 = AE 2005, +00097b) and whether he ought to be identified with the Neronian freedman Phaon, at whose villa Nero committed suicide (Suet. Ner. 48-49, Cass. Dio 63.28-29). Both sides have been argued (Bruun 1989, Weaver 2005), and I have erred on the side of caution in excluding the inscriptions.

Secunda, doctor of Livilla // Tiberius Claudius Celer,
freedman of Caesar, temple custodian of Vesta.

The inscription clearly originates in the Julio-Claudian household. But who are the Julio-Claudians in question? For “Livilla,” Dessau’s commentary understands Julia Livilla, the youngest of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder’s children,³⁸² while the commentary in CIL 6 prefers Claudia Livilla, daughter of Drusus the Elder and Antonia the Younger.³⁸³ Either is certainly possible, so perhaps an identification of the “Caesar” in question could offer a clue. Weaver has shown that Imperial status indication in the form “*Caesaris l(ibertus)*” is certainly Julio-Claudian,³⁸⁴ and most frequently Augustan in date, although there are a few isolated cases of Claudian freed slaves.³⁸⁵ If the Caesar in question is Claudius, the inscription must date to after his accession in 41. With Claudia Livilla dead by early 32, that makes Julia Livilla the most likely candidate. When she returned to Rome upon Claudius’ accession, her property was restored as well. Because Messalina had her banished once again and executed soon afterward, there would have been a very limited window for the erection of the inscription in question. It is entirely possible that the separate *columbarium* inscriptions were inscribed at different times,³⁸⁶ but that is unlikely and should not be assumed to be the case if another solution can be found. I would argue that “Caesar” need not refer to a ruling emperor, as it was

³⁸² p. 831.

³⁸³ p. 1158.

³⁸⁴ Weaver 1972, p. 49.

³⁸⁵ CIL 3, 02022, CIL 6, 25028 (whose spelling elsewhere indicates that Latin was not the first language), and CIL 5, 01167 (= InscrAqu-01, 00467).

³⁸⁶ For example, CIL 6, 33767 (= CIL 13, *00303 = CIL 14, *00292,1): *Epaenus Messalinae / Aug(ustae) Augustianus / Iulianus / Seleucus // cocus // C(ai) Caesar(is) / Germanic(i) [f(ili)?]*. The inscription clearly identifies a slave of Messalina, wife of Augustus (i.e., Claudius), and a slave of Caligula. As

frequently adopted as an agnomen by various male heirs of the Julio-Claudian family and appears in the inscriptions of their slaves and freed slaves.³⁸⁷ Of these, the only one who also bears the *nomen* Claudius is Drusus the Younger, who also happens to be married to Claudia Livilla, making them the most likely candidates for the Julio-Claudians in question.³⁸⁸

Such difficulties in identification are common. “Livia” most likely means Livia,³⁸⁹ wife of Augustus, but it could also refer to Livilla, daughter of Drusus the Elder and Antonia the Younger, or her daughter Livia Julia.³⁹⁰ “Drusus” could indicate Livia’s son Drusus the Elder, Tiberius’ son Drusus the Younger, or Germanicus’ son Drusus Caesar,³⁹¹ while “Germanicus” could indicate Germanicus himself, Claudius prior to his

Messalina was not the “wife of Augustus” until after Caligula’s death, the inscriptions must have been written at different times before and after 41.

³⁸⁷ For example, Lucius Caesar, Caius Caesar, Germanicus, Drusus the Younger, Drusus Caesar, and Nero Caesar could all rightly be called “Caesar,” despite never having acceded to the throne.

³⁸⁸ The only problem with this is that Claudia Livilla does not appear elsewhere as “Livilla” in the inscriptional evidence, but rather as “*Liviae Drusi*” (CIL 6, 04349 = D 01751, CIL 6, 05226, CIL 6, 08786). However, she does appear in Suetonius as Livilla (Suet. Tib. 62.1, Suet. Claud. 1.6, Suet. Claud. 3.2), and the only certainly identifiable Julio-Claudian “Livilla” in the inscriptional material is the fragmentary epitaph of Julia Livilla herself (CIL 6, 00891 = D 00188 = Gordon 00084 = Mausoleum p 156 = AE 1994, 00243), rather than any slaves or freed slaves.

³⁸⁹ A very early freedwoman (CIL 6, 13179 = CIL 1, 01258 = ILLRP 00413) even calls herself *Leivia Drusillae l(iberta) Galatea* (sic). Interestingly, she appears with a freedman of L. Aurelius Cotta (cos. 65 B.C.E.), whose sister Aurelia was the mother of the dictator Caesar.

³⁹⁰ Livilla is often called *Livia Drusi* (CIL 6, 08786) or *Livia Drusi Caesaris* (CIL 6, 04349 = D 01751, CIL 6, 05226, CIL 6, 08899 = D 01843), although she also appears only as *Livia* in the status indications for three freedwomen with the *nomen* Claudia (CIL 6, 05226, CIL 6, 15502 = CIL 11, *00101,053 = D 08054, CIL 6, 38204). Livia Julia seems to appear both as *Iulia Drusi Caesaris filia* (CIL 6, 04119 and CIL 6, 05198 = D 01752) and as *Livia Drusi Caesaris filia* (CIL 6, 19747 = CIL 5, *00429,096 = CLE 00987 = D 08522, although this may also refer to Livilla depending on the interpretation of the inscription).

Germanicus’ daughter Julia Livilla does not appear in the inscriptions, except possibly in one of the inscriptions referring to *Iulia Germanici filia*, without citing which of the three daughters is meant.

³⁹¹ CIL 6, 03999, CIL 6, 04234, CIL 6, 04337 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718), CIL 6, 08848, CIL 15, 07383. Cf. Chantraine 1967, pp. 37-38.

accession and (probably) after Germanicus' death, or Nero after his adoption.³⁹² "Nero" could indicate Nero himself, Tiberius prior to his adoption, or Germanicus' son Nero Caesar.³⁹³ At times, specific identification of the Julio-Claudian in question is impossible, especially for homonymous sister or mother-daughter pairs: without additional evidence, such as the mention of a husband's name, the slaves and freed slaves of Marcella the Elder and Marcella the Younger are indistinguishable, as are those of Agrippina the Elder and Agrippina the Younger.³⁹⁴ For Antonia the Elder and Antonia the Younger, however, their household members seem to have been aware of the potential for confusion, so that both women are frequently identified with a husband's name in the genitive or, in the case of Antonia the Younger, with the title *Augusta*.³⁹⁵

³⁹² Claudius' full name as emperor includes the *agnomen* Germanicus, and, prior to his accession, he must be the *Tiberius Claudius Germanicus* who appears in numerous inscriptions (Chantraine 1967, p. 38): AE 1921, 00070, CIL 6, 04334 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01719 = EAOR-01, 00065), CIL 6, 04376, CIL 6, 04487 (= D 07882c), CIL 6, 08662 (= CIL 10, *00836,2 = CIL 14, *00291,2 = D 01631), CIL 6, 08740, CIL 6, 14909. Nero acquired the *agnomen* after his adoption and also retained it as part of his full name; the manager he freed prior to his adoption (CIL 11.01753 = CIL 06, 08500 = D 01490 = AE 2004, +00042 & CIL 6, 08499 = CIL 10, *01089,123 = D 01489 = IMCCatania 00399) identifies himself as *procur(ator) Germanici Caesaris*. Cf. Chantraine 1967, pp. 38-39.

³⁹³ Tiberius' full name was Ti. Claudius Nero, changing to Ti. Julius Nero after his adoption in 4 C.E., so that prior to his accession, he appears in ownership indicators as *Neronis* (Chantraine 1967, p. 36): AE 1921, 00069, CIL 6, 04949, CIL 6, 06132, and possibly CIL 6, 05357. Nero Caesar generally appears under that name (*ibid.*, p. 37): CIL 6, 03971 (= D 01625), CIL 6, 04342 (= D 01720), CIL 6, 04343 (= CIL 11, *00547a3 = D 01721), CIL 6, 04344 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01722), CIL 6, 08815.

³⁹⁴ Although the latter at least have different *nomina*, so if the *nomen* is provided for a freed slave, specific identification is possible.

³⁹⁵ *Antonia Domiti* (i.e., Antonia the Elder): CIL 6, 04702 and CIL 6, 37758. *Antonia Drusi* (i.e., Antonia the Younger): AE 1975, 00025 = AIIRoma-11, 00005, CIL 3, 00560 = InscrAtt 00014, CIL 6, 04148, CIL 6, 04327, CIL 6, 04350 (= D 07811), CIL 6, 04361 (= CIL 14, *00175), CIL 6, 04387 (= CIL 14, *00175), CIL 6, 04402, CIL 6, 04563, CIL 6, 04693, CIL 6, 06867, CIL 6, 08817, CIL 6, 09043 (= CIL 11, *00156,16), CIL 6, 09065, CIL 6, 09097 (= D 01790), CIL 6, 14051, CIL 6, 19475, CIL 6, 22868, CIL 6, 22895, CIL 6, 24944, CIL 6, 29624 (= CIL 05, *00429,137), CIL 6, 33762 (= D 01695), CIL 6, 33774 = D 01663 = CECapitol 00336, CIL 6, 33794 (= D 01696 = CECapitol 00262), CIL 6, 35849, CIL 6, 37451 (= AE 1907, 00086 = AE 1909, +00063). *Antonia Augusta* (i.e., Antonia the Younger, generally after her death): CIL 6, 04487 (= D 07882c), CIL 6, 08418, CIL 6, 08947 (= D 01840 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 10360, CIL 6, 11958, CIL 6, 12037, CIL 6, 16057 (= ZPE-151-223 = AE 2005, +00106), CIL 8, 07075 (= ILAlg-02-01, 00783), CIL 10, 06666, CIL 10, 06804, CIL 14, 00581.

Although the early Imperial tendency toward burial in *columbaria* resulted in a large number of surviving inscriptions, it also created several lengthy, problematic inscriptions relating to the management of the columbaria by *collegia*. While most of the inscriptions related to *collegia* are brief and include the names of one or two officers, a few unique inscriptions consist of lists of *decuriones* and other officers of a *collegia*, containing as many as 76 names, and these merit separate discussion.³⁹⁶

Take CIL 6, 33795:

*Collegium / Caesaris n(ostri) C[3] / decuriarum [3] /
Hecaton l(ibertus) struc[tor] / Argynnus emp(ticius) [3] /
Antiochus l(ibertus) a fru[m(ento)] / Apulus Aug(usti)
min(ister) [3] / Daphnus emp(ticius) str(uctor) / Neon
emp(ticius) min(ister) / et usuram viri[*

The *collegium* of our Caesar... the divisions... the freedman Hecaton, builder; Argynnus, *empticius*... the freedman Antiochus, in charge of grain; the Imperial slave Apulus, attendant... Daphnus, *empticius*, builder; Neon, *empticius*, attendant, and the use of men...

The inscription identifies itself as *collegium Caesaris n(ostri)*, and lists six individuals involved in the *collegium*. While these are clearly Imperial in origin, there is no consular year nor identified emperor. Furthermore, the identification of three of the men as *empticii* indicates that they were purchased at a slave market rather than raised as *vernae* within the Imperial household. Although a few Julio-Claudian *vernae* appear,³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ The *collegium* inscriptions discussed here are available in Appendix C in their entirety.

³⁹⁷ Augustus: AE 1985, 00183 (the adult survivor of a set of triplets), CIL 6, 08687; Livia: CIL 6, 05745 (= D 05001), CIL 6, 08958 = CIL 10, *01089,086 = D 01784 = IMCCatania 00405 (born on the estate at Capreae); Antonia the Younger: CIL 6, 16057 (= ZPE-151-223 = AE 2005, +00106); Tiberius: CIL 6, 08409 = AE 1995, 00100 (born on the estate at Capreae); Caligula: CIL 6, 05822 (= CIL 5, *00429,040), CIL 6, 08823 (= CIL 10, *01088,084); Julia Drusilla: CIL 6, 08824 (= CIL 10, *01088,085); Unspecified emperor: CIL 6, 01959 (= CIL 6, 04013 = D 07886 = AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 15035, CIL 10, 00693, CIL 10, 00712, CIL 10, 06638 = InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055 (two or

the emphasis on *verna* as a sign of internal status within the Imperial household does not appear until at least the reign of Hadrian.³⁹⁸ Similarly, the only other inscription in Rome containing *empticius* also belongs to the Imperial household,³⁹⁹ but can be dated by its use of *Imperator* in the status indication to the Flavian or Trajanic periods.⁴⁰⁰ The abbreviation *n(ostri)*, according to its usage within the *familia Caesaris*,⁴⁰¹ also suggests a second-century date. Clearly, this *collegium* inscription must date after the Julio-Claudian period and has therefore been excluded from my database.

The four other inscriptions in question – CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 06, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023), CIL 6, 08738 (= D 07866), CIL 10, 06637 (= CIL 6, 08639 = InscrIt-13-01, 00032 = GLISwedish 00149 = Epigraphica-2003-98 = AE 1997, +00102 = AE 2002, 00309 = AE 2003, +00298), and CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055) – all include consular dates belonging to the Julio-Claudian period. However, another obstacle remains: what is the status of the individuals named in each inscription? Most provide no explicit status indicators, so I have made my decision of inclusion or exclusion based on the characteristics of each inscription as well as of the names within it.

CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023) belongs to the *Monumentum Marcellae*, which strengthens its claim to a Julio-Claudian

three: one born on the estate at Antium, one born on the estate at Capreae, and one possible *verna* who may have been born on an estate at Tusculum). Note that the children in CIL 6, 08823 (= CIL 10, *01088,084) and CIL 6, 08824 (= CIL 10, *01088,085) are full siblings, one born prior to Drusilla's death in 38 and the other born after 38, when the entire family had passed into Caligula's ownership.

³⁹⁸ Weaver 1972, p. 51.

³⁹⁹ CIL 6, 08919: *Dis Manibus / Alypi Imp(eratoris) / Aug(usti) ser(vi) / ministratoris / vernae / Spendon et / Hermes emptici / de suo fecerunt / vix(it) an(nos) XXIII.*

⁴⁰⁰ Weaver 1972, p. 46.

connection, and contains consular dates ranging from 4 B.C.E. to 1 C.E. A number of the individuals use *agnomina* that frequently appear in the Julio-Claudian households. The *agnomen* Vedianus indicates a former slave of Vedius Pollio, whose estate Augustus inherited in 15 B.C.E., while the *agnomen* Amyntianus indicates three former slaves of Amyntas, king of Galatia, whose estate Augustus inherited in 25 B.C.E. There are also two occurrences of Antonianus, which most probably indicates Antonia the Younger,⁴⁰² and one curious erased *agnomen*. In the section dated 3 B.C.E., the name Hermes appears, following by an erased *agnomen*, which once read Iulianus. I would argue that this is a former slave of Julia the Elder who was passed to her father prior to 3 B.C.E. and whose *agnomen* was erased following her disgrace in 2 B.C.E. Because the *agnomina* and provenance strongly suggest Julio-Claudian ownership,⁴⁰³ I have taken the individuals as Imperial slaves belonging to Augustus or, where appropriate, freed slaves.⁴⁰⁴ Similarly, CIL 6, 08738 (= D 07866) has a consular date of 1 B.C.E. and a slave with the *agnomen* Amyntianus; as a result, I have considered the four individuals therein as Imperial slaves belonging to Augustus.

CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055) originates from Antium, where the Julio-Claudians owned and frequently used a large estate. I have considered the individuals Imperial slaves or, where a *nomen* or *lib(ertus)* is given, Imperial freedmen, and assigned their ownership to the emperor ruling

⁴⁰¹ Weaver 1972, pp. 54-57.

⁴⁰² Her sister or father are also remote possibilities.

⁴⁰³ The editors of CIL draw the same conclusion in the commentary on the fragment at CIL 6, 10395 (p. 1284).

⁴⁰⁴ I have assigned the freed slaves to Augustus as well, except for two whose *nomina* would make them freed slaves of Livia and Octavia the Younger respectively.

during the provided consular year.⁴⁰⁵ There is one exception: Ti. Iulius Natalis, in the section dated 44 C.E., gives a freeborn filiation and even provides his father's *agnomen*, Graptus. Rather than creating doubt about the Imperial origin of the other individuals, the exception may very well prove the rule in this case. Tacitus knew of an Imperial freedman named Graptus at the court of Nero,⁴⁰⁶ whom he identifies as "thoroughly acquainted with the Imperial household by experience and old age from the time of Tiberius."⁴⁰⁷ This cannot be a coincidence. The dates would demand that, if Graptus had been manumitted around the usual age of 30, he would have been freed in the first decade or so of Tiberius' reign, in order to have a freeborn son reach adulthood by 44. This timeline is certainly plausible and would place him in his seventies by the time of the incident Tacitus reports. If even the clearly freeborn officer has a close Julio-Claudian connection, the others certainly must as well.

CIL 10, 06637 (= CIL 6, 08639 = InscrIt-13-01, 00032 = GLISwedish 00149 = Epigraphica-2003-98 = AE 1997, +00102 = AE 2002, 00309 = AE 2003, +00298) also originates from the estate at Antium, but the names of the officers in question are problematic. Thirty-four names are given in the inscription, fourteen of whom have *nomina* without any status indicator. While the majority are Julio-Claudian *nomina* – nine Claudii, two Antonii, and one Iulia – two pose a considerable problem to any assumption that all the individuals in this particular inscription are of Julio-Claudian origin. In the section dated 51 C.E., an Aetoria Phlogis appears, while in the section

⁴⁰⁵ The consular dates range from 32 to 51, intermittently, and thus cover the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius.

⁴⁰⁶ Tac. Ann. 13.47. The passage in question occurs in the year 58.

⁴⁰⁷ *Usu et senecta Tiberio abusque domum principium edoctus.*

dated 66 C.E., an A. Caecilius Atiscus appears. Furthermore, there is some temporal overlap between the two inscriptions from Antium: both include information for the years 49, 50, and 51, but none of the information is shared. As both lists are fragmentary, their specific purpose remains unclear, but they may very well not belong to the same *collegium*, at least not for the same types of officers or for the same purpose. Due to the lack of certainty regarding CIL 10, 06637 (= CIL 6, 08639 = InscrIt-13-01, 00032 = GLISwedish 00149 = Epigraphica-2003-98 = AE 1997, +00102 = AE 2002, 00309 = AE 2003, +00298), I have opted to exclude it completely from the database, although it is probable that at least some of the names, particularly those also providing occupational titles, belong to Imperial slaves or freed slaves.

Maintaining Conservative Assumptions

Converting raw inscriptions into data for analysis can require a considerable amount of interpretation. Inscriptions frequently lack information we, as scholars, wish they would have included for our own purposes, or they are not sufficiently clear or precise in the information that is included. This may be due to fragmentation of the inscription itself, but more often, it is due to an inscription's brevity, which saved the original dedicator money, but at the expense of clear, precise information for scholars. In addition, the date an inscription was created is rarely obvious,⁴⁰⁸ which often makes it more difficult to interpret the information provided. As a result, in order to categorize data and thus to draw any conclusions whatsoever, it becomes necessary to make some assumptions about inscriptional data. I prefer to err on the side of caution, making only

⁴⁰⁸ The particulars of dating my sample are discussed below (pp. 99-101).

very conservative assumptions about inscriptional data so that my conclusions are based on the information explicitly stated in the inscriptions rather than on my assumptions, interpretations, and possible biases.

One of the most difficult aspects of inscriptional evidence is the question of legal status. This should be a simple matter: the presence or absence of a *nomen* is the key indicator of freedom or slavery, respectively. Beyond that, the inclusion of filiation with a *nomen* indicates free birth, while the inclusion of libertination indicates manumission. Thus, C. Iulius C(ai) f(i)lius Eros is freeborn, C. Iulius C(ai) l(ibertus) Eros is freed, and Eros C(ai) ser(vus) is a slave. The latter two categories can be subdivided further, by including separate categories for the slaves and freed slaves of members of the Imperial household. Thus, C. Iulius C(ai) l(ibertus) Eros is a freedman, while C. Iulius Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Eros is an Imperial freedman. Unfortunately, only a small proportion of all inscriptions include an indicator of legal status beyond the name itself. The sample in question here, because it consists of the slaves, freed slaves, and workers of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, is less problematic than the inscriptional evidence as a whole, simply because the parameters for inclusion in the database generally involved some sort of status indicator. However, other individuals named in an inscription did not always include such information, and I have classified their status according to the following criteria:

1. Freeborn: I categorized an individual as freeborn if filiation was given or, in a few exceptional cases, if both parents were also present with *nomina* that

made free birth the only possible explanation for the child's *nomen*.⁴⁰⁹ I made no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate free birth.⁴¹⁰

2. Imperial freed: I categorized an individual as Imperial freed if libertination was provided that indicated manumission by a known Julio-Claudian or a member of a later Imperial dynasty.⁴¹¹ Although I included elite males who married Julio-Claudian women in my database,⁴¹² I did not classify their freed slaves as Imperial freed, but rather as freed, unless they were linked by blood to the dynasty in their own right.
3. Freed: I categorized an individual as freed if libertination was provided or a specific patron was identified, provided that the patron was not included in the Imperial freed category above.
4. Uncertain free: I categorized an individual as uncertain free if a *nomen* was provided with no further information about manumission or free birth.
5. Imperial slave: I categorized an individual as Imperial slave if ownership by a known Julio-Claudian or a member of a later Imperial dynasty was indicated,

⁴⁰⁹ For example, Ti. Iulius Nymphodotus and Statoria Nephela have two children, Ti. Iulius Iulianus and Iulia Statorina, both of whom most likely derived their *nomen* from their father (AE 1913, 00194 = Gordon 00112 = NSA-1912-379 = MNR-01-02, p 46). Other possible permutations exist – manumission by the father's patron or by the father himself, for example – so that I have been extremely cautious in assigning freeborn status without proper filiation.

⁴¹⁰ Illegitimate birth, outside of *matrimonium iustum* and, in this sample, largely due to the father's slave status at the time of the child's birth, is indicated by *Sp(urii) f(ilius)*, while legitimate birth is indicated by filiation with any other *praenomen*. Weaver (1990, p. 278) argues that, technically, even the free children of Junian Latins born after their parents' informal manumission were illegitimate, but this is impossible to trace in the present sample, whether it is true or not.

⁴¹¹ This is particularly relevant for Neronian slaves who passed into Vespasian's ownership upon his accession in 69.

⁴¹² Namely, Iullus Antonius, M. Vinicius, and any of the Aemilii, the Valerii Messalae, and the Junii Silani who married Julio-Claudian women.

through the use of *servus* or the possessive genitive.⁴¹³ The same criteria as the Imperial freed category apply: for elite males who married Julio-Claudian women,⁴¹⁴ I did not classify their slaves as Imperial slaves, but as slaves only.

6. Slave: I categorized an individual as slave if ownership by any master not included in the Imperial slave category above was indicated, through the use of *servus* or the possessive genitive.
7. Single name: I categorized an individual as single name if no *nomen* was provided with no other indication of slave status present, as it is impossible to determine whether the lack of a *nomen* is due to actual slave status or whether the *nomen* has simply been omitted in order to save space.

The characteristic brevity of inscriptions also frequently results in the omission of specific relationship terms when two or more people are named in an inscription. Again, I have been highly conservative in drawing assumptions about how named individuals are related to one another. Although it is possible and even likely that an inscription naming an opposite-sex pair represents a married couple, it is by no means certain, so I have not assumed that such inscriptions indicate marriage. In order to avoid making assumptions, however likely, that cannot be proven, I have refrained from assuming any relationship

⁴¹³ This is particularly relevant for Neronian slaves who passed into Vespasian's ownership upon his accession in 69.

⁴¹⁴ Namely, Iullus Antonius, M. Vinicius, and any of the Aemilii, the Valerii Messalae, and the Junii Silani who married Julio-Claudian women.

between individuals that is not explicitly stated through the use of a relationship term or a formula directly related to a single relationship type.⁴¹⁵

Perhaps the most difficult decision involved in the creation of my database related to the boundaries of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. I used the definition for “dynasty”⁴¹⁶ to guide my search criteria: to reiterate, I have focused on the descendents of C. Octavius, father of Augustus, along with their spouses and step-children. Naturally, not every individual in this group appears in the epigraphic material, but my searches produced slaves or freed slaves for nearly 50 different individuals.⁴¹⁷ These criteria led to the exclusion of several individuals loosely connected with the Julio-Claudians,⁴¹⁸ whose inscriptions I have not analysed with the entire sample but which I will discuss separately.⁴¹⁹

Counting

Once the sample material has been selected, there are three possibilities for what to count when analysing large numbers of inscriptions, depending on the information one

⁴¹⁵ E.g. *Cum quae vixit* and *sine ulla querella* are used exclusively within the context of marriage and can safely be used as indicators of a marital relationship. See below, p. 104, n. 439, for the list of criteria I used to indicate marriage.

⁴¹⁶ See above, p. 7.

⁴¹⁷ In cases where more distantly-related Julio-Claudians share similar names, it is often difficult to distinguish between slaves belonging to, for example, M. Valerius Messala Barbatus Appianus, husband of Marcella the Younger and father of Claudia Pulchra, or his son M. Valerius Messala Barbatus, husband of Domitia Lepida and father of Valeria Messalina. As a result, it is probable that slightly more than 50 owners and patrons are represented in my database, but it is impossible to determine the exact number.

⁴¹⁸ Namely: Juba, king of Mauritania and husband of Cleopatra Selene (10 inscriptions); Ptolemaeus, king of Mauritania and son of Juba and Selene (7 inscriptions); Junia Torquata, chief Vestal Virgin and sister of C. Appius Junius Silanus, the husband of Domitia Lepida (4 inscriptions); Rufrius Crispinus, first husband of Poppaea Sabina, the second wife of Nero (1 inscription); C. Stertinius Xenophon, physician of Claudius (1 inscription); L. Annaeus Seneca, advisor to Nero (1 inscription); and several Praetorian prefects, including L. Aelius Sejanus (3 inscriptions), Sex. Afranius Burrus (3 inscriptions), and C. Nymphidius Sabinus (2 inscriptions).

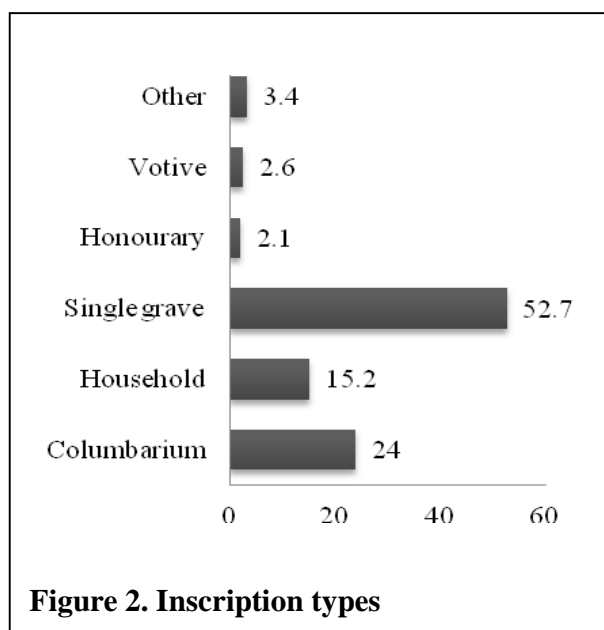
⁴¹⁹ pp. 242-249. The relevant inscriptions are located in Appendix M.

wishes to obtain from them. The most obvious is to count unique stones, each with its own inscription interpreted and analysed as a single whole. This is not always helpful, however, because inscriptions frequently contain multiple names and complex relationships, which would make it extremely difficult to compare them to one another. It is also possible to count individuals, with each named individual in an inscription receiving one entry in a database. This can result in skewed results, particularly in the case of large inscriptions with many names, which will appear multiple times in the same database, but it is the only way to obtain any sort of population information out of the inscriptional evidence. Finally, most inscriptions include information about relationships between individuals, and it is possible to count each relationship in order to obtain information about the nature of relationship terms or differences in their use. For this particular study, I opted to use all three methods, which required multiple databases and a considerably more complex analysis, but which offered the advantages of all three methods and provided the information for which they are best suited, while offsetting their disadvantages and limiting the potential for skewed results.

Counting Inscriptions

First, I counted information about individual inscriptions, keeping track of them by means of their usual identification numbers, so that I would understand the characteristics of my source material. My final database consisted of 1,312 individual inscriptions, of which 367 (28%) had suffered some degree of fragmentation, which could limit or alter the information contained within the inscription as well as its eventual interpretation. I recorded the location in which each inscription was found, by city as well as by province; the full list of findspots is available in Appendix E. Because of the

nature of the data, I narrowed these categories further to classify inscriptions by region as well: 1,049 (80%) came from Rome itself, 199 (15%) came from elsewhere in Italy, and 61 (5%) came from the provinces. The predominantly Roman and Italian origins were not entirely unexpected. Although we know of extensive Julio-



Claudian estates throughout the Empire from literature, archaeology, and papyrus, whose locations and prevalence I have already discussed,⁴²⁰ the epigraphic habit along with the uneven survival and excavation of known inscriptions has produced considerably more Roman and Italian inscriptions than those originating elsewhere in the Empire.

Next, I recorded the type of inscription in question (Figure 2), as well as the total number of names listed in an inscription's text. The majority of my inscriptions (92%) were funerary epitaphs, intended to commemorate a deceased individual or set up in anticipation of a death, as was frequent practice.⁴²¹ I further subdivided funerary epitaphs by type, where possible: inscriptions from one of the known Roman *columbaria* (Julio-Claudian or otherwise) are recorded as such, while inscriptions including the formula *libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum* (to his/her freedmen and freedwomen and their

⁴²⁰ See above, pp. 58-67.

⁴²¹ Household tombs tend to erect inscriptions in anticipation of death, while *columbarium* inscriptions, particularly those consisting of only a name in the genitive, may occasionally indicate possession of an *olla* rather than actual burial.

descendents) designate a tomb intended for a use of an entire household,⁴²² even if it was never actually used as such. Those funerary epitaphs that could not be classified as *columbarium* or household inscriptions, I have recorded as single grave inscriptions.⁴²³ However, not all inscriptions are funerary epitaphs: some are honorary inscriptions,⁴²⁴ others are votive inscriptions dedicated to a particular deity or emperor, while a few simply do not fit cleanly into one of the other categories.⁴²⁵

Assigning precise dates to inscriptions is extremely difficult, and frequently impossible. Only a fraction of all pagan funerary inscriptions include the consular year in which they were erected: my sample included only 28 inscriptions (2%) with a consular year, which is actually unexpectedly high compared to Weaver's sample of all the Imperial slaves and freedmen.⁴²⁶ Because of the nature of this particular sample, however, I attempted to assign at least a rough date to each of the inscriptions in my database. As I was searching for individuals connected with known Julio-Claudians,

⁴²² One atypical example, CIL 6, 09015 (= CIL 6, 29847a = D 08120 = AE 1991, 00074 = AE 2002, +00180), includes a building plan for the sizeable household tomb in question.

⁴²³ This is perhaps somewhat of a misnomer, as it implies the burial of a single individual, whereas single grave inscriptions can and frequently do include multiple individuals on the same stone. Furthermore, because I have used "single grave" as a catch-all category, there are certainly inscriptions classified as such that are actually *columbarium* or household inscriptions not found *in situ* and whose exact purpose remains unclear.

⁴²⁴ In this case, the honorary inscriptions largely belonged to the *collegia*, as *collegia* erected inscriptions to record their officers' names or to honour particular members.

⁴²⁵ For example, the lengthy correspondence related to the financial dealings of Hesychus Evenianus at Pompeii (TPSulp 00051 = TPN 00043 = AE 1972, 00086 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1992, +00272 = AE 1999, +00446c = AE 2006, +00135, TPSulp 00052 = TPN 00044 = AE 1972, 00087 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1992, +00272 = AE 1999, +00446c, TPSulp 00045 = TPN 00086 = AE 1969/70, 00100 = AE 1971, +00091 = AE 1973, 00143 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1984, 00239 = AE 2006, +00135, TPSulp 00067 = TPN 00058 = AE 1972, 00088 = AE 1980, +00047, TPSulp 00068 = TPN 00059 = AE 1973, 00138 = AE 1980, +00047), which is discussed in greater detail below (pp. 222-224).

⁴²⁶ Weaver counts only one of every hundred funerary inscriptions for Imperial freed slaves and one of every three hundred for Imperial slaves with a consular year, with consular years more common in the comparatively rarer *collegium* inscriptions, among other types (1972, pp. 20-21).

whose birth and death dates we frequently know (or can estimate) from literary sources, it became possible to assign dates based on the lifespans of Julio-Claudians named in each inscription. For example, if an individual is recorded as a slave of Augustus, the inscription must have been erected between 27 B.C.E., when Octavian received the name Augustus, and his death in 14 C.E., after which his current slaves transferred to new owners. Inscriptions of slaves must necessarily belong to the lifetime of the owner, because slaves would cease to belong to that owner upon said owner's death and would immediately be transferred to an heir or manumitted within the owner's will. Freed slaves can and do continue to record their patron's identity after his or her death, so that the inscription could have been erected well after the patron's death. They must, of course, fall after the patron's birth, and generally belong to adulthood due to the restrictions of the *lex Aelia Sentia*. Some examples will clarify the dating techniques I have used for my sample. An inscription containing a slave of Agrippina the Younger, for instance, must date at some point after her birth in 15, and probably after her first marriage in 28 at the very earliest.⁴²⁷ Adoptions, deifications, and *agnomina* can provide further dating criteria. An inscription to a M. Iulius, freedman of Augusta, must postdate Livia's adoption in 14,⁴²⁸ while an inscription to M. Iulius, freedman of *diva Augusta*,

⁴²⁷ For example, CIL 6, 08720: *Suavi Agrippinae / Germanici Caesar(is) filii / disp(ensatori) / Eugrammus et Rusticus / arcari(i) b(ene) m(erenti) f(e)cerunt*. It must date after 15 and, because of the lack of reference to Agrippina the Younger as wife of the emperor, probably before she married Claudius in 49.

⁴²⁸ For example, CIL 6, 03980 (= AE 1992, +00092): *M(arcus) Iulius Aug(ustae) / l(ibertus) Ismarus / a manu*. Ismarus cannot have been manumitted prior to September 14 C.E., so that the inscription must have been erected after that date.

must postdate her deification by Claudius in 41.⁴²⁹ The distribution of slaves with the agnomen Germanicianus scattered among various Julio-Claudian owners⁴³⁰ suggests that they obtained their agnomen after Germanicus' death in 19: paired with the deaths of Drusus Caesar and Nero Caesar in 33, these inscriptions must have been erected between 19 and 33. Finally, factors such as age and specific building names can also assist in the dating process.⁴³¹

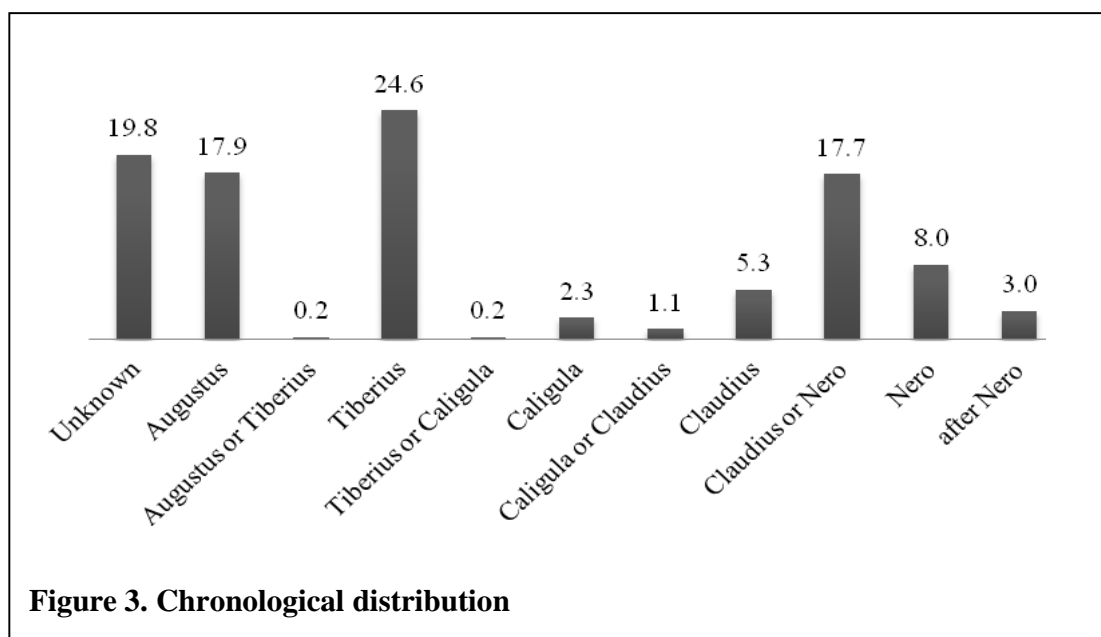
Much to my surprise, the vast majority of my sample could be dated in some way, with only 260 (20%) remaining "date unknown."⁴³² A significant minority (36%) are datable to a specific reign, with some dating possible on the remaining 42%. For the latter, this generally by means of a *terminus ante quem* or *terminus post quem* date which marks dates before which or after which the inscription must have been erected, but where the second boundary date is absent altogether. This allowed me to perform some limited analyses on chronological differences and developments in household structure, social norms, and epigraphic habit during the Julio-Claudian period. The overall chronological profile of the inscriptions is illustrated in Figure 3.

⁴²⁹ For example, CIL 6, 03945: *M(arco) Iulio / divae Aug(ustae) l(iberto) / Agatopodi / aurifici // Iuliae / Lucundae / Agatopodis*. Agathopus appears in several other inscriptions (CIL 6, 03946, CIL 6, 03947, and CIL 6, 03948), the first of which uses the Latinized form of his name. Like Ismarus in the previous note, Agathopus cannot have been manumitted prior to September 14 C.E., and the description of his patron as *diva Augusta* indicates that CIL 6, 03945 must have been erected after Claudius' deification of Livia in 41.

⁴³⁰ They appear with all three of his sons as well as Tiberius. Cf. pp. 348-350.

⁴³¹ The advantage of inscriptions recording age is obvious, as it provides a further reference point through which the inscription's approximate year can be calculated. Building names are only relevant where their construction date is known, such as in the example given above (p. 83, n. 378) of a slave working in the *domus Aurea* (CIL 6, 03719 = CIL 6, 31033 = D 01774), which must date between its construction in 64 and Nero's death in 68.

⁴³² This is, in fact, an overestimation due to my conservative assumptions: I opted not to assume a particular date or reign even when it was by far the most likely option. For example, we have no record of the death dates of Marcella the Elder or Marcella the Younger, but as both were born prior to 40 B.C.E., inscriptions



Counting Individuals

Next, I counted each named individual with a clear Julio-Claudian connection, either as the slave or freed slave of a known Julio-Claudian, as a worker employed by a specific Julio-Claudian, or as the slave or freed slave of one of the above. At times, inscriptions included more than one individual: as a result, the 1,312 unique stones in my database produced a total of 1,797 individuals with some connection to the Julio-Claudians for analysis. For each individual, I recorded the full name in order to keep track of the specific individual for whom I was recording data: this was particularly vital in inscriptions with multiple individuals entered in the database. If the full name included an *agnomen* ending in *-ianus*, which identifies a previous owner by his or her *nomen* or *cognomen*, I recorded that as well. I categorized *agnomina* according to the

to their slaves are probably Augustan, or early Tiberian at the very latest. However, as there is no clear indication of date, I have classified them as “date unknown.”

social group into which the previous owner fell, whether that owner was another Julio-Claudian, some other member of the senatorial or equestrian elite, a foreign client king, a freed slave,⁴³³ or an individual of other, unclear origin.

Furthermore, I recorded the gender of each individual, as well as their status, according to the parameters I have discussed above. I tracked whether an individual's age at death was recorded, as well as the exact age provided.⁴³⁴ In order to develop an idea of the occupational structure and hierarchy of the Julio-Claudian households, I recorded whether an individual indicated his or her occupation, as well as the specific occupation named and the category into which that occupation fell.⁴³⁵ In addition, I noted each individual's role within the inscriptions, whether they were commemorated, whether they had dedicated the inscription, or whether their name was included for some other reason, as well as whether the inscription consisted only of the name itself.

Finally, for each individual, I recorded the Julio-Claudian with whom they were primarily associated, in order to compare the households of individual members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. A number of inscriptions included the names of multiple Julio-Claudians, so I recorded the connection between two Julio-Claudians in a particular

⁴³³ In most cases, these are simply *agnomina* that are derived from common slave names (cf. Chantraine 1967, pp. 293-388, esp. 295-350). However, there are a number of *agnomina* clearly deriving from Julio-Claudian freed slaves who are known from literary sources, such as M. Antonius Pallas (CIL 6, 00143 = D 03896a = AE 1994, 00191, CIL 6, 08470 = D 01535, CIL 10, 06638 = InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055), Antonia Caenis (CIL 6, 15110, CIL 6, 18358, CIL 10, 06666), and Claudia Acte (CIL 6, 15027, CIL 6, 15357, CIL 10, 07980).

⁴³⁴ I converted age at death from its usual epigraphic formula of years, months, and days into a decimal number in order to simplify later calculations and analyses, using the equation (years + [months/12] + [days/365]).

⁴³⁵ My database included 299 different occupations, which I divided into twenty different categories. There is a small degree of overlap between the occupational terms used within the civil service and the domestic administration and finance categories: *procuratores*, for example, occur in both contexts. For a full list of occupations, their English equivalents, and the categories into which I placed them, see Appendix F.

inscription as well. These connections occurred in several different ways. In some cases, the slaves or freed slaves of several Julio-Claudians appeared in the same inscription, while in other cases, a Julio-Claudian *agnomen* indicated the transfer of ownership of slaves within the extended household.⁴³⁶ As well, in a few inscriptions, the recorded owner differed from the recorded employer, indicating the lending of specialized slaves or freed slaves within the extended household.⁴³⁷ In a few unique cases, individuals recorded shared ownership or patronage from two Julio-Claudians: these belonged exclusively to Tiberius and Livia between 14 and 29.⁴³⁸

Counting Relationships

As the majority of inscriptions in my sample (66%) contained the names of more than one individual, I wanted to record the types of relationships in which each individual appeared as well as the characteristics of those with whom they were related. This involved two separate components. First, while entering data for each individual, I noted whether that individual was involved in specific types of relationships: marital relationships,⁴³⁹ presence of natural children,⁴⁴⁰ other familial relationships,⁴⁴¹ relationships deriving from slavery,⁴⁴² and participation in a *collegium*.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁶ These seem to be largely (but not exclusively) testamentary transfers of ownership, with a Julio-Claudian's slaves passed to his or her heirs after death.

⁴³⁷ For example, several Julio-Claudians provided wet-nurses or other staff to their children or grandchildren (CIL 6, 03999, CIL 6, 04352, CIL 6, 08873 = D 01750, CIL 6, 33787 = D 01828, and probably CIL 6, 08943 = D 01838 = AE 1992, +00092). Cf. pp. 350-356.

⁴³⁸ These slaves and freed slaves are discussed in detail below (pp. 267-268). Cf. Weaver 1972, pp. 62-63.

⁴³⁹ I recorded the presence of a marital relationship in any of the following circumstances: use of a marital (or quasi-marital) term of relationship such as *coniunx*, *uxor*, *vir*, *maritus*, *contubernalis*, or *concubina*; use of the possessive genitive indicating marriage (which was a particularly common practice in the Julio-Claudian *columbaria*); presence of shared children; or indication of length of marriage or other marital epithets (such as *sine ulla querella*).

In order to analyse these specific relationships more effectively, after individual data entry was complete, I created separate databases for each of the five categories, including only those individuals who recorded the relationship in question. As a result, I was able to obtain further information about the type of relationship, the way in which it was recorded, and the characteristics of the other individuals involved.

For marital relationships, I recorded the spouse's gender and status, the term or other formula used to indicate marriage, the length of marriage (where it was given), whether the individual had been manumitted by his or her spouse,⁴⁴⁴ and whether the spouse was also affiliated with the Julio-Claudians.⁴⁴⁵

For relationships with natural children, I recorded the child's gender, status, and any affiliation with the Julio-Claudians,⁴⁴⁶ as well as age at death (where it was given)

⁴⁴⁰ I restricted this category to children for whom the terms *mater*, *pater*, *parens*, or *filius/filia* were involved, under the assumption that these were biological children regardless of their legitimacy, and included quasi-kin parental relationships and step-children in the family category instead.

⁴⁴¹ This category encompassed all other familial relationships, including parents, siblings, other blood relations, relations by marriage, and a wide variety of quasi-kin terms describing personal relationships.

⁴⁴² This category included *conservi* and *colliberti* (or a combination of the two), slaves and owners (other than a Julio-Claudian), and patrons and *liberti* (again, other than a Julio-Claudian), along with specific types of servile relationships such as *vicarii* and *vernae*.

⁴⁴³ This could include any of the following circumstances: explicit identification of a *collegium*; use of an individual title such as *decurio*, *quaestor*, *immunis*, *honoratus*, or *conlega*; use of a collegial formula such as *donum dederunt* or *permissus*; or some other indicator of participation in a *collegium*. For the terms themselves, see Hasegawa 2005a.

⁴⁴⁴ Because this information isn't always available, I also recorded whether such a manumission was even possible: for instance, a slave wife or a freeborn wife cannot have been manumitted for the purpose of marriage, nor can a wife with a different *nomen* than her husband, or one with an otherwise-documented patron.

⁴⁴⁵ I did not record this information as a simple yes-no dichotomy, in order to capture all possible circumstances. Instead, I recorded those who clearly were or were not affiliated with the Julio-Claudians, as well as those who possessed a Julio-Claudian *nomen* with no other indication of affiliation, those who possessed a Flavian or later Imperial *nomen* (and thus were clearly Imperial, if not Julio-Claudian), or those who were in turn the slaves or freed slaves of Julio-Claudian slaves or freed slaves.

⁴⁴⁶ See the discussion in the previous note.

and the size of the sibling group indicated.⁴⁴⁷ For free children, I also determined the origin of the child's *nomen* where this was possible, whether it derived from the father and thus from *matrimonium iustum*, from the mother and thus an illegitimate but freeborn birth, or from a patron through manumission.⁴⁴⁸ Finally, I determined the type of family structure present in the inscription:⁴⁴⁹ a full nuclear triad,⁴⁵⁰ an extended family,⁴⁵¹ a single-parent family,⁴⁵² a blended family,⁴⁵³ or some other family structure.⁴⁵⁴

For other familial relationships, I recorded the family member's gender, status, and any Julio-Claudian affiliation.⁴⁵⁵ In addition, I noted the precise relationship between the two individuals as well as the nature of that relationship (whether the connection existed through blood, marriage, or a quasi-kin relationship) and the relative generation of the two individuals.⁴⁵⁶

For relationships deriving from slavery, which I have called "servile relationships" throughout and which include relationships with fellow slaves, fellow freed slaves, patrons, owners, freed slaves, and slaves, I recorded the individual's gender

⁴⁴⁷ Over a third of children (37%) appeared with at least one sibling.

⁴⁴⁸ When the patron was also the parent, as in CIL 6, 22423, I recorded the origin of the *nomen* as "patron," because the *nomen* was obtained through manumission rather than through freeborn status.

⁴⁴⁹ I have taken Martin's musings (1996, pp. 51-53, pp. 57-60) into consideration and created multiple categories in order to represent the variation among family types as much as possible.

⁴⁵⁰ Father, mother, and their shared child or children, with no other relationships present in the inscription.

⁴⁵¹ Some portion of the nuclear triad, along with one or more relationships classified in the familial category, with no other relationships present in the inscription.

⁴⁵² One parent listed with one or more children, with no other relationships present in the inscription.

⁴⁵³ Presence of step-children, step-siblings, or half-siblings.

⁴⁵⁴ Family structures for which otherwise non-familial relationships are present in the inscription.

⁴⁵⁵ See the discussion at p. 105, n. 445.

⁴⁵⁶ For instance, grandparents belong to an ascending generation, *nepotes* belong to a descending generation, and siblings belong to the same generation. Similar criteria can be applied to quasi-kin relationships based on age and power differentials.

and the term used to describe the relationship.⁴⁵⁷ In order to prevent potential skewing arising from large groups of individuals,⁴⁵⁸ I recorded such relationships as being with a group of individuals rather than one other individual. Because of the large number of servile relationships present in the lengthy *collegium* inscriptions, I also noted whether the relationship was found in such an inscription, to make comparisons between servile relationships found within a collegial context and those found outside such a context. Because I included relationships of shared slavery that were recorded with terms such as *conservus* or *collibertus* as well as those that were implied through paired status indicators, I noted whether those relationships were explicit or implicit.

For participation in *collegia*, I also recorded whether the inscription in question was a large *collegium* inscription, along with the precise terms or formulae used to indicate *collegium* involvement and whether the terms were used to denote a personal relationship between two individuals rather than general involvement in a *collegium*.

Statistical Analyses

The statistical methodology I have used for the present study is related to that used in my Masters thesis,⁴⁵⁹ in which I analysed the epigraphic usage of Latin terms of quasi-kind relationship; it is adapted from the epigraphic methodology developed by Nielsen.⁴⁶⁰ In that study, I analysed all occurrences of quasi-kin terms of relationship, such as *alumnus* and *verna*, in CIL 6. I counted individual relationships in order to analyse how such terms were used and how they differed from one another. For each

⁴⁵⁷ I recorded *conservus-conservus*, *collibertus-collibertus*, and *conservus-collibertus* as three different relationship types, so that I could later analyse them individually or as a group.

⁴⁵⁸ For instance, Musicus' sixteen *vicarii* (CIL 6, 05197 = D 01514). Cf. pp. 218-219.

⁴⁵⁹ Penner 2007, pp. 13-21.

individual involved in the quasi-kin relationship in question, I recorded demographic information such as gender, status, and occupation, as well as epigraphic information such as the type of inscription, the order in which names appeared, and the role each individual played in the erection of the inscription. In addition, I recorded information relevant to the particular relationship being mentioned in the inscription, such as any epithets used, any additional relationships between the individuals in question, and the presence of a shared *nomen*. In this way, I was able to obtain the clearest possible picture of the individuals generally involved in a particular quasi-kin relationship, as well as of the nature of the quasi-kin relationship itself. Finally, I expanded Nielsen's numerical methodology to incorporate statistical analyses adapted from those used to analyse similar data in the social sciences, which permits me to draw reliable and valid conclusions regarding actual differences between groups, rather than simply interpreting frequencies on their own.

Although raw numbers from inscriptions are valuable, valid comparisons between groups are only possible with the help of the appropriate statistical calculations. Slight differences between groups may be due to random chance, but proper statistical analysis will ensure that conclusions are drawn from actual differences between groups. The data in inscriptions is well-suited to statistical analysis, due to both its size and its nature. First, there is a large sample from which to draw data, consisting of over 400,000 extant Latin inscriptions. Second, the data generally available in inscriptions can easily be grouped into categories for statistical analysis; however, as I have previously discussed, it

⁴⁶⁰ Nielsen 1986, Nielsen 1990, Nielsen 1991, Nielsen 1992, Nielsen 2007.

is necessary to use clearly-defined and conservatively-applied categories in order to obtain the most valid and reliable results possible from the data available.

The data that can easily be extracted from inscriptions falls into two categories: numerical data (such as the total number of people in an inscription or the calculated age at death) and categorical data (data that can be divided into mutually-exclusive categories such as gender or status). For numerical data, I have used analysis of variance (ANOVA) in order to determine whether two groups are significantly different from one another, as well as the nature of that difference. Are those recording relationships through slavery significantly older or younger than those recording marriages, for example? For categorical data, which comprises the majority of epigraphic data, I have used chi-squared (χ^2) tests, in order to determine whether the distribution of data among categories is even, or varies significantly. Are men or women more likely to indicate participation in a *collegium*, for example? Are Imperial freed slaves more likely than Imperial slaves to be married? For all statistics, it is conventional to determine a probability threshold in order to have a clear line marking significant differences from non-significant differences. In order to illustrate whether a result is significant or not, values are compared and a p-value is calculated, which indicates the probability that any difference between two groups was due to random chance rather than due to an actual disparity; following common practice in the social sciences, I will only report differences as statistically significant if there is less than a 5% probability that the difference was due to random chance rather than due to an actual difference between the groups, and the appropriate p-values are given in footnotes, with p-values less than 0.050 (i.e., 5%) indicating significant results.

Drawing the Family Tree

In order to fully comprehend the Julio-Claudian households as an interconnected web of elite and non-elite individuals, overlapping households, and extended relationships, I chose to create an extensive family database. This included not only the elite Julio-Claudians themselves, but also the slaves and freed slaves recorded within the literary sources, all the individuals within my database, and any additional individuals to whom any of the above were related, for a total of 3,163 unique individuals. The creation of such a database permits the visualization of the complexity of the Julio-Claudian household, clearly illustrating phenomena on the household level. Close personal relationships among the elite, for example, are frequently mirrored among their non-elite dependents, producing overlap between supposedly-disparate elite households. Furthermore, the Imperial household was not as clearly defined as we would perhaps prefer, as its influence extended beyond immediate slaves and freed slaves to their own slaves and freed slaves along with other relations through blood, marriage, or quasi-kin connections.

To illustrate such phenomena, I chose to use The Master Genealogist, Gold version 7.04 (henceforth abbreviated TMG). The primary factor in my choice of TMG was the ease of adaptability to Roman data. Names are particularly challenging: most genealogy programs assume a modern two-name system, while a Roman name requires at least three fields, and potentially more (*praenomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*, and *agnomen*). TMG allowed me to alter the parameters for names to a Roman *tria nomina* system, considering the *nomen* as the family name despite its placement. In addition, I could add non-standard types of demographic information, such as status, as well as specifically

Roman relationship types, such as slave-master or *libertus*-patron, and other relevant data, such as consulships and occupation. Unfortunately, there was no simple way to enter B.C.E. and C.E. dates while retaining a correct chronological display of events. In the end, I entered the B.C.E. and C.E. dates as the dates to be displayed, and used their A.U.C. equivalents as the dates to be sorted. For example, Augustus' birth was recorded both as September 23, 63 B.C.E. and as September 23, 691 A.U.C., while his death was recorded both as August 19, 14 C.E. and as August 19, 767 A.U.C. The database displays the dates in their usual B.C.E./C.E. format only, and uses the A.U.C. dates for sorting purposes only, in order to prevent it from using the raw year numbers for sorting, which would place Augustus' death prior to his birth.

As well, TMG can easily handle the contradictory data that sometimes arises from primary source material. For example, there is some debate about the identity of the patron of Felix, an Imperial freedman during Claudius' reign.⁴⁶¹ Was he freed by Claudius himself, or, like his brother Pallas, by Claudius' mother Antonia the Younger? Using TMG, I can include both names as possibilities, with the further restriction that his *nomen* would be Antonius were he manumitted prior to Antonia the Younger's death in 37, and Claudius were he manumitted after that date. I can also easily include the relevant primary source references, both epigraphic and literary, so that TMG also serves a convenient method of informational organization.

When entering data for each individual, I included as much information as possible. This was rather limited for individuals known only from epigraphic sources,

⁴⁶¹ Kokkinos 1990, Brenk and De Rossi 2001, Kokkinos 2002.

generally restricted to a name, a few relationships, and perhaps an occupation, a place of origin, or age at death. However, for individuals known from the literary sources, I often had too much information to include, so selectivity was important; as a result, I focused mainly on private lives and any political or historical events that could have had a personal impact. This included an individual's full name (with all necessary *cognomina* and *agnomina*), as well as any changes in *nomina* at different stages of life. I entered any key dates, including dates of birth and death, marriage and divorce, any known changes of location (such as campaign, travel, or exile), and any other major events that could influence household organization (such as illness or adoption). Finally, I recorded the nature of any personal interactions between Julio-Claudians, which may have also affected the composition, organization, and even existence of their households; for example, I recorded any known changes in living situation, any informal alliances or disagreements among them, and other major political or (especially) personal interactions.

Beyond the information explicitly stated in the literary sources, it is sometimes possible to extrapolate information from the known data, as is common practice in prosopography. For instance, when a woman's date of marriage is known, it is possible to estimate a *terminus ante quem* for her birth, based on the legal restrictions on marriage prior to the age of 12.⁴⁶² Similarly, consulships, children's years of birth, and other events that generally fall at particular stages of life can be used to similar effect, in order to provide a general outline of an individual's life.

⁴⁶² D.23.2.4.

In particular, TMG was an enormous aid in managing the necessary references for such a work, allowing me to keep track of extensive primary source references for the Julio-Claudians and their relationships. Furthermore, the ability to determine the precise relationships within a multi-generational, largely endogamous group assisted in the visualization of the Julio-Claudians as a unit rather than as a series of relationships.

I had initially hoped that the family tree itself, along with the associated slaves and freed slaves, could be displayed visually, in order to highlight the relative size of households, the degree of overlap between them, and the movement of slaves within the Julio-Claudian households. Unfortunately, this remains an issue that I have not been able to resolve. Even the production of a Julio-Claudian family tree proved too complex for TMG to handle. TMG's visual charts are generated using Visual ChartForm (VCF), and these charts assume that only one type of relationship exists between any two individuals, regardless of how many relationships are recorded in the database itself. The software was simply incapable of correctly mapping marriages between cousins or step-siblings, or double marriages between two pairs of siblings. As a result, the family tree I generated, including all individuals descended from C. Octavius, took up twenty pages and duplicated individuals whenever they appeared in more than one capacity. For instance, Agrippina the Elder appeared in a line of descent from Julia the Elder, and Germanicus appeared in a line of descent from Drusus the Elder and from Antonia the Younger, so that their children appeared in two separate locations, as the grandchildren of Augustus and as the great-grandchildren of Octavia the Younger. Despite continued efforts to find software capable of creating visual displays of complex networks of aristocratic

marriages, I have been unsuccessful: the family tree in Appendix B was arranged and drawn manually.

Discussing the Results: A Caveat

As a result of the large quantity of literary and inscriptional evidence used and the comprehensive analyses applied to them, the results produced are extensive, to say the least. To include every piece of information and every analytical result, whether significant or not, in my discussion would be prohibitively lengthy and would focus disproportionately on minute details that provide no actual insight into the development, functioning, and structure of the extended Julio-Claudian households, which, after all, is the purpose of this study. I have therefore emphasized information and results that is interesting or relevant to understanding the households themselves, particularly where results were significant or unexpected, or where they supported or disproved previous scholarly arguments or claims. The results are included in chart form in the text of each chapter; the relevant data tables are located in Appendix G.

CHAPTER FOUR: INDIVIDUALS

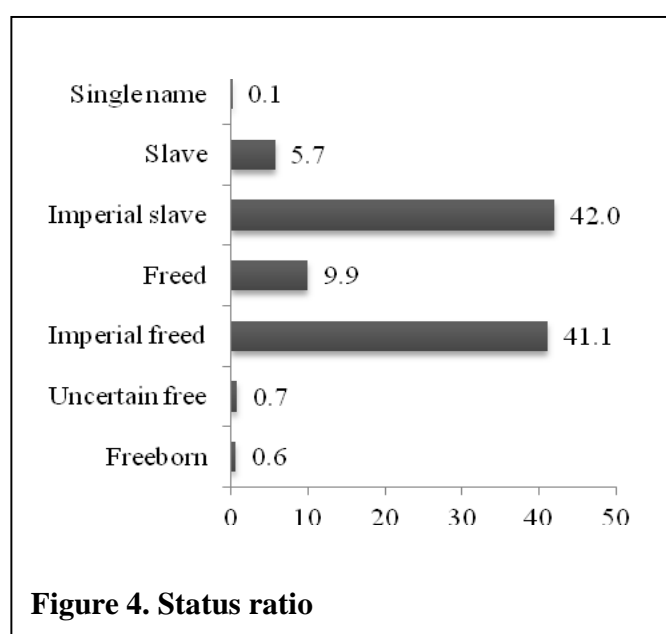
For organizational purposes, I have divided the results of my analyses into three separate groups. This chapter will focus on results pertaining solely to the characteristics of the individuals in the whole sample, while results relating to their interpersonal relationships and the specific households with which they were affiliated will be discussed in the two subsequent chapters.

Demographic Characteristics

Although the epigraphic material is not demographically reliable and cannot produce a representative sample of the Roman population which would allow us to get a sense of its demography, it is necessary to discuss specific characteristics which are ultimately demographic in nature, such as gender, status, age at death, and occupational titles. On their own, such information reveals little, as epitaphs' lack of demographic representativeness for the whole population extends to the subpopulation being sampled. That is to say, just as the entire corpus of epigraphic material is not representative of the entire Roman population, so too the entire sample of inscriptions relating to the Julio-Claudian households is not fully representative of the original slave and freed population of those households.

This is less of a problem than it might initially seem; it merely means that we must adapt our analyses to the information available, rather than to the information we might wish were available. Inscriptions will never be able to produce a complete demographic profile of any population or subgroup. For the *familia Caesaris*, they cannot tell us what proportion of the Imperial household could expect manumission, what proportion worked in the *familia urbana* as compared to the *familia rustica*, or the precise

birth rates among slaves and freed slaves. They do, however, reveal commemorative patterns, practices that may differ from the larger population and even within the Imperial household itself; such commemorative practices can reveal how slaves and freed slaves perceived and identified themselves, what personal information and interpersonal relationships they considered important, and what sort of general characteristics households possessed. Furthermore, for comparative purposes, demographic characteristics can prove revealing. They are particularly valuable when studying subgroups within the entire sample or in comparison to the characteristics of the wider epigraphic population. In the latter circumstance, because the vast majority of the inscriptions used come from Rome (80%) or Italy (15%), the characteristics of the population in the inscriptions of the city of Rome will provide an adequate, if not ideal, comparison.⁴⁶³



The status ratio of my sample is, of course, not directly comparable to the overall status ratio of the inscriptional population due to the very nature of the sample itself; it is displayed in Figure 4. This should not be taken to be representative of the

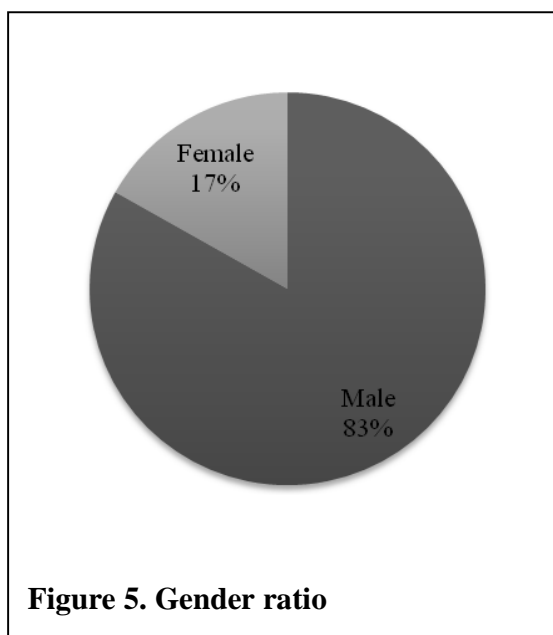
⁴⁶³ I have relied most heavily on the calculations of Huttunen (1974) on the characteristics of CIL 6, as well as on Nielsen (*Roman Relations*) regarding the relationships found therein.

actual status distribution of the Imperial household, nor of the regularity of manumission, but rather of the pattern of commemoration within the Imperial household. It is unlikely that there were equivalent numbers of Imperial slaves and Imperial freed slaves in the actual population, as there are in the epigraphic sample; in fact, it is all but certain that there were, at any given moment, more Imperial slaves than Imperial freed slaves. The equal numbers, therefore, are most likely an artefact of the epigraphic habit: Imperial freed slaves were more likely to easily afford the expense of an inscription in order to advertise their relatively high social status. As discussed above,⁴⁶⁴ the “freed” and “slave” categories contain two separate groups. First, there are the slaves and freed slaves belonging to the elite husbands of various Julio-Claudian women, such as Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, husband of Marcella the Younger. The majority of the individuals in the slave and freed categories, however, are the slaves and freed slaves belonging to Imperial slaves and freed slaves in turn, those who specifically identify an Imperial slave or freed slave as their master or patron or who indicate their status by means of expressions such as *Augusti liberti/ae servus/a*, *Augusti liberti/ae libertus/a*, or *Caesaris servi/ae vicarius/a*. A very small fraction (1%) of those who considered themselves part of the Imperial household were not in fact connected by any legal relationship of slavery or patronage, but were of freeborn, uncertain free, or single name status; all but one of these provided an occupational title and an indication that they worked for a particular Julio-Claudian, thus meriting inclusion in the household despite their status.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁴ See pp. 93-95 for the criteria used to classify status groups.

⁴⁶⁵ The sole exception is CIL 6, 26608 (= D 00846), a Thracian hostage of Augustus: *Sitalces divi / Augusti / opses Thracum // Iulia Phyllis / soror eius*. This peculiar case is discussed further at pp. 203-204.

The gender ratio in my sample is displayed in Figure 5. Even relative to the usual skewed gender ratio of inscriptions, this sample includes considerably more males (83%) than females (17%). However, this comes as little surprise. The overall labour needs of both urban and rural households would have demanded

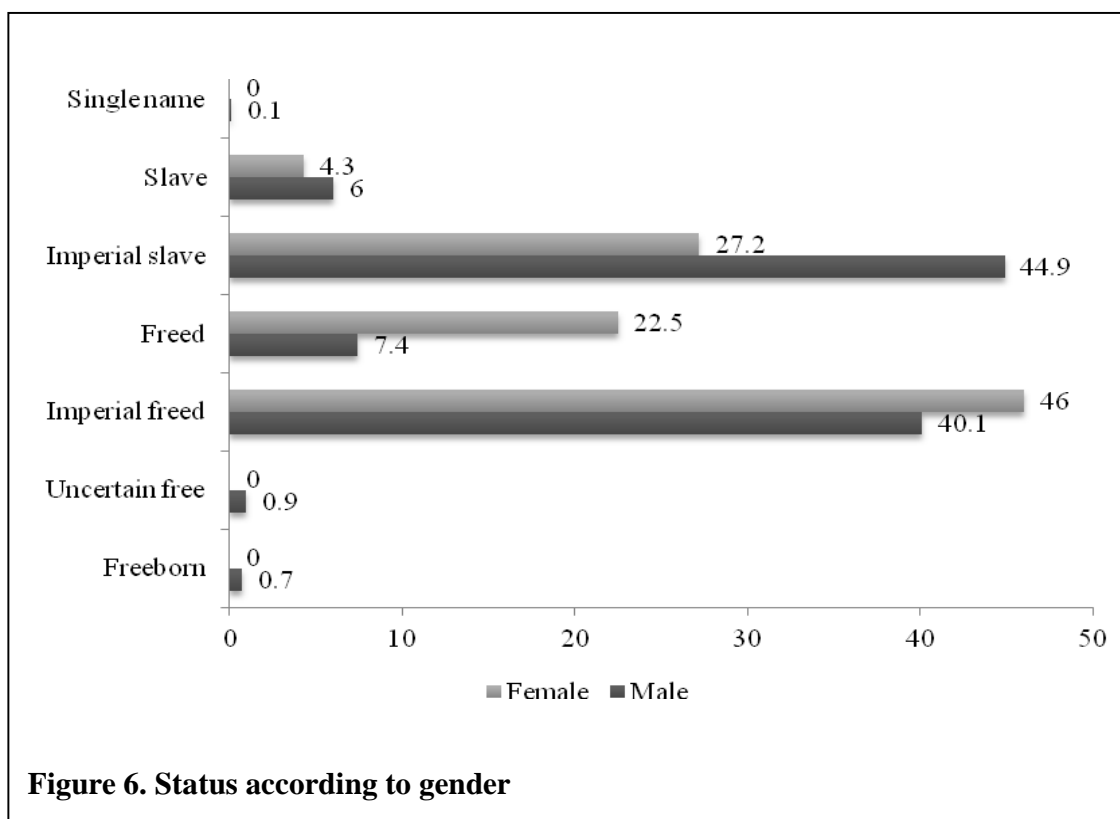


considerably more male than female workers,⁴⁶⁶ even taking into consideration the fact that the epigraphic sample of a household's workers would naturally be skewed toward the more privileged among them, those who would have been able to afford an epitaph. Flory suggests that slave women in particular may have been less likely to be commemorated for that very reason:⁴⁶⁷ they were more likely to outlive their husbands and there were fewer prominent occupations open to them, both factors which would decrease their chances of commemoration. As a result, one would expect to find women commemorated only at higher status levels, resulting in more freedwomen than slavewomen. Indeed, when the status ratios of males and females are compared (Figure 6), females are far more likely to be free (either Imperial freed or freed) than males,⁴⁶⁸ with 69% of females providing a *nomen* compared to only 49% of males. However,

⁴⁶⁶ Weaver 1972, pp. 172-174; Huttunen 1974, p. 150; Flory 1978, p. 88.

⁴⁶⁷ Flory 1978, p. 88.

⁴⁶⁸ $p = 0.000$.



when inscriptional roles are taken into consideration, status had no significant impact on whether either women or men dedicated inscriptions or were commemorated within them:⁴⁶⁹ men were more likely to dedicate inscriptions (35% as compared to 26% of women), while women, when they appeared, did so in a commemorated role (71% as compared to 55% of men).⁴⁷⁰ This indicates that, when inscriptions were erected, any status-based differences in commemoration patterns between men and women simply did not apply within the Julio-Claudian households; there certainly may have been differences among those who were never commemorated and whose characteristics cannot be recreated. In addition, while women appear more frequently as Imperial freedwomen than Imperial slaves, there is no way of knowing whether Imperial

⁴⁶⁹ $p = 0.062$.

slavewomen were more likely to be manumitted than their male counterparts, or whether there was no gender difference in manumission rates but instead a difference in commemoration rates.

Only 11% of the sample provided an age at death, which suggests that the Imperial household was less likely to include that information in an epitaph than the general population, for whom age at death is included in approximately 20% of cases,⁴⁷¹ particularly when that information is considered relevant to the relationship being commemorated.⁴⁷² The average age at death was 33.25,⁴⁷³ although ages were widely distributed, ranging from 0 to 100. The full distribution is presented in Figure 7 and illustrates the bias toward young adults within the Imperial household, no doubt because the household's labour needs demanded a considerable number of young adults in order to function effectively.⁴⁷⁴ In order to make the overall age distribution clearer, I have included a trendline showing the five-point moving average.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁰ $p = 0.000$.

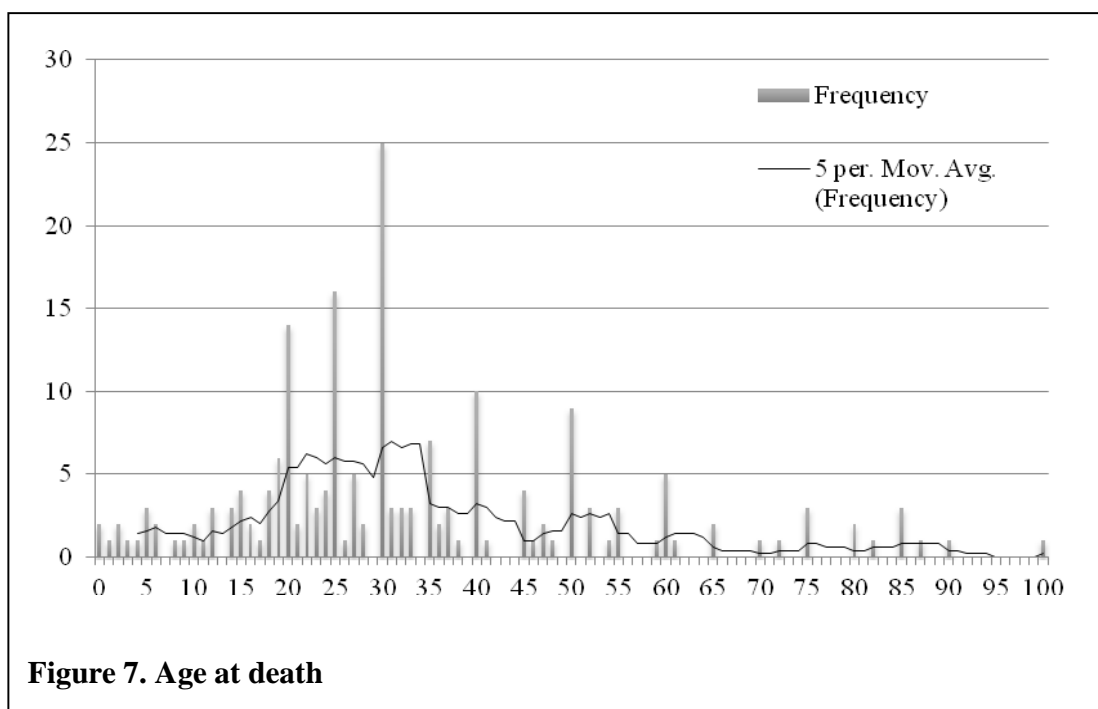
⁴⁷¹ McWilliam 2001, p. 75. More specifically, Nielsen (*Roman Relations*, p. 68) calculated that 34% of the commemorated individuals in CIL 6 had an age at death recorded; for the present sample, only 19% of the commemorated have an age at death recorded, still considerably lower than is typical.

⁴⁷² Ages at death are more commonly given in cases of premature death, both among children and among young adults who survived the perils of childhood only to die in their prime, and in cases of extreme old age: commemorations of children by parents, of which there are relatively few in this sample, are particularly likely to include age at death.

⁴⁷³ The standard deviation was 19.645; that is, approximately two-thirds of the ages given fell between the age of 13 and the age of 53.

⁴⁷⁴ There is also a bias toward young adults in general when age at death is recorded, but the trend is particularly noticeable in this sample.

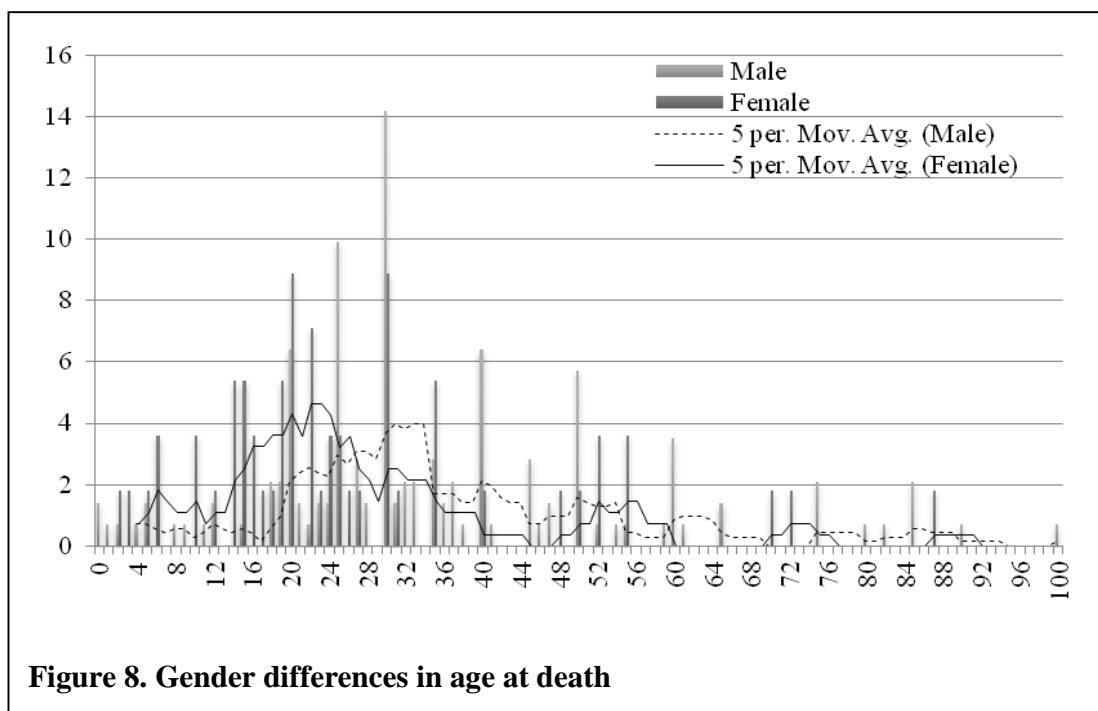
⁴⁷⁵ This graphing technique evens out drastic fluctuations in data in favour of illustrating the overall trend; for epigraphic data on age at death, the practice of age-rounding to numbers ending in 5 or 0 produces obvious spikes, which the moving average attenuates to reveal a general pattern. For a five-point moving average, these averages have been taken across each group of five values (i.e., ages 0 to 4, ages 5 to 9, ages 10 to 14, etc.).



In addition, there are significant gender differences, both in the tendency to provide age at death and in the actual ages provided.⁴⁷⁶ Women (19%) are more likely to have an age at death recorded than men (9%), and that age is significantly younger, with the average age at death for women being 26.74 and the average age at death for men being 35.54.⁴⁷⁷ The differences in the age distributions are clearly visible in Figure 8, with women's ages at death peaking nearly a decade earlier than men's, although the reason for this difference is unclear. Because the two gender groups are of different sizes, this chart compares percentages rather than frequencies; it also includes moving average trendlines for both the male and female groups.

⁴⁷⁶ Both $p = 0.000$.

⁴⁷⁷ Respectively, $p = 0.000$ and $p = 0.004$.



The gender difference, with women's ages at death peaking nearly a decade earlier than men's, likely relates to the differences in epigraphic habits for men and women and the types of information that are likely to appear in certain relationships. First, women are more likely to have a passive, commemorated role in an inscription (71%), whereas men are more likely to have an active, dedicative role in an inscription (35%).⁴⁷⁸ The impetus for the creation of an inscription was often (but not necessarily) the death of the commemorated individual; as a result, age at death is simply more likely to be known for a deceased, commemorated individual than for a living dedicator. Furthermore, while the relationships within which women appear in inscriptions

⁴⁷⁸ $p = 0.000$. While 55% of men were commemorated, this is significantly fewer relative to the proportion of women who were commemorated.

generally do not affect the inclusion of their age at death,⁴⁷⁹ men's relationships do have a considerable impact on the inclusion of an age at death, with servile relationships and children both paired with a decrease in the proportion of men with an age at death recorded;⁴⁸⁰ in both cases, family relationships make it more likely that both men and women will have an age at death recorded.⁴⁸¹ This indicates that, in general, age at death was a more common part of the epigraphic habit when it came to the commemoration of women, regardless of the relationship within which a woman was being commemorated, whereas the inclusion of age at death was a less important aspect of a man's commemoration. With regard to the difference in the average ages at death for men and women, it most likely reflects a gendered difference in life course and the resulting shifts in importance of various relationships within an individual's life. Women move from relationships with parents and siblings to those with spouses and children (or those formed within slavery) without much of a gap; as women's commemorations are more likely to include age at death in general, they continue to be commemorated with age throughout their life cycle. In contrast, men are more likely to experience a gap between relationships with parents and siblings and those with spouses and children, one filled by relationships of slavery within which age at death was not considered a vital component of their commemoration.

⁴⁷⁹ The presence of marital relationships ($p = 0.203$), children ($p = 0.280$), servile relationships ($p = 0.164$), and *collegium* relationships ($p = 0.406$) has no impact on the proportion of women who have an age at death recorded.

⁴⁸⁰ Respectively $p = 0.041$ and $p = 0.000$.

⁴⁸¹ Respectively $p = 0.002$ and $p = 0.001$.

Agnomina

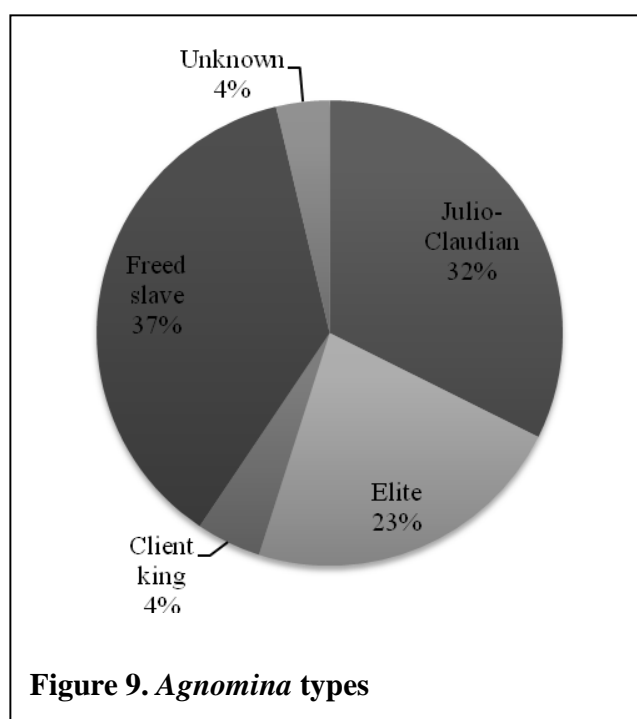
The nomenclature patterns of the *familia Caesaris* in the first century C.E. – precisely the period in question – shows a marked tendency for slaves and freed slaves to include an *agnomen* along with their *cognomen*. This *agnomen*, which consistently ends in *-ianus/a*, indicates a transfer of ownership sometime during the period of slavery, either through purchase or, more frequently, through inheritance. An ownership indicator changes to reflect the new owner's identity, while the *agnomen* indicates the identity of the former owner through an adjectival form of some portion of his or her name. This might be a *cognomen* (e.g., Agrippianus, Germanicianus, Neronianus), a *nomen* (e.g., Antonianus, Livianus, Iulianus), or a *praenomen* (e.g. Paullianus, Drusianus, and probably Caianus); however, in a few instances, parental inheritance seems to dictate the *agnomen* as Maternus or Paternus.⁴⁸² For example, if Agrippa owned a slave named Eros, Eros would correctly write his name as *Eros Agrippae ser(vus)*; if Eros was transferred to Augustus when Agrippa died, Eros' name would become *Eros Agrippianus Aug(usti) ser(vus)*, thus indicating the transfer of ownership from Agrippa to Augustus.

A total of 244 individuals (14% of the sample) provided names including an *agnomen* which could be used to trace transfers of ownership. Men (16%) were more likely than women (4%) to provide an *agnomen*.⁴⁸³ Imperial slaves (20%) were more

⁴⁸² The *agnomen* Maternus appears among slaves passed from Livia to Tiberius (CIL 6, 03935, CIL 6, 04026 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 04036 = CIL 10, *01089,209 = IMCCatania 00390, CIL 6, 05358 = D 01772, CIL 6, 08880, AE 1979, 00033 = EAOR-01, 00004 = AE 1982, 00049) and from Antonia the Younger to Claudius (CIL 6, 08665, possibly CIL 10, 06646); while the *agnomen* Paternus appears for slaves passed from Julius Caesar to Augustus (CIL 6, 08738) and from Augustus to Tiberius (CIL 6, 05248).

⁴⁸³ $p = 0.000$.

likely than Imperial freed slaves (11%) to include an *agnomen*,⁴⁸⁴ either because they had remained in slavery longer and were thus more likely to experience transfer by sale or inheritance, or because it proved a useful identifier, particularly when the *cognomen* was a frequently-used name.⁴⁸⁵



The origins of these *agnomina* provide helpful insight into the formation and development of the Imperial household, as well as into its internal dynamics and inheritance patterns. I have classified the *agnomina* by the nature of the original owner's status and connection to the Imperial household; a full list of *agnomina* and the individuals they represent –

as far as it is possible to determine their identities – is available in Appendix H. The distribution of *agnomina* types can be found in Figure 9.

The most obvious source for slave transfer is within the Julio-Claudian dynasty itself (32%). The ownership of a slave can be transferred to a family member when both are still living, but in most cases, such a transfer will occur due to a death, when the

⁴⁸⁴ $p = 0.000$.

⁴⁸⁵ It would be far easier to keep track of individuals within a large household if they used the names *Felix Agrippianus* and *Felix Maecenatianus* than if they were simply both called *Felix*, although it seems highly

deceased's property, including slaves, is distributed among heirs and surviving family members. Moving beyond the immediate family circle, the Julio-Claudians maintained close ties to the senatorial and equestrian elites (23%). In numerous cases, these *agnomina* belong to individuals known to have had intimate connections with the Julio-Claudians: former slaves of Maecenas, Vergil, Ovid, Vedius Pollio, and Sallust are all known from inscriptions.⁴⁸⁶ However, elite *agnomina* are not restricted to a few senators and equestrians already known to have been closely tied to the Julio-Claudians, and the presence of such a variety of elite *agnomina* suggests that senators and equestrians named emperors in their wills with some regularity, as the literary sources suggest.⁴⁸⁷ Furthermore, the Julio-Claudian period saw a particularly high rate of elite exile and execution, which, in many cases and especially for blood relatives of the emperors, would have been accompanied by Imperial confiscation of their property,⁴⁸⁸ including slaves. While it is difficult to imagine that confiscated slaves would have advertised their former allegiance to an out-of-favour master through the use of an *agnomen*,⁴⁸⁹ this must

unlikely that such lengthy names would have been used regularly unless clarification or formality was necessary.

⁴⁸⁶ In some cases, the bequests are also known from literary sources: both Vedius Pollio and Maecenas named Augustus as primary heir (Cass. Dio 54.23.5-6, Cass. Dio 55.7.5), while Vergil left a quarter of his estate to Augustus (Suet. Verg. 37).

⁴⁸⁷ In general, the literary sources paint "good" emperors as rejecting excessive inheritances from senators (Tac. Ann. 2.48; Cass. Dio 60.6.3), and "bad" emperors as accepting them or compelling their own inclusion (Suet. Calig. 38.2, Ner. 6.3, Ner. 32.2). Augustus, however, was particularly sensitive to his omission from friends' wills (Suet. Aug. 66.4), and his final will notes that he inherited 1,400,000,000 sesterces over the last twenty years of his life from friends (Suet. Aug. 101.3); he goes on to comment that he spent the vast majority for the good of Rome. See Sidebottom (2005, pp. 322-324) for more detail on emperors and senatorial inheritance.

⁴⁸⁸ See Millar (1977, pp. 163-169) on the usurpation of confiscated property into Imperial possession under the Julio-Claudians. Property in Italy was certainly confiscated, but property elsewhere might have been retained in some cases.

⁴⁸⁹ It is possible that the use of *agnomina* was occasionally compelled by masters, to aid in the management of an extremely large household. However, the inclusion of an *agnomen* in an inscription in which the

nevertheless have contributed to the population of Imperial slaves. Certainly, *agnomina* referring to disgraced or discredited individuals are less likely to appear, and may even have been erased if the disgrace occurred after the inscription was erected; for example, as discussed above, a list of *collegium* officers from Rome includes, in the entry dated 3 B.C.E., a certain Hermes, whose *agnomen* Iulianus was later erased, most likely five years later, after the exile of Julia the Elder in 2 C.E.⁴⁹⁰ However, the passage of time and the death of the offended emperor may have enabled former slaves of disgraced masters to reclaim the *agnomina* to which they would have been entitled. One cannot imagine, for instance, that Nero would have appreciated Imperial slaves advertising their former allegiance to his mother Agrippina the Younger, and yet the *agnomen* Agrippinianus re-appears within the *familia Caesaris* after Nero's death and through to the reign of Trajan.⁴⁹¹ In addition, the continued use of an *agnomen* referring to a long-deceased master highlights the continuity of the *familia Caesaris* and thus its legitimacy, while simultaneously emphasizing the seniority and corresponding social status of the slave or freed slave using that *agnomen*.

master likely played little or no role suggests a certain amount of choice on the part of the slave with regard to the addition of an *agnomen* to his or her name.

⁴⁹⁰ CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 06, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023).

⁴⁹¹ Several of the Agrippiniani specify their Imperial master – Anthus Agrippinianus, slave of Titus (CIL 6, 15616), and Narcissus Agrippinianus, slave of Trajan (CIL 6, 36911) – while the form of the status indicators in the other occurrences are consistent with a post-Neronian date rather than the Julio-Claudian period (CIL 6, 24164, CIL 6, 33737 = AE 1896, 00092, probably CIL 13, 02449 = ILAin 00009 = CAG-01, p 107). Narcissus' continued usage of his *agnomen* at least forty years – and probably six Imperial masters – after Agrippina the Younger's death is remarkable.

Imperial slaves also originated outside of Rome and beyond the borders of the Empire.⁴⁹² During the earliest years of the Empire, its borders adjoined a number of nations ruled by kings friendly to Rome, nations which were gradually incorporated into the Empire as their rulers died without heirs. As part of their friendship with Rome, it seems to have been common practice for these client kings to name the emperor – and often his family members – in their wills, leaving them property, money, goods, and even slaves.⁴⁹³ Their names are simple enough to trace in the *agnomina* (4%), primarily because there are relatively few possibilities. Furthermore, literary sources often provide corroboration regarding the contents of a client king's will. Augustus gained control of Galatia upon the death of its king, Amyntas (d. 25 B.C.E.),⁴⁹⁴ while Josephus states that both Augustus and Livia received bequests from Herod, king of Judaea (d. 4 B.C.E.).⁴⁹⁵ Indeed, Augustan slaves appear in the inscriptional evidence with the *agnomina* Amyntianus and Herodianus.⁴⁹⁶

Finally, the largest group of *agnomina* (37%) are derived from the names of known Julio-Claudian freed slaves – such as Pallantianus, Caenidianus, or Acteanus⁴⁹⁷ –

⁴⁹² It is impossible to know the proportion of foreign slaves: except for those originally owned by foreign kings and the German bodyguards (for whom national origin was an occupational qualification), only three individuals provide their nation of origin (Gallograecus: CIL 6, 04351 = CIL 11, *00547a4 = D 01802; Lycaeus: CIL 10, 00711 = D 01712, CIL 10, 00713).

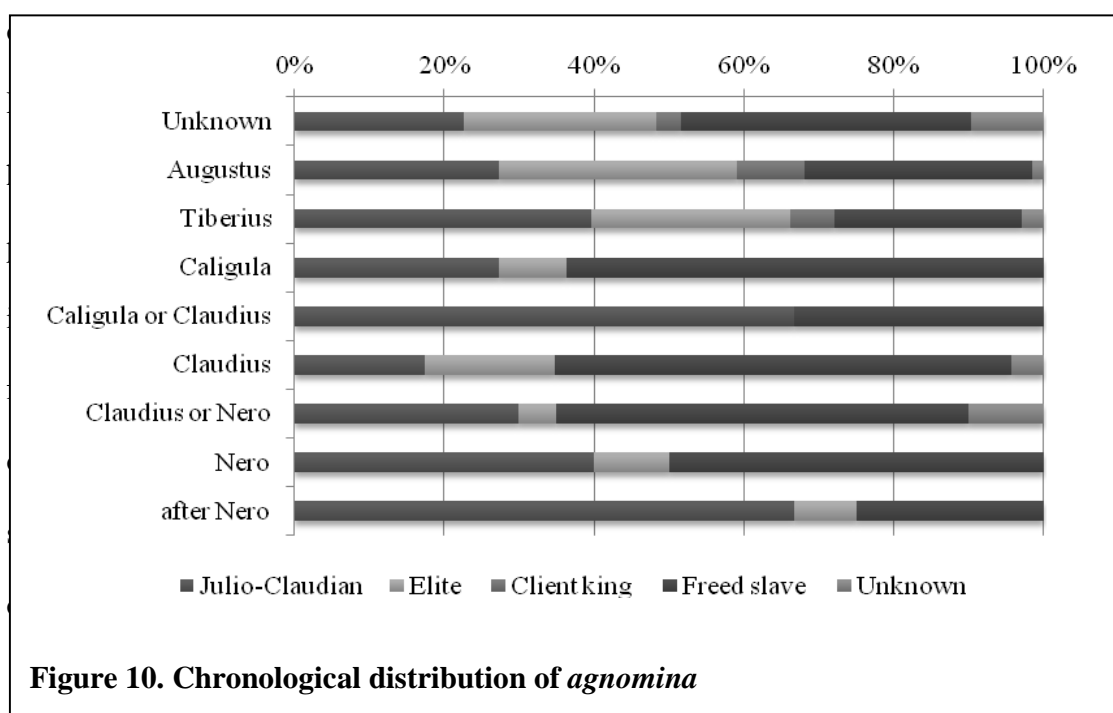
⁴⁹³ For an analysis of all the known royal wills leaving property to Rome, see Braund (1983)

⁴⁹⁴ Cass. Dio 53.26.3.

⁴⁹⁵ Joseph. AJ. 17.8.1.

⁴⁹⁶ Amyntianus: CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023), CIL 6, 08738, CIL 6, 08894 (= ILMN-01, 00117 = AE 2005, 00190). Herodianus: CIL 6, 09005 (= D 01795). Livia clearly inherited from Amyntas as well (or, alternatively, obtained one of the slaves via Augustus): CIL 6, 04035 names a M. Livius Anteros Amyntianus, whom she must have manumitted prior to Augustus' death and her subsequent adoption.

⁴⁹⁷ Pallantianus (former slaves of M. Antonius Pallas): CIL 6, 00143 = D 03896a = AE 1994, 00191, CIL 6, 08470 (= D 01535), CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055).



general during the Julio-Claudian period, there was a clear shift in the particular types of *agnomina* that appear over the course of the dynasty,⁴⁹⁹ as shown in Figure 10. Elite and royal *agnomina* were more common under Augustus and Tiberius, but these show a marked decline after Tiberius' death, accompanied by a rise in freed slave *agnomina*. This trend illustrates the gradual formation of the *familia Caesaris*. In its earliest years, the Imperial household replaced itself and expanded through the incorporation of slaves belonging to Julio-Claudian relatives and to both elite and royal *amici*; once it had grown large enough, with sufficient freed slaves who possessed property of their own, the slaves of these freed slaves replaced those once inherited from family members and from the elite. Of course, these would never have been the only sources of Imperial slaves: the

Caenidianus (former slaves of Antonia Caenis): CIL 6, 15110, CIL 6, 18358, CIL 10, 06666. Acteanus (former slaves of Claudia Acte): CIL 6, 15027, CIL 6, 15357, CIL 10, 07980.

⁴⁹⁸ Erotianus: AE 1912, 00183 (= LIHarvard 00007 = AE 1992, 00099). Epaphroditianus: CIL 6, 15082. Dionysianus: CIL 6, 04558. Chantraine has an exhaustive list of possibilities (1967, pp. 295-350).

familia Caesaris must also have purchased slaves and produced *vernae*. However, inheritance likely provided a larger proportion of slaves, thus accounting for the rapid expansion of the Imperial household over the course of the Julio-Claudian period. With regard to *vernae*, there are relatively few attested for the Julio-Claudians,⁵⁰⁰ particularly as compared to the *familia Caesaris* of the second century C.E.⁵⁰¹ Furthermore, an extremely high birth rate would have been necessary merely to replace the existing population – particularly one with such a dramatic gender imbalance⁵⁰² – with those births taking place prior to manumission;⁵⁰³ replacing, let alone expanding, the Imperial household solely through the birth of *vernae* would have been impossible,⁵⁰⁴ as the availability of *vernae* is unstable and unpredictable as a long-term solution, despite the economic and administrative advantages of less expensive, more loyal, and more trainable *vernae*. As for slave purchases, there is little trace of it in the epigraphic sources. Certainly, the Imperial household would have purchased slaves when it became necessary – if highly-specialized skills were needed that could not be found within the

⁴⁹⁹ $p = 0.000$.

⁵⁰⁰ There are a total of 15 certain *vernae* in the sample, although others are likely present but without the use of the term itself. Cf. p. 88, n. 397.

⁵⁰¹ Weaver 1972, p. 51.

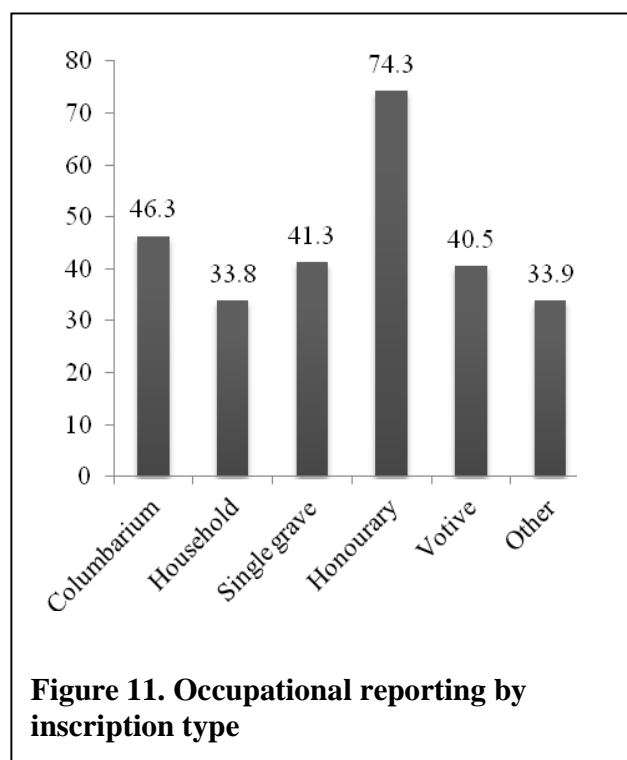
⁵⁰² The natural sex ratio at birth is constant across time and culture, at about 105-107 males born for every 100 females (Hesketh and Xing 2006, p. 13271). Even if female infanticide were practiced regularly (and the evidence for that is far from conclusive, and certainly indicates that it cannot have been practiced on a large scale, cf. Engels 1980, Harris 1982), the resulting *vernae* cannot have been almost exclusively male, as the composition of the administrative and domestic staff of the *familia Caesaris* would suggest. The *vernae* must be self-selecting, with the male children of the Imperial household recruited for training and eventual employment and the female children disappearing, either through sale, to more obscure positions within the Imperial household, or to the countryside, where *vernae* frequently seem to have been sent (D.32.99.3, D.50.16.210, Plin. Ep. 2.17.22); Treggiari (1979b, p. 190) prefers the last explanation, as do I.

⁵⁰³ Weaver 1972, pp. 177-178.

⁵⁰⁴ This is clearly indicated by the eventual preference for the term *Caesaris verna* (Weaver 1972, pp. 51-54), which enhances social status by highlighting a lifelong relationship with the Imperial household. On the impossibility of the slave population being entirely self-replacing, see Scheidel 2005.

household, or if there was an immediate need for staff in a particular location⁵⁰⁵ – but I suspect this was meant as a short-term solution rather than a long-term strategy.

Occupation



Of the total sample, 43% provided some indicator of an occupation, considerably higher than the average rate for CIL 6, which is around 8%.⁵⁰⁶ This emphasis on occupation highlights one of the major differences of the members of the Imperial household relative to their non-Imperial counterparts: as members of an extensive network of slaves and freed slaves, occupation

must have been a key component of identity, thus meriting inclusion in inscriptional evidence. Occupational titles appear significantly more often in honorary inscriptions (74%) and *columbarium* inscriptions (46%),⁵⁰⁷ as illustrated in Figure 11. Both the honorary and *columbarium* inscriptions are closely tied to the structure and identity of the Imperial household itself, so that the increased usage of occupational titles in those contexts demonstrates the importance of occupational title as a component of identity

⁵⁰⁵ There must have been some transfer of staff between properties all over the Empire, but it is impossible to know how regularly or how frequently such long-distance transfers took place.

⁵⁰⁶ Huttunen 1974, p. 48.

⁵⁰⁷ $p = 0.000$.

within the large Imperial household and its internal hierarchy and as a key aspect of the role of “Imperial slave” or “Imperial freed slave” to the world beyond the household.

However, the prevalence of occupational titles also emphasizes the inherent biases of the epigraphic material. The sample is inherently biased toward the best and the brightest from among the Imperial slaves and freed slaves, toward those with jobs that brought them into close contact with their Julio-Claudian owners and patrons, toward those with ample opportunity to amass a *peculium* and therefore to afford manumission⁵⁰⁸ – or, more likely, epigraphic commemoration – as well as (probably) a certain degree of literacy.⁵⁰⁹ These are not the scullery maids or the farm workers or the general labourers, whose existence can be assumed from the existence of their superiors (and from the obvious need for such labour), and who would have made up a sizeable proportion of the *familia Caesaris*. Instead, those who identify as members of the *familia Caesaris* have purposely chosen to include that affiliation in an inscription, or their dedicators have made that same choice: information has been carefully selected in order to present the best possible picture, to illustrate achievements and important relationships in comparison with the commemorated’s peers both within and outside the Imperial household. Comparison – and indeed, competition – within the Imperial household is of particular importance. Fellow Imperial slaves and freed slaves form their own peer group, their own social class distinct from other slaves and freed slaves, and the choices made regarding the information included in an inscription reveal the hierarchy of social

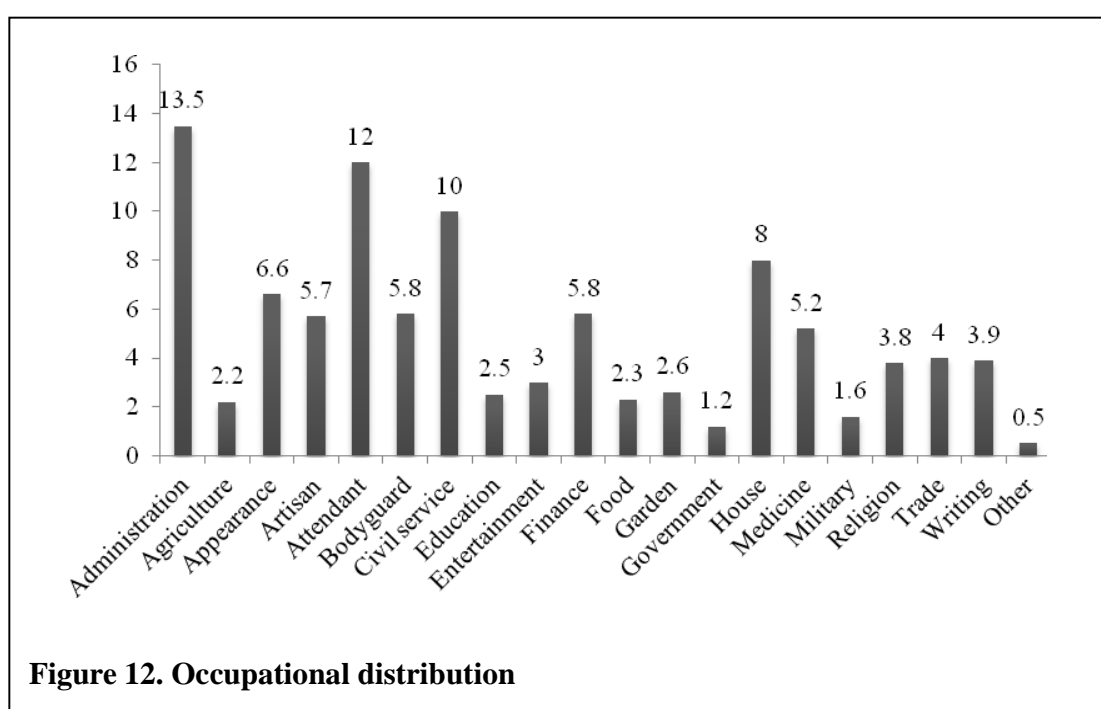
⁵⁰⁸ Mouritsen’s arguments regarding the lack of evidence for the automatic use of *peculium* to purchase manumission are convincing (2011, pp. 159-180).

⁵⁰⁹ Literacy does not necessarily imply a bureaucratic occupation: Pliny the Younger’s ornamental gardeners (*topiarii*) deliberately clipped hedges in order to spell out their own names (Ep. 5.6.35).

status within the *familia Caesaris* as much as they do the position of the *familia Caesaris* relative to individuals outside the Imperial household.

Due to the occupational specialization of the Imperial household, the number of different occupations in my sample is too large to allow comparison: there are 299 unique occupational titles. As a result, in order to be able to analyse occupational types, I have sorted the occupations recorded into twenty discrete categories. The categories, the subcategories included within each one, and the specific occupational titles that belong to each category and subcategory are provided in Appendix F, along with the English translations of each occupational title. In most cases, these categories and the included occupations are self-explanatory – the writing category includes library workers, book-glueers, and scribes – but the categories I have designated “civil service,” “administration,” and “government” require some elaboration. The “government” category is the simplest of the three: it comprises occupational titles that denote participation in local government elsewhere in Italy (such as *duumvir* or *sevir*), as well as those that provide senators holding high magistracies with direct assistance in the fulfilment of their duties (*viatores*), and these are discussed in detail below. There is a certain degree of overlap between the “civil service” and “administration” categories, most notably with the occupations of *procurator* and *dispensator*, which appear in both a private and a public context. In general, I classified titles as “civil service” when they included additional information about the area of influence (*dispensator ab aedificiis*, for example) or when they belonged to the emperor himself (particularly Claudius and Nero, by which point the civil service was increasingly formalized); I opted to classify occupations as “administration” when the area of influence was clearly domestic or when

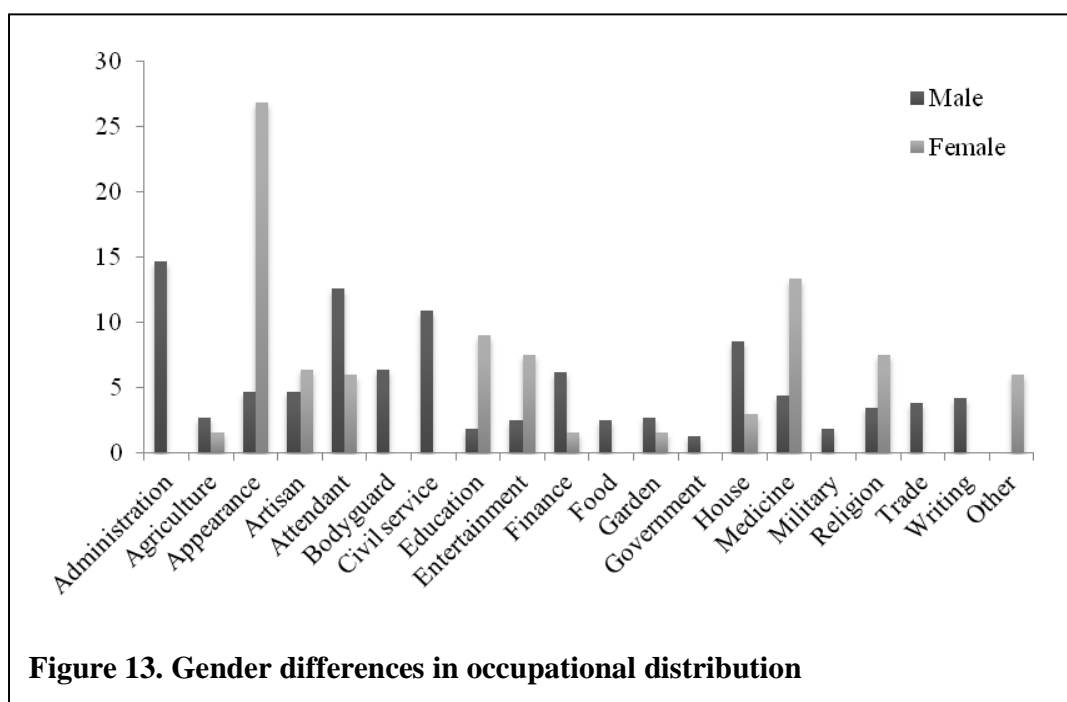
the owner was not an emperor. These guidelines, however, were extremely general, and the boundaries between the two categories were likely not as clear-cut as they appear here,⁵¹⁰ so that some degree of interpretation was necessary. The full occupational distribution, with the percentage of those reporting an occupation who fall into each category, is provided in Figure 12.



Within the sample, men (47%) were significantly more likely than women (22%) to report an occupation.⁵¹¹ Relative to the Roman inscriptions as a whole, however, women within the *familia Caesaris* were far more likely to report an occupation: in

⁵¹⁰ Non-emperors' freedmen clearly worked in the civil service as well: the infamous Pallas, who was in charge of accounts (*a rationibus*) under Claudius, was a freedman of Antonia the Younger (Joseph. AJ. 18.6.6, CIL 6, 11965 = CIL 6, 34048, CIL 14, 02833 = CIL 05, *00429,038 = D 01538), and his brother Felix may have been as well, although this is uncertain (see pp. 311-314 for more extensive discussions of both Pallas and Felix).

Joshel's study of 1,470 individuals in CIL 6 who gave occupational titles and who were not members of the Imperial household, only 14% of her sample is female.⁵¹² In addition, the differences in the types of occupations reported are striking (Figure 13).



The imbalances are immediately obvious. Men are more likely than women to report that they worked as administrators, attendants, bodyguards, civil servants, finance workers, household staff, soldiers, tradesmen, or writing staff, while women are more likely than men to report that they worked as artisans or in appearance-related professions.⁵¹³ In addition, there are several occupational categories from which women are completely excluded: none of the women in the sample reported occupations as

⁵¹¹ $p = 0.000$.

⁵¹² Joshel 1992, p. 16.

administrators, bodyguards, civil servants, food workers, government staff, soldiers, tradeswomen, or writing staff. These limits on women's occupations are largely unsurprising, and reflect the restricted range of occupations recorded for women in the epigraphic material as a whole.⁵¹⁴ Although somewhat restricted in their occupational choices, the fact remains that female slaves and freedwomen worked in a fairly wide variety of occupations and considered this a vital component of their identity; their "usual job" cannot always have been marriage and childbearing alone.⁵¹⁵

Government Participation

Nine individuals give occupations closely tied to governmental participation,⁵¹⁶ and these merit further discussion. The occupations within the government category are not posts within the Imperial civil service or the administration of the Imperial household, but rather are independent roles within local government,⁵¹⁷ completely separate from the *familia Caesaris*.

Three of these are explicitly involved with the Augustales,⁵¹⁸ while two additional individuals note their titles as *sevir*, which itself is an indicator of membership in the

⁵¹³ p = 0.000.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. Treggiari 1976, Treggiari 1979a.

⁵¹⁵ Treggiari 1975a, p. 395.

⁵¹⁶ AE 1890, 00086 = EE-08-01, 00316 = D 06387 (*minister*), AE 1982, 00765 = CIA 00023 = LIA 00021 = AE 2008, +00057 & CIA 00024 = LIA 00022 = AE 1982, 00766 = AE 2008, +00057 (*duumvir*), CIL 3, 02097 = CIL 3, 08585 (*sevir*), CIL 5, 03404 (*sevir*), CIL 10, 00924 = D 06381 (*minister*), CIL 11, 03083 = CIL 14, *00409 = D 05373 = SupIt-01-FN, 00010 (*magister Augustalis*), CIL 11, 03200 = D 00089 (*magister Augustalis*), CIL 14, 03647 = InscrIt-04-01, 00236 = D 04979 (*viator sodalium Augustalium*), CIL 6, 32307 = D 04977 (*viator augur*).

⁵¹⁷ On freed slaves in local government and in the Augustales, see Taylor 1914, Nock 1958, Duthoy 1974, de Quiroga 1995, Mouritsen 2005, and Mouritsen 2011.

⁵¹⁸ Taylor 1914, p. 231.

Augustales.⁵¹⁹ The Augustales, largely freedmen, were involved in the maintenance of the Imperial cult throughout the Empire; the organization itself may have served as a parallel structure to local government, providing access to public life that would otherwise have been legally unavailable to freedmen due to their status. Of the remaining four, three were also involved in local politics to some extent, one as a *duumvir* and two as *ministri*, while the fourth, who gives his occupation as *viator augur*, may have been more of an attendant on an elite magistrate rather than a governmental official in his own right.⁵²⁰

However, the most significant aspect of all nine inscriptions is their location. While the majority of the sample comes from the city of Rome, only one of the nine inscriptions is from Rome, and that belongs to the *viator augur* discussed above.⁵²¹ The others are all located elsewhere in Italy – two at Pompeii, two in Etruria, one at Tibur, and one at Verona – or in the provinces, with two inscriptions from different towns in Dalmatia.⁵²² This physical distance from the Imperial household cannot be over-emphasized, particularly as it is mirrored by a functional distance. While these are Imperial freedmen (and, in one case, an Imperial slave), the Imperial household would

⁵¹⁹ Taylor 1914, p. 234; Duthoy 1974, p. 134. This is particularly true for northern Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Germany: the *seviri* in the present sample come from Salona in Dalmatia (CIL 3, 02097 = CIL 3, 08585) and Verona in Italy (CIL 5, 03404), both of which fit with the geographical distribution of that title. Nock (1958, pp. 629-634) has discussed the potential distinctions between the two titles: their duties and responsibilities do not seem to have been identical. Cf. Mouritsen 2011, pp. 250-261.

⁵²⁰ His duties seem to have been to summon people to appear before a magistrate, somewhat more involved than a *lictor*, for instance, but still not exerting power in his own right.

⁵²¹ CIL 6, 32307 (= D 04977).

⁵²² Pompeii: AE 1890, 00086 = EE-08-01, 00316 = D 06387, CIL 10, 00924 (= D 06381). Etruria: CIL 11, 03083 = CIL 14, *00409 = D 05373 = SupIt-01-FN, 00010 (Falerii), CIL 11, 03200 = D 00089 (Nepet). Tibur: CIL 14, 03647 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00236 = D 04979). Verona: CIL 5, 03404. Dalmatia: AE 1982, 00765 = CIA 00023 = LIA 00021 = AE 2008, +00057, & CIA 00024 = LIA 00022 = AE 1982, 00766 = AE 2008, +00057 (Lissus), CIL 3, 02097 = CIL 3, 08585 (Salona).

have played absolutely no role in managing their governmental activities: they are acting as separate individuals, not as agents of the civil service or even of the wider *familia Caesaris*.

The German Bodyguard

The German bodyguard is a uniquely Julio-Claudian institution: they were formed under Augustus and disbanded under Galba, almost immediately after Nero's death. Augustus certainly had Germani prior to the defeat of Varus in 9 C.E.; they were immediately expelled from Rome, sent to various islands as protection against a potential rebellion.⁵²³ They must have been reinstated fairly soon afterward and within Augustus' lifetime, as Tiberius sent his German bodyguard with Drusus the Younger to calm the mutinies that followed Augustus' death in 14.⁵²⁴ Suetonius claims that Caligula's sudden expedition to Germany and Gaul was inspired by the need to recruit more Germani;⁵²⁵ this was clearly unsuccessful, given the need to plant Germani in the forests so that Caligula could defeat them.⁵²⁶

The most vivid and extensive description of the Germani comes from Josephus' account of Caligula's assassination. They were the first to realize that Caligula had been attacked, and immediately went in search of his attackers, killing several conspirators and innocent senators along the way.⁵²⁷ In their rage, they very nearly attacked a theatre full of spectators, but were eventually convinced that Caligula was truly dead and that

⁵²³ Cass. Dio 56.23.4, Suet. Aug. 49.1. Cf. Cass. Dio 55.24.7-8.

⁵²⁴ Tac. Ann. 1.24. These are quite clearly Germani: Tacitus describes them as *robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant*.

⁵²⁵ Suet. Calig. 43.

⁵²⁶ Suet. Calig. 45.1.

⁵²⁷ Joseph. AJ. 19.15. Cf. Suet. Calig. 58.3.

displaying their loyalty to him would no longer be in their own interests.⁵²⁸ It is this latter point that Josephus emphasizes most strongly. The Germani were loyal to Caligula, true, but it was the result of their own self-interest: Caligula had paid them well, and was therefore rewarded with their loyalty.⁵²⁹ In the immediate confusion, reports of Caligula's death clashed with those suggesting merely injury and with the ever-present possibility that the whole thing might have been faked in order to trick his enemies into revealing themselves.⁵³⁰ In their uncertainty, the Germani remained loyal to Caligula, until it could be definitively proven that he was dead and, as a result, any displays of loyalty toward him would go unrewarded and could, in fact, be punished.⁵³¹ Similarly, such personal loyalty, purchased though it might have been, must surely have contributed to Nero's trust in the Germani during the Pisonian conspiracy.⁵³²

Almost immediately after Nero's death, Galba disbanded the Germani, sending them back to their native country without reward.⁵³³ In this account, Suetonius provides two probable reasons for the disbandment. First, he describes the Germani as extremely loyal to the Julio-Claudians, so that Galba might have feared their continuing loyalty to the Julio-Claudians despite Nero's disgrace, particularly given their reaction in the aftermath of Caligula's assassination and regardless of his own fairly close connection to

⁵²⁸ Joseph. AJ. 19.17-18.

⁵²⁹ Joseph. AJ. 19.15: *μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῖς προσφιλεῖς ἦν Γάιος δόσει χρημάτων τὸ εὖνον αὐτῷ κτώμενος.*

⁵³⁰ Joseph. AJ. 19.16.

⁵³¹ Joseph. AJ. 19.18.

⁵³² Tac. Ann. 15.58: Tacitus specifically ascribes Nero's trust in the Germani to their foreign status (*fidebat princeps quasi externis*), presumably as they would have no reason to defect to any of the Roman conspirators while the emperor continued to pay them well.

⁵³³ Suet. Galb. 12.2.

the previous dynasty.⁵³⁴ Second, and more explicitly, Galba was concerned about their potential allegiance to his rival Cn. Dolabella, next to whose gardens their barracks were located. The Germani had been disbanded and recalled once before, and this might have occurred yet again, if the Batavian revolt had not broken out in 69 and 70, eliminating any possibility of the Flavian emperors placing their trust – and their lives – in the hands of German bodyguards.⁵³⁵

However, early in the Julio-Claudian era, the protection of Germani was not restricted to the emperor alone. Other members of the Julio-Claudian household maintained their own Germani,⁵³⁶ or were granted their protection by the emperor.⁵³⁷ Beyond that, the *Monumentum Statiliorum* reveals that at least one elite family maintained private bodyguards who called themselves Germani,⁵³⁸ a right which was probably granted to T. Statilius Taurus (cos. suff. 37 B.C.E., cos. ord. 26 B.C.E.) because of his friendship with Augustus and which certainly ended with the suicide of Taurus' homonymous great-grandson in 53 C.E.⁵³⁹ Most likely, as their Julio-Claudian and

⁵³⁴ He was not directly related to the Julio-Claudians, and Suetonius (Galb. 2) emphasizes his lack of connection to the previous dynasty (*nullo gradu contingens Caesarum domum*). He was nevertheless connected to them in several ways: he had a close relationship with Livia and she left him 50 million sesterces in her will (Suet. Galb. 5.2), and he was married to an Aemilia Lepida (Suet. Galb. 5.1), likely a cousin of the various Aemilii who married Julio-Claudians.

⁵³⁵ Cf. Speidel 1984, p. 43.

⁵³⁶ Or, in one case, other bodyguards: Antonia the Younger owned a *spatarius* (CIL 6, 09043 = CIL 11, *00156,16), which seems to be a bodyguard as well.

⁵³⁷ Agrippina the Younger had this privilege rescinded in 55 (Tac. Ann. 13.18, Suet. Ner. 34).

⁵³⁸ There are ten Germani in the *Monumentum Statiliorum* (CIL 6, 06221 = D 07449, CIL 6.06229 = D 07448, CIL 6, 06230, CIL 6, 06231, CIL 6, 06232, CIL 6, 06233, CIL 6, 06234, CIL 6, 06235, CIL 6, 06236, CIL 6, 06237). Like most of the other inscriptions in the Augustan-era *columbaria*, their inscriptions are brief and provide virtually no information beyond name and occupation.

⁵³⁹ Tac. Ann. 12.59.

Stilian owners disappeared from the picture, these privately-owned Germani were incorporated into the emperor's Germani, probably by the end of Claudius' reign.⁵⁴⁰

What further information can the inscriptions add? The recorded owners of the Germani indicate that the inscriptions are unevenly distributed across the Julio-Claudian dynasty: exactly half of the Germani belong to Nero.⁵⁴¹ Most of the remainder (36%) belong to other emperors,⁵⁴² but a few indicate other Julio-Claudian owners, namely Germanicus and his sons Drusus Caesar and Nero Caesar.⁵⁴³ Like other members of the Julio-Claudian households, the Germani – particularly earlier in their existence – used *agnomina* to indicate transfer from one owner to another, and this too supports the ownership of separate groups of Germani by other Julio-Claudians: the *agnomina* Iulianus, Drusianus, and Germanicianus appear.⁵⁴⁴ The Germaniciani, likely distributed among his heirs after his death in 19, appear under the ownership of Tiberius⁵⁴⁵ and that

⁵⁴⁰ Bellen 1981, p. 33. This assumes that the younger Taurus still maintained Germani at all, which is not attested anywhere.

⁵⁴¹ Two more are Ti. Claudii *Aug(usti) lib(erti)* and could belong to either Claudius or Nero.

⁵⁴² Two belong to Augustus, two to Tiberius, and ten to Claudius, in addition to the two discussed above whose owner is uncertain.

⁵⁴³ Germanicus: CIL 6, 04338, CIL 6, 04340 (= CIL 14, *00175), CIL 6, 04345 (= D 01723 = AE 2000, +00132). Drusus Caesar: CIL 6, 04337 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718). Nero Caesar: CIL 6, 04342 (= D 01720), CIL 6, 04344 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01722). All six inscriptions were found in the *Monumentum liberorum Drusi*, along with other domestic staff.

⁵⁴⁴ The Iulianus and Drusianus inscriptions (AE 1923, 00073 and CIL 6, 04437, respectively) are Augustan in date. Drusianus most likely indicates Drusus the Elder, who could easily have acquired Germani while campaigning in Germany. Iulianus could very well indicate Julia the Elder, as the *agnomen* appears elsewhere for her former slaves (CIL 6, 04714 = CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 1, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023 is all but certain, and probably also CIL 6, 05751, CIL 6, 05837, and CIL 6, 22679).

⁵⁴⁵ CIL 6, 04339 and CIL 6, 04341 (= D 01717).

of Drusus Caesar;⁵⁴⁶ it is likely that the Germani of Nero Caesar passed to him at the same time, but simply chose not to use an *agnomen*.

Several different occupational titles denote membership in the German bodyguard: *corpore/corporis custos* and *Germanus*.⁵⁴⁷ Their inscriptions are located exclusively in Rome; they are extremely formulaic, particularly those under Claudius and Nero, and are structured much like the inscriptions of the military. As a general rule, the inscriptions follow a consistent format, although not every piece of information is included in every inscription:⁵⁴⁸

1. The name of the deceased individual;
2. His owner/employer and occupation;
3. His *decuria* and *natio*;
4. His age at death;
5. The formula *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*.
6. The name(s) of the dedicator(s), prefaced with the formulaic *posuit*, and often their *decuria(e)* as well; and
7. The formulaic ending *heres/heredes eius ex colleg(io) German(orum)*.

⁵⁴⁶ CIL 6, 04337 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718). A Germanus of the same name also appears without the *cognomen* in CIL 6, 04338, which may indicate that CIL 6, 04338 dates before Germanicus' death in 19 and CIL 6, 04337 dates after it.

⁵⁴⁷ Thirty-seven individuals used *corpore custos* or *corporis custos*, and seven used *Germanus*. There is no way to distinguish between the variants *corpore custos* and *corporis custos*, as both are frequently abbreviated *corpor(...)* *cust(os)*, although both terms appear spelled out in their entirety as well.

⁵⁴⁸ By no means do all the inscriptions follow this format, although the majority do: 15 of the 28 relevant inscriptions have precisely this format, with a further eight inscriptions following abbreviated versions of the same format, generally omitting information about the dedicators. The stones are also of fairly uniform size: 2-2.2 metres by 0.5-0.9 metres (Bellen 1981, p. 62).

The last piece of information provides the reason for the highly formulaic inscriptions: the Germani had their own *collegium*, from which they selected their heirs and which would have provided burial for them. Indeed, thirty bodyguards (68%) indicate collegial affiliation, considerably higher than for the sample as a whole (13%). While the relationships between Germani seem to have constituted their primary social bonds, those through which they were eventually commemorated, a few other relationships appear as well. Two inscriptions (9%) are dedicated by fellow Germani who describe themselves as *frater et heres eius*.⁵⁴⁹ While it is possible that this term does not necessarily indicate a blood relationship, as sibling terms such as *frater* and *soror* occasionally appear in *collegiums* contexts,⁵⁵⁰ it is certainly plausible that sets of brothers should be recruited together for the Germani and would then take responsibility for one another's burial; the inclusion of the fraternal relationship in addition to the mention of the *collegium* suggests that the relationship may in fact have been dual in nature. In addition, one Germanus is not commemorated within the *collegium* itself, but by a wife;⁵⁵¹ he has been manumitted, however, and holds the higher rank of *decurio*, which may explain the presence of a wife.

For half of the German bodyguard, the nation of origin is either explicitly stated or can be inferred.⁵⁵² The term “German bodyguard” is indeed accurate: these nations are exclusively Germanic tribes known to Caesar, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, primarily in what

⁵⁴⁹ AE 1952, 00147 and AE 1952, 00148.

⁵⁵⁰ Nielsen 2006, p. 202.

⁵⁵¹ CIL 6, 08811 (= D 01731).

⁵⁵² Twenty state their origin outright through the formulaic use of *natio*, including both of the *frater* inscriptions discussed above. Assuming that this represents an actual blood relationship, the *natio* would then be identical.

would become the province of Germania Inferior. The largest tribe present is the Batavi, with nearly a third of the total (30%) reporting that tribe,⁵⁵³ and therefore originating in the Rhine delta.⁵⁵⁴ Bodyguards also reported tribal affiliations with the Ubii,⁵⁵⁵ the Frisii,⁵⁵⁶ the Suevi,⁵⁵⁷ and the Baetesii,⁵⁵⁸ although there are also examples of tribal affiliations of *Veius* and *Ataeus*, which do not correspond to any of the known Germanic tribes.⁵⁵⁹

The age at death was provided for 17 individuals (39% of the total, and 59% of those commemorated). These ages ranged from 18 to 40, with an average age at death of 29.35,⁵⁶⁰ precisely what one would expect for a group whose occupational demands as bodyguards would require physical size and strength, or at the very least, quasi-military training. In two cases, the individuals noted their age in the military fashion, indicating both age at death and the number of years served: a 25-year-old had served eight years

⁵⁵³ Both Cassius Dio (55.24.7) and Suetonius (Calig. 43.1) refer to the bodyguards in general as the Batavians (*τῶν Βατᾶνων* and *numero Batavorum*, respectively), highlighting the predominance of that tribe within their ranks. Cf. Bellen 1981, p. 36; Speidel 1984, p. 37.

⁵⁵⁴ Tacitus describes them as inhabiting an island within the Rhine (Germ. 1.29), in what is currently the southern Netherlands. Cf. Ptol. Geog. 2.8.

⁵⁵⁵ Both Tacitus (Germ. 1.28) and Pliny the Elder (HN 4.106) describe the Ubii as inhabiting Colonia Ara Agrippinensum, which is modern Cologne in western Germany.

⁵⁵⁶ They inhabited the area north of the Rhine, near the ocean (Germ. 1.34): the region in the north of the Netherlands is still called Friesland to this day. Cf. Plin. HN 4.101.

⁵⁵⁷ Tacitus describes the Suevi as occupying the greater part of Germany (*maiores enim Germaniae partem obtinent*) and indicates that the term is a catch-all description for numerous related tribes (Germ. 1.38). Cf. Ptol. Geog. 2.10, Plin. HN 4.100.

⁵⁵⁸ They appear along with several other Germanic tribes (the Sunuci, the Tungri, and the Nervii) in the vicinity of Colonia Ara Agrippinensum and the river Mosa (Tac. Hist. 4.66): this would roughly indicate the modern area of the southern Netherlands, western Germany, and eastern Belgium. Cf. Plin. HN 4.106.

⁵⁵⁹ *Veius*: CIL 6, 04337 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718), CIL 6, 04339. *Ataeus*: CIL 6, 04341 (= D 01717). The editorial commentary on the entry at CIL 6, 04337 indicates that the tribe in question cannot be identified (p. 900), while the commentary on the entry at CIL 6, 04341 suggests that *Ataeus* may be an error for *Batavus* (p. 901).

⁵⁶⁰ The standard deviation was 7.31, meaning that about two-thirds of the ages fell between 22 and 37.

prior to his death, and a 20-year-old had served two years.⁵⁶¹ Although the evidence is scant, it seems probable that recruitment, service, and retirement among the German bodyguards paralleled that of the military: men were recruited around the age of 17 or 18, then served between twenty and twenty-five years before retirement, assuming they survived.

Furthermore, the inscriptional evidence provides clues to the organization and administration of the German bodyguard. Four individuals provide titles indicating higher rank: an *optio*,⁵⁶² a *curator Germanorum*,⁵⁶³ and two *decuriones Germanorum*.⁵⁶⁴ The *optio* and one of the *decuriones* are Imperial slaves, while the *curator* and the other *decurio* are Imperial freedman, suggesting the presence of a hierarchical structure with the potential for manumission. In addition, twenty-four bodyguards indicate their *decuriae*, the subgroups into which they would have been organized, which seem to have mirrored the organizational system of the Roman army, or at least borrowed its terminology. The variety of *decuriae* named suggests that the extant inscriptions identify only a small proportion of the original German bodyguard.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶¹ CIL 6, 08808 (= D 01728) and CIL 6, 08806 (= D 01727), respectively.

⁵⁶² AE 1952, 00146.

⁵⁶³ CIL 6, 20126.

⁵⁶⁴ CIL 6, 04345 (= D 01723 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 08811 (= D 01731).

⁵⁶⁵ There are twelve unique *decuriae* named in the inscriptions. Pacatus and Rabutus have four members each, Prudens has three members, and Benignus, Cotinus, Spiculus, and Syneros have two members each. The remaining *decuriae* – Albanus, Epagatus, La[...], Montanus, and Secundus – appear once each. There is a tendency for the commemorated and dedicator to belong to the same *decuria*. The size of the Germani is not mentioned in the literary evidence either; Cassius Dio admits to his own ignorance on the topic (55.24.7).

Veneriae

The occupational categories discussed above include an “other” category because of these four problematic inscriptions:⁵⁶⁶

Iulia Aug(usti) l(iberta) / Helena / Veneria ex hort(is) / Sallustianis / sibi et suis / in fro(n)te p(edes) XII / in agr(o) p(edes) XII (AE 1924, 00118 = AE 1964, +00186a)

Iulia Helena, Imperial freedwoman, *Veneria* from the Sallustian Gardens, for herself and for her relatives. Twelve feet along the front, twelve feet along the side.

Dis Manib(us) / Verecundae / Neronis Caesar(is) / ancill(ae) Veneriae / de hort(is) Servil(ianis) / Saturninus ... coniug(i) sanc(tissimae) / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit) v(ixit) a(nnos) XXXV / cum eo convenit / bene an(nos) IX (AE 1959, 00145 = AE 1959, 00299)

To the gods of the dead. For Verecundia, slavewoman of Nero Caesar, *Veneria* from the Servilian Gardens. Saturninus... made this for his most sacred, well-deserving wife. She lived 35 years, and she lived well with him for 9 years.

Hedymele / Aug(usti) Vener(ia) / vix(it) ann(os) XXX (CIL 10, 00709)

Hedymele, Imperial slave, *Veneria*, lived 30 years.

Iulia divi Augusti / liberta Aphrodisia / Veneria (EE-08-01, 00671)

Iulia Aphrodisia, freedwoman of the divine Augustus, *Veneria*.

The term “*Veneria*” is problematic. In inscriptions, “*Veneria*” generally appears as a female *cognomen*; however, the full names of all four women are clear – Helena,

⁵⁶⁶ An additional inscription (CIL 6, 03992) ought to be considered as well: *Irenio ab orna[mentis 3] / int(ulit) in una Genesim / Vener(iam) et Alcistum filios*. The reading is unclear and its connection to the *familia Caesaris* is uncertain, so that it has not been included in my database, but the inscription’s location in the *Monumentum Liviae* makes an association with the Imperial household probable.

Verecunda, Hedymele, and Aphrodisia – and Veneria certainly does not take the usual form for an *agnomen*.⁵⁶⁷ Regardless, Magi takes it as a second *cognomen*,⁵⁶⁸ although his interest lies primarily in the physical characteristics and archaeological context of the inscription rather than in its content. Degrassi discusses the possibility of Veneria as an occupational title, but nevertheless concludes that it is little more than an epithet describing “*una donna di superiore grazia e bellezza.*”⁵⁶⁹

I would argue that the solution lies in the details. Both Helena and Verecunda supplement “Veneria” with a location: the Sallustian gardens and the Servilian gardens, respectively. This strongly supports the identification of “Veneria” as an occupational title, as the pairing of an occupational title with the name of a building or complex is a frequent means of identifying the particular location in which an individual worked.⁵⁷⁰ What is known about the gardens during the period in question? By the reign of Nero, the Servilian gardens seem to have formed part of the Imperial complex;⁵⁷¹ they contained numerous important works of art, according to Pliny the Elder.⁵⁷² As for the

⁵⁶⁷ There is an extremely remote possibility that “Veneria” is an unclear abbreviation of “Veneriana,” thus making it an *agnomen* denoting previous ownership, but this is unlikely due to the other characteristics of the inscriptions in question.

⁵⁶⁸ Magi 1962, p. 289, n. 9.

⁵⁶⁹ Degrassi 1963, p. 438.

⁵⁷⁰ In this sample alone: *vilicus ex hortis Lollianis* (CIL 6, 04226 = D 01620 & CIL 6, 04226a), *vilicus in hortis Sallustianis* (CIL 6, 09005 = D 01795), *ex horreis Petronianis* (CIL 6, 03971 = D 01625), *ex hortis Maianis* (CIL 6, 06152), *ex hortis Sallustianis* (CIL 6, 08670 = D 01619), various household staff (CIL 6, 03719 = CIL 6, 31033 = D 01774, CIL 6, 08659 = D 01779, CIL 6, 08660, CIL 6, 08663 = AE 1997, +00160), various *aeditui* (CIL 6, 03879 = CIL 6, 32450, CIL 6, 04222 = D 04995 = AE 1992, 00071, CIL 6, 04305 = D 01732, CIL 6, 04327, CIL 6, 05745 = D 05001, CIL 6, 08703 = CLE 01028, CIL 6, 08705 = ILMN-01, 00109, CIL 6, 08706 = D 03717 = AE 1994, 00192, CIL 6, 08708 = D 05000, CIL 6, 08711 = D 07803, AE 1977, 00028 = RICIS-02, 00501/0131), and various *a bybliothecae* (CIL 6, 04433 & CIL 6, 04434, CIL 6, 05188 = D 01589, CIL 6, 05189 = D 01588, CIL 6, 05884 = CIL 6, *00921 = ILMN-01, 00098).

⁵⁷¹ Tac. Ann. 15.55; Suet. Ner. 47. Cf. Tac. Hist. 3.38.

⁵⁷² Plin. HN 36.23-25, 36.36.

Sallustian gardens, these were extensively developed by the wealthy historian Sallust and seem to have transferred to Imperial ownership around the reign of Tiberius.⁵⁷³ They included a number of buildings,⁵⁷⁴ including a temple to Venus, which is known only through the inscriptions of its attendants and managers.⁵⁷⁵ This temple certainly existed during the Julio-Claudian period or, at the very latest, shortly thereafter: one of the attendants, Ti. Claudius Apollinaris, is a freedman of either Claudius or Nero who lists his occupation as *minister al[mae] Veneris ex ho[rtis] Sallustian[is]*.⁵⁷⁶ There is only one occurrence of *Veneria* as a noun in Latin literature, in Plautus' *Rudens*, and here too, *Veneria* is clearly an occupational title: a priestess of Venus is identified as both *Veneria*⁵⁷⁷ and *sacerdos Veneria*.⁵⁷⁸ I would argue, then, that the term “*Veneria*,” when it appears as a clear occupational title in inscriptions, denotes an attendant of a temple of Venus, and that the four women in question would have served in that capacity in various temples owned or operated by the Julio-Claudian dynasty.⁵⁷⁹

Beyond Rome

I was particularly interested in the occupational titles that appeared outside of Rome; however, the high proportion of the sample inscriptions that were found within

⁵⁷³ They certainly formed part of Imperial property by the end of the second century (D.30.39.8: *Sallustianos hortos qui sunt Augusti*), and a freedman of Augustus served as the emperor's *praegustator* and subsequently as *vilicus in hortis Sallustianis* (CIL 6, 09005 = D 01795), suggesting a Tiberian date at the latest for Imperial possession. Frustratingly, CIL 6, 09005 (= D 01795) provides a consular date of death – *decessit Non(is) Augustis M(arco) Cocceio Nerva(e) C(aio) Vibio Rufino co(n)s(ulibus)* – but the consular year does not match any known consular pairings. It is unlikely to fall much later than 50.

⁵⁷⁴ Plin. HN 7.75.

⁵⁷⁵ Inscriptional evidence provides three *aeditui Veneris hortorum Sallustianorum* – two of uncertain date (CIL 6, 00122 = CIL 06, 30699 = D 03184) and one from the early second century (CIL 6.32451).

⁵⁷⁶ CIL 6, 32468 (= CECapitol 00247).

⁵⁷⁷ Plaut. Rud. 329, 350, 624.

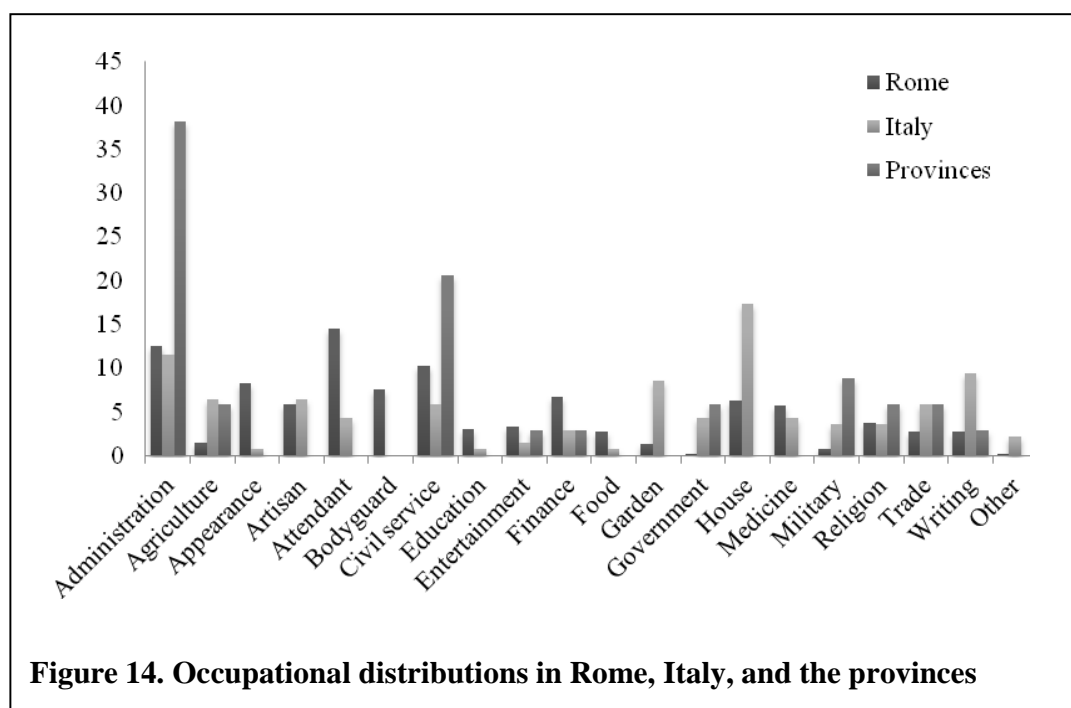
⁵⁷⁸ Plaut. Rud. 644.

Rome rather than elsewhere in the Empire severely limited the potential for analysis.

Some basic analyses remained possible, and the trends they reveal are unsurprising.

There is no significant geographical difference in the tendency to report occupation.⁵⁸⁰

Rome (43%), Italy (44%), and the provinces (40%) all show roughly equivalent rates of occupational reporting. Their occupational distributions, however, do differ significantly,⁵⁸¹ as illustrated in Figure 14.



These differences should largely be attributed to the differing situations, labour needs, and populations of Imperial slaves and freed slaves of the three regions. Rome demands a greater variety of occupations, particularly those relating to domestic or

⁵⁷⁹ A familial association with such temples would hardly be out of the question, especially considering the *gens* Iulia's self-proclaimed descent from Venus.

⁵⁸⁰ $p = 0.761$.

⁵⁸¹ $p = 0.000$.

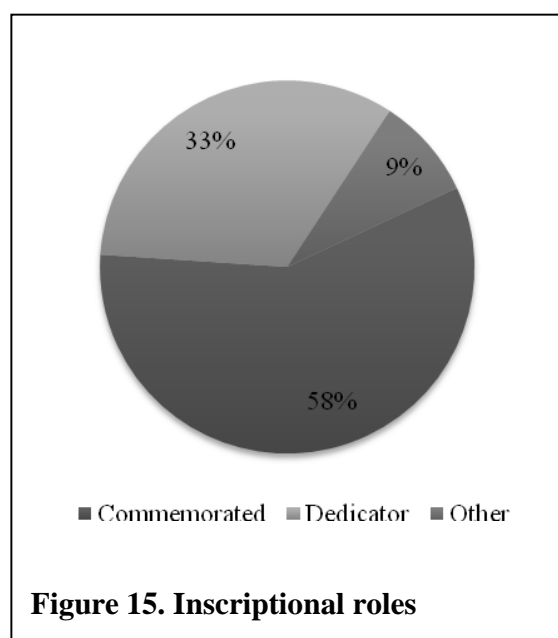
personal service,⁵⁸² due to the frequent residence of numerous Julio-Claudians and the need to keep the *familia urbana* staffed whether the owner was in residence or not. Elsewhere in Italy, however, the emphasis changes due to the differing requirements of the *familia rustica*. Large Imperial estates, such as Antium or Capreae, required household staff, while personal staff such as bodyguards or hairdressers would likely have accompanied their masters or patrons when they travelled away from Rome. They remained affiliated with the *familia urbana* and their home base was in Rome, regardless of any travel they may have done as part of their duties. Other occupations would have naturally been more necessary and more prominent at rural villas, such as agricultural workers, garden staff, or tradesmen. Beyond Italy, the occupations reported by members of the *familia Caesaris* in the provinces are concentrated in a few specific categories. While civil servants and military personnel maintain the Empire's influence and administer its policies and laws, personal or familial property abroad requires administrators to manage estates as well as agricultural workers⁵⁸³ and tradesmen to supervise labour. There are hints of domestic establishments outside of Rome – most

⁵⁸² For example, the social and political life of Rome would have required more staff whose duties related to clothing and appearance (such as the *a vestibus* who oversaw the wardrobe and the *ornatrices* who styled hair) or to personal attendance (such as the *lecticarii* who carried litters or the *pedisequi* and *pedisequae* who attended elite men and women); the administration of the urban *domus* would require highly specialized household staff to manage the contents of the house (such as the *a supellectile* who managed furniture and the *a specularibus* who managed glass and mirrors of various sorts) as well as administrative staff to oversee them (such as *atrienses* or *ostiarum*).

⁵⁸³ In both Italy and the provinces, agricultural workers are largely involved in management and supervision rather than labour itself, with occupational titles such as *vilicus/a* (farm overseer), *subvilicus* (assistant farm overseer), and *saltuarius* (farm manager). Cf. Carlsen 2000 on the precise meaning of the term *saltuarius*.

notably, a singer (*παιανιεύς*) in Athens⁵⁸⁴ – but little more than that. The prominence of governmental occupations in both Italy and the provinces is also unsurprising, as I have already discussed in part. An ambitious Imperial freed slave had little hope of influence in government in Rome, but involvement with the *Augustales* outside of Rome or as a *duumvir* or *sevir* in local government⁵⁸⁵ could offer access to governmental positions and social advancement.⁵⁸⁶

Burial and Epigraphy



Finally, the conventions of epigraphic commemoration reveal a great deal about the epigraphic habit of a particular group; in this case, the Imperial household. After determining each individual's role in the inscription – whether as the individual being commemorated, the individual dedicating the inscription, or an individual named but

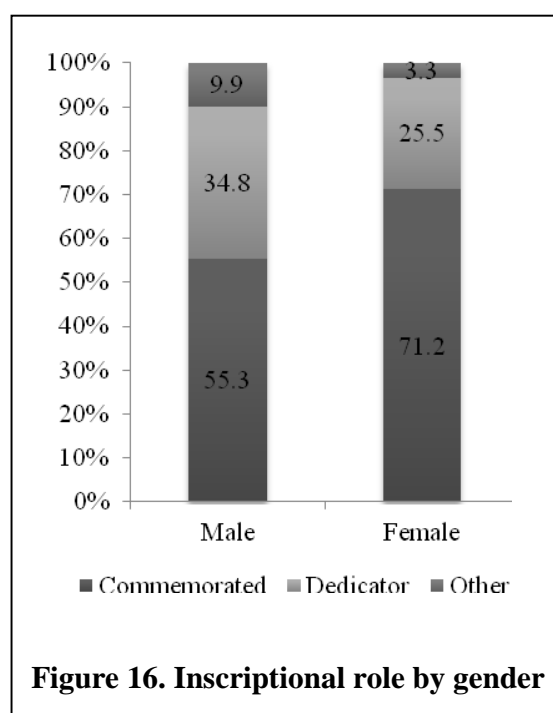
⁵⁸⁴ CIL 3, 00560 (= InscrAtt 00014). The inscription is bilingual, with the Latin half identifying his patron and the Greek half identifying his occupation: *M(arcus) Antonius Antoniae Drusi l(ibertus) / Tertius // Μάρκος Αντώνιος Τέρτιος / Παιανιεύς*.

⁵⁸⁵ CIL 11, 03083 = CIL 14, *00409 = D 05373 = SupIt-01-FN, 00010 (*magister Augustales* in Falerii, Etruria), CIL 5, 03404 (*sevir* in Verona, Venetia and Histria), CIL 3, 02097 = CIL 3, 08585 (*sevir* in Salona, Dalmatia), AE 1982, 00765 = CIA 00023 = LIA 00021 = AE 2008, +00057 & CIA 00024 = LIA 00022 = AE 1982, 00766 = AE 2008, +00057 (*duumvir* in Lissus, Dalmatia).

⁵⁸⁶ Mouritsen 2005.

uninvolved in the actual creation of the inscription – several patterns became clear. The relative proportions of these inscriptional roles in the entire sample are illustrated in Figure 15.

First, gender had a significant impact on the role an individual had in the inscription itself; the distribution is presented in Figure 16. Men were significantly more likely to dedicate inscriptions (35%) than women (26%) or to be otherwise mentioned (10% for men versus 3% for women), while women were more likely to be commemorated (71% for women versus 55% for men).⁵⁸⁷ Women



appear less frequently in inscriptions in general, only comprising about a third of the names in inscriptions, and when they are actually named, they are more likely to have a passive, commemorative role. On the other hand, men, especially within the *familia Caesaris*, are more likely to play a prominent role resulting in high social status (by holding influential civil service posts, for example). As a result, they are more likely to be able to afford epigraphic commemoration for themselves and their families, as well as more likely to be named in the inscriptions of other connections, such as those of their slaves and freed slaves, thereby producing the pattern seen above.

⁵⁸⁷ p = 0.000.

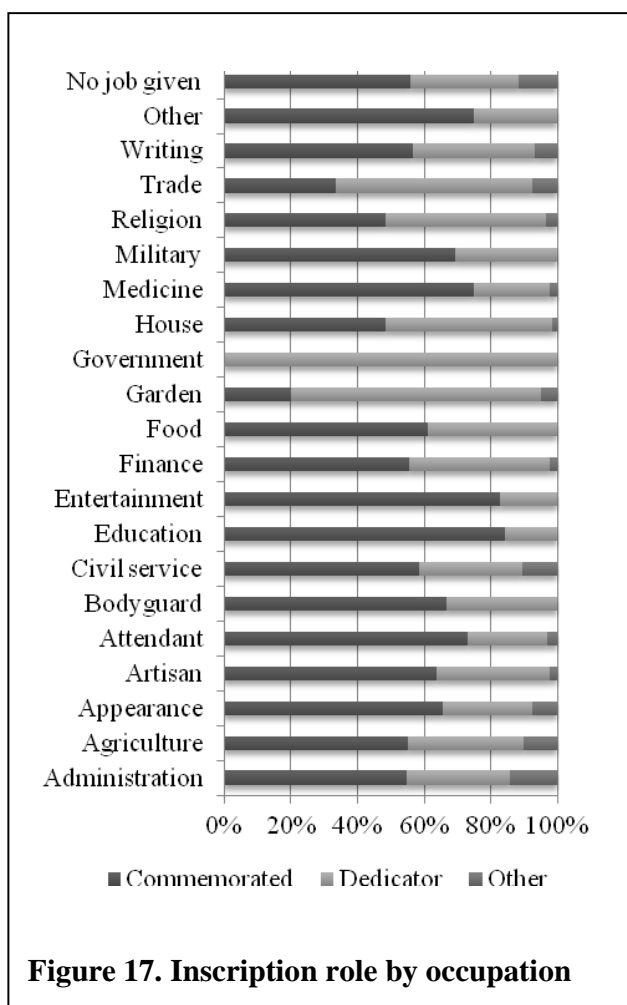


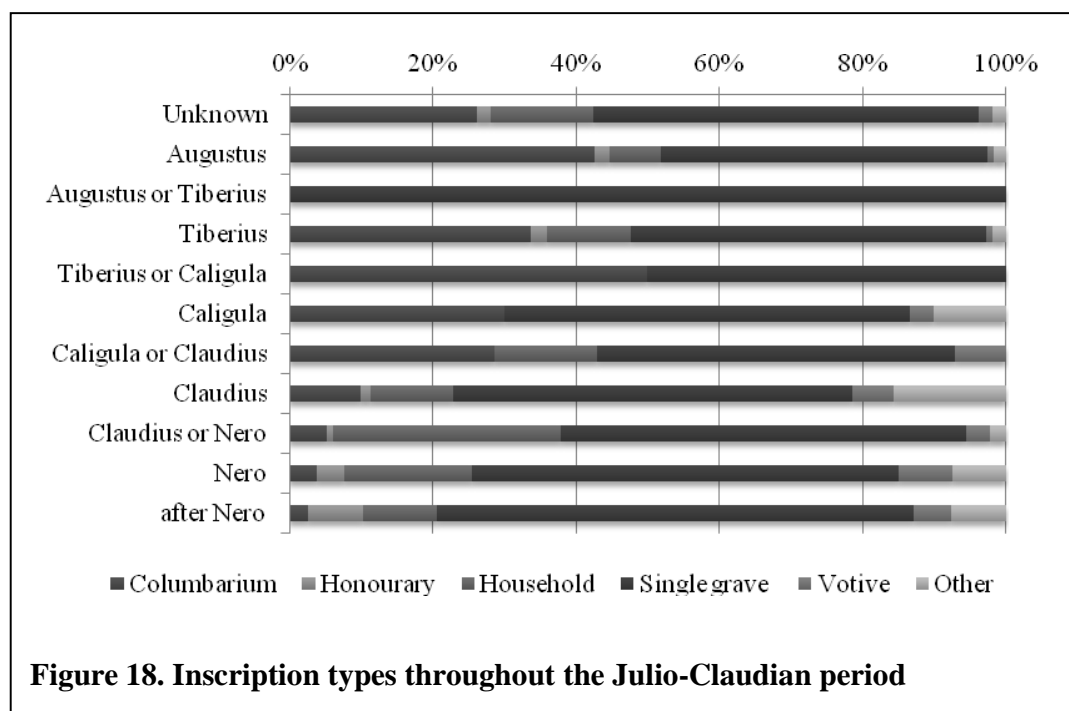
Figure 17. Inscription role by occupation
 (42%), garden (75%), government (100%), house (50%), religion (48%), or trade (59%) categories are more likely to be dedicators, and administrators (14%) are more likely to appear in other capacities.⁵⁸⁸

The distribution of inscription types, which has already been discussed above,⁵⁸⁹ is unevenly spread across the reigns of the Julio-Claudian emperors (Figure 18).⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁸ p = 0.000.

⁵⁸⁹ pp. 98-99.

⁵⁹⁰ The small numbers of inscriptions belonging to one of two consecutive reigns reveal comparatively little due to their low numbers. The same is not true for the inscriptions that might fall into the reigns of either Claudius or Nero: there are a considerable number of these (232, compared to 2 for Augustus/Tiberius, 2



Disregarding those inscriptions which cannot be securely dated, there is a significant chronological change in the types of inscriptions in which members of the Imperial household appear.⁵⁹¹ Early in the dynasty, there is a marked preference for *columbarium* inscriptions, with 43% of the Augustan inscriptions and 34% of the Tiberian inscriptions originating in *columbaria*. By the reigns of Claudius and Nero, the preference shifts toward single grave and household inscriptions.⁵⁹²

This shift in inscription types reflects the changing nature of the *familia Caesaris*. The early preference for *columbarium* inscriptions is simply a reflection of contemporary

for Tiberius/Caligula, and 14 for Caligula/Claudius), because of the problems in separating the freed slaves of Claudius and Nero (cf. p. 295).

⁵⁹¹ p = 0.000.

⁵⁹² Single graves: 56% of Claudian inscriptions, 57% of Claudian-Neronian inscriptions, and 59% of Neronian inscriptions. Household tombs: 11% of Claudian inscriptions, 32% of Claudian-Neronian inscriptions, and 18% of Neronian inscriptions.

elite practice: several contemporary *columbaria* belonging to other elite families are extant and identifiable, and certainly others must have existed.⁵⁹³ Like other large elite families, *columbaria* connected to the Julio-Claudians provided burial space for their slaves and freed slaves, should they wish it.⁵⁹⁴ By the reigns of Claudius and Nero, Imperial slaves and freed slaves had developed a sense of their more prominent social status and seem to have acquired more wealth, leading to the establishment of household tombs of their own, including both their descendents and their own slaves and freed slaves in turn. The shift in inscription types, therefore, mirrors the development of a unique *familia Caesaris* with its own distinctive epigraphic patterns out of a collection of elite households whose burial habits reflected those of their social class.

Conclusions

The demographic characteristics, occupational trends, and epigraphic patterns of the sample illustrate its basic nature. Most notably, they highlight the fact that this sample is not representative of the original membership or staff of the *familia Caesaris*; rather, it is skewed toward the upper end of the spectrum, with roughly equal proportions of Imperial freed slaves and Imperial slaves, and considerably more individuals with occupations that are either high up in the household hierarchy or reveal a considerable degree of personal contact with the Julio-Claudians. With regard to gender distribution,

⁵⁹³ L. Arruntius (cos. 6 C.E.): CIL 6, 05931 – CIL 6, 05960. T. Statilius Taurus (cos. suff. 37 B.C.E., cos. ord. 26 B.C.E.) and his descendants: CIL 6, 06213 – CIL 6, 06790. L. Volusius Saturninus (cos. suff. 3 C.E.), his son Q. Volusius Saturninus (cos. 56), and their descendants: CIL 6, 07281 – CIL 6, 07394a. C. Annius Pollio (probably the senator charged with *maiestas* at Tac. Ann. 6.9, or his father): CIL 6, 07395 – CIL 6, 07429. M. Junius Silanus (cos. 46) and his descendants: CIL 6, 07600 – CIL 6, 07643. L. Caninius Gallus (either father or son, cos. 37 B.C.E. and cos. suff. 2 C.E., respectively): CIL 6, 07987–CIL 6, 07996.

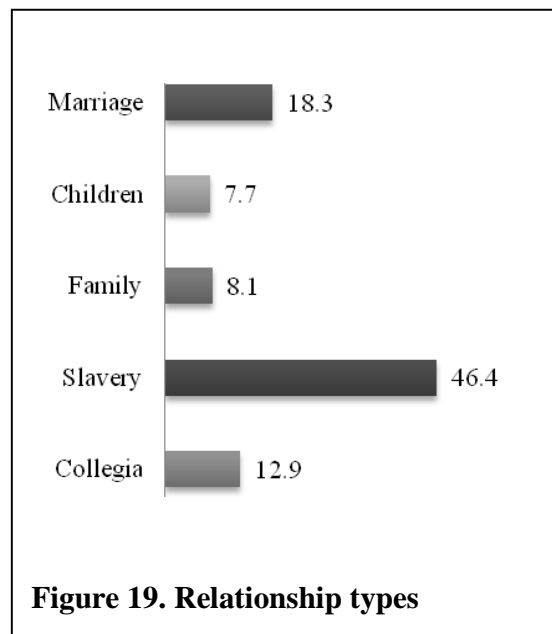
there are hints of the likely composition of the household: the present sample is significantly biased toward men, even for an epigraphic population, much as the *familia Caesaris* would have been.

The very nature of the source material highlights the *familia Caesaris* as a separate social group, one which developed considerably over the period in question and one with its own burial trends and epigraphic patterns which did not always match with the patterns found within the wider epigraphic population. There is a considerable emphasis on occupation, with highly specialized occupational titles, while the inclusion of age at death is de-emphasized. The nomenclature of the *familia Caesaris* reflects its unique nature as well as the diverse origins of its members through the use of *agnomina* to indicate former masters, a practice virtually exclusive to the Imperial household. Furthermore, chronological changes in *agnomina* stress changes in the means by which the household expanded, with slaves originally entering the Imperial household through inheritance from relatives, elite friends, and client kings; by the reigns of Claudius and Nero, the Imperial household became largely self-expanding, with considerable numbers of former slaves of Imperial freed slaves themselves. Even burial patterns shifted over the course of a century, with heavy use of *columbaria* early in the Julio-Claudian period supplanted by preference for single grave and household tombs as the Imperial household expanded and its commemoration patterns developed.

⁵⁹⁴ With regard to the Julio-Claudians' actual involvement in the funding and administration of these *columbaria* and their associated *collegia*, see above (pp. 26-27). Cf. Hasegawa 2005a, Hasegawa 2005b.

CHAPTER FIVE: RELATIONSHIPS

As is fairly common in CIL 6, a quarter of all the individuals in my sample listed only their own name in the inscription,⁵⁹⁵ so that no additional information on social relationships is available.⁵⁹⁶ For the remainder, however, a wide variety of social relationships appeared, ranging from marriage and children to relationships developed through



slavery and collegial connections. The percentage reporting each relationship type is shown in Figure 19. Each category will be discussed separately, including the demographic characteristics of the individuals on both sides of the relationship, the patterns and trends inherent to specific relationship types, and any unusual circumstances that appear in the epigraphic sources, in order to explore the social networks in which the slaves and freed slaves of the Julio-Claudians were involved.

⁵⁹⁵ I have excluded the names of Julio-Claudian masters or patrons from this count and from the servile relationships category to avoid skewing the results.

⁵⁹⁶ Nielsen (*Roman Relations*, p. 26) categorizes these as “owner” inscriptions, as they tend to be found within *columbaria* and likely record the name of the individual who owned the burial space, serving as a placeholder until the eventual epitaph could be erected. She calculates that 16% of her sample of CIL 6 was made up for such owner inscriptions (p. 49); the numbers for the present sample are slightly higher due to the over-representation of the *columbaria* (24% of the sample) relative to CIL 6 as a whole, for which she (p. 25) calculated that approximately 10% of the inscriptions in CIL 6 certainly come from the *columbaria*.

Marriage

A total of 328 individuals (18%) included information about a marital relationship in some capacity. Although the law restricted slaves' marriages, limiting *matrimonium iustum* to the free and placing slaves' marriages under the category of *contubernium*,⁵⁹⁷ I have made no such distinction here in order to reflect the practical and emotional realities of marriage among the slaves and freed slaves of the *familia Caesaris*, rather than the legal limitations to which they seem to have paid little attention.

Who recorded spouses? Everyone, as it turns out. Both men (18%) and women (22%) record spouses, in roughly equal proportions: there is no significant gender difference among Julio-Claudian household members who include information about a spouse.⁵⁹⁸ There is no significant difference between status groups either,⁵⁹⁹ most notably between the largest groups, with Imperial freed slaves (21%), Imperial slaves (17%), freed slaves (17%), and slaves (9%) reporting statistically similar marriage rates.⁶⁰⁰ This does not, of course, mean that different status groups were equally likely to marry, merely that they were equally likely to mention a spouse's name in an inscription.

As for age at death, those with spouses listed ages at death ranging from 17 to 100, with an average age at death of 39.39.⁶⁰¹ Married women reported a significantly

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. p. 34.

⁵⁹⁸ $p = 0.052$.

⁵⁹⁹ $p = 0.066$.

⁶⁰⁰ The values here illustrate the importance of statistical significance: at first glance, the percentage for slaves would seem to be significantly lower than the others, but the χ^2 test reveals that, statistically, the difference is likely due to chance.

⁶⁰¹ The standard deviation was 18.448, meaning that two-thirds of the ages fell between approximately 21 and 58 years of age.

younger age at death (29.79) than married men (44.53),⁶⁰² as well as a younger age range overall, with women's ages at death ranging from 17 to 72, and men's ranging from 25 to 100. The implication is that women typically married earlier than men,⁶⁰³ although the exact difference is impossible to determine from such limited data.⁶⁰⁴ Previous work has analysed inscriptions recording the age at first marriage and, more extensively, the ages at which men and women start being commemorated as husbands and wives instead of as sons and daughters or in order relationships.⁶⁰⁵ The results indicate that, outside the highest elite levels, women seem to have married in their late teens and men in their late twenties;⁶⁰⁶ the implication may be that men sought to establish themselves in an occupation prior to seeking a wife. This fits extremely well with the data found here, and there is no reason to suspect that the members of the *familia Caesaris* did not follow a similar pattern.

Inscriptions featuring marriage differ widely, down to the precise term used to indicate a spousal relationship.⁶⁰⁷ The distribution is given in Figure 20, and is similar to

⁶⁰² $p = 0.000$.

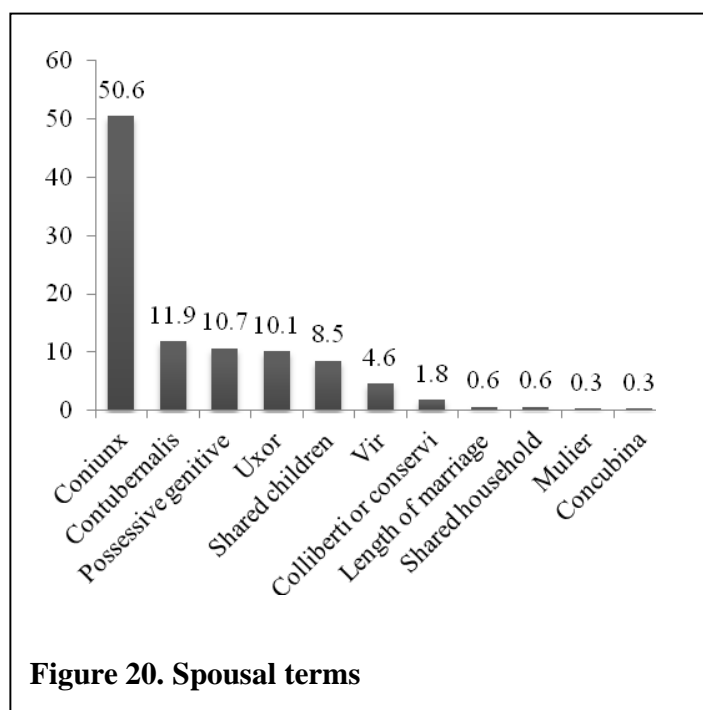
⁶⁰³ Weaver (1972, p. 108) found a similar trend for the *familia Caesaris* as a whole.

⁶⁰⁴ Saller (1987) and Shaw (1987) suggested that women generally married in their late teens, approximately a decade earlier than men, and while this may also be the case for the *familia Caesaris*, too little information is available to make any solid statements on the matter. Their sample populations did differ, both from one another and from the present sample: Saller used only inscriptions outside of Rome, in order to focus on the free population (p. 25), while Shaw focused on Rome and Italy, including slaves and freed slaves in his sample (p. 41). Cf. Scheidel 2007 for a detailed analysis of their methods and conclusions.

⁶⁰⁵ On the precise methodologies used, see Saller (1987, pp. 22-25) and Shaw (1987, pp. 34-37); it should be noted that Saller's results do not include the city of Rome itself, as he was primarily interested in the free population and purposely omitted the numerous slaves and freed slaves to be found among the inscriptions of Rome (Saller 1987, p. 25).

⁶⁰⁶ Saller 1987, p. 29; Shaw 1987, p. 43.

⁶⁰⁷ It should be noted that I only took *conservi* and *colliberti* as married couples when other indications of such a relationship were also present. Cf. Penner 2007, pp. 80-89.



the distribution of terms in CIL 6 as a whole,⁶⁰⁸ with an emphasis on those terms – such as *contubernalis* or the possessive genitive – which appear most often within the *columbaria* of the first century C.E. Very few individuals (3%) noted the length of marriage:⁶⁰⁹ these ranged from

3 years to 50 years, with an average of 30.25,⁶¹⁰ considerably longer than is typical for Rome.⁶¹¹

Status and Marriage

The impact of status on the choice of marital partner has been discussed at length,⁶¹² including the atypical patterns found within the *familia Caesaris*.⁶¹³ Weaver's extensive analysis concludes that in the early days of the Empire, Imperial slaves and

⁶⁰⁸ Rawson 1974; Treggiari 1975a; Treggiari 1981; Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010, p. 229ff.

⁶⁰⁹ The proportion of spouses reporting length of marriage is lower than for the epigraphic population in general (7.5%), but typical for the first century as a whole and the Julio-Claudian period in particular (Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010, p. 252, p. 277).

⁶¹⁰ The values given were: 3 years, 8 years, 21 years, 22.5 years, 34 years, 36 years (twice), 46 years (for two members of the Julio-Claudian household), and 50 years.

⁶¹¹ Shaw (2002, p. 240) calculated that the average marriage lasted only 14 years. Cf. Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010, p. 414.

⁶¹² Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010, pp. 230-234.

⁶¹³ On marriage in general: Rawson 1974, Treggiari 1981. On the *familia Caesaris* in particular: Weaver 1972, pp. 105-136, pp. 179-195; Evans-Grubbs 1993, p. 128; Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010, pp. 272-274.

freed slaves tended to marry within (or close to) the Imperial household;⁶¹⁴ by the reign of Claudius, there was an increasing tendency to marry freeborn women, corresponding with the gradually-increased social status of the Imperial slaves and freed slaves.⁶¹⁵ This increased social status seems to have applied to all members of the *familia Caesaris* rather than simply those with high-ranking occupations within the civil service: Weaver found no difference in the status of wives when the relative importance of their husbands' occupations was taken into consideration.⁶¹⁶

As the present study focuses on the Julio-Claudian period, a more detailed picture can emerge illustrating the development of the typical marriage pattern of the *familia Caesaris*. Figure 21 illustrates the overall distribution of spouses' recorded status in the sample; this does not differ for spouses who are commemorated as compared to spouses who are

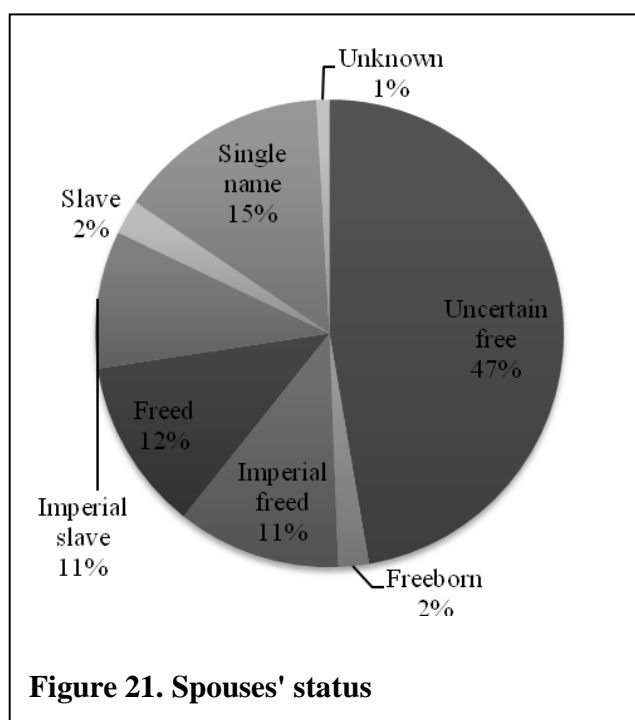


Figure 21. Spouses' status

dedicators,⁶¹⁷ indicating that the high proportion of free spouses is not an artefact of Imperial slaves and freed slaves emphasizing their own high social status by highlighting

⁶¹⁴ Weaver 1972, p. 121.

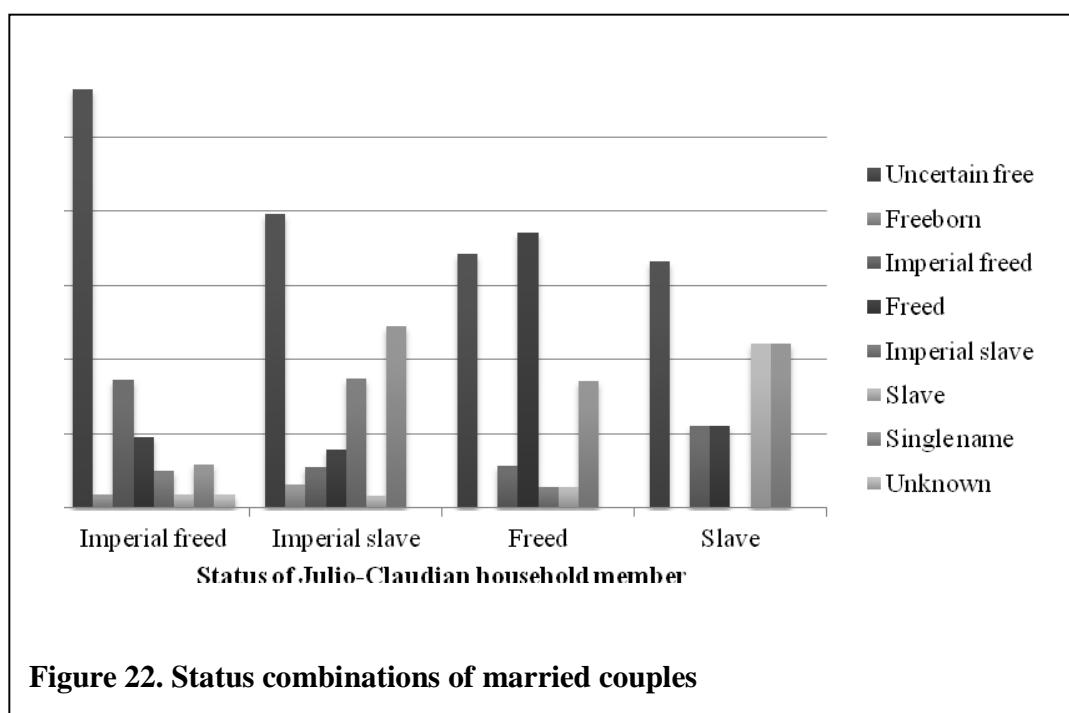
⁶¹⁵ Ibid., p. 133.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., p. 116.

⁶¹⁷ p = 0.368.

their spouses' legal status. Nearly half of the spouses (47%) are of uncertain free status, highlighting the tendency of Imperial slaves and freed slaves to “marry up” in terms of legal status as a result of their comparatively high social status. Although the number of *incerti* is high, the proportion of spouses for whom a definite status is known (37%) is actually higher than is typical for the *familia Caesaris* (11-13%).⁶¹⁸

Spouses' status, however, reveals little until it is paired with the status of the Julio-Claudian spouse in question (Figure 22).



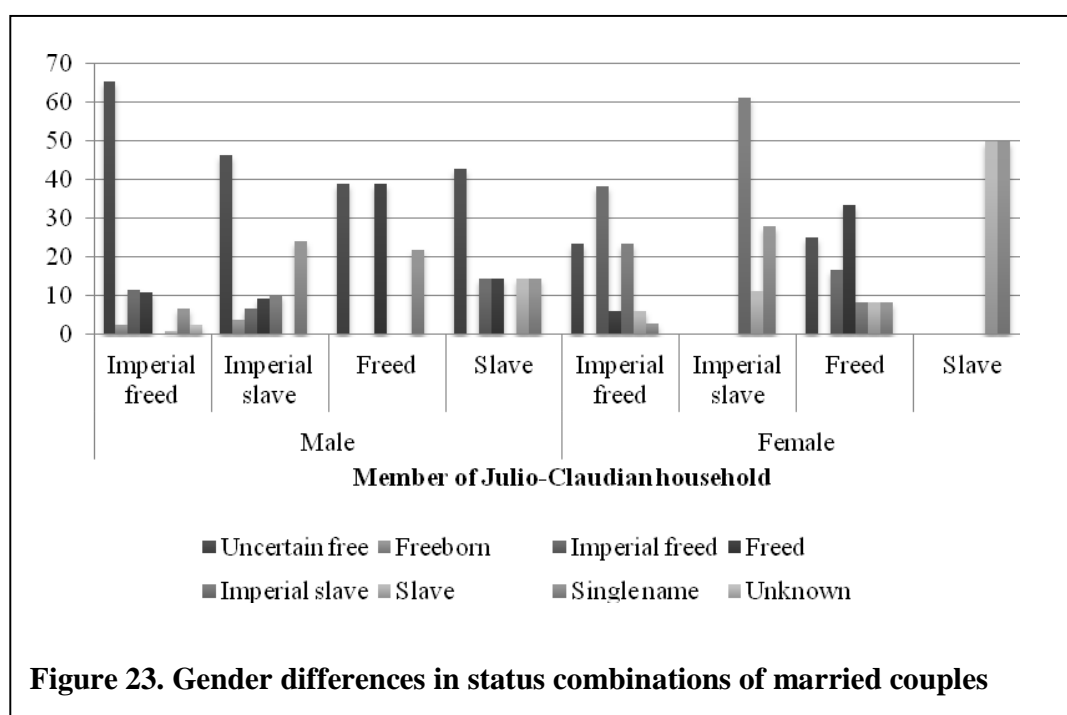
There is a slight tendency for spouses to have the same status:⁶¹⁹ that is to say, Imperial freed slaves are more likely to marry other Imperial freed slaves, Imperial slaves

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., p. 112.

⁶¹⁹ 20% of married couples report the same status: 17% of Imperial freed slaves are married to Imperial freed slaves, 18% of Imperial slaves are married to Imperial slaves, 37% of freed slaves are married to freed slaves, and 22% of slaves are married to slaves.

are more likely to marry Imperial slaves, and so forth. The tendency for Imperial freed slaves (2%) and Imperial slaves (3%) to marry freeborn individuals also appears, and the contrast with the complete lack of freeborn spouses among the freed and slave individuals in the sample is striking.

However, a comparison of the wives of male household members and the husbands of female household members paints a more complicated picture (Figure 23), with considerable gender differences in marriage patterns.

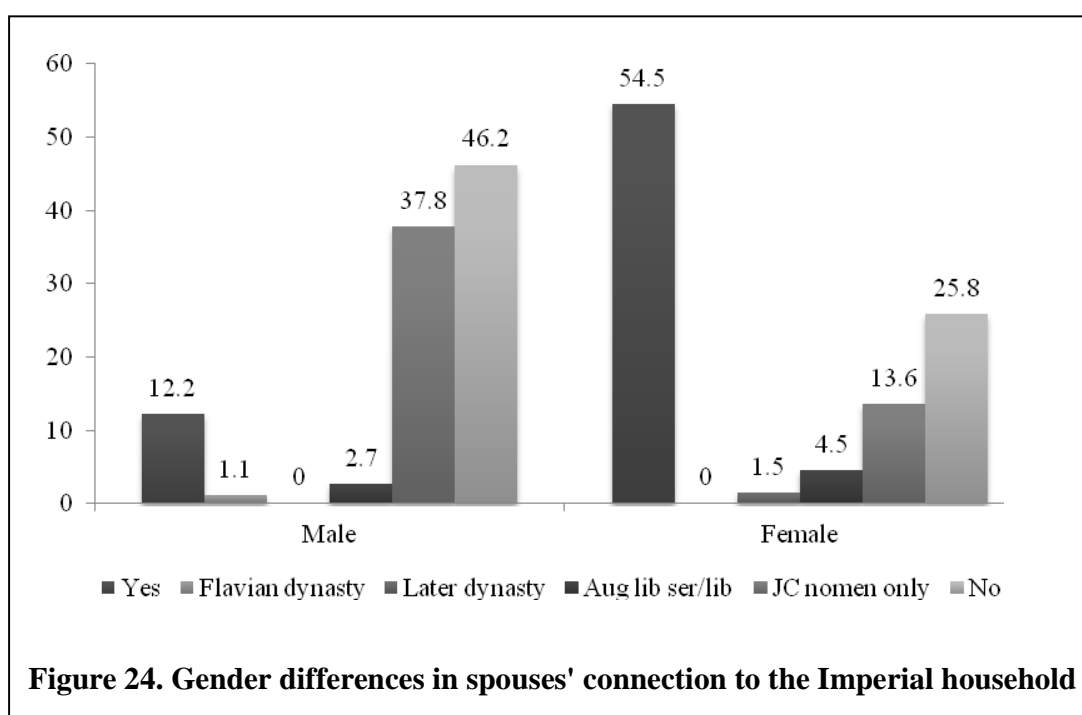


Women are significantly more likely to record a spouse of the same legal status or, in fact, of lower status,⁶²⁰ whereas men frequently record spouses of higher legal

⁶²⁰ The latter situation may well be on purpose: for a married pair of slaves, purchasing the woman's freedom before the man's is less expensive and has the potential to increase the number of freeborn children of the union. Cf. p. 44.

status:⁶²¹ 32% of Imperial freedwomen are married to men of slave status (whether Imperial or not), as compared to only 7% of Imperial freedmen, and all the Imperial slave women report spouses of slave status, while 62% of Imperial slave men report spouses of free status. Clearly, the increased social status resulting from a connection with the *familia Caesaris* only affected men's marital patterns and was not a general trend for all Imperial slaves and freed slaves.

More specifically, women were far more likely to select their spouses from within the *familia Caesaris* (Figure 24).



Among those who recorded a marital relationship, the majority of women (61%) married men who were directly connected to the *familia Caesaris*; only a quarter of them

⁶²¹ p = 0.000.

(26%) definitely married outside the Imperial household. Conversely, nearly half of married men (46%) married women without any explicit affiliation to the Imperial household, while relatively few (16%) chose wives with definite connections to the *familia Caesaris*. For both men and women, these need not be spouses with the same owner or patron; in fact, a considerable minority (34%) of those whose spouses were also affiliated with the Imperial household married individuals with a different owner or patron, but who still fell within the extended Julio-Claudian household.

There are numerous benefits for both the elite owner or patron and the slave or freed slave which would promote the tendency for spouses to come from within the Imperial household. The selection of a spouse from within the same household would decrease the chances of a relationship suffering the destabilizing effects of slavery, as the owner's control extended over both partners rather than only one. An owner might be more likely to take personal relationships into consideration when arranging sales or other slave transfers if both partners belonged to the same household, particularly given the potential for such relationships to produce economically-valuable *vernae*. Where different Julio-Claudians were involved, these tend to be very closely related,⁶²² generally spouses, parents and children, or siblings; it seems plausible that there would have been at least a minor degree of coordination between the administrations of individual households, particularly as the overlapping households frequently shared the same physical residence. In addition, as the household of origin would have formed the primary social network for the majority of slaves or freed slaves – particularly in the case

⁶²² Cf. p. 360.

of large elite households such as those under consideration here – simple proximity would have encouraged the development of marriages among the slaves and freed slaves of the same household. It would be in the owner’s interest as well to encourage such internal marriages, and even to arrange them in order to reap the potential benefits to the household. Marriage to a fellow slave or freed slave had the potential to increase an individual’s personal connection to the household and thus his or her loyalty and contentment; on a financial level, these marriages would have produced *vernae* for the household, a highly valuable investment.

The remaining spouses, for both men (38%) and women (14%), have *nomina* that belong to the extended Julio-Claudian dynasty – Iulius, Claudius, or Livius, for example⁶²³ – but no explicit status indicator linking them directly to the Imperial household. There are several possibilities that likely contribute to such high proportions of these particular *nomina*. First, the usage of these *nomina* was not restricted to the Julio-Claudian dynasty. This seems an obvious statement, but it is far too simple to assume that a wife named “Iulia” or a husband named “Claudius” must be directly connected to the Julio-Claudians as well, when in fact their origins may lie in the other branches of the families in question, either elite or non-elite. Such an assumption would be little more than a guess, and in order to remain conservative and avoid skewing the data, I have avoided such assumptions and merely noted the possession of a related *nomen* rather than assuming that it indicates a direct connection to the Imperial

⁶²³ I included in this category all *nomina* found within the group I designated as the extended Julio-Claudian dynasty, provided that the *nomina* had entered the dynasty by the time period in question (for example, the *nomen* Statilius entered the Julio-Claudian dynasty with Stilia Messalina’s marriage to Nero in 66, so that within the context of an Augustan inscription, it would not be a Julio-Claudian *nomen*).

household. Second, because only a minority of the epigraphic population provides a specific status indicator,⁶²⁴ some of these spouses – particularly the wives – may be concealed Imperial freed slaves, who simply omitted their status indicator. Finally, due to the continued involvement of Imperial freed slaves in the *familia Caesaris*, it is certainly plausible that their freeborn children would develop a connection to the Imperial household and would consider its members to be potential spouses; Weaver has demonstrated the tendency of Imperial freedmen to marry freeborn wives with *nomina* belonging to an earlier dynasty or emperor, many of whom are likely the freeborn daughters of earlier Imperial freedmen.⁶²⁵

Beyond the *familia Caesaris* itself, Weaver has proposed that Imperial freedmen took advantage of the legal protections granted in cases of *manumissio matrimonia causa*, by choosing spouses from among their own slavewomen.⁶²⁶ This was relatively rare among the epigraphic population as a whole: Jeppesen-Wigelsworth's study of over two thousand wives in CIL 6 includes only 27 cases (1% of the total) in which a wife was freed by her husband, although the study is limited to wives commemorated by their husbands rather than to marriages in general. But how frequent was this practice among the *familia Caesaris* in the Julio-Claudian period? There are a total of five instances (1% of the total) in which a woman appears as both *coniunx* and *liberta* in the present sample, hardly a significant pattern and comparable to that found for the wider epigraphic population; furthermore, two of these involve freedmen of an Imperial freed slave rather

⁶²⁴ Only about 20% to 30% of all names specify legal status (Huttunen 1974, p. 129, p. 138).

⁶²⁵ Weaver 1972, pp. 130-133.

than Imperial freed slaves themselves and may not reflect the pattern for the Imperial household itself. While four of the cases are unambiguous,⁶²⁷ one of them may in fact reveal another possible relationship pattern:

*Dis Manibus / Claudiae Stepteni vix(it) / annis LXXII fecit
Ti(berius) / Claudius Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Nympho/dotus
patronus et contub/ernalis co(n)iugi suae kar/issimae bene
meritae de se / cum qua vix(it) ann(os) XLVI sibi et suis /
posterisque eorum (CIL 6, 15598)*

To the gods of the dead. To Claudia Stepte, who lived 72 years, Ti. Claudius Nymphodotus, Imperial freedman, her patron and spouse, made this for his dearest wife, well-deserving of it, with whom he lived for 46 years, and for himself, and for his relatives and for their descendents.

Weaver assumes that Stepte was freed, *matrimonia causa*, at age 26,⁶²⁸ while Treggiari argues that the relationship may have pre-dated Nymphodotus' manumission.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁶ Ibid, p. 100, pp. 210-211. The latter circumstance can never have produced the majority of marriages: Weaver acknowledges that approximately 80% of the wives of Imperial slaves already have a *nomen* prior to their partner's manumission (p. 114).

⁶²⁷ CIL 6, 08801 (= AE 2000, +00132): *D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berius) Cla(u)dius / Crescens / Actes l(ibertus) cursor / Musae lib(ertae) / idem coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) / fec(it) et sibi et suis / v(ixit) a(nnos) XXII. CIL 6, 09044 (= D 07355): C(aius) Iulius Aug(usti) l(ibertus) / Narc[issus] a specularis decu[r](io) in] / sac[er]dotio in a]rcam publicam o[b] / cert[amina(?)] c]ontulit HS X(milia) et cena/ticum dedit sacerdotibus et hono[r]atis et decurionib[us] duplum item / [ob de]dication(m) imaginis suae cenati/[cu]m duplum dedit huic sacer/dotales decuriones decreverunt / uti Iu[lia Egl]oge contubernalis / eius [in numer]o decurionum / recit[aretur] // Iu[lia] / Narcis[si] l(iberta) Egloge] / huic sacer[dotales decuriones] / in honore[m Narcissi decurio] / natum grat[uitum] decreverunt / honore ac[cepto] sacerdotibus / et honorat[is] et decurionibus / cenaticum [duplum dedit et HS X(milia)] / in sacerdo[tio] ob certamina(?) / in arcam [publicam contulit et] / sacerdotib[us] et honoratis / [e]t decurion[ibus] cenaticum duplum / [de]dit et plebi [ob dedicationem imaginis] / [i]tem sacerdotibus et honoratis et / de[curio]nib(us) cenat [duplum dedit]. CIL 6, 10172 (= D 05152 = EAOR-01, 00033 = Gummerus-01, 00116): Eutyclus / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / Neronianus / medicus ludi / matutini fecit sibi et / Irene lib(ertae) coniugi / carissimae / bene meritae et / libertis libertabusq(ue) / posterisque / eorum // Eutyclus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Neronianus medicus ludi matutini fecit sibi et Irene lib(ertae) / coniugi carissimae bene meritae et libertis libertabusq(ue) posterisque eorum. (cf. CIL 6, 10173 = EAOR-01, 00034 = Gummerus-01, 00117). CIL 6, 14987: *D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berio) Claudio / Crispo Act(es) n(ostrae) l(iberto) / Phoebe liberta / coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) / fecit v(ixit) a(nnos) XXXV // D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berius) Claudius / Crispus Act(es) n(ostrae) l(ibertus) / et Phoebe mater / Fortunato filio / fecer(unt) qui v(ixit) a(nnos) XV / men(ses) V.**

⁶²⁸ Weaver 1972, p. 109.

⁶²⁹ Treggiari 1981, pp. 48-49.

The combination of *patronus*, *contubernalis*, and *coniunx* is unusual, and, in my opinion, supports Treggiari's interpretation by emphasizing the equal nature of a *contubernium* relationship rather than the power differential of a *patronus-liberta* marriage. It is most likely that Stepte and Nymphodotus, prior to manumission, were *contubernales*; after his manumission, he purchased his *contubernalis* in order to free her. The continued usage of the term *patronus*, however, would seem to emphasize the power differential within the relationship as well as the respect and duty inherent in the patronal relationship, although it is possible that this is simply an indication of the dual nature of the relationship, particularly as such dual relationship indicators occur with family members as well.⁶³⁰

The possibility remains that other *patronus-liberta* marriages have been concealed by the omission of the patron's name; in order to reveal these potentially-hidden *patronus-liberta* marriages, I also determined, for each recorded marriage, whether it was at all possible for one spouse to have manumitted the other, or whether other factors prevented such a relationship, such as the identity of another patron, differing *nomina*, or impossible status combinations.⁶³¹ Taking such factors into consideration, there were only another thirty-nine cases (12% of the total) in which such a relationship was even possible.⁶³² It is unlikely that all, or even most of these, conceal manumission

⁶³⁰ Within the present sample, there are examples of a man freeing his son and brother (CIL 6, 22423), a man freeing his sister (AE 1946, 00099 = AE 1946.+00173), and a man freeing his mother together with one of his *colliberti* (CIL 6, 03939 = D 07548 and CIL 6.03940 = AE 1992, +00092, & CIL 6, 03938 = AE 2000, +00132).

⁶³¹ Neither a freeborn woman nor a slavewoman could have been freed by her husband, and neither could a male slave have freed his wife.

⁶³² And in fact, three of these represent husbands who could have potentially been freed by their wives, a situation which the law allowed, but of which it did not approve. Cf. Evans-Grubbs 1993.

matrimonia causa; in fact, it is far more likely that they conceal either Julio-Claudian freedwomen who have not included their status or freeborn daughters of Julio-Claudian freedmen.

Occupation and Marriage

On the most basic level, the presence or absence of an occupation seems to have had little impact on the reporting of a marriage for both men and women within the *familia Caesaris*.⁶³³ This contrasts with the epigraphic population as a whole, in which married women are less likely to report an occupation than unmarried women.⁶³⁴ The lack of interest in women's occupations outside of marriage clearly did not extend to the Imperial household, in which occupation was a key determinant of role and position, for both men and women.

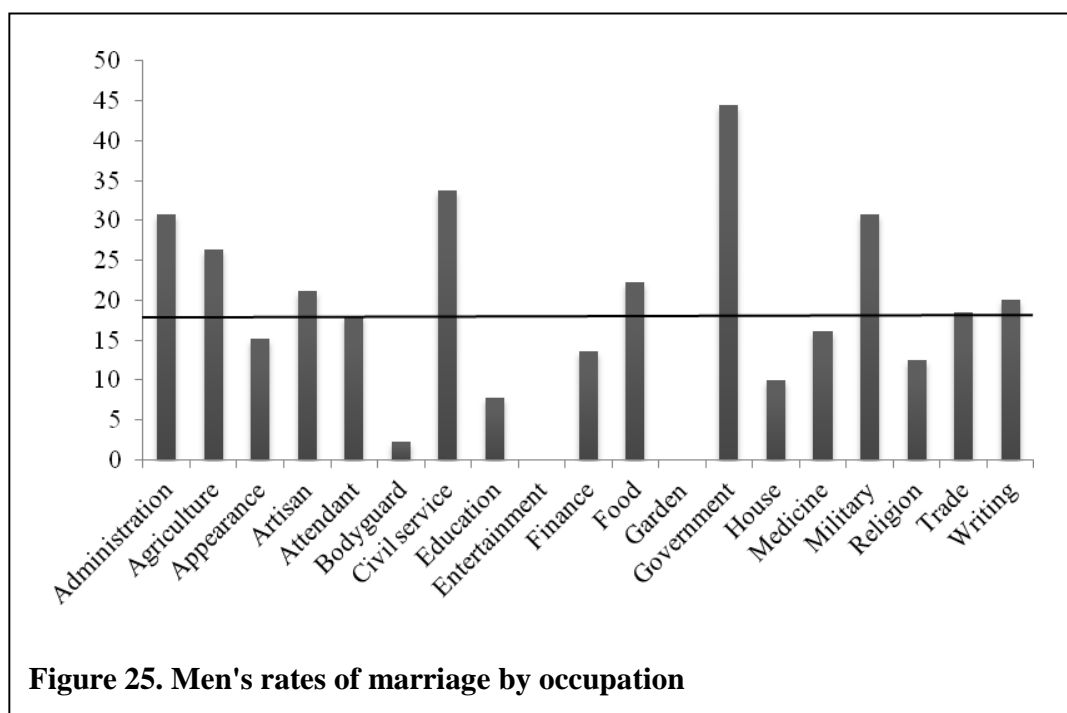
A deeper analysis, however, reveals different marital patterns among men and women who also report occupations. Men's occupational categories have a significant impact on the presence or absence of a marital relationship,⁶³⁵ while women's occupational categories have no such effect,⁶³⁶ largely due to the small sample size.⁶³⁷ Figure 25 shows the marriage rates for men's occupational categories, with the overall marriage rate for all the men in the sample (18%) indicated by the line.

⁶³³ For the sample as a whole, 47% of men and 22% of women report occupations; for those who are married, 52% of men and 20% of women report occupations.

⁶³⁴ Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010, pp. 219-220.

⁶³⁵ $p = 0.000$.

⁶³⁶ $p = 0.693$.



The categories with exceptionally high or exceptionally low marriage rates are clearly apparent. Men who worked in administration, agriculture, civil service, government, or the military are far more likely to report a wife as well, while men who worked as bodyguards, educators, entertainers, or gardeners are far less likely to report a wife. These occupations' relative importance and their position within a household's internal hierarchy make it clear that men in occupations which involved a greater level of responsibility or which bestowed a higher level of social status were more likely to marry, or even to consider the possibility of marriage or the creation of their own household.⁶³⁷ As a result of the heavily male population necessary to staff an elite

⁶³⁷ Only fourteen women report both an occupation and a spouse, far too few to compare their occupational categories.

⁶³⁸ Flory 1978, pp. 87-88.

household,⁶³⁹ men seeking wives would have outnumbered women seeking husbands, shifting the power of choice into the hands of the female staff; women could easily expect to find a spouse within the household and had the luxury of choice, whereas men faced either increased competition for partners within the household or the prospect of finding a spouse outside the household (certainly a possibility for the *familia Caesaris*, as I have already discussed),⁶⁴⁰ if they were to marry at all. This is reflected in the epigraphic material as well. Notably, the high proportion of marriages among agricultural workers corresponds with the actual job titles they use and what we know about elite land management techniques: the majority (70%) are estate managers of some type – *vilici*, *subvilici*, or *saltuarii* – workers whom the agricultural writers recommend be allowed to marry and even provided with a spouse.⁶⁴¹

Unusual Circumstances

While it is widely acknowledged that remarriage would have been relatively common in Rome due to high mortality rates and the simplicity of divorce, such relationships are rarely visible in the epigraphic material, as inscriptions capture a snapshot rather than the entire course of an individual's life. Occasionally, however, we get a glimpse of the realities and instabilities of Roman marriage, as the relationships in this example illustrate:

*Staphylo / Aug(usti) a manu / verna(e) / Caprin(a)e /
Munatia / [L]ycnia / uxor eadem / soror patruelis / fecit //
Munatiae / Lychnidi / Scaevae / Anthemi / uxori<s=I> //*

⁶³⁹ There were simply more jobs available to men than to women (Treggiari 1979b, pp. 190-191; Flory 1978, pp. 87-88), and the staffing needs of an elite household reflect this, although some variation is possible (cf. pp. 362-363).

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. pp. 160-162.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. p. 53.

*Antemo Ti(beris) / Caesaris Aug(usti) l(iberto) / a
rationi[b(us)] / accenso delat(o) / ab Aug(usto) Q(uinto)
Munatio / Salutari / quem pro filio / habuerunt / Anthemus /
et Lycinia / vixit ann(os) / XIIX (CIL 6, 08409 = AE 1995,
00100)*

To Staphylus, Imperial slave and *a manu*, born on the Imperial estate at Capreae, Munatia Lycinia, his wife and also his paternal cousin, made this. To Munatia Lycinia, daughter of Scaeva, wife of Anthemus. To Anthemus, freedman of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, *a rationibus* and *accensus* since the reign of Augustus. To Q. Munatius Salutaris, whom Anthemus and Lycinia had in the place of a son, who lived 18 years.

The language is problematic, particularly the *pro filio* and the three different spellings provided for Lycinia's name. Salutaris is unlikely to be the biological son of Anthemus and Lycinia, or even merely the son of Lycinia; it seems more likely that this is a quasi-kin relationship which had surpassed the usual terminology and was more directly comparable with the filial relationship than with any other, hence the use of *pro filio habuerunt* to indicate that they held him in a son's place. In addition, Lycinia's dual relationship with Staphylus should be noted: she was both his wife (*uxor*) and his cousin (*soror patruelis*).⁶⁴² While it is impossible to determine how frequent endogamous marriage was among the non-elite epigraphic population,⁶⁴³ this particular example reveals that, despite her non-Julio-Claudian *nomen*, Lycinia was already connected to the

⁶⁴² More specifically, she was the daughter of his father's brother (Bush 1972, p. 161).

⁶⁴³ Shaw and Saller 1984, p. 434: their discussion focuses primarily on the practice among the elite senatorial and equestrian classes, for whom such dual relationships are more easily traceable.

Imperial household prior to her marriage,⁶⁴⁴ which may in fact have been the case for a number of the freeborn wives of Imperial slaves and freed slaves.

Lycinia's multiple husbands are by no means an isolated example among the inscriptional evidence, and marriages were frequently dissolved by both death and divorce. For instance, an inscription survives from Salona, in Dalmatia,⁶⁴⁵ in which the freed slave of an Imperial freedman commemorates two wives, apparently consecutive and described as *uxor* and *uxor defuncta* respectively; he also lists a total of seven children between the two women, some of whom were freeborn and some of whom were freed. While divorce may have ended marriage, it did not always sever relationships: the inscription of a freedwoman of Livia includes her ex-husband (*prior vir*) among the commemorators,⁶⁴⁶ while a pair of related inscriptions features a non-Julio-Claudian

⁶⁴⁴ This connection most likely came through the consular Munatii: Munatius Plancus (PIR² M 0728, cos. 42 B.C.E.) is a possibility, but Munatia Plancina (PIR² M 0737) is an even better option due to her long friendship with Livia (Tac. Ann. 2.43, 2.82, 3.15, 6.26).

⁶⁴⁵ CIL 3, 02097 (= CIL 3, 08585): *C(aius) Iulius Sceptus Admeti Aug(usti) lib(erti) [l]ib(ertus) IIIIIvir Augustal(is) v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et / Iuliae Coetonidi uxori / C(aio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Admeto f(ilio) / C(aio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Aquilae f(ilio) / L(ucio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Scepto f(ilio) / Iuliae C(ai) f(iliae) Tro(mentina) Admetidi f(iliae) // C(aio) Iulio l(mulieris) l(iberto) Tr[iu]mphi f(ilio) / Iuliae C(ai) l(ibertae) Ro[m]anae f(iliae) / Iuliae l(mulieris) l(ibertae) S[ce]psidi f(iliae) / Iuliae l(mulieris) l(ibertae) Pr[im]ae uxori / defun[cta]e // Niso Ti(beri) Claudi Aug(usti) ser(vo) genero / defuncto / in h(oc) m(onumentum) veto aliter ossua / deponi quam Primae et nisi sunt // in fronte p(edes) XX i[n a]gro p(edes) XXX. The columnar layout of the inscription is difficult to see when the text is presented alone, but is clear in the print version of CIL 3 (p. 320). The arrangement of the names into columns strongly suggests that the freeborn children all belong to the second wife, and the freed children to the first wife, who is herself a freedwoman.*

⁶⁴⁶ CIL 6, 01815 (= CIL 6, 32266 = D 01926): *Q(uintus) Fabius Africani l(ibertus) Cytisus / viator quaestorius ab aerario / scr(iba) libr(arius) tribunicius scr(iba) libr(arius) / quaestorius trium decuriarum / C(aius) Calpetanus C(ai) l(ibertus) Cryphius viator / pullarius prior vir Culicinae / L(ucius) Numpidius L(uci) l(ibertus) Philomelus scr(iba) libr(arius) / q(uaestorius) III decuriarum Cytisi / frater pius et fidelis / C(aius) Proculeius C(ai) l(ibertus) Heracleo / Culicinae pater / Proculeia Stibas mater Culicinae // et / Liviae divae / Aug(ustae) l(ibertae) / Culicinae / Plasiidiana L(uci) f(ilia) / Agrestina / Calpetani Liviani / primi pil(i). Shaw (2002, pp. 233-240) discusses the potential for divorce among the lower classes and as a hole in the inscriptional evidence.*

freedwoman with an ex-husband and a current husband, both members of the Imperial household.⁶⁴⁷

However, multiple spouses are not restricted to cases of death and divorce. Five interesting inscriptions demand further discussion.⁶⁴⁸

D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berius) Claudius Aug(usti) l(ibertus) / Athictus et / Ti(berius) Claudius / Doryphorus / fecerunt / Sextiae Sp(uri) filiae Cypridi / coniugi suae / carissimae et / dignissimae de se / bene meritae / cum qua viximus concordēs / unus ann(os) XXXVI alter ann(os) XXIII / fecerunt sibi et Stibadi l(ibertae) / posterisque suis (AE 2001, 00441 = CEACelio 00227)

To the gods of the dead. Ti. Claudius Athictus, Imperial freedman, and Ti. Claudius Doryphorus made this for Sextia Cypris, a freeborn woman, their wife, dearest and most worthy and well-deserving of this, with whom we lived harmoniously, one for 36 years and the other for 23 years. They made this for themselves and for their freedwoman Stibas and for their descendants.

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Belliae / Sympherusae / L(ucius) Pomponius / Ponticus et / Trophimus / Caesaris coniugi / suae concordi / fecerunt (CIL 6, 04370)

Sacred to the gods of the dead. To Bellia Sympherusa, L. Pomponius Ponticus and Trophimus, Imperial slave, made this together for their wife.

Dis Manibus / Lucretia Didyme / mater et / Ti(berius) Claud(ius) Ones(imus) Aug(usti) l(ibertus) et / M(arcus) Anton(ius) Epaphr(oditus) fecer(unt) / filio suo

⁶⁴⁷ CIL 6, 08601 (= AE 2000, +00132): *[Dec]imiae L(uci) l(ibertae) / [Li]berali / [Ti(berius) C]laudius / [Au]gusti lib(ertus) / [Phil]ologus / [ab epist]ulis uxori / [in ho]nore. CIL 6, 08602 (= AE 2000, +00132): *M(arco) Aemilio / Lepidi lib(erto) / Felici / nomenclatori / viro priori / Decimiae L(uci) l(ibertae) / Liberalis*. She seems to have become connected to the *familia Caesaris* through her first husband, a freedman of one of the Aemilii Lepidi, and may very well have met her second husband, a freedman of either Claudius or Nero, through him.*

⁶⁴⁸ A sixth (CIL 6, 04603) might be added to these, although its interpretation is extremely unclear: *Livia Chreste / duorum Bithorum fratrum / Mai(oris) et Min(oris) Germanici*. Normally, such a possessive genitive – especially in a Julio-Claudian *columbarium* – would indicate a marital relationship.

*pietissim(o) / Q(uito) Lucretio / Pal(atina) Proc(u)lo /
vix(it) a(nnos) VIII m(enses) V d(ies) VIII* (CIL 6, 05654)

To the gods of the dead. Lucretia Didyme, his mother, and Ti. Claudius Onesimus, Imperial freedman, and M. Antonius Epaphroditus made this for their most dutiful son, Q. Lucretius Proculus, of the Palatine tribe, who lived 8 years, 5 months, and 9 days.

*Dis Manibus / Claudia Aug(usti) l(iberta) / Parata
ornatr(ix) v(ixit) a(nnos) XXVII / Ti(berius) Iulius Romanus
/ Ti(berius) Claudius Priscus / Nedimus Aug(usti) ser(vus) /
co(n)iuges(!) eius de suo* (CIL 6, 08957)

To the gods of the dead. Claudia Parata, Imperial freedwoman, a hairdresser, lived 27 years. Ti. Iulius Romanus, Ti. Claudius Priscus, and Nedimus, Imperial slave, made this for their wife out of their own money.

*Securitati sacr(um) / Iulia Phoebe sibi et / Ti(berio)
Claudio Nardo et Arphocrae Aug(usti) li(bertis)
procurator(i) / coniugibus suis de[3]* (CIL 6, 09016)

Sacred to Securitas. Iulia Phoebe made this for herself and for Ti. Claudius Nardus and for Arphocras, Imperial freedmen and *procuratores*, her husbands, from...

It is possible, although unlikely, that at least some of these inscriptions might be explained away through misinterpretation. In the third example, *filio suo* may refer back to Lucretia, and not to either of the two men, while in the fourth example, the grammar is problematic, and Parata may only be married to Nedimus. However, in the first, second, and fifth examples, the use of *concordes/concordi* and *coniugibus* is unambiguous: we are meant to understand, in all three cases, that both men considered the woman their wife. Roman law, of course, did not permit bigamy, but inscriptions are about relationships rather than the legal validity of those relationships. The particularly interesting aspect of all five inscriptions is the gender combinations: these are all

polyandrous relationships rather than polygynous relationships.⁶⁴⁹ There are no corresponding inscriptions within the *familia Caesaris* depicting a man with multiple, concurrent wives, and only one possible instance outside the Imperial household,⁶⁵⁰ although numerous inscriptions include one woman with multiple husbands,⁶⁵¹ although whether such relationships were consecutive or concurrent is frequently impossible to tell. In their discussions on such inscriptions, Rawson affirms the possibility of polyandrous relationships while remaining dubious,⁶⁵² while Treggiari and Dorken “explain away the apparent polyandry” by assuming that these refer to consecutive marriages broken by the instability of slaves’ lives rather than concurrent marriages.⁶⁵³ Among the above examples, however, the freeborn Sextia Cypris cannot possibly be explained away in such a manner; furthermore, such relationships appear unambiguously

⁶⁴⁹ Given the Roman distaste for female infidelity and indifference toward male infidelity, one would assume that a polygynous relationship would be more palatable, but this combination is in fact typical of similar inscriptions outside the Imperial household (Treggiari and Dorken 1981, p. 270).

⁶⁵⁰ CIL 6, 07297 = D 07418 (which belongs to the Julio-Claudian period, although not the Imperial household): *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Panope ornatricis / Torquat(a)e Q(uinti) Volu/si vixit annis XXII / et Phoebe a specu/lum vixit annis XXXVII / Spendo contu/bernalibus suis / bene merentibus / fecit et sibi / loc(us) d(atu)s dec(reto) decu(rionum)*. Rawson (1974, p. 287, n. 26) and Jeppesen-Wigelsworth (2010, pp. 281-282) consider these possible concurrent spouses, while Treggiari (1981, p. 62, n. 51) interprets them as consecutive spouses.

⁶⁵¹ Within CIL 6 alone and outside the present sample, see CIL 6, 05956, CIL 6, 06250 = CLE 00179, CIL 6, 06647, CIL 6, 09366 = AE 2000, +00019, CIL 6, 12406, CIL 6, 12655 (which is within the *familia Caesaris* but of uncertain date, although probably first century), CIL 6, 13268, CIL 6, 14573, CIL 6, 15443 = CIL 6, 34094 = CIL 13, *00299, CIL 6, 16362, CIL 6, 19574 = CIL 10, *00974,4, CIL 6, 20244 = CIL 6, 21709, CIL 6, 20704, CIL 6, 20871, CIL 6, 22382, CIL 6, 22425, CIL 6, 22738, CIL 6, 23733, CIL 6, 24957 (which also includes a daughter), CIL 6, 26094, CIL 6, 26451, CIL 6, 27518, CIL 6, 27874, CIL 6, 28007, CIL 6, 28534, CIL 6, 32508, CIL 6, 33666, CIL 6, 38604 (which also includes a daughter), and probably CIL 6, 34351. CIL 6, 12753, CIL 6, 26036, and CIL 6, 36456 are also possibilities, depending on the reading of the inscriptions. Cf. Rawson 1974, p. 287, Treggiari and Dorken 1981, pp. 271-272, and Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010, pp. 281-287.

⁶⁵² Rawson 1974, p. 287.

⁶⁵³ Treggiari and Dorken 1981, p. 271. Cf. Treggiari 1981, pp. 61-62.

in, at the very least, the well-known – if atypical – example of Allia Potestas.⁶⁵⁴ Jeppesen-Wigelsworth provides a number of additional examples outside the *familia Caesaris* and multiple options for their interpretation.⁶⁵⁵ These may be consecutive or concurrent – and therefore polygamous – marriages; in the case of the term *contubernalis*, a far more ambiguous term than *coniunx*,⁶⁵⁶ close friendship or some type of informal burial agreement might also be involved. As four of the five inscriptions listed above use the term *coniunx* rather than *contubernalis* or any other spousal term open to additional interpretations, it is a logical next step to conclude that polyandrous marriages were merely another possible iteration of marital relationships among the *familia Caesaris*, and were not concealed or omitted from the inscriptional record as inappropriate or shameful.

Children

While a total of 139 individuals (8%) included information about children, some of them named more than one child, so that a total of 178 children of Julio-Claudian household members were represented in the data.

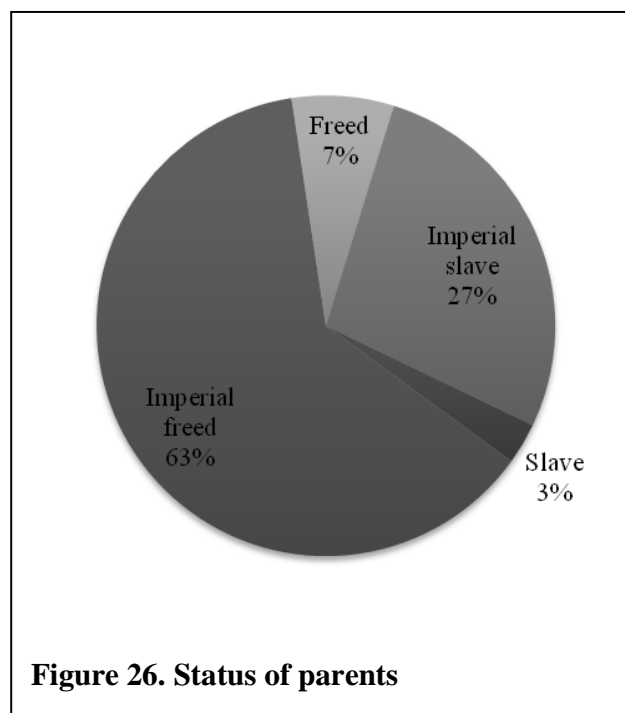
Who reported children? Women (11%) are significantly more likely than men (7%) to report children.⁶⁵⁷ This difference is largely tied to issues surrounding legal status and the impact of slavery on parents. For men, Imperial freed slaves (11%) are

⁶⁵⁴ CIL 6, 37965 (= CLE 01988 = ZPE-61-251 = AE 1913, 00088 = AE 1914, +00009 = AE 1915, +00006 = AE 1919, +00022 = AE 1919, +00050 = AE 1919, +00085 = AE 1922, +00135 = AE 1923, +00103 = AE 1929, 00100 = AE 1932, +00074 = AE 1995, +00115 = AE 1997, +00087 = AE 2003, +00198). The epitaph of Allia Potestas does not use any of the terms for spousal relationships, but the romantic relationships are clearly concurrent and of long duration, despite the lack of marriage.

⁶⁵⁵ Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010, pp. 281-287.

⁶⁵⁶ See Jeppesen-Wigelsworth's excellent discussion on the ambiguity and connotations of the term *contubernalis* (2010, pp. 258-291).

significantly more likely than Imperial slaves (4%) to report children;⁶⁵⁸ for women, status makes no difference, and Imperial freed slaves (14%) are just as likely as Imperial slaves (12%) to record children.⁶⁵⁹ This largely reflects the simple fact of biology. A woman's biological relationship with her child is undeniable, regardless of her status⁶⁶⁰ and regardless of any later



separation between the two; that is to say, at the moment of the child's birth, the identity of the mother is clearly known, whether it is recorded or acknowledged or not. By contrast, Roman fatherhood was entirely dependent on the social acknowledgement of the relationship; although complete denial of the relationship between a male slave and his biological children clearly did not happen in practice, the law technically denied such relationships to male slaves. Looking at the status distribution of parents (Figure 26), when compared to the sample as a whole, parents are more likely to be Imperial freed slaves rather than Imperial slaves. This is almost certainly a reporting bias rather than a

⁶⁵⁷ $p = 0.012$.

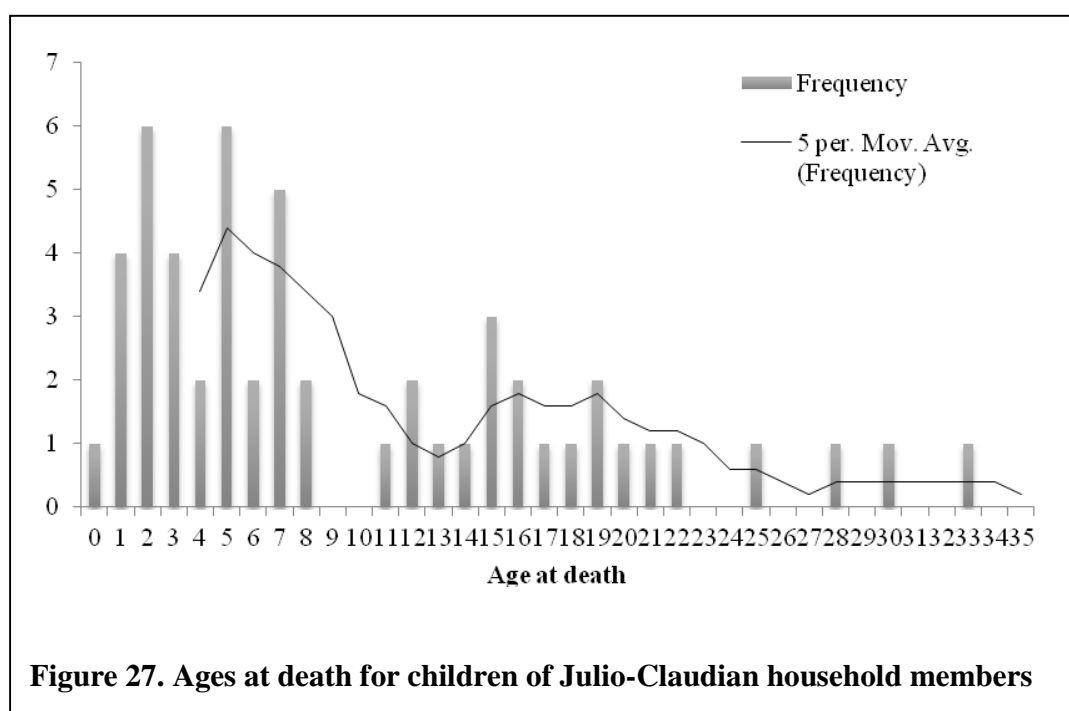
⁶⁵⁸ $p = 0.000$.

⁶⁵⁹ $p = 0.188$.

⁶⁶⁰ The possibility of *partus ancillae*, by which a female slave and her child could belong to different owners, could in fact divide the mother-child relationship, but the child's ownership status is in fact proof of its maternal relationship. See my discussion on *partus ancillae* above, p. 37, n. 155.

reflection of real birth rates, with parents who had received manumission more likely to be able to afford an inscription for a child.

The gender ratio of the children themselves is typical for epigraphic populations: 66% male and 34% female.⁶⁶¹ Thus, there is no additional preference for either sons or daughters relative to the usual epigraphic habit. In half the cases (51%), the children were commemorated by their parents; the majority of these also have an age at death provided (30% of the total, and 54% of the commemorated children), with an average age at death of 9.986.⁶⁶² The age at death distribution in Figure 27 – again with a five-point moving trendline – illustrates the emphasis on very young children, particularly those

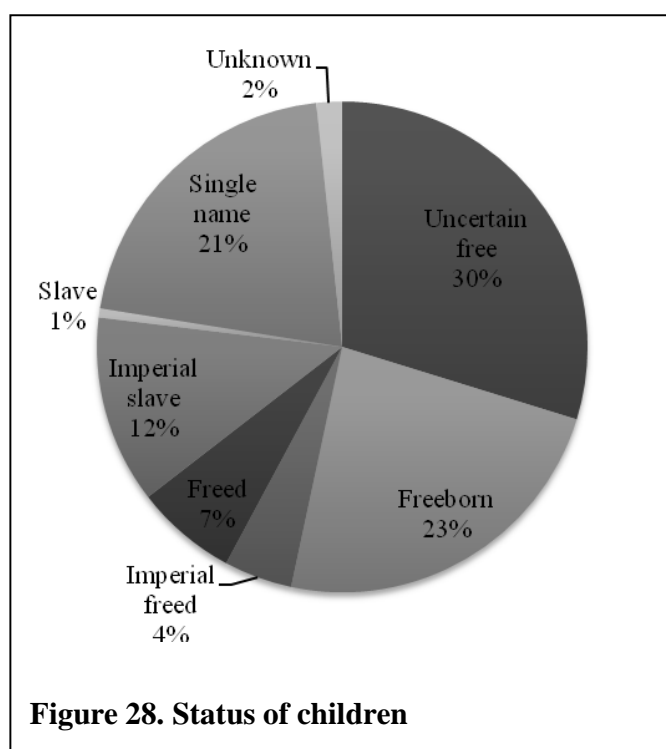


⁶⁶¹ The numbers do not add up to 100% because, in one case (CIL 14, 03743 = InscrIt-04-01, 00295), it was impossible to determine gender due to fragmentation.

⁶⁶² The standard deviation was 8.283, meaning that two-thirds of the ages fell between approximately age one and age eighteen.

under the age of five years: 43% of the children commemorated as sons or daughters in my sample were age five or less at the time of their deaths, typical for CIL 6.⁶⁶³

Roman demography featured an extremely high childhood mortality rate, with between thirty and forty percent of all children dying prior to their first birthday.⁶⁶⁴ The age at death statistics generally do not reflect this reality, with a considerable paucity of infants,⁶⁶⁵ in what is perhaps the most vivid example of the difference between populations and their mortality on one hand and epigraphic habit on the other. The extension of epigraphic commemoration to an often-uncommemorated group illustrates the strength of the epigraphic habit of the *familia Caesaris* and the importance placed on



the familial structures that developed within the context of the large household in the city of Rome.

As for status, the children's status varies enormously (Figure 28): in particular, the relatively high proportion of children who are definitely freeborn is notable due

⁶⁶³ In CIL 6, for children commemorated as sons or daughters with an age at death, 41% of daughters and 37% of sons had an age at death of five or less (Nielsen *Roman Relations*, p. 69).

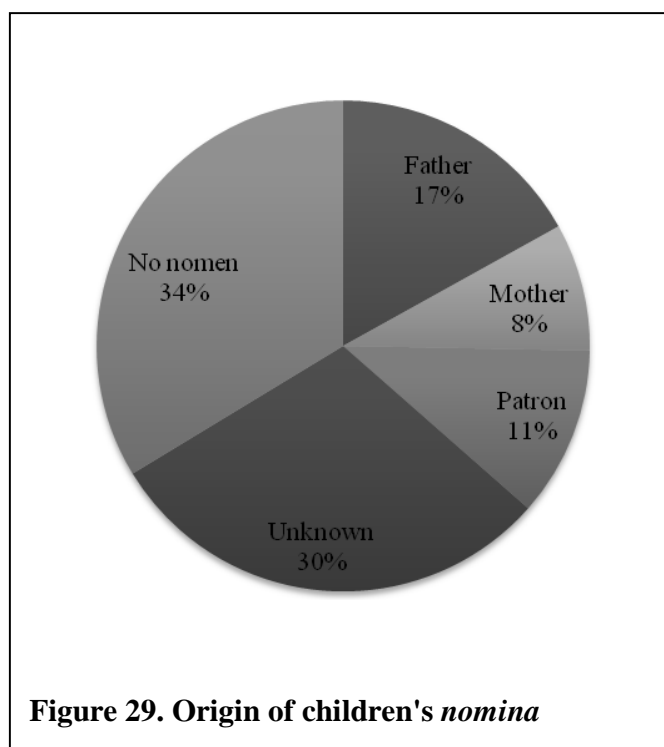
⁶⁶⁴ Frier 1982, p. 249; Golden 1988, p. 155.

⁶⁶⁵ Nielsen (*Roman Relations*, p. 68) calculated that in CIL 6, only 2% of those whose age was provided are under the age of one year, and discussed the missing infants in depth (pp. 79-80).

to the parents' status.⁶⁶⁶ All the parents in the sample spent some portion of their lives in slavery (Figure 26), although the majority of them (70%) had already been manumitted by the time their inscriptions were erected. There are two distinct possibilities for the birth of freeborn children in this population, both of which require the mother to be free, whether she is freeborn or freed.⁶⁶⁷ The specific situation is then dependent on the father's status, and thus on the legal situation of the marriage. If the father is a slave at the time of the child's birth, the marriage is a *contubernium* relationship and the child is illegitimate, receiving the mother's *nomen* and using the filiation *Sp(uri) f(ilius/a)*. If the father is freed at the time of the

child's birth, the marriage is *matrimonium iustum* and the child is legitimate, receiving the father's *nomen* and using the usual filiation with the father's *praenomen*.⁶⁶⁸

In an attempt to determine parental status at birth, I calculated the origins of children's *nomina* (Figure 29). In



⁶⁶⁶ This emphasis on the freeborn status of children is in line with Taylor's arguments about the epigraphic population in general, that a freedman's greatest achievement was his ability to pass down a Roman *nomen* to his children (1961, p. 132). The *familia Caesaris* is likely to have been particularly sensitive to issues of status.

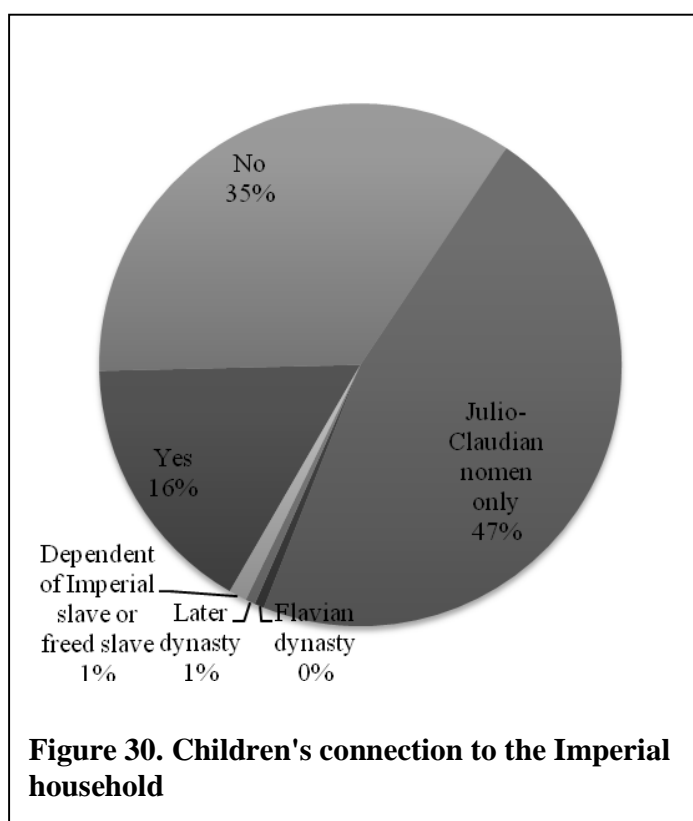
⁶⁶⁷ Cf. p. 36 on the status of children relative to the status of their parents.

⁶⁶⁸ *M(arci) f(ilius/a)*, *C(ai) f(ilius/a)*, *L(uci) f(ilius/a)*, and so forth.

many cases, the child either had no *nomen* (34%) due to slave status or the origin of the *nomen* was impossible to determine (30%), generally because the parents shared the same *nomen*. However, for the freeborn children, the ratio of legitimate to illegitimate children was approximately two to one,

with 17% obtaining their *nomen* from their father and 8% from their mother. This is a by-product of the tendency of Imperial slaves to marry free women: in 60% of these cases, the mother's *nomen* was not connected to the Julio-Claudian dynasty.⁶⁶⁹

How many of the children retained their parents'



⁶⁶⁹ The Julio-Claudian cases likely represent several marriage trends within the Imperial household. CIL 6, 08506 is a marriage between an uncertain free Iulia and a Ti. Claudius *Aug(usti) lib(ertus)* in which their three probably-adult children are all Iulii; the wife may well be the freeborn daughter of an earlier Imperial freedman. CIL 6, 08697a (= CIL 10, *01088,275) is a marriage between a slave of Octavia the Younger and an uncertain free Antonia, who is likely a freedwoman of Antonia the Younger; this identification is made more likely by the fact that the inscription was found together with a series of three inscriptions (CIL 6, 08822 = CIL 10, *01088,083 = D 01655, CIL 6, 08823 = CIL 10, *01088,084, CIL 6, 08824 = CIL 10, *01088,085) that certainly belong to the *familia Caesaris*, although those inscriptions are somewhat later in date and belong to the reigns of Caligula and Claudius (pp. 193-195). CIL 6, 15266 records a Claudia *Aug(usti) lib(erta)* and her son with illegitimate filiation; the father's identity is unknown, but he could easily have been an Imperial slave. CIL 10, 01748 records a Ti. Iulius *Sp(uri) filius* whose father is an Imperial freedman of an unspecified Julio-Claudian emperor; his unrecorded mother might have been an Imperial freedwoman in her own right, as the inscription is likely close to the reign of Tiberius, if not within it.

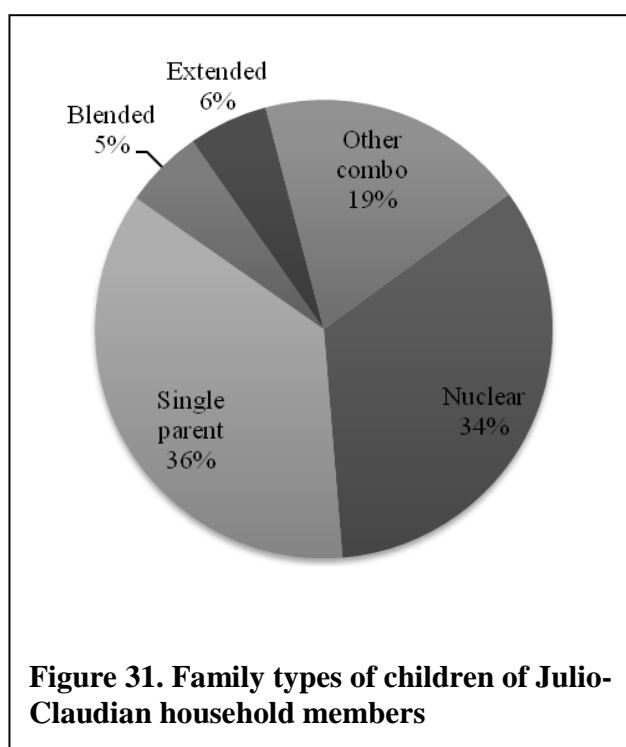
direct connection to the Julio-Claudian dynasty? Relatively few seem to have done so (Figure 30): only 19% were either Imperial slaves or freed slaves themselves, or the slaves or freed slaves of Imperial freed slaves. Nearly half (47%) are only connected to the Julio-Claudians through their *nomina*, which would have, in many cases, been little more than a result of their parents' manumission. While many would have retained informal links to the Imperial household, the vast majority retained no legal connection to the Imperial household.⁶⁷⁰ This likely contributed to the rationale for the introduction of the *SC Claudianum*, which would return these children, their parents, and their property to the control of the *familia Caesaris*, rather than losing such valuable resources after a single generation of service.

The family situations of slave and freed children have received a great deal of attention, particularly with regard to the separation of parents and children into different households.⁶⁷¹ In order to determine the types of familial structures in which the children of Imperial slaves and freed slaves were raised, I took into account the relationships of any other individuals appearing with the parent-child pair, and categorizing the entire family structure accordingly.⁶⁷² However, the living situations of children and their parents – especially within an extremely large household like the *familia Caesaris*, where

⁶⁷⁰ Two sons of Claudian freedmen appear in the literary sources with ongoing connections to the *familia Caesaris*: Claudius Etruscus, whose father was exiled by Domitian (Mart. 6.42, 6.83, 7.40, Stat. Silv. 1.5, 3.3), and Claudius Senecio, who was himself an intimate of Nero before his participation in the Pisonian conspiracy (Tac. Ann. 13.12, 15.50, 15.56-57, 15.70). Weaver (1972, pp. 282-294) discusses the career of Etruscus' father at length.

⁶⁷¹ Cf. Rawson 1966, Treggiari 1975a, Bradley 1991 (especially pp. 125-155), Dixon 1999. Dixon (1999, p. 219) acknowledges that children might be separated from their parents on a daily basis in order to permit a slave mother to continue working, by sending the child elsewhere to be raised, although both remained within the same technical household.

smaller familial units existed within the context of the larger household – are not necessarily reflected by their epigraphic situations;⁶⁷³ we can only know about the types of familial relationships in which children appear epigraphically rather than provide a list of the specific individuals with whom they lived. Obviously, the latter would be preferable, but the former is revealing nonetheless: the presence or absence of particular relationships in an epigraphic context would have mirrored, to a certain degree, the relative importance of those same relationships within daily life, although the lack of one parent within an inscription does not necessarily indicate that the other parent played no role in the child's life, as financial considerations may have contributed to the choice of



words in an epitaph.

Because the nature of the categories I used for categorization, at least one parent was attested for each child. As a result, I was able to use very specific familial categories, as shown in Figure 31.⁶⁷⁴ The children fall into three separate groups of roughly equal size: those who appear in exclusively nuclear families with both parents present

⁶⁷² Martin 1996, p. 45. I have further subdivided the nuclear category into full and partial structures, which Martin admits is a problem with the “nuclear” category in general (pp. 51-52).

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

⁶⁷⁴ For the criteria used to assign children to each category, see p. 106.

(34%), those who appear in single-parent families with only one parent present (36%),⁶⁷⁵ and those who appear in family structures with other individuals beyond parents and siblings alone (30%).⁶⁷⁶ The family types in which children appear seem to have been strongly affected by status, and more specifically, by the potentially destabilizing effects of slavery on family structures: freeborn children and Imperial freed children were more likely to appear in nuclear families, while Imperial slave children and children for whom only a single name was provided were more likely to appear in single-parent families.⁶⁷⁷ For freeborn children, both parents would have been freed prior to the child's birth in order for the child to be freeborn, the nuclear family as a whole would be less subject to the destabilizing effects of slavery between birth and the erection of an inscription. For Imperial freed children, it is possible that whatever factors contributed to early manumission were compounded by other privileges, including financial support or stable family life, which would also have attenuated the destabilizing effects of slavery. As for Imperial slave children and children with single names, there are two possibilities, one obvious and one less so. It is possible that the lower number of nuclear families may indicate an actual destabilization, so that children who remain in slavery are simply less likely to remain with both of their parents. However, it is also possible that at least some of the difference is little more than a product of the epigraphic habit. We cannot necessarily assume that just because a father or a mother dedicates an inscription to a deceased child alone, without the other parent being named in the inscription, that this

⁶⁷⁵ There is no difference between single mothers (28%) and single fathers (72%) relative to the parents as a whole ($p = 0.467$).

⁶⁷⁶ This could mean step-parents or step-siblings (6%), additional relatives such as grandparents, uncles, or cousins (6%), or other individuals such as parents' *colliberti*, freed slaves, or slaves (19%).

equates to the complete absence of the second parent in the child's life: financial considerations must have played a major role, particularly among slaves, and it is certainly possible that parents who wished to commemorate their child may have made the difficult choice to include only one name in order to be able to afford the commemoration in the first place.

Given the high levels of child mortality and the high birth rate that would be necessary in order for the population to replace itself, it comes as no surprise to find a number of sibling groups in the inscriptional evidence, and indeed, 36% of children had at least one sibling recorded. Nearly all of these appeared in groups of two or three,⁶⁷⁸ with two exceptions: a set of four siblings⁶⁷⁹ and a set of seven step-siblings, which should probably be subdivided into sets of three and four full siblings.⁶⁸⁰ Furthermore, the sheer size of the Imperial household, coupled with the probabilities of multiple

⁶⁷⁷ p = 0.001.

⁶⁷⁸ Pairs of siblings (14 pairs): AE 1913, 00194 = Gordon 00112 = NSA-1912-379 = MNR-01-02, p 46 (one male, one female); AE 1983, 00064 = LMentana 00055 (one male, one female); CIL 6, 01859 (one male, one female); CIL 6, 01921 = AE 1999, +00024 (one male, one female); CIL 6, 04173 (one male, one female); CIL 6, 06189 = CIL 6, 36108 = CLE 00997 = CLE 02120 (both female); CIL 6, 08526 = CIL 10, *00948,13 = D 01704 = ILMN-01, 00102 (one male, one female); CIL 6, 08574 = D 01501 = AE 1999, 00204 (one male, one female); CIL 6, 08697a = CIL 10, *01088,275 (both male); CIL 6, 08767 (both male); CIL 6, 08822 = CIL 10, *01088,083 = D 01655, CIL 6, 08823 = CIL 10, *01088,084, and CIL 6, 08824 = CIL 10, *01088,085 (one male, one female); CIL 6, 09030 = CIL 6, 34865a = D 07386 = AE 1969/70, +00067 (one male, one female); CIL 6, 11543 = CIL 11, *00026,14 (both male); CIL 6, 14913 (both female). Sets of three siblings (8 sets): CIL 6, 03950 (three males); CIL 6, 08451 (three males); CIL 6, 08506 (two females, one male); CIL 6, 10089 = D 01766 = EAOR-01, 00006 (two males, one female); CIL 6, 12037 (two females, one male); CIL 6, 14959 = CIL 03, *00239,23 (two males, one female); CIL 6, 26915 = ILMN-01, 00364 = Statili-3, 00019 (two females, one male); IPOstie-A.00060 = ISIS 00050 (two females, one male).

⁶⁷⁹ Inscrit-10-01, 00592: [*Iul*]ia Aug(usti) l(iberta) [*Proph*]asis / v(iva) f(ecit) sibi et / C(aio) Iulio Aplo sexvir(o) f(ilio) / C(aio) Iulio Cupito f(ilio) / Iuliae Phyllidi f(iliae) / Iuliae Apulae f(iliae) / Caristo delicato. The similar *cognomina* Aplus and Apula may reflect the unnamed father's *cognomen*.

⁶⁸⁰ CIL 3, 02097 (= CIL 3, 08585), which I have already discussed above (p. 174, n. 645). The columnar layout of the inscription and the children's status indicators suggest that the mother of the three freed children was Iulia Prima and the mother of the four freeborn children was Iulia Coetonis.

births,⁶⁸¹ means that Imperial slavewomen must have given birth to twins or other multiples, although these would rarely have survived to adulthood.⁶⁸² Aulus Gellius reports a set of quintuplets born to a slavewoman of Augustus late in his reign;⁶⁸³ neither the mother nor any of the children survived, and Augustus set up a monument to commemorate the occasion. Exceptions did occur, of course:

*[Ti(berio)] Claudio Aug(usti) l(iberto) Felici actario /
Caesaris vernaе divi Aug(usti) ex trigem(i)nis / T(iberius)
Claudius Successus patrono / [s]uo bene merenti fecit et /
Anniae Secund[ae] / [dedic]atus ab T(iberio) Claudi[o 3] /
filio su[o]* (AE 1985, 00183)

To Ti. Claudius Felix, Imperial freedman, clerk of Caesar, and homeborn slave of the divine Augustus, one of triplets. Ti. Claudius Successus made this for his well-deserving patron and for Annia Secunda, dedicated by their son Ti. Claudius.

The nature of the inscription means that the fates of Felix's mother and his two siblings must remain a mystery. Although Felix is an extremely common slave name,⁶⁸⁴ in this particular case, it may have been selected specifically to reflect the extraordinary

⁶⁸¹ In a pre-industrial population, 0.6% to 4.5% of all births produce twins or other multiples (Lummaa et al. 2001, p. 740); in a massive household such as the *familia Caesaris*, there must have been hundreds of births per year, and thus at least a few multiples every year.

⁶⁸² Pliny the Elder (HN 7.37) remarks that it was typical for only one of a pair of twins to survive, although examples of surviving twins are certainly known among the upper classes, such as the children of Sulla (Plut. Sull. 34.3) and those of Antony and Cleopatra (Plut. Ant. 36.3). Among the Julio-Claudians in particular, the birth of the twins of Livilla and Drusus the Younger, who survived to ages 4 and 18 respectively, was indeed a cause for celebration and pride (Tac. Ann. 2.84). Cf. Dasen 1997 on twins in antiquity, Lummaa et al. 2001 on the high mortality rate for pre-industrial twins.

⁶⁸³ NA 10.2: *Sed et divo Augusto imperante, qui temporum eius historiam scripserunt, ancillam Caesaris Augusti in agro Laurente peperisse quinque pueros dicunt eosque pauculos dies vixisse; matrem quoque eorum non multo, postquam peperit, mortuam, monumentumque ei factum iussu Augusti in via Laurentina, inque eo scriptum esse numerum puerperii eius, de quo diximus.*

⁶⁸⁴ *Felix* means "lucky" or "happy." It is probably the most common slave name of all: the present sample alone contains 31 instances (2% of all males), including the Felix in question.

circumstances of his birth and his remarkable survival against the odds;⁶⁸⁵ for similar reasons, Sulla named his twin children Faustus and Fausta.⁶⁸⁶

Unusual Circumstances

A single familial unit sometimes appears with connections to more than one Julio-Claudian, crossing the boundaries of multiple households. There are two possible circumstances in which this might occur: a familial unit might include the slaves or freed slaves of different Julio-Claudians, or a familial unit might be transferred intact to a new Julio-Claudian owner upon the death of the original owner.

The first scenario becomes clear in the following example:⁶⁸⁷

*C(aius) Iulius Iuliae divi / Aug(usti) f(iliae) l(ibertus) Gelos
[si]bi et / C(aio) Iulio Iuli[ae divi] Aug(usti) f(iliae)
l(iberto) / Thiaso patr[i sevir(o) A]jug(ustali) / [et I]uliae
divai Au[g(ustae) l(ibertae) 3] / matr[i] / ex testament[o
f(ieri) i(ussit)]* (AE 1975, 00289 = SupIt-05-RI, 00016 =
AE 1995, 00367)

C. Iulius Gelos, freedman of Iulia, daughter of the divine Augustus, for himself and for his father, C. Iulius Thiasus, freedman of Iulia, daughter of the divine Augustus, and for his mother, Iulia, freedwoman of the divine Iulia Augusta, ordered this to be made according to his will.

The inscription may be fragmentary, but the family relationships and patronage relationships are clear. Thiasus and his son Gelos are freedmen of “*Iulia divi Aug(usti) f(ilia)*,” while Thiasus’ wife and Gelos’ mother, whose name is missing, is a freedwoman

⁶⁸⁵ Lummaa et al. 2001, p. 740.

⁶⁸⁶ Plut. Sull. 34.3. *Faustus* means “lucky” or “auspicious,” and has the added benefit of reflecting Sulla’s *agnomen*, Felix. The name remained in use for well over a century after the dictator’s death: the husbands of Domitia Lepida and Claudia Antonia, father and son respectively, were descended from the male twin (Cass. Dio 60.30.6, Suet. Claud. 27.2). Twins in inscriptions seem to have been deliberately named as a result of their birth on a regular basis (Menacci 1997, pp. 220-226).

of “*Iulia diva Aug(usta)*.” While it is possible that the “*Iulia divi Aug(usti) filia*” refers to Livia after her adoption, the phrase “*Iulia diva Aug(usta)*” can only identify Livia, which suggests that the first Iulia must be someone else entirely. As the inscription was found in Regium Iulium, to which Julia the Elder was exiled from 4 C.E. to her death in 14,⁶⁸⁸ she must be Gelos and Thiasus’ patron.⁶⁸⁹ The inscription dates to sometime after Livia’s deification in 41⁶⁹⁰ and is located far from Rome,⁶⁹¹ which may explain why Julia the Elder’s freedmen feel able to identify their disgraced patron.⁶⁹²

As for the pairing of a freedwoman of Livia with a freedman of Julia the Elder, there are several factors to consider. Such marriages between the slaves and freed slaves of different Julio-Claudian owners or patrons occurred with reasonable frequency.⁶⁹³ Gelos and Thiasus, of course, must have been manumitted prior to Julia the Elder’s death. Linderski has argued that the manumissions are problematic due to the fact that Julia the Elder would have had to request Augustus’ permission for them, both because she remained in his *potestas* and because Gelos, at least, would have been under the age of thirty at the time.⁶⁹⁴ Both of these arguments are problematic. First, as Augustus

⁶⁸⁷ See Linderski 1987, Linderski 1988, Gardner 1988, and Watson 1992 for analyses of the legalities involved in this particular situation.

⁶⁸⁸ Tac. Ann. 1.53, Cass. Dio 55.13.1, Suet. Aug. 65.3.

⁶⁸⁹ Gelos should have had the same owner as his mother, but as his mother was in service to Julia the Elder at the time, the law may in fact permit such a transfer of ownership (Linderski 1987).

⁶⁹⁰ Cass. Dio 60.5.2, Suet. Claud. 11.2.

⁶⁹¹ Regium Iulium is about 700 kilometres from Rome, nearly as far as it is possible to be from Rome and still remain within Italy itself.

⁶⁹² I disagree with Linderski’s assertion that Julia the Elder’s freedmen would conceal their long-deceased patron’s name because of her continuing disgrace (1988, pp. 199-200). At such a great distance from Rome, at least thirty years after Julia the Elder’s death, with Tiberius, Livia, and all others directly involved in the matter also dead, the connection to the Imperial household would provide Julia the Elder’s freedmen with increased social status without the potential for shame or offense.

⁶⁹³ See above, pp. 164-166.

⁶⁹⁴ Linderski 1988, p. 188.

protected Julia the Elder's *peculium* during her exile in Regium,⁶⁹⁵ it is possible that he would have granted his permission to manumit as well,⁶⁹⁶ although the status indicators would still be troublesome, as technically, any slave Julia the Elder manumitted with her father's permission would be Augustus' freed slave rather than her own.⁶⁹⁷ Second, with regard to Gelos' age, the argument depends on the assumption that the Julio-Claudians would not have manumitted slaves under the age of thirty due to the restrictions of the *lex Aelia Sentia*.⁶⁹⁸ Other inscriptions clearly reveal that early manumission was not uncommon among the Julio-Claudians even a mere decade after these restrictions were enacted: the present sample includes nineteen Imperial freed slaves who provide an age at death of less than thirty years,⁶⁹⁹ indicating that they must have been manumitted despite the restrictions of the *lex Aelia Sentia*.

Moving back to the Regium inscription, the freedwoman in question, who has the *nomen* Iulia rather than Livia, must have been manumitted after Livia's adoption in 14 and thus after Julia the Elder's death; she would therefore have been a slave during Julia

⁶⁹⁵ Suet. Tib. 50.1.

⁶⁹⁶ Watson (1992, p. 337) points out this flaw as well, and adds that she would only have lost the ability to manumit after she was deprived of her *peculium* in the days following Augustus' death, but he doubts that Julia the Elder could have obtained Augustus' permission to manumit.

⁶⁹⁷ Gardner (1988, pp. 95-97) and Watson (1992, pp. 337-338) elaborate on the precise legalities that would make it impossible for Julia the Elder to have manumitted any slaves herself. However, Watson (1992, p. 338) further reminds us that the status indicator merely states that Gelos and Thiasus considered themselves Julia the Elder's freedmen, not necessarily that they were technically her freedmen, and that the complexities of manumission law would not negate the relationship.

⁶⁹⁸ That being said, the *lex Aelia Sentia* restricted full citizenship only, not manumission itself (see above, pp. 39-39); Gardner (1988, p. 97) rightly points out that the use of *nomina* by Thiasus and Gelos does not prove their citizenship.

⁶⁹⁹ CIL 6, 15314 (age 5), CIL 6, 14959 = CIL 03, *00239,23 (age 6), CIL 6, 20237 = D 08052 (age 9), CIL 6, 06620 (age 10), CIL 14, 02690 (age 15), CIL 6, 09901a = D 08540 (age 18), CIL 5, 02931 = CLE 00996 = AE 2000, 00616 (age 19), CIL 6, 15579 (age 19), CIL 6, 33966 = CIL 06, *03217 = D 05182 (age 19), CIL 6, 05091 = AE 1949, 00211 (age 20), CIL 6, 20384 = CIL 11, *00026,34 (age 20), CIL 6, 04328 = D 07694a (age 22), CIL 6, 20432 (age 22), CIL 6, 09047 = D 01810 (age 23), AE 2005, 00328 (age 24), CIL

the Elder's exile, and might have been owned by either Julia the Elder or Livia. If she was a slave of Julia the Elder, Livia could have inherited her after Julia the Elder's death in 14; if she was a slave of Livia, she might have been provided for Julia the Elder's use either in order to report back on her behaviour or as part of her financial support.⁷⁰⁰

Tacitus reports that Livia provided financial support to Julia the Younger in her own exile,⁷⁰¹ and it is certainly possible that she did so for Julia the Elder as well.⁷⁰²

Although there are relatively few cases in which families explicitly cross household boundaries, it is likely that others are concealed by the absence of information, particularly given the high proportion of marriages that occurred within the extended Julio-Claudian household but across the boundaries of individually-owned households. For example:

*T(ito) Flavio Aug(usti) l(iberto) / Sedato / Antoniano /
P(ublius) Cornelius / Iaso patri / piissimo* (CIL 6, 18203)

To T. Flavius Sedatus Antonianus. P. Cornelius Iaso made this for his most dutiful father.

The obvious solution is to assume that Sedatus married a woman outside the *familia Caesaris*, and that their son Iaso, was freeborn but illegitimate, and thus carries her *nomen*. However, the simplest solution is not always the best, and the combination of Sedatus' agnomen and Iaso' *nomen* may indicate another possibility. Although the

6, 29069 = AE 2006, +00221 (age 25), CIL 10, 01971 = ILCV 04880 = D 08193 = JIWE-01, 00026 = AE 2005, +00016 (age 25), CIL 6, 08957 (age 27), EA-002377 (age 28).

⁷⁰⁰ Linderski 1988, p. 187.

⁷⁰¹ Tac. Ann. 4.71: *illic viginti annis exilium toleravit Augustae ope sustentata*.

⁷⁰² Barrett (2002, pp. 51, 72) makes the same conjecture.

agnomen Antonianus usually refers to Antonia the Younger,⁷⁰³ it may also indicate Claudia Antonia,⁷⁰⁴ the eldest daughter of Claudius, particularly as Sedatus is a freedman of one of the Flavian emperors, over thirty years after the death of Antonia the Younger.⁷⁰⁵ Iaso's *nomen* supports this identification: Claudia Antonia had married Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix,⁷⁰⁶ and Iaso's unknown mother might easily have been Sulla's freedwoman.

As for the second possible scenario, a series of three related inscriptions paints a vivid picture of one family's progress through the Imperial household:

*Cinnamus / Ti(beri) Claudi Caesaris / Aug(usti) Germanici / disp(ensator) Drusillianus / cum fili(i)s suis hic / posuit Secunda con(iugi) (CIL 6, 08822 = CIL 10, *01088,083 = D 01655)*

Cinnamus Drusillianus, slave of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, steward, lies here with his children. His wife Secunda placed this.

*Cinnamio / C(ai) Caesaris Aug(usti) ver<n=O>a / Cinnami Caesaris et / Secundae Drusillianor(um) / filius hic (CIL 6, 08823 = CIL 10, *01088,084)*

Cinnamio, home-born slave of Caius Caesar Augustus, son of the Imperial slave Cinnamus Drusillianus and Secunda Drusilliana, lies here.

*Cinnamis Caesaris / Aug(usti) verna Drusilliana / Cinnami et Secundae filia) / annorum V hic sita est (CIL 6, 08824 = CIL 10, *01088,085)*

⁷⁰³ CIL 6, 04018, CIL 14, 02835, EE-08-01, 00335 (as well as EE-08-01, 00336 and EE-08-01, 00337 = EE-08-01, 00863 = D 05798, both of which name the same individual), and probably CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023).

⁷⁰⁴ CIL 6, 15314.

⁷⁰⁵ The chronology does not make ownership by Antonia the Younger impossible, simply far less likely: *agnomina* occasionally appear over forty years after the death of the original owner (CIL 6, 36911).

⁷⁰⁶ Cass. Dio 60.30.6, Suet. Claud. 27.2. Their son was born in 47 (Cass. Dio 60.30.6), placing the marriage at least nine months earlier; it may well have lasted until Faustus' exile in 58 or his execution in 62 (Tac. Ann. 13.47, 14.57), and no subsequent husband is known for Claudia Antonia.

Cinnamis Drusilliana, home-born slave of Caesar Augustus, daughter of Cinnamus and Secunda, age five, lies here.

Cinnamus and Secunda, according to their *agnomina*, were originally the slaves of Julia Drusilla, the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder. While still part of her household, they had a daughter, Cinnamis. When Drusilla died not long afterward, in 38, parents and child were transferred to her brother Caligula, and a son, Cinnamio, was born within Caligula's household. Both children died young, and upon Caligula's death in 41, Cinnamus and Secunda were transferred to Claudius. The combination of specific ownership indicators, *agnomina*, and the narrow window of time provided by the historical record allows these inscriptions to be dated with incredible precision despite the absence of consular dating. Cinnamis must have been born before the middle of 38,⁷⁰⁷ in order to carry Drusilla's agnomen; as she died at age five as a slave of Caligula, she cannot have been born earlier than 33, nor can she have died later than the first weeks of 41. The technically-inaccurate usage of "*Caesaris Aug(usti) verna*" for Cinnamis – who was a *verna* of Drusilla, not Caligula – suggests that Imperial slaves themselves considered the extended Julio-Claudian household a single, related establishment. Assuming Cinnamio's designation of "*C(ai) Caesaris Aug(usti) verna*" is accurate,⁷⁰⁸ he must have been born in the second half of 38 at the very earliest, and, like his sister, cannot have died later than the first weeks of 41. The children's names are quite revealing in that they have been deliberately named after their father, in order to create an obvious connection to him where no legal relationship would have existed; such

⁷⁰⁷ Drusilla died on June 10.

similarities in the *cognomina* of fathers and their children occur with some regularity among the children of slaves, and particularly among the Imperial household, with 20% of fathers in the present sample reporting children with similar *cognomina* to themselves.⁷⁰⁹

The impact of slavery on the stability (or lack thereof) of family structures and relationships occasionally reveals itself in the usage of unexplained *nomina*, where free children use different *nomina* than either of their parents.⁷¹⁰ The implication is that the child was freed by a different patron than his or her parents. However, this need not automatically indicate a different house and thus the separation of parents and children through sale, as Rawson incorrectly assumes:⁷¹¹ many Roman houses would have included different *nomina* simply because they included a married couple, due to the fact

⁷⁰⁸ This designation is confirmed by his lack of an *agnomen*, when his parents and sister have one.

⁷⁰⁹ Faustus and his son Faustus (AE 1988, 00359 = SupIt-23-B, 00005), Felix Ingenuianus and his son Felicio (AE 1990, 00068 = CECapitol 00024), C. Iulius Sceptus and his daughter Iulia Scepsis (CIL 3, 02097 = CIL 3, 08585), Thaliarchus and his daughter Thaliarchilla (CIL 3, 12131 = TAM-02-02, 00486), Nymphodotus and his son Nymphius (CIL 5, 01319 = InscrAqu-01, 00472), Ti. Claudius Neritus and his son Ti. Claudius Neritus (CIL 6, 01921 = AE 1999, +00024), Ti. Claudius Phoebus and his daughter Phoebe (CIL 6, 06189 = CIL 6, 36108 = CLE 00997 = CLE 02120), Ti. Claudius Philargyrus and his daughter Domitia Philargyris (CIL 6, 08526 = CIL 10, *00948,13 = D 01704 = ILMN-01, 00102), Coenus and his daughter Homullia Coenilla (CIL 6, 08574 = D 01501 = AE 1999, 00204), Iucundus and his son P. Hellenius Iucundus (CIL 6, 08655 = D 01629), Phoebus and his son M. Antonius Phoebus (CIL 6, 08697a = CIL 10, *01088,275), Claudius Storax and his son Claudius Storax (CIL 6, 08767), Thallus and his son Ti. Iulius Thallus (CIL 6, 08790), Ti. Claudius Hyllus and his son Ti. Claudius Hyllus (CIL 6, 09083 = CIL 11, *00297,4 = ECortonese 00044), Amerimnus and his son Amerimnus (CIL 6, 11543 = CIL 11, *00026,14), M. Antonius Aglaus and his children Aglaus and Aglais (CIL 6, 12037), Ti. Claudius Leander and his son M. Attius Leander (CIL 6, 12776 = CIL 10, *01088,053 & CIL 6, 12777), Ti. Claudius Antiochus and his son Ti. Claudius Antiochus (CIL 6, 14927 = AE 2000, +00132), Ti. Claudius Eulalus and his son C. Asinius Eulalus (CIL 6, 15041 = CIL 11, *00101,052), Ti. Claudius Coinnacus Atticus Agrippianus and his daughter Claudia Atticilla (CIL 13, 02449 = ILAin 00009 = CAG-01, p 107). I have excluded children who are explicitly freeborn and legitimate, as I am interested in the naming of children whose fathers were not necessarily free at the time of their birth.

⁷¹⁰ Rawson 1966, pp. 78-81.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78. Treggiari (1975a, pp. 400-401) comments on the problem that this would pose for morale and subsequent slave marriages if children were regularly sold to a different household, and Schiedel

that Roman women retained their original *nomina* upon marriage. A child with a different *nomen* than his or her parents may very well have been freed by a different individual within the same household; typically, this would have required some form of transfer within the boundaries of the *domus*, but it is certainly a possibility.⁷¹² For instance, if both mother and father were manumitted by their master and their child were manumitted by their mistress, two different *nomina* would exist within the same nuclear unit, without any physical separation of parents and child ever occurring. However, this was clearly not always the case: completely-unrelated *nomina* do appear for the children of Julio-Claudian parents, confirming that slave children were sometimes separated from their parents.⁷¹³

In other cases, slavery played a different role in the parent-child relationship, by providing a motive for manumission. The restrictions of the *lex Aelia Sentia* on manumission of slaves under the age of thirty or by owners under the age of twenty did not apply to parents and children;⁷¹⁴ if either parent or child were manumitted, the possibility existed that one could purchase and manumit the other without forfeiting full citizenship.⁷¹⁵ The epigraphic evidence confirms the reality: parents manumitted their

(1997, p. 163) posits a decrease in the reproductive rate of female slaves as a result of the potential for separation from both spouses and children.

⁷¹² For instance, we would not assume that AE 1975, 00289 = SupIt-05-RI, 00016 = AE 1995, 00367 (pp. 189-192), with a father and son freed by Julia the Elder and a mother freed by Livia, represents a broken family, despite the different patrons.

⁷¹³ IPOstie-A 00060 (= ISIS 00050): *Diis Manibus / Ti(berius) Claudius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Eumenes / sibi et Claudiae Phoebe et / Fadiae Tethidi f(iliabus) et Claudio / Phoebo f(ilio) et Iuliae Heuresi / coniugi posterisque eius. CIL 6, 15228: Dis Manibus / Ti(berio) Claudio Aug(usti) l(iberto) / Privato / Claudia Fortunata / coniugi suo et / Sattia Victorina / patri suo fecerunt.*

⁷¹⁴ Inst. 1.5-6; Gai. Inst. 1.13, 1.17-19, 1.36-41, 1.80.

⁷¹⁵ On the *lex Aelia Sentia* in general, see Metro (1961), Wilinski (1963), de Dominicis (1965), and Jaubert (1965). Cf. p. 39.

children,⁷¹⁶ and children manumitted their parents.⁷¹⁷ Only a few cases explicitly state the dual relationship, but it is possible that others are concealed among the uncertain free, where the familial relationship supersedes the patronage relationship, to the point where the patronage relationship was omitted as irrelevant to the inscription.

The flexibility of Roman family structures sometimes produces inscriptions with problematic relationship combinations, such as the presence of more than two parents for a single child. I have already discussed CIL 6, 05654 within the context of potential polyandrous unions,⁷¹⁸ and the presence of an illegitimate freeborn child further complicates the situation. Another example exists as well:

*Ti(berio) Claudio V[ictor]i Antonia[no] / divi Claudi
lib(erto) v(ixit) a(nnos) V / Claudia Nebris mater Claudius
Herma pa[ter] / filio piissi[mo] / fecerunt / Ti(berius)
Claudius Philetus p(ater) f(ilio) piissimo / et Claudia
Calliste m(ater) sibi et suis p(osteris) (CIL 6, 15314)*

To Ti. Claudius Victor Antonianus, freedman of the divine Claudius, who lived five years. His mother Claudia Nebris and his father Claudius Herma made this for their most dutiful son. His father (?) Ti. Claudius Philetus and his mother (?) Claudia Calliste made this for their most dutiful son (?), and for themselves, and for their descendents.

The relationships of Nebris and Herma to Victor are clear: they spell out *mater*, *pater*, and *filius* rather than abbreviating the terms, and therefore must be Victor's natural parents. Philetus and Calliste are more problematic: the relationships are abbreviated, and such a combination of abbreviations would generally be expanded as has been done above – as *p(ater)*, *m(ater)*, and *f(ilius)* – which is clearly inaccurate in this situation.

⁷¹⁶ CIL 6, 22423.

⁷¹⁷ CIL 6, 03940 = AE 1992, +00092 (with a *collibertus* as co-patron). Cf. CIL 6, 03939 (= D 07548) and CIL 6, 03938 (= AE 2000, +00132).

The over-extension of the terms is the most plausible explanation: the term *parens* is used in inscriptions for relatives other than the natural parents⁷¹⁹ and a similar situation may come into play here. If Philetus and Calliste were intimately involved in Victor's life, as parental figures in addition to his actual parents, they may have felt a duty to commemorate him along with his parents. Their characterization of Victor as dutiful (*piissimus*) is typical of close blood relatives, particularly a parent-child relationship,⁷²⁰ and mirrors the epithet chosen by his natural parents, thereby suggesting a similar type of relationship.

Family

A total of 146 individuals (8%) included information about a family member other than a spouse or a child, approximately the same as CIL 6 as a whole.⁷²¹ As some individuals mentioned multiple family members, a total of 215 family members are represented in the data.

Who recorded family relationships? With 8% of men and 11% of women including a family member, there is no significant gender difference:⁷²² men and women are equally likely to have a family member mentioned in an inscription. Similarly, the status distribution is nearly identical to that of the entire sample.⁷²³ This illustrates the long-term effect of the destabilizing impact that slavery may have had on family

⁷¹⁸ pp. 175-178.

⁷¹⁹ Wilkinson 1964. Cf. Nielsen 2006, pp. 201-202, on the extension of *frater* beyond natural siblings.

⁷²⁰ Nielsen 1997, pp. 193-198.

⁷²¹ Nielsen (*Roman Relations*, p. 50) calculated that 9% of commemorations were done by a family member other than a parent, child, or spouse.

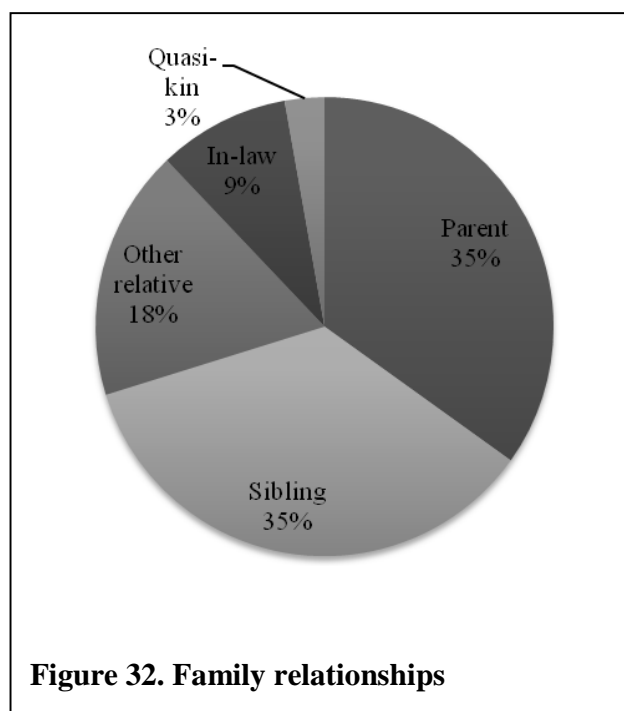
⁷²² $p = 0.085$.

⁷²³ 44% Imperial freed, 42% Imperial slave, 8% freed, 3% slave, 2% freeborn, 1% uncertain free, and 1% single name.

relationships. If family relationships were preserved during slavery, they remained after manumission; conversely, if slavery separated family members from one another, this was not generally remedied after manumission, and the relationships were not re-formed.

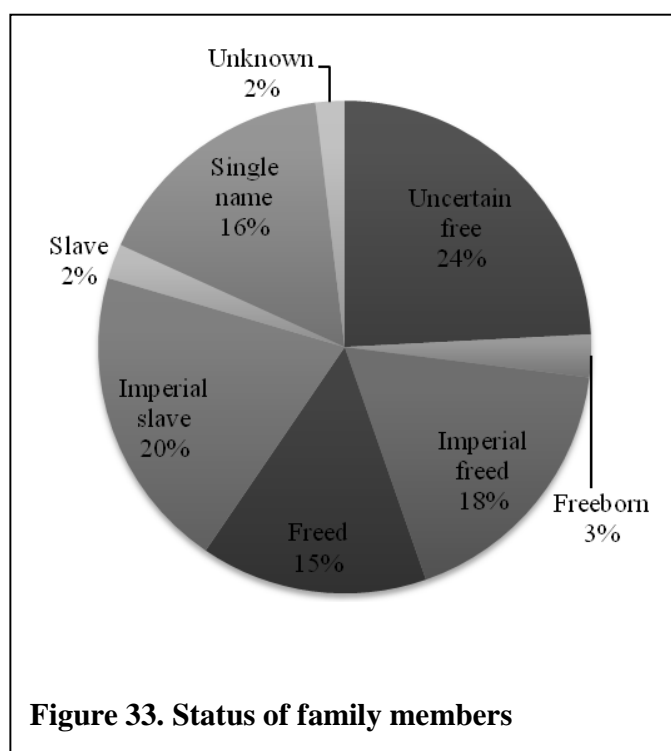
Although a wide variety of terms were used to describe familial

relationships,⁷²⁴ the basic relationships to which they referred fell into only a few categories (Figure 32). In the vast majority of cases (88%), these were blood relationships, often of a very close degree, such as parents and siblings. The relatively low proportion of quasi-kin relationships (3%) is perhaps surprising, although typical for CIL 6:⁷²⁵ these relationships are generally viewed as potential replacements for relationships that would normally be fulfilled by family, and thus more frequent among slaves and freed slaves, for whom family relationships would not necessarily be present. However, the answer may lie in the definitions of the relationship types used here: relationships based on slavery itself – most notably *conservi*, *colliberti*, and *vicarii*, which are often classed with quasi-kin as they fulfill similar functions – have been



⁷²⁴ Twenty-three distinct relationships appear in the sample, although in numerous cases, there are gendered variants of the same basic relationship (*avus/avia*, *frater/soror*, *socer/socrus*, etc.). The full distribution of familial relationship terms is available in Appendix I.

analysed separately in this study due to their overwhelming importance within the context of the *familia Caesaris*.⁷²⁶ For Imperial slaves and freed slaves, quasi-kin relationships in general are not nearly as essential a part of their social network as were the specific quasi-kin relationships formed as a direct result of slavery, although quasi-kin relationships continued to form for economic reasons.⁷²⁷



The gender ratio of family members was skewed toward women when compared with the usual epigraphic gender ratio, with 59% men and 41% women. The status distribution for family members is given in Figure 33. As is typical, female relatives are of considerably higher status than male relatives:⁷²⁸ female relatives are more likely to be of freed

status (26%), whereas male relatives are more likely to be Imperial slaves themselves (25%) or to have single names (20%).

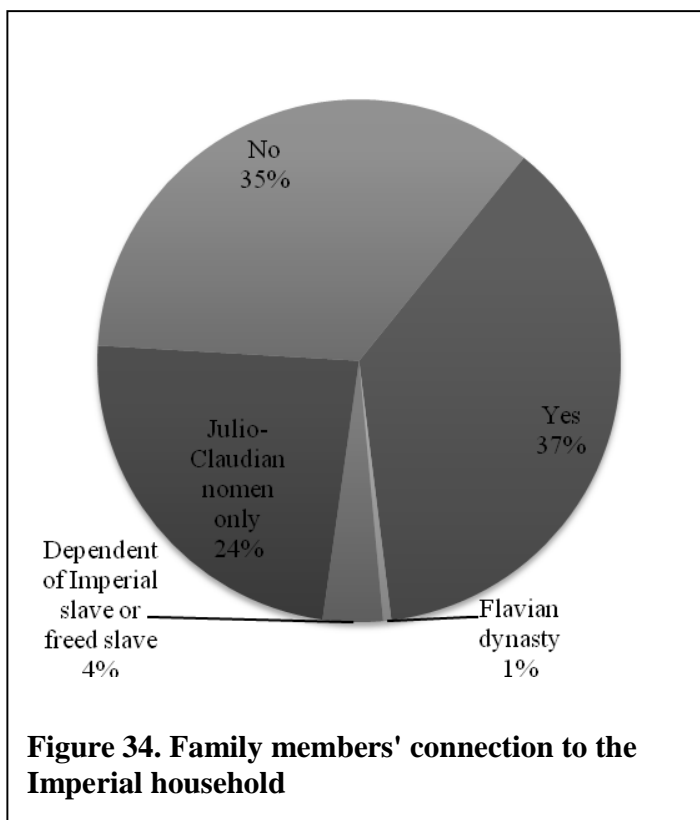
⁷²⁵ In Nielsen's sample (*Roman Relations*, pp. 50-54), 4% of the inscriptions use a term of fosterage, corresponding to the same terms found within my quasi-kin category.

⁷²⁶ pp. 204-229.

⁷²⁷ The *alumnus* relationship in particular frequently had an economic component, often denoting an apprentice relationship (Nielsen 1986, pp. 156, 168).

⁷²⁸ $p = 0.002$.

It is natural to assume that slaves' familial relationships would generally be broken when family members were sold into different households. Epigraphic evidence confirms that it was easier to maintain familial relationships when the members were affiliated with the same household, but that residence in different



households did not automatically sever relationships (Figure 34).⁷²⁹ A significant proportion of family members were themselves affiliated with the Imperial household in some manner (41%), or possessed *nomina* that hint at possible unrecorded connections (24%). Of the remainder (35%), those whose names indicated no direct affiliation with the *familia Caesaris*, nearly half (47%) provided only a single name; it is likely that many of these are in fact Imperial slaves as well, whose status indicators were omitted as unnecessary or unimportant to the content of the inscription. Of those with *nomina* (44%), the enormous variation of their names suggests that members of the Imperial

⁷²⁹ As usual, it is impossible to know how many relationships were in fact broken, as the epitaphs record only those which survived.

household were, in at least some instances, able to maintain contact with relatives outside the *familia Caesaris*.

Unusual Circumstances

The impact of slavery on personal relationships reached beyond spouses, parents, and children to other familial relationships as well. As with the manumission of parents and children, the manumission of siblings was exempted from the restrictions of the *lex Aelia Sentia*, and certainly took place within the *familia Caesaris*.⁷³⁰ Just as finding parents and children both affiliated with the Julio-Claudian dynasty is hardly unusual, so too is finding relatives within the same household. For example, consider this inscription, found in one of the non-Imperial *columbaria*:⁷³¹

*Iulia Acca / mater / Callisth(e)nis Ti(beri) Caesar(is) /
Aug(usti) a bybliothece / Latina Apollinis / et Diopithis
f(ili) eius a bybliot(heca) / Latina Apollinis / vix(it) an(nos)
XLVIII (CIL 6, 05189 = D 01588)*

Iulia Acca, mother of Callisthenes, slave of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, manager of the Latin Library of Apollo, and his son Diopithes, manager of the Latin Library of Apollo. She lived 48 years.

While Diopithes' status indicator is not explicit, his familial connections along with his occupation make his identification as an Imperial slave all but certain. Similarly, Callisthenes cannot be an Imperial slave unless his mother had been a slave at the time of his birth;⁷³² given his lack of an *agnomen*, it is probable that she is an unrecorded

⁷³⁰ AE 1946, 00099 (= AE 1946, +00173) and CIL 6, 22423.

⁷³¹ The existence of *columbaria* used either entirely or primarily by the slaves and freed slaves of the *familia Caesaris* does not preclude the possibility that members of the Imperial household might choose to purchase space in one of the other *columbaria* in Rome rather than within the Imperial *columbaria*.

⁷³² The *SC Claudianum* cannot be used as an alternate explanation: the inscription must date from the reign of Tiberius, while that particular law did not come in force until 52.

Imperial freedwoman, placing three generations of this family within the *familia Caesaris*.

One unique inscription describes a hostage situation:

Sitalces divi / Augusti / opses Thracum // Iulia Phyllis / soror eius (CIL 6, 26608 = D 00846)

Sitalces, Thracian hostage of the divine Augustus. Iulia Phyllis, his sister.

Why would a Thracian hostage purchase Roman-style commemoration, in what was most likely a *columbarium*, given the layout of the text? Why was he accompanied by his sister? And how did she obtain Roman citizenship? Sitalces identifies himself as a hostage of the divine Augustus (*divi Augusti opses*): the rearing of royal hostages, the children of client kings who would subsequently be placed on their ancestral thrones and would be loyal to Rome, was an integral part of Augustus' foreign policy.⁷³³ However, Tacitus' accounts of such placements suggest that they were rarely successful, generally due to the great extent to which such hostages were Romanized early in life,⁷³⁴ which could include the grant of Roman citizenship.⁷³⁵ Some royal families sent multiple children as hostages, which in Sitalces' case seem to have included his sister Phyllis. If Sitalces or Phyllis (or both) had died at Rome prior to returning to Thrace,⁷³⁶ after having been raised within the Imperial household, they might easily have been sufficiently

⁷³³ Suet. Aug. 48; Aug. Anc. 27, 32-33. Cf. Rose 1990 on the portrayal of royal clients on the Ara Pacis.

⁷³⁴ Gowing 1990, p. 322.

⁷³⁵ Juba (r. 25 B.C.E.-23/24 C.E.), king of Mauritania, received Roman citizenship from Augustus (p. 81, n. 372). Other client kings may have had Roman citizenship as well (CIL 6, 20718 = D 00849, Philippi 00199 = AE 1933, 00084 = AE 2004, +01334)

⁷³⁶ The inscription is unclear on the matter: a *columbarium* inscription in the nominative may indicate the ownership of a niche and its two *loculi* rather than a posthumous burial. The reference to *divus Augustus*

Romanized that Phyllis, at least, would have received citizenship,⁷³⁷ and that they would have sought burial in a typically Roman manner.⁷³⁸

Slavery

A total of 834 individuals (46%) reported a relationship through slavery; as some individuals indicated more than one such relationship, a total of 1,068 servile relationships are represented in the data. However, the large *collegium* inscriptions, which contain many such relationships in a highly impersonal group context, have the potential to skew the data considerably by privileging large group relationships over personal relationships between individuals or very small groups. These do not necessarily represent interpersonal relationships, but rather professional relationships, and would over-inflate the role of the *collegia* in the development of servile relationships within large elite households. As a result, I have excluded them from the following results, which include a total of 938 servile relationships.

Who reports servile relationships? One would assume that males would be more likely than females to report servile relationships, if only because the lower number of women within an elite household means that many are married or have other interpersonal relationships through which they would be commemorated.⁷³⁹ However, for this population, the reverse is in fact true: women (58%) are more likely than men

does make it clear that they arrived prior to Augustus' death and remained in Rome afterward, presumably in Tiberius' household.

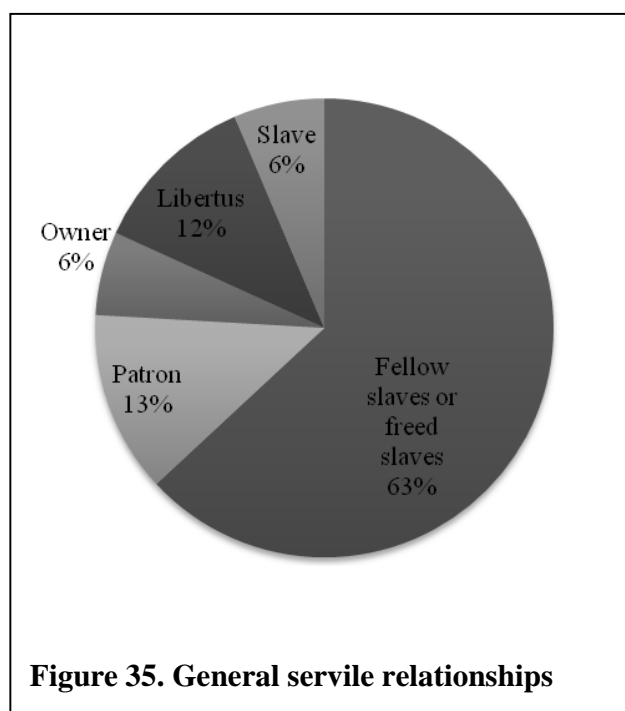
⁷³⁷ The grant of citizenship to Phyllis and not Sitalces is confusing: he may have omitted his own *nomen*, or she may have been granted citizenship independently of him.

⁷³⁸ Even the use of Latin rather than Greek is intriguing, for a pair whose primary language was most likely Greek.

⁷³⁹ Flory 1978, p. 88.

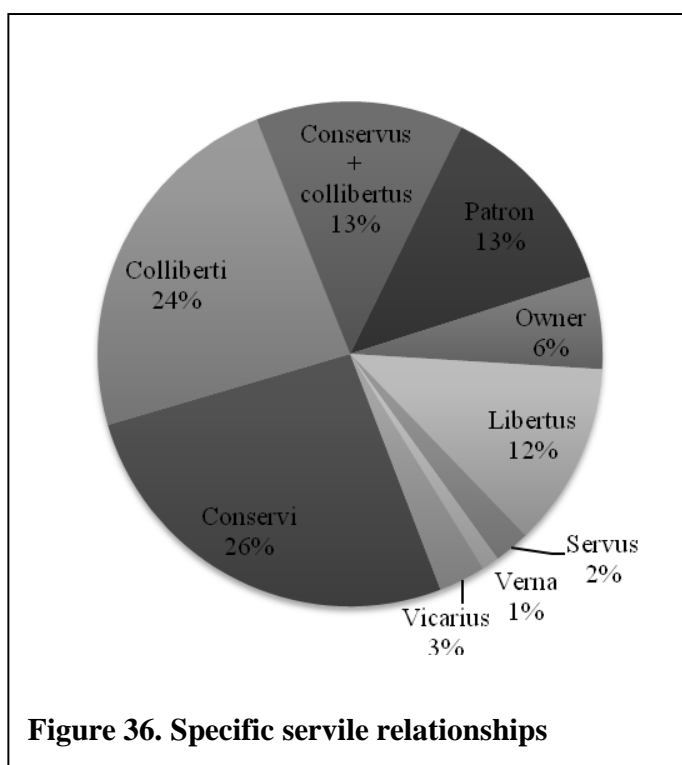
(44%) to record a servile relationship of some type.⁷⁴⁰ The inclusion of implicit servile relationships and the tendency of women to marry within the household provide the most likely explanations for this difference. The status distribution is also comparable,⁷⁴¹ highlighting the continued role that slavery played in the lives of freed slaves and its impact on personal relationships long after manumission.

The distribution of terms emphasizes the importance of the large elite household as the foundation for the social networks of its members (Figure 35). The vast majority of servile relationships recorded (63%) are between individuals with shared experiences of slavery: *conservi*, *colliberti*, and combinations of the two. Figure 35 can be further subdivided according to the particular types of certain servile relationships, and these subdivisions are illustrated by Figure 36.



⁷⁴⁰ $p = 0.000$.

⁷⁴¹ 36% Imperial freed, 38% Imperial slave, 16% freed, and 10% slave.



Shared Slavery

For relationships based on shared slavery, I took two additional factors into consideration. First, some such relationships are recorded in an indirect fashion due to limited space. For example, when an epitaph records two slaves of Livia without the use of the term *conservus*, we should not ignore

the obvious relationship that must have contributed to the joint burial, even when another relationship type supersedes it. Similarly, when several *vicarii* of the same owner or *liberti* of the same patron appear in the same inscription, a servile relationship clearly existed between them, despite the fact that the relationship to the owner or patron is the only one explicitly recorded; I have included such “concealed,” implicit relationships within my data. Within the context of the present study, I am not interested in the specific connotations of the use of the terms *conservus* and *collibertus* themselves;⁷⁴² admittedly, the inclusion of concealed servile relationships does pose a limit in that regard, by grouping those relationships that are explicitly described as *conservi* or *colliberti* with similar, implicit relationships and thereby minimizing the importance of

⁷⁴² I have already explored the implications of both terms in my Masters thesis (Penner 2007, pp. 80-89).

the explicit indicator of such a relationship. However, by including implicit servile relationships, it becomes possible to develop a fuller understanding of the extent to which servile relationships created, paralleled, and strengthened the social networks of slaves and freed slaves. Even when a dual relationship exists, such as between siblings who share the same owner, or between a husband and wife whose patrons are a married couple themselves, ignoring the servile component of the relationship simply because it is not the primary term of relationship used – or, in fact, is not even stated explicitly, only through the use of matching status indicators – would itself conceal the impacts of shared experiences of slavery on interpersonal relationships.

As a further check, I have conducted additional statistical analyses comparing the profile of those who explicitly use the terms *conservus* and *collibertus* (27%) with those for whom such relationships are only implicit (73%). The results emphasize the situations in which shared slavery is highlighted, as well as those in which it is subordinate to other information considered more vital within the context of epigraphic commemoration. Most notably, the presence of additional social relationships such as marriage, children, and other family members makes the explicit use of *conservus* or *collibertus* far less likely;⁷⁴³ the existence of a primary familial connection relegates the servile relationship to a secondary aspect of the relationship, so that it is not explicitly mentioned in the inscription.⁷⁴⁴ In addition, women reporting servile relationships are

⁷⁴³ Among those reporting servile relationships, marriage ($p = 0.031$), children ($p = 0.001$), and family members ($p = 0.000$) are all linked to an increase in concealed servile relationships.

⁷⁴⁴ That is to say, people are more likely to include their status indicators, which reveal the presence of a servile relationship, along with their relationships with spouses, children, or other family members, without explicitly saying that those relationships are also servile in nature.

more likely to do so implicitly (82%) when compared to men (70%).⁷⁴⁵ This most likely reflects the skewed gender balance of the *familia Caesaris*, as well as the differing commemoration patterns for men and women: the disproportionately high number of men whose sole social relationships are servile in nature has resulted in the tendency for men to commemorate one another through servile relationships, whereas a similar pattern does not appear for women.⁷⁴⁶ This would be particularly true of *conservi*, among whom we would then expect to find more explicit mentions of servile relationships; indeed, *conservi* (40%) are significantly more likely than *colliberti* (7%) or mixed *conservus-collibertus* pairs (24%) to use an explicit term to describe their servile relationship.⁷⁴⁷ Finally, this concealment of servile relationships appears primarily among the immediate members of the *familia Caesaris*, rather than among their own slaves and freed slaves, who are significantly more likely to report explicit servile relationships.⁷⁴⁸ This tendency to use extensive status indicators without explicit terms of servile relationship illustrates the social status provided by the Imperial status indicator: it is more important to emphasize each individual's own legal status than to highlight the bond created between them through shared slavery.

The flexibility of shared experiences of slavery is further illustrated by the over-extension of terms of servile relationship. More specifically, even when the appropriate

⁷⁴⁵ $p = 0.005$.

⁷⁴⁶ Interestingly, the presence of occupation has no impact on whether associated servile relationships are implicit or explicit ($p = 0.457$).

⁷⁴⁷ $p = 0.000$.

⁷⁴⁸ Imperial freed slaves (87%) and Imperial slaves (72%) are far more likely to report implicit servile relationships than are the freed slaves (48%) and slaves (24%) within the present sample ($p = 0.000$).

terms appear, *conservi* and *colliberti* do not always have the same master or patron. For example:

*Diis Manibus sacr(um) / Ti(beri) Claudi Aug(usti) l(iberti)
Abascant(i) / Antonia Stratonice / fecit sibi et colliberto /
suo bene merenti de se / et Ti(berio) Iulio Tyro vernaе suo /
carissimo et libert(is) libertabusq(ue) / suis posterisq(ue)
omnibus eorum / et Noniae Stratonicensi filiae / suae
carissimae / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on)
s(equetur) huic m(onumento) d(olus) m(alus) abest(o)* (CIL
6, 14897)

Sacred to the gods of the dead. For Ti. Claudius Abascantus, Imperial freedman. Antonia Stratonice made this for herself and for her well-deserving fellow freedman and for her dearest home-born slave Ti. Iulius Tyrus and for her freedmen and freedwomen and their descendents, and for Nonia Stratonice, her dearest daughter. This monument shall not follow the heir. Let evil harm stay away from this monument.

Antonia Stratonice has no explicit status indicator, but her identification of Abascantus as her *collibertus* places her as a freedwoman of Antonia the Younger; he must therefore be a freedman of Claudius rather than Nero. As Claudius lived with Antonia the Younger up to her death in 37, their individual freed slaves could easily have viewed themselves as part of the same household and thus considered themselves *colliberti*, particularly given the epigraphic tendency to extend terms of relationship beyond their technical definitions.⁷⁴⁹ *Colliberti*, and by extension *conservi*, should be understood as freed slaves and slaves from within the same physical *domus*, regardless of whether they actually shared an owner or patron.

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. Wilkinson 1964.

Such extension of the technical meanings of *conservus* and *collibertus* was not unique to the slaves and freed slaves of the Julio-Claudians; it extended to the households of their freed slaves as well.

Crispinillae / Euhodi divi Aug(usti) l(iberti) / libertae / vix(it) ann(os) XXIII / C(aius) Calvius Logus / conlib(ertus) coniugi (CIL 6, 16586)

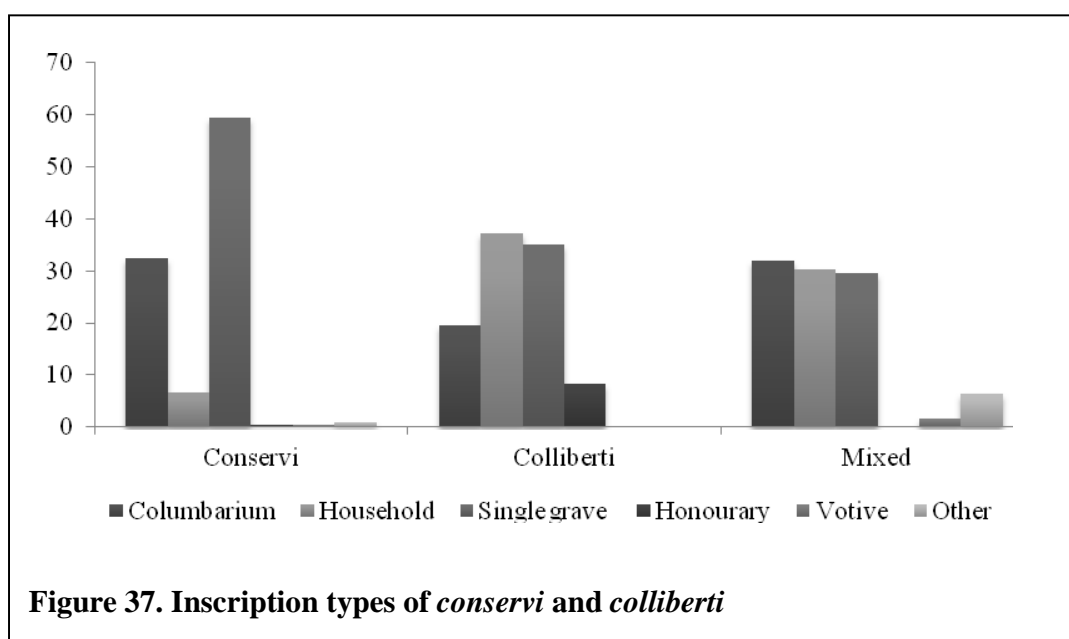
To Crispinilla, freedwoman of Euhodus, an Imperial freedman of the divine Augustus. She lived 23 years. C. Calvius Logus, her fellow freedman, made this for his wife.

Logus' non-Julio-Claudian *nomen* would seem to exclude him from a *collibertus* relationship with Crispinilla, whose *nomen* must be Iulia. The solution, however, is simple: if Euhodus, like many Imperial freedmen, had married outside the *familia Caesaris*, he may well have had a wife named Calvia. Logus' manumission would then fall within the same household as Crispinilla's, although with different patrons, making them *colliberti*.

Clearly, then, the slave and freed members of elite households were not limited by the technical fact of individual, potentially different owners or patrons when it came to defining individuals to whom they were connected through slavery. In order to reflect this reality, when slaves or freed slaves appear in the same inscription with different Julio-Claudian owners or patrons, I have recorded them as *conservi* and *colliberti* as well. This has inflated the proportion of the sample who reported servile relationships beyond those who used explicit terminology – and I have analysed these separately above⁷⁵⁰ – but it reflects the connections within and between households far more accurately.

⁷⁵⁰ pp. 206-208.

In general, relationships of shared slavery have been analysed as a whole, grouping *conservi*, *colliberti*, and mixed pairings together. However, when they are analysed separately, there are in fact some minor differences between the groups. *Conservi* (55%) are significantly more likely than either *colliberti* (24%) or mixed pairs (38%) to report an occupation:⁷⁵¹ shared work was clearly a vital aspect of the bond between *conservi*, although its importance diminishes with manumission.⁷⁵² Similarly, the types of inscriptions in which such relationships appear are significantly different,⁷⁵³ as is evident from Figure 37.



Conservi are more likely to appear in *columbarium* or single grave inscriptions, while *colliberti* are more likely to appear in household or honourary inscriptions; mixed *conservus-collibertus* pairs fall somewhere between the two extremes. Furthermore, there are differences in the gender patterns of mixed *conservus-collibertus* pairs: pairs of

⁷⁵¹ p = 0.000.

⁷⁵² Flory 1978, pp. 79-81.

the same gender are almost exclusively male (92%), while pairs of opposite genders generally pair a *liberta* and a *servus* (91%),⁷⁵⁴ reflecting women's higher chances of receiving early manumission as compared to men.

Dependents

While the 214 slaves and freed slaves of Imperial slaves and freed slaves who appear in the epigraphic material are not immediate members of the *familia Caesaris*, their inscriptions emphasize that association and thus the higher social status of their owner or patron.⁷⁵⁵ As such, I have included them in the present sample and analysed them as a group, in order to understand their unique connection to the Imperial household and the patterns that appear in their inscriptions.

The nomenclature of this group reflects that of the Imperial slaves and freed slaves more closely than it does the nomenclature of the slaves and freed slaves unaffiliated with the *familia Caesaris*, to whom they would have been roughly comparable in social status. In general, when slaves and freed slaves provide an explicit status indicator, they rarely identify non-elite owners or patrons by more than a *praenomen*, for a male owner or patron, or the designation O (*mulieris*), for a female owner or patron; those with elite owners or patrons – particularly those belonging to families of consular rank or members of the extended Imperial household – identify that connection through the use of a *cognomen*, *agnomen*, or another identifying name.⁷⁵⁶

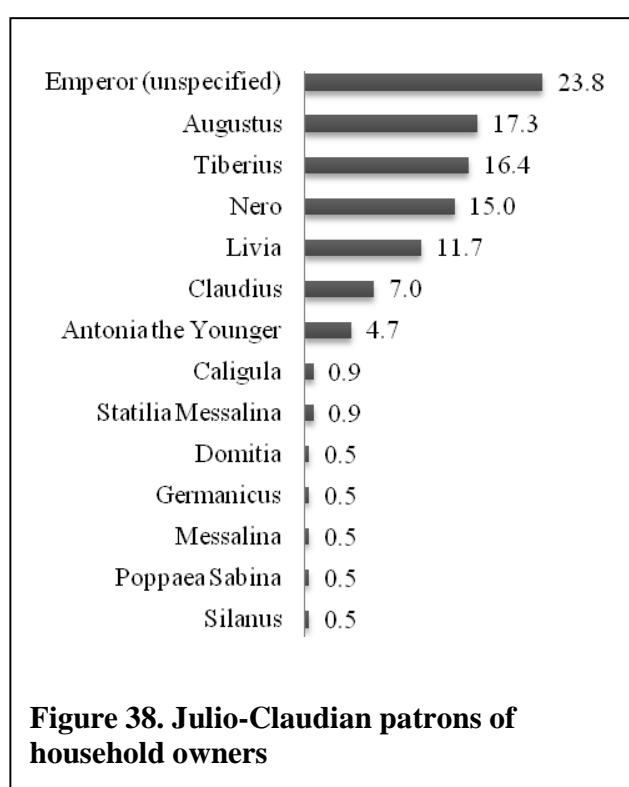
⁷⁵³ $p = 0.000$.

⁷⁵⁴ The split between same-gender and opposite-gender pairs is roughly equal: 43% are same-gender pairs, and 57% are opposite-gender pairs.

⁷⁵⁵ Although Imperial slaves obviously cannot have freed slaves of their own, their ownership of a *peculium* and the existence of *vicarii* mean that some did own slaves, who are included in the present analysis.

⁷⁵⁶ In some cases, such as Drusus the Elder, the identifier happens to be his *praenomen*.

The slaves and freed slaves of Imperial household members, however, have largely adopted the pattern of their owners and patrons, and then modified it in order to emphasize their own connection to the *familia Caesaris*. If, for example, Nero manumitted a slave named Eros, the new freedman would properly call himself Ti. Claudius *Aug(usti) l(ibertus)* Eros; if Eros in turn manumitted a slave named Felix, the



expected status indicator would be Ti. Claudius *Ti(beri) l(ibertus)* Felix. Freedmen who included such libertinations in inscriptions – or omitted them altogether – can no longer be tied directly to the *familia Caesaris*, but they must certainly be concealed among the many inscriptions including Julio-Claudian *nomina*. However, a large group of slaves and freed slaves, two steps removed from the Julio-Claudians,

make space in their inscriptions for the *cognomen* and the Imperial status indicator of their owner or patron: Ti. Claudius *Ti(beri) l(ibertus)* Felix now becomes Ti. Claudius *Erotis Aug(usti) l(iberti) l(ibertus)* Felix.⁷⁵⁷ This might even extend to omitting the

⁷⁵⁷ It is impossible to know how many slaves and freed slaves of Imperial slaves and freed slaves chose to emphasize that connection, but it is likely that they were in the minority. The largest known household, belonging to Claudia Acte, Nero's freed mistress, may provide some clue. It contains thirty individuals

cognomen while retaining the status indicator,⁷⁵⁸ in the form Ti. Claudius *Aug(usti) l(iberti) l(ibertus)* Felix, because the patron's identity is less important than emphasizing his high social status through his connection to the Imperial household.

The distribution of those Julio-Claudians for whom this second degree of slaves and freed slaves exists illustrates how such status indicators emphasize the high social status of their household of origin (Figure 38). The emperors are over-represented: the vast majority (80%) are the slaves and freed slaves of the emperors' own slaves and freed slaves, considerably more than in the

sample as a whole (57%). Of the other Julio-Claudians who appear, Livia (12%) and Antonia the Younger (5%) appear most frequently. This is unsurprising, as both women were extremely prominent within the Imperial household, both held the title of Augusta, and both were extremely long-lived,⁷⁵⁹ factors which have all contributed to their large extant



over twenty-two inscriptions (Appendix K), and Acte's Imperial status indicator is only provided in five of the twenty-two inscriptions; the household itself is discussed in detail below (pp. 228-229)

⁷⁵⁸ CIL 6, 03879 = CIL 6, 32450 (M. Livius *divae Aug(ustae) l(iberti) l(ibertus)* Severus), CIL 6, 05294 (Telete *Augustae{s} libertae liberta*), CIL 6, 05909 (C. Iulius *Augusti l(iberti) l(ibertus)* Priamus), CIL 14, 02302 = D 07462 (C. Iulius *Aug(usti) liberti libertus* Eros). As both Telete and Eros spell out "*libertae liberta*" and "*liberti libertus*" instead of using the frequently used and easily understandable abbreviations, space was clearly not a factor in the choice to omit the direct patron's *cognomen*.

⁷⁵⁹ Livia died at the age of 86, while Antonia the Younger died at the age of 72.

households.⁷⁶⁰

The relationship types found among these dependents (Figure 39) vary little from the relationships of the Imperial slaves and Imperial freed slaves themselves (Figure 19), with the obvious exception of servile relationships, as the vast majority of cases record the name of a non-elite patron or owner. As they have also been included in the analyses dealing with particular relationship types, I will not dwell on specifics here, except where they differ from their Imperial slave and Imperial freed masters and patrons. In particular, men and women do not differ significantly in the relationships they record.⁷⁶¹ While status has no impact on the presence of children or other family members,⁷⁶² it does significantly affect marital rates, with 21% of the freed slaves of Imperial freed slaves recording a spouse compared with only 5% of the slaves of Imperial slaves or freed slaves.⁷⁶³ This difference as compared to the immediate members of the *familia Caesaris* illustrates the enormous difference in social status that accompanied manumission outside the Imperial household, but not within it.

Patrons and Freed Slaves, Owners and Slaves

Nearly all the Imperial slave and Imperial freed slave owners and patrons in the sample are male (91%); this may reflect the increased tendency of males to use the

⁷⁶⁰ Livia: pp. 302-310. Antonia the Younger: pp. 310-321.

⁷⁶¹ Marriage ($p = 0.649$): 15% of men and 17% of women. Children ($p = 0.842$): 7% of men and 6% of women. Other family members ($p = 0.432$): 6% of men and 9% of women.

⁷⁶² Children ($p = 0.492$): 8% of freed slaves and 5% of slaves. Other family members ($p = 0.384$): 8% of freed slaves and 5% of slaves.

⁷⁶³ $p = 0.002$. The sample as a whole indicated no significant difference between these groups ($p = 0.158$), but this is a comparison of only those slaves or freed slaves who indicate an Imperial slave or Imperial freed owner or patron; the sample includes others classified as slaves or freed slaves, such as those connected with the elite husbands of Julio-Claudian women (for the classification criteria, see pp. 93-95). The clear implication is that the slaves and freed slaves of those elite men shared similar marriage practices to their

Imperial status indicator relative to their female counterparts, a tendency which carried over into the nomenclature of their own household members.⁷⁶⁴ The few slaves and freed slaves belonging to the households of Imperial slavewomen and freedwomen belong largely to the households of known Imperial freedwoman, primarily Claudia Acte, although a few freed slaves are known for Antonia Caenis as well.⁷⁶⁵ Ten other owners are known, all but one of whom were certainly the freedwomen of Livia;⁷⁶⁶ additionally, three of these patron-freedwomen provide their occupations,⁷⁶⁷ suggesting that these women, like their male counterparts within the Imperial household, obtained slaves to train as their eventual replacements.⁷⁶⁸

As for the demographic characteristics of the slaves and freed slaves of Imperial slaves and freed slaves, there are considerably more women among the slaves and freed slaves of Imperial household members, with a gender ratio of about two males for every female.⁷⁶⁹ Overall, they are largely freed slaves (63%) rather than slaves (37%). As with the Imperial freed slaves and Imperial slaves themselves, while there are fewer women than men, the women are significantly more likely to be of higher status (86% of female

Imperial counterparts within the same household, whereas the single degree of removal within the present group did affect marriage patterns.

⁷⁶⁴ Comparisons of the male and female owners and patrons indicates no significant differences in their households in terms of either gender ratio ($p = 0.971$) or status distribution ($p = 0.130$).

⁷⁶⁵ For the household of Claudia Acte, see pp. 228-229, as well as Appendix K. For the household of Antonia Caenis, see pp. 224-226.

⁷⁶⁶ AE 1926, 00052; AE 1996, 00122; CECapitol 00143; CIL 6, 03966; CIL 6, 03994; CIL 6, 04237; CIL 6, 04717; CIL 6, 05294; CIL 6, 08656. The remaining individual gives an unspecified Imperial libertination (CIL 6, 20588): as her name is Iulia Orge, it is possible that she too is a freedwoman of Livia, although she could also be a freedwoman of Augustus or Tiberius.

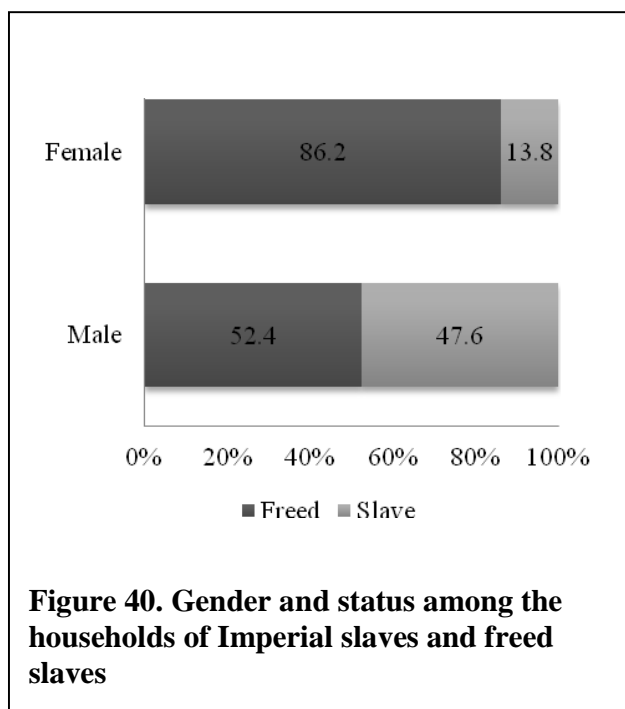
⁷⁶⁷ Two were *ornatrices* (CIL 6, 03994 and CIL 6, 04717) and one was an *obstetrix* (AE 1926, 00052), two of the highest-ranking occupations open to women within the Imperial household.

⁷⁶⁸ See the discussion on *vicarii* below (pp. 218-219).

⁷⁶⁹ 69% male, 31% female.

dependents are freed, as compared to only 52% of male dependents),⁷⁷⁰ as is illustrated in Figure 40.

The intricacies of the slave-owner relationship reveal themselves through the usage of specific terminology. While any slave could use *servus*, only slaves born within their owner's household identify as *vernae*, and slaves whose



owner was also a slave use the term *vicarius*. The *vernae* of Imperial slaves and freed slaves were largely, if not exclusively, young children: of the eight individuals recorded as *vernae*,⁷⁷¹ six were commemorated with their age at death, with an average age at death of 7.24.⁷⁷² What sort of relationships do these imply? Imperial freed slaves might certainly have had large enough households to produce *vernae* in small numbers; in theory, at least, only one female slave would be required.⁷⁷³ In other cases, the relationship may be somewhat different, as in CIL 6.14897, the text of which is given above:⁷⁷⁴ Claudius' freedman Abascantus and Antonia the Younger's freedwoman Stratonice share a *verna* whose name is given as Ti. Iulius Tyrus. Tyrus cannot be have

⁷⁷⁰ $p = 0.000$.

⁷⁷¹ There are a total of ten *verna* relationships because, in two cases, a married couple recorded joint possession of a *verna* (CIL 6, 14897 and CIL 6, 17898).

⁷⁷² The sample is far too small for further analysis. The ages listed were: 2 years, 10 months; 5 years; 6 years; 8 years; 10 years, 7 months, 12 days; and 11 years.

⁷⁷³ Penner 2007, p. 71.

manumitted by either of his fosterers, but their extensive links with the *familia Caesaris* may provide a possible explanation: while Tyrus was not technically a home-born slave, born to a slavewoman owned by either Abascantus or Stratonice, he may have been an Imperial slave given into their hands for rearing and perhaps instruction as they would raise a *verna*, and eventually manumitted by Tiberius.

As for *vicarii*, when the *familia Caesaris* had fully developed, they were largely used as eventual replacements, to be trained by the slave who owned them to replace him in his civil service post after his manumission and/or promotion. The existence of Imperial *vicarii* from the Julio-Claudian period indicate that this system developed early in the formation of the civil service and its bureaucracy, and may have arisen from a pre-existing practice used within elite households to ensure constant staffing at vital positions.⁷⁷⁵ *Vicarii* are largely male (96%), as are their owners (86%), supporting the occupational nature of the relationship within the Imperial household.⁷⁷⁶

However, *vicarii* might also have been used in other circumstances, as the retinues or entourages of prominent Imperial slaves.⁷⁷⁷ A lengthy inscription from Rome describes such a situation:

*Musico Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti / Scurrano disp(ensatori)
ad fiscum Gallicum / provinciae Lugdunensis / ex vicari(i)s
eius qui cum eo Romae cum / decessit fuerunt bene merito /*

⁷⁷⁴ p. 208.

⁷⁷⁵ Plut. Cat. Ma. 21.7.

⁷⁷⁶ Outside the Imperial household, *vicarii* are far more likely to be female (44% of the total), suggesting that they were often purchased as spouses (Penner 2007, p. 76). Male slaves within the *familia Caesaris* had more opportunities to obtain spouses – they could look outside their own household and their own status group – and thus would not have needed to purchase *vicariae* for that purpose.

⁷⁷⁷ Such entourages are certainly known for Imperial freedmen: the enormous retinue (*ingens agmen*) of the Imperial freedman Polyclitus, whom Nero sent to Britain shortly after Boudicca's rebellion, was a burden on both Italy and Gaul (Tac. Ann. 14.39).

Venustus negot(iator) / Decimianus sump(tuarius) / Dicaeus a manu / Mutatus a manu / Creticus a manu // Agathopus medic(us) Epaphra ab argent(o) / Primio ab veste / Communis a cubic(ularius) / Pothus pediseq(uus) / Tiasus cocus // Facilis pediseq(uus) / Anthus ab arg(ento) / Hedylus cubicu(larius) / Firmus cocus / Secunda (CIL 6, 05197 = D 01514)

To Musicus Scurranus, slave of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, *dispensator* of the Gallic treasury in the province of Lugdunensis, a well-deserving man, from his *vicarii* who were with him in Rome when he died. Venustus, business manager. Decimianus, in charge of household expenses. Dicaeus, *a manu*. Mutatus, *a manu*. Creticus, *a manu*. Agathopus, physician. Epaphra, banker. Primio, dresser. Communis, bedroom attendant. Pothus, footman. Tiasus, cook. Facilis, footman. Anthus, banker. Hedylus, bedroom attendant. Firmus, cook. Secunda.

Musicus came to Rome accompanied by sixteen *vicarii*, but the phrase *ex vicari(i)s eius qui cum eo Romae cum decessit fuerunt* suggests that others were left behind in Lugdunensis. Musicus' occupation – *disp(ensator) ad fiscum Gallicum provinciae Lugdunensis* – clearly places him high in the hierarchy of the civil service,⁷⁷⁸ as well as resident in Lugdunensis rather than in Rome or at any of the Imperial estates. An extensive personal retinue would therefore have provided him with an appropriate living standard for his position within the Imperial administration,⁷⁷⁹ despite his residence outside one of the Imperial *domus* or estates.

Occupations

⁷⁷⁸ A precise placement is impossible: the titles vary a great deal, even after the civil service had fully developed, and Musicus died long before that occurred, in the reign of Tiberius. Boulvert has attempted to recreate the hierarchy, with some degree of success (1974, pp. 127-154). Cf. Weaver 1972, pp. 251-252.

⁷⁷⁹ Boulvert (1974, pp. 114-115) discusses the financial and material benefits of working in the civil service.

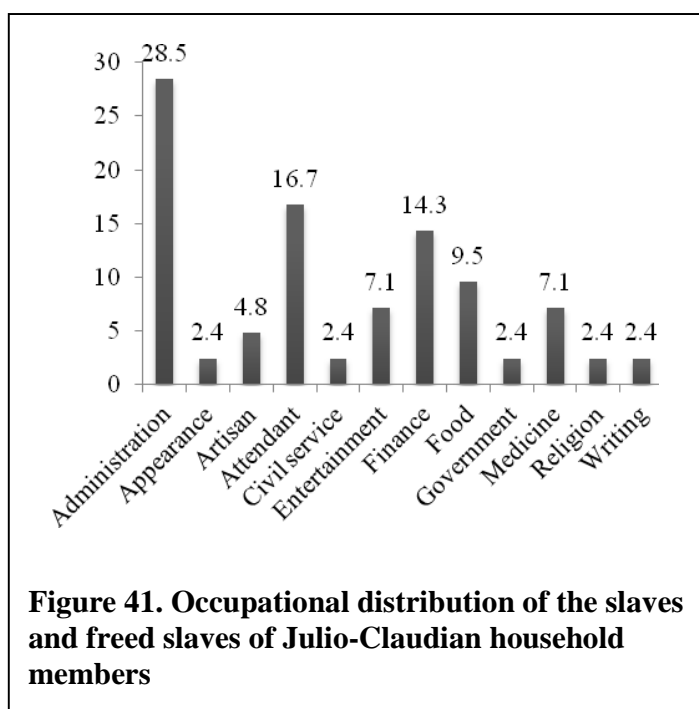
Of the slaves and freed slaves of Imperial slaves and freed slaves, comparatively few (20%) provide their occupation relative to the Imperial slaves and freed slaves themselves (43%), although the proportion is still considerably higher than for CIL 6 in general (8%),⁷⁸⁰ as well as for relationships of patronage in particular (4%).⁷⁸¹ Several factors may influence this difference. First, whereas occupation formed a key component of identity among Imperial slaves and freed slaves, it may not have done so for the members of their own households, at least not to such an extent. Additionally, the extensive Julio-Claudian households simply required (or were able to support) a larger degree of specialization and a wider variety of areas of production, thereby including considerably more job titles; in contrast, the households of Imperial freed slaves, except for a few fabulously wealthy exceptions, need not have been as large or as elaborate, and thus would have required both fewer slaves and freed slaves to work them, as well as fewer specific occupational titles, and potentially the use of slaves in multiple positions or with more generalized occupations.⁷⁸² In part, this relates to the types of household we would expect to find among the majority of the Imperial freed slaves, with less wealth and less of a need for the social display related to public political life. Without extensive suburban and rural villas, agricultural and gardening staff would be unnecessary. Without the social and political demands of the elite, specialized attendants and appearance workers are merely a luxury rather than an (admittedly luxurious)

⁷⁸⁰ Huttunen 1974, p. 48. Of those who do provide their job title, more than half belong to either the household of Musicus Scurranus (39%), discussed above, or the household of Claudia Acte (26%), discussed below (pp. 228-229).

⁷⁸¹ Huttunen 1974, p. 53; Nielsen *Roman Relations*, p. 78.

⁷⁸² Treggiari 1975b, pp. 60-61. Cf. D.32.65.2 on the potential for slaves with multiple occupations.

necessity.⁷⁸³ If the number of necessary staff decreased, the financial incentives to maintain a smaller staff would conspire to decrease staff size further: in a smaller household, it would be more economical to hire an outside physician – or tiler or bird fattener – for occasional use rather than maintain one



permanently on staff. Indeed, there is a considerably more narrow set of job titles attested for the households of Imperial slaves and Imperial freed slaves (Figure 41), with only twenty-four different occupations appearing as compared to nearly three hundred for the Julio-Claudians' own households.

In some cases, despite the additional degree of removal from the Julio-Claudian households, the slaves and freed slaves of household members are, on an occupational level, directly connected to the Julio-Claudians as well. They use the highly specific occupational titles found within the *familia Caesaris*, such as *a sede*, *aedituus ab aede*

⁷⁸³ Cicero (Pis. 67) illustrates Piso's lack of refinement by the use of slaves in multiple jobs, with one slave serving as both cook and majordomo (*idem coquus idem atriensis*), as well as the outsourcing of other tasks, such as baking (*pistor domi nullus*). Conversely, Trimalchio attempts to prove his own wealth by owning multiple slaves for even the most minute task: his massage requires at least three masseurs (Petron. Sat. 28), different waiters wash the hands and feet (Petron. Sat. 31), and he owns a slave whose only occupation is to carve meat at the table (Petron. Sat. 36).

and *pistor candidarius*,⁷⁸⁴ rather than the more generalized titles used within the smaller households of Imperial freed slaves; this likely indicates that the Julio-Claudian households at least occasionally recruited staff from the households of their own freed slaves, and these staff sometimes omit the name of their actual patron in favour of emphasizing their connection to the Julio-Claudians. In at least one instance, the occupational connection is explicit: a freed slave of L. Domitius Paris, himself a freedman of Domitia,⁷⁸⁵ indicates his occupation as *a VII Caesares argentarius coactor* (banker and money collector to seven Caesars).⁷⁸⁶ It was clearly possible for the Julio-Claudians to recruit workers from among the households of their own freed slaves, and conversely, for members of those households to find work in their owner or patron's household of origin.

Evenus and Hesychus

The eruption of Vesuvius in 79 C.E. preserved a series of unique documents inscribed on wax tablets, including legal disputes, loan contracts, and other financial transactions, which can allow us a glimpse of the realities of legal and business activities beyond the elite featured in the literary sources.⁷⁸⁷ One set of documents in particular illustrates the continued connection of Imperial freed slaves to the *familia Caesaris*, the

⁷⁸⁴ CIL 6, 03976 = AE 1992, +00092 (*a sede*, some variety of personal attendant, with a patron in the same inscription who worked as a wool-weigher, or *lanipendens*), CIL 6, 03879 = CIL 6, 32450 (*aedituus ab aede*, or temple attendant), CIL 14, 02302 = D 07462 (*pistor candidarius*, or baker of white bread).

⁷⁸⁵ Domitia was the elder daughter of Antonia the Elder and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and thus Nero's aunt. Her freedman Paris appears in Tacitus (Ann. 13.19-22, 13.27).

⁷⁸⁶ CIL 14, 02886. The identity of the seven Caesars in question is unknown.

⁷⁸⁷ Lintott 2002, p. 556. The documents from Herculaneum are primarily legal in nature, and include the well-known legal case regarding the status of Petronia Iusta (cf. Arangio-Ruiz 1948, Boyé 1959, Wallace-Hadrill 2011, pp. 144-145); the documents from Pompeii includes more financial information, and several deal with business ventures in nearby Puteoli.

business activities of their own slaves, as well as the potential transfer of such slaves back into the Imperial household after the death of an Imperial freed owner.⁷⁸⁸ The documents are precisely dated to the reign of Caligula, with consular dates between 18 June 37 and 15 September 39 and written at Puteoli,⁷⁸⁹ and track a series of loans made to the freedman C. Novius Eunus.⁷⁹⁰ The loans and the related deposits of collateral were administered by a slave named Hesychus,⁷⁹¹ who belonged to Evenus Primianus, himself a freedman of Tiberius.⁷⁹² The documents themselves are inconsistent; the earliest implies that the first loan was made by Evenus himself and merely administered by Hesychus, while the others suggest that all the money involved came directly from Hesychus himself.⁷⁹³ Particularly interesting is the change in Hesychus' status between

⁷⁸⁸ In chronological order: TPSulp 00051 = TPN 00043 = AE 1972, 00086 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1992, +00272 = AE 1999, +00446c = AE 2006, +00135 (18 June 37), TPSulp 00052 = TPN 00044 = AE 1972, 00087 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1992, +00272 = AE 1999, +00446c (2 July 37), TPSulp 00045 = TPN 00086 = AE 1969/70, 00100 = AE 1971, +00091 = AE 1973, 00143 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1984, 00239 = AE 2006, +00135 (2 July 37), TPSulp 00067 = TPN 00058 = AE 1972, 00088 = AE 1980, +00047 (29 August 38), TPSulp 00068 = TPN 00059 = AE 1973, 00138 = AE 1980, +00047 (15 September 39). The inscriptions and their translations are available in Appendix J.

⁷⁸⁹ The tablets may have been written at Puteoli, but they were clearly stored at Pompeii, where they were preserved and found.

⁷⁹⁰ Lintott (2002, p. 557) misunderstands the nomenclature in TPSulp 00045 (= TPN 00086 = AE 1969/70, 00100 = AE 1971, +00091 = AE 1973, 00143 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1984, 00239 = AE 2006, +00135) – *C(ai) Novii Cypaeri l(iberti) Euni* – and calls C. Novius Cypaerus the freedman of Eunus, when in fact the reverse is true, and Cypaerus is Eunus' patron.

⁷⁹¹ The spelling of his name changes throughout the documents – Hesychus, Hessucus, Hesscus, Hescicus, Hesuchus – and frequently within the same document as well.

⁷⁹² Lintott argues that Hesychus is acting in his own interest rather than as his master's agent throughout the entire series (2002, pp. 557-558). Imperial slaves certainly had the ability to lend money: a similar document, also from Pompeii, records a loan of 4,900 sesterces made by a slave of Claudius (TPSulp 00069 = TPN 00060 = AE 1973, 00157).

⁷⁹³ TPSulp 00051 = TPN 00043 = AE 1972, 00086 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1992, +00272 = AE 1999, +00446c = AE 2006, +00135 (sic): *me accepisse ob mutua ab Eueno Ti. Cessarisi Augusti liberto Primiano apssente per Hessucus ser. eius*. It is possible that Eunus had paid back the initial loan from Evenus and subsequently borrowed from Hesychus himself.

the documents dated 2 July 37 and 29 August 38:⁷⁹⁴ his owner has clearly died in the interim, and after 29 August 38, he appears as Hesychus Evenianus, the slave of “Caius Caesar” (that is to say, Caligula).⁷⁹⁵ When Hesychus passed into Caligula’s ownership after his original owner’s death, the debt in question remained – or became, if Evenus had been the original lender – part of his *peculium*. This relative independence in financial affairs is not at all unusual or anomalous, merely an extension of the practice of permitting slaves to own *peculia* and thus manage their own finances.

Specific Households

Whereas the literary sources provide ample evidence of the wealth and prosperity of the most prominent Imperial freed slaves, the epigraphic sources flesh that out by providing some evidence of their households, although remarkably little, considering how wealthy we know some of those discussed here to have been. I am interested only in the actual households known to have belonged to Imperial freed slaves; their roles within their patrons’ households are discussed below, in Chapter Six.

Antonia Caenis, a freedwoman of Antonia the Younger who worked as her a *manu*, later became the mistress of Vespasian.⁷⁹⁶ She died sometime during Vespasian’s reign, and her brief epitaph, inscribed on an ornate marble altar and erected by one of her own freedmen and his children, is extant.⁷⁹⁷ Besides the freedman who commemorated

⁷⁹⁴ TPSulp 00045 (= TPN 00086 = AE 1969/70, 00100 = AE 1971, +00091 = AE 1973, 00143 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1984, 00239 = AE 2006, +00135) and TPSulp 00067 (= TPN 00058 = AE 1972, 00088 = AE 1980, +00047).

⁷⁹⁵ TPSulp 00067 (= TPN 00058 = AE 1972, 00088 = AE 1980, +00047): *H[es]uco C(ai) C(a)es[s]aris Aug(usti) Germ[anici se]r(vo) Eveniano.*

⁷⁹⁶ Suet. Vesp. 3, Suet. Vesp. 21, Suet. Dom. 12.3, Cass. Dio 65.14.

⁷⁹⁷ CIL 6, 12037: *Dis Manib(us) / Antoniae Aug(ustae) / l(ibertae) Caenidis / optumae patron(ae) / Aglaus l(ibertus) cum Aglao / et Glene et Aglaide / filiis.* His children’s status is unclear and they may have been

her, two slaves appear in inscriptions,⁷⁹⁸ along with three Imperial freed slaves who bear the *agnomen* Caenidianus/a. The latter are particularly interesting because all three have different Imperial patrons and thus different *nomina*, illustrating Caenis' longevity within the *familia Caesaris*.⁷⁹⁹ It is also possible to shed further light on Antonia Caenis' household through two second-century inscriptions mentioning an Imperial slave named Onesimus,⁸⁰⁰ who appears with two different occupations, as the overseer of the Caenidian Baths (*vilicus balin(ei) Caenidiani*)⁸⁰¹ and as the overseer of the baths' Greek library (*vilic(us) thermar(um) bybliothe(ae) Gra[ec(ae)]*).⁸⁰² Antonia Caenis' house in

her slaves or freed slaves as well; it is possible that all four were among her heirs, although some of her property is known to have passed into the Imperial household (thus indicating that Vespasian himself was among the heirs). Cf. p. 226, n. 804.

⁷⁹⁸ CIL 6, 04057: *Fusco Antoniae Cae[n]idis / imm(unis) / Antoniae Albanae dec(urioni)*. CIL 6, 08900: *Jius / [3] l(ibertus?) / [3]IV //] / Epitynchan[us 3] / Antoniae C[3] / medicu[s 3] / vixit ann[os 3] / m(enses) V[.]*. It should be noted that the first inscription was found within the *Monumentum Liviae*, and that Antonia Caenis' slave Fuscus was involved with the *collegium* that administered the *columbarium*; the use of the Imperial *columbaria* was clearly not restricted to the Imperial slaves and freed slaves alone, but could be extended to their own slaves and freed slaves in turn.

⁷⁹⁹ CIL 10, 06666 (most likely a freedman of Antonia the Younger): *Eros Aug(ustae) l(ibertus) / procurator / Caenid[i]janus / cum M(arco) Anton[i]o / Quir(ina) Candido / filio suo / tribunis sodal[i]bus / d(onum) d(edit)*. CIL 6, 15110 (probably a freedman of Nero due to the post-Julio-Claudian date, but possibly Claudian): *D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berio) Claudio Aug(usti) lib(erto) / Hermeti Caenidiano / Ti(berius) Claudius Iustus fil(ius) / et Flavia Aug(usti) lib(erta) Tyche / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit)*. CIL 6, 18358 (freedwoman of Vespasian or of one of his sons): *D(is) M(anibus) / Fl(aviae) Aug(usti) lib(ertae) Helpidi / Caenidianae quae / cum vixit dea et sanctissima / dicta est Callistus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / Hyginianus coniugi caris/simae cum qua vixit bene an/nis L et Ulpia Calliste filia matri pi/entissimae libertis libertabus pos/terisque eorum h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*. The third inscription is clearly considerably later in date, probably Trajanic.

⁸⁰⁰ AE 1989, 00211 = AE 1993, 00149 = AE 2003, +00560 and Valnerina p 194 (Valnerina, in Samnium, and an almost-identical, highly fragmentary inscription at Visso in Umbria), CIL 6, 08679 = ZPE-114-205 = AE 1996, 00092 (Rome). For the second-century date, see Weaver and Wilkins 1993, p. 242. Cf. Analyses of the inscriptions and their contents have been conducted by Weaver and Wilkins (1993) and by Houston (1996).

⁸⁰¹ AE 1989, 00211 = AE 1993, 00149 = AE 2003, +00560: *D(is) M(anibus) / Iuliae Fortunatae / vixit anno uno et / menses X dieb(us) VIII / Iulius Florus et / Onesimus Caesar(is) / n(ostris) vilicus balin(ei) / Caenidiani / alumnae dulcissimi/mae fecerunt*. Valnerina p 194: *] / Iul[io 3] q[ui] / vixit anno uno / menses(!) X die[b(us) 3] / Iulius Florus p(ater) / Onesimus Cae[s(aris)] / n(ostris) vilicus b(ene) m(erenti) / Caenid[*

⁸⁰² CIL 6, 08679 = ZPE-114-205 = AE 1996, 00092: *D(is) M(anibus) / Onesimus Cae[s(aris) n(ostris)] / vilic(us) thermar(um) / bybliothe(ae) Gra[ec(ae)] / Crescenti alu/mno / suo vix(it) / an(nos) VIII me(n)s(em) I / b(ene) m(erenti) fecit*. Houston (1996, p. 206) argues for this inscription representing a

Rome has been identified near the Via Nomertana,⁸⁰³ and the baths may have been located near or indeed within the house, which passed into Imperial hands and thus under the management of an Imperial slave *vilicus* after her death.⁸⁰⁴

Caenis' fellow freedman, M. Antonius Pallas, held the highly influential post of a *rationibus* under Claudius, meaning that he was in charge of the accounts of the Imperial household.⁸⁰⁵ He was enormously wealthy in his own right: his net worth exceeded 300 million sesterces,⁸⁰⁶ and Nero eventually poisoned him in order to inherit that wealth.⁸⁰⁷ Although Pallas must have had numerous slaves and freed slaves of his own – certainly a sufficient number for Tacitus to be aware of his arrogant treatment of them⁸⁰⁸ – only two freedmen are known,⁸⁰⁹ along with two slaves that passed into the emperor's ownership.⁸¹⁰

sequence of two positions, first the occupation of *vilicus thermarum* noted in AE 1989, 00211 = AE 1993, 00149 = AE 2003, +00560, followed by a promotion to a *bibliotheca*.

⁸⁰³ Friggeri 1977, pp. 147-148, Weaver and Wilkins 1993, p. 242.

⁸⁰⁴ Friggeri 1977, pp. 147-148. The house is identifiable through a pipe-stamp bearing Caenis' name, and other pipes bear the names of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, thus confirming it as later Imperial property.

⁸⁰⁵ Suet. Claud. 28, Cass. Dio 60.30.6. For the definition of a *rationibus*, see Berger (1953, p. 338) and Millar (1977, pp. 73-77).

⁸⁰⁶ Tac. Ann. 12.53, Plin. HN 33.134. His estates included, at the very least, gardens near Rome which bore his name (Frontin. Aq. 2.69).

⁸⁰⁷ Tac. Ann. 14.65, Suet. Ner. 35.5.

⁸⁰⁸ Tac. Ann. 13.23: *nihil umquam se domi nisi nutu aut manu significasse, vel, si plura demonstranda essent, scripto usum, ne vocem consociaret.*

⁸⁰⁹ CIL 6, 11965 (= CIL 6, 34048): *Dis Manibus M(arcus) Antonius Asclepiades / Pallantis l(ibertus) fecit sibi et / Iuliae Philumen(a)e / coniugi carissimae.* CIL 14, 02833 (= CIL 5, *00429,038 = D 01538): *Dis Manibus / M(arci) Antoni Pallantis l(iberti) / Nobilis / Abascantus Aug(usti) disp(ensator) / a frument(o) de suo fecit.*

⁸¹⁰ Euphemus Pallantianus (CIL 10, 06638 = InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055, passed to Claudius before 50) and Ti. Claudius Carpus Pallantianus, who was subsequently freed by either Claudius or Nero (CIL 6, 08470 = D 01535 and CIL 6, 00143 = D 03896a = AE 1994, 00191 probably refer to the same individual).

What about Pallas' equally-prominent colleagues in Claudius' administration, Narcissus, Felix, and Callistus?⁸¹¹ Narcissus, a freedman of Claudius, was in charge of the emperor's letters (*ab epistulis*)⁸¹² and left over 400 million sesterces upon his death in 54.⁸¹³ Felix was Pallas' brother; his *nomen* is uncertain, and he may have been freed either by Antonia the Younger or by Claudius sometime after her death.⁸¹⁴ C. Iulius Callistus was a freedman of Caligula, in charge of petitions to Claudius, and was also extremely wealthy.⁸¹⁵ Unfortunately, these are all fairly common names,⁸¹⁶ so it is often impossible to determine whether the name identifies the individual in question without additional information. The only certain identification of any of them is on a few lead pipes in Rome, which identify Narcissus by both name and occupation.⁸¹⁷ A former slave of Callistus may appear as a freedman of Galba,⁸¹⁸ provided that the *agnomen* Callistianus does indeed indicate this particular Callistus; similarly, an Imperial slave with the *agnomen* Narcissianus may originally have belonged to Narcissus.⁸¹⁹ In both

⁸¹¹ Cass. Dio 60.30.6.

⁸¹² Berger 1953, p. 338; Millar 1977, pp. 224-228.

⁸¹³ On Narcissus' occupation, influence, and loyalty to Claudius: Cass. Dio 60.14.3, Cass. Dio 60.30.6, Suet. Claud. 28, Tac. Ann. 12.65. On Narcissus' wealth and his death: Cass. Dio 60.34.4, Plin. HN 33.134, Tac. Ann. 13.1.

⁸¹⁴ Claudius: Kokkinos 1990, Weaver 2004a. Antonia the Younger: Brenk and de Rossi 2001, Milano 2006.

⁸¹⁵ Cass. Dio 60.30.6, Joseph. AJ 19.1.10, Plin. HN 33.134, Plin. HN 36.60.

⁸¹⁶ As stated above (p. 188, n. 684), there are 31 men named Felix in this sample alone. There are a further two named Callistus (CIL 6, 04058 and AE 1977.00028 = RICIS-02, 00501/0131), neither of whom can be identical to Caligula's freedman, and nine named Narcissus (CIL 5, 06641 = D 00191, CIL 6, 05206 = D 01755, CIL 6, 05773 = AE 1997, +00102, CIL 6, 09044 = D 07355, CIL 6, 33275, CIL 6, 36911, CIL 10, 08042,082, CIL 14, 02769 = CIL 15, 07149 = D 01639, RIT 00244), not including a Neronian freedman known from Cassius Dio (64.3).

⁸¹⁷ CIL 15, 07500 (= D 01666): *Narcissi Aug(usti) l(iberti) ab epistulis*. Two other examples are known (CIL 15, 07500b and CIL 15, 07500c).

⁸¹⁸ AE 1978, 00052 (= MIRoma-04, 00024): *[Ser(vio) Sul]picio Aug(usti) l(iberto) / Epaphrodito / Callistiano / Sulpicia Soteris / coniugi b(ene) m(erenti)*.

⁸¹⁹ Chyseros Narcissianus (CIL 4, 03340,101). As the inscription is from Pompeii, it must date before 79, but any further accuracy is impossible.

cases, however, there is no supporting evidence that would confirm these origins, and as a result, we know little about what must have been extensive households.

More inscriptions survive for the household of Claudia Acte than for any other Imperial freed slave.⁸²⁰ The freedwoman and mistress of Nero, Acte survived to provide him with proper burial,⁸²¹ and subsequently disappeared from the historical record, although a potential epitaph survives at Velitrae.⁸²² Eleven slaves and nineteen freed slaves appear in the epigraphic record, along with two Neronian freed slaves bearing her *agnomen*.⁸²³ The relatively high number permits further analysis. Eight recorded occupational titles, largely very general titles that would be necessary for the administration of any household.⁸²⁴ Although the majority of Acte's slaves and freed slaves appear in Rome itself, a few indicate possessions in Sardinia: two freedmen and a Neronian freedwoman with the *agnomen* Acteniana appear in separate inscriptions at Olbia,⁸²⁵ while a fourth appears at Carales.⁸²⁶ As Olbia and Carales are at opposite ends of the island, this may indicate separate estates at some distance from one another. Considering that Galba had many of Nero's most prominent freed slaves executed soon

⁸²⁰ Vidman 1969.

⁸²¹ Suet. Ner. 50.1: *reliquias Egloge et Alexandria nutrices cum Acte concubina gentili Domitiorum monimento condiderunt.*

⁸²² CIL 10, 06599: *D(is) M(anibus) / Claudiae Actes.* A lead pipe nearby (CIL 10, 06589 = CIL 15, 07835,1) may also name Acte and thus confirm that she owned property there, strengthening the possibility, but the pipe's inscription is fragmentary, particularly in the area of the *cognomen*.

⁸²³ The full list of inscriptions is available in Appendix K.

⁸²⁴ Acte's staff included a personal secretary (*a manu*, CIL 6, 08890 = D 07396), a courier (*cursor*, CIL 6, 08801 = AE 2000, +00132), an account manager (*procurator summarum*, CIL 6, 09030 = CIL 6, 34865a = D 07386 = AE 1969/70, +00067), two bedroom attendants (*a cubiculo*, CIL 6, 08760 = D 01742; *cubicularius*, CIL 6, 08791), a baker (*pistor*, CIL 6, 09002), and two scribes (*scriba librarius*, CIL 6, 01867a = CIL 6, 32269; *scriba cubiculariorum*, CIL 6, 08767).

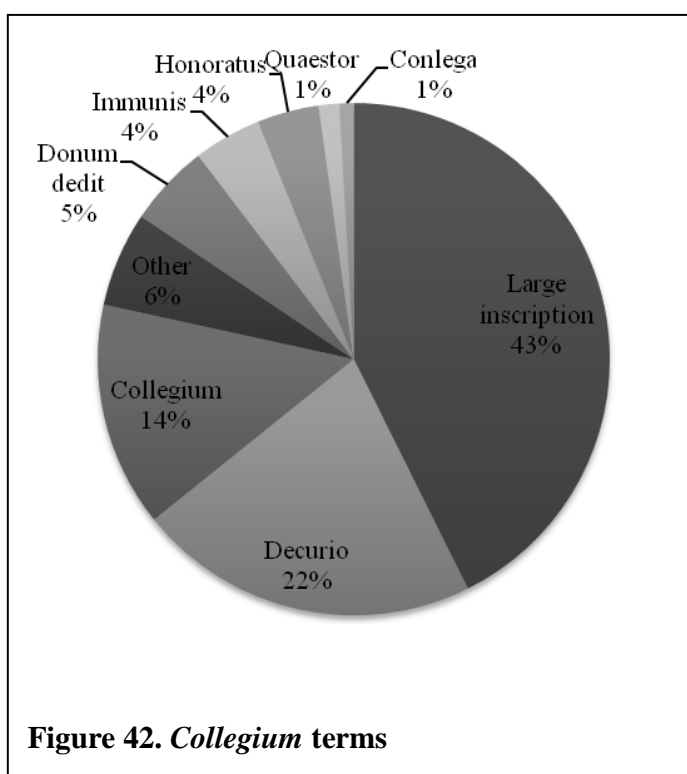
⁸²⁵ AE 1892, 00137 (= ILSard-01, 00313 = D 02595), CIL 10, 07980, CIL 10, 07984.

⁸²⁶ CIL 10, 07640.

after his accession,⁸²⁷ Acte's holdings on Sardinia may be the key to her ultimate fate. She is not named among those executed in the summer of 68 or thereafter, so it is possible that she survived into Vespasian's reign; she may have chosen – or been forced – to live out her life on Sardinia after the fall of Nero, in relative comfort if the size of her household is any indication.

Collegia

A total of 232 individuals (13%) reported some degree of involvement in a *collegium*, and the terminology related to *collegium* participation is highly varied (Figure 42): some individuals were included in lengthy lists of collegial magistrates, others list magisterial titles such as



decurio, *quaestor*, or *magister* or provide relationship terms indicating a collegial bond (such as *sodalis*), still others refer to honours granted by or through a *collegium* with terms such as *honoratus*, *immunis*, *ex decreto decurionum*, or *donum dedit*, and some refer directly to the *collegium* itself. While the majority of individuals who participated

⁸²⁷ Plut. Galb. 17.1, Cass. Dio 64.3.

in a *collegium* were listed in one of the lengthy inscriptions, this is primarily due to the number of names included in some of these large inscriptions: a magistrate list from Antium, for instance, contains a total of 76 names. The variation in potential collegial titles indicates a highly structured, hierarchical system, with the potential for numerous magistrates and different organizational systems.

Overall, there was an extensive system of *collegia* in which members of the Imperial household report involvement. *Collegia* existed for specific occupations within the Imperial household, such as the *collegium Germanorum* which contributed to the burial of many Imperial bodyguards, but specific workers could be affiliated with an occupational *collegium* outside the Imperial household.⁸²⁸ Some *collegia* organizations appear to have specifically religious purposes and functions,⁸²⁹ such as the Augustales, part of the Imperial cult.⁸³⁰ *Collegia* administered the burials, finances, and activities

⁸²⁸ A fragmentary inscription includes the phrase *conlegio scabillariorum* in reference to an Imperial freedman (CIL 6, 33194 = D 07297), and other inscriptions attest to the existence of a *collegium scabillariorum* at Rome (AE 1912, 00084, CIL 6, 06660, CIL 6, 10145, CIL 6, 10146, CIL 6, 10147, CIL 6, 10148, CIL 6, 32294 = CEACelio 00499 = D 01911 = AE 2001, +00219, CIL 6, 33191 = CECapitol 00338) and elsewhere in Italy (CIL 10, 01642, CIL 10, 01643, CIL 10, 01647, CIL 11, 04404); a *scabillum/scabellum* is a type of castanet played with the foot, so that *scabillarius* would denote the musician's occupation. Imperial freedmen also appear among the magistrates of the *collegium fabri tignariorum* (carpenters) in a fragmentary inscription (AE 1941, 00071 = AE 1949, 00192); similarly, this *collegium* appears in Rome (AE 1941, 00069 = AE 2002, +00181, AE 1941.00070 = AE 2002, +00181, AE 1996, 00191, AE 2004, 00285, CIL 6, 00148 = CIL 6, 30703 = CIL 14, 00005 = D 03776, CIL 6, 00996 = CIL 6, 31220a2 = CIL 5, *00161 = D 07224 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 01060 = CIL 6, 33858 = D 07225), elsewhere in Italy (AE 1935, 00025, AE 1983, 00390, CIL 10, 00541 = InscrIt-01-01, *00028, CIL 11, 01355 = D 07227 = Gummerus-01, 00235 = Lunensia p 81, CIL 11, 03936 = D 06588, CIL 11, 04404, CIL 11, 06075, CIL 14, 00105 = CIL 11, *00250,1, CIL 14, 02630 = CIL 10, *00680 = CIL 12, *00021 = D 07237 = AE 2000, +00019, CIL 14, 04136), and in the provinces (CIL 13, 01606 = ILA-Vell 00036 = CAG-43, p 71, CIL 13, 07371, CIL 13, 08344 = RSK 00314 = IKoeln 00442 = Grabstelen 00146 = AE 1899, 00010).

⁸²⁹ An inscription dated 13 June 11 C.E. describes a slave of Claudius as *magister Bellonae* within the context of a *collegium* (CIL 9, 01456 = D 03806 = EE-08-01, 00090 = AE 1995, 00361).

⁸³⁰ For Augustales in the present sample, see AE 1902, 00078 (= EE-09, 00606), AE 1914, 00261 (= D 09504 = CMRDM 00160), CIL 11, 03083 (= CIL 14, *00409 = D 05373 = SupIt-01-FN, 00010), and CIL 11, 03200 (= D 00089). Cf. pp. 136-138.

associated with the individual *columbaria*:⁸³¹ a list of *decuriones* for the years 4 B.C.E. to 1 C.E. is among the inscriptions from the *Monumentum Marcellae*,⁸³² and various *collegium* titles appear elsewhere in that *columbarium* as well as in the *Monumentum Liviae*.⁸³³ Two separate collegial inscriptions at Antium must belong to the large Imperial estate there:⁸³⁴ one of these lists largely Imperial slaves and freed slaves with their occupations,⁸³⁵ while another includes at least a few individuals without an

⁸³¹ I have discussed the *columbaria* and their *collegia* in greater detail above (pp. 26-27).

⁸³² CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 1, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023). Cf. p. 89.

⁸³³ A number of inscriptions in the *Monumentum Marcellae* include collegial titles, both individuals who were members of Julio-Claudian households (CIL 6, 04421 = D 07879, CIL 6, 04451, CIL 6, 04467 = D 07882b, CIL 6, 04481, CIL 6, 04487 = D 07882c, CIL 6, 04492, CIL 6, 04493, CIL 6, 04693) and individuals whose connection with the Julio-Claudians is less certain (CIL 6, 02310 = CIL 6, 04462, CIL 6, 02313 = CIL 6, 04847, CIL 6, 02347 = CIL 6, 04431 = D 01971, CIL 6, 04418 = D 07880 = AE 1999, +00173, CIL 6, 04419 = D 07881, CIL 6, 04429, CIL 6, 04470 = AE 1995, 00095, CIL 6, 04473, CIL 6, 04474, CIL 6, 04480 = D 07882a, CIL 6, 04482, CIL 6, 04484 = D 07882d, CIL 6, 04485, CIL 6, 04486, CIL 6, 04488, CIL 6, 04489, CIL 6, 04490, CIL 6, 04491, CIL 6, 04494, CIL 6, 04495, CIL 6, 04566, CIL 6, 04692, CIL 6, 04710 = D 07885, CIL 6, 04720, CIL 6, 04825 = CLE 01020). Similarly, within the *Monumentum Liviae*, collegial titles are found among members of Julio-Claudian households (CIL 6, 03956 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 03959 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 03965, CIL 6, 03970, CIL 6, 03971 = D 01625, CIL 6, 03978, CIL 6, 03988, CIL 6, 03999, CIL 6, 04012 = D 07887 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 04018, CIL 6, 04019, CIL 6, 04020 = CIL 11, *00027,04 = IMCCatania 00388, CIL 6, 04023, CIL 6, 04024 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 04033 = CIL 10, *01089,044 = IMCCatania 00389, CIL 6, 04037, CIL 6, 04038, CIL 6, 04053 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 04057, CIL 6, 04058, CIL 6, 04062, CIL 6, 04072 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 04086, CIL 6, 04089, CIL 6, 04222 = D 04995 = AE 1992, 00071, CIL 6, 04225 = AE 2000, +00132, CIL 6, 04226 = D 01620, CIL 6, 04237, CIL 6, 04251 = CIL 10, *00947,5, CIL 6, 04305 = D 01732, CIL 6, 04306), but such titles are also found among those whose connection to the Julio-Claudians is uncertain (CIL 6, 03930 = CIL 6, 33062, CIL 6, 03950, CIL 6, 03951 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 03997, CIL 6, 04003 = CIL 6, 02240, CIL 6, 04004, CIL 6, 04013 = CIL 6, 01959 = D 07886 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 04042, CIL 6, 04047 = CIL 6, 33064, CIL 6, 04049 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 04050, CIL 6, 04051, CIL 6, 04052, CIL 6, 04054, CIL 6, 04055, CIL 6, 04056, CIL 6, 04057, CIL 6, 04060, CIL 6, 04061, CIL 6, 04063, CIL 6, 04064, CIL 6, 04065, CIL 6, 04066, CIL 6, 04067, CIL 6, 04068, CIL 6, 04069, CIL 6, 04070 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 04073, CIL 6, 04074, CIL 6, 04075, CIL 6, 04077 = CIL 6, 33065, CIL 6, 04078 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 04079, CIL 6, 04080, CIL 6, 04085 = CIL 6, 33066, CIL 6, 04087, CIL 6, 04088, CIL 6, 04223, CIL 6, 04253, CIL 6, 04254, CIL 6, 04255, CIL 6, 04256, CIL 6, 04265, CIL 6, 04294). The *Monumentum liberorum Drusi* does not contain any collegial titles, an anomaly among the large *columbaria*; the *Monumentum Statiliorum* and the *Monumentum Volusiorum* both contain similar collegial titles to the *Monumentum Marcellae* and the *Monumentum Liviae*. Similarly, the household of Agrippa may have contained a *collegium*, as the presence of a slave in charge of monuments (*ex monumentis*) attests (CIL 6, 05731 = CIL 10, *01088,377 = D 07888b).

⁸³⁴ Cf. p. 58, pp. 90-92.

⁸³⁵ CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055).

immediate affiliation to the *familia Caesaris*.⁸³⁶ It is possible, and even probable, that these are the spouses and illegitimate children of Imperial slaves and freed slaves: the estate at Antium was sufficiently large that multiple *collegia* might have been necessary for administrative purposes, with one serving Imperial slaves and freed slaves, another serving their families, and still another serving free workers, or some other such combination.

The locations of collegial inscriptions can hint at the nature and purpose of the *collegia* themselves. Nearly half (46%) were *columbarium* inscriptions, illustrating the essential role of *collegia* in the management and administration of *columbaria* and their burials. As with the sample as a whole, the majority (79%) were located in Rome itself; the majority of Imperial slaves and freed slaves' inscriptions come from Rome, and, indeed, all the *columbarium* inscriptions in the present sample, so that numerous *collegia* would have been necessary in order to manage and organize such a large group effectively. Outside Rome, collegial inscriptions involving members of the *familia Caesaris* are scattered throughout Italy⁸³⁷ and in the provinces.⁸³⁸ In at least one case, this marks the location of Julio-Claudian property:

⁸³⁶ CIL 10, 06637 (= CIL 6, 08639 = InscrIt-13-01, 00032 = GLISwedish 00149 = Epigraphica-2003-98 = AE 1997, +00102 = AE 2002, 00309 = AE 2003, +00298).

⁸³⁷ Ligures Baebiani (CIL 9, 01456 = D 03806 = EE-08-01, 00090 = AE 1995, 00361), Pompeii (CIL 10, 00924 = D 06381), Puteoli (CIL 10, 01732, CIL 10, 01748, CIL 10, 01810), Antium (CIL 10, 06638 = InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055), Falerii (CIL 11, 03083 = CIL 14, *00409 = D 05373 = SupIt-01-FN, 00010), Nepes (CIL 11, 03200 = D 00089), Caere (CIL 11, 03612 = D 01567 = EAOR-02, 00001 = AE 1890, 00116), Veii (CIL 11, 03805 = D 06579 = Gordon 00061 and CIL 11, 03806 = CIL 6, 10399, which involve the same individual), Sentinum (CIL 11, 05756), Ferentinum (CIL 11, 07431 = AE 1911, 00184), Capena (CIL 11, 07767), Ocriculum (CIL 11, 07804 = CIL 1, 02643 = D 09039 = AE 1899, 00094), Lanuvium (AE 1902, 00078 = EE-09, 00606), Praeneste (CIL 14, 02886), and Asisium (CIL 11, 05418 = D 05459 = ERAssisi 00064).

⁸³⁸ Olbia, Sardinia (AE 1892, 00137 = ILSard-01, 00313 = D 02595); Lipara, Sicilia (CIL 10, 07489 = IGLLipari 00756); Antiochia Pisidiae, Galatia (AE 1914, 00261 = D 09504 = CMRDM 00160); Corinth,

*Zmaragdo vilico / quaest(or)is magistro / ex decurion(um)
decr(eto) familiae Ti(beri) Cae[sa]ris / quae est in
me[ta]llis (CIL 13, 01550 = AE 1892, 00023 = AE 1999,
+00071)*

To Zmaragdus, the overseer, a *quaestor* and a magistrate,
made according to a decree of the *decuriones* by the slaves
of Tiberius Caesar who work in the mines.

The inscription comes from Rutaeni, in Aquitania (near modern Toulouse).

Interestingly, Pliny the Elder reports that the highest-quality copper in the Empire had come from a mine owned by Livia somewhere in Gallia,⁸³⁹ although the mine in question had been nearly tapped out by his day.⁸⁴⁰ There is no way of dating this inscription precisely enough to make the identification certain, but Aquitania certainly falls within the area generally designated “Gallia,” and the dates are sufficiently close: Zmaragdus could easily be the overseer of that same mine, which would have been inherited by Tiberius after Livia’s death.⁸⁴¹ More specifically, he may have been the overseer of those slaves convicted of crimes and sentenced *in metallum*,⁸⁴² working more as the guard of a chain-gang.

Individuals reporting collegial participation differ considerably from those who do not. They are almost exclusively male: only three women report collegial

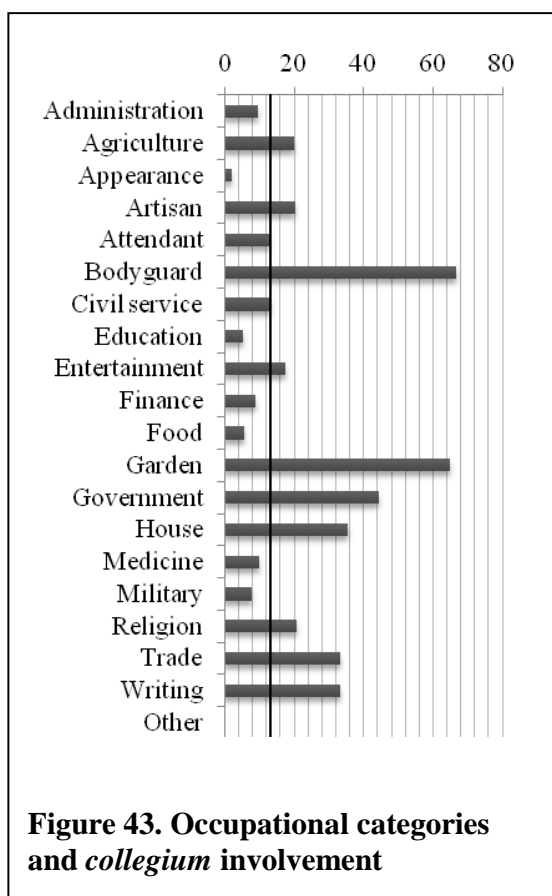
Achaia (AE 1927, 00002 = Corinth-08-02, 00068); Rutaeni, Aquitania (CIL 13, 01550 = AE 1892, 00023 = AE 1999, +00071); Lissus, Dalmatia (AE 1982, 00765 = CIA 00023 = LIA 00021 = AE 2008, +00057 & CIA 00024 = LIA 00022 = AE 1982, 00766 = AE 2008, +00057)

⁸³⁹ On Imperial mines as private enterprises and as prisons, see Millar (1977, pp. 181-185). On the mines owned by Livia in Gaul, see Hurt (2010, pp. 87-88).

⁸⁴⁰ Plin. HN 34.3-4.

⁸⁴¹ Members of the *familia Caesaris* would have provided the management and oversight for the more important Imperial mines, including *procuratores* and *vilici* (Hurt 2010, p. 105, pp. 107-167).

⁸⁴² Hurt 2010, pp. 222-226.



participation.⁸⁴³ An emphasis on slavery as the basis for social relationships accompanies collegial participation: collegial officers are more likely to be Imperial slaves,⁸⁴⁴ more likely to report servile relationships,⁸⁴⁵ and more likely to have *agnomina* linking them with freed slaves.⁸⁴⁶

Involvement in *collegia* was closely related to occupation, with collegial officers (67%) more likely than the sample as a whole (43%) to report occupation.⁸⁴⁷ The occupational categories vary

enormously in terms of the proportions that report collegial involvement,⁸⁴⁸ as illustrated in Figure 43; the line indicates the proportion for the whole sample that reports collegial involvement (13%). Most notably, agricultural workers, artisans, bodyguards, gardeners, government workers, household staff, religious workers, tradesmen, or writing staff were

⁸⁴³ This is lower than would be expected: the five large *columbaria* include a considerable proportion of women involved in their *collegia*, but these women are generally not Imperial slaves or freed slaves (Penner 2012, p. 149).

⁸⁴⁴ $p = 0.000$. 64% are Imperial slaves, as compared to 42% of the sample as a whole.

⁸⁴⁵ $p = 0.000$. Whereas 46% of the sample reported a servile relationship, 73% of those involved in a *collegium* did so, primarily through their association with other Imperial slave or freed slave members of the same *collegium*.

⁸⁴⁶ $p = 0.005$. Collegial officers are more likely to have *agnomina* (20%) than the sample as a whole (14%), and those *agnomina* are also more likely to derive from the names of freed slaves (46%) than in the sample as a whole (37%).

more likely to report collegial involvement, while those who worked in fields related to appearance, education, or food were less likely to report collegial involvement. Several factors would have contributed to these differences. Particular occupations – such as the German bodyguards – had known *collegia* within the Imperial household that took care of their burial, whereas members of other occupations would have had access to occupationally-focused *collegia*. The *collegium* in CIL 10.06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055) is composed of staff of the estate at Antium, which would have very specific staffing requirements, as is evidenced by the distribution of occupational titles.⁸⁴⁹ Because individuals higher up the internal hierarchy of the household and those with higher social status seem to be more likely to be involved in *collegia* in general,⁸⁵⁰ occupations that reflected high status within the household or outside of it are over-represented.

Most notably, the members of the *familia Caesaris* were largely involved in highly formalized *collegia*, rather than the informal burial associations that existed outside the Imperial household and served small groups of friends, co-workers, or other associates.⁸⁵¹ On one hand, due to their numbers, the usage of *columbaria*, and their occupational specialization, the slaves and freed slaves of the Julio-Claudians would not have needed such informal *collegia*, when they had easy access to formal *collegia* that

⁸⁴⁷ p = 0.000.

⁸⁴⁸ p = 0.000.

⁸⁴⁹ Nearly all (88%) those listed in CIL 10.06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055) identify themselves by both *cognomen* and occupation: occupations that appear more than twice include eleven ornamental gardeners (*topiarii*), eleven majordomos (*atrienses*), four library workers (*a bybliothecae*), three plasterers (*tectores*), and three physicians (*medici*). The inscription itself is available in Appendix C.

⁸⁵⁰ Penner 2012, p. 149.

served the same purposes. Of course, it is possible and even probable that some Imperial slaves and freed slaves opted for burial within such informal associations without including their status indicator,⁸⁵² thereby minimizing their connection to the Imperial household and excluding them from the present sample.

Conclusions

The interpersonal relationships of the slaves and freed slaves of the Julio-Claudian households provide some insight into the personal lives and social networks created within the *familia Caesaris*. Based on these analyses of individual types of relationship, larger trends emerge than permeate the Imperial household and illustrate the unique social status granted to its members as compared to their counterparts within the wider population.

First, the importance of occupation as an indicator of social status and hierarchical position within the *familia Caesaris* had a major impact on interpersonal relationships. Not only were members of the Imperial household more likely to include occupational titles than those outside the Imperial household, but the precise nature of those occupations influenced the types of relationships open to slaves and freed slaves as well as the types of relationships within which they could expect to be commemorated. The impact of occupation is especially strong among men, who made up the majority of the Imperial household. Men with high-status occupations – those who worked within the *familia Caesaris* at the highest levels of the civil service, the domestic administration, of

⁸⁵¹ See Nielsen (2006) for an extensive discussion of such informal associations in the epigraphic material.

⁸⁵² For example, ILMN-01, 00642 (= CIL 6, *03051), which is discussed below (p. 310, n. 1224), and the very similar ILMN-01, 00643 (= CIL 6, *03052), both of which contain lists of *Vipsanii*.

the management of agricultural estates, or outside of it in local government or in the military – were far more likely to report a wife than were those in lower-status occupations, as their occupational success and their internal status would have encouraged their elite masters or patrons to find them wives while simultaneously contributing to the likelihood of being chosen by a woman or her family as a potential husband. At the same time, occupational connections to other men, especially other male slaves within the same household, provided access to burial through relationships between *conservi* or through participation in one of the highly-structured Imperial *collegia*. Some *collegia*, like that comprising the members of the German bodyguard, were entirely occupational in nature, but even those belonging to specific households or specific Imperial estates placed enormous emphasis on occupation as a major component of identity.

Next, despite the fact that women were a considerable minority within the *familia Caesaris*, there were some major differences in their experiences and their relationships as compared to their male counterparts. Overall, women are paired with men of lower legal status, or appear only when they themselves are of high legal status, reflecting both the epigraphic tendency to include women only when their status demands it as well as – most likely – their higher chances of early manumission as compared to men. Women were also far more likely to appear in familial relationships, as mothers and as other relatives, rather than within occupational relationships or *collegia*; unlike male slaves, it seems that women within the Imperial household were more likely to have had relatives, spouses, or children to take care of their burial rather than relying on their fellow slaves or freed slaves or other occupational or collegial associates to take care of burial on their

behalf. While women themselves were no more likely to report a spouse than men, their marriage patterns differ enormously, partially due to the scarcity of women within the Imperial household. Following the general epigraphic trend, women most likely married for the first time in their late teens and men in their late twenties. In addition, women were far more likely to choose a spouse from within the Imperial household: the extent to which women were outnumbered would have provided women with a vast number of potential spouses and may in fact have granted them a great deal of choice in terms of spouse selection, possibly to the point of polyandrous relationships. By contrast, men could not necessarily expect to find a spouse from within the limited pool of Imperial slavewomen and freedwomen, so that they frequently married outside the *familia Caesaris* thanks to the high social status provided by their Imperial connections. The differences went even deeper, with men more likely to marry women of higher legal status than themselves, while women were more likely to marry men of the same or lower legal status, possibly because women were more likely to receive early manumission.

This leads us to the final and perhaps most important factor influencing social relationships: legal status and the very nature of slavery itself. Status impacted choice of marriage partners, connections between children and their parents, and participation in highly structured organizations like collegia. Servile relationships overlap extensively with other, more personal connections such as spouses, children, and family members; this overlap counteracts the destabilizing effect of slavery on social relationships and allows slaves to maintain contact and stable family lives within the Imperial household. While the children of Julio-Claudian slaves and freed slaves rarely maintained their parents' direct connection to the Imperial household into a second generation, the slaves

and freed slaves of those Imperial slaves and freed slaves formed a unique group that retained their owners' and patrons' connection to the *familia Caesaris* and copied their commemorative habits, but without such high social status and the benefits that accrued from that social status. Experiences of shared slavery were vital in the initial creation and long-term maintenance of personal relationships, to the point where such relationships of shared slavery were concealed within other relationships or were over-extended to the slaves and freed slaves of other, closely-related households. Relationships of shared slavery ran parallel to other interpersonal relationships, with relatives by both blood and marriage frequently appearing within the Julio-Claudian households. Even alone, however, they formed a key component of the social networks of Imperial slaves and freed slaves.

CHAPTER SIX: HOUSEHOLDS

The total number of slaves, freed slaves, and other workers directly connected to each member of the extended Julio-Claudian dynasty is presented in Table 1, excluding the slaves and freed slaves of Imperial slaves and freed slaves, whom I have already discussed at length.⁸⁵³

Table 1. Extant household members of the Julio-Claudians

Julio-Claudian	Number	Julio-Claudian	Number
Emperor (unspecified)	329	Marcella the Elder	5
Augustus	279	Nero Caesar	5
Livia	196	Regillus	5
Tiberius	176	Livia Julia	4
Claudius	133	Agrippina the Younger	4
Antonia the Younger	63	Asinia Agrippina ⁸⁵⁴	3
Nero	63	Drusus Caesar	3
Caligula	47	Marcellus	3
Germanicus	32	Scribonia	3
Marcella (either)	32	Lucius Caesar	2
Octavia the Younger	18	Iullus Antonius	2
Messalina	18	Julia the Elder	2
Silanus (any)	16	<i>Iulia, Germanici filia</i>	2
Statilia Messalina	13	Drusus the Younger	2
Paullus	13	Britannicus	2
Messala (either)	13	Antonia the Elder	2
Agrippa	9	Agrippa Postumus	2
Lepidus (any)	9	Aemilia Lepida <i>Silani</i> ⁸⁵⁵	2
Livilla	9	Domitia	1
Marcella the Younger	9	Drusilla	1
Poppaea Sabina	7	Drusus the Elder	1
Agrippina the Elder	7	Livia Medullina	1
Claudia Octavia	6	Torquatus (any) ⁸⁵⁶	1
Claudia Antonia	6	Vipsania	1
Agrippina (either)	5		

⁸⁵³ See above, pp. 212-229.

⁸⁵⁴ This is the granddaughter of Vipsania, who was the daughter of Agrippa and the first wife of Tiberius.

⁸⁵⁵ This is the daughter of Julia the Younger and the wife of M. Junius Silanus Torquatus; her homonymous paternal cousin, who was the wife of Drusus Caesar, appears only in the epitaph of her *grammaticus* (CIL 6, 09449 = CIL 05, *00592 = CLE 00994 = D 01848 = AE 1999, +00024), a freedman of her father M. Aemilius Lepidus.

A further sixteen individuals recorded only a secondary connection to the Julio-Claudians, generally through the use of an agnomen along with the name of a non-Julio-Claudian master or patron or with no clear indication that they remained within the Julio-Claudian households.⁸⁵⁷ As identification of a specific Julio-Claudian can sometimes be confusing due to the re-use of names, they are included in the list of proper names in Appendix A, along with the appropriate reference numbers in PIR.

In addition to the epigraphic data summarized in Table 1, I have included literary references to slaves, freed slaves, and other workers in the sections discussing the household of their primary owner, patron, or employer.⁸⁵⁸ Such references are scattered and provide only meagre information; very few slaves or freed slaves are mentioned by name in more than one source or on more than one occasion. While the epigraphic sources present their own biases, the literary sources' biases arise from the reasons for which particular slaves or freed slaves appear. They appear when they played a vital role in a particular incident, when they possess some exceptional characteristic, or – perhaps most frequently – when they serve as a symbol of the loyalty which a slave or freed slave ought to display, or conversely, of the lack of such loyalty.

⁸⁵⁶ The inscription (CIL 6, 07636) uses only the *cognomen* – *Iunia Stadio / Torquati l(iberta)* – and thus could belong to the husband of Aemilia Lepida or to any of their three sons.

⁸⁵⁷ These cases are discussed in greater detail below (pp. 347-348).

⁸⁵⁸ In only one case – that of Mark Antony – are slaves or freed slaves known from the literary sources but not from the epigraphic material, perhaps unsurprisingly given the early date and the rapid expansion of the epigraphic habit during the reign of Augustus. A few names survive from Antony's household: a freedman named Callias whom Antony used as a messenger (App. B.Civ. 5.93); Rhodion and Theodorus, the paedagogues of Caesarion and Antyllus respectively (Plut. Ant. 81.1-2, 87.1; Cass. Dio 51.15.5; Suet. Aug. 17.5); Euphronius, probably the teacher of Alexander Phoebus, Cleopatra Selene, and Ptolemy Philadelphus (Plut. Ant. 72.1, where he is described as *παίδων διδάσκαλος*); and the freed stewards Theophilus and Hipparchus, father and son, who defected to Octavian at Actium (Plut. Ant. 67.7, Plin. HN 35.201).

For the epigraphic data, I have created a profile for each of the large households, illustrating the gender ratio, the status distribution, and the occupational distribution found within each household. For each profile, the charts are formatted identically, allowing for the rapid comparison of households. The precise inscriptions included in each household, along with their locations, are listed in Appendix L; the number of inscriptions for each household does not necessarily match the number of individuals, as inscriptions can contain more than one individual from a particular household, especially given the frequency of *conservus* and *collibertus* relationships. Similarly, inscriptions can appear under the headings for several households, when those inscriptions include individuals directly connected to multiple Julio-Claudians.

Excluded Individuals

The need to set firm boundaries for the Julio-Claudian households meant that certain individuals who were indirectly or more distantly connected to the Julio-Claudians were excluded from the sample. While I have not included any of these inscriptions in my statistical analyses, a brief digression is warranted; the inscriptions themselves are listed in their entirety in Appendix M.

First, there were those who were distantly related to the Julio-Claudians by blood or marriage, namely Juba and Ptolemaeus, kings of Mauritania, and the Chief Vestal Junia Torquata. There are ten inscriptions mentioning Juba, king of Mauritania (r. 25 B.C.E. – 23 C.E.), all but one of which were found at his capital, Caesarea.⁸⁵⁹ The nine inscriptions from Caesarea mention ten freed slaves, seven men and three women,

whereas the sole exception is an inscription from Rome naming a slave mime.⁸⁶⁰ The literary sources further reveal that Juba's personal physician, Euphorbus, was the brother of Antonius Musa, Augustus' personal physician.⁸⁶¹ As for Juba's son Ptolemaeus (r. 23-40), seven inscriptions name six freed slaves and one slave belonging to him,⁸⁶² and all but one are male. As with his father, the inscriptions naming Ptolemaeus' household are almost exclusively from Caesarea, with one exception, a freedman named in the libertination of his own freed *concubina* at Rome.⁸⁶³ One other potential freedman appears in Pliny the Elder.⁸⁶⁴ During the reign of Claudius, a freedman named Aedemon took up arms against Roman rule; Pliny the Elder describes him as an "avenging freedman" (*ulciscente liberto*), which implies, despite the lack of pronoun, that he was Ptolemaeus' own freedman, given the traditional depiction of freedmen as loyal to their patrons. For both Juba and Ptolemaeus, the highly Romanized format of the inscription should be noted: these inscriptions belong to foreign, if Romanized, kings, and were almost exclusively found in Mauritania. Stylistically, however, they are quite culturally Roman, although some aspects of their wording and format mirror the later North African inscriptions.⁸⁶⁵

⁸⁵⁹ CIL 8, 09344, CIL 8, 09348, CIL 8, 09349, CIL 8, 09350 (= CLE +01455), CIL 8, 21085, CIL 8, 21086, CIL 8, 21087, CIL 8, 21088, AE 1985, 00956.

⁸⁶⁰ CIL 6, 10110 (= D 05216).

⁸⁶¹ Plin. HN 25.77. On Antonius Musa: Cass. Dio 53.30.3-4, Suet. Aug. 59, Plin. HN 19.38. Juba may well have been in Rome during Augustus' severe illness in 23 B.C.E. and have acquired Euphorbus' services at that time.

⁸⁶² AE 1971, 00519, CIL 6, 20409, CIL 8, 09351, CIL 8, 21091, CIL 8, 21093 = AE 1891, 00168 = AE 1892, 00112, CIL 8, 21094, CIL 8, 21095.

⁸⁶³ CIL 6, 20409.

⁸⁶⁴ Plin. HN 5.11.

⁸⁶⁵ See, for example, the inscriptions from the *columbarium* of the *familia Caesaris* at Carthage, in use from about 70 C.E. to 170 C.E. (Barton 1972).

Junia Torquata's family was closely connected to the Julio-Claudians. Her brother D. Junius Silanus was exiled for his affair with Julia the Younger,⁸⁶⁶ while her niece Junia Claudilla was the first wife of Caligula.⁸⁶⁷ Junia Torquata herself was a Vestal Virgin,⁸⁶⁸ remaining in the priesthood for sixty-four years and eventually attaining the rank of Chief Vestal.⁸⁶⁹ Four inscriptions mention her personal household,⁸⁷⁰ including two freedwomen and four freedmen. Interestingly, both of the freedwomen appear with *colliberti* to whom they are also married,⁸⁷¹ highlighting the tendency for the slaves and freed slaves of the elite to marry within their own household, even when that household was relatively small; one cannot imagine that the Vestals retained vast retinues of personal servants,⁸⁷² when the everyday business of household management was likely provided by the state.⁸⁷³

In addition to distant relatives of the Julio-Claudians, a number of high-ranking advisors and staff of the emperors appear in the epigraphic material with their slaves and

⁸⁶⁶ Tac. Ann. 3.24.

⁸⁶⁷ Suet. Calig. 12, Tac. Ann. 6.25, 6.50.

⁸⁶⁸ She is only mentioned once in the literary sources (Tac. Ann. 3.69), as interceding in the selection of a suitable island for her brother Caius' exile. Her brothers' approximate birth dates can be calculated from their consulships – Caius was consul in 10 and Marcus was consul in 19, placing their births around 25 to 20 B.C.E. Torquata's birth likely falls around those dates as well, which would put her entrance into the Vestals approximately between 15 and 10 B.C.E. She may well have become a Vestal Virgin on the occasion described in Suetonius (Aug. 31.3), as Augustus clearly had granddaughters at the time, but none who were between the required ages of six and ten (Gell. NA 1.12), a situation which would fit with the time period in question.

⁸⁶⁹ Tacitus' account of Messalina's death reveals that the Chief Vestal in October of 48 was named Vibidia (Tac. Ann. 11.32); Torquata most likely succeeded her.

⁸⁷⁰ CIL 6, 02127 = CIL 6, 32403 = AE 2006, +00118, CIL 6.02128 = D 04923 = AE 2006, +00118, CIL 6, 20788, CIL 6, 20852.

⁸⁷¹ CIL 6, 20788 (*colliberto carissimo*), CIL 6, 20852 (*carissimo conliberto et viro optimo*).

⁸⁷² See Scardigli (1997) on the staffing needs of the Vestals: she discusses Junia Torquata in particular at p. 243.

⁸⁷³ Public slaves seem to have been provided for the holders of various priesthoods, including the Vestals, when their services were directly required for the performance of the necessary duties (Scardigli 1997, pp.

freed slaves. The majority served as praetorian prefects, including Rufrius Crispinus, Sejanus, Burrus, and Nymphidius Sabinus, but slaves are also known for Seneca and for Xenophon, Claudius' physician.

Rufrius Crispinus, once a commander of the praetorian guards,⁸⁷⁴ was Poppaea Sabina's first husband.⁸⁷⁵ She divorced him in order to marry Otho and subsequently Nero himself, while Crispinus was banished in 65 on the pretext of involvement in the Pisonian conspiracy,⁸⁷⁶ and was forced to suicide a year later.⁸⁷⁷ A single inscription from Amiternum names his household members, a freed mother and her slave son.⁸⁷⁸

Tiberius' ambitious praetorian prefect, L. Aelius Sejanus, exercised unparalleled influence over the emperor through much of his reign; when his plans were revealed in October 31, he was promptly executed.⁸⁷⁹ Three inscriptions naming three slaves and one freedman survive,⁸⁸⁰ and given the little we know about the exact circumstances of Sejanus' disgrace and execution,⁸⁸¹ it is likely that all three of these date before 31.⁸⁸² All

233-234); for instance, as Vestals retained the wills of the elite, their staff would likely include secretaries of various sorts (*ibid.*, p. 235).

⁸⁷⁴ Tac. Ann. 11.1, 12.42, 16.17.

⁸⁷⁵ Plut. Galb. 19.2-4, Tac. Ann. 13.45, Cass. Dio 61.11. They had a son, also named Rufrius Crispinus, who was drowned by his own slaves on Nero's orders (Suet. Ner. 35).

⁸⁷⁶ Tac. Ann. 15.71. Nero hated Crispinus simply because he had once been married to Poppaea Sabina (*Neroni invisus, quod Poppaeam quondam matrimonio tenuerat*).

⁸⁷⁷ Tac. Ann. 16.17.

⁸⁷⁸ SupIt-09-A, 00158 = AE 1992, 00483.

⁸⁷⁹ Sejanus' influence: Tac. Ann. 1.24, 3.29, 4.3, 4.7-11, 4.39-41, 4.56-59, 4.68, 4.74, Suet. Tib. 62, Suet. Claud. 27, Cass. Dio 57.19.6-7, 57.21-22, 58.2.5, 58.11.5. Sejanus' execution: Tac. Ann. 5.6-8, 6.2-4, 6.19, 6.23-25, Suet. Tib 48, 65, Cass. Dio 58.4-19, Joseph. AJ 18.6-7.

⁸⁸⁰ CIL 6.06030 = D 07394, CIL 6, 10769, CIL 6, 13532.

⁸⁸¹ Tacitus' narrative of the events is no longer extant; it was originally in the now-missing sections of book five of the Annals.

⁸⁸² One (CIL 6, 06030 = D 07394) comes from a *columbarium* near the Porta Praenestina (CIL 6, 05961 – CIL 6, 06212), and the inscriptions within nearly all date to the reign of Tiberius. The slaves' inscriptions must date before 31; the freedman could be later, but it is unlikely due to the inscription's brevity, which is characteristic of the Augustan or Tiberian periods, and the tendency to omit the name of a disgraced patron. Cf. pp. 330-331.

four are male, and they include an *a manu*, a vital staff member for any senatorial or equestrian man with ambitions toward power.⁸⁸³

Claudius' personal physician,⁸⁸⁴ C. Stertinius Xenophon, was one of a pair of brothers from Cos, both of whom became wealthy, successful physicians in Rome.⁸⁸⁵ Tacitus implicates him in Claudius' murder: he states that Agrippina the Younger had secured his assistance ahead of time, and that Xenophon administered rapid poison under the pretext of inducing vomiting when the original poison did not act quickly enough.⁸⁸⁶ In addition to a lead pipe from Rome, which likely identifies his house,⁸⁸⁷ there is a single inscription identifying two of his slaves.⁸⁸⁸

In the first years of Nero's reign, he relied heavily on two advisors in order to make his most vital decisions: Sex. Afranius Burrus, the praetorian prefect,⁸⁸⁹ and L. Annaeus Seneca.⁸⁹⁰ Eventually, Nero had both men killed or forced to suicide, Burrus in 62 and Seneca in 65.⁸⁹¹ Three inscriptions relate to Burrus' household, naming at least two freedmen and a freedwoman, along with a Flavian freedman bearing the *agnomen* Burrianus.⁸⁹² The latter probably indicates the ultimate fate of Burrus' household,

⁸⁸³ For the importance of the *a manu*, see pp. 51.

⁸⁸⁴ Tac. Ann. 12.61.

⁸⁸⁵ Plin. HN 29.7-8.

⁸⁸⁶ Tac. Ann. 12.67. Cf. Suet. Claud. 44, who does not name Xenophon, but does suggest that the final, fatal dose was given under the guise of medical treatment for the first attempt.

⁸⁸⁷ CIL 15, 07544.

⁸⁸⁸ CIL 6, 08905 (= D 01841 = Gummerus-01, 00053 = Manacorda 00047 = AE 2000, +00132).

⁸⁸⁹ Tac. Ann. 12.42, 12.69, 13.2, 13.6, 13.20, 13.23, 14.7, Joseph. AJ 20.8.2, Cass. Dio 61.3-4, 61.7, 62.13.

⁸⁹⁰ Tac. Ann. 12.8, 13.2-4, 14.2, 14.11, 14.52-56, Cass. Dio 60.32, 60.35, 61.3-4, 61.7, 61.10-12.

⁸⁹¹ Burrus: Tac. Ann. 14.51, Suet. Ner. 35.5, Cass. Dio 62.13. Seneca the Younger: Tac. Ann. 15.60-65, Cass. Dio 62.25, Suet. Ner. 35.5.

⁸⁹² SupIt-12-At, 00005 = AE 1994, 00593, CIL 6, 09059 = AE 2000, +00132, CIL 6, 16963.

absorbed by Nero into the *familia Caesaris*.⁸⁹³ As for Seneca, only one potential inscription survives, belonging to a slave from Noricum,⁸⁹⁴ and the connection is tenuous at best. Considerably more is known from Seneca's own writings. One of his villas was administered by the *vilicus* Philositus, whose son Felicio had been Seneca's *delicium*.⁸⁹⁵ In taking his daily exercise, Seneca ran around with a slave child named Pharius,⁸⁹⁶ whom he describes as a *progymnasta* and whose duties appear to have involved taking exercise with Seneca.⁸⁹⁷ His household also contained a clown (*fatua*) named Harpaste, whom his wife Pompeia inherited; Seneca was forced to provide for her when she went blind despite her lack of contribution to the household.⁸⁹⁸ Despite Seneca's own complaints about his household, Tacitus provides another angle: the freedman Cleonicus, whom Nero coerced into attempting to poison Seneca, remained loyal to his master and may have warned him of the attempt on his life.⁸⁹⁹

Another praetorian prefect, Nymphidius Sabinus, had a two-fold connection to the Imperial household. In addition to his own role as praetorian prefect,⁹⁰⁰ his mother Nymphidia was the natural daughter of Callistus,⁹⁰¹ the freedman of Caligula who was in

⁸⁹³ He had already proven that he was willing to suppress wills in order to gain the property of his relatives (Suet. Ner. 34.5, Cass. Dio 61.17.1-2).

⁸⁹⁴ CIL 3, 05067 (= ILLPRON 01436 = RIS 00261).

⁸⁹⁵ Sen. Ep. 12.3.

⁸⁹⁶ He seems to be a slightly older child, probably between the ages of six and ten: Seneca describes him as *puer* and states that Pharius is losing his teeth, like Seneca himself (Sen. Ep. 83.4).

⁸⁹⁷ Sen. Ep. 83.4-5.

⁸⁹⁸ Sen. Ep. 50.2.

⁸⁹⁹ Tac. Ann. 15.45. Tacitus also offers the possibility that Seneca suspected poison on his own, but the emphasis is certainly on Cleonicus' unwillingness to murder his patron.

⁹⁰⁰ Plut. Galb. 8.1-2, Suet. Galb. 11, Tac. Hist. 1.5.

⁹⁰¹ Plut. Galb. 9.1-3. After Nero's death, Nymphidius claimed that his father was Caligula (Plut. Galb. 9.1-3, Tac. Ann. 15.72). Both Plutarch and Tacitus dismiss this claim as part of his attempt to seize the throne for himself: Plutarch sees problems with the timing of Nymphidius' birth and names a gladiator as

charge of petitions under Claudius.⁹⁰² Two inscriptions refer to Nymphidius' household, one of which names a slave together with his *vicarius*, and the other of which identifies a probable Flavian freedman bearing the *agnomen* Nymphidianus.⁹⁰³ Both inscriptions reveal a great deal about the degree of Nymphidius' integration with the Imperial household. The first was found within the *Monumentum Statiliorum*,⁹⁰⁴ which was largely reserved for the slaves and freed slaves of the Statilii;⁹⁰⁵ the presence of an inscription indicates that permission must have been granted by the elite owners. Nymphidius was praetorian prefect by the time of Poppaea Sabina's death in 65, and as he remained in that position until after Nero's death, he would have come into close contact with Nero's third wife and the final owner of the *columbarium* in question, Stabilia Messalina. It would certainly not be out of the question for her or her administrators to have granted his slave's *vicarius* permission to bury his wife and son within her family's *columbarium*. In the second inscription, while there is no explicit status indicator, the combination of the *agnomen* with the Flavian *praenomen-nomen* combination strongly suggests that he was the freedman of one of the Flavian emperors. He likely entered the household after Nymphidius' abortive attempt to cease power for

Nymphidius' father, while Tacitus claims that Nymphidia had worked as a prostitute within the Imperial household, although both explicitly acknowledge that she probably did have a relationship with Caligula.

⁹⁰² Cass. Dio 60.30.6. Cf. pp. 270-272 for further discussion of Callistus.

⁹⁰³ CIL 6, 06621 (= MNR-01-07-01, p 26), CIL 6, 18241.

⁹⁰⁴ CIL 6, 06621 (= MNR-01-07-01, p 26).

⁹⁰⁵ There are 650 names within the preserved inscriptions of the *columbarium*, of which the vast majority either have no nomen (60.6%) or are Statilii (25.5%). The remainder are largely spouses or other relatives of the first two groups.

himself in 68 ended in his death;⁹⁰⁶ Galba most likely seized Nymphidius' property, including his slaves, and integrated it into the Imperial household.

Julio-Claudian Households: Emperors

Slightly more than half the individuals in the present sample (57.2%) were the slaves or freed slaves of one of the Julio-Claudian emperors themselves. While it is impossible to give a reign-by-reign account of the development of the *familia Caesaris* from its beginnings within Octavian's household to its formalization shortly after the Julio-Claudian period, there are differences between the various emperors' households that merit further discussion.

Augustus

Literary Sources

Thanks to the accounts of the civil wars that followed Caesar's assassination, we know quite a bit about the household of the young Octavian. Sphaerus, his freedman and paedagogus (*παιδαγωγός*), died in 40 B.C.E., and Octavian granted him a public funeral.⁹⁰⁷ Another freedman, Thyrsus, was so heavily involved in the negotiations that followed Actium that Antony became suspicious of his lengthy conversations with Cleopatra and flogged him before returning him to Octavian.⁹⁰⁸ Epaphroditus, also a freedman, was placed in charge of guarding Cleopatra during her final days in order to preserve her for Octavian's triumph.⁹⁰⁹ Finally, Augustus' enjoyment of the youthful

⁹⁰⁶ Tac. Hist. 1.5, Suet. Galb. 11, Plut. Galb. 9.1, 13-15.

⁹⁰⁷ Cass. Dio 48.33.1.

⁹⁰⁸ Plut. Ant. 73.1-2.

⁹⁰⁹ Cass. Dio 51.11.4, Plut. Ant. 79.3.

antics of *deliciae*⁹¹⁰ seems to have begun early: shortly before Actium, one of Cleopatra's companions complained that they drank sour wine in Alexandria while Sarmentus, one of Octavian's favourites (*δηλίκια*), drank Falernian at Rome.⁹¹¹

Due to Augustus' lifelong health problems, we know the names of several of his physicians. A physician named Artorius was with him at the battle of Philippi,⁹¹² but by the time of his severe illness in 23 B.C.E., his personal physician was C. Aemilius.⁹¹³ When Aemilius' treatments failed to have any effect, he was fired and replaced by Antonius Musa, whose success in curing Augustus provided him with a job for life.⁹¹⁴

Suetonius in particular provides a variety of details about Augustus' slaves and freed slaves, devoting an entire section to the matter:

Patronus dominusque non minus severus quam facilis et clemens multos libertorum in honore et usu maximo habuit, ut Licinum et Celadum aliosque. Cosmum servum gravissime de se opinantem non ultra quam compedibus coercuit. Diomedem dispensatorem, a quo simul ambulante incurrenti repente fero apro per metum obiectus est, maluit timiditatis arguere quam noxae, remque non minimi periculi, quia tamen fraus aberat, in iocum vertit. Idem Polum ex acceptissimis libertis mori coegit compertum adulterare matronas; Thallo a manu, quod pro epistula prodita denarios quingentos accepisset, crura ei fregit; paedagogum ministrosque C. fili, per occasionem valitudinis mortisque eius superbe avareque in provincia grassatos, oneratis gravi pondere cervicibus praecipitavit in flumen. (Suet. Aug. 67)

⁹¹⁰ Suetonius (Aug. 83) reports that he kept little boys (*pueris minutis*) around for their beauty and chatter, and played games with dice, marbles, and nuts with them. Cf. Cass. Dio 48.44.3, where a naked slave boy makes a joke about the hasty marriage of Octavian and Livia.

⁹¹¹ Plut. Ant. 59.4. Sarmentus also appears in Quintilian (Inst. 6.3.58), Horace (Sat. 1.5.51-70), and Juvenal (5.3); the passage in Horace reveals that he was not Octavian's slave or freed slave, but was instead the slave of an unnamed *domina* (Sat. 1.5.55).

⁹¹² Val. Max. 1.7.1.

⁹¹³ Plin. HN 19.38.

⁹¹⁴ Cass. Dio 53.30.2-4, Suet. Aug. 59, 81.1, Plin. HN 19.38.

No less strict than easy and merciful as a patron and a master, he held many among his freedmen in honour and the greatest intimacy, such as Licinus and Celadus, among others. He compelled his slave Cosmus, who had spoken about him in a most severe manner, to nothing beyond shackles. He preferred to claim timidity rather than harm when his steward Diomedes ran behind him in fear while they were walking together and a wild boar suddenly attacked them, and turned a matter of no little danger into a joke, because of course no offense was intended. But he forced Polus, one of his most favoured freedmen, to death when he was convicted of adultery with matrons; in the case of his *a manu* Thallus, because he had accepted five hundred *denarii* for betraying his letters, he broke his legs; and the paedagogue and attendants of his son Caius, who, on the occasion of his illness and death, were running wild with pride and arrogance in the province, he threw headfirst into a river with heavy weights hanging from their necks.

Such details about Augustus' household relationships may derive from the records of his record-keeper (*a memoria*) and freedman, Marathus, whom Suetonius has clearly used as a source.⁹¹⁵ Celadus appears in Josephus as well, as a trusted freedman of Augustus who helped disprove a young man's claim to be the son of Herod,⁹¹⁶ while Licinus appears in Macrobius along with an unnamed forgetful name-caller (*nomenclator*).⁹¹⁷ Suetonius also mentions a former bodyguard (*speculator*),⁹¹⁸ who owned a conveniently-located villa where Augustus used to spend the night.⁹¹⁹

The household must also have contained entertainers of various descriptions. Augustus' tastes for dinner party entertainment ran toward acrobats, actors, circus

⁹¹⁵ Suetonius cites him specifically with regard to Augustus' height (Aug. 79.2).

⁹¹⁶ Joseph. AJ 17.12.2, Joseph. BJ 2.7.2.

⁹¹⁷ Macrob. Sat. 2.4.

⁹¹⁸ While *speculatores* are generally military scouts, for *speculatores* in a domestic context as Imperial bodyguards, see Tac. Hist. 2.11. Cf. Allora 1953, pp. 253-254.

⁹¹⁹ Suet. Aug. 74. For Augustus' tendency to use other peoples' residences when it was convenient, see also Aug. 72.2 and 78.2. This would be necessary due to his preference for slow travel (Aug. 82.1-2).

players, and storytellers,⁹²⁰ and he frequently called for readers and storytellers in the middle of the night.⁹²¹ Additional entertainers who were not needed regularly seem to have been borrowed from outside the household, such as the musicians owned by the slave-dealer Toranius Flaccus.⁹²²

The eminent grammarian Hyginus,⁹²³ a freedman of Augustus, continued to take students despite being in charge of the Palatine libraries;⁹²⁴ he in turn trained his own freedman, Modestus, in the same profession.⁹²⁵ Hyginus was not the only well-respected author among Augustus' freedmen: the fabulist Phaedrus was also one of Augustus' freedmen.⁹²⁶

Finally, two freedmen – Hilario and Polybius – assisted Augustus with writing the final version of his will about a year before he died,⁹²⁷ and Polybius performed the public reading of the will after Augustus' death.⁹²⁸ Besides the will itself, Augustus left summaries regarding the administration of the Empire, including the names of slaves and

⁹²⁰ Suet. Aug. 74: *acroamata et histriones aut etiam triviales ex circo ludios interponebat ac frequentius aretalogos.*

⁹²¹ Suet. Aug. 78.2: *lectoribus aut fabulatoribus.*

⁹²² Macrob. Sat. 2.4.28. Both Augustus and Antony seem to have used Toranius (Suet. Aug. 69, Plin. HN 7.56).

⁹²³ Two of his works – *De Astronomia* and *Fabulae* – survive, as do numerous references to those and other works (Columella Rust. 1.13; Plin. HN 1.3-6, 1.10-22; Macrob. Sat. 5.18.16; Gell. NA 1.14.1, 1.21.2, 6.1.2, 7.6.2, 16.6.14).

⁹²⁴ Suet. Gram. 20.

⁹²⁵ Ibid.

⁹²⁶ The manuscripts have come down with the Imperial libertination attached to Phaedrus' name: Phaedrus himself says that he was born in Thrace (Phaed. Fab. 3.pr.17-23) and that he fell out of favour with Sejanus and was punished (Phaed. Fab. 3.pr.41). Cf. Mart. 3.20.

⁹²⁷ Suet. Aug. 101.1.

⁹²⁸ Cass. Dio 56.31.1. Cf. Suet. Tib. 23.

freed slaves (presumably his own) who were then in charge of the developing civil service.⁹²⁹

Epigraphic Sources

A total of 279 individuals name Augustus as their owner or patron: their overall profile is given in Figure 44. They are overwhelmingly male (96%), and are about evenly split between Imperial slaves (50%) and Imperial freed slaves (47%). Relative to the other large households, however, Augustus had significantly more male household members and significantly more Imperial slaves than Imperial freed slaves.⁹³⁰

A small subset of Augustus' household members are neither his slaves nor his freed slaves: this includes four freeborn individuals,⁹³¹ three freed slaves of non-Julio-Claudian patrons,⁹³² the single-named Thracian hostage whose situation I have already discussed,⁹³³ and one individual of uncertain free status.⁹³⁴ Besides the hostage, their links with Augustus' household are entirely occupational in nature, and they largely report highly skilled occupations⁹³⁵ or administrative positions for which external workers are frequently employed.⁹³⁶

⁹²⁹ Suet. Aug. 101.4, Cass. Dio 56.33.2.

⁹³⁰ Both $p = 0.000$.

⁹³¹ AE 1964, 00255 = AE 1980, 00046 = AE 1987, 00103 = AE 1991, +00063 = AE 1994, 01815 (C. Cornelius Gallus), CIL 6, 08724 = D 07733 (C. Iulius Posphorus), D 09007 = SupIt-05-S, 00007 = AE 1902, 00189 = AE 1912, 00219 = AE 1977, +00241 = AE 2001, +01551 (Q. Octavius Sagitta), AE 2003, 00986 = ZPE-143-271 = HEP-10, 00301 (M. Porcius).

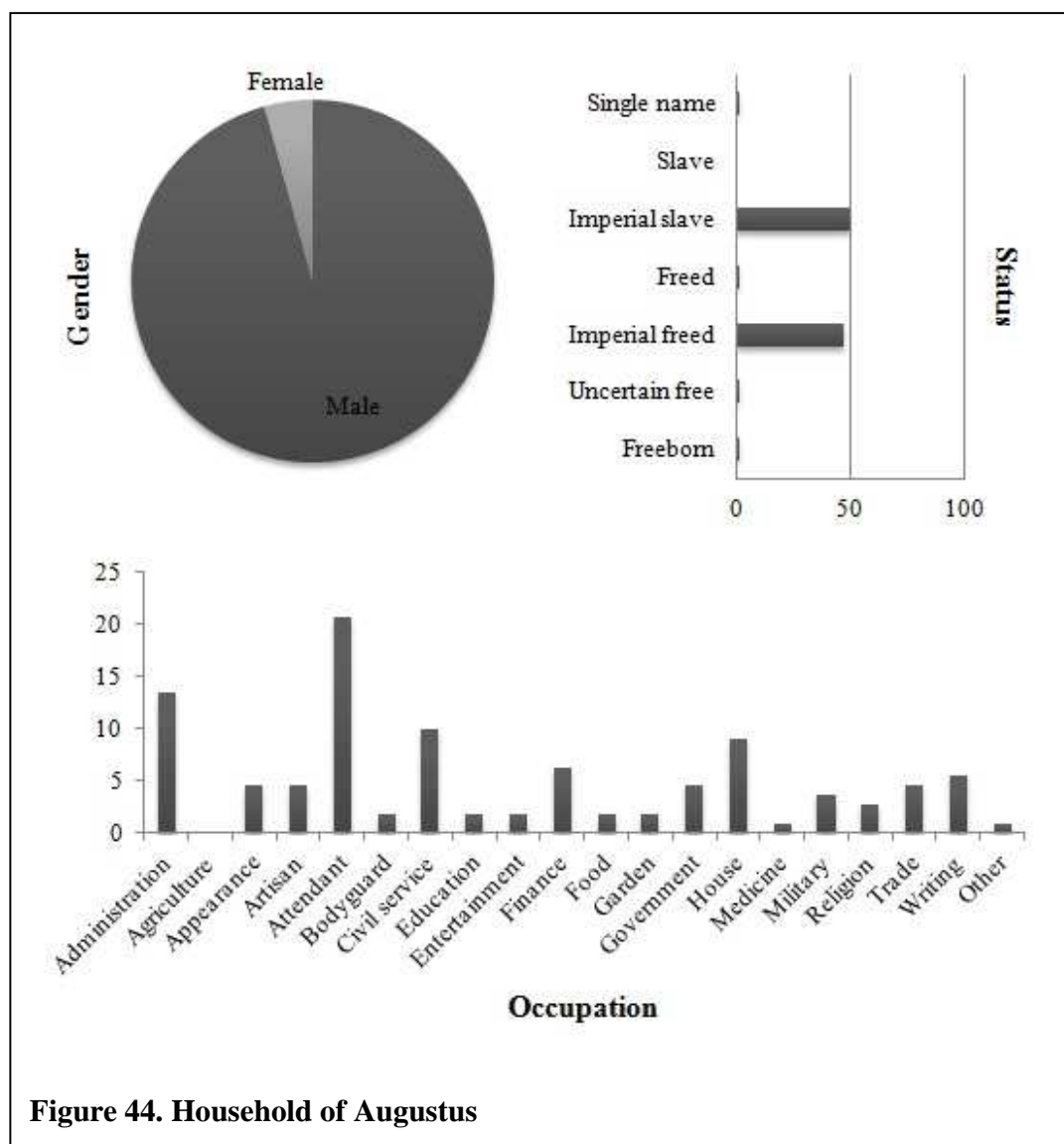
⁹³² ILMN-01, 00639 = CIL 6, *03044 (L. Calpurnius Fullo), CIL 6, 04430 (Pompeia Helena), CIL 9, 04057 = D 01903 (L. Aninius Eros).

⁹³³ CIL 6, 26608 (= D 00846). Cf. pp. 203-204.

⁹³⁴ CIL 6, 08846 (C. Verres Eros).

⁹³⁵ CIL 6, 08724 = D 07733 (*architectus*, or architect), CIL 6, 04430 (*aurifica*, or goldsmith).

⁹³⁶ AE 1964, 00255 = AE 1980, 00046 = AE 1987, 00103 = AE 1991, +00063 = AE 1994, 01815 (*praefectus fabrum*, or prefect of engineers), D 09007 = SupIt-05-S, 00007 = AE 1902, 00189 = AE 1912, 00219 = AE 1977, +00241 = AE 2001, +01551 (*praefectus fabrum*, or prefect of engineers, *praefectus equitum*, or prefect of cavalry, and *procurator*, or manager, in Vindelicia, Raetia, the Po Valley, Hispania,



Augustus' household members were far more likely to use *agnomina* (27%) than the sample as a whole (14%). In addition, the particular types of *agnomina* used by Augustus' household members differ significantly from those of other Julio-Claudian

and Syria), AE 2003, 00986 = ZPE-143-271 = HEp-10, 00301 (*scriba*, or scribe), CIL 9, 04057 = D 01903 (*lictor*, or magisterial attendant), CIL 6, 08846 (*dissignator*, or supervisor). There is also a *nomenclator*, or name-caller (ILMN-01, 00639 = CIL 06, *03044): the other *nomenclatores* in the sample are Imperial

households⁹³⁷ and illustrate the diverse origins of Augustus' household: there are considerably more elite *agnomina* (30%) and client king *agnomina* (10%).⁹³⁸ This is largely a reflection of the rapid expansion of the Imperial household during his long reign, an expansion which largely depended on the tendency of the senatorial and equestrian elite and of foreign client kings to include Augustus as an heir in their wills.⁹³⁹

In general, the inscriptions belonging to Augustus' household members conform to the overall distribution of inscription types, although those within *columbaria* are unsurprisingly, more likely to be located in the *Monumentum Liviae* (12%) or the *Monumentum Marcellae* (13%). Furthermore, they illustrate the development of the epigraphic habit in the early first century C.E. and the increasing tendency to include more information in an inscription. Significantly more of Augustus' household members provide only their name and their ownership indicator or libertination (12%), without any additional information, while significantly fewer provide their age at death (5%) or occupation (40%).⁹⁴⁰ Of those who do provide their occupation, there are more attendants (21%) relative to the other Julio-Claudians, but fewer medical workers (1%) and fewer bodyguards (2%). This lack of bodyguards confirms Suetonius' comment that he used legionnaires and auxiliaries for that purpose rather than a dedicated bodyguard, disbanding a group of Calagurritani⁹⁴¹ after Actium and the Germani after the Varian

slaves and freed slaves (CIL 6, 04887, CIL 6, 05352, CIL 6, 08602 = AE 2000, +00132, CIL 6, 08933 = D 01689 = AE 1993, 00123 & CIL 6, 08934, CIL 6, 08938 = D 01690).

⁹³⁷ p = 0.000.

⁹³⁸ See pp. 124-131 for the *agnomina* in the sample as a whole.

⁹³⁹ Suet. Aug. 66.4, Cass. Dio 54.23.5-6, 55.7.5, Joseph. AJ 17.8.1.

⁹⁴⁰ All p = 0.000.

⁹⁴¹ The Calagurritani originated in Hispania Tarraconensis (Caes. B.Civ. 1.60).

disaster,⁹⁴² while the lack of medical workers is likely tied to the over-representation of medical workers within Livia's household.⁹⁴³ The attendants' occupations vary enormously, with eleven different occupational titles represented;⁹⁴⁴ they likely reflect Augustus' need for numerous attendants to help him carry out his public duties, including those who were specifically assigned as part of a magistrate's duties (such as the *lictor* who carried the *fascēs*), those who would have assisted in his extensive morning receptions (such as *nomenclatores* and *rogatores*, and even *cubicularii*),⁹⁴⁵ and those who served at his numerous dinner parties (such as *ministratores*, *praegustatores*, and an *a cyathō*).⁹⁴⁶ Without a formalized civil service, these duties fall to domestic attendants using similar occupational titles to the attendants of other elite men and illustrate the domestic beginnings of the Imperial civil service.

Augustus' household mirrors the overall distribution of locations, with a considerable majority (82%) of individuals located in Rome itself. Those found in Italy

⁹⁴² Suet. Aug. 49.1.

⁹⁴³ Cf. p. 306.

⁹⁴⁴ The "attendant" category contains a total of sixteen different occupations, meaning that Augustus has examples of the majority of the attested attendant types: *a cyathō* or cup attendant (CIL 6, 03963), *apparitor* or magisterial clerk (CIL 6, 01957), *balneator* or bath attendant (CIL 6, 08742), *cubicularii* or bedroom attendants (CIL 6, 03956 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 03958 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 05747 = D 01743 = ILSanMichele 00005 = GLISwedish 00080 = AE 1997, +00102 = AE 2002, +00171, CIL 6, 08781, CIL 6, 08785 = CIL 6, 33750 = CIL 11, *00101,004 = CIL 11, *00134a2), *invitator* or summoner (CIL 6, 03975), *lictor* or magisterial attendant (CIL 9, 04057 = D 01903), *ministratores* or waiters (CIL 6, 05351, CIL 6, 05751, CIL 6, 05858 = CIL 6, *00838 = ILMN-01, 00090, CIL 6, 05873 = CIL 6, *00884 = ILMN-01, 00093, CIL 6, 08918), *nomenclatores* or name-callers (ILMN-01, 00639 = CIL 6, *03044, CIL 6, 05352), *pedisequi* or foot attendants (CIL 6, 02240 = CIL 6, 04003, CIL 6, 08995 = D 01819), *praegustator* or food taster (CIL 6, 09005 = D 01795), *rogator* or introducer (CIL 6, 04025, CIL 6, 04247).

⁹⁴⁵ Suet. Aug. 53.2.

⁹⁴⁶ Suet. Aug. 74. Suetonius particularly notes the formality of his dinner parties, which would fit with the extensive number of attendants. The term *a cyathō* occurs in four inscriptions (CIL 6, 03963, CIL 6, 08815, CIL 6, 08816, CIL 6, 08817), all belonging to the Julio-Claudians and included within the present sample; it appears to describe a cup-bearer.

(13%) are largely within Latium and Campania,⁹⁴⁷ with others in Etruria, Samnium, Umbria, and Venetia and Histria.⁹⁴⁸ The inscriptions from Venetia and Histria come primarily from Aquileia,⁹⁴⁹ confirming that Augustus likely owned property there.⁹⁵⁰ Beyond Italy, the inscriptions range quite widely, coming from all corners of the Empire,⁹⁵¹ as would be expected based on Augustus' extensive travels.⁹⁵²

Tiberius

Literary Sources

Thrasyllus, Tiberius' trusted friend and astrologer, is the most visible member of his entourage: Cassius Dio even notes that Tiberius was always in Thrasyllus' company,⁹⁵³ and the association endured for well over thirty years, back to his self-imposed exile in Rhodes.⁹⁵⁴ Thrasyllus was likely of an age with Tiberius, and his death can be securely dated to 36, shortly before Tiberius' own death; he had successfully predicted both events, but while he made public his prediction of his own death, he falsely told Tiberius that the emperor would outlive him by a decade, specifically in order

⁹⁴⁷ There are twenty individuals in inscriptions from Latium and Campania.

⁹⁴⁸ There are four individuals in Etruria, three in Samnium, two in Umbria, and six in Venetia and Histria.

⁹⁴⁹ InscrAqu-01, 00466 (= IEAquil 00277), D 02703, CIL 5, 01251 (= InscrAqu-01, 00470), CIL 5, 01319 (= InscrAqu-01, 00472).

⁹⁵⁰ Augustus seems to have used Aquileia as a base for monitoring military activity (Suet. Aug. 20). He may also have received foreign kings there: Herod seems to have visited him at Aquileia in 12 B.C.E. (Joseph. AJ 16.4.1, although at Joseph. AJ 16.4.3 and Joseph. BJ 1.23.3, the same visit seems to occur at Rome). The infant child of Tiberius and Julia the Elder died at Aquileia (Suet. Tib. 7.3), most likely on an Imperial estate. The property does not seem to have been used much following the reign of Augustus and Aquileia does not reappear as an Imperial centre until the late third century (Millar 1977, pp. 44-45).

⁹⁵¹ The inscriptions come from Achaia, Africa Proconsularis (2), Asia, Dalmatia, Galatia, Gallia Narbonensis, Germania, Hispania, and Macedonia.

⁹⁵² He visited every province at least once, with the sole exceptions of Africa and Sardinia (Suet. Aug. 47).

⁹⁵³ Cass. Dio 57.15.7.

⁹⁵⁴ Cass. Dio 55.11.2. Thrasyllus was also among Tiberius' entourage shortly before Augustus' death (Suet. Aug. 98.4).

to save those lives that Tiberius would no doubt have ended if he knew his time was short.⁹⁵⁵

Thrasyllus appears in connection with numerous predictions along with his death and Tiberius', including an ironic prediction about Caligula's chances of becoming emperor.⁹⁵⁶ The most frequently repeated anecdote, however, deals with his entrance into Tiberius' intimate circle during his self-imposed exile on Rhodes.⁹⁵⁷ Tiberius had the habit of testing astrologers by walking with them along a rocky cliff, accompanied by a burly freedman, then asking about their predictions of their own fate. Any who failed his test or whom he suspected of fraud would be thrown from the cliff; Thrasyllus, who successfully predicted the imminent threat, was spared and honoured for his ability.

As for Thrasyllus' legal status, the literary sources never state it outright, but two inscriptions may provide a clue:

*Ti(berius) Claudius Ti(beri) Cl]audi Thrasylli f(ilius)
[Quir(ina) Balbillus] / [3 Neroni Claudio C]aesari
Augus[to et Iuliae Augustae Caesaris Augusti matri
Agrippinae] (CIL 3, 07107 = IK-24-01, 00619 = IK-59,
00133 – Smyrna, Asia)*

Ti. Claudius [Balbillus], son of Ti. Claudius Thrasyllus, of the tribe of Quirina... to Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus and to Iulia Augusta Agrippina, mother of Caesar Augustus (?)...

⁹⁵⁵ Suetonius and Cassius Dio agree that Thrasyllus' deception was for this very purpose (Suet. Tib. 62.3, Cass. Dio 58.27.1-3, 58.28.1).

⁹⁵⁶ Suet. Calig. 19.3. Specifically, Thrasyllus told Tiberius that Caligula had as much chance of ruling as he did of riding horses across the gulf of Baiae (*non magis Gaium imperaturum quam per Baianum sinum equis discursurum*). Suetonius relates the prediction within the context of the anecdote regarding Caligula's bridge of boats (Calig. 19.1-3, cf. Cass. Dio 59.17).

⁹⁵⁷ The same story appears, with slight differences, in Tacitus (Ann. 6.21), Suetonius (Tib. 14.4), and Cassius Dio (55.11.2-3). Cf. Krappe 1927.

[Ti(berio) Claud]io Ti(beri) Claudi / [Thrasyll]i(?)f(ilio)
 Quir(ina) / [Ba]lbillo / [3] aedium divi Aug(usti) et / [3 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[erei et ad Herm]en
 Alexan/dreon pe[r annos 3] et ad legati/ones et res[pon]sa
 Graeca(?)] Ca]esaris Aug(usti) / divi Claud[i] e[t trib(uno)
 milit(um) le]g(ionis) XX et prae[f(ecto)] / fabr(um) divi
 Cla[udi et d(onis) d(onato) in triu]m[pho a divo] / Claudio
 [corona 3 et hasta] / pura [et vexillo (AE 1924, 00078 –
 Ephesus, Asia)

To Ti. Claudius Balbillus, son of Ti. Claudius
 [Thrasyllus?], of the tribe of Quirina... of the shrine of the
 divine Augustus and of all the sacred groves which are in
 Alexandria and in all of Egypt and over the museum and
 the library of Alexandria and the high priests and to the
 Alexandrian Hermes (for years?) and to the legates and
 Greek responses of Caesar Augustus, son of the divine
 Claudius, and the military tribune of the twentieth legion
 and the commander of the engineers of the divine Claudius,
 and having been given the *corona* and the *hasta pura* and
 the *vexillum* in a triumph by the divine Claudius...

This must be the son of Thrasyllus, who is also known from literary sources.⁹⁵⁸

Tacitus reports that Thrasyllus' son predicted Nero's accession,⁹⁵⁹ and Nero's court
 astrologer happens to have been named Balbillus.⁹⁶⁰ The second inscription would seem
 to be Balbillus' epitaph and its summary of his career suggests that Thrasyllus' son and
 Nero's astrologer was also the governor of Egypt who took up his post in 56.⁹⁶¹

Thankfully, and despite the heavy fragmentation of both inscriptions, Thrasyllus' full *tria
 nomina* – Ti. Claudius Thrasyllus – is extant. There are two possible explanations for

⁹⁵⁸ The commentary on CIL 3 agrees (p. 1284). On Balbillus in general, see Cichorius 1927 and Schwartz 1949.

⁹⁵⁹ Tac. Ann. 6.22. He is likely among the Chaldei who predicted her son's reign and matricide to Agrippina the Younger (Ann. 14.9).

⁹⁶⁰ Suet. Ner. 36.1. Cf. Cass. Dio 66.9, in which an astrologer named Barbillus (Βάρβιλλων) appears in connection to Ephesus.

how Thrasyllus could have obtained that name: either Tiberius manumitted him, or he received a grant of Roman citizenship from Tiberius.⁹⁶² In either case, this happened prior to Tiberius' adoption by Augustus on 26 June 4 C.E. This is not inconsistent with the literary evidence, which suggests that Thrasyllus joined Tiberius' household in Rhodes and cemented his place in it at that time; as Tiberius was in Rhodes from 6 B.C.E. to 2 C.E.,⁹⁶³ his nomen would have been Claudius during the entire period of his residence there. As Tiberius' retinue famously consisted of numerous free Greeks,⁹⁶⁴ I would argue that the latter scenario is more plausible.

Moving beyond Thrasyllus, the freedman Graptus, whose falsified evidence about a threat to Nero's throne had Cornelius Sulla banished from Rome in 58, is described at that time as "one of the Imperial freedmen, thoroughly acquainted with the Imperial household by experience and old age from the time of Tiberius."⁹⁶⁵ The implication, then, would be that Graptus was, at minimum, an Imperial slave during the reign of Tiberius, and possibly a Tiberian freedman as well. The presence of a *Ti. Iulius Grapti f(ilius) Natalis* among the officers of the Imperial *collegium* at Antium strongly suggests that the latter is the case.⁹⁶⁶

Several other freedmen and slaves are known. Hiberus appears in both Cassius Dio and Philo of Alexandria as the temporary prefect of Egypt after the death of Vitrasius

⁹⁶¹ Tac. Ann. 13.22.

⁹⁶² The commentary on CIL 3 (p. 1284) offers both scenarios as well, without preferring one over the other.

⁹⁶³ Tac. Ann. 1.4, Cass. Dio 55.9-10, Suet. Tib. 10-15, Vell. Pat. 2.99.2, 2.103.1.

⁹⁶⁴ Suet. Tib. 46, 56.

⁹⁶⁵ Tac. Ann. 13.47: *ex libertis Caesaris, usu et senecta Tiberio abusque domum principium edoctus*.

⁹⁶⁶ I have already discussed this particular instance with regard to the identification of the inscription itself (CIL 10, 06638 = InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055): see pp. 90-91.

Pollio in 32;⁹⁶⁷ he died within the year and was subsequently replaced by Avilius Flaccus, the subject of Philo's invective.⁹⁶⁸ A second Tiberian freedman, Stephanio, appears in Philo's narrative as well: he was Flaccus' host at dinner the night he was removed from his post.⁹⁶⁹ Optatus Pontianus was prefect of the fleet during the reign of Claudius,⁹⁷⁰ and a certain Nomius outdid his patron by owning the largest citrus-wood table made from a single piece of wood.⁹⁷¹ The freedman Anteros, Tiberius' *supra hereditates*, who would have managed his inheritances, is known from Scribonius Largus, who related a cure for gout used by the freedman.⁹⁷² A reference in the Digest mentions an Imperial slave named Parthenius, who was listed in someone's will as a freeborn heir despite his servile status;⁹⁷³ part of Parthenius' share went to Tiberius, and it is unclear – although probably doubtful – whether it subsequently passed into Parthenius' *peculium*.

Suetonius notes an odd case in which Tiberius was forced to manumit (*coactus est manumittere*) a comic actor named Actius.⁹⁷⁴ Other cases of forced manumission in the Digest relate exclusively to slaves bequeathed in wills with additional conditions requesting that the new owner manumit those slaves upon the fulfillment of specific

⁹⁶⁷ Cass. Dio 58.19.6, Philo In Flacc. 1(2). PIR² (p. 89) posits that he may have actually been a freedman of Antonia the Younger, based on the existence of a later consul (cos. 133) with that name, and lists him under the name (M. Antonius?) Hiberus (PIR² A 0837).

⁹⁶⁸ On Hiberus' death: Philo In Flacc. 1(2). On the year in which Flaccus took up his post, five years prior to Tiberius' death: Philo In Flacc. 1(8).

⁹⁶⁹ Philo In Flacc. 13(112).

⁹⁷⁰ Plin. HN 9.62, Macrob. Sat. 3.16.10 (where his name is erroneously given as Optanus), CIL 10, 06318 (= D 02815), CIL 16, 00001 (= CIL 3, p 0844 = CIL 10, 00769 (p 1006) = D 01986 = Stabiae 00016 = EpThess 00021). The latter is his military diploma, dated 11 December 52.

⁹⁷¹ Plin. HN 18.94. Tiberius had a slightly larger citrus-wood table, but it was veneer rather than a solid piece of wood.

⁹⁷² Scrib. Larg. Comp. 162.

⁹⁷³ D.28.5.41.

⁹⁷⁴ Suet. Tib. 47.

conditions;⁹⁷⁵ if the new owner accepts the inheritance, he accepts the conditions as well, and if he does not manumit the slaves in question when the conditions have been fulfilled, the law can force him to manumit those slaves.⁹⁷⁶ Suetonius, however, connects the forced manumission to Tiberius' refusal to attend public shows,⁹⁷⁷ implying that the incident occurred at a public show rather than within the context of a legacy, which is far more difficult to reconcile. One possibility remains, supported by the remnant of a long-disused law in the Digest:

Si privatus coactus a populo manumiserit, quamvis voluntatem accommodaverit, tamen non erit liber: nam et divus Marcus prohibuit ex adclamatione populi manumittere. (D.40.9.17)

If a private citizen, compelled by the people, should manumit a slave, even if he has agreed to this, the slave shall nevertheless not be free: for the divine Marcus forbade manumission by the acclamation of the people.

While the practice of forced manumission by popular acclamation had long been forbidden by the time the Digest was compiled, it was only outlawed by Marcus Aurelius in the second century, long after Tiberius' reign. The scenario is even more plausible given that the slave in question was a *comoedus*, a comic actor: Tiberius attended a show and the audience demanded the actor's immediate manumission with sufficient force that the emperor felt compelled to manumit him,⁹⁷⁸ thereby explaining Suetonius' statement.

⁹⁷⁵ D.40.5.1-41, D.40.7.1-42.

⁹⁷⁶ D.21.2.26, D.40.5.12-20, D.40.5.29, D.40.7.40.

⁹⁷⁷ The full passage reads: *neque spectacular omnino edidit; et iis, quae ab aliquot ederentur, rarissime interfuit, ne quid exposceretur, utique postquam comoedum Actium coactus est manumittere.*

⁹⁷⁸ Tiberius' general reluctance to manumit his slaves appears elsewhere, most notably in Suetonius (Tib. 15.2) and Phaedrus (Fab. 2.5).

Josephus' detailed accounts of events within the Imperial household include mention of several of Tiberius' slaves and freedmen. In order to cement Tiberius' friendship, the Parthian king Artabanus sent his son as a hostage along with many gifts,⁹⁷⁹ among which was a Jewish slave named Eleazar, who was reportedly seven cubits tall.⁹⁸⁰ One of the Imperial freedman lent a million *drachmae* to Agrippa, king of Judaea, allowing the latter to repay a 300,000-drachma debt to Antonia the Younger.⁹⁸¹ Another freedman, Euodus, whom Josephus describes as the freedman Tiberius most respected (*τιμιώτατος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων*), was present at Tiberius' deathbed and was charged with bringing the emperor's grandsons to him before he died.⁹⁸²

Tiberius' personal physician at the end of his life, Charicles, is known from both Suetonius and Tacitus;⁹⁸³ Tacitus states that his job was not to direct Tiberius' regimen, but instead to provide immediate advice on his health whenever the notoriously-superstitious emperor should request it.⁹⁸⁴ Both historians name Charicles as one of the guests at a dinner party a few days prior to Tiberius' death, but their accounts have subtle differences: Tacitus depicts Charicles deliberately attempting to feel Tiberius' pulse in order to predict whether he would soon die, whereas Suetonius says that Tiberius merely assumed that was Charicles' motive, when the physician was only trying to kiss his hand.

⁹⁷⁹ Joseph. AJ 18.4.5.

⁹⁸⁰ About 3.2 metres (10.5 feet).

⁹⁸¹ Joseph. AJ 18.6.4. The precise reading of the text is uncertain, and may or may not indicate the freedman's name and ethnic origin, depending on the emendations (see note f in the 1965 Loeb edition): it is possible that his name was Thallus, that he was a Samaritan, or both.

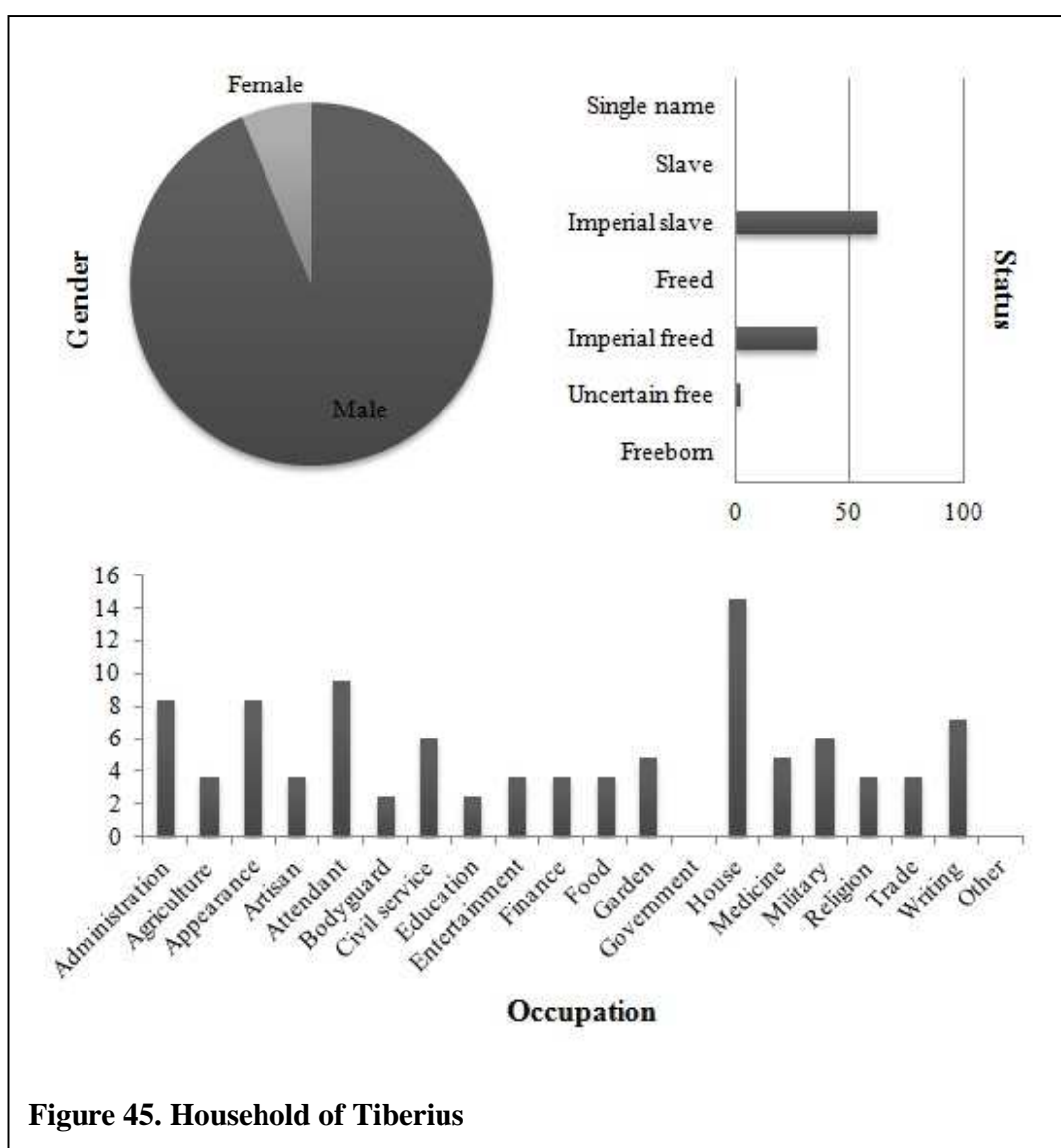
⁹⁸² Joseph. AJ 18.6.8-9.

⁹⁸³ Tac. Ann. 6.50, Suet. Tib. 72.3.

⁹⁸⁴ Tac. Ann. 6.50: *non quidem regere valetudines principis solitus, consilii tamen copiam praeberere.*

Epigraphic Sources

There are a total of 176 slaves and freed slaves in the sample who identify Tiberius as their owner or patron, and their characteristics are illustrated in Figure 45. As for Augustus, they are largely male (94%), although there are considerably more Imperial



slaves (62%) than Imperial freed slaves (36%).⁹⁸⁵ This cannot be explained solely by Tiberius' refusal to manumit slaves after his adoption,⁹⁸⁶ as the vast majority of the inscriptions (93%) date to Tiberius' reign itself as opposed to prior to his accession (3%). While some of the imbalance can be explained by the collegial inscriptions featuring large numbers of Imperial slaves, it does seem that Tiberius was more reluctant to manumit his slaves than the other Julio-Claudian emperors, as the literary sources claim.⁹⁸⁷ As in Augustus' household, there are a few skilled workers or administrators of uncertain free status who could not have originated within the Julio-Claudian households.⁹⁸⁸

Despite the fact that Tiberius spent nearly fourteen years of his reign outside the city of Rome, the majority of the epigraphic remains of his household (79%) still come from Rome, suggesting that the Imperial household had moved beyond a merely domestic establishment into a larger administrative role, one that continued to function despite (or perhaps because of) the emperor's absence. Elsewhere in Italy, the collegial inscriptions from the Imperial estate at Antium date, in part, to the reign of Tiberius,⁹⁸⁹ so

⁹⁸⁵ Both $p = 0.000$.

⁹⁸⁶ Suet. Tib. 15.2.

⁹⁸⁷ Suet. Tib. 15.2, Phaedr. Fab. 2.5.

⁹⁸⁸ AE 2001, 00259 = CEACelio 00043 (L. Iulius Philinus, *medicus*, or physician), CIL 6, 41266 = AE 1960, 00026 = AE 1969/70, 00022 (Ti. Iulius Pappus, probably the freeborn son of a Tiberian freedman, *supra bybliotheas*, or supervisor of library workers), CIL 10, 01735 (Mannius Stichius, *glutinator*, or book-gluer), CIL 10, 07489 = IGLLipari 00756 (Cornelius Masuetus, *procurator*, or manager).

⁹⁸⁹ The fragmentary beginning of CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055) includes the consular dates of 32 and 37.

that his Italian household members are concentrated there.⁹⁹⁰ Relatively few inscriptions exist from the provinces,⁹⁹¹ perhaps reflecting Tiberius' isolation on Capreae.

Tiberius' household members are more likely to use *agnomina* (24%), but the types of *agnomina* present are slightly different. Tiberius' household contains more Julio-Claudian *agnomina* (49%) rather than the elite and client king *agnomina* found within Augustus' household.⁹⁹² Clearly, Tiberius' household must have expanded primarily upon the deaths of his close relatives: "Drusus" appears twice,⁹⁹³ Augustus appears four times, Livia seven times, and Germanicus eight times.

While Tiberius' household does not differ from the larger sample in the rate at which they provide age at death (10%), they are more likely to name an occupation (47%).⁹⁹⁴ In addition, Tiberius' household shows a great deal more variance in the types of occupations as compared to the other Julio-Claudian households: there are fewer administrators (8%), attendants (10%), bodyguards (2%), and civil servants (6%), and more appearance workers (8%), gardeners (5%), household staff (15%), military workers (6%), and writing staff (7%). The reasons for the differences are unclear, although several of those who appear more frequently are heavily represented in the *collegium* at Antium.⁹⁹⁵

⁹⁹⁰ Others are found in Apulia and Calabria (2), Etruria (2), elsewhere in Latium and Campania (8 in addition to the 13 at Antium), and Venetia and Histria (6).

⁹⁹¹ There are inscriptions from Alpes Cottiae, Aquitania, Asia, Lugdunensis, Palaestina, and Sicilia.

⁹⁹² $p = 0.000$.

⁹⁹³ This may be his brother Drusus the Elder or his son Drusus the Younger, but, in my opinion, the former is more likely for both inscriptions (CIL 5, 01067, CIL 11, 02916 = CIL 14, 02420 = EE-09, p 403).

⁹⁹⁴ $p = 0.000$.

⁹⁹⁵ Gardeners, household staff, and writing staff are particularly common at Antium, as shown in the occupational titles in Appendix C.

Joint Ownership with Livia

Tiberius' household is unique among the emperors' due to the presence of slaves and freed slaves jointly owned or manumitted with his mother Livia. Joint ownership and manumission is certainly possible under Roman law, and there are later cases of slaves or freed slaves shared among male members of the Imperial household, generally jointly-ruling emperors such as Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (r. 161-169), Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (r. 177-180), or Septimius Severus and Caracalla (r. 197-209);⁹⁹⁶ however, there are no analogous cases involving a woman, whether mother or wife, explicitly sharing ownership and patronage of a household with a reigning emperor.⁹⁹⁷ The inscriptions name twenty-five slaves, freed slaves, and other staff members who explicitly state their simultaneous affiliation with both Tiberius and Livia:⁹⁹⁸ of these, twelve are slaves, eleven are freed slaves, and two are free workers. The latter are particularly interesting, as unlike the others, they cannot have been inherited from Augustus. Instead, they are both of uncertain free status, with one a manager (*procurator*) for an estate in Sicilia and the other a physician (*medicus*) at

⁹⁹⁶ Weaver 1972, pp. 58-72. There is one case of a *Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Augustor(um) l(ibertus)* in CIL 6, 09047 (= D 01810), whom Weaver posits might be a joint freedman of Claudius and Antonia the Younger, or of Nero and Agrippina the Younger (pp. 64-65). However, the transfer of patronal rights from one emperor to another also provides a potential explanation: see, for example, CIL 14, 03644 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00179 = D 01942), in which a freedman describes both Claudius and Nero as patrons, despite the fact that neither could have given him the *nomen* Iulius (*C(aius) Iulius Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Sam[ius] / procurator / accensus divi Claudii / Neronis Augusti / patronorum*). In addition, the freedman in CIL 6, 09015 (= CIL 06, 29847a = D 08120 = AE 1991, 00074 = AE 2002, +00180), *Ti. Claudius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Eutichus procurator Augustor(um)*, is unlikely to be a joint freedman, but rather a case of a freedman continuing in the same occupation under successive emperors.

⁹⁹⁷ The only remotely similar case is an inscription from Corinth (AE 1927, 00002 = Corinth-08-02, 00068), which belongs to a freeborn manager (*procurator*) of Nero and Agrippina the Younger, but his freeborn status makes his circumstances distinctly different.

⁹⁹⁸ Weaver 1972, pp. 62-63.

Rome.⁹⁹⁹ The remainder use the abbreviated status indicator “*Aug(usti) et Aug(ustae)*” or the extended version “*Ti(berius) Caesaris Augusti et Augustae*.” Tiberius’ name is always first, and the freed slaves invariably use his *praenomen* rather than Marcus, which Livia’s freed slaves use regardless of their *nomen*.

Compared to the households of both Tiberius and Livia, they fall somewhere in between. The inscription types are similar to those found for the rest of Tiberius’ household, with the majority being single grave inscriptions,¹⁰⁰⁰ although there are considerably more *columbarium* inscriptions among them, as is more common in Livia’s household.¹⁰⁰¹ There is no real pattern to the occupations they list, with nine reported occupations falling into eight job categories.¹⁰⁰² Most significantly, over a third (36%) of the joint household members use an *agnomen* of some description, significantly more than in either individual household.¹⁰⁰³ These are largely *agnomina* that appear in the household of Augustus or specifically indicate origins in that household,¹⁰⁰⁴ suggesting that the majority of the slaves in question were among the property of Augustus which was split between Tiberius and Livia upon his death.¹⁰⁰⁵

⁹⁹⁹ CIL 10, 07489 (= IGLLipari 00756) and AE 2001, 00259 (= CEACelio 00043), respectively. The latter is named L. Iulius, making it possible that he is actually a freedman of Lucius Caesar, albeit without a status indicator; this is unlikely, however, especially given that he has emphasized his tribal affiliation.

¹⁰⁰⁰ 54% for Tiberius alone and 60% for jointly-owned household members, as compared to only 25% for Livia alone.

¹⁰⁰¹ 62% for Livia alone and 28% for jointly-owned household members, as compared to only 16% for Tiberius ($p = 0.000$).

¹⁰⁰² The only category that appears twice is civil service, which includes two clerks, or *tabularii* (CIL 6, 04358, CIL 6, 09066).

¹⁰⁰³ 23% for Tiberius alone and 12% for Livia alone ($p = 0.000$).

¹⁰⁰⁴ CIL 6, 05223 (Agrippianus), CIL 6, 04776 (Archelaianus), CIL 6, 05248 (Paternus). The Scapliani (CIL 6, 04358, CIL 6, 05226, CIL 6, 09066) may also fall into this category.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Suet. Aug. 101.2.

*Caligula*Literary Sources

Caligula's long list of romantic conquests might include members of the Imperial household, not necessarily slaves or freed slaves, but at the very least workers closely attached to the palace and probably resident within it: such possible household members include the pantomime actor Mnester¹⁰⁰⁶ and the prostitute Pyrallis.¹⁰⁰⁷ There are reports of gladiators within the palace as well, and, as Josephus reports, there were games being staged within the palace walls on the day of Caligula's assassination.¹⁰⁰⁸ Caligula also owned a gladiatorial school (*ludus*) consisting of forty gladiators,¹⁰⁰⁹ although its location is unknown: Pliny the Elder reported that it contained a Thracian gladiator named Studiosus who had one arm longer than the other.¹⁰¹⁰ Caligula's prefect of the German bodyguard, Sabinus, seems to have been a gladiator himself;¹⁰¹¹ he survived long enough to become one of Messalina's lovers.¹⁰¹²

Josephus relates an anecdote concerning Agrippa, king of Judaea, that features a slave of Caligula.¹⁰¹³ About six months before Tiberius' death, Tiberius imprisoned Agrippa for disrespecting his power and favouring Caligula instead. Despite the heat, Tiberius denied him water, which forced him to beg a drink from a slave of Caligula

¹⁰⁰⁶ Suet. Calig. 36.1, 55.1, Cass. Dio 60.22.3-5. He was later the lover of Messalina as well, for which he was executed upon her downfall (Tac. Ann. 11.36, Cass. Dio 60.22.4-5, 60.31.5, Sen. Apocol. 13).

¹⁰⁰⁷ Suet. Calig. 36.1. Caligula's palace is certainly known to have included prostitutes, including Nymphidia, daughter of his freedman Callistus (Tac. Ann. 15.72); Suetonius even reports that Caligula opened a brothel (*lupanar*) within the palace itself (Suet. Calig. 41.1).

¹⁰⁰⁸ Joseph. AJ 19.1.11.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Plin. HN 11.143.

¹⁰¹⁰ Plin. HN 11.245.

¹⁰¹¹ Cass. Dio 60.28.2. Cf. Suet. Calig. 50.2.

¹⁰¹² Cass. Dio 60.28.2.

named Thaumastus. In gratitude, Agrippa swore that when he gained his freedom, he would reward the slave for his assistance. Indeed, shortly after Caligula's accession, Agrippa was set free and immediately had Thaumastus manumitted in order to make him steward (*ἐπίτροπος*) of Agrippa's own estates, a position he held into old age.

Other members of Caligula's household appear only sporadically. In his account of his embassy to Caligula, Philo reports being received by Homillus, a member of the emperor's household in charge of embassies (*ἐπὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν*).¹⁰¹⁴ Cassius Dio mentions a certain Protogenes as encouraging and assisting Caligula in his crimes, but does not specify whether he was an Imperial slave or freedman, or whether he was another member of Caligula's court.¹⁰¹⁵

Finally, Callistus, one of the most well-known of the Julio-Claudian freedmen, was a freedman of Caligula.¹⁰¹⁶ Callistus' origins are mentioned in Seneca the Younger: he had a previous master who considered him useless and put him up for sale,¹⁰¹⁷ at which point he was presumably purchased by the Imperial household. Both Cassius Dio and Josephus suggest that he was, at the very least, aware of the eventually-successful plot to assassinate Caligula;¹⁰¹⁸ Josephus adds that he purposefully switched his

¹⁰¹³ Joseph. AJ 18.6.6.

¹⁰¹⁴ Philo Leg. 181. The title's Latin equivalent is uncertain.

¹⁰¹⁵ Cass. Dio 59.26.1-2. Suetonius (Calig. 28) seems to relate the same event, but without Caligula's involvement. Protogenes was executed soon after Claudius' accession (Cass. Dio 60.4.4). Cf. Juv. 3.120.

¹⁰¹⁶ Joseph. AJ 19.1.10. Pliny the Elder (HN 36.60) identifies him as *Caesaris Claudii libertorum*. Josephus is most likely correct, particularly as Tacitus remarks on his experience under Caligula (Ann. 11.29); the apparent error in Pliny the Elder may simply arise from the fact that Callistus rose to power under Claudius.

¹⁰¹⁷ Sen. Ep. 47.9. The anonymous former master made an unsuccessful attempt to gain Callistus' favour when he was at the height of his power, but Callistus barred him from his household.

¹⁰¹⁸ Cass. Dio 59.29, Joseph. AJ 19.1.10.

allegiance to Claudius shortly before Caligula's death.¹⁰¹⁹ He was in charge of petitions (*a libellis*)¹⁰²⁰ under Claudius and, together with Pallas and Narcissus, wielded enormous power and vast personal wealth:¹⁰²¹ Pliny the Elder has first-hand knowledge of a dining room in Callistus' house, lined with twenty onyx columns.¹⁰²² The physician Scribonius Largus, who had accompanied Claudius on his British campaign in 43,¹⁰²³ dedicated his book of pharmaceutical recipes to him;¹⁰²⁴ given the extensive references to the concoctions used by various members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty,¹⁰²⁵ Callistus may well have provided him with information, or with access to the Imperial archives. We actually know something of his personal life as well: he had a daughter, Nymphidia Sabina, whose mother was a seamstress,¹⁰²⁶ and through her, a grandson, Nymphidius Sabinus, who became praetorian prefect under Nero.¹⁰²⁷ The precise date and

¹⁰¹⁹ Joseph. AJ 19.1.10.

¹⁰²⁰ His precise title appears only in Cassius Dio (60.30.6), as *ἐπὶ ταῖς βιβλοῖς*, the equivalent of the Latin *a libellis*. For the definition of *a libellis*, see Berger (1953, p. 338) and Millar (1977, pp. 75-79, 249-251).

¹⁰²¹ Joseph. AJ 19.1.10; Cass. Dio 60.30.6, 60.33.3; Plin. HN 33.134; Tac. Ann. 11.29, 11.38.

¹⁰²² Plin. HN 36.60.

¹⁰²³ Scrib. Larg. Comp. 163.

¹⁰²⁴ Scrib. Larg. Comp. pr.1,151, 271. He addresses Callistus as *Cai Iuli Calliste* (pr.1), *Cai Iuli* (151), and *mi Calliste* (271).

¹⁰²⁵ This includes antidotes (177) and salves (31) used by Augustus, a cure for nerves used by both Livia and Antonia the Younger (268, 271), a toothpaste used by Octavia the Younger (59), a different toothpaste used by Livia and Messalina (60), and a variety of medicines used by Livia (70, 175). In addition, outside the Julio-Claudians themselves, Scribonius Largus reports a recipe for stomach medication provided by Augustus' personal physician Antonius Musa (110) and a cure for gout used by one of Tiberius' freedmen (162).

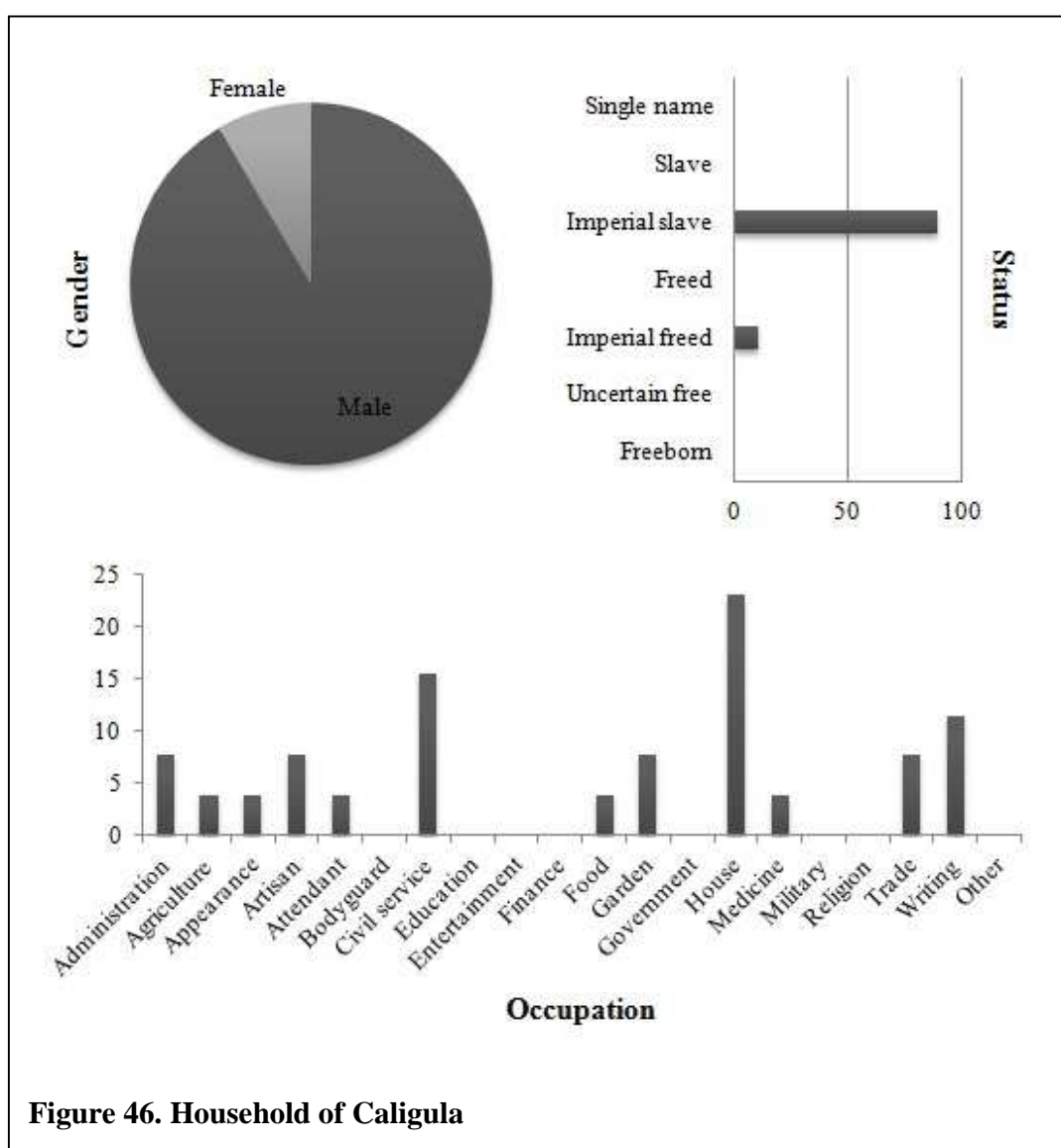
¹⁰²⁶ Plut. Galb. 9.1: *ἐκ δ' ἀκεστρίας ἐπιμισθίου Καλλίστω, Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρω, γεγεννημένην*. The use of *ἐπιμισθίου* likely suggests that the seamstress was not among those belonging to the Imperial household; Nymphidia's freed status (Tac. Ann. 15.72) and her non-Julio-Claudian *nomen* serve as confirmation.

¹⁰²⁷ Plut. Galb. 2.1, 9.1-2, Tac. Ann. 15.72, Suet. Galb. 11. Cf. pp. 247-249.

circumstances of Callistus' death are unknown: the sources state only that he died late in Claudius' reign, at some point after 48.¹⁰²⁸

Epigraphic Sources

Despite his brief reign, a total of 47 individuals name Caligula as their owner or



¹⁰²⁸ Cass. Dio 60.33.3, where Callistus' death coincides with Agrippina the Younger's rise to power. He appears in Tacitus' narrative of Messalina's death (Ann. 11.29) and in Claudius' subsequent deliberations about his next wife (Ann. 12.1-2), but not thereafter.

patron, and their profile is given in Figure 46. As with his predecessors, Caligula's household members are largely male (92%); they are also overwhelming Imperial slaves (89%) rather than Imperial freed slaves (11%).¹⁰²⁹ The status distribution can be attributed to several factors. First, Caligula's early death left him considerably fewer years during which to accumulate freed slaves as compared to his predecessors. Second, sixteen of Caligula's household members (34%) appear only in a *collegium* inscription from Antium, and all but one of these are Imperial slaves:¹⁰³⁰ they are assigned to Caligula based on the combination of their Imperial slave status and the consular years in which they appear as *decuriones* rather than through any deliberate indication on their part of membership in Caligula's household. Third, Caligula's freed slaves are difficult to distinguish from those belonging to Augustus, as both emperors share the *praenomen-nomen* combination C. Iulius; it is possible that some of those freed slaves I have attributed to Augustus are actually Caligula's, although it seems unlikely that there would be enough to account for such a large imbalance. Finally, Caligula's assassination and disgrace may have led his freed slaves in particular to omit their status indication after his death; as all but one of the freed slaves who are extant can and probably do date before 41,¹⁰³¹ this is perhaps the most likely contributing factor.

¹⁰²⁹ Both $p = 0.000$.

¹⁰³⁰ CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055) includes the consular years 38, 39, and 40.

¹⁰³¹ CIL 6, 05196, CIL 6, 19785, CIL 6, 20706 (= ICUR-07, 18156), CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055). The first two may even date before Caligula's accession, and the freedman in the *collegium* at Antium belongs to the consular year 39. The freedman in CIL 14, 03644 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00179 = D 01942) refers to "*divus Claudius*" and "*Nero Augustus*" as his patrons, dating the inscription sometime after 54; despite the fact that he does not specify Caligula as his patron rather than Augustus, the late date makes Caligula a more likely candidate for his patron (and reveals exactly how Caligula's freed slaves may have chosen to conceal themselves).

Caligula's household members are significantly more likely to provide their occupation (55%),¹⁰³² which is partially an artefact of the high proportion found within the Antium *collegium*.¹⁰³³ The *collegium* also accounts for the variance in the overall distribution, as those categories that feature heavily in villas in general and at Antium in particular are over-represented: there are more agricultural workers (4%), gardeners (8%), household staff (23%), tradesmen (8%), and writing staff (12%).¹⁰³⁴ Conversely, those occupations more suited to higher-ranking urban staff are lacking: there are fewer administrators (7%), appearance workers (4%), and attendants (4%), as well as no bodyguards or financial workers. While the absence of most of these categories is likely an artefact of the relatively low proportion of inscriptions from Rome, the lack of bodyguards in particular is inconsistent with what is known about Caligula's household and with the epigraphic material. The German bodyguard is mentioned in numerous accounts of Caligula's reign and remained loyal to him even after his assassination,¹⁰³⁵ and bodyguards inherited from Germanicus are known for both of Caligula's brothers.¹⁰³⁶ The lack of bodyguards for Caligula, then, may simply reflect the brevity of his life and of his reign as well as a lack of surviving inscriptions.

¹⁰³² $p = 0.000$.

¹⁰³³ Of the 76 names wholly or partially extant in CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055), 72 include an occupation.

¹⁰³⁴ Most of these categories are obvious candidates for workers on such an estate, with the possible exception of the last. However, it seems that the Imperial estate at Antium contained massive libraries along with an extensive book fabrication operation: CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055) includes four library workers (*a bybliothecae*), two book-glurers (*glutinatores*), and a book copier (*librarius*).

¹⁰³⁵ Suet. Calig. 43, 45.1, 58.3; Joseph. AJ 19.15-18.

¹⁰³⁶ Drusus Caesar: CIL 6, 04337 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718). Nero Caesar: CIL 6, 04342 (= D 01720), CIL 6, 04343 (= CIL 11, *00547a3 = D 01721), CIL 6, 04344 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01722). CIL 6, 04337 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718) and CIL 6, 04344 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01722) were certainly

Caligula's household members were found exclusively in Rome (57%) or Italy (43%), and the extremely low proportion of Roman inscriptions is also the result of the prominence of the *Antium collegium* in his extant household. Beyond the sixteen names known at Antium, there are an additional three from elsewhere in Latium and Campania and one from Transpadana. As a result, little can be said about the arrangement of Caligula's estates beyond what he must have inherited from Tiberius and from his parents. The prominence of the *Antium collegium* also contributes to the high proportion of household members participating in *collegia* (34%) and reporting relationships of slavery (68%), and conversely, the relatively low numbers reporting marriage (13%) or children (2%).¹⁰³⁷

Claudius

Literary Sources

The literary descriptions of Claudius portray him as a slave to women and freedmen,¹⁰³⁸ presenting them as the true power behind the throne.¹⁰³⁹ As a result, they provide extensive information about freedmen who wielded a great degree of influence over the emperor. These influential freedmen were not necessarily his own freedmen: several are known to have been manumitted by other Julio-Claudian patrons. I have discussed these individuals – most notably Callistus, Pallas, and Felix – in the sections

inherited from Germanicus, according to their *agnomina*, and it is likely that the others were as well. Cf. p. 142, n. 546.

¹⁰³⁷ All $p = 0.000$.

¹⁰³⁸ Suet. Claud. 25.5, 29.1, Cass. Dio 60.2.4-5, 60.28.2, 60.29.3, 60.31.8.

¹⁰³⁹ His lengthy dependence on paedagogues and tutors might explain his reliance on his freed slaves (Suet. Claud. 2.2).

dealing with their actual patrons.¹⁰⁴⁰ In fact, only two of the most prominent freedmen of Claudius' reign – Narcissus and Polybius – had actually been manumitted by Claudius himself.

Narcissus, who was in charge of letters (*ab epistulis*) under Claudius,¹⁰⁴¹ exerted a great degree of power over Claudius:¹⁰⁴² senators courted his favour in order to advance their own agendas with the emperor,¹⁰⁴³ slaves and freed slaves reported to him on the actions of their masters and patrons,¹⁰⁴⁴ and he amassed vast wealth in his own right.¹⁰⁴⁵ Narcissus' influence extended to punishing those who acted against Claudius' – or his own – interests, including Appius Silanus,¹⁰⁴⁶ a number of Messalina's supposed lovers,¹⁰⁴⁷ and indeed, Messalina herself.¹⁰⁴⁸ Narcissus personally ensured that Claudius discovered Messalina's bigamous marriage to C. Silius, without the assistance of Pallas or Callistus:¹⁰⁴⁹ he used Claudius' mistresses at the time – Calpurnia and Cleopatra – to pass along the information,¹⁰⁵⁰ he sat next to Claudius on his return from Ostia to Rome,¹⁰⁵¹ he ensured that Claudia Octavia and Britannicus were kept out of sight,¹⁰⁵² he

¹⁰⁴⁰ The identity of Felix's actual patron is problematic (pp. 311-312), but he must have originated in Antonia the Younger's household, whether or not he was manumitted by her or after having been inherited by Claudius.

¹⁰⁴¹ Suet. Claud. 28; Cass. Dio 60.30.6, 60.34.5. Cf. Millar 1977, pp. 224-228.

¹⁰⁴² Cass. Dio 60.33.6. Cf. Tac. Ann. 12.65, where Narcissus acknowledges that he will not be able to control either Britannicus or Nero as he has Claudius.

¹⁰⁴³ Cass. Dio 60.34.4; Suet. Vit. 2.5, Suet. Vesp. 4.1-2. Vespasian was so successful in befriending Narcissus that he was later faced with Agrippina the Younger's hatred of anyone who had earned Narcissus' favour.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Cass. Dio 60.15.5-6.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Plin. HN 33.134, Cass. Dio 60.34.4, Suet. Claud. 28.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Suet. Claud. 37.2, Tac. Ann. 11.29, Cass. Dio 60.14.3-4.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Sen. Apocol. 13.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Juv. 14.329-331.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Tac. Ann. 11.29.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Tac. Ann. 11.29-30.

¹⁰⁵¹ Tac. Ann. 11.33.

guided Claudius through Silius' house,¹⁰⁵³ and he appointed another freedman, Evodus, to ensure that Messalina committed suicide.¹⁰⁵⁴ As a reward for his loyalty, Narcissus received the quaestorian insignia,¹⁰⁵⁵ but Tacitus correctly points out that his true reward was the resulting increase of his position relative to Pallas and Callistus.¹⁰⁵⁶ His position became tenuous, however, after Claudius' marriage to Agrippina the Younger, as the two were notoriously enemies;¹⁰⁵⁷ Tacitus gives this as the reason for Narcissus' sudden allegiance to Britannicus in the final days of Claudius' reign.¹⁰⁵⁸ Stricken by illness, however, Narcissus was forced to retire to Sinuessa,¹⁰⁵⁹ and Claudius died during his absence; Narcissus, whose knowledge of Imperial secrets would have caused problems for Nero's accession,¹⁰⁶⁰ soon followed him, either forced to suicide or killed on Agrippina the Younger's orders.¹⁰⁶¹

Polybius was one of Claudius' most influential freedmen in the early part of his reign.¹⁰⁶² He was in charge of documents (*a studiis*)¹⁰⁶³ under Claudius and seems to have had a great deal of influence over his decisions.¹⁰⁶⁴ Most notably, Polybius was the

¹⁰⁵² Tac. Ann. 11.34.

¹⁰⁵³ Tac. Ann. 11.35.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Tac. Ann. 11.37-38.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Tac. Ann. 11.38, Suet. Claud. 28.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Tac. Ann. 11.38.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Tac. Ann. 12.57, 12.64. Cf. Cass. Dio 60.33.5.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Tac. Ann. 12.65. Cf. Suet. Tit. 2.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Tac. Ann. 12.66, Cass. Dio 60.34.4.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cassius Dio (60.34.5) reports that one of Narcissus' final acts was to burn all the documentation of Imperial secrets he possessed.

¹⁰⁶¹ Tac. Ann. 13.1, Cass. Dio 60.34.5-6.

¹⁰⁶² Cass. Dio 60.29.3.

¹⁰⁶³ Berger 1953, p. 338; Millar 1977, pp. 75-76, 205. More specifically, the *a studiis* seems to have been in charge of the documents and research necessary for the emperor to give advice in complex legal and governmental matters.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Suet. Claud. 28.

recipient of one of Seneca's consolations upon the death of his brother,¹⁰⁶⁵ but the work focuses on Stoic philosophy and on the exiled Seneca's attempts to regain Claudius' favour¹⁰⁶⁶ rather than on Polybius or his brother, to the extent that the brother – the ostensible subject of the work – is never named. Only one small hint of Polybius' life survives: Seneca refers to other brothers and to a wife and son.¹⁰⁶⁷ Despite his close relationship with Messalina, she eventually brought false accusations against him, thereby causing his execution.¹⁰⁶⁸

The Apocolocyntosis, written shortly after Claudius' death and generally attributed to Seneca,¹⁰⁶⁹ includes a list of Claudius' victims that names numerous freedmen, some known elsewhere and some otherwise unknown:

... convolant: primi omnium liberti Polybius, Myron, Arpocras, Amphaeus, Pheronactus, quos Claudius omnes, necubi imparatus esset, praemiserat. (Sen. Apocol. 13)

... they rush forward: first of all the freedmen – Polybius, Myron, Arpocras, Amphaeus, Pheronactus – all of whom Claudius had sent ahead, lest he go anywhere that had not been prepared for him.

Polybius is, of course, the *ab studiis* described above, while Harpocras appears in Suetonius as well, as having been granted the rights to a litter and to give public spectacles.¹⁰⁷⁰ Of the others, nothing is known.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Sen. Cons. Ad Polyb.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Sen. Cons. Ad Polyb. 13. This may be the work referred to at Cass. Dio 61.10.2.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Sen. Cons. Ad Polyb. 12.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Cass. Dio 60.31.2.

¹⁰⁶⁹ The surviving manuscripts do not bear the author's name, but the piece is probably the Senecan satire mentioned in Cassius Dio (60.35.3).

¹⁰⁷⁰ Suet. Claud. 28.

Heli�s, although a freedman of Claudius,¹⁰⁷¹ only became prominent during the reign of Nero. In the first days of Nero's reign, Agrippina the Younger had M. Junius Silanus (cos. 46) poisoned, likely as a potential rival to his (and her) power;¹⁰⁷² Heli�s, who was in charge of the Imperial estates in Asia, took care of the matter along with an equestrian colleague, as Silanus was proconsul of Asia at the time.¹⁰⁷³ Heli�s' control over the Empire was so complete – he had the power to execute whomever he wanted and Nero even left him in charge of Rome while he was touring Greece in 66 and 67¹⁰⁷⁴ – that Cassius Dio calls Rome a slave to two emperors at once.¹⁰⁷⁵

An interesting side note in Pliny the Elder reveals the potential extent of a freedman's influence:

inde in Italiam quoque ad suburbana sua Claudio principe Marcelli Aesernini libertus, sed qui se potentiae causa Caesaris libertis adoptasset, spado Thessalicus praedives, ut merito dici possit is quoque Dionysius, transtulit id genus. (Plin. HN 12.12)

During Claudius' reign, a freedman of Marcellus Aeserninus – but one who had himself adopted into the Imperial freedmen for the sake of power – an exceedingly wealthy Thessalian eunuch, brought this species [of plane-tree] from there [i.e., Crete] into Italy as well for his suburban villa, so that on this account he can also be called Dionysius. (emphasis mine)

¹⁰⁷¹ Cass. Dio 63.12.2: *Κλαυδίου ἀπελεύθερος*. Cf. Tac. Ann. 13.1, Suet. Ner. 23.1 (although the passage has been erroneously understood as meaning that Heli�s was Nero's own freedman).

¹⁰⁷² Silanus and Nero were Augustus' great-great-grandsons, both entirely through the maternal line, as is illustrated in the family tree in Appendix B.

¹⁰⁷³ Tac. Ann. 13.1.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Cass. Dio 63.12.1, 63.18-19, Suet. Ner. 23.1.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Cass. Dio 63.12.2.

The freedman in question was originally manumitted by M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus, grandson of the orator C. Asinius Pollio.¹⁰⁷⁶ However, he seems to not have been content with this, and to have sought to improve his freed status further. The problem lies in the interpretation of the clause *se potentiae causa Caesaris libertis adoptasset*. Was the freedman adopted into the ranks of the Imperial freed slaves with the full knowledge of the *familia Caesaris*, or did he claim Imperial freed status entirely of his own accord, usurping a status to which he was not entitled? The Loeb translation prefers the former interpretation,¹⁰⁷⁷ but Weaver has argued for the latter.¹⁰⁷⁸ The possibility of becoming an Imperial freed slave without actually having been manumitted by an emperor (or a close relative) is problematic, although the usurpation of Imperial freed status is certainly not unattested.¹⁰⁷⁹ However, as an emperor could grant freeborn status,¹⁰⁸⁰ the creation of Imperial freed slaves who had not actually been manumitted within the Imperial household would not be a stretch.¹⁰⁸¹

The wide-ranging origins of the Imperial household during Claudius' reign are clear. Pliny the Elder comments on a slave, the steward (*dispensator*) of Hispania

¹⁰⁷⁶ Suet. Aug. 43. His father seems to have been the homonymous consul of 22 C.E. (Cass. Dio 42.15, 54.1). Cf. Tac. Ann. 3.11, 11.6-7.

¹⁰⁷⁷ 1945 edition, p. 11: "... who was a freedman of Marcellus Aeserninus but had for the sake of obtaining power got himself enrolled among the freedmen of the emperor..."

¹⁰⁷⁸ Weaver 2004b, p. 197.

¹⁰⁷⁹ There are references to freedmen bearing Imperial *nomina* (and presumably status indication) without probable cause (Suet. Ner. 32.2) and insinuating themselves into the *domus Caesaris* (Tac. Hist. 2.92). It is possible that the inscriptions bearing Imperial status indications with anomalous *nomina* fall into this category as well (CIL 10, 02112 = CIL 6, 12533 = CIL 6, 34057 = CIL 6, *03216, CIL 6, 24316 = AE 2006, 00173, CIL 8, 12922 = Gummerus-01, 00308, AE 2001, 00780), although some may be the result of the *SC Claudianum*.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Tac. Ann. 13.27. Cf. Suet. Ner. 28.1 (although Acte seems to have been adopted rather than simply declared freeborn, according to Cass. Dio 61.7.1).

¹⁰⁸¹ There is a second-century letter regarding an individual who went to Rome to become a freedman of Caesar, although the outcome of his attempts is unknown (P.Oxy.XLVI 3312, cf. Weaver 2004b).

Citerior, who owned a silver plate weighing 500 pounds, as well as eight matching plates weighing 250 pounds apiece;¹⁰⁸² as the slave's name is Rotundus Drusillianus, he would have originated in the household of Julia Drusilla. Philo makes numerous references to the influential Egyptian slave Helicon,¹⁰⁸³ who was given to Tiberius by his original master and subsequently gained influence under Caligula, only to be executed under Claudius.

Most importantly for the literary image of Claudius, the sources emphasize the disdain exhibited toward Claudius by his own household. He exposed the infant daughter of his first wife Plautia Urgulanilla, despite having decided to rear her, when it was discovered that the child had been fathered by Boter, one of his own freedmen.¹⁰⁸⁴ Late in Caligula's reign, Claudius' slave Polydeuces made accusations against him, to the point of a trial.¹⁰⁸⁵ The lists of Messalina's supposed lovers include several members of the Imperial household, including the prefect of the German bodyguard Sabinus,¹⁰⁸⁶ the pantomime actor Mnester,¹⁰⁸⁷ and the *a studiis* Polybius.¹⁰⁸⁸ Such disdain is even implicated in Claudius' murder, as the varying accounts implicate Agrippina the Younger,¹⁰⁸⁹ Locusta,¹⁰⁹⁰ and a slave named Halotus.¹⁰⁹¹ Halotus was a eunuch and

¹⁰⁸² Plin. HN 33.145.

¹⁰⁸³ Philo Leg. 166-171, 203-206.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Suet. Claud. 27.1. The divorce took place in approximately 24, and the child was born five months later. Her age at the time of her exposure is unknown.

¹⁰⁸⁵ This appears only in Josephus (AJ 19.1.2), and it seems that nothing came of the accusations despite Caligula's desire to rid himself of yet another male relative.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Cass. Dio 60.28.2.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Tac. Ann. 11.36; Cass. Dio 60.22.4-5, 60.31.5; Sen. Apocol. 13.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Cass. Dio 60.31.2. Polybius was in charge of documents; for the definition of *a studiis*, see Berger (1953, p. 338) and Millar (1977, pp. 75-76, 205).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Cass. Dio 60.34.2-3, Suet. Claud. 44.1-2, Tac. Ann. 12.66-67.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Cass. Dio 60.34.2, Tac. Ann. 12.66. See p. 291 for Locusta's career within the Imperial household.

¹⁰⁹¹ Tac. Ann. 12.66, Suet. Claud. 44.2.

Claudius' food-taster:¹⁰⁹² Suetonius calls him by the specific occupational term *praegustator*,¹⁰⁹³ while Tacitus uses *minister*, a generic term for a food-server,¹⁰⁹⁴ but clarifies that he tasted the dishes before serving them (*explorare gustu solitus*). Because Claudius was poisoned, his food-taster would be an obvious conspirator;¹⁰⁹⁵ in a similar vein, I have already discussed the potential involvement of Claudius' physician Xenophon in the emperor's death.¹⁰⁹⁶ As for Halotus, his prominence in Nero's court may reflect his participation in Nero's accession: Suetonius later refers to him as one of Nero's creatures, and Galba even honoured him after Nero's death rather than punishing him as the people had demanded.¹⁰⁹⁷

Finally, a few miscellaneous references are extant. The freedman Posides appears in both Suetonius and Pliny the Elder: he was a eunuch, granted the *hasta pura* during Claudius' British triumph in 44,¹⁰⁹⁸ and the hot springs at Baiae were named after him.¹⁰⁹⁹ In addition, at some point during the reign of Claudius, an Imperial slave named

¹⁰⁹² Ibid. Both use the term *spado* to describe Halotus.

¹⁰⁹³ The term is attested elsewhere in the *familia Caesaris* (CIL 6.00602, CIL 6.05355, CIL 6.09005 = D 01795, CIL 10, 06324 = D 01734, CIL 15, 07585, AE 1914, 00261 = D 09504 = CMRDM 00160, Schillinger 00090 = AE 1976, 00504 = AE 1989, 00564), as early as the reign of Augustus (CIL 6.09005 = D 01795); there were enough food-tasters within the Imperial household that there was a manager (*procurator*) in charge of *praegustatores* (CIL 6, 09003 = D 01796 and Schillinger 00090 = AE 1976, 00504 = AE 1989.00564 name the same individual) as well as a dedicated *collegium praegustatorum* (CIL 6, 09004 = D 01797).

¹⁰⁹⁴ The present sample contains nine instances of *minister* or the synonymous *ministrator* (CIL 6, 01959 = CIL 6, 04013 = D 07886 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6, 04351 = CIL 11, *00547a4 = D 01802 , CIL 6, 05200, CIL 6, 05351, CIL 6, 05751, CIL 6, 05858 = CIL 6, *00838 = ILMN-01, 00090 [twice], CIL 6, 05873 = CIL 6, *00884 = ILMN-01, 00093, CIL 6, 08918).

¹⁰⁹⁵ If the food-taster was not involved, his protection would have to be circumvented in some manner, such as through the ruse of cold water later used in Britannicus' murder (Tac. Ann. 13.16).

¹⁰⁹⁶ pp. 246-246.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Suet. Galb. 15.2.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Suet. Claud. 28. The *hasta pura* was one of the numerous Roman military awards and seems to have been awarded for saving a citizen's life (Tac. Ann. 3.21).

¹⁰⁹⁹ Plin. HN 31.5.

Stephanus was travelling in Judaea when he was attacked by bandits and robbed of his possessions, which the Roman procurator promptly used as an excuse to punish the nearby villages.¹¹⁰⁰

Epigraphic Sources

Inscriptions identify a total of 133 individuals whose owner or patron was Claudius, whose characteristics are illustrated in Figure 47. Similar to the other emperors, Claudius' household members were predominantly male (93%).¹¹⁰¹ There was also a considerable imbalance between Imperial slaves (65%) and Imperial freed slaves (31%), but this is largely due to the problem of separating Claudian and Neronian freed slaves from one another,¹¹⁰² as well as to the high number of Claudian slaves in the *Antium collegium*.¹¹⁰³ The few uncertain free or freeborn staff members who appear are almost all the usual administrative staff,¹¹⁰⁴ in addition to Claudius' physician C. Stertinus Xenophon.¹¹⁰⁵

While the *Antium collegium* (32%) remains prominent, covering much of Claudius' reign, household members appear all over Italy, including elsewhere in Latium and Campania, Apulia and Calabria, Etruria, Transpadana, and Venetia and Histria. In the provinces (7%), Claudius' household members are found in Asia, Corsica and Sardinia, Dalmatia, Lycia and Pamphilia, Noricum, and Numidia.

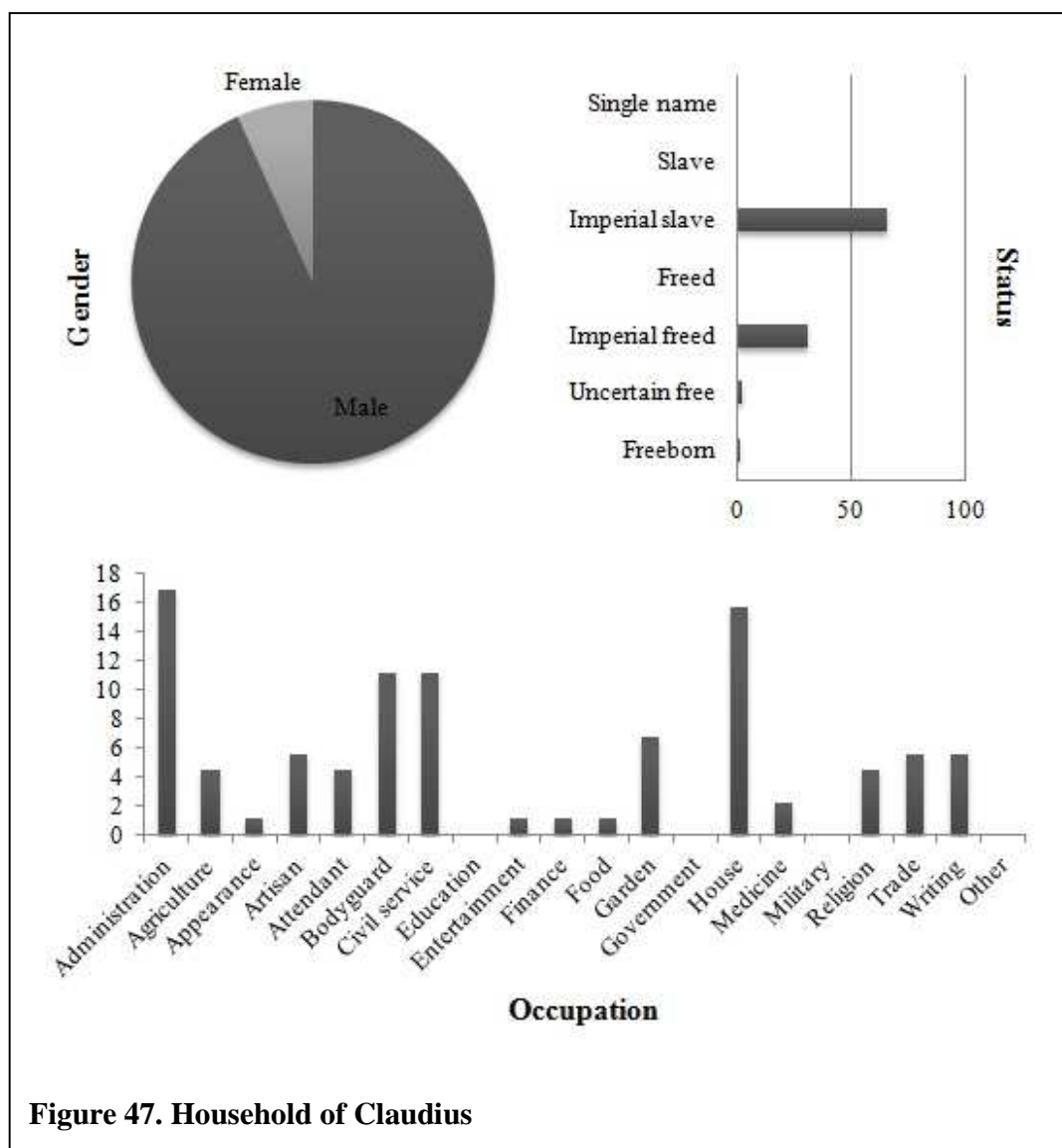
¹¹⁰⁰ Joseph. AJ 20.5.4, Joseph. BJ 2.12.2.

¹¹⁰¹ $p = 0.000$.

¹¹⁰² See p. 295.

¹¹⁰³ CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055) includes 41 names for the consular years 42, 43, 44, 49, 50, and 51, and comprises 31% of Claudius' extant household.

¹¹⁰⁴ CIL 10, 05188 (*praefectus fabrum*, or prefect of engineers), AE 1971, 00459 = IK-13, 00703a (*procurator*, or manager), IK-54, 00024 (*praefectus equitum*, or prefect of cavalry, and *procurator*, or manager), IK-59, 00156 = AE 1990, 00935 = AE 1996, 01466c (*procurator*, or manager).



As with Augustus and Tiberius, significantly more of Claudius' household members (20%) have *agnomina* than in the sample as a whole. However, these *agnomina* are considerably more likely to refer to freed slaves (56%) rather than to other

¹¹⁰⁵ CIL 15, 07544. See above, pp. 246.

Julio-Claudians (26%) or to members of the elite (15%),¹¹⁰⁶ indicating a shift in the origins of the members of the *familia Caesaris*, and thus in the composition and self-perpetuation of the Imperial household. Rather than maintaining its size and even expanding through inheritances from family members or aristocratic peers, the *familia Caesaris* had begun to take advantage of the growing number of Imperial freed slaves with wealth, property, and extensive households of their own, inheriting their slaves as well.¹¹⁰⁷

Claudius' household members are more likely to report their occupation (66.9%) as compared to the other emperors' households.¹¹⁰⁸ As with Caligula, the Antium *collegium* has a major impact on the types of occupations reported, with more agricultural workers (5%), gardeners (7%), and household staff (16%). Claudius also has more bodyguards (11%) and more administrators (17%); the latter may indicate Claudius' reliance on internal administration of his own household, including both properties and staff. Other groups are lacking, with fewer appearance workers (1%), attendants (5%), financial staff (1%), and fewer medical workers (2%). It is difficult to know how much these differences reflect the real composition of Claudius' household due to the difficulty in separating Claudian and Neronian freed slaves; it is possible that staff appear for some of the occupational categories that are lacking here, but that their patron's identity is not obvious, so that they appear below in the unspecified emperor category instead of as part of Claudius' household. As for relationships, the Antium inscription again has a

¹¹⁰⁶ p = 0.000.

¹¹⁰⁷ The enactment of the *SC Claudianum* indicates the importance of Imperial slaves' and freed slaves' property to the finances of the *familia Caesaris*. See above, pp. 43-46.

¹¹⁰⁸ p = 0.000.

significant impact on the types of relationships recorded, with an emphasis on collegial participation (42%) and relationships of slavery (58%) rather than marriage (14%), children (5%), and family (5%).¹¹⁰⁹

Nero

Literary Sources

Beginning at the beginning, Nero's nurses, Egloge and Alexandria, are named in Suetonius, as the two women took care of his burial in the tomb of the Domitii;¹¹¹⁰ the bond was clearly strong and they seem to have remained with Nero all his life. One of Nero's nurses – Suetonius calls her *nutricula* rather than by name – was with Nero when he learned of Galba's revolt in March of 68, and attempted to calm him down.¹¹¹¹ Nero made his *collocatus* Tuscus the procurator of Egypt,¹¹¹² although it is not made clear whether Tuscus was the son of either Egloge or Alexandria, or (perhaps less likely) another, unknown nurse.¹¹¹³

Egloge and Alexandria were not the young Nero's sole caregivers. Suetonius also records the caregivers assigned to him in the household of Domitia Lepida, where he lived between the banishment of Agrippina the Younger in 39 and her recall to Rome two years later:¹¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰⁹ All $p = 0.000$.

¹¹¹⁰ Suet. Ner. 50.

¹¹¹¹ Suet. Ner. 42.1.

¹¹¹² Suet. Ner. 35.5.

¹¹¹³ He is listed in PIR² (C 0109) under the name of Caecina Tuscus (p. 23); while it is possible that they are identical, it is equally possible that the two names were conflated in Cassius Dio (63.18.1). Particularly when an elite child is involved, the *collocatus* relationship generally involves a greater power and status differential (Penner 2007, pp. 39-43). Cf. Tac. Ann. 13.20, Tac. Hist. 3.38.

¹¹¹⁴ Cass. Dio 59.22.8, 60.4.1, Suet. Ner. 6.3-4.

... *paene inops atque egens apud amitam Lepidam nutritus est sub duobus paedagogis saltatore atque tonsore.* (Suet. Ner. 6.3)

... nearly poor and destitute, he was raised in the household of his paternal aunt Lepida under the charge of two paedagogues, a dancer and a barber.

It is possible – although by no means certain – that either of these paedagogues might be identical with Anicetus, Nero’s freedman and commander of the fleet at Misenum:¹¹¹⁵ Suetonius calls him Nero’s *paedagogus*,¹¹¹⁶ whereas Tacitus uses *educator*.¹¹¹⁷ Anicetus appears amid the plans for Agrippina the Younger’s murder,¹¹¹⁸ as the instigator of the collapsible boat and the commander of the final attack.¹¹¹⁹ He seems to have fallen out of favour shortly thereafter, but came to Nero’s service again in his attempts to disgrace Claudia Octavia, by claiming that he had conducted an affair with her.¹¹²⁰ Almost immediately, Anicetus was exiled to Sardinia, where he enjoyed a comfortable exile and a natural death.¹¹²¹ A barber (*tonsor*) named Thalamus, who had belonged to Nero, is known from Martial;¹¹²² again, Nero must have owned numerous barbers throughout his life, so there is no way of knowing whether Thalamus was indeed one of the emperor’s paedagogues. Another paedagogue (παιδαγωγός) named Beryllus

¹¹¹⁵ Cass. Dio 61.13.2, Tac. Ann. 14.3, 14.7.

¹¹¹⁶ Suet. Ner. 35.2.

¹¹¹⁷ Tac. Ann. 14.3, 14.7-8.

¹¹¹⁸ Cass. Dio 61.13.2-5.

¹¹¹⁹ Cassius Dio (61.13.5) has Anicetus strike the final blow, whereas Tacitus (Ann. 14.8) has a centurion commit the deed. Tacitus is to be preferred, as this section of Cassius Dio survives only in epitomes.

¹¹²⁰ Tac. Ann. 14.62, Suet. Ner. 35.2.

¹¹²¹ Tac. Ann. 14.62.

¹¹²² Mart. 8.52.

appears in Josephus;¹¹²³ he was in charge of Greek letters (ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν) by the early days of Nero's reign.¹¹²⁴

Nero's freedwoman, Acte,¹¹²⁵ was his mistress throughout most of his reign.¹¹²⁶ Tacitus places the beginning of their relationship in 55,¹¹²⁷ and Acte assisted Nero's nurses with his burial in 68.¹¹²⁸ Acte had been purchased in Asia, but Nero artificially raised her status by claiming that she was descended from the house of Attalus.¹¹²⁹ Nero wisely attempted to conceal the relationship from Agrippina the Younger at first, taking only his closest companions into his confidence and using one of Seneca's friends to send gifts to Acte.¹¹³⁰ The most detailed descriptions of their relationship come from Tacitus, who simultaneously presents Acte both as a harmless outlet for his desires¹¹³¹ and as a symbol of Nero's degradation.¹¹³²

Acte was not alone in her role as Nero's mistress. Nero retained other concubines,¹¹³³ and carried on relationships with his slave eunuch Sporus and his

¹¹²³ Joseph. AJ 20.8.9. In some translations, the name has been emended as Burrus, but I agree with Millar (1977, p. 226) that he is more likely a Neronian freedman.

¹¹²⁴ The Latin equivalent of the title is *ab epistulis Graecis* (Millar 1977, pp. 225-228).

¹¹²⁵ For Acte in general, see Mastino and Ruggieri (1995), who argue that she was Claudius' freedwoman rather than Nero's (pp. 515-516).

¹¹²⁶ The descriptions of their relationship include the terms *concubina* (Suet. Ner. 50), *paelex* (Tac. Ann. 13.46), *contubernium* (Tac. Ann. 13.46), and even *matrimonium* (Suet. Ner. 28.1: *paulum a fuit quin iuso sibi matrimonio coniugeret*). Cf. Cass. Dio 61.7.1.

¹¹²⁷ Tac. Ann. 13.12.

¹¹²⁸ Suet. Ner. 50.

¹¹²⁹ Suet. Ner. 28.1, Cass. Dio 61.7.1.

¹¹³⁰ Tac. Ann. 13.12-13. In particular, Tacitus names the future emperor Otho and a certain Claudius Senecio, son of an Imperial freedman, as Nero's confidants.

¹¹³¹ Tac. Ann. 13.12: *muliercula nulla cuiusquam iniuria cupidines principis explente*.

¹¹³² Tac. Ann. 13.46: *nihil e contubernio servili nisi abiectum et sordidum traxisse*. Cf. Tac. Ann. 14.2, where Acte alerts Nero of Agrippina's claims of incest in order to preserve her own position.

¹¹³³ Suet. Ner. 28.2.

freedmen Pythagoras and Doryphorus,¹¹³⁴ even holding marriage ceremonies with both Sporus and Pythagoras,¹¹³⁵ with Sporus as his bride and Pythagoras as his groom. Doryphorus, in charge of petitions (*a libellis*) under Nero,¹¹³⁶ became enormously wealthy before Nero had him poisoned in 62, ostensibly for opposing the emperor's marriage to Poppaea Sabina.¹¹³⁷

The accounts of Nero's final days involve numerous members of his household. A fair number of them abandoned him: they switched sides when he sent them to negotiate his interests¹¹³⁸ or fled the house while he slept, even going so far as to steal his bedding and the box of poison he had intended to use.¹¹³⁹ He next fled to a suburban villa belonging to the freedman Phaon, accompanied by the eunuch Sporus and Epaphroditus, who was by that time in charge of petitions (*a libellis*);¹¹⁴⁰ he remained in hiding there until Phaon's messenger brought the news that he had been declared a public enemy, finally committing suicide with Epaphroditus' assistance.¹¹⁴¹

Nero's notorious love of music left its mark on his household as well. His retinue during his visit to Greece in 66 and 67 seems to have included numerous musicians and

¹¹³⁴ Suet. Ner. 28.1-2, 29, 46.2; Cass. Dio 62.28.3, 63.12-13, 63.22.4; Tac. Ann. 15.37. Cf. Mart. 11.6.

¹¹³⁵ Cass. Dio 62.28.2-3, 63.13.1-2, 63.22.4; Suet. Ner. 28.2, 29.

¹¹³⁶ Cass. Dio 61.5.4. For the definition of *a libellis*, see Berger (1953, p. 338) and Millar (1977, pp. 75-79, 249-251).

¹¹³⁷ Tac. Ann. 14.65. Cf. Suet. Ner. 35.5.

¹¹³⁸ Cass. Dio 63.27.1-2.

¹¹³⁹ Suet. Ner. 47.3, Cass. Dio 63.27.3.

¹¹⁴⁰ Cass. Dio 63.27.3, 63.28.3, Suet. Ner. 48.1. Epaphroditus also appears in Tacitus' narrative of the Pisonian conspiracy (Tac. Ann. 15.55); he succeeded Doryphorus as *a libellis* (Weaver 1972, p. 261). For the definition of *a libellis*, see Berger (1953, p. 338) and Millar (1977, pp. 75-79, 249-251). Aurelius Victor (Caes. 5.7) adds a certain Neophytus to the list of those present at the time of Nero's death; he is otherwise unknown.

¹¹⁴¹ Suet. Ner. 49.2-4, Cass. Dio 63.29.1-2.

dancers,¹¹⁴² possibly including Paris, the freedman of his aunt Domitia.¹¹⁴³ He lavished gifts and honours upon Menecrates, the skilled lyre-player who instructed him.¹¹⁴⁴ He acquired the services of a vocal coach (*phonascus*), who followed him everywhere and gave strict instructions on maintaining his voice.¹¹⁴⁵

A considerable number of Nero's slaves, freed slaves, and other members of his court are mentioned only as examples within the portrayal of Nero's reign as wicked and licentious.¹¹⁴⁶ The freedman Phoebus insulted Vespasian for his disapproval of Nero's behaviour, for which he apologized after Vespasian's accession, presumably in order to save his own position.¹¹⁴⁷ The eunuch Pelago supervised the suicide of Rubellius Plautus in 62,¹¹⁴⁸ and the freedman Acratus pillaged votive offerings and statues of gods in Asia and Achaia in 64.¹¹⁴⁹ A certain Vatinius, born in a shoemaker's shop and introduced to court as a deformed, vulgar jester, made a name – and fortune – for himself by accusing the powerful.¹¹⁵⁰ The freedman Polyclitus, who travelled to Britain with an unnecessarily large retinue,¹¹⁵¹ collected a fortune through theft and abuse of power.¹¹⁵² Patrobius, another freedman, assisted Nero with his extravagant displays¹¹⁵³ and enriched himself in

¹¹⁴² Cass. Dio 63.8.2-5. For a more detailed discussion of Nero's retinue in Greece, including the elite members such as Vespasian and Statilia Messalina, see Bradley 1979.

¹¹⁴³ Suet. Ner. 54, Cass. Dio 63.18.1.

¹¹⁴⁴ Suet. Ner. 30.2, Cass. Dio 63.1.1. Cf. Petron. Sat. 73.

¹¹⁴⁵ Suet. Ner. 25.3.

¹¹⁴⁶ Cass. Dio 63.10.1.

¹¹⁴⁷ Cass. Dio 66.11.2, Tac. Ann. 16.5, Suet. Vesp. 4.4. Phoebus also appears at Cass. Dio 63.10.1a.

¹¹⁴⁸ Tac. Ann. 14.59.

¹¹⁴⁹ Tac. Ann. 15.45, 16.23. Cf. Dio Chrys. Or. 31.150.

¹¹⁵⁰ Tac. Ann. 15.34, Cass. Dio 63.15.1. Cf. Mart. 14.96, Juv. 5.46-47, Tac. Dial. 11.

¹¹⁵¹ Tac. Ann. 14.39.

¹¹⁵² Cass. Dio 63.12.3. Cf. Plin. Ep. 6.31.9, Tac. Hist. 2.95.

¹¹⁵³ Cass. Dio 63.3.1-2.

the process.¹¹⁵⁴ Calvia Crispinilla, whom Tacitus describes as *magistra libidinum Neronis*,¹¹⁵⁵ had been in charge of Sporus' wellbeing as well as Nero's wardrobe.¹¹⁵⁶ The poisoner Locusta does not seem to have been a slave or freedwoman of the Imperial household, but she was certainly closely affiliated with Nero from the very beginning of his reign: she supplied the poisons that killed Claudius and Britannicus,¹¹⁵⁷ and Nero was so grateful for her services that he granted her a full pardon, vast estates, and even sent her pupils.¹¹⁵⁸ A number of Nero's favourites were executed by Galba in the summer of 68,¹¹⁵⁹ and others were held up as examples of the excesses of the former regime.¹¹⁶⁰ However, Patrobius, one of those executed by Galba,¹¹⁶¹ had his revenge in the end. In the confusion of Galba's death, Patrobius' own freedmen somehow got possession of

¹¹⁵⁴ Tac. Hist. 2.95. Cf. Plin. HN 35.47, regarding a special type of sand Patrobius imported for his exercises.

¹¹⁵⁵ Tac. Hist. 1.73.

¹¹⁵⁶ Cass. Dio 63.12.3-4. PIR¹ suggests, albeit with some doubt (p. 88), that she might be the child of the freed slaves in CIL 6, 16586 (discussed above at p. 209), but I find this unlikely given that both Tacitus and Cassius Dio remark on her high rank (Tac. Hist. 1.73, Cass. Dio 63.12.4), and Tacitus adds that she later married a man of consular status; Bradley (1979, pp. 153-154) concurs and describes her as "well born."

¹¹⁵⁷ Tac. Ann. 12.66, 13.15; Cass. Dio 60.34.2, 64.3.4; Suet. Ner. 33.2-3; Juv. 1.71. She supplied Nero with poison for himself as well, but it was stolen before he could use it (Suet. Ner. 47.2-3). The precise spelling of her name is uncertain: she is Locusta in Tacitus, Lucusta in Juvenal and Suetonius, and Λουκοῦστα in Dio.

¹¹⁵⁸ Suet. Ner. 33.3: *Lucustae pro navata opera impunitatem praediaque ampla, sed et discipulos dedit*. She had already been convicted of poisoning when she was recruited to provide the poison for Claudius' murder (Tac. Ann. 12.66, 13.15, Cass. Dio 60.34.2).

¹¹⁵⁹ Plut. Galb. 17.2: Plutarch lists Helius, Polycleitus, Paetinus, and Patrobius. Cass. Dio 64.3.4: Cassius Dio lists Helius, Narcissus, Patrobius, and Locusta. Of these, only Paetinus is otherwise unknown; the others are discussed above. Cf. Plut. Galb. 8.5.

¹¹⁶⁰ Tac. Hist. 1.37: Tacitus specifically names Polyclitus, Vatinius, and Aegialis as having plundered the empire in Nero's name. I have mentioned Polyclitus and Vatinius above; Aegialis is otherwise unknown, although his entry in PIR² (A 0117, p. 18) suggests that he might be the Vetulenus Aegialus (PIR¹ V 0349) who acquired the villa formerly owned by Scipio Africanus (Plin. HN 14.49; Sen. Ep. 86.14, 86.21).

¹¹⁶¹ Plut. Galb. 17.2, 28, Cass. Dio 64.3.4, Tac. Hist. 1.49.

Galba's head and displayed it on Patrobius' tomb.¹¹⁶² Those who survived the first round took the opportunity to strengthen their own grip on power during the civil war: the eunuch Sporus joined Nymphidius Sabinus and then Otho,¹¹⁶³ the freedman Crescens unilaterally threw a feast for the people of Carthage in support of Otho,¹¹⁶⁴ and the freedman Coenus was executed for falsely claiming that Vitellius was losing even after Otho's death.¹¹⁶⁵ Some survived even longer: Epaphroditus was in charge of petitions (*libellis*)¹¹⁶⁶ under Nero and held that post under Domitian as well, only to be put to death for his role in Nero's suicide nearly thirty years after the fact.¹¹⁶⁷

Epigraphic Sources

There are a total of 63 slaves or freed slaves who identify Nero as their owner or patron; their profile appears in Figure 48. While their gender ratio is similar to that found for the other emperors (93% male), the status ratio reflects the difficulty of distinguishing between freed slaves of Claudius and Nero.¹¹⁶⁸ In addition to the Imperial slaves and freed slaves, there are three managers (*procuratores*) of uncertain free or freeborn status.¹¹⁶⁹

¹¹⁶² There is considerable disagreement about exactly how this happened: Tacitus (Hist. 1.49) suggests that they removed it stealthily from where it had been displayed, Plutarch (Galb. 28.2-3) says that they were given it, and Suetonius (Galb. 20.2) claims that they purchased it for a hundred *aurei*.

¹¹⁶³ Plut. Galb. 9.3, Cass. Dio 64.8.3. Sporus survived the reigns of Galba and Otho, only to commit suicide during the reign of Vitellius (Cass. Dio 65.10.1).

¹¹⁶⁴ Tac. Hist. 1.76.

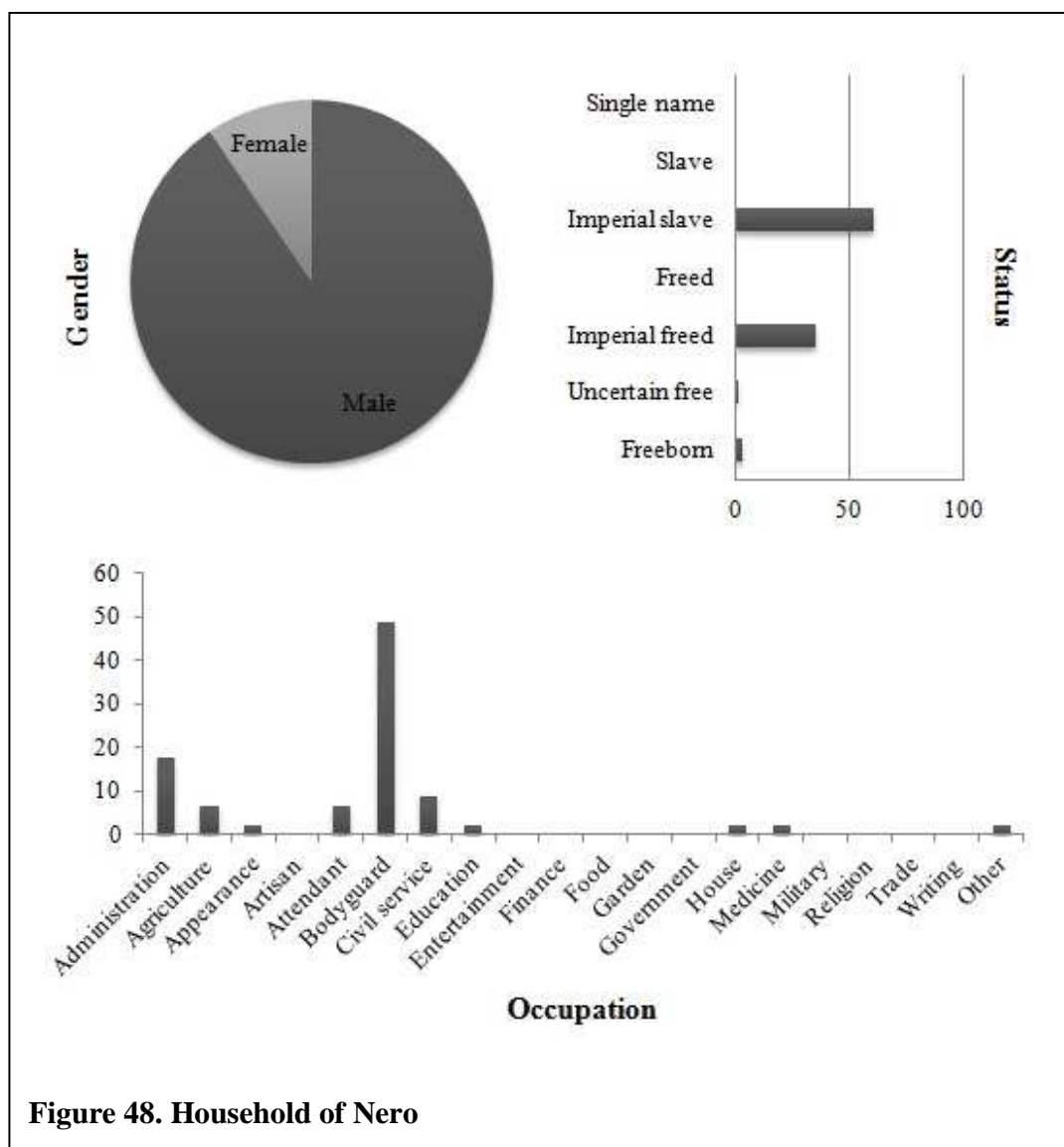
¹¹⁶⁵ Tac. Hist. 2.54.

¹¹⁶⁶ Berger 1953, p. 338; Millar 1977, pp. 75-79, 249-251.

¹¹⁶⁷ Suet. Dom. 14.4, Cass. Dio 67.14.4. Epaphroditus died late in Domitian's reign, probably in 95; as such, he is unlikely to be the Epaphroditus to whom Josephus addressed several of his works (AJ pr.2; Ap. 1.1, 2.1). He was likely the owner of the *hortos Epaphroditianos* to which Frontinus refers (Frontin. Aq. 68).

¹¹⁶⁸ See below, p. 295.

¹¹⁶⁹ AE 1927, 00002 = Corinth-08-02, 00068 (Corinth, Achaia), AE 1914, 00128 = IK-43, 00055 = AE 1966, 00472 = AE 2005, +01534 (Side, Lycia and Pamphilia). The third (CIL 11, 01753 = CIL 6, 08500 =



A disproportionately large number of Nero's extant household members report their occupation as Germani (38%), because the surviving inscriptions from the

D 01490 = AE 2004, +00042), Volaterrae, Etruria) does not give his status indication, but he probably appears in another inscription from Rome (CIL 6, 08499 = CIL 10, *01089,123 = D 01489 = IMCCatania 00399), in which case he is actually a freedman of Nero, but manumitted prior to his adoption in 50 (Chantraine 1967, p. 65, Weaver 1972, pp. 38-39).

bodyguards' *collegium* largely date from his reign.¹¹⁷⁰ As a result, significantly more individuals (71%) report their occupation,¹¹⁷¹ and the occupational distribution is skewed heavily in that direction, with other occupations such as household staff (2%) and attendants (7%) severely reduced or lacking altogether.¹¹⁷² In addition, because the highly formulaic nature of the Germani inscriptions includes age at death, Nero's household too is significantly more likely to include age at death (25%);¹¹⁷³ similarly, the presence and composition of the *collegium Germanorum* leaves its mark on Nero's household, with a third (33%) reporting collegial participation, significantly more than in the sample as a whole.¹¹⁷⁴

However, other than the Germani, the slaves and freed slaves of Nero's household are more likely to be found in the provinces (14%) rather than in Italy (18%) or in Rome (68%).¹¹⁷⁵ With only one exception,¹¹⁷⁶ the provincial members of Nero's household include their occupational title: these are largely members of the civil service based in the provinces or staff administrating Imperial estates.¹¹⁷⁷

¹¹⁷⁰ For the Germani in general, see pp. 138-145.

¹¹⁷¹ $p = 0.000$.

¹¹⁷² $p = 0.000$. No artisans, entertainers, financial staff, food workers, gardeners, government staff, military workers, religious staff, tradesmen, or writing staff are extant for Nero. It is difficult to ascribe this to any actual differences in the composition of Nero's staff, as they may survive in the "unspecified emperor" group discussed below (pp. 295-299).

¹¹⁷³ $p = 0.000$.

¹¹⁷⁴ $p = 0.000$. Similarly, considerably more of Nero's household members report family members (13%) other than spouses and children ($p = 0.000$), likely an artefact of the number of brother pairs among the Germani (p. 143).

¹¹⁷⁵ $p = 0.000$. Of those in Rome, more than half (56%) are Germani.

¹¹⁷⁶ CIL 10, 07980 (Corsica and Sardinia), a freedwoman of Nero bearing the *agnomen* Acteniana. She has already been discussed as part of Claudia Acte's household (pp. 228-229).

¹¹⁷⁷ AE 1927, 00002 = Corinth-08-02, 00068 (*procurator*, or manager, Achaia), IK-13, 00852 = IK-59, 00122 = AE 1972, 00574 = AE 1982, +00862 = AE 1990, +00901 (*procurator*, or manager, Asia), IK-13, 00862 (*procurator*, or manager, Asia), CIL 13, 02449 = ILAin 00009 = CAG-01, p 107 (*praefectus fabrum*, or prefect of engineers, Lugdunensis), CIL 3, 12131 = TAM-02-02, 00486 (*dispensator*, or steward, Lycia

Unspecified Emperor

Due to the nomenclature practices of the *familia Caesaris* as well as the Julio-Claudians' tendency to reuse names, it is not always possible to identify the precise emperor who owned or manumitted each individual, beyond the fact that he belonged to the Julio-Claudian dynasty. In the present sample, 329 individuals fall into this group. This is particularly a problem for freedwomen, for whom no *praenomen* is available to aid in identifying a patron, and for the freedmen of Claudius and Nero, who share the same combination of *praenomen* and *nomen*, Tiberius Claudius; indeed, within this group, freedwomen who do not clearly identify their patrons account for 13%, while freedmen of Claudius and Nero account for 60%.¹¹⁷⁸ This further explains why Nero's household is relatively small, compared to the length of his reign, and suggests that Claudius' household may have been remarkably large as compared to the other Julio-Claudian emperors, assuming that the freedmen are distributed roughly equally between the two.¹¹⁷⁹ Of the remainder, 10% belong to an Imperial cemetery at Surrentum,¹¹⁸⁰ which likely served as the burial ground of the household staff of the villa on Capreae; these are most likely of Tiberian date, based on his lengthy residence there, but it is impossible to know for certain.¹¹⁸¹

and Pamphilia), AE 1914, 00128 = IK-43, 00055 = AE 1966, 00472 = AE 2005, +01534 (*procurator*, or manager, Lycia and Pamphilia), CIL 8, 05383 = ILAlg-01, 00324 (*saltuarius*, or land manager, Numidia).

¹¹⁷⁸ There are 41 freedwomen of unspecified patrons, along with 198 freedmen of either Claudius or Nero.

¹¹⁷⁹ Such an assumption is likely close to the truth, as Claudius reigned for thirteen years and Nero for fourteen and it is unlikely that manumission rates would have varied significantly by the time the civil service had begun to establish some measure of consistency within the *familia Caesaris*.

¹¹⁸⁰ There are 31 slaves and freed slaves of unspecified Imperial patrons at Surrentum.

¹¹⁸¹ They are certainly Julio-Claudian: the villa seems to have fallen out of use after the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and only appears once thereafter, as the location of Lucilla's exile in the *Historia Augusta* (SHA Comm. 5.8.1).

Because this is such a heterogeneous group, demographic characteristics such as gender and status reveal little beyond the problems of interpreting inscriptional data; they are, to a great extent, the reason for membership in this group rather than the characteristics of an otherwise-connected group. However, certain characteristics of those whose Julio-Claudian master or patron cannot be specified have the potential to reveal why individuals neglected to name a specific master or patron and instead used a generic status indicator, when so many of their *conservi* and *colliberti* did otherwise.

First, they are less likely to report an occupation (39%) than the sample as a whole.¹¹⁸² Those who do provide their occupational title fall into significantly different categories: there are fewer appearance workers (3%), artisans (2%), bodyguards (2%), and financial staff (2%), and more civil servants (31%) and religious workers (8%). Those categories which are under-represented are largely categories in which a worker might come into close, frequent, and personal contact with the emperor in question: appearance workers such as dressers (*a vestibus*), hairdressers (*ornatrices*), or masseurs (*unctores*) cannot do their jobs without physical contact with their employer, bodyguards' very job description involved constant proximity to the emperor, and financial staff require close contact with their employer in order to ensure that all the necessary information is moving in both directions. As a result, it is unsurprising that those in such jobs would be more likely to identify a specific owner or patron rather than use the generic Imperial status indicators, as their occupations are more closely tied to their personal relationship with a single emperor. By contrast, religious workers such as

¹¹⁸² p = 0.000.

priests (*sacerdotes*) and temple managers (*aeditui*) would have worked more independently, generally outside the Imperial estates themselves, and likely did not consider themselves part of the domestic staff of a particular emperor. However, by far the largest group is the civil servants, representing nearly a third (31%) of those reporting their occupation, as compared to only a tenth (10%) in the overall occupational distribution. Loyalty to the *familia Caesaris* in general rather than to a particular emperor would be a useful characteristic in a civil servant. Their careers frequently spanned multiple reigns, and while a close relationship to a single emperor might improve a slave or freed slave's situation in the short-term, over a longer term, it would be more beneficial to avoid any such personal connections, in order to prevent removal or execution by a new emperor hostile to his predecessor and consequently to any members of the civil service seen as particularly loyal to that predecessor. The development of the generic Imperial status indicator illustrates this phenomenon of increasing separation of the civil service from the domestic household, with slaves and freed slaves identifying with the *familia Caesaris* in general rather than with a particular emperor by the end of the first century,¹¹⁸³ probably both in terms of their perceived membership in a household and in terms of the epigraphic habit of the Imperial household. Because the majority of those in the unspecified emperor group are freedmen of Claudius or Nero, many of their inscriptions could and probably do belong to the Flavian period or even later; their status

¹¹⁸³ Weaver 1972, p. 45.

indicators, then, reflect the time in which the inscriptions were erected rather than the period in which manumission took place.¹¹⁸⁴

The choice of what information to include in an inscription, such as the identity of the owner or patron, depends on the type of inscription, its location, and the perceived importance or relevance of that information. Here too, those who do not specify their Julio-Claudian patron differ from those who do. Their inscriptions are far more likely to be household tombs (31%) rather than *columbarium* inscriptions (5%), and as a result, there is a greater emphasis on marital relationships (33%) and children (15%) than on collegial involvement (6%) or relationships based on slavery (32%).¹¹⁸⁵ In addition, they are significantly more likely to be located in Italy (25%) or in the provinces (8%) than in Rome itself (68%).¹¹⁸⁶ Both of these factors illustrate a greater distance from the *familia Caesaris*, both socially and physically. These are largely freed slaves who had belonged to the Imperial household, but who established families and households of their own beyond relationships with their fellow slaves and freed slaves, or who were separated from the day-to-day business of the *familia Caesaris* by distance. They still see some relevance to their Imperial status in order to include it in their names, likely as an enhancement to their social status; others who have omitted it altogether probably form a considerable subsection of the vast numbers of Iulii and Claudii in the inscriptional

¹¹⁸⁴ This may also be reflected in the relative lack of *agnomina* (9%) in this group compared to the other emperors ($p = 0.000$); the use of *agnomina* peaked in the Julio-Claudian period and decreased gradually over the course of the next fifty years, virtually disappearing by the reign of Hadrian (Weaver 1972, pp. 91-92).

¹¹⁸⁵ All $p = 0.000$.

¹¹⁸⁶ $p = 0.000$.

evidence, although their ties to the Imperial household have become secondary to other roles, and appear as such in their inscriptions.

Julio-Claudian Households: Other Large Households

In addition to the emperors, 30% of the inscriptions belong to the households of other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. I have discussed the larger households comprising at least ten members individually, and I have organized the smaller households into groups according to their size.

As compared to those reporting a Julio-Claudian master or patron who became emperor, the extended Julio-Claudian households differ somewhat in terms of both their epigraphic habits and their demographic characteristics. They tend to appear earlier in the Julio-Claudian dynasty, with the relevant inscriptions significantly more likely to belong to the reigns of Augustus or Tiberius than to the reigns of Caligula, Claudius, or Nero.¹¹⁸⁷ The extremely large households of Livia and Antonia the Younger account for the majority of this discrepancy, and the gradually decreasing number of surviving Julio-Claudians contributes as well. The emperors' household members are more likely to appear in honorary inscriptions (9%) or in household tombs (19%), although the first number is likely skewed by the Antium *collegium*;¹¹⁸⁸ comparatively, the non-emperors' household members are more likely to appear in *columbarium* inscriptions (47% versus 14%), likely owing to the fact that the surviving Julio-Claudian *columbaria* do not belong to the emperors themselves and thus include proportionally more members of non-

¹¹⁸⁷ p = 0.000.

¹¹⁸⁸ p = 0.000. Indeed, emperors' household members are far more likely to be in *collegia* (18% versus 7%), also p = 0.000.

emperors' households. Furthermore, inscriptions connected to emperors are more likely to be located outside of Rome than are those naming non-emperors.¹¹⁸⁹

In terms of demographic characteristics, the emperors' households included significantly more men (92%) than did those of their relatives (72%),¹¹⁹⁰ as well as significantly more freed slaves than slaves.¹¹⁹¹ The latter result is unexpected: the slaves of the emperors are generally assumed to enjoy a higher social status than their counterparts belonging to other masters, and indeed, the higher rates of marriage and children among emperors' household members would seem to support this.¹¹⁹² As a result, we would expect to find considerably more slaves belonging to the emperors who were both willing and able to commemorate themselves in inscriptions. Several factors likely account for this reversal. First, the higher relative social status of emperors' slaves seems to have extended to the slaves of their relatives as well, making them just as likely to appear in an inscription. Second, the *columbarium* populations are biased toward slaves, and the high proportion of *columbarium* inscriptions among non-emperor Julio-Claudians might affect status ratios; similarly, the *collegium* at Antium also includes considerably more slaves than freed slaves, particularly slaves of the emperors. The difference may actually lie in relative manumission rates. As I have already discussed, the emperor himself could free slaves at any time, without penalty or restriction, whereas

¹¹⁸⁹ For the emperors, 23.7% come from Italy and 6.2% come from the provinces, while for non-emperors, 7.1% come from Italy and 1.9% come from the provinces ($p = 0.000$).

¹¹⁹⁰ $p = 0.000$.

¹¹⁹¹ The status ratio for the emperors is 51.6% freed to 46.5% slave, while the status ratio for non-emperors is 45.2% freed to 53.8% slave ($p = 0.000$).

¹¹⁹² Emperors' household members are more likely to be married (21.0% versus 13.7%) or have children (9.5% versus 4.8%) than their counterparts in non-emperors' households ($p = 0.000$ and $p = 0.001$ respectively).

his relatives could not necessarily do so, with the result that emperors' slaves probably had much higher expectations of manumission than did even those slaves belonging to emperors' relatives. In addition, while the usage of *agnomina* persisted throughout the extended Julio-Claudian family, it was nearly three times more prevalent among the emperors' households (19% versus 7%).¹¹⁹³ This difference is largely attributable to the tendency of the *familia Caesaris* to inherit slaves from relatives, from the elite, and from a much larger population of freed slaves; these slaves entered directly into the emperors' ownership, as compared to the other Julio-Claudians, who likely appeared in far fewer wills.

While there are no differences in the rates at which the two groups report their age at death or their occupation, the job categories used vary significantly.¹¹⁹⁴ Emperors have more bodyguards, civil servants, household staff, military personnel, and writing staff, while their non-emperor relatives have more appearance workers, artisans, childcare workers, financial staff, and medical workers. The lists illustrate the key difference between the two household types: the emperors' households demanded more extensive administrative and civil service positions, as well as external personnel such as bodyguards and military men, while the non-emperors' households tended to focus more on domestic elements relating to the everyday functioning of the household and the lives and comforts of its elite and non-elite members.

¹¹⁹³ p = 0.000.

¹¹⁹⁴ Age at death: p = 0.158. Occupation: p = 0.603. Job category: p = 0.000.

Livia Drusilla

Within the present sample, the 196 slaves and freed slaves of Livia constitute the second-largest group with a single owner or patron; only Augustus' household of 279 is larger.¹¹⁹⁵ This inscriptional evidence is, in fact, our only source for Livia's household, as there are few remaining traces of Livia's extensive household in the literary sources. Pliny the Elder reports a female dwarf named Andromeda, who was a freedwoman of Livia; her male counterpart, Conopas, seems to have been owned by Julia the Younger.¹¹⁹⁶ One of her slavewomen, Acme, a Jewish woman, seems to have become involved in the familial disputes over the rule of Judaea shortly before Herod's death, by taking bribes to share Livia's personal correspondence;¹¹⁹⁷ when her involvement was discovered soon afterward, Augustus executed her.

The epigraphic material, then, provides the most extensive evidence for Livia's household: the profile of her household members appears in Figure 49. There are more women (30%), as well as more freed slaves (58%) than slaves (40%).¹¹⁹⁸ Livia's freed slaves are unique due to her adoption very late in life and the resulting change in her *nomen* from Livia to Iulia:¹¹⁹⁹ any freed slaves she manumitted prior to her adoption in

¹¹⁹⁵ There are considerably more without an identifiable owner or patron, but these do not form a homogenous group and would have had a variety of Julio-Claudian owners or patrons, as I have already discussed (pp. 295-299).

¹¹⁹⁶ Plin. HN 7.75. Pliny the Elder reports that both were approximately two-and-a-half feet tall. No slaves or freed slaves are attested in the epigraphic material for Julia the Younger.

¹¹⁹⁷ Joseph. AJ 17.5.7-8, 17.7; Joseph. BJ 1.32.6, 1.33.7.

¹¹⁹⁸ Both $p = 0.000$.

¹¹⁹⁹ While both Tiberius and Nero changed their *nomina* through adoption, the epigraphic material contains few slaves or freed slaves for either prior to their adoptions: for Tiberius, there are four slaves (AE 1921, 00069, CIL 6, 04949, CIL 6, 05357, CIL 6, 06132) and one freed slave (CIL 6, 03956 = AE 1992, +00092) who likely date before 4 C.E., and for Nero, there is one procurator (CIL 6, 08499 = CIL 10, *01089,123 = D 01489 = IMCCatania 00399 and CIL 11, 01753 = CIL 6, 08500 = D 01490 = AE 2004, +00042), probably freed prior to 50.

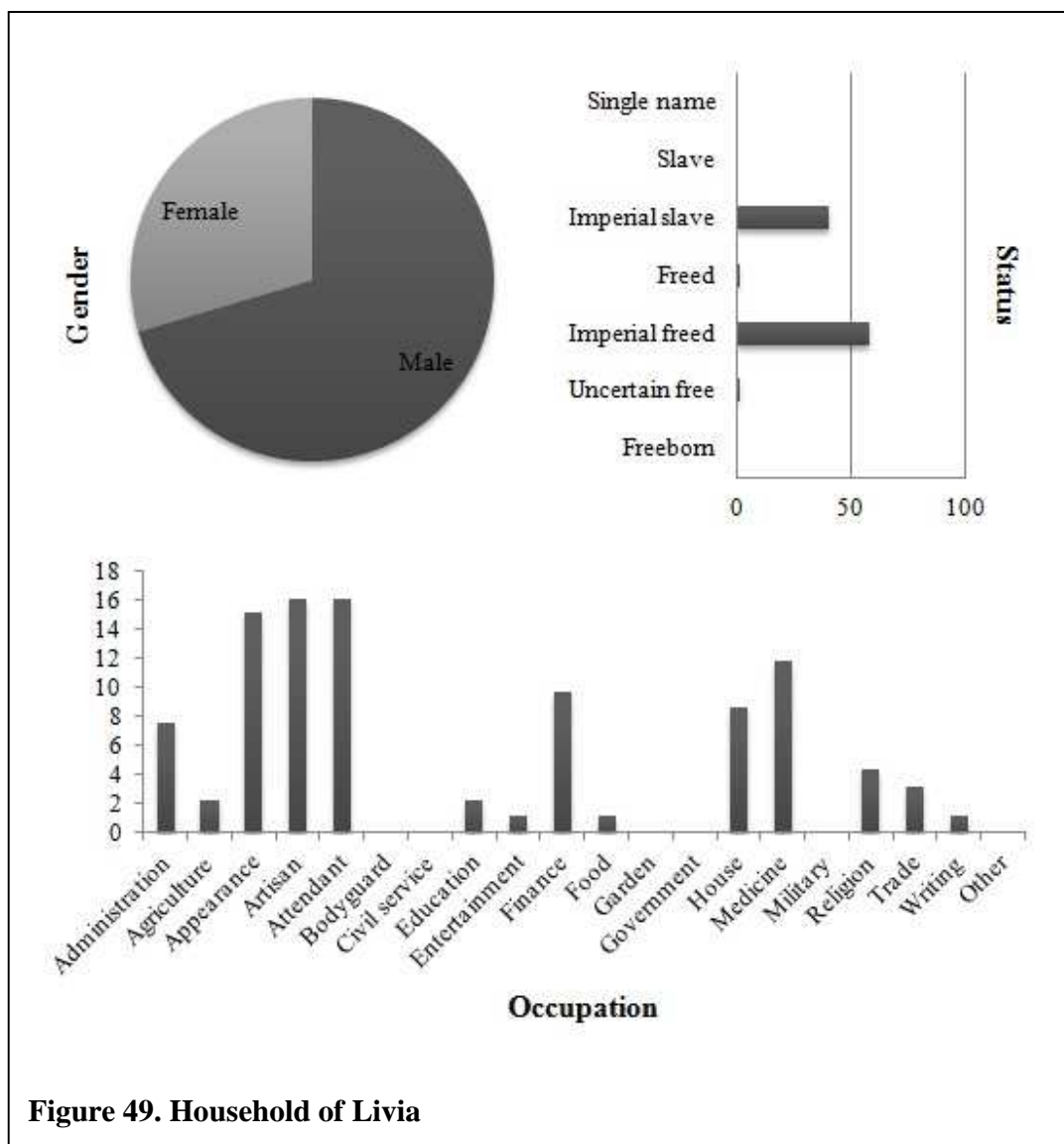


Figure 49. Household of Livia

September 14 are M. Livii (or Liviae), while those she manumitted after September 14 are M. Iulii (or Iulia).¹²⁰⁰ There are a total of 113 freed slaves belonging to Livia, and the majority of these are Livii (66%) rather than Iulii (22%): these numbers are roughly proportionate to the number of years Livia used both *nomina*,¹²⁰¹ indicating that her

¹²⁰⁰ Despite the fact that she was adopted by Augustus, her later freedmen opted to use her original paternal *praenomen*, allowing us to distinguish them from Augustus' own freedmen.

¹²⁰¹ Only slaves manumitted in the final 15 years of Livia's life would be Iulii: as she lived 89 years, this constitutes 16% of her life, and about 20% of her life after her first marriage.

manumission patterns did not vary considerably throughout her lifetime. The remaining 12% do not actually provide their *nomen*, but only the status indicator “*Augustae lib(ertus/a)*,” which indicates only that the inscription was erected after 14; they need not have been manumitted after 14 as well, although many of them probably were.¹²⁰²

Livia’s household also contained several workers from outside her own slaves and freed slaves, including two uncertain free managers (*procuratores*),¹²⁰³ a hired seamstress (*sarcinatrix*),¹²⁰⁴ and a chair attendant (*a sede*) who was the freedman of one of Livia’s freedmen.¹²⁰⁵

The contents of the *columbarium* belonging to Livia’s household have survived, with more than half (55%) of her household members known from inscriptions from the *Monumentum Liviae*. While the vast majority come from Rome itself (93%), others are scattered throughout Italy, primarily in Campania in a number of sites around the bay of Naples.¹²⁰⁶ Outside Italy, there is only a *procurator* in Galatia and a possible slave in

¹²⁰² Freed slaves manumitted prior to 14 use the “*Augustae lib(ertus/a)*” status indicator as well (AE 1993, 00175, CIL 6, 00496 = ILMN-01, 00013, CIL 6, 01964, CIL 6, 03938 (= AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 03939 (= D 07548), CIL 6, 03940 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03949 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03976 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04027, CIL 6, 04035, CIL 6, 04042, CIL 6, 04158, CIL 6, 04160, CIL 6, 04169, CIL 6, 08766 = D 01741, CIL 6, 21418, CIL 6, 33787 = D 01828, CIL 10, 05881), and some whose inscriptions were erected after 41 even use “*divae Augustae lib(ertus/a)*” (CIL 6, 01815 = CIL 6, 32266 = D 01926, CIL 6, 04159, CIL 6, 08955). The choice of status indicator largely reflects the date of the inscription itself.

¹²⁰³ AE 1941, 00105 = SupIt-02-TM, 00004 = AE 1945, +00024 = AE 1947, 00039 (Teate Marrucinum, Samnium) and AE 1964, 00173 (Antiochia Pisidia, Galatia).

¹²⁰⁴ CIL 6, 04030.

¹²⁰⁵ CIL 6, 03976 (= AE 1992, +00092).

¹²⁰⁶ Around the bay of Naples, Livia’s slaves and freed slaves appear in Naples (CIL 10, 08042,60f-g), Pompeii (CIL 4, 03123, CIL 10, 01076, CIL 10, 08042,041b-c), Stabiae (Stabiae-I, 00032, Stabiae-I, 00033, CIL 10, 08042,060a), Torre del Greco (CIL 10, 08042,060b), Herculaneum (CIL 10, 08042,041a), Capreae (CIL 10, 08042,060e), and Nuceria (AE 2002, 00336); slightly inland from Naples, there are also inscriptions at Monte Tifata (CIL 10, 08042,060c-d). These are not all different individuals: most are lead pipes, rooftiles, and other domestic inscriptions naming a slave or freedman who appears elsewhere in the area as well. Elsewhere in Italy, they appear at Ferentinum (CIL 10, 05881), Scolacium (AE 1972, 00147), Regium Iulium (AE 1975, 00289 = SupIt-05-RI, 00016 = AE 1995, 00367), Voghiera (AE 1999, 00700), and Teate Marrucinum (AE 1941, 00105 = SupIt-02-TM, 00004 = AE 1945, +00024 = AE 1947, 00039),

Moesia,¹²⁰⁷ despite the fact that Livia is known to have owned property throughout the Empire.¹²⁰⁸

With 12% reporting *agnomina*, the nomenclature patterns of Livia's household members are more similar to those within the emperors' households than to those of households belonging to other Julio-Claudians who never reigned. When it comes to the types of *agnomina* used, however, Livia's household is significantly different.¹²⁰⁹ Nearly half (46%) originated in the households of the elite, while nearly a third (29%) came from the households of freed slaves. In several cases, these freed owners might themselves survive in the inscriptional evidence: Faustus Tertianus may have belonged to Livia Tertia,¹²¹⁰ Eros Auctianus may have belonged to either M. Livius Auctus or Livia Aucta,¹²¹¹ and three Sponsiani probably belonged to Livia Sponsa.¹²¹²

Relatively few of Livia's household members provided their age at death (3%), and the relationships they include do not differ from the sample as a whole; instead, they were more likely to provide their occupation (47%).¹²¹³ The occupations listed encompass nearly all the occupational categories, with the most notable exceptions being

as well as among the *collegium* at Antium (CIL 10, 06638 = InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055). The inscription at Voghiera names a *saltuarius*, a land manager whose presence must certainly mark an estate belonging to Livia.

¹²⁰⁷ AE 1964, 00173 and ILJug-02, 00525, respectively.

¹²⁰⁸ Most notably, in Egypt and in Judaea (see pp. 60-61).

¹²⁰⁹ $p = 0.000$.

¹²¹⁰ CIL 6, 03934 (= AE 1992, +00092) and CIL 6, 04168 (= AE 1992, +00092), respectively.

¹²¹¹ CIL 6, 04245 and CIL 6, 03976 (= AE 1992, +00092) or CIL 6, 03993 (= CIL 10, *01089,045), respectively.

¹²¹² CIL 6, 03959 = AE 1992, +00092 (Nicodemus Sponsianus), CIL 6, 05263 = CLE 00988 (Ingenuus Sponsianus), CIL 6, 08901 (Eros Sposianus [sic]); Livia Sponsa herself appears in both CIL 6, 04189 and CIL 6, 04190.

¹²¹³ Both $p = 0.000$.

bodyguards and civil servants.¹²¹⁴ Overall, Livia had more appearance workers (15%), artisans (16%), attendants (16%), financial staff (10%), and medical workers (12%), but fewer administrators (8%), entertainers (1%), or writing staff (1%). The high proportion of appearance workers and attendants, whose occupations were specifically linked to Livia's public appearance, reflects the effort involved in creating and perpetuating such an artfully-constructed public image. The simplicity of the hairstyle with which she is generally depicted probably demanded the efforts of numerous *ornatrices*, just as the careful choice of clothing and jewelry meant to support the image of the traditional Roman matron would require attendants and dressers of various sorts, including some as specific as the *a purpure* who appears in the *Monumentum Liviae*.¹²¹⁵ Livia's attendants, too, would have been carefully selected and managed in order to portray the correct persona,¹²¹⁶ and there were certainly enough to warrant the internal administration of a *supra lecticarios* and a *supra cubicularios*, who would have managed litter-bearers and bedroom attendants, respectively.¹²¹⁷ In other cases, higher or lower numbers reflect Livia's living situation: she shared her household with Augustus for much of her life, as well as with Antonia the Younger, so that an excess of workers in one category would reflect Livia's contribution to the joint household, while a lack of workers would mark others' contributions.¹²¹⁸

¹²¹⁴ There are also no attested gardeners, government staff, or military personnel.

¹²¹⁵ CIL 6, 04016. His precise occupation is unclear: he may have been in charge of Livia's purple-dyed clothing, or he may have been the dyer in charge of making that clothing.

¹²¹⁶ Macrob. Sat. 2.5.

¹²¹⁷ CIL 6, 05198 (= D 01752) and CIL 6, 08766 (= D 01741), respectively. CIL 6, 03955 mentions the same *supra cubicularios* without his status indicator.

¹²¹⁸ See a more detailed discussion below (pp. 319-321).

Finally, the especially high number of artisans may have bearing on two frequently-cited passages in Suetonius:

Veste non temere alia quam domestica usus est, ab sorore et uxore et filia neptibusque confecta. (Suet. Aug. 73)

He [i.e., Augustus] did not wear clothes other than those for the household without purpose, and these were made by his sister and his wife and his daughter and his nieces and granddaughters.

Filiam et neptes ita instituit, ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret... (Suet. Aug. 64.2)

He [i.e., Augustus] taught his daughter and his nieces and his granddaughters thus, so that they would even be trained in woolworking...

Suetonius' statements are explicitly inclusive of a range of Augustus' female relatives: he implicates not only Livia, but also Octavia the Younger, Julia the Elder, Marcella the Elder, Marcella the Younger, Antonia the Elder, Antonia the Younger, Julia the Younger, and Agrippina the Elder in the fabrication of Augustus' clothing, and comments on the training purposefully – and atypically for women of their time and class, given the use of *etiam* – provided to all but Livia and Octavia the Younger.¹²¹⁹ But what precisely does Suetonius mean? Generally, these passages have been understood as examples of Augustus' traditional morals and as explicit claims that Augustus' female relatives made all his clothing themselves.¹²²⁰ However, I would argue that Suetonius

¹²¹⁹ It is possible in both cases that *neptes* should be taken to mean only “granddaughters” and not “nieces” as well, in which case the Marcellae and the Antoniae could be excluded from the list, but given the epigraphic evidence discussed below, I would argue against such a narrow interpretation.

¹²²⁰ Suetonius' statement is very often taken at face value, or, at most, stated with some disbelief. For instance, Pomeroy (1975, p. 199) writes that “when Augustus wished to instill respect for old-fashioned virtues among the sophisticated women of his household, he set them to work in wool and wore their homespun results.” Flory (1993, p. 304) states “in his own family Augustus demanded, apparently out of real conviction rather than solely for the sake of an improving example, modesty, simplicity, and old-

does not intend to imply that all the women listed above created Augustus' clothing for him, that they personally spun the wool, wove the fabric, cut the pieces, and stitched his clothing together with their own hands. A relevant passage from the Digest provides a helpful comparison:

Sed si vir lana sua vestimentum mulieri confecerit, quamvis id uxori confectum fuerit et uxoris cura, tamen viri esse neque impedire, quod in ea re uxor tamquam lanipendia fuerit et viri negotium procurarit. (D.24.1.31)

But, if a husband should make clothes for his wife from his own wool, although they were made for the wife and out of care for the wife, nevertheless it shall not be taken away from the husband [i.e. from his property], even in a case where the wife weighed out the wool herself and administered the matter for the husband.

As in Suetonius, the verb *confacere* is used to describe the process of making clothing, but the subject's gender has significantly altered its interpretation. In reading the legal passage, we would never assume that the husband personally made his wife's clothing, with the understanding that he spun, wove, cut, and stitched garments together

fashioned domesticity in his womenfolk." Clark (1981, p. 199) explicitly discounts the labour of Livia's seamstresses by stating that "Augustus' womenfolk kept him in homespun, though Livia had a large staff of skilled workers," while Treggiari (1975b, p. 54) views the existence of textile staff as proof of Livia's own labour, claiming "the much-publicized fact that Augustus wore togas made by his wife and daughter suggests Livia working at her wool among her maids, like Lucretia, and the existence of a freedman with the job of weighing out wool to the slavewomen who spun it (*lanipendus*) bears out the assumption." Larsson (1998, pp. 89-90) takes Suetonius at his word, stating, "...the clothes worn by Augustus were said to be made by the women of his family. These were skills the imperial women had been taught as part of their aristocratic upbringing and education. Also the younger female members of the family were taught how to spin wool and how to handle the loom." A few authors cast doubt on Suetonius' assertion, but make no further argument: Barrett's biography of Livia (2002, p. 119) hedges his statement regarding Augustus' home-made clothing with "supposedly," while Milnor (2006, p. 84) adds skeptical quotation marks to the word 'fact,' but proceeds to discuss the domestic skills of the Julio-Claudian women. Frascchetti (1994, p. 106) goes a step further and claims, "contrary to the prevailing fashions, she had the cloth for her husband's clothes spun and woven at home," with no comment on whether Livia herself did the spinning and weaving. For a more detailed discussion on the assumptions regarding woolworking as an expression of female virtue, see Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010, pp. 218-219.

with his own hands, despite the fact that the sentence's grammar would seem to describe precisely such a situation by placing *vir* as the subject of *confecerit*. Instead, we would interpret it as meaning that the husband's slaves undertook the labour on his behalf and according to his orders.¹²²¹ There is no logical reason why we should make the opposite assumption simply because the slave-owners in question happen to be female; female owners can order their slaves to make clothing just as easily as male owners can. Nor would such an interpretation negate the importance of home-made clothes to Augustus' modest, traditional public image. Columella, a contemporary of the Julio-Claudians, complains at length that matrons no longer bother to have cloth made at home, but instead prefer more expensive purchased cloth.¹²²² The mere fact that the cloth itself had been woven within Augustus' household – regardless of whose hands were doing the weaving – would present the image of a traditional household. Even Lucretia, after all, had slave women (*ancillae*) to assist in her wool-working.¹²²³

In fact, the composition of Livia's household suggests a strong specialization in textiles: of the ten seamstresses (*sarcinatrices*) in the sample, seven of them are the

¹²²¹ Indeed, the very next clause (D.24.1.31.1) confirms the participation of the slaves in the clothing-making process: *Si uxor lana sua, operis ancillarum viri, vestimenta sui nomine confecit muliebria, et vestimenta mulieris esse et pro operis ancillarum viro praestare nihil debere: sed viri nomine vestimenta confecta virilia viri esse, ut is lanae uxori praestet pretium: sed si non virilia vestimenta suo nomine mulier confecit, sed ea viro donavit, non valere donationem, cum illa valeat, cum viri nomine confecit: nec umquam operas viri ancillarum aestimari convenit.*

¹²²² Columella Rust. 12.pr.9: *Nunc vero, cum pleraeque sic luxu et inertia diffluant, ut ne lanificii quidem curam suscipere dignentur, sed domi confectae vestes fastidio sint, perversaque cupidine maxime placeant, quae grandi pecunia et paene totis censibus redimuntur, nihil mirum est easdem ruris et instrumentorum agrestium cura gravari sordidissimumque negotium ducere paucorum dierum in villa moram.* Emphasis mine; note particularly the use of *confacere* yet again.

¹²²³ Livy 1.57: *nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt.*

slaves or freedwomen of Livia.¹²²⁴ This may not seem like many, but when compared to the epigraphic material as a whole, the Julio-Claudian *sarcinatrices* predominate. There are a total of 33 *sarcinatrices* in the epigraphic material, meaning that nearly a third are affiliated specifically with the households of Julio-Claudian women, and most of those with Livia in particular.¹²²⁵ Augustus' "home-made" clothing was indeed made within his own household, and probably under the supervision of his female relatives, but certainly not by their own hands.

Antonia the Younger

Excluding the emperors themselves, the literary sources have the most to say about the household of Antonia the Younger. Her household members remained closely connected to Claudius' household, so that when he succeeded to the throne after Antonia the Younger's death, they were among the most prominent freedmen in his court.

Suetonius may provide a reason why: when an *ornatrix* (hairdresser), a freedwoman of

¹²²⁴ CIL 6, 03988, CIL 6, 04028, CIL 6, 04029, CIL 6, 04030, CIL 6, 05357, CIL 6, 08903 = Gummerus-01, 00051, and CIL 6, 09038; CIL 6, 04031 was too fragmentary for inclusion in the database, but probably once identified another of Livia's *sarcinatrices* (*Aug [3] / [3] sarc*). The remaining *sarcinatrices* belong to Antonia the Younger (CIL 6, 04434), one of the Marcellae (CIL 6, 04467 = D 07882b and CIL 6, 09039 identify the same woman), and Claudia Octavia (CIL 6, 09037); it is notable that the first two are also included in Suetonius' list of women who made clothing for Augustus.

¹²²⁵ Most of the remaining *sarcinatrices* in the epigraphic evidence list no specific owner, patron, or employer, and likely worked in independent workshops rather than within elite households (AE 1977, 00054 = AIIRoma-02, 00028, AE 1977, 00062 = AIIRoma-02, 00041, AE 1981, 00502 = CIL 2-7, 00339, CIL 5, 02542, CIL 6, 04468, CIL 6, 06349, CIL 6, 06350, CIL 6, 06351, CIL 6, 06726, CIL 6, 09875, CIL 6, 09876, CIL 6, 09877, CIL 6, 09878, CIL 6, 09879 = ILMN-01, 00146, CIL 6, 09880 = CIL 10, p 1008 = ILMN-01, 00147, CIL 6, 09881, CIL 6, 09882, CIL 6, 09883 = Statili-3, 00024, CIL 6, 09884 = D 07567 = AE 2001, +00169, CIL 6, 33162, CIL 11, 05437 = ERAssisi 00084 = Umbria-ASS, 00043). The *sarcinatrix* in CIL 6, 04468 is named Valeria Cleoparu (sic); as the inscription comes from the *Monumentum Marcellae* and a slave of Valeria Messalina also appears in the same inscription, it is possible that Cleoparu worked for the Imperial household. In addition, there are four male *sarcinatores*, three of whom (AE 1972, 00111, CIL 5, 07568 = SupIt-10-H, 00009 = AE 1992, 00641, CIL 6, 06348) have no specific employer; the fourth (ILMN-01.00642 = CIL 6, *03051) is named M. Vipsanius Seiulenus and appears along with four other Vipsanii, so that he may in fact be connected to the Julio-Claudian households, perhaps even as a freedman of Julia the Younger or Agrippina the Elder.

his mother, was brought to testify before the Senate, Claudius remarked that she had always treated him like her patron (*me patronum semper existimavit*), whereas his own household members (*in domo mea*) did not always do the same. The comparison is indeed apt, as Claudius' household members would have comprised Imperial freedmen of long standing, whose patrons had been Caligula, Tiberius, or even Augustus,¹²²⁶ and unlike Tiberius or Caligula, he would not have been listed as the primary heir in his predecessor's will and thus have obtained patronal rights over the pre-existing Imperial freed slaves. Claudius' inheritance of the *familia Caesaris* – and particularly his power over its slaves and freed slaves – was *de facto* rather than *de jure*. As a result, it seems likely that the transition was somewhat rocky, especially given the attitude toward Claudius within the Imperial household prior to his accession.¹²²⁷ However, Claudius' position as Antonia the Younger's only surviving child meant that he inherited both her slaves and patronal rights over her freed slaves; his close ties to her household may have led him to select his confidential freedmen from among his mother's household, wherever possible.¹²²⁸

The brothers Felix and Pallas were certainly both originally slaves within Antonia the Younger's household.¹²²⁹ She manumitted Pallas herself, but while Felix was a freedman by the time Claudius gained the throne, the sources are unclear on his specific

¹²²⁶ Livia probably ought to be added to this list as well.

¹²²⁷ Cf. Suet. Claud. 13.2.

¹²²⁸ Cassius Dio (60.2.5) suggests that Claudius did not establish a separate residence until after Antonia the Younger's death, and that he lived with her (and with Livia) prior to 37, but Suetonius (Claud. 5) notes that he owned suburban gardens and a villa in Campania prior to his accession.

¹²²⁹ Tac. Ann. 12.54; Joseph. AJ 20.7.1, 20.8.9; Joseph. BJ 2.12.8. A comment from a senator regarding Pallas' (and thus presumably Felix's) descent from the kings of Arcadia ought to be taken as no more than the creation of false nobility for the purposes of flattery, especially given its context in Tacitus (Ann. 12.53)

patron: Tacitus calls him Antonius Felix,¹²³⁰ while Josephus calls him *Κλαύδιον Φήλিকা*.¹²³¹ Cases have been made for both possibilities,¹²³² with the stronger arguments favouring Claudius over Antonia the Younger. In either event, however, Felix must have originated within Antonia the Younger's household, and the brothers were certainly among Claudius' most influential freedmen. Felix commanded cohorts and cavalry under Claudius, and held the position of governor of Judaea under both Claudius and Nero.¹²³³ He married three queens,¹²³⁴ with two of the most likely candidates being Drusilla of Mauritania, daughter of Juba, and Drusilla of Judaea, daughter of Herod. The former is generally assumed from Tacitus' comment that Felix married a granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra,¹²³⁵ while the latter is explicitly named by Josephus, who adds that they had a son named Agrippa who died during the eruption of Vesuvius.¹²³⁶ As for Pallas,¹²³⁷ he was most likely manumitted for his participation in the downfall of Sejanus: Josephus reports that Antonia the Younger revealed Sejanus' plans to Tiberius, and sent him a private letter whose delivery was entrusted to Pallas.¹²³⁸ He rose to his greatest prominence as Claudius' *a rationibus*,¹²³⁹ the senior civil servant who managed the

¹²³⁰ Tac. Hist. 5.9.

¹²³¹ Joseph. AJ 20.7.1.

¹²³² Claudius: Kokkinos 1990, Weaver 2004a. Antonia the Younger: Brenk and de Rossi 2001, Milano 2006.

¹²³³ Suet. Claud. 28; Tac. Ann. 12.54; Tac. Hist. 5.9; Joseph. AJ 20.7.1, 20.8.5-9; Jos. BJ 2.12.8, 2.13.2, 2.13.7; Acts 24:3-27. Felix' tenure began in 52 or 53 (Joseph. AJ 20.7.1, Joseph. BJ 2.12.8), and he was not removed until Nero's reign (Joseph. AJ 20.8.9, Joseph. BJ 2.14.1). Cf. Aur. Vict. Caes. 4.7.

¹²³⁴ Suet. Claud. 28.

¹²³⁵ Tac. Hist. 5.9.

¹²³⁶ Joseph. AJ 20.7.2. Cf. Acts 24:24.

¹²³⁷ For a detailed biography of Pallas, see Oost (1958).

¹²³⁸ Joseph. AJ 18.6.6.

¹²³⁹ Suet. Claud. 28, Cass. Dio 60.30.6.

accounts of the *familia Caesaris*;¹²⁴⁰ in that role, he accumulated enormous wealth and even praetorian insignia¹²⁴¹ and exerted a great deal of influence over Claudius' decisions.¹²⁴² Maintaining his position through his support of Agrippina the Younger in her bid to marry Claudius,¹²⁴³ he encouraged Claudius to adopt Nero¹²⁴⁴ and personally authored the *SC Claudianum*.¹²⁴⁵ Although Pallas served as one of Nero's advisors early in his reign,¹²⁴⁶ his power quickly diminished, and along with Burrus, he was accused of conspiring to bring Cornelius Sulla to the throne in 55.¹²⁴⁷ He did not survive the purges of 62, but was poisoned so that Nero could inherit his vast wealth.¹²⁴⁸ His tomb was located along the Via Tiburtina, just outside of Rome, and bore the images of the praetorian insignia along with the Senate's honours to him for his service to his patrons. The tomb and its inscription are described by Pliny the Younger:

Est via Tiburtina intra primum lapidem — proxime adnotavi — monimentum Pallantis ita inscriptum: "Huic senatus ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos ornamenta praetoria decrevit et sestertium centies quinquagies, cuius honore contentus fuit." (Ep. 7.29.2)

On the Via Tiburtina, within the first mile, there is – as I have recently noted – the monument of Pallas inscribed thus: "To him, because of his loyalty and his duty toward his patrons, the Senate has decreed the praetorian

¹²⁴⁰ Berger 1953, p. 338; Millar 1977, pp. 73-77.

¹²⁴¹ Suet. Claud. 28, Plin. HN 33.134, Plin. Ep. 7.29, 8.6, Aur. Vict. Caes. 4.8, Cass. Dio 62.14.3, Tac. Ann. 11.53. Cf. Juv. 1.108.

¹²⁴² Tac. Ann. 11.29, 11.38. Cf. Suet. Vit. 2.5.

¹²⁴³ Tac. Ann. 12.1-2, 13.2, Cass. Dio 60.33.3.

¹²⁴⁴ Tac. Ann. 12.25, 13.2. Tacitus suggests an adulterous relationship between Pallas and Agrippina (Ann. 12.25, 12.65, 14.2).

¹²⁴⁵ Tac. Ann. 12.53. For the law itself, see pp. 43-46.

¹²⁴⁶ Tac. Ann. 13.2, Cass. Dio 61.10.6.

¹²⁴⁷ Tac. Ann. 13.23.

¹²⁴⁸ Tac. Ann. 14.65, Cass. Dio 62.14.3, Suet. Ner. 35.5. He cannot have been a young man by this point, as Tacitus describes him as *longa senecta* and his Imperial career had already spanned more than thirty years.

ornaments and fifteen million sesterces, of which he was content with the honour.”

Tacitus confirms the grant of the praetorian insignia and fifteen million sesterces, as well as the existence of the inscription.¹²⁴⁹ Pliny the Younger is particularly irate that Pallas refused the money,¹²⁵⁰ although presumably he would have been equally irate had Pallas accepted it.

Josephus adds another highly-ranked Imperial staff member to the members of Antonia’s household: Alexander Lysimachus, the alabarch of Alexandria,¹²⁵¹ who was the brother of Philo Judaeus of Alexandria.¹²⁵² Originally the manager of one of Antonia’s estates and of free birth,¹²⁵³ he had been imprisoned by Caligula, possibly as a result of Philo’s embassy,¹²⁵⁴ but he was freed by Claudius almost immediately after his accession.¹²⁵⁵ Josephus reports two sons, Marcus and Tiberius:¹²⁵⁶ the names were likely deliberately chosen to reflect his connections to Antonia and Claudius, respectively.

Antonia Caenis, who was Antonia’s freedwoman and personal secretary (*a manu*), later became the mistress of Vespasian.¹²⁵⁷ The relationship predated Vespasian’s

¹²⁴⁹ Ann. 12.53.

¹²⁵⁰ Ep. 7.29.3, Ep. 8.6.

¹²⁵¹ Joseph. AJ 18.6.3, 18.8.1, 19.5.1, 20.5.2. He governed the Jewish population there.

¹²⁵² Joseph. AJ 18.8.1.

¹²⁵³ Likely in Egypt: numerous Julio-Claudians owned property there, including Livia and Germanicus, and the use of freeborn administrators for distant estates was common. PIR² (p. 86) suggests that Tiberius most likely granted him citizenship; hence, his full name would be Ti. Iulius Alexander.

¹²⁵⁴ Philo Leg. passim.

¹²⁵⁵ Joseph. AJ 19.5.1.

¹²⁵⁶ Joseph. AJ 19.5.1, 20.5.2; Joseph. BJ 5.5.3.

¹²⁵⁷ Suet. Vesp. 3. The most appropriate description of the relationship is probably concubinage (Suet. Dom. 12.3: *concupina*, Cass. Dio 66.14.1: *παλλακή*), particularly as Suetonius states that she was his wife in all but name (Vesp. 3: *paene iustae uxoris loco*).

marriage and ended when he married Flavia Domitilla,¹²⁵⁸ probably sometime around 40.¹²⁵⁹ Domitilla died at some point before Vespasian's accession in 68,¹²⁶⁰ and the relationship seems to have resumed almost immediately thereafter.¹²⁶¹ The description of Caenis in Xiphilinus' epitome of Cassius Dio serves as her obituary following her death during the reign of Vespasian:¹²⁶² she is described as a delight to Vespasian, a wealthy woman in her own right, possessing an excellent memory, and wielding a great degree of influence over Vespasian's decisions; such influence may also explain Suetonius' description of Domitian's cool treatment of Caenis,¹²⁶³ particularly as Suetonius places the anecdote amid other illustrations of Domitian's arrogant and contrary behaviour. It is even possible to propose a potential date for Caenis' manumission: she may have been involved in Tiberius' discovery of Sejanus' treachery and was freed as a result.¹²⁶⁴ As in Josephus,¹²⁶⁵ the epitome of Cassius Dio specifies Antonia the Younger's involvement in the downfall of Sejanus, and assigns Caenis a specific role:¹²⁶⁶

¹²⁵⁸ Suetonius says that Vespasian resumed (*revocavit*) the relationship after his wife's death (Vesp. 3), suggesting that Vespasian had discontinued it during the marriage.

¹²⁵⁹ Titus, the eldest child of that union, was born 30 December 41 (Suet. Tit. 1); he was a close contemporary of Claudius' son Britannicus and was in fact raised along with him (Suet. Tit. 2).

¹²⁶⁰ Suet. Vesp. 3. As Domitian was born 24 October 51 (Suet. Dom. 1.1), that leaves a fairly large window for Domitilla's death.

¹²⁶¹ Suet. Vesp. 3.

¹²⁶² Cass. Dio 66.14.1-4.

¹²⁶³ Suet. Dom. 12.3.

¹²⁶⁴ Antonia the Younger appears as *δέσποινα*, suggesting that Caenis was a slave in October of 31 (Cass. Dio 66.14.1). I have already discussed the possibility that Pallas too was manumitted for his assistance in the matter (p. 312).

¹²⁶⁵ Joseph. AJ 18.6. Only Pallas appears in Josephus' account, as the courier who brought the letter to Tiberius, but the roles of secretary and courier are certainly compatible.

¹²⁶⁶ Nicols (1975, p. 51) correctly points out that Antonia the Younger does not appear in other sources on Sejanus' downfall (he specifically cites Philo. Leg. 6, Tac. Ann. 6.3, Suet. Tib. 65, Cass. Dio 58.11.7), and thus argues that she was uninvolved in the events of 31, but his argument is problematic. First, the references in Philo and Tiberius are so brief that Antonia the Younger's role could easily be omitted. Furthermore, Sejanus' downfall ought to have been recounted in the missing portions of the fifth book of Tacitus' Annals, so that the surviving references to it are simply that, and the bulk of Tacitus' narrative is

πρὸς γοῦν τὴν δέσποιναν τὴν Ἀντωνίαν τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου μητέρα, κρύφα τι δι' αὐτῆς τῷ Τιβερίῳ περὶ τοῦ Σεϊανοῦ γράψασαν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπαλειφθῆναι εὐθύς, ὅπως μηδεὶς αὐτοῦ ἔλεγχος ὑπολειφθῆ, κελεύσασαν, 'μάτην, ᾧ δέσποινα,' ἔφη 'τοῦτο προσέταξας: πάντα γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἂν ὑπαγορεύσης μοι, ἔν τε τῇ ψυχῇ ἀεὶ.' (Cass. Dio 66.14.1-2)

On this topic, she was writing something in secret for her mistress Antonia, mother of Claudius, to Tiberius concerning Sejanus, and when she [i.e., Antonia] ordered it to be erased immediately, so that nothing of it might remain for scrutiny, she [i.e., Caenis] said, “Mistress, you have ordered this in vain: for all of this, all of everything which has been dictated to me, is always in my mind.”

As for the timing of Caenis' death, Suetonius notes only that she died during Vespasian's reign.¹²⁶⁷ However, if the chronology in Cassius Dio is accurate – which is itself a question, as the epitomes are notoriously problematic – the statement regarding Caenis' death falls immediately before Vespasian's sixth consulship in 75.

Finally, Galen refers to a recipe developed by Florus, one of Antonia's physicians,¹²⁶⁸ in order to treat eye problems that developed due to the remedies prescribed by other physicians.¹²⁶⁹ The recipe is highly complex, involving thirteen separate ingredients, many of which would have been expensive to obtain, and it required at least three to five days to prepare.¹²⁷⁰

lost. As for Cassius Dio, while Antonia the Younger only appears with reference to Livilla's punishment at 58.11.7, he does not specify why Tiberius chose to act when he did, and 58.9.1 says only that Tiberius learned of the popular contempt toward Sejanus, without stating how he learned such information.

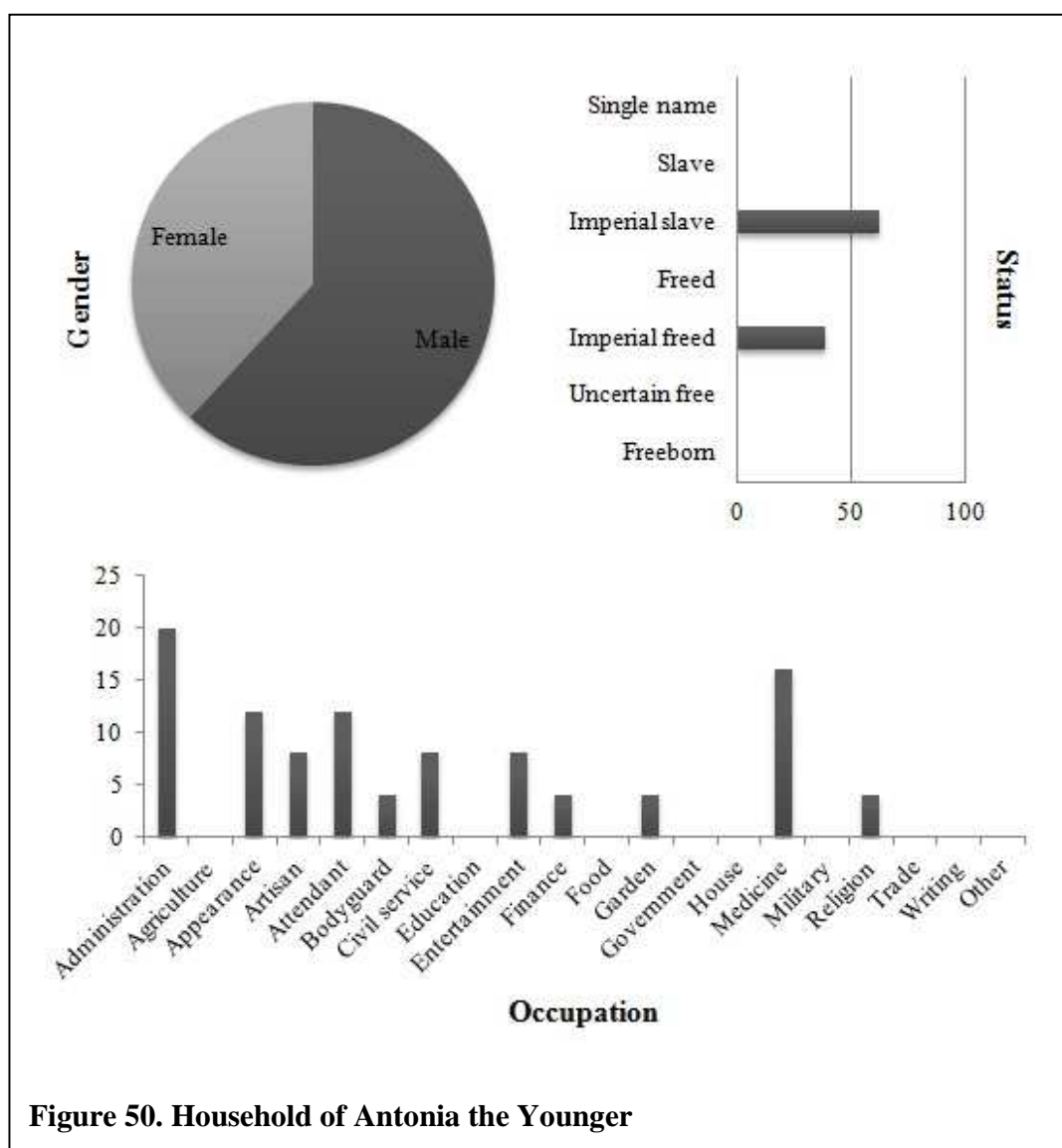
¹²⁶⁷ Suet. Vesp. 21: *aliqua pallacarum, quas in locum defunctae Caenidis plurimas constituerat.*

¹²⁶⁸ De Comp. Med. 4.8 [445].

¹²⁶⁹ Antonia's interest in medicine is also known from Scribonius Largus, who includes a recipe she used for nerve problems (Comp. 271).

¹²⁷⁰ Cf. Kokkinos 1990, p. 33.

Turning to the epigraphic material, a total of 63 individuals listed Antonia the Younger as their owner or patron, and their characteristics are illustrated in Figure 50.



There are significantly more women (38%) than in the sample as a whole,¹²⁷¹ although the proportion of slaves (38%) to freed slaves (62%) is roughly comparable. Interestingly, although she shared a house with Livia for the majority of her lifetime, their households chose significantly different locations for their burial:¹²⁷² Livia's household is predominantly found within the *columbaria* (61%), whereas over half (52%) of Antonia the Younger's household is found in single grave inscriptions. The majority of Antonia the Younger's household (91%) was found in Rome, although a few freed slaves are scattered throughout the Empire. Within Italy, Pallas is mentioned at Zagarolo just outside Rome in an inscription belonging to his household members,¹²⁷³ two freed slaves appear at Aenaria near Puteoli,¹²⁷⁴ and a freedman appears in a votive inscription from Antium, presumably having been assigned to the Imperial estate there.¹²⁷⁵ In the provinces, there is a freedman who worked as a civil servant (*adiutor tabularius*, or a clerical assistant) in Numidia,¹²⁷⁶ as well as a paeon-singer (*παιανιεύς*) at Athens.¹²⁷⁷ It would not be a stretch to assume that Antonia the Younger owned property there: she and her elder sister were granted Antony's property upon his death,¹²⁷⁸ and Antony had

¹²⁷¹ p = 0.000.

¹²⁷² p = 0.000.

¹²⁷³ CIL 14, 02833 (= CIL 5, *00429,038 = D 01538).

¹²⁷⁴ CIL 10, 06804.

¹²⁷⁵ CIL 10, 06666.

¹²⁷⁶ CIL 8, 07075 (= ILAlg-02-01, 00783): *Memoriae / M(arci) Antoni Ianuari / Aug(usti) lib(erti) / adiutori tabulari(i)*. There is a remote possibility that the Ianuarius is a freedman of Gordian III (r. 238-244), whose full name was M. Antonius Gordianus, but I agree with Weaver (1972, p. 26, n. 1) that the inscription bears more resemblance to commemorations of the first century rather than the third due to its brevity and the lack of abbreviations. His job as a civil servant would certainly not disqualify him from Antonia the Younger's household; rather, it strengthens the identification, given that Pallas and Felix, who held the highest positions within the Imperial civil service, both originated within that same household.

¹²⁷⁷ CIL 3, 00560 (= InscrAtt 00014). The inscription is bilingual, but the occupation is added only in Greek.

¹²⁷⁸ Cass. Dio 51.15.7.

certainly spent enough time in Athens that property there would not be out of the question.¹²⁷⁹ Only two of her household members use *agnomina* at all, considerably lower than the norm, and one of those was transferred from her own freedwoman, Caenis.¹²⁸⁰ With regard to their personal relationships, Antonia the Younger's household members report fewer marriages (6%) and less collegial involvement (3%),¹²⁸¹ although they do not differ widely from the norm for the rates at which children, family members, or servile relationships are recorded.

Twenty-five (40%) of Antonia the Younger's household members report their occupations. Among these, there are more administrators (20%), appearance workers (12%), entertainers (8%), medical workers (16%),¹²⁸² although household staff and tradesmen are conspicuously absent.¹²⁸³ It is particularly interesting to note that her household staff and Livia's fit together almost seamlessly, with Livia's household lacking administrators but providing household staff and tradesmen. In fact, when the two households are combined, all of the occupational categories are attested except governmental and military staff, which would not be expected for Livia or Antonia the Younger anyway; furthermore, the resulting occupational distribution (Figure 51) is roughly similar to that found in the sample as a whole (Figure 12), with the exceptions of over-representations of appearance workers, artisans, and medical workers. I have

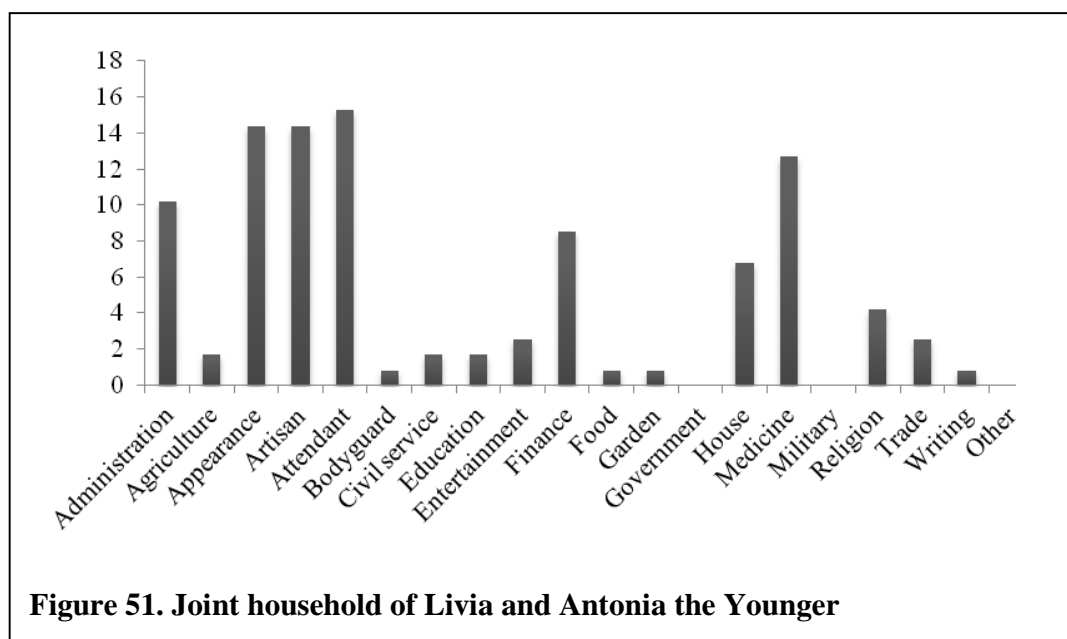
¹²⁷⁹ Plut. Ant. 33.3-4, 53.1-2.

¹²⁸⁰ CIL 10, 06666. It also confirms that Caenis was freed during Antonia's lifetime rather than in her will, as she could not otherwise have transferred a slave bearing her *agnomen* to her patron.

¹²⁸¹ Both $p = 0.000$.

¹²⁸² $p = 0.000$.

¹²⁸³ They are not the only categories lacking – Antonia the Younger has no attested agricultural workers, childcare staff, food workers, government staff, military personnel, or writing staff either – but as they are relatively common occupational categories, their absence is all the more noticeable.



already accounted for the plethora of artisans above; their services are closely tied to Augustan propaganda regarding the production of the emperor's clothes within the household.¹²⁸⁴ Similarly, and as with Livia the presence of so many appearance workers, such as *ornatrices* (hairdressers) or *unctrices* (masseuses), must be tied to the very public roles that both Livia and Antonia the Younger played throughout their lives; their appearance was an important aspect of Imperial propaganda and staff members dedicated to this aspect of their public lives would be vital. As for the medical workers, between them, Livia and Antonia the Younger possess a considerable minority of the staff with medical job titles in the present sample: of the forty attested for the Julio-Claudians, eleven are found within Livia's household and a further four within Antonia the Younger's household. The household must have included a sizeable medical centre, dedicated to providing medical care to the slaves and freed slaves of the household, and

¹²⁸⁴ Cf. pp. 307-310.

likely compensating for the lack of medical staff among their male relatives, most notably in the extensive households of Augustus and Claudius.¹²⁸⁵

Claudia Marcella the Elder and Claudia Marcella the Younger

The lack of clarity so common to epitaphs forces me to consider the households of Marcella the Elder and Marcella the Younger together.¹²⁸⁶ In fourteen cases, the specific owner or patron is known or can be reasonably assumed: either the slave or freed slave explicitly indicates which sister is the owner or patron,¹²⁸⁷ or the names of other individuals in the inscription imply one sister rather than the other.¹²⁸⁸ However, a further thirty-two individuals provide no clue as to which of the Marcellae was their owner or patron, for a total of forty-six individuals between the sisters. Both women appear in the *Monumentum Marcellae*,¹²⁸⁹ along with various spouses, children, and grandchildren; an additional inscription suggests that a second *columbarium* served the

¹²⁸⁵ Cf. p. 256, p. 285.

¹²⁸⁶ Such a lack of precision between sisters is not unique to the inscriptional material. The sequences of husbands attributed to both sisters has been largely reconstructed, as the literary sources frequently indicate that “Marcella” or “Octavia’s daughter” married a particular man, without specifying which sister (Vell. Pat. 2.100.4, Plut. Ant. 87.2-3, Cass. Dio 53.1, 54.6): Suetonius is even deliberately vague (Aug. 63.1), stating that Agrippa was married to “one of the Marcellae” (*alteram Marcellarum*). Such problems are common with pairs of sisters, including the two Antoniae and Augustus’ sisters the Octaviae, despite the latter pair being only half-siblings (Plut. Ant. 31.1). Cf. Singer 1948, Bayer 1968, Reinhold 1972, Fusco and Gregori 1996.

¹²⁸⁷ This is accomplished both through the use of *Maior* (CIL 6, 04655, CIL 6, 27237, CIL 11, 04109 = CIL 11, 07812a) and *Minor* (CIL 6, 04421 = D 07879, CIL 6, 04637, CIL 6, 08755 = D 01799 = AE 2000, +00132), or through the use of a husband’s name in the genitive (CIL 6, 09000, CIL 10, 05981).

¹²⁸⁸ Regillus, the son of Marcella the Younger, also appears in CIL 6, 04422 and CIL 6, 04450. A possible Antonius in CIL 6, 04436 (= AE 1999, +00173) may refer to Iullus Antonius, husband of Marcella the Elder. The Valeria in CIL 6, 04564 makes Marcella the Younger, who was briefly married to M. Valerius Messalla Barbatulus Appianus, the more likely option; one of his freedwomen appears elsewhere with the agnomen Marcelliana (CIL 6, 04501). The Aemilius in CIL 6, 04500, whose libertination is *Lepidi l(ibertus)*, might belong to Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, making Marcella the Younger more likely.

¹²⁸⁹ CIL 6, 04414 – CIL 6, 04880.

household of Marcella the Younger.¹²⁹⁰ Over two-thirds (67%) of the inscriptions are from the *Monumentum Marcellae* alone; nearly all of them are from Rome, with the exception of one inscription for two of Marcella the Elder's freedmen from Oriculum in Umbria¹²⁹¹ and another for a freedman of Marcella the Younger from Signia in Latium.¹²⁹²

The overall profile for the 46 slaves and freed slaves of the Marcellae is illustrated in Figure 52. There are significantly more women (26%) than for the sample as a whole, as well as more slaves (70%) as compared to freed slaves (30%).¹²⁹³ The high proportion of *columbarium* inscriptions affects the amount of information available for analysis: over a quarter (28%) give only their name and status indicator, and none provide their age at death.¹²⁹⁴

However, nearly half (48%) include an occupational title in their inscription, significantly more than in the sample as a whole.¹²⁹⁵ These occupational titles are heavily concentrated in several key areas, particularly among attendants,¹²⁹⁶ financial staff,¹²⁹⁷ food workers,¹²⁹⁸ and medical workers.¹²⁹⁹ In fact, the households of the

¹²⁹⁰ AE 1996, 00253: *Libertorum et / libertar(um) et famil(iae) / Marc[e]llae Paulli / et Messallae et / Regilli / [qui in ho]c monume(ntum) / [contuleru]nt quoru(m) / [nomina in]tro inscr(ipta) / [su]nt.*

¹²⁹¹ CIL 11, 04109 (= CIL 11, 07812a).

¹²⁹² CIL 10, 05981.

¹²⁹³ Both $p = 0.000$.

¹²⁹⁴ Both $p = 0.000$.

¹²⁹⁵ $p = 0.000$.

¹²⁹⁶ Two bedroom attendants, or *cubicularii* (CIL 6, 04438 and CIL 6, 04687), and their supervisor, a *supra cubicularios* (CIL 6, 04439), indicate the need for higher-level organization of a large number of bedroom attendants.

¹²⁹⁷ Three *argentarii* (CIL 6, 04422, CIL 6, 04423, CIL 6, 04424), an *ad argentum* (CIL 6, 04425), and a *sumptuarius* (CIL 6, 04469). The precise distinction between the tasks assigned to an *argentarius* versus an *ad argentum* remains unclear, but both seem to be bankers of some sort; a *sumptuarius* is an expense manager.

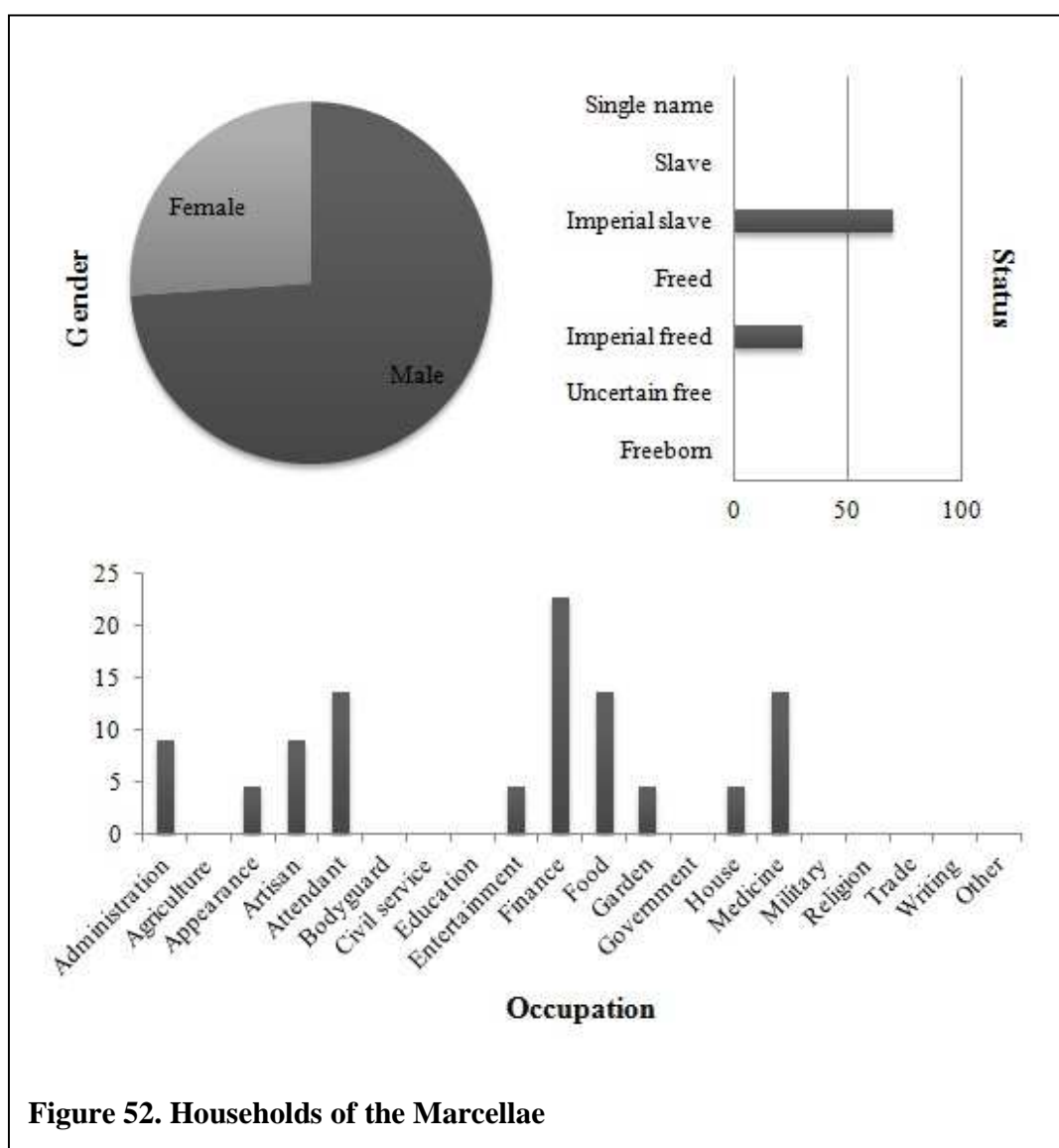


Figure 52. Households of the Marcellae

Marcellae may come the closest to representing the most basic staff needed to run an elite urban *domus*, covering the administrative and financial needs of the household with the

¹²⁹⁸ A cook, or *cocus* (CIL 6, 08755 = D 01799 = AE 2000, +00132), and two bakers, or *pistores* (CIL 6, 09000 and CIL 6, 09001); two of the three belong to Marcella the Younger.

¹²⁹⁹ Two physicians, or *medici* (CIL 6, 04450 and CIL 6, 04452), and a midwife, or *obstetrix* (CIL 6, 04458).

practicalities of food and medical care; the only real concessions to wealthy display are an *ad vestem* to manage clothing and a *comoedus* for entertainment.¹³⁰⁰

With regard to their relationships with others, those who do record relationships generally do so by pairing themselves with *conservi* or *colliberti* (35%) in their *columbarium* inscriptions; only one marriage appears,¹³⁰¹ and no recorded children or other family members. The *collegium* of the *Monumentum Marcellae* appears several times,¹³⁰² including in what appears to be the dedicatory inscription for the monument, made by the presiding (and financing) *decurio*.¹³⁰³

Tiberius Claudius Germanicus

Much of what we know about Germanicus' household relates to his extensive travel throughout the Empire, often accompanied by Agrippina the Elder and one or more of his children.¹³⁰⁴ Although this generally deals with the presence or absence of the children themselves rather than with the complement of slaves and freed slaves who must have accompanied them, whenever the young children were present, so too must have

¹³⁰⁰ CIL 6, 04477 and CIL 6, 04436 (= AE 1999, +00173), respectively. The *siricaria* (silk-worker) at CIL 6, 09892 (= D 07600 = AE 2001, +00169) probably ought to be considered along with the seamstresses (*sarcinatrices*) discussed above (p. 310, n. 1224).

¹³⁰¹ CIL 6, 11372.

¹³⁰² CIL 6, 04467 (= D 07882b) and CIL 6, 04481. Neither the *columbarium* nor its managing *collegium* were restricted to the household staff of the Marcellae: other, apparently unrelated individuals appear throughout, with and without collegial titles, indicating that some of the spaces within the *columbarium* may have been available for purchase outside the Imperial household. Cf. p. 231, n. 833.

¹³⁰³ CIL 6, 04421 (= D 07879): *C(aius) Claudius Marcellae / Minoris l(ibertus) Phasis decurio / monumentum dedicavit et / decuriae epulum dedit d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) huic / decuria ex aere conlato imaginem / decreverunt.*

¹³⁰⁴ The sources are most informative about Germanicus' final trip, to Greece and Syria. Livilla was certainly born on Lesbos during the trip in question (Tac. Ann. 2.54). Tacitus (Ann. 3.1) indicates that Agrippina the Elder returned home with Germanicus' ashes and two of her children (*duobus cum liberis*); Suetonius indicates that the other child was Caligula (Calig. 10.1).

been the appropriate wet-nurses, paedagogues, and other caregivers.¹³⁰⁵ In addition,

Suetonius cites a letter of Augustus written shortly before his death:

puerum Gaium XV. Kal. Iun. si dii volent, ut ducerent Talarius et Asillius, heri cum iis constitui. Mitto praeterea cum eo ex servis meis medicum, quem scripsi Germanico si vellet ut retineret. Valebis, mea Agrippina, et dabis operam ut valens pervenias ad Germanicum tuum. (Suet. Calig. 8.4)

Yesterday I arranged that Talarius and Asillius would bring your boy Caius (i.e. Caligula) with them on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of June (i.e., May 13, 14 C.E.), if the gods wish it. In addition, I send with him a physician from among my slaves, whom I have written to Germanicus that he may keep if he wishes. Be well, my Agrippina, and take care that you come healthy to your Germanicus.

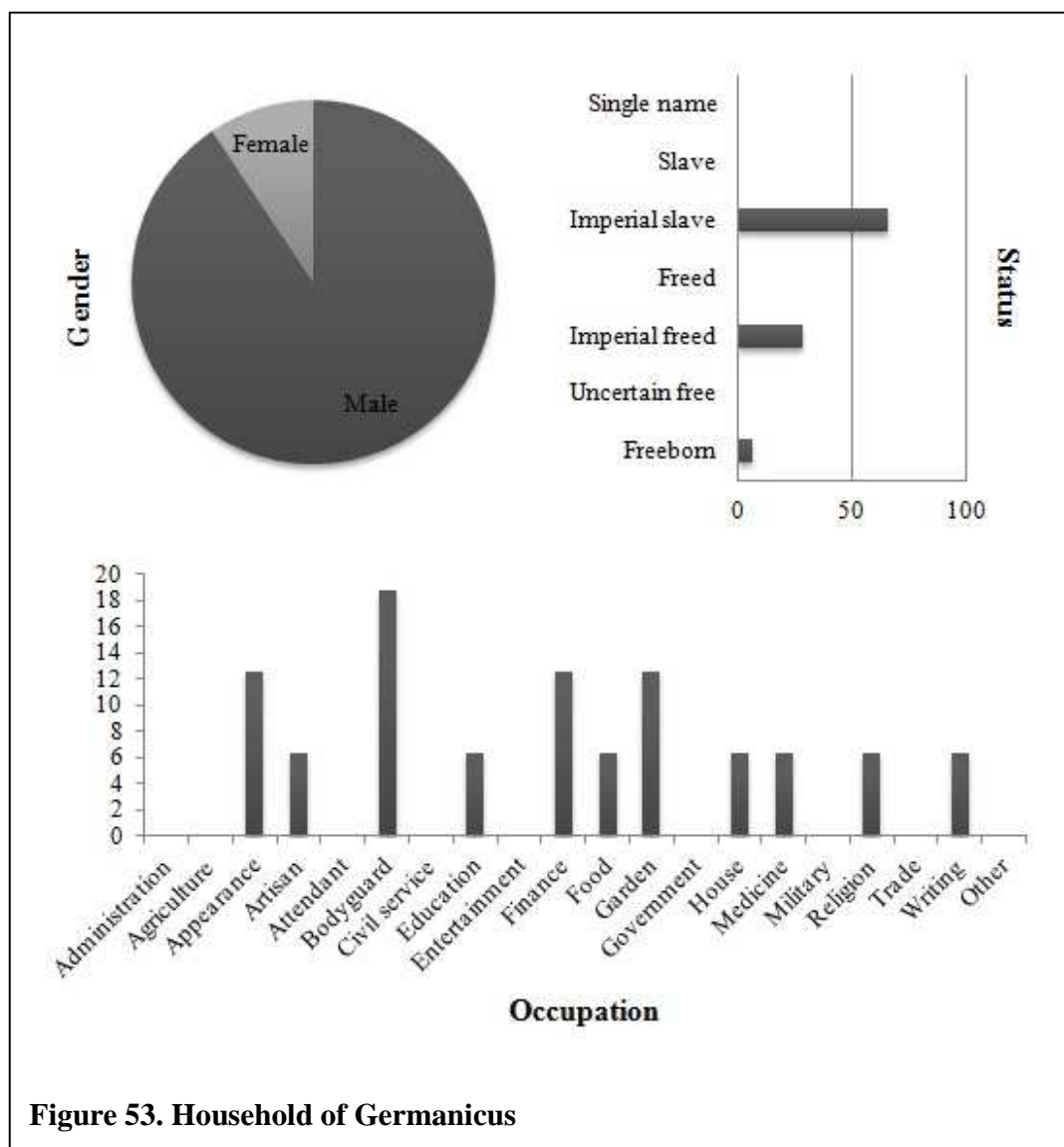
Augustus must have sent Caligula (and thus presumably the physician) to Germany, as he was with his parents when Augustus died a few months later.¹³⁰⁶ As for the physician, there is no indication that ownership of the slave in question was to be transferred permanently, only that Germanicus should keep the physician with him if his services were required.

The epigraphic evidence names a total of 32 individuals whose owner or patron was Germanicus, whose characteristics appear in Figure 53. They are predominantly male (91%) and largely slaves (66%) rather than freed slaves (28%).¹³⁰⁷ In addition, a freeborn *accensus*, who worked as an assistant to Germanicus during one of his

¹³⁰⁵ Lindsay 1995, pp. 12-14. Lindsay also adds a midwife to the above list.

¹³⁰⁶ Suet. Calig. 9, Tac. Ann. 1.40-41, Cass. Dio 57.5.6-7.

¹³⁰⁷ Both $p = 0.000$.



consulships, either in 12 or in the first part of 18.¹³⁰⁸ A freeborn physician (*medicus*) also appears,¹³⁰⁹ and he probably worked as Germanicus' own physician rather than for his household members; his male relatives' personal physicians – such as Antonius Musa, Charicles, or Xenophon – tend to be free and to come from outside the *familia Caesaris*,

¹³⁰⁸ CIL 11, 07431 (= AE 1911, 00184). Another *accensus* from Germanicus' consulships is a freedman of Augustus (CIL 6, 01963 = CIL 6, 05180 = D 01948 = AE 2001, +00110). For the borrowing of *accensi*, see p. 356.

so it would not be surprising for Germanicus to use a freeborn physician as well.¹³¹⁰ The majority of the inscriptions come from the *columbaria* (63%), although these are divided between the *Monumentum Marcellae* (43.8%) and the *Monumentum liberorum Drusi* (18.8%). As a result of Germanicus' extensive travel around the Empire, inscriptions relating to his household also appear in Sardinia and in Dalmatia.¹³¹¹

Exactly half of Germanicus' household members name their occupation, significantly more than in the sample as a whole.¹³¹² Among these, the largest group is his bodyguard (19%), a reasonable investment for a man in Germanicus' position;¹³¹³ to these should be added three additional bodyguards who appear in the households of Drusus Caesar and Tiberius with the agnomen Germanicianus.¹³¹⁴

Octavia the Younger

After her marriage to Antony began to break down in 37 B.C.E., Octavia the Younger's household included her three children by Marcellus and her two daughters by Antony, as well as Antony's two sons by Fulvia,¹³¹⁵ for a total of seven children under the age of ten. Although Antyllus, the eldest of Antony's sons, rejoined his father in Egypt and was executed by Octavian after Actium, Iullus remained in Octavia the

¹³⁰⁹ AE 1941, 00064 = Gummerus-02, 00415 = Gummerus-04, 00447 = Sinn 00087 = BCAR-1939-24 = AE 1989, 00093.

¹³¹⁰ pp. 246-246, 250-250, 263, 283. The slave physician sent by Augustus (Suet. Calig. 8.4) was probably intended for Germanicus' entourage rather than for Germanicus himself.

¹³¹¹ AE 1971, 00129 (two slaves in Sulci, Sardinia) and ILJug-01, 00174 (a freedman in Ridentarum, Dalmatia). Germanicus definitely visited Dalmatia in both 9 and 17 (Cass. Dio 56.11.1, Tac. Ann. 2.53). The freeborn *accensus* already discussed appears in an inscription in Ferentinum, Etruria, but he was probably temporarily rather than permanently attached to Germanicus' household.

¹³¹² $p = 0.000$.

¹³¹³ CIL 6, 04338, CIL 6, 04340 (= CIL 14, *00175), CIL 6, 04345 (= D 01723 = AE 2000, +00132).

¹³¹⁴ CIL 6, 04337 = CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718 (who is likely the same individual as CIL 6, 04338), CIL 6, 04339, CIL 6, 04341 (= D 01717).

¹³¹⁵ Plut. Ant. 35.5, 54.1, 57.3, 87.1.

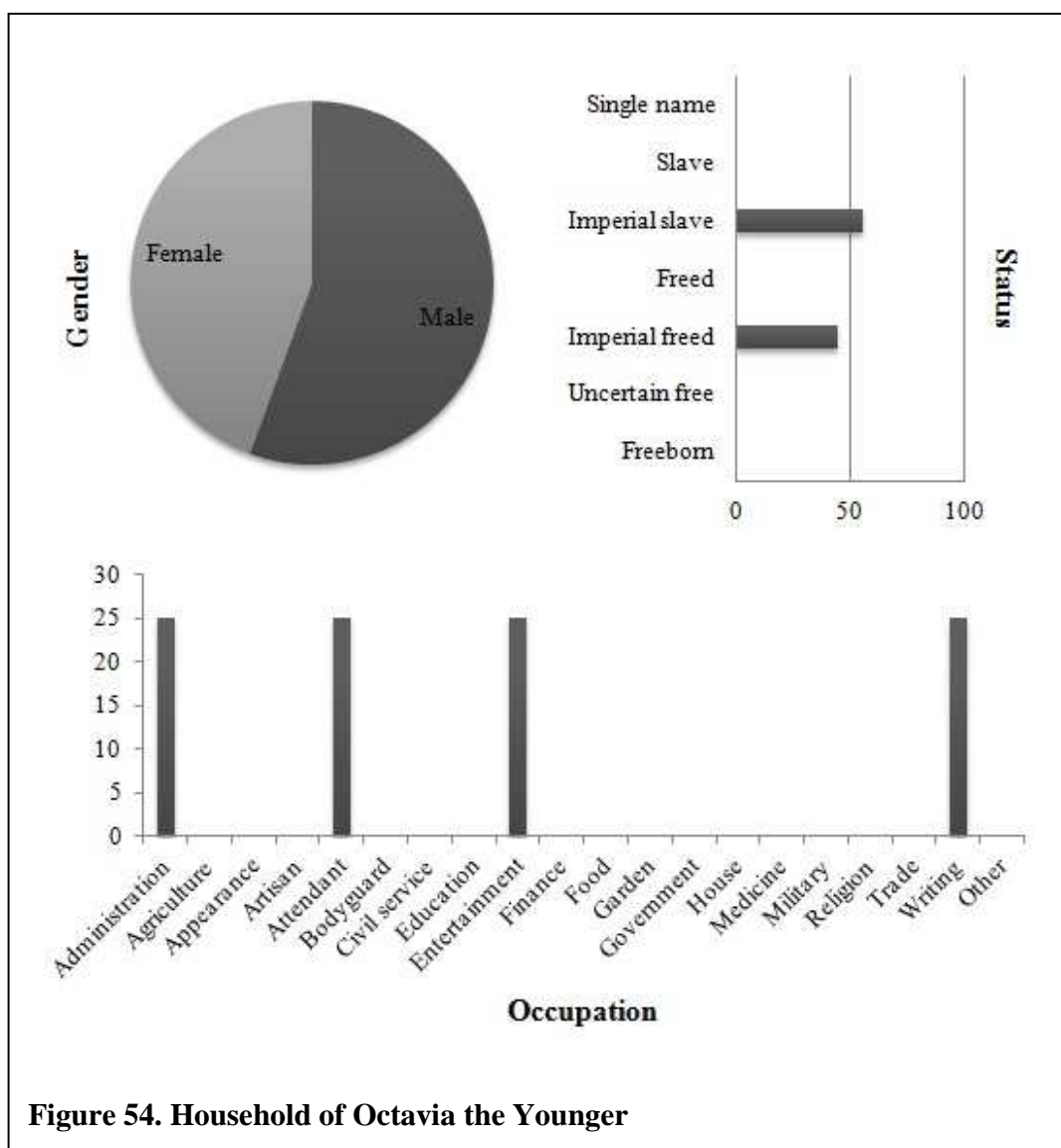


Figure 54. Household of Octavia the Younger

Younger's household permanently. The presence of so many young children within the same household has very specific staffing requirements: surely there must have been numerous nurses, paedagogues, educators, and other childcare providers whose names have not survived in the literary or epigraphic sources.

There are a total of eighteen individuals in the sample whose owner or patron was Octavia the Younger, and their characteristics are illustrated in Figure 54. They are

almost evenly split between men (56%) and women (44%), and between slaves (56%) and freed slaves (44%); both situations are atypical, so that Octavia the Younger's household contains significantly more women and significantly more slaves than should be expected.¹³¹⁶ The majority of the inscriptions are from Rome (89%), with only two coming from elsewhere in Italy.¹³¹⁷

The information provided is relatively scant, with nearly a quarter (22%) giving only their name and status indicator, and only one providing age at death.¹³¹⁸ Comparatively few (22%) list an occupation:¹³¹⁹ these report their occupations as business agent (*actor*), library scribe (*scriba libraries*), litter-bearer (*lecticarius*), and musician (*symphoniaca*).¹³²⁰ Similarly, there is minimal information about relationships, with only two marriages, two parent-child pairs, and one pair of brothers;¹³²¹ there is an additional pair of *colliberti*,¹³²² and two of the *decuriones* of the *Monumentum Marcellae* are freedmen of Octavia the Younger.¹³²³

Valeria Messalina

While no slaves or freed slaves are known for Valeria Messalina from the literary sources, there are eighteen individuals in the epigraphic material who name Messalina as their owner or patron, and their characteristics are illustrated in Figure 55. Although the

¹³¹⁶ Both $p = 0.000$.

¹³¹⁷ CIL 9, 00156 (Brundisium) and CIL 10, 02367 (Puteoli).

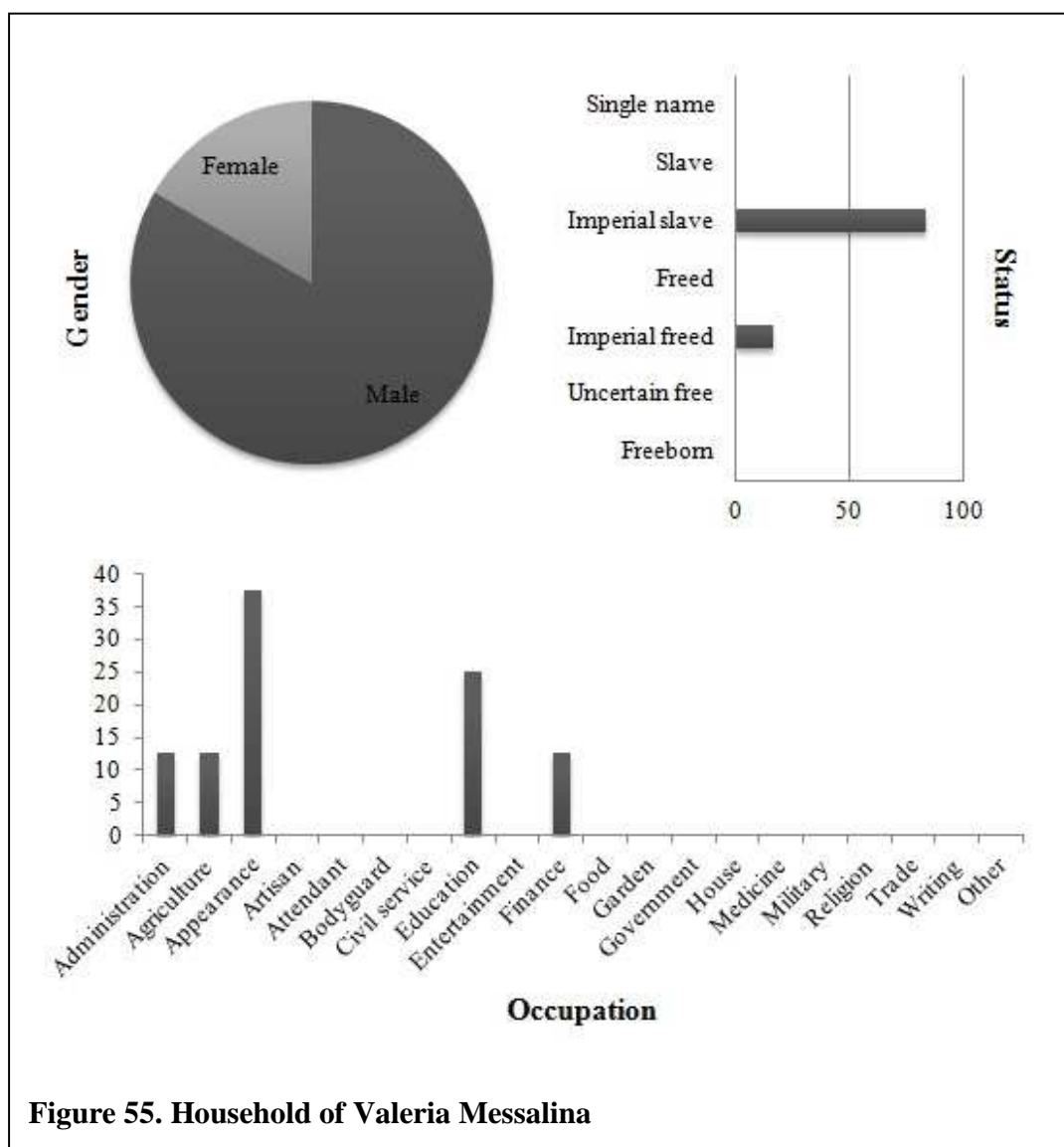
¹³¹⁸ CIL 9, 00156.

¹³¹⁹ $p = 0.000$.

¹³²⁰ CIL 6, 08697a (= CIL 10, *01088,275), CIL 6, 08881 (= D 01877), CIL 6, 33370 (= D 01753), CIL 6, 33372.

¹³²¹ CIL 6, 08697a (= CIL 10, *01088,275), CIL 6, 08881 (= D 01877), CIL 6, 33385, CIL 6, 33386.

¹³²² CIL 6.04492.



majority (89%) are located in Rome, two are located somewhat outside the city and may indicate suburban estates nearby.¹³²⁴ They are predominantly male, with fifteen men and three women, and largely slaves, with fifteen slaves and three freed slaves. Within the

¹³²³ The freedman in CIL 6, 04492 says so explicitly, while the *collegium* list at CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 1, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023) includes a C. Octavius Clemens, who is surely a freedman of Octavia the Younger, particularly as the list contains primarily slaves and freed slaves of Augustus.

¹³²⁴ CIL 14, 02751 (Tusculum) and CIL 14, 02813 (Gabiae). The inscription at Tusculum belongs to a *vilicus*, strengthening the possibility of a suburban villa belonging to Messalina.

larger households of the present sample, the atypically high proportion of slaves (83%) as compared to freed slaves (17%) is only surpassed by the household of Caligula (89% slaves and 11% freed slaves). The similarity between the two Julio-Claudians is obvious: the freed slaves of those who died in disgrace were far less likely to identify their patron in an inscription in order to avoid any negative implications by association, so that the majority of the inscriptions in question come from the individual's lifetime, and thus belong to slaves rather than freed slaves. Immediately after her death, the Senate ordered Messalina's name and image removed from public and private locations,¹³²⁵ and her household members seem to have followed suit. An inscription in the *Monumentum Marcellae* was partially erased after 48, removing the *nomen* Valeria (although oddly, not the *cognomen* Messalina) from a slave's status indication.¹³²⁶ Similarly, Claudia Octavia's wet-nurse (*nutrix*) is named Valeria,¹³²⁷ although without any status indicator; she is almost certainly Messalina's freedwoman, with her status indicator omitted due to Messalina's subsequent disgrace.¹³²⁸

Nearly half (44%) of Messalina's household members provide their occupation. A few common occupations appear,¹³²⁹ but curiously, there are three *ab ornamentibus*

¹³²⁵ Tac. Ann. 11.38: *iuvitque oblivionem eius senatus censendo nomen et effigies privatis ac publicis locis demovendas*. Cf. CIL 6, 00918 (= CIL 6, 31202 = D 00210 = Gordon 00094), a votive tablet in which nearly an entire line was erased to remove Messalina's name.

¹³²⁶ CIL 6, 04474: *M(arcus) Valerius / Antiochus / tonsor d(ecurio) q(uaestor) // Eupor / [[Valer(ius)]] / Messallinae*. Marcella the Younger was Messalina's paternal grandmother, and the *Monumentum Marcellae* contains three other slaves belonging to Messalina (CIL 6, 04426, CIL 6, 04459, CIL 6, 04468).

¹³²⁷ CIL 6, 08943 (= D 01838 = AE 1992, +00092): *Valeria Hilaria / nutrix / Octaviae Caesaris Augusti / hic requiescit cum / Ti(berio) Claudio Fructo viro / suo carissimo / Ti(berius) Claudius Primus et Ti(berius) Claudius Aster / bene merentibus fecerunt*.

¹³²⁸ The inscription can be no earlier than 54, due to Nero's identification as Caesar Augustus.

¹³²⁹ CIL 6, 04426 (*supra argentum*, or financial manager), CIL 6, 04459 (*paedagoga*, or child attendant), CIL 6, 08840 = D 01664 = AE 2000, +00132 (*dispensator*, or steward), CIL 6, 08943 = D 01838 = AE 1992, +00092 (*nutrix*, or wet-nurse), CIL 14, 02751 (*vilicus*).

extant,¹³³⁰ who were in charge of the various ornaments and jewels belonging to the Imperial household. It is certainly possible that Messalina had particularly high turnover among her staff during her seven years as empress, but it is even more likely that she simply had greater requirements for such luxury staff, particularly given her altogether negative portrayal in the literary sources.

Statilia Messalina

A total of thirteen individuals in the epigraphic material specify Statilia Messalina as their owner or patron, generally through a combination of the *nomen* Statilius with the *cognomen* Messalina or through the use of the name “*Messalina Neronis*” to identify the owner or patron. There is a remote possibility that a few of the slaves whom I have identified as belonging to Valeria Messalina in fact belonged to Statilia Messalina,¹³³¹ but this is unlikely due to the tendency, even within the *Monumentum Statiliorum*, to identify her as *Messalina Neronis*. The profile for Statilia’s household appears in Figure 56.

Statilia’s household includes eight men and five women; three are freed slaves and ten are slaves. She is the last known user of the *Monumentum Statiliorum*, in which

¹³³⁰ CIL 6, 08952 = D 01781 = Statili-3, 00006 and CIL 6, 08953 = CIL 15, 07148 = ILMN-01, 00119 (which includes either two *ab ornamentis*, or, less likely, one with a nickname). There are only thirteen *ab ornamentibus* in total, all from the Imperial household and at least half of Julio-Claudian date. Other than the three for Messalina, these include one or two for Livia (CIL 6, 08955 and possibly CIL 6, 03992), one for Caligula (CIL 6, 03991), and probably one for Poppaea Sabina (CIL 6, 08954 = D 01782 = AE 2000, +00132); beyond the Julio-Claudians, there is one for Faustina the Younger (CIL 6.08896 = Gummerus-01, 00044) and up to five belonging to later emperors (AE 2007, 00233, CIL 6, 04228, IK-13, 00855 = AE 1982, 00877, and possibly IK-13, 00855a and NSA-1923-378).

¹³³¹ The similarity in names is no coincidence, as the two women were probably cousins: Messalina’s paternal grandfather was the son of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (cos. 31 B.C.E.), and Statilia’s paternal grandmother is assumed to have been Corvinus’ daughter in her entry in PIR² (p. 322, pp. 325-326).

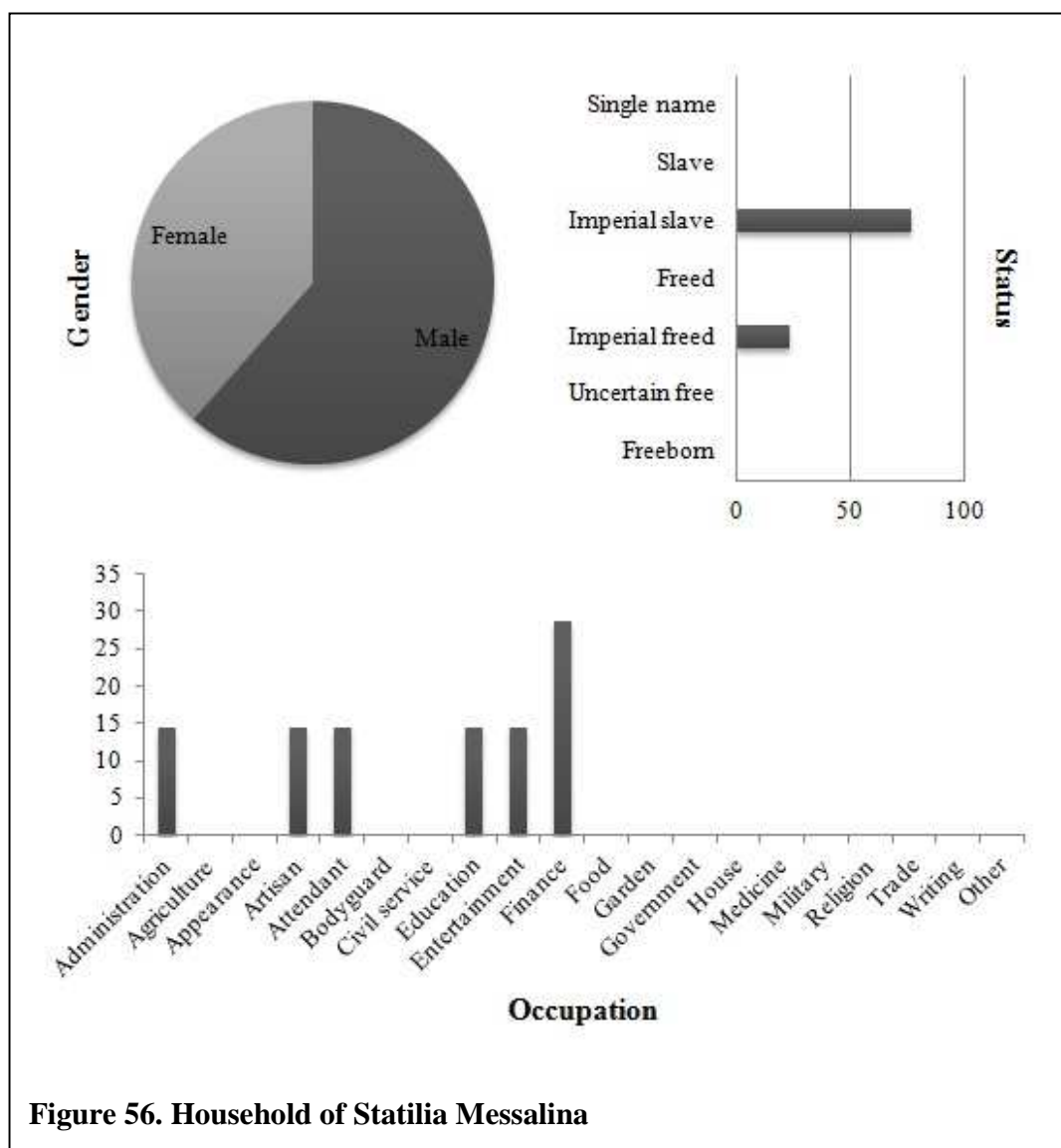


Figure 56. Household of Statilia Messalina

eight of her slaves and freed slaves appear.¹³³² The general epigraphic habit of the *Monumentum Statiliorum* tends toward the inclusion of occupational titles,¹³³³ and significantly more of Statilia's household members included their occupational

¹³³² CIL 6, 06300 (= D 07434), CIL 6, 06327, CIL 6, 06335, CIL 6, 06596, CIL 6, 06619, CIL 6, 06620, CIL 6, 06625. The last inscription also includes two slaves belonging to one of Statilia's freedmen. For the *Monumentum Statiliorum* in general, see Hasegawa 2005b.

¹³³³ Of all the names in the *Monumentum Statiliorum*, 31% include an occupational title, considerably more than the norm for CIL 6 as well as considerably more than the other contemporary *columbaria* (Penner 2012, p. 150, p. 157).

designation (54%).¹³³⁴ The precise occupational titles given range widely, but fall within the usual occupational designations of an elite household,¹³³⁵ despite the fact that the small household size means that they cannot provide an accurate cross-section of a household's staff.

There is minimal information about personal relationships, except for a related pair of inscriptions from the *Monumentum Statiliorum*:

*Diis / Manibus / Primi / Messallinae / Neronis ser(vi)
vern(ae) / opsonat(ori) / vixit ann(os) XXI / Statilius
Hesyclus / patruus p(osuit) d(e) s(uo)* (CIL 6, 06619)

To the gods of the dead. Primus, homeborn slave of Messalina, wife of Nero, provisioner, lived 21 years. His paternal uncle Statilius Hesychus made this from his own money.

*Dis Manibus / Statiliae / Messallinae l(ibertae) / Primillae /
haec vixit ann(os) X / m(enses) VII d(ies) XVIII / Hesychus
pater / fecit* (CIL 6, 06620)

To the gods of the dead. Statilia Primilla, freedwoman of Messalina, lived 10 years, 7 months, and 19 days. Her father Hesychus made this.

While Hesychus does not provide his status indication, his Statilian *nomen* combined with his daughter's freed status suggest that he too is a freed slave of the Statilii, if not of Messalina herself. His unknown brother, Primus' father, was likely a member of the Statilian households as well.

¹³³⁴ p = 0.000.

¹³³⁵ CIL 6, 06300 = D 07434 (*lanipendus*, or wool-weigher), CIL 6, 06327 (*paedagogus*, or child attendant), CIL 6, 06335 (*pedisequa*, or attendant), CIL 6, 06596 (*tabularius*, or clerk), CIL 6, 06619 (*opsonator*, or provisioner), CIL 6, 09191 = Statili-3, 00007 (*dispensator*, or steward), CIL 6, 09842 = D 07411 = Statili-3, 00009 (*pumilio*, or dwarf).

Family Groups: The Junii Silani, the Valerii Messalae, and the Aemilii Paulli

For particular aristocratic families which intermarried with the Julio-Claudians multiple times, the reuse of *cognomina* means it can be difficult to confirm a particular owner or patron named an inscription from within a family group. The three largest in the present sample are the Junii Silani with sixteen slaves or freed slaves, and the Valerii Messalae and the Aemilii Paulli with thirteen slaves or freed slaves apiece.

The Junii Silani

The characteristics of the sixteen extant household members of the Junii Silani are illustrated in Figure 57. They include thirteen males and three females, of whom half are freed and half are slaves. More than half (56%) provide an occupational indicator, and the majority of these worked as attendants of some type.¹³³⁶ Beyond this, their inscriptions are very brief, with limited mention of other relationships: there are no children, no collegial relationships, and no other family members present. One peculiar characteristic, perhaps part of the epigraphic habit of the households of the Silani, is the extremely high proportion (38%) who provide age at death:¹³³⁷ these are all adults, ranging from 19 to 32 years of age at the time of death.

The *columbarium* of the Junii Silani is partially extant as part of a complex of *columbaria* along the Via Appia; the surviving inscriptions mostly date from the reigns of

¹³³⁶ There are four slave bedroom attendants, or *cubicularii* (CIL 6, 07603, CIL 6, 07604, CIL 6, 07605, CIL 6, 07606), with three different masters, and one slave litter-bearer, or *lecticarius* (CIL 6, 07608); in addition, there is a steward, or *dispensator* (CIL 6, 02187 = CIL 6, 07445 = D 04973 = AE 2001, +00169), a wet-nurse, or *nutrix* (CIL 6, 07618), a magisterial assistant of some description who gives his occupation as *a munera* (CIL 6, 07612 = EAOR-01, 00037), and a superintendant of a *palaestra*, or *palaestritus* (CIL 6, 07613).

¹³³⁷ $p = 0.000$.

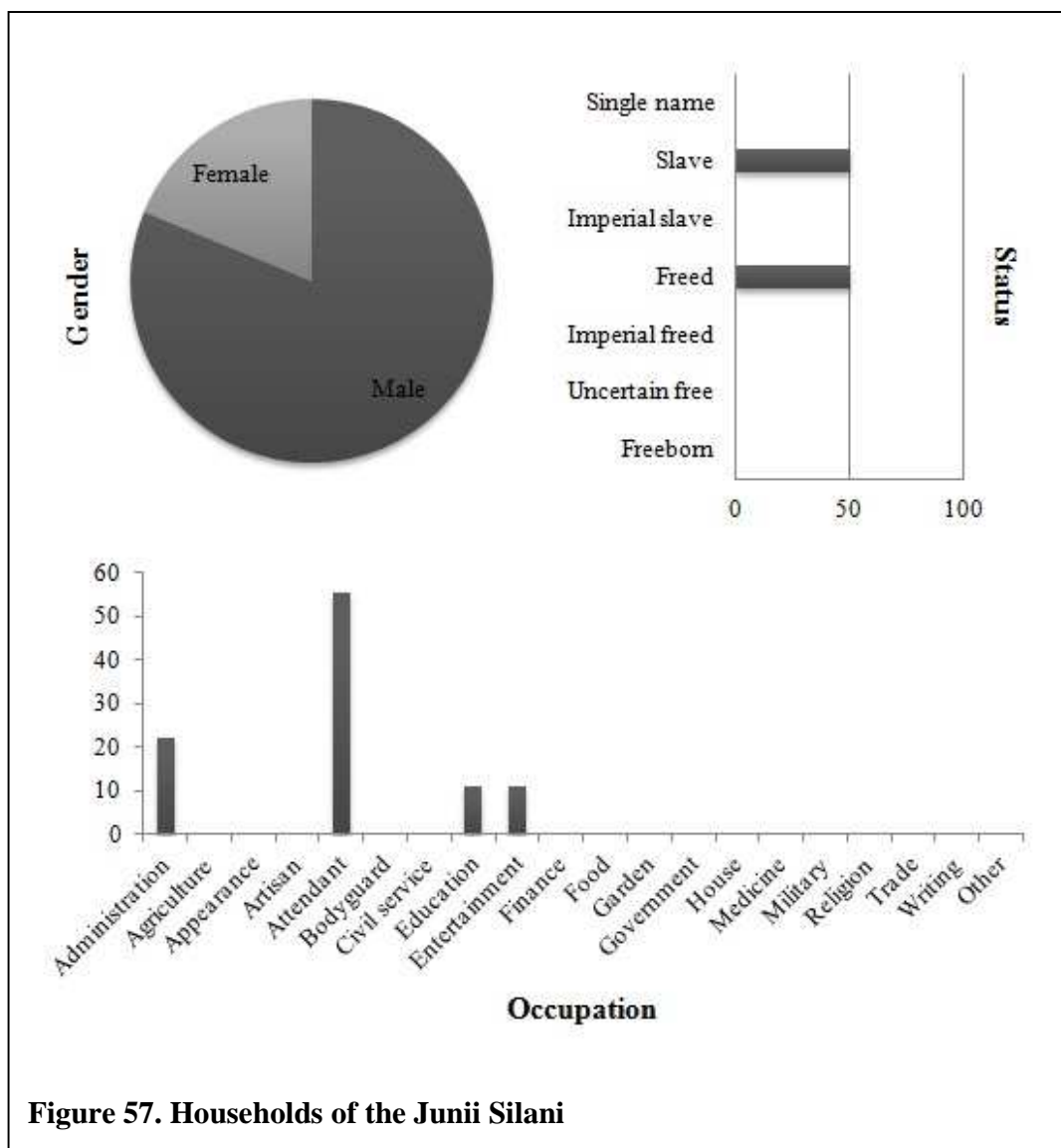


Figure 57. Households of the Junii Silani

Claudius and Nero.¹³³⁸ The tendency of the Silani to use a range of *praenomina* rather than one or two, the preference of most aristocratic families, makes the identification of specific owners or patrons somewhat easier. The freed slave of D. Silanus¹³³⁹ might belong either to the lover of Julia the Younger¹³⁴⁰ or to one of the Silani Torquati (cos.

¹³³⁸ CIL 6, 07600 – CIL 6, 07643.

¹³³⁹ CIL 6, 20763.

¹³⁴⁰ Tac. Ann. 3.24.

53), who was forced to suicide under Nero.¹³⁴¹ The two slaves and one freed slave of L. Silanus¹³⁴² belong to the fiancé of Claudia Octavia, who committed suicide in 49.¹³⁴³ However, there are three possible candidates for M. Silanus, who appears with four freed slaves and three slaves:¹³⁴⁴ the father-in-law of Caligula (cos. 19), the husband of Aemilia Lepida (cos. 28), or the son of Aemilia Lepida (cos. 46). In only one case can the specific patron likely be identified:¹³⁴⁵ the status indicator reads “*Silani patris l(ibertus)*,” likely to distinguish between father and son, so that the freedman must therefore have been manumitted by the husband of Aemilia Lepida (cos. 28). The three slaves and two freed slaves of “Appius Silanus”¹³⁴⁶ must have belonged to C. Appius Junius Silanus, who was very briefly married to Domitia Lepida prior to his execution early in Claudius’ reign.¹³⁴⁷

The Valerii Messalae

There are six slaves and seven freed slaves who indicate their owner or patron as “Messala,” and their profile is illustrated in Figure 58. They belong either to M. Valerius Messala Barbatus Appianus or his son M. Valerius Messala Barbatus, respectively the

¹³⁴¹ Tac. Ann. 15.35. The lack of the *cognomen* “Torquatus” is no obstacle to the latter identification: the two slaves and one freedman of L. Junius Silanus Torquatus identify him only as L. Silanus, although there is a single freedwoman (CIL 6, 07636) who identifies herself as “*Torquati l(iberta)*.”

¹³⁴² Freedman: CIL 6, 02187 (= CIL 6, 07445 = D 04973 = AE 2001, +00169). Slaves: CIL 6, 07605, CIL 6, 07618

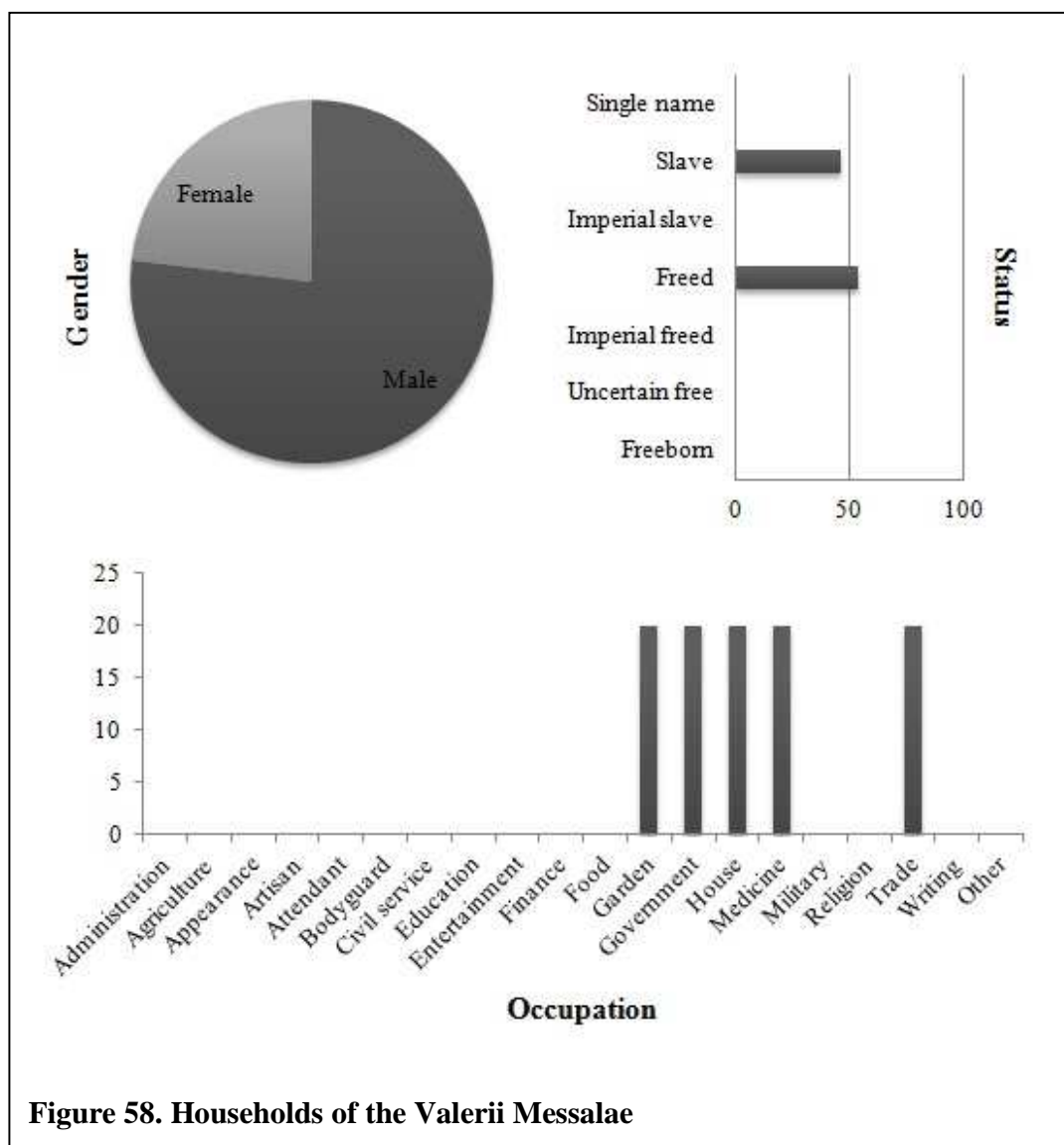
¹³⁴³ Tac. Ann. 12.8, Cass. Dio 60.31.7-8, Suet. Claud. 27.2, 29.1, Sen. Apocol. 10.

¹³⁴⁴ Freed slaves: CIL 14, 02466 & CIL 14, 02467 (= ILMN-01, 00570), CIL 6, 07627, CIL 6, 20809, CIL 6, 20817. Slaves: CIL 6, 07604, CIL 6, 07608, CIL 6, 07612 (= EAOR-01, 00037).

¹³⁴⁵ CIL 6, 07627. Although CIL 14, 02466 gives a consular date (1 June 31), the only one of the three who would become less likely is the consul of 46, as he would have been only aged 17 at the time of the inscription (Plin. HN 7.58), and less likely to have manumitted slaves.

¹³⁴⁶ Slaves: CIL 6, 07603, CIL 6, 07606, CIL 6, 07613. Freed slaves: CIL 6, 07605, CIL 6, 07635.

¹³⁴⁷ Cass. Dio 60.14.3, Suet. Claud. 29.1, 37.2.



husband and son of Marcella the Younger.¹³⁴⁸ There is no way of distinguishing between the two men's households epigraphically: both have the same *cognomen* and both would have had the right to use the *Monumentum Marcellae*, in which ten of the thirteen names appear.¹³⁴⁹ The group includes three women and ten men: one of the women bears the *agnomen* Marcelliana, indicating that she was originally owned by Marcella the

¹³⁴⁸ There is a third possibility for CIL 6, 32307 (= D 04977): he may belong to Appianus' father, the orator Corvinus (D 04977, p. 260, cf. Cass. Dio 49.16).

Younger.¹³⁵⁰ Beyond that, the brevity of the *columbarium* inscriptions permits only minimal analysis: none of the inscriptions give an age at death, and only five name their occupation.¹³⁵¹ There is a tendency toward the presence of marital relationships (23%), particularly between household members. Three are certainly married, and another fragmentary inscription might represent marriage as well;¹³⁵² although the spouses' statuses are never explicitly given, one is likely a slave of the household, another is an uncertain free Valeria, and the potential marriage lists two freed slaves of Messala.¹³⁵³

The Aemilii Paulli

A total of thirteen individuals are the slaves or freed slaves of "Paullus," as illustrated in Figure 59. These belong either to Paullus Aemilius Lepidus (cos. suff. 34 B.C.E.), husband of Marcella the Younger, or to his son, L. Aemilius Paullus, husband of Julia the Younger. As is typical, the majority are male (85%), and over three-quarters are freed (77%). Six of these appear within the *Monumentum Marcellae*, a natural possibility due to the elder Paullus' marriage to Marcella the Younger.

The inscriptions in question do not lend themselves to extensive analysis, largely because of their early date relative to the rest of the sample: Paullus does not appear to have long survived his marriage to Marcella the Younger around 12 B.C.E.,¹³⁵⁴ and

¹³⁴⁹ This extended to participation in the *collegium* that managed the *columbarium* as well (CIL 6, 04493).

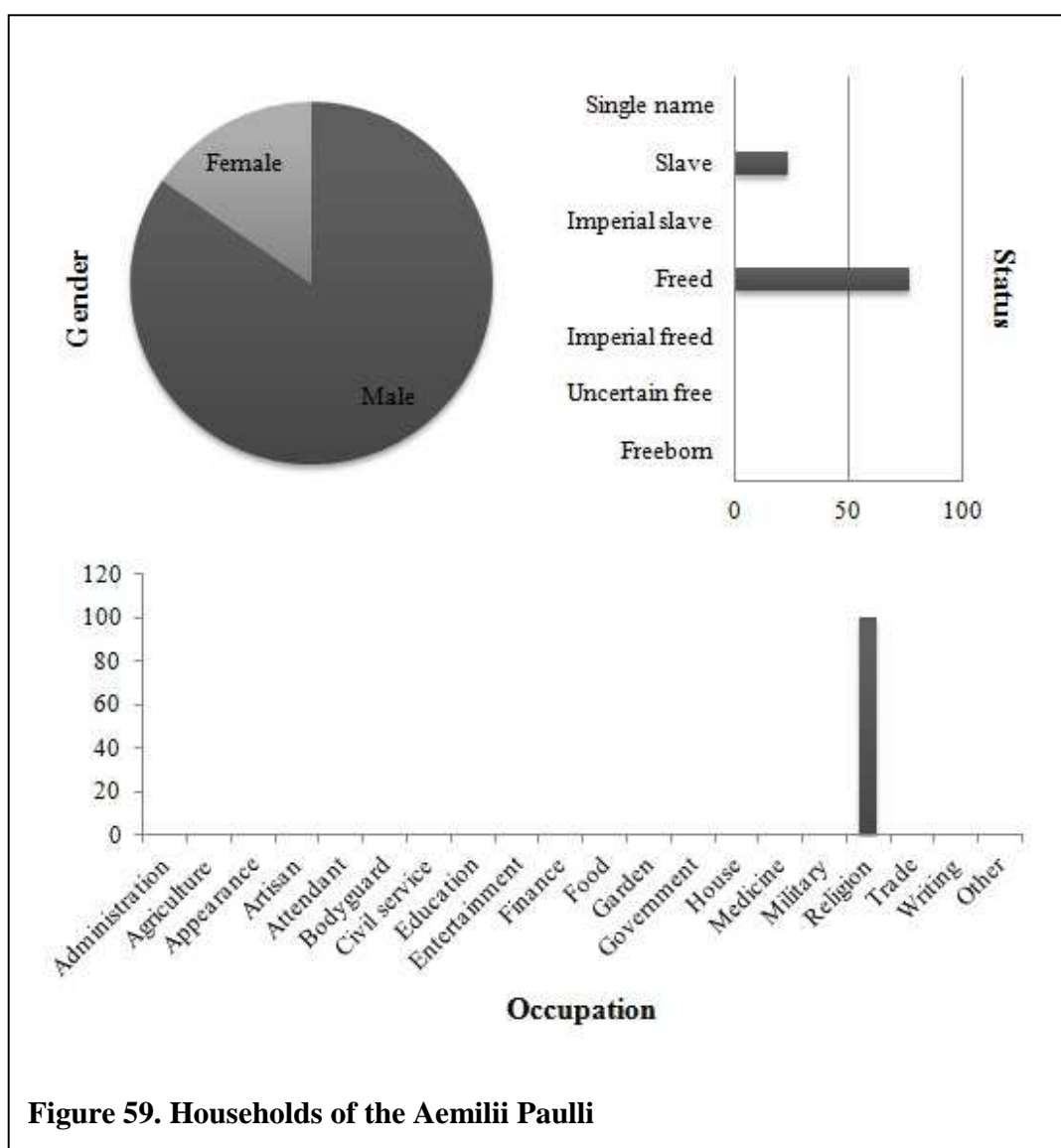
¹³⁵⁰ CIL 6, 04501.

¹³⁵¹ CIL 6, 04446 (a carpenter, or *faber*, and an superintendant of apartments, or *insularius*), CIL 6, 04475 (a medical attendant, or *ad valetudinem*), CIL 6, 09472 = D 07373 (a overseer of gardens, or *vilicus supra hortos*), CIL 6, 32307 = D 04977 (a magisterial attendant, or *viator*).

¹³⁵² CIL 6, 04501, CIL 6, 28118a, CIL 6, 32307 (= D 04977), and possibly CIL 6, 04703.

¹³⁵³ CIL 6, 32307 (= D 04977), CIL 6, 28118a, and CIL 6, 04703, respectively.

¹³⁵⁴ Bayer (1968, p. 122) claims that the marriage ended with Paullus' death within a year, but produced a son probably not born before 11 B.C.E., which would put the marriage in 12 B.C.E. or thereabouts.



Lucius died sometime around his wife Julia the Younger's exile in 8 C.E.,¹³⁵⁵ so that the majority of the inscriptions involving their households date to Augustus' reign. As the epigraphic habit developed, the inscriptions became lengthier and included more information; by comparison, nine of the thirteen individuals reporting a connection to Paullus provide only their name and their ownership or libertination, without any

additional information for analysis. Only one, a 70-year-old freedwoman,¹³⁵⁶ provides her age at death, and only one provides her occupation, a priestess (*sacerdos*).¹³⁵⁷

Due to the elder Paullus' atypical *praenomen*, his freed slaves are forced to adopt a different *praenomen*; the usual choice is the father's *praenomen*,¹³⁵⁸ which in Paullus' case would be Lucius.¹³⁵⁹ However, there are four freedmen in the epigraphic material identifying themselves as *Paulli liberti*, but using the *praenomen* Marcus.¹³⁶⁰ Is this a different, completely unknown Marcus Paullus? Have these merely adopted a different *praenomen* than their *colliberti*?¹³⁶¹ It is unlikely that they are unrelated to the Julio-Claudians, particularly as three of the four appear within the *Monumentum Marcellae*.¹³⁶² Perhaps the most likely scenario is that the Lucii Aemilii are the freedmen of the younger Paullus, while those of the elder Paullus use Marcus in order to distinguish themselves.

Finally, one particular inscription merits individual attention:

*Aemilia Paulli l(iberta) Le(a?) / sacerdos / C(aio) Cassio
/(mulieris) et Paulli [l(iberto)] / Epigono (CIL 6, 02292 =
CIL 6, 04497)*

¹³⁵⁵ Levick (1976, pp. 306-308, 330) argues for a death in 7; he must not have long survived the exile and resulting disgrace recorded in Suetonius (Aug. 19.1, Claud. 26.1). Cf. Fantham 2006, pp. 109-111.

¹³⁵⁶ CIL 6, 11123.

¹³⁵⁷ CIL 6, 02292 (= CIL 6, 04497).

¹³⁵⁸ Iullus Antonius, for instance, has freedmen using his father's *praenomen* Marcus at AE 2007, 00425 (= SupIt-23-G, 00051) and CIL 6, 12010 (= CIL 6, 34051).

¹³⁵⁹ CIL 6, 04499, CIL 6, 11025, CIL 6, 11088. This, however, would be the natural form for the nomenclature of his son's freedmen as well.

¹³⁶⁰ CIL 6, 04457, CIL 6, 04510, CIL 6, 04697, CIL 6, 11060 (= ICUR-03, 07210).

¹³⁶¹ There must have been some flexibility in the naming of freedmen, and two instances appear in one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (Att. 4.15): one used Atticus' pre-adoption *praenomen* and post-adoption *nomen* and was called T. Caecilius Eutychedes, while another used Atticus' *nomen* and Cicero's *praenomen* and was called M. Pomponius Dionysius. Eutychedes and Dionysius appear elsewhere in Cicero's letters as well (Att. 4.8, 5.9, 7.4).

¹³⁶² This is by no means a certainty, however. As discussed above (pp. 27-27), unlike in the *Monumentum Liviae* and the *Monumentum liberorum Drusi*, space within the *Monumentum Marcellae* was not restricted to the households of its owners: of all the extant names within the *columbarium*, over a third (36.2%) bear *nomina* completely unrelated to the Julio-Claudian households.

Aemilia Lea, freedwoman of Paullus, priestess, to C.
Cassius Epigonus, freedman of a woman and of Paullus.

Joint ownership of slaves and the joint manumission of those slaves were both permitted under Roman law, and the resulting status indicator uses both *praenomina*, as well as the *nomen* of the second patron if it differs from that of the first patron. A quick search of the Clauss-Slaby database produces 297 instances of joint manumission by a man and a woman:¹³⁶³ in 269 cases, the man's *praenomen* comes first, while in 28 cases, the reverse is true. In general, the higher status partner is named first, as is certainly the case for the joint freed slaves of Tiberius and Livia discussed above,¹³⁶⁴ and epigraphic conventions list males first by default, unless there is a status difference between the two.¹³⁶⁵ Who, then, is Cassia, the primary patron of Epigonus? The "Cassia" named in this inscription is listed separately in PIR², as she is not identical to any of the other known Cassias listed.¹³⁶⁶ The simplest explanation would make her an earlier, unknown wife of the elder Paullus. However, an earlier marriage is in fact known, to Cornelia, the daughter of Scribonia and thus half-sister of Julia the Elder: they married no later than 38 B.C.E. in what was probably Paullus' first marriage and the marriage endured until her death in 16 B.C.E.¹³⁶⁷ Any additional marriage would have had to be brief, fitting either before Paullus' marriage to Cornelia or between Paullus' widowhood and his subsequent

¹³⁶³ I searched for the combinations "*mulieris et*" + "*libert-*" and "*et mulieris*" + "*libert-*", which captures the use of the symbol O for a female patron as well. As a result, these do not include those instances of joint freedmen of Tiberius and Livia described above (pp. 267-268).

¹³⁶⁴ pp. 267-268.

¹³⁶⁵ Flory 1984.

¹³⁶⁶ PIR² C 0524 (p. 123). There are other Cassias at PIR² C 0525 – C 0530 (pp. 123-124)

¹³⁶⁷ Prop. 4.11.

marriage to Marcella the Younger around 13 B.C.E., making it unlikely that Cassia was in fact a wife of Paullus and ensuring that her identity remains a mystery.

Julio-Claudian Households: Small Households

As is clear from Table 1, for the majority of Julio-Claudians whose households appear at all in the epigraphic evidence, there are fewer than ten slaves and freed slaves known. Such low numbers make it impossible to draw any reliable conclusions regarding the make-up of individual households, but, for the sake of completeness, I have included their full descriptions in Appendix N, along with the relevant literary references.

In addition, I have conducted some rudimentary analyses comparing the Julio-Claudian households with fewer than ten extant slaves or freed slaves to the other size categories and to the sample as a whole in order to determine whether they follow the same epigraphic pattern as the other, larger extant Julio-Claudian households and what types of individuals are likely to appear in smaller household structures.¹³⁶⁸ Overall, the smaller households had a similar epigraphic habit to their larger equivalents, indicating that the epigraphic habits of the *familia Caesaris* carried over into the commemorative patterns of all its members. There is no difference in the types of inscriptions in which household members appear, nor do the proportions of those found in Rome, Italy, or the provinces vary significantly.¹³⁶⁹ Their status distributions are similar,¹³⁷⁰ and they include occupational titles at similar rates.¹³⁷¹ There are some slight differences: the

¹³⁶⁸ I have not included the households specifically belonging to Marcella the Elder (5) or Marcella the Younger (9) as part of the smaller households in these analyses, as they have been analysed together above (pp. 321-324).

¹³⁶⁹ Inscription type: $p = 0.101$. Location: $p = 0.066$.

¹³⁷⁰ $p = 0.166$.

¹³⁷¹ $p = 0.163$.

smaller households tend to contain more women relative to their larger counterparts,¹³⁷² and they are less likely to use *agnomina*.¹³⁷³ These results probably both arise from the precise identities of those possessing smaller households. The smaller households are more likely to have female owners than male owners, whereas the opposite is true for the larger households;¹³⁷⁴ the gender ratios thus far have suggested that elite women tend to have more women in their households relative to elite men.¹³⁷⁵ Furthermore, *agnomina* are more common among the emperors' own slaves and freed slaves than among those of the extended Julio-Claudian household, to which the smaller households belong. Similarly, the only relationship types that differ significantly are collegial involvement and servile relationships, with both less likely to appear among members of smaller households;¹³⁷⁶ they are equally likely to report spouses, children, and other family members as their counterparts in larger households.¹³⁷⁷ The difference in rates of collegial involvement can be attributed both to the tendency of the emperors' slaves and freed slaves to participate in the large Imperial *collegia* which have left inscriptional lists of their officers and to the survival of the larger households' *columbaria* and thus the epitaphs of their collegial officers. Household size itself makes it far less likely that relationships related to slavery will appear in smaller households: with fewer slaves and freed slaves known, it is far less likely that these will appear together as *conservi* or *colliberti* in the surviving evidence. Of course, this does not mean that such relationships

¹³⁷² p = 0.000.

¹³⁷³ p = 0.047.

¹³⁷⁴ Of 31 smaller households, 18 have female owners; of 16 larger households, 10 have male owners, including the five emperors and the unspecified emperor category.

¹³⁷⁵ This pattern is discussed in detail at p. 362.

¹³⁷⁶ Collegium: p = 0.043. Slavery: p = 0.004.

did not exist, merely that the low numbers of extant household members result in fewer such relationships in the present sample.

The most important differences, however, relate to the job categories which appear in the smaller Julio-Claudian households versus the larger households.¹³⁷⁸ While the larger households include occupational titles covering the full range of job categories, the smaller households are far more limited, and it is unlikely that the attested occupations accurately reflect actual staff composition; rather, the categories are slanted even more significantly toward those occupations that would have been more prominent within the household, such as administrators and financial staff, or those whose duties entailed frequent, personal contact with the master or patron, such as bodyguards, childcare workers, and appearance workers. The households with between six and ten individuals included more administrators (11%), appearance workers (6%), artisans (6%), attendants (7%), financial staff (6%), and medical workers (4%) as compared to the larger households, but nine job categories were entirely unattested.¹³⁷⁹ For the households with between three and five individuals, there were more agricultural workers (6%), appearance workers (9%), attendants (9%), bodyguards (9%), childcare workers (6%), entertainers (9%), and food workers (6%), while eight job categories did not appear at all.¹³⁸⁰ For the households consisting of one or two extant individuals, only six

¹³⁷⁷ Marriage: $p = 0.093$. Children: $p = 0.558$. Family: 0.298.

¹³⁷⁸ $p = 0.000$.

¹³⁷⁹ There were no agricultural staff, bodyguards, civil servants, gardeners, government workers, household staff, military staff, tradesmen, or writing staff in the inscriptional evidence.

¹³⁸⁰ There were no artisans, civil servants, gardeners, government workers, household staff, medical workers, military staff, religious workers, or tradesmen in this group.

categories were present at all,¹³⁸¹ and of these, financial staff (8%) and childcare workers (13%) were significantly over-represented, likely due to their vital roles within an elite individual's staff as well as the potential for close contact with their master or patron.¹³⁸²

Secondary Connections: Overlapping Households

In order to determine how individual households connected to one another on a larger level, I also recorded whether a secondary connection was present, linking a slave or freed slave to a Julio-Claudian other than the immediate owner or patron. This secondary relationship could take several possible forms. The transfer of slaves through sale, gift, or inheritance is a strong possibility:¹³⁸³ a slave might be transferred to a relative or to another individual while retaining the original Julio-Claudian connection through the usage of an *agnomen*. Second, a slave or freed slave might belong to one individual, but work entirely or primarily for another Julio-Claudian, or work for multiple Julio-Claudians over the course of his or her career. Finally, such connections need not always be formal, nor need they relate to the Julio-Claudians in question: personal relationships and familial connections existed and developed across household boundaries, and are explicitly given in the epigraphic material.

¹³⁸¹ The only occupational titles that are attested belong to administrators, childcare workers, financial staff, government workers, religious staff, and tradesmen.

¹³⁸² A financial manager, for example, would likely have frequent contact with his owner or patron in order to provide any necessary information regarding the accounts and to obtain the necessary approvals or decisions for action. The importance of childcare workers in a young child's life as well as the long duration of the relationship makes it more likely that a caregiver will mention an elite owner or patron. This increased intimacy with an owner or patron is also likely tied to increased chances of eventual manumission (Mouritsen 2011, p. 198).

¹³⁸³ Quintilian lists the ways in which it is possible to transfer the ownership of a slave (Inst. 5.10.67).

Leaving the Household

There are a total of sixteen individuals with no primary connection to the Julio-Claudian dynasty, only a more distant connection. All have *agnomina* linking them to the extended Julio-Claudian household, but most date after the accession of Vespasian; while they may have once been slaves of the Julio-Claudians, by the time their inscriptions were erected, this was no longer the case. Of the sixteen, twelve have status indicators directly stating that they had remained in the Imperial household after the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and had therefore become the slaves of Vespasian.¹³⁸⁴ The remaining four bear Julio-Claudian *agnomina*,¹³⁸⁵ but with no indication of their status or situation after the death of Nero and the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. In addition to the expected Neroniani,¹³⁸⁶ the wide variety of *agnomina* among the slaves and freed slaves of the Flavians and later emperors illustrate the tendency of the *familia Caesaris* to accumulate the households of the emperors' relatives, freed slaves, and other intimates, as well as slaves' practice of retaining *agnomina* long after the death of their original owner: the post-Julio-Claudian *familia Caesaris* retained traces of the households of

¹³⁸⁴ Freed slaves: CIL 6, 08954 (= D 01782 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 10172 (= D 05152 = EAOR-01, 00033 = Gummerus-01, 00116) & CIL 6, 10173 (= EAOR-01, 00034 = Gummerus-01, 00117), CIL 6, 18203, CIL 6, 18358, AE 1978, 00052 = MIRoma-04, 00024 (freedman of Galba). Slaves: CIL 6, 08726 = D 07733a = AE 2000, +00132 (slave of Domitian), CIL 6, 15347, CIL 6, 15551 = D 07933 (slave of Vespasian), CIL 6, 15616 (slave of Titus), CIL 6, 24164, CIL 6, 33737 = AE 1896, 00092, CIL 6, 36911 (slave of Trajan).

¹³⁸⁵ CIL 6, 02260: Perennus Claudianus, whose membership in the *familia Caesaris* is strengthened by the fact that his wife Claudia Acropolis is a freedwoman of Claudius or Nero. CIL 6, 04336: Felix Germanicianus, whose inscription was found within the *Monumentum liberorum Drusi* and who was probably still a Julio-Claudian slave without status indicator. CIL 6, 04808: Philotimus Agrippianus, whose inscription was found within the *Monumentum Marcellae* and also probably still a Julio-Claudian slave without status indicator. CIL 8, 01816: C. Iulius Saturninus Caligianus, whose name appears only as an ownership indicator in his slave's epitaph.

¹³⁸⁶ CIL 6, 10172 (= D 05152 = EAOR-01, 00033 = Gummerus-01, 00116) & CIL 6, 10173 (= EAOR-01, 00034 = Gummerus-01, 00117), CIL 6, 15347.

Agrippina the Younger,¹³⁸⁷ Antonia Caenis,¹³⁸⁸ Callistus,¹³⁸⁹ Claudia Antonia,¹³⁹⁰ Claudia Octavia,¹³⁹¹ Calvia Crispinilla,¹³⁹² and Poppaea Sabina.¹³⁹³

Inherited Connections

Through the use of *agnomina*, it is sometimes possible to trace the transfer of slaves among the Julio-Claudians, as slaves or freed slaves appear with one Julio-Claudian as owner or patron while using an *agnomen* referring to another Julio-Claudian. Such transfers often occurred due to inheritance, but that is not automatically the case.¹³⁹⁴ The full list of *agnomina*, with the relevant inscriptions, is available in Appendix H.

The majority of the *agnomina* highlighting slave transfer within the Julio-Claudian dynasty reflect transfer from another relative to a reigning emperor, often from very close relatives such as parents, spouses, and children, that is, those relationships within which one would naturally expect to inherit. The Julio-Claudian *agnomina* in Augustus' household reflect slaves coming from Atia, Julia the Elder, Drusus, Agrippa, Caius Caesar, Livia, Antonia the Younger, Quintilius Varus, and even Caesar.¹³⁹⁵ Tiberius' household uses a more limited set of *agnomina*, reflecting his slaves' origins in

¹³⁸⁷ CIL 6, 15616, CIL 6, 24164, CIL 6, 33737 = AE 1896, 00092, CIL 6, 36911.

¹³⁸⁸ CIL 6, 18358.

¹³⁸⁹ AE 1978, 00052 (= MIRoma-04, 00024).

¹³⁹⁰ CIL 6, 18203.

¹³⁹¹ CIL 6, 15551 (= D 07933).

¹³⁹² CIL 6, 08726 (= D 07733a = AE 2000, +00132).

¹³⁹³ CIL 6, 08954 (= D 01782 = AE 2000, +00132).

¹³⁹⁴ There are certainly examples moving in the opposite direction than would be expected based on relative death dates: Livia to Augustus, Antonia the Younger to Livia, and so forth.

¹³⁹⁵ Atia: CIL 4, 04473. Julia the Elder: AE 1923, 00073, CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023), CIL 6, 05751, CIL 6, 05837, CIL 6, 22679. Drusus: CIL 6, 04437. Agrippa: CIL 6, 05202 (= D 01778) & CIL 6, 05203, CIL 6, 05299, CIL 6, 05849 (= CIL 6, *00828), CIL 6, 08012 (= CLE 00134 = D 08436 = AE 1991, 00073), CIL 6, 08820, CIL 6, 33768 & CIL 6, 08756 (= ILMN-01, 00112). Caius Caesar: CIL 6, 11631. Livia: CIL 12, 00257 (= ILN-01, 00013 = D 02822). Antonia the

the households of Augustus, Livia, Agrippa, Drusus, and Germanicus.¹³⁹⁶ Caligula only seems to have inherited slaves from his father Germanicus and his sister Drusilla.¹³⁹⁷ Two of the slaves Caligula inherited from Drusilla transferred owners yet again, appearing as a slave of Claudius while retaining their original *agnomen*,¹³⁹⁸ Claudius' household also contains former members of the households of Antonia the Younger, Claudia Antonia, Livia, and Lepidus.¹³⁹⁹ Finally, Nero's household members include former slaves of his mother Agrippina the Younger and his wife Poppaea Sabina.¹⁴⁰⁰ Among those whose Imperial owner or patron is not specified, *agnomina* indicate transfer from the households of Drusus, Claudius, Marcus Vinicius, and either Antonia the Younger or Agrippina the Younger.¹⁴⁰¹

Beyond the emperors themselves, only a few Julio-Claudian households include their relatives' *agnomina*, and these are even more likely to belong to immediate relatives

Younger: CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023). Quintilius Varus: CIL 6, 20112 (= CIL 10, *01045,4 = CIL 10, *01088,188 = CIL 12, *00068,2b). Caesar: CIL 6, 08738.

¹³⁹⁶ Augustus: AE 1989, 00115, CIL 6, 05206 (= D 01755), CIL 6, 05248, CIL 6, 19746. Livia: AE 1979, 00033 (= EAOR-01, 00004 = AE 1982, 00049), CIL 6, 03935, CIL 6, 04026 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04036 (= CIL 10, *01089,209 = IMCCatania 00390), CIL 6, 05358 (= D 01772), CIL 6, 08880. Agrippa: CIL 6, 05223. Drusus: CIL 5, 01067, CIL 11, 02916 (= CIL 14, 02420 = EE-09, p 403). Germanicus: CIL 6, 04339, CIL 6, 04341 (= D 01717), CIL 6, 04351 (= CIL 11, *00547a4 = D 01802), CIL 6, 04353, CIL 6, 04398, CIL 6, 04399, CIL 6, 04409, CIL 6, 05540 (= D 01789 = Libitina-02, 00083).

¹³⁹⁷ Germanicus: CIL 6, 04357 (= LIKelsey 00394 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 33767 (= CIL 13, *00303 = CIL 14, *00292,1). Drusilla: CIL 6, 08823 (= CIL 10, *01088,084), CIL 6, 08824 (= CIL 10, *01088,085).

¹³⁹⁸ CIL 6, 08822 (= CIL 10, *01088,083 = D 01655).

¹³⁹⁹ Antonia the Younger: CIL 6, 08665, CIL 14, 02835, EE-08-01, 00335 (& EE-08-01, 00336 and EE-08-01, 00337 = EE-08-01, 00863 = D 05798. Claudia Antonia: CIL 6, 15314. Livia: CIL 6, 40415 (= Gordon 00091 = AE 1953, +00024 = AE 1980, 00057b) & CIL 6, 40414 (= Gordon 00090 = AE 1953, 00024 = AE 1980, 00057a). Lepidus: AE 1973, 00157 (= TPSulp 00069 = TPN 00060).

¹⁴⁰⁰ Agrippina the Younger: CIL 13, 02449 (= ILAin 00009 = CAG-01, p 107). Poppaea Sabina: CIL 6, 00099.

¹⁴⁰¹ Claudius: CIL 6, 18816 (= CIL 6, 27772). Drusus: CIL 6, 00103 (= CIL 6, 30692 = D 01879). M. Vinicius: CIL 6, 08938 (= D 01690). Antonia the Younger or Agrippina the Younger: CIL 10, 06646. The last individual gives his *agnomen* as Maternus, so that, depending on the manumitting emperor, either woman could have been the initial owner.

or to those sharing the same living space.¹⁴⁰² Livia's extensive household includes individuals formerly owned by Augustus, Antonia the Younger, and Drusus the Elder,¹⁴⁰³ as she shared a house with both Augustus and Antonia the Younger, transfers between them are to be expected. Similarly, a freedwoman of Valerius Messala bears the *agnomen* of his wife Marcella the Younger.¹⁴⁰⁴ Like Caligula, his brothers Drusus Caesar and Nero Caesar owned slaves with the *agnomen* Germanicianus.¹⁴⁰⁵

Occupational Connections

One of the more interesting aspects of running a series of interconnected households involves the tendency to borrow or lend slaves or freed slaves with particular occupational skills or specific characteristics when a need arose. Rawson has discussed the phenomenon very briefly,¹⁴⁰⁶ basing her discussion on a single inscription:

*Communio verna / Antoniae Augustae / v(ixit) a(nnos) II
me(n)s(es) X / collacteus Drusi / Blandi filii* (CIL 6,
16057 = ZPE-151-223 = AE 2005, +00106)

Communio, home-born slave of Antonia Augusta, lived two years and ten months, the milk-sibling of Drusus, son of Blandus.

Communio's status as a *verna* of Antonia the Younger is unremarkable, but it is his relationship to "*Drusi Blandi filii*" that is particularly interesting. The term

¹⁴⁰² The sole exception is an atypical double *agnomen* belonging to a slave of Messalina (CIL 6, 33767 = CIL 13, *00303 = CIL 14, *00292,1).

¹⁴⁰³ Augustus: CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023). Antonia the Younger: CIL 6, 04018. Drusus: CIL 6, 04180. There is no way of determining the precise identity of the former owner of any Drusiani other than by context; the inscription belonging to Livia's household appears to be early, probably around the time of Drusus the Elder's death, making him by far the most likely candidate.

¹⁴⁰⁴ CIL 6, 04501.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Drusus Caesar: CIL 6, 04337 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718). Nero Caesar: CIL 6, 04344 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01722).

¹⁴⁰⁶ Rawson 2005.

conlactaneus denotes the relationship between two children breastfed by the same woman,¹⁴⁰⁷ and as a result of the high rates at which wet-nurses were used, the relationship may have been fairly common.¹⁴⁰⁸ A *conlactaneus* of Nero is even named in Suetonius: Tuscus was made *procurator* of Egypt sometime after Nero's accession, indicating that their close relationship may have lasted into adulthood and thus led to Tuscus' advancement within the *familia Caesaris*.¹⁴⁰⁹

As for the identification of Drusus, son of Blandus, he must be a son of C. Rubellius Blandus and Livia Julia,¹⁴¹⁰ and thus the great-grandson of Antonia the Younger. In order for Communio to be the *verna* of Antonia the Younger, his mother would have to be her slave as well; the most probable scenario is that Communio's unnamed mother was assigned as Drusus' wet-nurse (*nutrix*), and that her son accompanied her into that household. The sharing of *nutrices*, as was probably the case for Communio and his mother, is fully to be expected due to the nature of the occupation. Provided that the *nutrix* in question was in fact a wet-nurse proper¹⁴¹¹ – that is to say, she breastfed her charges with her own milk – she would have had to have given birth recently and still be lactating. These biological conditions would severely restrict the

¹⁴⁰⁷ Caper Orth. 97.19, Juv. 6.307, August. Conf. 1.7.11. They are included in the *lex Aelia Sentia* among those who can be manumitted at a young age or by a young patron without restriction (Gai. Inst. 1.39.3, D.40.2.13.pr.1).

¹⁴⁰⁸ For a more extensive discussion of *conlactanei* in CIL 6, see Penner 2007, pp. 36-43.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Suet. Ner. 35.5. He was subsequently banished for bathing in a bath complex built specifically for Nero's usage. As discussed above (pp. 286-286), two of Nero's nurses – Alexandria and Egloge – were also known to Suetonius by name (Suet. Ner. 50), either one (or neither) could be Tuscus' mother.

¹⁴¹⁰ He is unlikely to be the ill-fated Rubellius Plautus, executed in 62 (Tac. Ann. 13.19, 14.22, 14.59-60); he is more likely a brother, perhaps the "Rubellius Blandus" whom Juvenal mocks for his pride in his Julian blood (8.39-43).

¹⁴¹¹ *Nutrix* occasionally receives the modifier *assa* (AIIRoma-05b, 00028, CIL 6, 29497 = D 08538, Valnerina p 196 = AE 1989, 00213 = AE 2003, +00560), indicating a dry-nurse whose work did not include breastfeeding.

potential candidates for the job, and if Soranus' guidelines for the appropriate choice of wet-nurse were taken into consideration as well,¹⁴¹² the choices might be narrowed even further. It is easy to imagine a situation in which the mistress of the house is pregnant, but none of the female slaves or freedwomen of either husband or wife are also pregnant. As the selection of a wet-nurse for an expected child would have a very strict deadline, they would be forced to look outside the boundaries of their own households for a suitable candidate, and the households of parents, siblings, or other relatives would be the obvious first place to look. For this particular example, there is a very narrow time window: Livia Julia and Rubellius Blandus married in 33,¹⁴¹³ and although the marriage ended with his death around 38, the presence of a slave of Antonia the Younger places the inscription prior to her death in May of 37.¹⁴¹⁴

However, while Rawson produces a few literary examples of the borrowing of slaves or freed slaves between relatives and close friends,¹⁴¹⁵ she neglects a number of

¹⁴¹² Sor. Gyn. 2.19-20. According to Soranus, a wet-nurse should be a healthy, somewhat larger woman between 20 and 40 years of age, who has already given birth two or three times and who has been lactating for two or three months, with medium-sized breasts and nipples and a moderate flow of milk, whose personality is self-controlled, sympathetic, calm, and tidy, and who is of Greek origin. Soranus then proceeds to list his reasoning behind each criterion.

¹⁴¹³ Tac. Ann. 6.32, Cass. Dio 58.21.1.

¹⁴¹⁴ Rawson (2005, p. 224) narrows the window further by arguing that the use of *Augusta* places the inscription after Caligula's accession and his almost-immediate conferral of that title on Antonia the Younger (Suet. Calig. 15.2, Cass. Dio 59.3.4), thus after 16 March 37. Inscriptions do not always strictly obey the rules of elite nomenclature; indeed, the usage of "*Antonia Augusta*" prior to her death at all may itself be evidence of this, as she rejected the title and refused to use it (Suet. Claud. 11.2), although it does appear elsewhere (CIL 6, 04487 = D 07882c, CIL 6, 08418, CIL 6, 08947 = D 01840 = AE 2000, +00132, CIL 6, 10360, CIL 6, 12037, CIL 8, 07075 = ILaIlg-02-01, 00783, CIL 10, 06804, CIL 14, 00581), in inscriptions which may or may not have been erected after her death. Cf. Kokkinos 2002, pp. 27-28.

¹⁴¹⁵ She references two similar occurrences in Cicero (Fam. 13.16.4, Att. 4.15.10) and one in Suetonius (Gram. 16), all relating to the borrowing of teachers, not wet-nurses, as in the inscription itself, or any other staff. There are certainly other examples of the borrowing of staff in Cicero (Q.Fr. 3.9; Fam. 16.21; Att. 4.4a, 4.5, 4.8, 7.4, 12.28, 12.30), as well as indications that the slaves and freed slaves of elite men of similar class frequently assisted their owners' and patrons' friends with their business as well (Fam. 6.20, 7.14, 11.12, 13.21); furthermore, the incident in Suetonius is also mentioned in Cic. Att. 12.33.

similar occurrences within the epigraphic material. The Julio-Claudian household is particularly rich in such connections, and childcare workers do indeed seem to be the most frequent candidates for sharing:

*Prima Augusti / et Augustae l(iberta) / nutrix Iuliae
Germanici filiae* (CIL 6, 04352)

Prima, freedwoman of Augustus [i.e., Tiberius] and Augusta, wet-nurse of Iulia, daughter of Germanicus.

*C(aius) Papius Asclepiades / Papia Erotis l(iberta) / Iulia
Iucunda nutrix / Drusi et Drusillae* (CIL 6, 05201 = D
01837)

C. Papius Asclepiades. Papia Erotis, freedwoman. Iulia Iucunda, wet-nurse of Drusus and Drusilla.

*Valeria Hilaria / nutrix / Octaviae Caesaris Augusti / hic
requiescit cum / Ti(berio) Claudio Fructo viro / suo
carissimo / Ti(berius) Claudius Primus et Ti(berius)
Claudius Aster / bene merentibus fecerunt* (CIL 6, 08943 =
D 01838 = AE 1992, +00092)

Valeria Hilaria, wet-nurse of Octavia, wife of Caesar Augustus (i.e., Nero), rests here with Ti. Claudius Fructus, her dearest husband. Ti. Claudius Primus and Ti. Claudius Aster made this for them, well-deserving.

*Pudens M(arci) Lepidi l(ibertus) grammaticus / procurator
eram Lepidae moresq(ue) regebam / dum vixi mansit
Caesaris illa nurus / philologus discipulus* (CIL 6, 09449 =
CIL 05, *00592 = CLE 00994 = D 01848 = AE 1999,
+00024)

Pudens, freedman of Marcus Lepidus, grammarian. I was the procurator of Lepida and I was in charge of her character. While I lived, she remained the daughter-in-law of Caesar. A scholar, a student.

*M(arcus) Livius / Augustae lib(ertus) / Prytanis / Liviae
Drusi paedag(ogus)* (CIL 6, 33787 = D 01828)

Marcus Livius Prytanis, freedman of Augusta, paedagogue of Livia, wife of Drusus [i.e., Livilla].

In the second example, the fact that Iulia Iucunda nursed two Julio-Claudian children, namely “Drusus” (presumably Drusus Caesar) and Drusilla, has several implications. First, the age difference between the siblings must be taken into consideration. Drusus Caesar was born in 7, while Drusilla was born in 16.¹⁴¹⁶ The nine-year gap must indicate multiple pregnancies for Iucunda, as well as her apparent success with Drusus Caesar. It may also suggest that the “*Iulia Germanici filia*” in the first inscription was not Drusilla, but rather one of her sisters, either Agrippina the Younger or Julia Livilla. Furthermore, the amount of space devoted to recording the names of Iucunda’s nurselings is in itself significant: the nursing of an elite infant was a status marker and thus worthy of inclusion in an inscription, regardless of how many years had passed in the interim.

The fourth inscription, containing the *paedagogus* of Aemilia Lepida, wife of Drusus Caesar, is particularly interesting for its snide addition. Aemilia Lepida committed suicide in 36, after being accused of adultery with a slave.¹⁴¹⁷ The clear knowledge of Lepida’s fate suggests that Pudens died before his charge – and indeed, probably before Drusus Caesar in 33 – but that the stone was only inscribed after Lepida’s death. Similarly, the third inscription can likely be dated to after 48, assuming that the absence of any status indicator for Valeria Hilaria was a deliberate choice. The commemorators were careful to indicate without any abbreviations that she was the wet-

¹⁴¹⁶ There has been some debate about the precise birth dates of Agrippina the Younger and Drusilla (Humphrey 1979, Lindsay 1995), but the assignment of Drusilla’s birth to 16 September 16 seems most likely to be correct.

¹⁴¹⁷ Tac. Ann. 6.40: *et Aemilia Lepida, quam iuveni Druso nuptam rettuli, crebris criminibus maritum insectata, quamquam intestabilis, tamen impunita agebat, dum superfuit pater Lepidus: post a delatoribus corripitur ob servum adulterum, nec dubitabatur de flagitio: ergo omissa defensione finem vitae sibi posuit.*

nurse of Claudia Octavia, wife of (Nero) Caesar Augustus, so clearly space was not at a premium. Her *nomen* is highly suspicious, particularly given the identity of her nurseling, so that she must be a freed slave of Valeria Messalina, Claudia Octavia's mother.

These inscriptions lead to an interesting question: at approximately what age did the children of the Roman elite transition from using their parents' slaves to owning their own slaves?¹⁴¹⁸ The usage of parents' slaves as nurses, paedagogues, and other childcare workers suggests that children did not necessarily own slaves who worked directly for them; nor should they, as the power differential between the elite child and a slave caregiver would be even more imbalanced if the child was also the owner,¹⁴¹⁹ whereas a parent's slave could mitigate this to a certain extent by appropriating the authority of the parental owner. In other words, should the child attempt to ignore the nurse's instructions due to the status difference between them, the nurse could rebut such refusals by citing orders from the child's parent, the ultimate authority for both the slave nurse and the minor child. Children whose parents died before they themselves reached adulthood would inherit their parents' slaves regardless of their age;¹⁴²⁰ for a large proportion of elite children, the inheritance of parental slaves may well have formed the

¹⁴¹⁸ I am most interested in the practical ownership of slaves rather than in the differing legal situations of children who are *in patria potestas* and children who are *sui iuris*, but the distinction requires acknowledgement nonetheless. Children, even adult children, who remained *in patria potestas* did not, in the strictest sense of the law, technically own their own slaves; they were instead a *peculium*, part of the father's property that was assigned for the child's use. However, the epigraphic sources suggest that such legal intricacies had little to do with the actual administration of a household.

¹⁴¹⁹ Joshel (1986, pp. 10-11, pp. 20-22) explores this dual, contradictory power differential at length.

¹⁴²⁰ The argument is applicable for both mothers and fathers, as mothers could be expected to name their children as heirs, although only in the case of a deceased father would the child become *sui iuris* and own the property free and clear.

basis for their slave *familiae*, due to the high likelihood of a parent dying during one's childhood.¹⁴²¹ If both parents survived until the child reached adulthood, the relevant ceremonies – for boys, the assumption of the *toga virilis*, and for girls, the first marriage – are the most likely candidates for the beginning of slave ownership: both of these would have taken place roughly between the ages of 14 and 17.¹⁴²²

Childcare workers were not the sole candidates for the sharing of slaves' or freed slaves' labour. *Accensi* were selected as assistants for magistrates from their own household or from relatives' households,¹⁴²³ likely because the position demanded a certain level of experience or training which was not readily available.¹⁴²⁴ An elderly civil servant, probably a slave of Tiberius, is commemorated specifically as “*decurio in conlego Augstaes*” (sic);¹⁴²⁵ he may have simply chosen to belong to the *collegium* administering the *Monumentum Liviae*, or he may have been assigned to that duty as part of his service. Other cases are more clear-cut, and probably reflect the need for a particular occupation in one individual's household without any appropriate candidates,

¹⁴²¹ Saller (1984, pp. 32-33) estimates the proportion of the senatorial class who had a living father at different ages; at age 5, about 85% would have had a living father, but this drops to 69% by age 10 and 55% by age 15, approximately the age at which senatorial women could expect to marry and senatorial men could expect to assume the *toga virilis*.

¹⁴²² Such a young age at first marriage was likely atypical of the Roman population as a whole, but is accurate for the elite population relevant here (Shaw 1987, p. 33), particularly given the ages at first marriage known for numerous Julio-Claudians.

¹⁴²³ CIL 6, 01963 = CIL 06, 05180 = D 01948 = AE 2001, +00110 (*accensus* of Germanicus, freedman of Augustus) and CIL 6, 01964 (*accensus* of Drusus, freedman of Livia). The identity of the latter is confusing: he must have been freed prior to 14, according to his *nomen*, and “Drusus” could refer to any of Drusus the Elder, Drusus the Younger, and Drusus Caesar, although the first two are more likely, as both served as consul, while Drusus Caesar did not.

¹⁴²⁴ During Cicero's time, the usual practice was to select from one's own freedmen (Q.Fr. 1.1.13; Verr. 2.2.69, 2.3.157), but both Cicero and his contemporaries seem to have appointed others as well, either the freedmen of another patron (Cic. Fam. 3.7.4) or otherwise free (Cic. Verr. 2.1.71). Cf. Jones 1949, p. 39, esp. n. 10; Millar 1977, pp. 67-69; Di Stefano Manzella 1991.

so that the search was extended to relatives' households as well: a possible freedman of Germanicus (or a slave of his freedman) appears as a masseur (*unctor*) to Tiberius Gemellus,¹⁴²⁶ and Claudius provided one of his freedman to manage the litter-bearers (*lecticarii*) belonging to – or, at least, most commonly used by – his son Britannicus.¹⁴²⁷ One additional inscription suggests that such differences in patron and employer may also be due to the preference for recording the most prominent occupation held, which need not necessarily be the latest one: one man describes his occupation as “*Liviae Aug(ustae) ser(vo) a potione*,” while giving his name as “*Ti(berius) Claud(ius) Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Gratio*.”¹⁴²⁸ He is quite clearly no longer a slave of Livia, nor will he have served as her *a potione* for well over a decade: the most likely scenario would have him serving in that position as a slave prior to her death, and then passing into Tiberius' household and remaining an Imperial slave until his manumission under Claudius.¹⁴²⁹ The job itself likely relates to monitoring Livia's beverages, perhaps as a food-taster or as a cup-bearer.¹⁴³⁰

Other workers appear with consecutive employers, generally slaves or freed slaves of the emperors themselves whose careers spanned multiple reigns. Such

¹⁴²⁵ AE 1990, 00068 (= CECapitol 00024). He appears in another inscription (CIL 6, 04022) within the *Monumentum Liviae* as well.

¹⁴²⁶ CIL 6, 09095. The inscription is both fragmentary and “poorly written” (*male descriptis*), according to CIL (p. 1304).

¹⁴²⁷ CIL 6, 08873 (= D 01750).

¹⁴²⁸ ILMN-01, 00640 (= CIL 06, *03046).

¹⁴²⁹ It is also possible that he was manumitted by Tiberius prior to his adoption in 4 C.E., but used the new titles of both his patron and his employer, calling them *Augustus* and *Augusta* respectively.

¹⁴³⁰ *A potione* appears in two other inscriptions (CIL 6, 01884 = D 01792 = AE 2001, +00169 = AE 2001, +00188 = AE 2002, +00109 and CIL 11, 04657), both belonging to the *familia Caesaris*: the former has a consular date of 130 C.E. and the Imperial freedman in question specifies that he served as *a potione* to Trajan, while the latter is highly fragmentary but probably dates from the first century C.E. based on the abbreviated status indicator *Aug(usti) l(ibertus)*.

situations would have been extremely common within the Imperial household, and particularly within the civil service, and the inscriptions of those workers occasionally specify their consecutive employers.¹⁴³¹ These occupations are frequently identical or closely related to one another, indicating that the reign of a new emperor was not necessarily an opportunity to completely overhaul the organization of the Imperial household.

Familial Connections

Overlap and contact between Julio-Claudian household was not strictly occupational. The hundreds or thousands of slaves and freed slaves who belonged to the Julio-Claudian dynasty developed personal relationships across household boundaries as well, erecting inscriptions with slaves or freed slaves of different masters and patrons, marrying individuals from other households, and maintaining relationships outside the immediate household.

While the immediate household might have constituted the basic social network for slaves and freed slaves, it certainly was not the absolute limit for their personal relationships. Frequent contact and even coresidence with other households belonging to close relatives of the owner or patron must have been common, and encouraged

¹⁴³¹ AE 1946, 00099 = AE 1946, +00173 (Claudius and Nero), AE 1984, 00664 = AE 2004, +00958 = AE 2004, 00969a (Augustus and Tiberius), AE 1985, 00183 (Augustus through Claudius), CIL 6, 08655a = CIL 14, 04120,3 = CIL 15, 07142 = ILMN-01, 00572 = D 01702 = AE 2006, +00034 (Tiberius and Caligula), CIL 6, 09047 = D 01810 (Claudius and Nero), CIL 6, 32775 = CIL 6, 33131 = D 02816 (Tiberius and Claudius), CIL 6, 41266 = AE 1960, 00026 = AE 1969/70, 00022 (Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius), CIL 10, 05188 (Claudius and Nero), CIL 14, 03644 = InscrIt-04-01, 00179 = D 01942 (Claudius and Nero), AE 1927, 00002 = Corinth-08-02, 00068 (Claudius and Nero), AE 1990, 00935 (Claudius and Nero, as well as Agrippina the Younger), AE 1941, 00105 = SupIt-02-TM, 00004 = AE 1945, +00024 = AE 1947, 00039 (Tiberius and Caligula, as well as Livia), CIL 6, 09015 = CIL 06, 29847a = D 08120 = AE 1991, 00074 = AE 2002, +00180 (Claudius and Nero).

relationships within the household itself as well as within the extended households. Over a third (34%) of married couples in which both partners were affiliated with the Julio-Claudians fell across household boundaries, so that the partners were the slaves or freed slaves of two different Julio-Claudians. Such relationships would inevitably produce children whose familial units were legally divided, although that was probably not the case on a day-to-day basis. If the mother was still a slave, the children would belong to her owner, with the result that children would frequently share their mother's household affiliation, but not necessarily their father's.¹⁴³² The epigraphic sources are limited in this regard, as children who retain their parents' Julio-Claudian connection are far less likely to appear in full nuclear units than children outside the *familia Caesaris*,¹⁴³³ perhaps because this continued affiliation also reflects stable family life within the household, regardless of status. Siblings generally share the same owner or patron, although there are exceptions where siblings appear with different, yet closely-related Julio-Claudians,¹⁴³⁴ which may suggest that siblings were moved between households when their labour was needed elsewhere. Indeed, family relationships were not the only relationships crossing household boundaries; relationships of shared slavery could do the same, and a third (33%) of individuals paired with *conservi* or *colliberti* have different owners or patrons.

¹⁴³² The only exception is AE 1975, 00289 (= SupIt-05-RI, 00016 = AE 1995, 00367), in which the father and son are the freedmen of Julia the Elder and the mother is a freedwoman of Livia after her adoption, which I have already discussed at length (pp. 189-192).

¹⁴³³ $p = 0.001$.

¹⁴³⁴ CIL 6, 09015 (= CIL 6, 29847a = D 08120 = AE 1991, 00074 = AE 2002, +00180): siblings, a freedwoman of Claudia Octavia and a Claudian or Neronian freedman. CIL 6, 04053 (= AE 1992, +00092): siblings, a freedman of Augustus and a freedman of Livia.

These permeable boundaries between households were far more likely to appear between individuals who were very closely related to one another:¹⁴³⁵ primarily between parents and children¹⁴³⁶ and married couples,¹⁴³⁷ although more distant pairings appear as well.¹⁴³⁸ This reflects the importance of proximity in encouraging slaves and freed slaves to develop relationships outside the boundaries of their immediate household. When two or more households are closely intertwined, to the point of sharing a physical space, members are far more likely to come into contact with one another and develop relationships with one another.

Household Variations: The Gendered Household

Epigraphic analyses such as this are significantly slowed by the necessity of creating a completely new database for each project, with categories and search fields

¹⁴³⁵ They also, of course, appeared between emperors, but many of these merely indicate the transfer of the entire *familia Caesaris* from an emperor to his successor(s) and the continuing involvement of freed slaves of a previous emperor. Augustus and Tiberius: CIL 6, 03956 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 08656, CIL 6, 08893, CIL 6, 19784, CIL 6, 20497. Tiberius and Caligula: CIL 6, 08655a (= CIL 14, 04120,3 = CIL 15, 07142 = ILMN-01, 00572 = D 01702 = AE 2006, +00034), CIL 6, 09061 (= CIL 05, *00429,069). Tiberius and Nero: CIL 6, 37752 (= AE 1910, 00071). *Agnomina* would appear far more frequently if they were always adopted by all surviving Imperial slaves upon the death of an emperor: there must have been a certain degree of personal choice involved in the use of an *agnomen*.

¹⁴³⁶ Antonia the Younger and Claudius: CIL 6, 14897. Antonia the Younger and Germanicus: CIL 6, 04451, CIL 6, 04487 (= D 07882c), CIL 6, 04562. Livia and Drusus the Elder: CIL 6, 03999. Livia and Tiberius: AE 1930, 00066 (= GLISStone 00014), CIL 6, 04173, CIL 6, 05200, CIL 6, 05357, CIL 6, 05436, CIL 6, 05745 (= D 05001), CIL 6, 08656. Marcella the Younger and Regillus: CIL 6.04422, CIL 6.04450. Step-children also appear: AE 1975.00289 = SupIt-05-RI, 00016 = AE 1995, 00367 (Livia and Julia the Elder), CIL 6, 04500 (Marcella the Younger and Lepidus), CIL 6, 05206 = D 01755 (Tiberius and Agrippina the Elder).

¹⁴³⁷ Augustus and Livia: CIL 6, 03942, CIL 6, 03970, CIL 6, 04016, CIL 6, 04053 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04154, CIL 6, 04199, CIL 6, 05263 (= CLE 00988), CIL 6, 08656, CIL 6, 20216 (= CIL 6, 34128a = AE 1995, 00107), CIL 6, 22970. Drusus the Younger and Livilla: CIL 6, 08711 (= D 07803). Claudius and Messalina: CIL 6, 25556.

¹⁴³⁸ Grandchildren: Livia appears with Drusus the Younger (CIL 6, 04234), Livilla (CIL 6, 20237 = D 08052), and Claudius (CIL 6, 40415 = Gordon 00091 = AE 1953, +00024 = AE 1980, 00057b & CIL 6, 40414 = Gordon 00090 = AE 1953, 00024 = AE 1980, 00057a). Other combinations: Caligula and Livia Julia (CIL 6, 04119), Antonia the Younger and Agrippina the Elder (CIL 6, 04387 = CIL 14, *00175), Antonia the Younger and one of the Marcellae (CIL 6, 04537), Tiberius and Livilla (CIL 6, 05226).

specifically designed to answer or explain relevant questions and expectations; the subsequent data entry process is generally slow, but it also has the potential to reveal unexpected patterns and trends. In this case, during the process of data entry, I noticed that medical workers in particular seemed to be connected with female owners and patrons. In order to determine whether there was in fact a statistical difference, I grouped the Julio-Claudians themselves according to their gender and compared the aggregate groups of slaves and freed slaves with male owners and patrons to those with female owners and patrons. I excluded those individuals whose master or patron was a slave or freed slave, as well as those who did not indicate a primary connection with the Julio-Claudians.¹⁴³⁹ While I had expected to find that the individual households complemented one another, so that none could function entirely independently of the others, I had not anticipated such a clear-cut division along gender lines. The composition of the Julio-Claudian households reveals considerable differences between male-owned and female-owned households, particularly with regard to gender ratios and occupational distributions. Differences in other areas were minimal, with virtually no difference in status distributions or in the types of relationships household members included in their inscriptions. There was no difference in status distributions, except that female-owned households were less likely to include staff members who were not their own slaves or freed slaves; when those differences were accounted for by comparing only the proportions of slaves and freed slaves through the exclusion of uncertain free or freeborn staff, there was no significant difference between male- and female-owned

¹⁴³⁹ This left a total of 1,568 names for analysis, of which 1,151 identified a male owner or patron and 417

households.¹⁴⁴⁰ There were no differences in the reporting of children, other family members, or servile relationships,¹⁴⁴¹ although rates of marriage were significantly different,¹⁴⁴² with 20% of male-owned household members reporting a spouse as compared to only 14% of female-owned household members; this difference is no doubt due to the extremely high rate of marriage among the slaves and freed slaves of the emperors themselves.¹⁴⁴³

Previous work has posited that female-owned households tended to contain more female slaves or freed slaves than did male-owned households,¹⁴⁴⁴ as have the individual household profiles for the Julio-Claudians in this sample. Indeed, a wider analysis of all the Julio-Claudian affiliations reveals that this is a broad trend. The gender ratios for female owners and patrons versus male owners and patrons show a significant difference in the composition of their households,¹⁴⁴⁵ as illustrated in Figure 60. The reason for the difference must relate in part to the differing occupational needs of a female-owned household: women, particularly elite women with public roles such as the Julio-Claudians, need more appearance workers and attendants, occupations more likely to be filled by women. Furthermore, it is possible that the development of a close relationship between a female owner and her slaves, which itself affected the likelihood of

identified a female owner or patron.

¹⁴⁴⁰ $p = 0.065$.

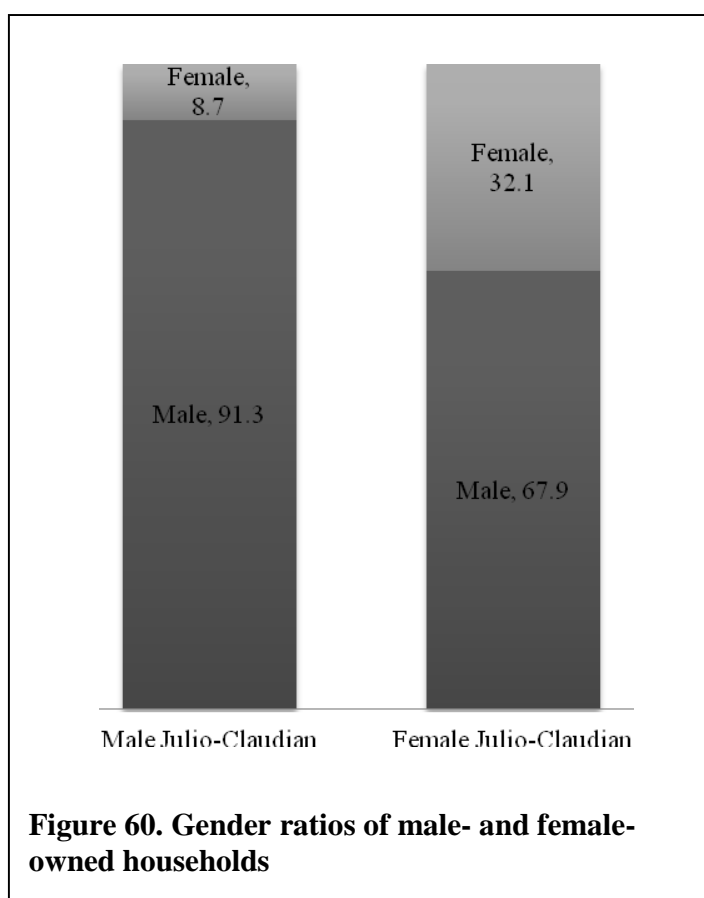
¹⁴⁴¹ Respectively $p = 0.154$, $p = 0.929$, and $p = 0.072$.

¹⁴⁴² $p = 0.005$.

¹⁴⁴³ Cf. p. 300.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Treggiari 1975b, p. 58. Chantraine (1980, p. 395) counted 142 women and 330 men among the slaves and freed slaves of Imperial women in the first two centuries C.E. and commented on the skewed ratio, but neglected to compare these numbers to the overwhelmingly male slaves and freed slaves of the Imperial men.

¹⁴⁴⁵ $p = 0.000$.



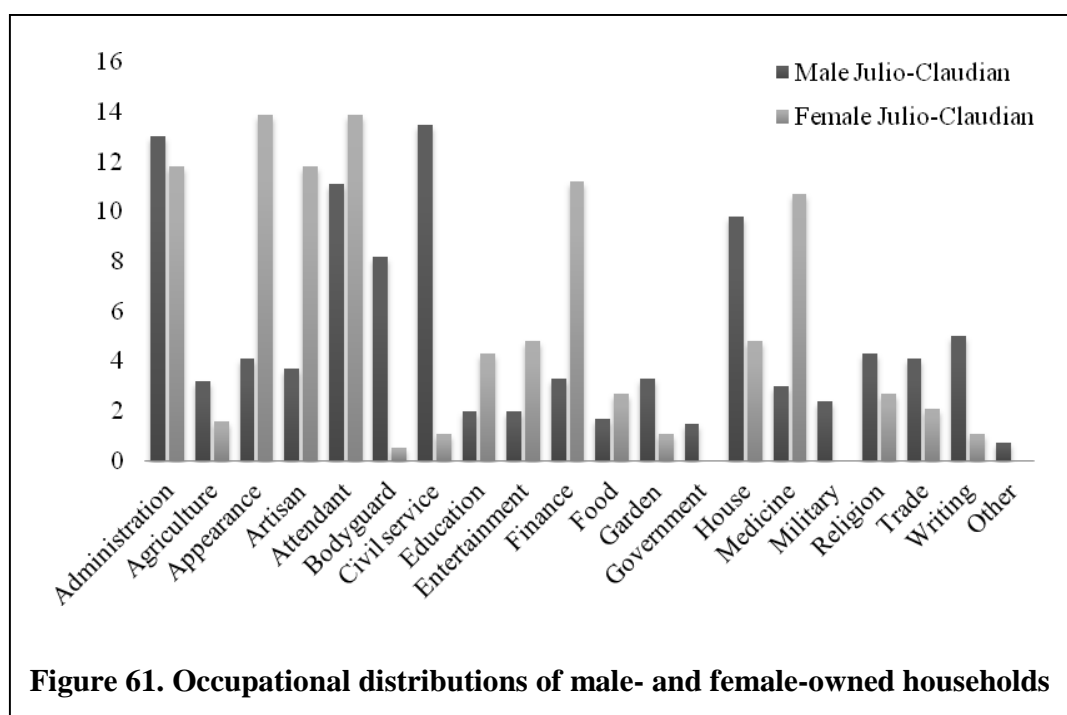
manumission and the desire to note that relationship in an inscription, was itself influenced by the gender of those slaves. Simply put, a female owner may have been more likely to develop closer relationships with her female slaves than she would with her male slaves, particularly given the number who would have had close contact with their owner during the performance

of their duties. These female slaves would then be more likely to receive manumission, and in turn, would be more likely to highlight their connection to a female owner or patron.

By far the most fascinating difference between male- and female-owned households relates to the occupations recorded for their slaves and freed slaves. The rates at which occupation is reported do not themselves differ significantly:¹⁴⁴⁶ 47% of individuals with male owners or patrons report their occupation, as compared to 45% of those with female owners or patrons. However, the specific types of occupations

¹⁴⁴⁶ p = 0.486.

reported do vary enormously between male- and female-owned households (Figure 61). Nearly all the occupational categories show a distinct slant toward male- or female-owned households. Overall, male-owned households have more bodyguards, civil servants, government workers, household staff, military personnel, and writing staff than do female-owned households. Conversely, female-owned households have more appearance workers, artisans, educators, entertainers, financial staff, and medical workers than do male-owned households. Why might such a clear difference exist?



The answer, I would argue, must lie in the composition of the Roman household and practicalities related to staffing it. In theory, the existence of any household should demand a certain occupational distribution. Food workers are essential, as are household staff, tradesmen, and administrators. For an elite household, particularly at the highest

echelon of society, to which the Julio-Claudians' households certainly belonged, additional categories are vital for the performance of public duties and for the appropriate level of social display, including bodyguards, appearance workers, personal attendants, entertainers and writing staff. The relative proportions of these categories, however, can vary considerably depending on the needs of a particular household and on the number of ostensibly independent households residing within a single physical *domus*.

Considering that certain occupations will have been necessary for any household, regardless of its owner, what factors contribute to the differing composition of males' household staff as compared to their female relatives' household staff? Necessity must play a major role. These are elite households at the highest level of Roman society, owned by and operated to meet the needs of high-ranking men and women, whose differing social roles result in vastly different staffing requirements. In certain cases, the differences are obvious. Recruitment for the nascent civil service focused on the emperors' own slaves and freed slaves, with only occasional supplementation from their relatives' households. Governmental and military positions were restricted to men, so that men's slaves and freedmen were more likely to work in those areas. By contrast, elite women's social position demanded greater attention to appearances, in terms of both their physical appearance and the social display inherent in the use of numerous attendants or those with particular characteristics. Similarly, childcare workers seem to have been selected first from among the mother's household, turning to the father's household only if a suitable candidate is not available. As the majority of childcare workers are female, and female-owned households contained more female staff compared

to male-owned households, the mother's household would be the logical place to start, because it would provide the largest immediate pool of candidates.

In other cases, the differences are not as obvious. Why would women have more artisans working for them, more financial staff administering their wealth, or more physicians tending to their household's needs? Why would men have more household staff to manage the physical building and its residents, or more writing staff to deal with correspondence and transcription? These are all occupations that would be necessary to the smooth running of an elite household: a male-owned household could not function without financial staff to manage money or physicians to tend the ill, nor could a female-owned household function without general household staff to clean the building and its contents and manage its day-to-day rhythms. The difference in medical workers cannot even be attributed to female-owned households' higher numbers of female staff, who might conceivably require the services of a midwife (*obstetrix*), as the gender difference encompasses physicians (*medici*) as well. The reason must be entirely pragmatic, and relies on the fact that Roman households very rarely existed in complete isolation. A single physical house did not necessarily contain a single household; in fact, most elite households would have contained several individual "households" running concurrently with one another, and whose staffs could therefore develop in complementary ways in order to avoid duplication and redundancy. Even if a house contained only a husband and a wife, each with independent personal households held separately but both contributing to the management of the same house, some modicum of labour division

would make perfect sense.¹⁴⁴⁷ Each partner contributes certain aspects of the labour force necessary for a complete, functional household, so that each can specialize in a few areas,¹⁴⁴⁸ enabling them to select and train more specialized staff and to organize those staff members more cohesively. The system would work even more effectively if the pattern of gender division was shared throughout the core of the Roman elite. That is to say, if it was widely understood and practiced among the elite that men provided household staff and women provided financial management, marriage would require minimal restructuring of the new joint household in order to make it function cohesively, and personnel would not need to be rearranged or reorganized extensively upon remarriage.¹⁴⁴⁹ The divisions can never have been absolute: at least some households would have experienced periods during which only one household existed under a single roof, and they would need a certain complement of staff in order to function properly, although this could easily be supplemented through the hiring of external labour. Given the Augustan marriage laws and the penalties placed on those who remained unmarried for an extended period of time in adulthood, however, the majority of elite households would have included multiple slave owners and thus multiple staffs whose actions and organization would need to be coordinated. The existence of general preference for male

¹⁴⁴⁷ Similarly, the *vilica's* duties, discussed above at pp. 52-53, extended to poultry, textile production, financial accounts, and medical care (Columella Rust. 12.1.5-6, 12.2.6, 12.2.1, 12.2.7-9). The inclusion of the last two duties is particularly interesting, given the similar labour division among the households of the Julio-Claudian women, and may hint at a wider pattern of household labour division.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Occupational specialization seems to have been common among elite households in fields other than those necessary for immediate household management (Penner 2012, p. 148); for instance, Livia's household contains a disproportionate number of artisans, particularly seamstresses (see above, p. 309), while the Statilii owned a considerable number of bodyguards.

heads of household to supply certain types of slaves while their female counterparts supplied others would ensure that any overlap would be minor, simplifying the joint functioning of multiple households and smoothing the initial integration of two separate households into one shared household.

Such an organizational system would be particularly effective for the Julio-Claudians due to their tendency toward endogamous marriage and their patterns of co-residence. It would not need to be coordinated centrally in any way, merely understood within the family that young women entering their first marriage should have a certain complement of staff among their personal slaves. The Julio-Claudians rarely seem to have held individual households separate from all of their relatives, Tiberius' insistence on separate establishments at Rhodes and in Rome notwithstanding,¹⁴⁵⁰ so that sharing of household staff and the development of a system for limiting duplication would be both logical and pragmatic.

Conclusions

Analyses of the individual households of the Julio-Claudians reveal their shared origins and common organizational strategies along with the ways in which individual household adapted to meet the needs of their elite owners. Due to family dynamics and purposeful executions and exiles, the emperor's own household tended to absorb the property of his family members over time, leading to increased homogeneity as illustrated by the gradual depersonalization of Imperial status indicators. While the

¹⁴⁴⁹ It is even possible that this was a larger elite trend and may explain why Cicero used Terentia's freedman Philotimus to manage his finances (Cic. Att. 6.4, 6.5, 6.9, 7.1, 7.3, 10.9, 10.15, 11.1, 11.24, 12.44).

¹⁴⁵⁰ Suet. Tib. 12.2, 15.1.

majority of the sample belonged to the Julio-Claudians emperors themselves, a considerable number of slaves and freed slaves are extant for the emperors' relatives. Comparisons of these two groups illustrate the impact that the demands that the emperors' public role placed on their households relative to the households of their family members, which can be taken to be more representative of the senatorial households within which the emperor's household originated. Most notably, the emperors tended to have more male staff, whose occupations were more likely to fall outside the necessary domestic spectrum due to the demand for assistance with Imperial duties.

Overall, the differences between individual Julio-Claudians' households were outweighed by the considerable degree of similarity between them, particularly in terms of interpersonal relationships and epigraphic habits. Even households with very few extant members named in the inscriptional evidence follow the general patterns of their larger counterparts, although the occupations that appear within those small households are more likely to involve a very close degree of personal contact between the worker and their Julio-Claudian owner or patron. Nor were these households entirely independent: instead, there was considerable contact between households at all levels, and the more closely related the heads of household were, the more frequently and the more closely their households came into contact with one another, even to the point of functioning jointly. Slaves were permanently transferred from one Julio-Claudian to another, either during their lives through gift or sale or after death through inheritance. The services of slave and freed workers were shared with relatives when they were needed, to minimize the duplication of skilled labour and to take advantage of trained workers; this was

particularly true when an occupation required a very specific set of skills or circumstances, as in the case of childcare workers and magisterial assistants. Even when slaves and freed slaves themselves remained within a single Julio-Claudian household, their social networks expanded to encompass the households of other, closely-related households. Spouses, parents, children, siblings, and even *conservi* and *colliberti* often crossed household boundaries, so that households became entwined throughout their hierarchy, beginning with their owners' relationships to one another and extended to the interpersonal relationships of their slaves and freed slaves.

Interestingly, the major differences between Julio-Claudian household largely fell along gender lines, depending on whether a household was owned by an elite man or an elite woman. As has been suggested, female-owned households did indeed have considerably more female slaves and freed slaves than did male-owned households. While it seems that elite households in general may have specialized in certain occupations while outsourcing others in order to maximize the use of resources, it also seems that the choice of specialist occupations may have been dictated by the gender of the household owner. This was most likely a deliberate strategy of household organization, one which was intended to avoid duplication and to simplify the integration of households upon marriage as well as the dissolution of a joint household upon divorce or widowhood.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

The initial purpose of this dissertation was to explore the epigraphic records of the slaves, freed slaves, and other workers affiliated with the Julio-Claudian emperors and their relatives, in conjunction with the literary references mentioning, however obliquely, the Imperial household during the Julio-Claudian period. Past studies have focused on the emperors' slaves and freed slaves alone, or on a few of the larger households, such as Livia's, attested in the epigraphic material. Separate analyses of these households are important, and indeed, formed a large part of Chapter Six. However, such analyses also partially remove these households from their full domestic context. Elite Roman households – particularly those belonging to the Julio-Claudians – did not exist in isolation, nor were they expected or required to function completely independently. One house did not equal one household, nor did one household equal one house. In order to further explore the resulting potential for similarities among household staff and overlap between households, I analysed the households together as a single unit, as well as individually, using rigorous statistical methodology which I have adapted for use with epigraphic data and which ensured valid, reliable conclusions based on actual differences between groups rather than superficial comparison of percentages.

The resulting overview of the structure, functioning, and development of the Imperial household – and its component households – during the Julio-Claudian period provides a glimpse into the evolution of Imperial slaves and freed slaves as a new social class, one with higher social status than their peers of equal legal status, and one which gradually formed its own relationship patterns and epigraphic habits. The Imperial household evolved from an elite household, like so many others belonging to senatorial

families in the late Republican period, only to expand its scope and its size exponentially over the course of a century. Occupations became highly specialized and increasingly hierarchical, and these were the most vital component of Imperial identity, accounting for their prominence in the epigraphic data. Through the inclusion of an occupational title, individuals gave themselves purpose, position, and status within the immensity of the Imperial household, and highlighted their proximity to power.

Such a large household formed the backbone of the social networks of Imperial slaves and freed slaves. It encompassed family units, sometimes over multiple generations, and served as a pool of potential spouses, particularly for women. It encouraged friendships and bonds formed through experiences of shared slavery, both within individual households as well as across their boundaries. It provided the opportunity for burial, both through the creation of relationships within which burial was expected and through the existence of Imperial *collegia* and *columbaria* to simplify the commemorative process.

As the Empire developed, so too did the Imperial household. It initially expanded from outside, incorporating slaves from other members of the elite and from foreign client kings, but as the Julio-Claudians themselves dwindled, their households contributed to the rapid expansion and increasing homogenization of the Imperial household. By the end of the Julio-Claudian period, the emperor's own household had consumed his relatives' previously-separate households, and was sufficiently large to be virtually self-replacing, through the production of *vernae* and, more importantly, through the inheritance of the households of Imperial freed slaves.

However, it is the differences between households – particularly households that are otherwise so similar – that are the most intriguing. In particular, households showed several marked differences according to the gender of their primary owner. Households owned by women tended to have considerably more slaves and freedwomen than did those owned by men. This has been hinted at in previous research, but my results prove that it was definitely the case for the Julio-Claudian households. Furthermore, the vast differences in occupational distribution suggest a general organizational system, one under which the male members of a household provide certain components of the staff, while the female members provide others. Both are necessary for a household to function at full capacity, but they are complementary, simplifying the integration of multiple households within a single house while preventing redundancy and duplication. Further research is clearly needed to explore these trends further and determine whether they applied to other elite families and to non-elite households as well.

The Julio-Claudians slowly created a new role for themselves within the Republican system, differentiating themselves from their senatorial peers in small but noticeable ways. The slaves, freed slaves, and staff of their households did the same, and this new social capital and collective identity appears most strongly in their funerary inscriptions. Their social status increased relative to their peers outside the Imperial household, which is reflected in their emphasis on status and their access to a wider pool of potential spouses. Their collective identity was strengthened by shared experiences of slavery and the resulting social networks and family ties, and is further emphasized through the importance placed on occupational information in their commemorative

habits. The Julio-Claudians ruled Rome for a century, but the social status and the collective identity formed by their slaves and freed slaves endured.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES

I have separated the elite and non-elite individuals named in this dissertation into two lists; I have included those named in the text as well as those who only appear in the family tree in Appendix B. For each individual, I have provided the most recent PIR number available, with the edition number indicated in superscript (PIR¹ or PIR²), as is conventional practice. I have listed the names by which the individuals are most commonly known in alphabetical order (excluding abbreviated *praenomina*).

Elite Individuals

Name	PIR number
Aelia Paetina	PIR ² A 0305
Aemilia Lepida Drusi	PIR ² A 0421
Aemilia Lepida Silani	PIR ² A 0419
L. Aemilius Paullus	PIR ² A 0391
M. Aemilius Lepidus (father of Aemilia Lepida)	PIR ² A 0369
M. Aemilius Lepidus (husband of Julia Drusilla)	PIR ² A 0371
Agrippa	PIR ¹ V 0457
Agrippa (son of Felix)	PIR ² A 0809
Agrippa of Judaea	PIR ² I 0131
Agrippa Postumus	PIR ² I 0214
Agrippina the Elder	PIR ¹ V 0463
Agrippina the Younger	PIR ² I 0641
Alexander Helios	PIR ² A 0495
Amyntas	PIR ² A 0572
Ancharia	n/a
Antistia Politta	PIR ² A 0778
Antonia the Elder	PIR ² A 0884
Antonia the Younger	PIR ² A 0885
Antoninus Pius	PIR ² A 1513
L. Antonius	PIR ² A 0802
Antyllus	n/a

Name	PIR number
C. Appius Junius Silanus	PIR ² I 0822
Appuleia Varilla	PIR ² A 0968
Sex. Appuleius (I)	PIR ² A 0960
Sex. Appuleius (II)	PIR ² A 0961
Sex. Appuleius (III)	PIR ² A 0962
Artabanus	PIR ² A 1155
Asinia Agrippina	PIR ² A 1256
M. Asinius Agrippa	PIR ² A 1223
Ser. Asinius Celer	PIR ² A 1225
C. Asinius Gallus	PIR ² A 1229
Asinius Gallus	PIR ² A 1228
C. Asinius Pollio	PIR ² A 1242
Asinius Saloninus	PIR ² A 1252
Atia	n/a
Attalus	n/a
Augustus	PIR ² I 0215
Avilius Flaccus	PIR ² A 1414
Britannicus	PIR ² C 0820
Burrus	PIR ² A 0441
Caecilia Attica / Pomponia Attica	PIR ² P 0769
Caius Caesar (son of Agrippa and Julia the Elder)	PIR ² I 0216
Caius Caesar (son of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder)	PIR ² I 0218
Caligula	PIR ² I 0217
Calvia Crispinilla	PIR ² C 0363
C. Cassius Longinus	PIR ² C 0501
L. Cassius Longinus	PIR ² C 0502
Caracalla	PIR ² S 0446
Claudia	PIR ² C 1060
Claudia Antonia	PIR ² A 0886
Claudia Augusta	PIR ² C 1061
Claudia Octavia	PIR ² C 1110
Claudia Pulchra	PIR ² C 1116
Claudius	PIR ² C 0942
C. Claudius Marcellus	n/a
Cleopatra Selene	PIR ² C 1148
Commodus	PIR ² C 0606
Cornelia	PIR ² C 1475

Name	PIR number
Cornelia Orestina / Livia Orestilla	PIR ² C 1492
Cn. Dolabella	PIR ² C 1347
Domitia	PIR ² D 0171
Domitia Lepida	PIR ² D 0180
Domitian	PIR ² F 0259
Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus	PIR ² D 0127
L. Domitius Ahenobarbus	PIR ² D 0128
Drusilla of Judaea	PIR ² D 0195
Drusilla of Mauretania	PIR ² D 0196
Drusus (son of Claudius)	PIR ² C 0856
Drusus Caesar	PIR ² I 0220
Drusus the Elder	PIR ² C 0857
Drusus the Younger	PIR ² I 0219
Fabia Numantina	PIR ² F 0078
Faustina the Younger	PIR ² A 0716
Faustus Cornelius Sulla	PIR ² C 1459
Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix	PIR ² C 1464
Flavia Domitilla	PIR ² F 0416
Galba	PIR ² S 1003
Germanicus	PIR ² I 0221
Germanicus Gemellus	PIR ² I 0224
Gordian (I)	PIR ² A 0833
Gordian (II)	PIR ² A 0834
Gordian (III)	PIR ² A 0835
Hadrian	PIR ² A 0184
Herod	PIR ² H 0153
Iullus Antonius	PIR ² A 0800
Juba	PIR ² I 0065
Julia Domna	PIR ² I 0663
Julia Drusilla (daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder)	PIR ² I 0664
Julia Drusilla (daughter of Caligula and Milonia Caesonia)	PIR ² I 0665
Julia Livilla	PIR ² I 0674
Julia the Elder	PIR ² I 0634
Julia the Younger	PIR ² I 0635
Junia Calvina	PIR ² I 0856
Junia Claudilla	PIR ² I 0857
Junia Lepida	PIR ² I 0861

Name	PIR number
Junia Silana	PIR ² I 0864
Junia Torquata	PIR ² I 0866
C. Junius Silanus	PIR ² I 0825
D. Junius Silanus	PIR ² I 0826
L. Junius Silanus	PIR ² I 0829
M. Junius Silanus	PIR ² I 0832
D. Junius Silanus Torquatus	PIR ² I 0837
L. Junius Silanus Torquatus	PIR ² I 0838
M. Junius Silanus Torquatus	PIR ² I 0839
M. Junius Silanus Torquatus (II)	PIR ² I 0833
Livia	PIR ² L 0301
Livia Julia	PIR ² I 0636
Livia Medullina	PIR ² L 0304
Livilla	PIR ² L 0303
Lollia Paulina	PIR ² L 0328
Lucius Caesar	PIR ² I 0222
Lucius Verus	PIR ² C 0605
Maecenas	PIR ² M 0037
Marcella the Elder	PIR ² C 1102
Marcella the Younger	PIR ² C 1103
Marcellus	PIR ² C 0925
Marcellus Aeserninus	PIR ² C 0928
Marcus Aurelius	PIR ² A 0697
Mark Antony	n/a
Maximinus Thrax	PIR ² I 0619
Messalina	PIR ¹ V 0161
Milonia Caesonia	PIR ² M 0590
Nero	PIR ² D 0129
Nero Caesar	PIR ² I 0223
Octavia the Elder	PIR ² O 0065
Octavia the Younger	PIR ² O 0066
C. Octavius	n/a
Ser. Octavius Laenas	PIR ² O 0046
Otho	PIR ² S 0143
Ovid	PIR ² O 0180
Passienus Crispus	PIR ² P 0146
Paullus Aemilius Lepidus	PIR ² A 0373
Philip the Arab	PIR ² I 0461

Name	PIR number
Plautia Urgulanilla	PIR ² P 0488
Pompeia	PIR ² P 0678
Cn, Pompeius Magnus	PIR ² P 0630
Poppaea Sabina	PIR ² P 0850
Ptolemaeus	PIR ² P 1025
Ptolemy Philadelphus	PIR ² P 1033
Quintilius Varus (I)	PIR ² Q 0030
Quintilius Varus (II)	PIR ² Q 0029
Regillus	PIR ² A 0396
Rubellia Bassa	PIR ² R 0116
C. Rubellius Blandus	PIR ² R 0111
Rubellius Drusus	PIR ² R 0112
Rubellius Plautus	PIR ² R 0115
Rufrius Crispinus (I)	PIR ² R 0169
Rufrius Crispinus (II)	PIR ² R 0170
Scribonia	PIR ² S 0274
Sejanus	PIR ² A 0255
Seneca the Younger	PIR ² A 0617
Septimius Severus	PIR ² S 0487
Statilia Messalina	PIR ² S 0866
T. Statilius Taurus	PIR ² S 0853
T. Statilius Taurus (II)	PIR ² S 0856
Tiberius	PIR ² C 0941
Tiberius Caesar (son of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder)	PIR ² I 0225
Tiberius Gemellus	PIR ² I 0226
Titus	PIR ² F 0399
Trajan	PIR ¹ V 0575
M. Valerius Messala Barbatus	PIR ¹ V 0088
M. Valerius Messala Barbatus Appianus	PIR ¹ V 0089
M. Valerius Messalinus Corvinus	PIR ¹ V 0090
M. Vinicius	PIR ¹ V 0445
Vedius Pollio	PIR ¹ V 0213
Vergil	PIR ¹ V 0279
Vespasian	PIR ² F 0398
Vibidia	PIR ¹ V 0374
Vipsania	PIR ¹ V 0462
Vitellius	PIR ¹ V 0499
Vitrasius Pollio	PIR ¹ V 0523

Non-Elite Individuals

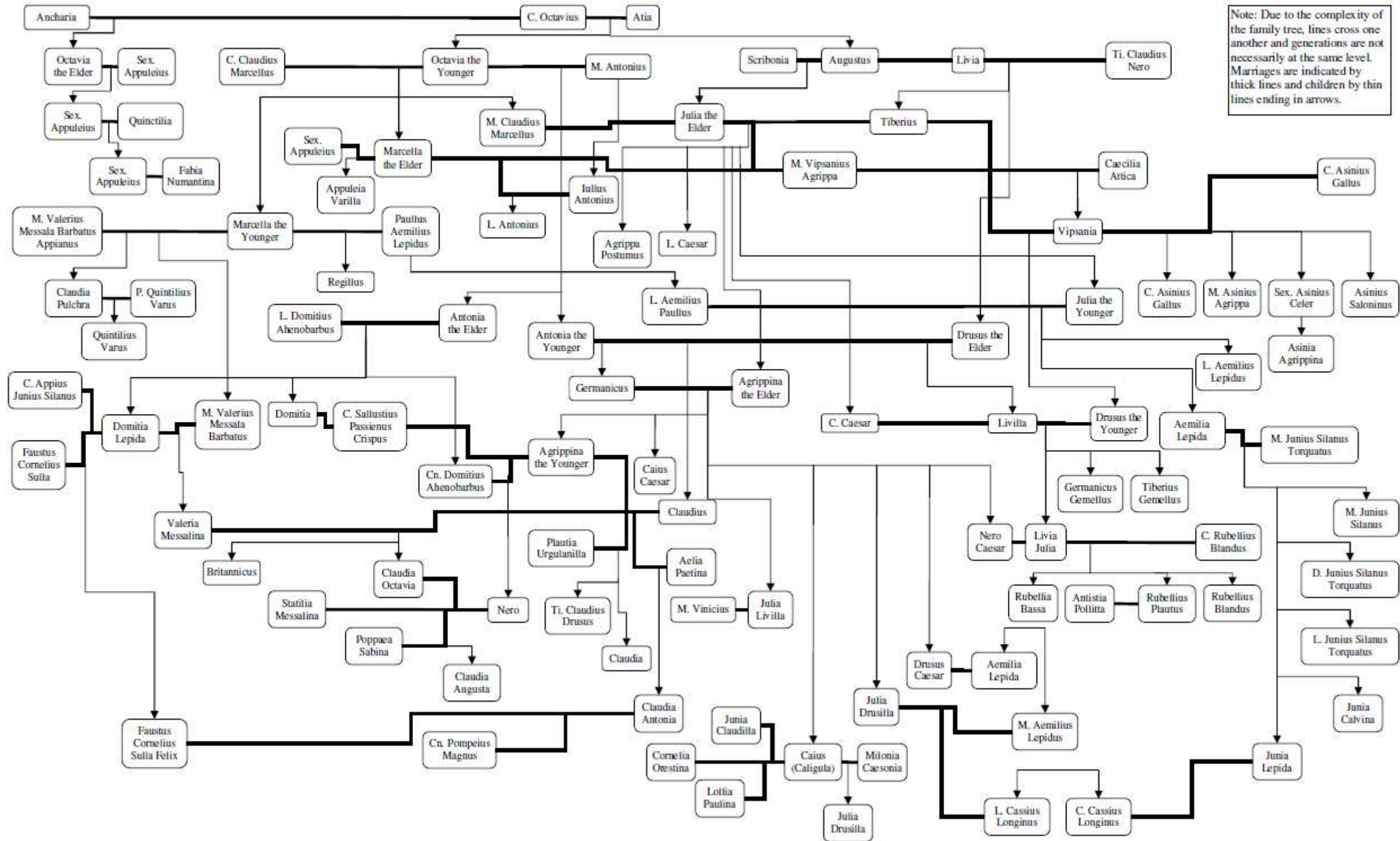
Name	PIR number
Acme	PIR ² A 0092
Acratus	PIR ² A 0095
Actius	PIR ² A 0096
Aedemon	PIR ² A 0112
Aegialis	PIR ² A 0117
C. Aemilius	PIR ² A 0322
Agerinus	PIR ² A 0456
Alexander Lysimachus	PIR ² A 0510
Alexandria	PIR ² A 0511
Amphaeus	PIR ² A 0567
Andromeda	PIR ² A 0588
Anicetus	PIR ² A 0589
Antonia Caenis	PIR ² A 0888
Antonius Musa	PIR ² A 0853
Artorius	n/a
Atimetus	PIR ² A 1314
Balbillus	PIR ² B 0038
Beryllus	PIR ² B 0111
Boter	PIR ² B 0147
Q. Caecilius Epirota	PIR ² C 0042
Caecina Tuscus	PIR ² C 0109
Callistus	PIR ² I 0229
Calpurnia	PIR ² C 0324
Celadus	PIR ² C 0616
Charicles	PIR ² C 0710
Claudia Acte	PIR ² C 1067
Claudius Etruscus	PIR ² C 0860
Claudius Senecio	PIR ² C 1016
Clemens	PIR ¹ C 0885
Cleonicus	PIR ² C 1145
Cleopatra, mistress of Claudius	PIR ² C 1146
Coenus	PIR ² C 1254
Conopas	PIR ² C 1277
Cosmus	PIR ² C 1532
L. Crassicius Pansa / L. Crassicius Pasicles	PIR ² C 1558
Crescens	PIR ² C 1576
Didymus	PIR ² D 0083

Name	PIR number
Diomedes	PIR ² D 0099
L. Domitius Paris	PIR ² D 0156
Doryphorus	PIR ² D 0194
Egloge	PIR ² E 0011
Eleazar	PIR ² E 0050
Epaphroditus, freedman of Augustus	PIR ² E 0068
Epaphroditus, freedman of Nero	PIR ² E 0069
Eucaerus	PIR ² E 0107
Eudemus	PIR ² E 0108
Euphorbus	PIR ² E 0119
Euphronius	PIR ² E 0123
Evodus	PIR ² E 0114
Evodus, freedman of Claudius	PIR ² E 0115
Felicio	PIR ² F 0138
Felix	PIR ² A 0828
Florus	PIR ¹ F 0304
Graptus	PIR ² I 0347
Halotus	PIR ² H 0011
Harpaste	PIR ² H 0015
Harpocras	PIR ² H 0016
Helicon	PIR ² H 0049
Helius	PIR ² H 0055
Hiberus	PIR ² H 0168
Hilario	PIR ² H 0177
Hipparchus	PIR ² A 0838
Homillus	PIR ² H 0191
Hyginus	PIR ² I 0357
Licinus	PIR ² I 0381
Locusta	PIR ² L 0414
Lygdus	PIR ² L 0465
Marathus	PIR ² I 0402
Menecrates	PIR ² M 0493
Mnester, freedman of Agrippina the Younger	PIR ² M 0647
Mnester, pantomime	PIR ² M 0646
Modestus	PIR ² I 0432
Myron	PIR ² M 0769
Narcissus	PIR ² N 0023
Neophytus	PIR ² N 0039

Name	PIR number
Nomius	PIR ² N 0110
Nymphidia	PIR ² N 0251
Nymphidius Sabinus	PIR ² N 0250
Optatus Pontianus	PIR ² I 0443
L. Orbilius Pupillus	PIR ² O 0131
Paetinus	PIR ² P 0056
Pallas	PIR ² A 0858
Parthenius	PIR ² C 0951a
Patrobius	PIR ² P 0161
Pelago	PIR ² I 0455
Phaedrus	PIR ² P 0338
Phaon	PIR ² P 0340
Pharius	n/a
Pheronactus	PIR ² P 0346
Philositus	PIR ² P 0380
Phoebe	PIR ² P 0390
Phoebus	PIR ² P 0392
Polydeuces	PIR ² P 0562
Polus	PIR ² P 0553
Polybius, freedman of Augustus	PIR ² I 0475
Polybius, freedman of Claudius	PIR ² P 0558
Polyclitus	PIR ² P 0561
Posides	PIR ² P 0878
Protogenes	PIR ² P 1017
Ptolemaeus, astrologer of Poppaea Sabina	PIR ¹ P 0766
Pyrallis	PIR ² P 1100
Pythagoras	PIR ² P 1107
Pythias	PIR ² P 1108
Rhodion	n/a
Rotundus Drusillianus	PIR ² R 0104
Sabinus	PIR ² S 0038
Sarmentus	PIR ² S 0190
Scribonius Aphrodisius	PIR ¹ S 0207
Scribonius Largus	PIR ² S 0263
Sosibius	PIR ¹ S 0552
Sphaerus	n/a
Sporus	PIR ² S 0805
Stephanio	PIR ² S 0896

Name	PIR number
Stephanus	PIR ² S 0897
C. Stertinius Xenophon	PIR ² S 0913
Studiosus	PIR ² S 0930
Thalamus	PIR ² T 0143
Thallus	PIR ² T 0145
Thaumastus	PIR ² T 0152
Theodotus	n/a
Thrasyllus	PIR ² T 0190
Thyrus	PIR ² T 0196
Tigellinus	PIR ² O 0091
Toranius Flaccus	PIR ² T 0291
Vatinius	PIR ¹ V 0208
M. Verrius Flaccus	PIR ¹ V 0287

APPENDIX B: JULIO-CLAUDIAN FAMILY TREE



APPENDIX C: COLLEGIA INSCRIPTIONS

CIL 10, 06638 = InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = Gummerus-01, 00223 = ZPE-132-312 = AE 2000, +00055 (Antium)

*]bus m[// [Ti(berio) Caesare Aug(usto) co(n)s(ule)] / [3] II / [3]s II / [3]s Lycorei
f(iilius?) / [3] II / [3] II / [3] II / [3] II / [3] II / [3] II / [3] II / [Camillo Arruntio Cn(aeo)
Domit]io co(n)s(ulibus) / [//] topiar[ius] / [3] librari[us] / [3]s topiarius / [3] topiarius
/ [3 dis]pensator pro / [m]agistrat[u] / [p]osuit V[3] / [3]us [//]N / [3] in hunc /
[annum allec]tus ut esset II dec(urio) / [Cn(aeo) Acerro]nio C(aio) Pontio co(n)s(ulibus)
/ [3]II a supellectile / [3] atriensis / [3]cnius atriensis / [3]x atriensis / [pro mag(istro)]
ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) allec(tus) HS |(mille) atri(ensis) / [3]aeus top(iarius) /
[Hy]mnus pedis(se)q(uus) Delp(ianus) / [3]irtus l(ibertus) a by(bliotheca) // M(arco)
Aq(u)ila I[uliano] / P(ublio) Nonio Aspren[ate co(n)s(ulibus)] / Epaphroditus
Chr[est(ianus)] / Eros glutina(tor) / Aphrodisius glutinat(or) / Dorus atr(iensis) / C(aio)
Caesare Aug(usto) Germanico / L(ucio) Apronio Caesiano co(n)[s(ulibus)] / Anthus
top(iarius) II / Tiro atr(i)e(n)s(is) / [3]s t[op(iarius)] / Onesimus medic(us) /
Epaphroditus Chrest(ianus) II / Epaphroditus Tertian(us) / pro magi(stratu) ex d(ecreto)
d(ecurionum) HS |(mille)DC / Speratus liber(tus) marg(aritarius) / [C(aio)] Caesare
Aug(usto) Ge[rm(anico) co(n)s(ule)] / Delphus procu[rat(or) //] / [Fe]lix [C]aesar(is) /
mentor / [ex] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) pro mag(istratu) HS |(mille)DC / [Ti(berius)
Cl]audius Nessus II / [Ti(berius) Cla]udius Hermes / [3]a[3]hus atri[a]ri(us) / [3]igus
Sextioninus / [ex] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) pro mag(istratu) HS |(mille)DC / Primus
subvil(icus) / Attalus Fulvian(us) tect(or) / [Ti(berio)] Claudio Caesare Aug(usto) /
[C(aio)] Caecina Largo co(n)s(ulibus) / [3] polit(or) / Eucratus top(iarius) / [Stabi]lio
atr(iensis) / [3]nthus top(iarius) / Salvius polit(or) / Ingen[us to]p(iarius) / Ti(berio)
Claudio Caesare Aug(usto) co(n)s(ulibus) / L(ucio) Vitellio II / Zelus Aug(usti) lin[t(io)] /
Claud(ius) Atimetus a byb(liotheca) / Lysimachus aedit(uus) vern(a) Ant(iatinus) /
Princeps tabella(rius) / Tantalus top(iarius) / T(ito) Statilio Tauro P(ublio) Po[mpon]io
Secu(n)do co(n)s(ulibus) / Trypho atr(iensis) II / Philetus aeditu(us) Fortunarum [II] /
Chresimus a byb(liotheca) I / Felix camp(sarius) / [A]gathopus tec(tor) I / Venustus
spec(lariarius) I / Antipater Aug(usti) l(ibertus) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) HS |(mille) //]
/ Ti(berius) Iulius Grapti f(iilius) Nata[lis] / Ti(berius) Claudius Romanus / Bathyllus
ver(na) Capr(ensis) a bybl(iotheca) / Primus Hilarian(us) a supell(ectile) / Argaeus
<u=Y>ber(nator) Censorin(ianus) / Secundus tec(tor) Euporian(us) / Zora atr(iensis) /
Sepunius Clarus ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) HS |(mille)|(mille) / Q(uinto) Veranio / A(ulo)
Pompeio Gallo co(n)s(ulibus) / Helius atr(iensis) / Herm[es l]apid(arius) / Ti(berius)
[Claud(ius) C]hrysao(n) / Phil[ippus] pavimen(tarius) / Saturninus sphaer(ista) / Gora
atr(i)en(sis) / C(aius!) Antistius(!) Vetus(!) / M(arco) Suillio Nerullino co(n)s(ulibus) /
Myro Aug(usti) l(ibertus) pictor / Felix Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Tuscul(anus) / Anteros
tegul(arius) / Euphemus [P]allan(tianus) dispen(sator) / Ianuarius pi[c]tor / Apollonius
atr(iensis) / Ti(berio) Claudio Augusto V / Ser(vio) Cornelio Orphito co(n)s(ulibus) /
Nymphius Delpian(us) subvil(icus) / Aga[t]hopus On[esi]m(ianus) medic(us) / [3]us
top(iarius) / [3]ius Alia(nus?) a Corin(this) / [Venustus s]peclar(iarius) II / [3] divae
Augustae l(ibertus) med(icus) / [3]us Favon(ianus) ther(marius) // F] K(alendae) Iul(iae)*

n(efastus) Felicit(ati) in Cap[it]o(lio) / [G] VI n(efastus) / [H] V n(efastus) / [A] IV n(efas) p(iaculum) [Ara P]acis August(ae) / [c]ostitut(a) / [B] III P[op(lifugia)] / [C] pr(idie) n(efastus) ludi Apollini / comm(ittuntur) HS CCCXXC(milibus) / [D] Non(ae) n(efastus) ludi / [E] VIII n(efastus) ludi / [F] VII n(efastus) ludi / [G] VI c(omitialis) ludi / [H] V c(omitialis) ludi / [A] III n(efas) p(iaculum) ludi divi Iul(i) / natalis / [B] III c(omitialis) in Circo / [C] pr(idie) c(omitialis) / [D] Eid(us) n(efas) p(iaculum) mercatus dies V / [E] XVII f(astus) / [F] XVI c(omitialis) / [G X]V c(omitialis) dies Allia[e et] Fab(iorum) // E K(alendae) Aug(ustae) n(efas) p(iaculum) Ti(beri) Clau[di Caesaris] Aug(usti) nat(alis)] / Spei Aug(ustus) Alexan(driam) / recepit / F III n(efas) p(iaculum) divus Iul(ius) Hisp(ania) vic(it) / G III c(omitialis) Ti(berius) Aug(ustus) I<l=N>lyrico vic(it) / H pr(idie) c(omitialis) / A Non(ae) n(efas) p(iaculum) Saluti in colle / B VIII n(efas) p(iaculum) / C VII c(omitialis) / D VI c(omitialis) / E V n(efas) p(iaculum) divus Iul(ius) Phars(ali) / vicit / F IV n(efas) p(iaculum) feriae Cereri / et Opi Aug(ustae) / G III c(omitialis) / H pr(idie) c(omitialis) / A Eid(us) n(efas) p(iaculum) Dianae in Aventino / B XIX f(astus) August(us) triumph(avit) / C XIIX c(omitialis) / D XVII c(omitialis) / E XVI Portunalia n(efas) p(iaculum) fer(iae) Portun(o) / F XV c(omitialis) aedis divi Iul(i) ded(icata) / G XIV Vin(alia) f(astus) Augustus excess(it) / H XIII c(omitialis) infer(iae) L(uci) Caesaris // D [K(alendae) Sep(tembres)] f(astus) feriae Iovi / E IV n(efastus) [Aug(ustus) ad Ac]ti[um vic(it)] / F III n(efas) p(iaculum) / G pr(idie) c(omitialis) [ludi Roman(i)] comm(ittuntur) / HS DCCLX(milibus) / H Non(ae) f(astus) ludi / A VIII f(astus) [l]udi / B VII c(omitialis) [ludi] / C VI c(omitialis) lu[di] / D V c(omitialis) lu[di] / E III c(omitialis) lu[di] / F III c(omitialis) lud[i] / G pr(idie) c(omitialis) lud[i] / H Id(us) n(efas) p(iaculum) epuli i[ndictio] / A XIIX f(astus) infer(iae) Dr[usi Caesaris] / equor(um) [prob(atio)] / B XVII c(omitialis) in circ[o] / C XVI c(omitialis) in cir[co] / D XV n(efas) p(iaculum) in circ[o Aug(usto) hon(ores)] / cael(estes) d[ecreti] // [B K(alendae) Oct(obres) n(efastus)] / [C VI f(astus)] / [D V c(omitialis) ludi August(ales) comm(ittuntur)] / HS X(milibus) / [E III c(omitialis) ludi] / F [III c(omitialis)] ludi / G pr(idie) n(efastus) ludi / H Non(ae) f(astus) ludi / A VIII c(omitialis) ludi / [B] VII c(omitialis) ludi Aug(ustus) aed(em) Apol(linis) / dedicavit / [C VI c(omitialis)] infer(iae) Germanic(i) / [D V Med(itrinalia) n(efas) p(iaculum)] / [E III] Aug(ustalia) n(efas) p(iaculum) [i]n circo / [G pr(idie)] f(astus) / [H Eid(us)] n(efas) p(iaculum) / [A XVII] f(astus) vernar(um) dies fest[us] / [B XV]I c(omitialis) / [C X]V c(omitialis) / [D XIII] ar(milustrium) n(efas) p(iaculum) divus Aug(ustus) tog(am) / [v]irilem sum(psit) / A K(alendae) Nov(embres) f(astus) in circo / B III f(astus) / C III c(omitialis) / D pr(idie) c(omitialis) lud(i) pleb(ei) com(mittuntur) HS DC(milibus) / E Non(ae) f(astus) ludi / F VIII f(astus) ludi Agripp(inae) Iul(iae) nat(alis) / G VII [c(omitialis)] ludi / H V[I] c(omitialis) ludi / A V c(omitialis) ludi / B III c(omitialis) ludi / C III c(omitialis) ludi / D pr(idie) c(omitialis) ludi / E Id(us) n(efas) p(iaculum) epulum indicitur / F XIIX f(astus) equor(um) prob(atio) / G XVII c(omitialis) in circ(o) / H XVI c(omitialis) in circ(o) Ti(beri) Aug(usti) natal(is) / A XV c(omitialis) in circ(o) Sol in Sagitt(ario) / B XIV c(omitialis) mercatus / G K(alendae) Dec(embres) n(efastus) / H IV n(efastus) / A III n(efastus) / B pr(idie) f(astus) / C Non(ae) f(astus) / D VIII f(astus) / E VII c(omitialis) / F VI c(omitialis) / G V c(omitialis) / H IV c(omitialis) / A III ag(onalia) n(efas) p(iaculum) / B pr(idie) [f(astus)] / C Id(us) n(efas) p(iaculum) Tel[luri et Cereri] / D XIX f(astus) / E XIIX con[s(ualia) n(efas) p(iaculum)] / F XVII [c(omitialis)]

CIL 06, 08639 (p 3461) = CIL 10, 06637 = InscrIt-13-01, 00032 = GLISwedish 00149 = AE 1997, +00102 = AE 2002, 00309 = AE 2003, +00298 (Antium)

]s Acratus numm(is) / [3]rus tegularius numm(is) / [3]ros structor numm(is) / [3]s Metrodas numm(is) / [A(ulo) Vitellio L(ucio)] Vipstano Poplicola co(n)s(ulibus) / [Ti(berius) Cla]judius Amarantus / [Ti(berius) Cla]judius Epaphroditus / [3]ctus vilicus / [[6]] [Q(uito) Veranio] C(aio) Pompeio Gallo co(n)s(ulibus) / [3] topiar(ius) / [3] aedit(uus) / [3] Amarantus / [3] Lini praef(ectus) / [C(aio) Antistio Ve]tere M(arco) Suillio Nerulino co(n)s(ulibus) / [3]us disp(ensator) / [3]nus disp(ensator) / [3] Cosmus / [3] Cautus / [Ti(berio) Claudio Aug(usto) V Ser(vio) Cornelio Orphito] co(n)s(ulibus) / [//] / Ti(berius) Claudius Daphnu[s] / [[6]] / Euphemus atr(i)en[is] / Claudia Faust[na] / Aetoria Phlogi[s] / Claudia Hellas numm(is) / C(aio) Luccio Telesino C(aio) Suetonio [Paullino co(n)s(ulibus)] / Pannychus / Sita a valetudin[ario] / A(ulus) Caicilius Atisci[3] / Claudia Corin[thia] / [[6]] / L(ucio) Iulio Rufo [co(n)s(ule)] / Claudia Tyche / Ti(berius) Claudius Q(uinti) Ponti [praef(ectus)] / Antonius Faustu[s] / Albanus vilic[us] / P(ublio) Galerio Trachalo [co(n)s(ule)] / Antonia Musa / Claudia Zosime / Iulia Secunda numm(is) / [S]ulpicio Galba II T(ito) Vinio [Rufino(?) co(n)s(ulibus)] / [3]allus / [3]s / [3]nus / [

CIL 06, 04714 = CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023 (Rome)

]M[3] / [3]A[3] / [L(ucio) Passieno] C(aio) Calv[isio co(n)s(ulibus)] / [3] Ero[s] / [3] Y[3] / [3] V[3] / [3] Euo[dus(?)] / [dec]ur(iam) emit / [3] Sy[rus(?)] / L(ucio) Lentu[lo] M(arco) Mess[alla co(n)s(ulibus)] / Hermes [[Iulia[nus]]] / |(obitus) Livius Alexa[nder] / |(obitus) Eros / decur(iam) [emit] / Niceros / Imp(eratore) Caesare XIII M(arco) [Plautio co(n)s(ulibus)] / Anoptes / Lucrio Anton[ian(us)] / C(aius) Iulius Hy[ginus(?)] / C(aius) Iulius divi Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Dionysius / Cosso Cornelio L(ucio) Pisone c[o(n)s(ulibus)] / Amphio Philotec[hn(ianus)] / Florus Sp[e]ndont(ianus) / |(obitus) Gaa Amynt(ianus) / |(obitus) Apollonius Amynt(ianus) / decur(iam) emit / C(aius) Iulius Hilario / C(aio) Caesare L(ucio) Paullo co(n)s(ulibus) / Eros Antonian(us) / Damocrates Amynt(ianus) / Pses Vedian(us) / Onesimus Isochrysi(us) / decur(iam) emerunt / C(aius) Iulius Agamemno / Orestes / |(obitus) C(aius) Iulius Parthenio / C(aius) Octavius Clemens / Amianthus architect(us) Nicanorianus

APPENDIX D: SEARCH TERMS FOR THE CLAUSS-SLABY DATABASE

Aemili-*	Caesaris*	Lepid-	Quinctili-
Agripp-	Caesoni-	Livi-	Regill-
Ahenobarb-	Claudi-*	Lolli-	Rubelli-
Antoni-	Domiti-	Marcell-	Salvi-
Appulei-*	Drus-	Messal-*	Scriboni-
Augusti libert-	Germanic-	Nero	Silan-
Augusti serv-	Iuli- August-	Octavi-	Statili-
Augusti verna	Iuli- Caesaris	Passien-	Sulpici-
Augusti vicari-	Iuli- libert-	Paull-	Tiberi- Iuli-
Augustae	Iuli- serv-	Plauti-	Vipsani-
Britannic-	Iuni-	Poppae-	Vitelli-

Note: In addition, I automatically included the contents of the Julio-Claudian *columbaria* (CIL 6, 03926 – CIL 6, 04880) in my preliminary database.

* I also searched for common or obvious misspellings of the major Julio-Claudian names, such as Klaudi- and Aimili-, as well as for the *nomen-cognomen* combinations of well-known Julio-Claudian freed slaves, such as Nero's freedwoman Claudia Acte and Antonia the Younger's freedman M. Antonius Pallas, in order to find their own freed slaves.

APPENDIX E: FINDSPOTS OF INSCRIPTIONS

Province	Location	Count	Total
Achaia	Corinth	1	4
	Sicyon	1	
	Athens	1	
	Eretria	1	
Africa Proconsularis	El Messaouer	1	3
	Simitthus	1	
	Assuras	1	
Alpes	San Bernardino	1	2
	Avigliana	1	
Apulia and Calabria	Butuntum	1	7
	Aecae	1	
	Tarentum	1	
	Gnathia	1	
	Brundisium	1	
	Cannae	1	
	Ligures Baebiani	1	
Aquitania	Rutaeni	1	1
Asia	Ephesus	6	9
	Chios	1	
	Synnada	1	
	Smyrna	1	
Belgica	Bononia	1	1
Bruttium and Lucania	Scolacium	1	3
	Regium Iulium	2	
Corsica and Sardinia	Olbia	4	7
	Sulci	1	
	Gonnesa	1	
	Carales	1	
Dalmatia	Salona	2	4
	Lissus	1	
	Riditarum	1	
Etruria	Morlupo	1	15
	Volaterrae	1	
	Visentium	1	
	Falerii	2	
	Nepet	2	

Province	Location	Count	Total
Etruria (continued)	Caere	1	
	Vei	2	
	Prima Porta	1	
	Capena	2	
	Clusium	1	
	Pisae	1	
Galatia	Antiochia Pisidiae	2	4
	Ancyra	1	
	Teos	1	
Gallia Narbonensis	Forum Iulii	1	1
Germania	Colonia Ara Agrippinensium	1	2
	Mogontiacum	1	
Hispania	Segobriga	1	4
	Tarraco	3	
Latium and Campania	Aenaria	2	146
	Albanum	4	
	Aletrium	1	
	Anacapri	1	
	Antium	3	
	Atina	1	
	Capreae	2	
	Capua	2	
	Casinum	1	
	Castel Madama	1	
	Castrimoenium	1	
	Cimpiano	1	
	Circeii	1	
	Colle del Pero	1	
	Ferentinum	2	
	Formiae	1	
	Gabiae	1	
	Herculaneum	4	
	Labici	1	
	Lanuvium	1	
	Misenum	2	
	Monticelli	2	
	Neapolis	1	
Nuceria	1		

Province	Location	Count	Total
Latium and Campania (continued)	Ostia	12	
	Pompeii	18	
	Ponte Galeria	1	
	Praeneste	1	
	Puteoli	17	
	Salernum	2	
	Setia	1	
	Signia	1	
	Stabiae	1	
	Surrentum	33	
	Tarracina	2	
	Tibur	7	
	Tusculum	4	
	Ulubrae	1	
	Varia	1	
	Velitrae	2	
	Via Salaria	1	
Zagarolo	3		
Lugdunensis	Lugdunum	2	4
	Ambarri	1	
	Agedincum	1	
Lycia and Pamphilia	Side	1	3
	Patara	1	
	Perge	1	
Macedonia	Philippi	1	1
Mauritania Caesariensis	Caesarea	2	2
Moesia	Ulpiana	1	1
Noricum	Virunum	2	2
Numidia	Calama	2	3
	Cirta	1	
Palaestina	Iamnia	1	1
Rome	Rome	1048	1048
Samnium	Teate Marrucinatorum	1	5
	Reate	1	
	Carseoli	1	
	Cures Sabini	1	
	Superaequum	1	
Sicilia	Lipara	1	1

Province	Location	Count	Total
Syria	Antiochia ad Orontem	1	1
Transpadana	Baveno	1	2
	Pallanza	1	
Umbria	Oriculum	2	5
	Asisium	1	
	Arna	1	
	Sentinum	1	
Venetia and Histria	Aquileia	8	16
	Ferrara	2	
	Forum Iulii	1	
	Patavium	1	
	Pola	2	
	Verona	1	
	Voghiera	1	
Unknown	unknown	3	3

APPENDIX F: OCCUPATIONAL TITLES

For these occupational titles and descriptions, I am greatly in debt to Joshel for general Roman occupations¹⁴⁵¹ and to Weaver for the civil service posts and their categorization.¹⁴⁵² In some cases, the titles are listed in one of those two volumes, while in others, the dictionary provides a possible definition. This is not always the case, so for a few titles, I have reconstructed the meaning based on the appropriate stems and noted my uncertainty where appropriate.

I have subcategorized the occupations within each category. The highest level bulleted list includes the general occupational titles; any titles that are nearly identical, with some additional specialization, are listed in an indented list below the relevant title and are included in the overall frequency for that title. For example, there are 38 individuals listed as *dispensator* in the Administration category: this includes one individual who gives his occupation as *dispensator et arcarius* and one individual who gives his occupation as *dispensator calator*, along with 36 individuals who give simply the title *dispensator*.

Administration (104 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>management</u>		<u>73</u>
• <i>actor</i>	business agent	2
• <i>dispensator</i>	steward	38
○ <i>dispensator et arcarius</i>	steward and treasurer	1
○ <i>dispensator calator</i>	steward and personal attendant	1
• <i>dissignator</i>	supervisor	1
• <i>praefectus fabrum</i>	prefect of engineers	3
• <i>praepositus speclariorum</i>	overseer of glass workers	1

¹⁴⁵¹ 1992, pp. 176-192.

¹⁴⁵² 1972, pp. 200-281.

• <i>praepositus velariorum</i>	overseer of sail makers	1
• <i>procurator</i>	manager	27
○ <i>procurator patrimonii et hereditatum</i>	manager of patrimony and inheritances	1
○ <i>procurator praegustatorum</i>	manager of food-tasters	1
○ <i>procurator et scriba</i>	manager and scribe	1
○ <i>procurator et accensus</i>	manager and magisterial assistant	1
<u>warehouses and buildings</u>		<u>11</u>
• <i>ex monumentis</i>	in charge of monuments	1
• <i>horrearius</i>	warehouse manager	5
○ <i>ex horreis Petronianis</i>	manager of the Petronian warehouses	1
• <i>supra insulas</i>	superintendent of apartments	1
• <i>vilicus</i>	overseer	4
○ <i>vilicus amphitheatri</i>	overseer of the amphitheatre	1
○ <i>vilicus aquarius</i>	overseer of the waterworks	1
○ <i>vilicus ex horreis Lollianis</i>	overseer of the Lollian warehouses	1
○ <i>vilicus horreorum</i>	overseer of the warehouses	1
<u>personal assistants and clerks</u>		<u>20</u>
• <i>a manu</i>	personal secretary	15
• <i>a munera</i>	magisterial assistant for public gifts	1
• <i>ab admissione</i>	in charge of admission	1
• <i>adiutor</i>	assistant	1
• <i>cursor</i>	courier	1
• <i>scriba cubiculariorum</i>	scribe of bedroom attendants	1

Agriculture (20 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>land management</u>		<u>14</u>
• <i>saltuarius</i>	farm manager	3
• <i>subvilicus</i>	assistant farm overseer	2
• <i>vilicus/vilica</i>	farm overseer	9
<u>animal care</u>		<u>6</u>
• <i>a iumentis</i>	in charge of beasts of burden	1
• <i>eques</i>	stablehand	1
• <i>equisonis Gallograeci</i>	in charge of Gallograeci horses	1
• <i>strator</i>	groom	3

Appearance (51 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
clothes and jewelry		28

• <i>a purpure</i>	in charge of purple clothing? ¹⁴⁵³	1
• <i>a veste</i>	caretaker of clothing	13
○ <i>a veste castrensi</i>	caretaker of military clothing	2
○ <i>a veste gladiatoria</i>	caretaker of gladiatorial clothing	1
○ <i>a veste regia</i>	caretaker of royal clothing	1
○ <i>cistarius a veste forense</i>	caretaker of the chest for Forum clothing	1
• <i>ab ornamentis</i>	in charge of ornaments	6
○ <i>ab ornamentis sacerdotalibus</i>	in charge of priestly ornaments	1
○ <i>eunuchus ab ornamentis</i>	eunuch in charge of ornaments	1
• <i>fullo</i>	fuller	2
• <i>supra veste</i>	clothing supervisor	1
• <i>vestificus/vestiplicus</i>	clothing folder	5
body care		10
• <i>ad unguentarium</i>	in charge of unguents	1
• <i>unguentarius</i>	unguent maker? ¹⁴⁵⁴	1
• <i>unctor/unctrix</i>	masseur/masseuse	8
hair care		13
• <i>ornatrix/ornator</i>	hairdresser	12
○ <i>ornatrix puerorum</i>	hairdresser for boys	1
○ <i>ornator glabrorum</i>	hairdresser for the hairless? ¹⁴⁵⁵	1
• <i>tonsor</i>	barber	1

Artisans (44 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
textiles		18
• <i>lanipendus/lanipenda</i>	wool-weigher	5
• <i>linteus</i>	linen worker	1
• <i>sarcinatrix</i>	seamstress	10
• <i>siricaria</i>	silk worker	1
• <i>sutor</i>	tailor	1
jewelry		10
• <i>aurifex</i>	goldsmith	7
• <i>coronarius</i>	crown maker	1

¹⁴⁵³ Treggiari (1975b, p. 53) discusses this inscription (CIL 6, 04016) as well, and both possibilities remain. He might be in charge of purple clothing, or he might work in a dye-shop specializing in purple dye, although the latter possibility seems to most commonly use the term *purpurarius*.

¹⁴⁵⁴ The distinction between an *ad unguentarium* and an *unguentarius* is unclear, if one exists at all. A pair of inscriptions from the *Monumentum Liviae* naming a certain Helico, slave of Livia, give him both job titles: he is *ad unguentarium* in CIL 6, 04046, and *unc[en]tar(ius)* in CIL 6, 04252.

¹⁴⁵⁵ This term is otherwise unattested, although there is another inscription (CIL 6, 33426) that mentions a *paedagogus glabrorum*: it is probable that it is equivalent to the *ornatrix puerorum*, with the *glabrorum* refers to the slave boys' hairlessness.

• <i>margaritarius</i>	pearl worker	2
<u>art</u>		<u>12</u>
• <i>caelator</i>	engraver	1
• <i>colorator</i>	dye/paint worker	1
• <i>corinthus/corintharius</i>	worker in Corinthian bronze	3
• <i>lapidarius</i>	stone worker	2
• <i>musearius</i>	mosaic worker	1
• <i>pictor</i>	painter	4
<u>other consumer products</u>		<u>4</u>
• <i>acuarius</i>	needle maker	1
• <i>calciator</i>	shoe maker	1
• <i>tegularius</i>	tile maker	1
• <i>tesserarius</i>	dice maker? ¹⁴⁵⁶	1

Attendants (93 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>outside</u>		<u>30</u>
• <i>apparitor</i>	attendant clerk	1
• <i>capsarius/capsaria</i>	carrier of possessions	2
• <i>lecticarius</i>	litter-bearer	9
○ <i>supra lecticarios</i>	supervisor of litter-bearers	1
• <i>lictor</i>	magisterial attendant	1
• <i>pedisequus/pedisequa</i>	attendant	17
○ <i>pedisequus praefuit</i>	preceding attendant ¹⁴⁵⁷	1
○ <i>puer a pedibus</i>	footboy? ¹⁴⁵⁸	1
<u>bed and bath</u>		<u>35</u>
• <i>a cubiculo</i>	bedroom attendant	5
• <i>balneator</i>	bath attendant	1
• <i>cubicularius</i>	bedroom attendant ¹⁴⁵⁹	29
○ <i>supra cubicularios</i>	supervisor of bedroom attendants	2

¹⁴⁵⁶ When used within a military context, the term *tesserarius* indicates an individual who controlled the watch-word, but the individual in question (CIL 6, 08663 = AE 1997, +00160) specifies a domestic context. It is possible that he controlled the watch-word for the house, but it is perhaps more likely, given the *-arius* ending that often indicates a maker of some product, that he manufactured *tesserae*, whether tiles or dice.

¹⁴⁵⁷ This seems to indicate the primary *pedisequus*, who went at the front of the group (hence *praefuit*); *pedisequi* are particularly valuable in large groups as a means of displaying wealth.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Cicero reports an *a pedibus* as well (Att. 8.5.1), and I agree that this must be a confidential attendant of some sort (Treggiari 1975b, p. 53).

¹⁴⁵⁹ There does not seem to have been any substantial difference between an *a cubiculo* and a *cubicularius*, but it is possible that there were minor differences in duties of which we are unaware.

• <i>thermutarius</i>	bath attendant? ¹⁴⁶⁰	1
<u>dining</u>		<u>17</u>
• <i>a cyatho</i>	cup bearer	4
• <i>a sede</i>	chair attendant? ¹⁴⁶¹	1
• <i>minister/ministrator</i>	waiter	9
• <i>praegustator</i>	food taster	3
○ <i>praegustator et a cubiculo</i>	food taster and bedroom attendant	1
<u>information</u>		<u>11</u>
• <i>invitator</i>	summoner	1
• <i>nomenclator</i>	name-caller	6
• <i>rogator</i>	introducer	4

Bodyguard (45 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>German bodyguard</u>		<u>44</u>
• <i>corporis custos/corpore custos</i>	bodyguard	37
○ <i>corporis custos optio</i>	adjutant of the bodyguard	1
• <i>Germanus</i>	German bodyguard	7
○ <i>curator Germanorum</i>	manager of the German bodyguard	1
○ <i>decurio Germanorum</i>	decurion of the German bodyguard	2
<u>other bodyguards</u>		<u>1</u>
• <i>spatarius</i>	bodyguard	1

Civil Service (77 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>clerks and assistants</u>		<u>10</u>
• <i>adiutor a rationibus</i>	assistant with the accounts	2
• <i>adiutor tabularius</i>	assistant and clerk	1
• <i>tabellarius</i>	messenger	7
○ <i>tabellarius castrensis</i>	military messenger	1
<u>middle management</u>		<u>39</u>
• <i>dispensator</i>	steward	4
○ <i>dispensator a frumento</i>	steward of the grain supply	1

¹⁴⁶⁰ This seems the most likely meaning of *thermutarius*, although the distinction from the more commonly used *balneator* is unclear. The term appears only in this fragmentary inscription (CIL 6, 04169) in the epigraphic material, and nowhere in the literary evidence.

¹⁴⁶¹ Treggiari (1975b, p. 55) proposes that rather than being in charge of a particular chair, he stood in close proximity to her chair in order to assist her: the singular *a sede* is otherwise unattested, although *a sedibus* does appear (CIL 6, 02341, CIL 6, 09040).

○ <i>dispensator ab aedificiis</i>	steward of buildings	1
○ <i>dispensator ad fiscum Gallicum</i>	steward of the Gallic treasury	1
• <i>procurator</i>	manager	11
○ <i>procurator a patromonio</i>	manager of patrimony	1
○ <i>procurator a regione urbis</i>	manager in charge of the urban area	2
○ <i>procurator et accensus</i>	manager and accountant	1
○ <i>procurator et praegustator et a secretis</i>	manager and food-taster and secret-keeper	1
○ <i>procurator portus Ostiensis</i>	manager of the Ostian harbour	1
○ <i>procurator tabulariorum</i>	manager of clerks	1
• <i>tabularius</i>	clerk	24
○ <i>tabularius a rationibus</i>	clerk in the accounts department	2
○ <i>tabularius a veste scaenica</i>	clerk in charge of theatrical clothing	1
○ <i>tabularius apparitorum</i>	clerk of the attendant clerks	1
○ <i>tabularius castrensis</i>	clerk of the military	1
○ <i>tabularius rationis patrimonium</i>	clerk of the patrimonial accounts	2
<u>senior administration</u>		25
• <i>a commentariis</i>	in charge of records	2
○ <i>a commentariis rationis</i>	in charge of account records	1
• <i>a copiis militaribus</i>	in charge of military supplies	1
• <i>a libellis</i>	in charge of petitions	1
• <i>a memoria et accensus et procurator</i>	record-keeper and accountant and manager	1
• <i>a rationibus</i>	in charge of accounts	6
○ <i>a rationibus accensus</i>	accountant in charge of accounts	1
• <i>a regionibus</i>	in charge of the area	8
○ <i>a regionibus urbis</i>	in charge of the area of the city	6
• <i>a studiis</i>	in charge of documents	1
• <i>ab epistulis</i>	in charge of letters	5
<u>other civil servants</u>		<u>3</u>
• <i>curator de minucia</i>	overseer of petty matters	1
• <i>ex statione XXXX Galliarum</i>	worker at a Gallic tax outpost	1
• <i>offici imper(ii?) viator</i>	attendant for Imperial business	1

Education (19 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>infants</u>		<u>6</u>
• <i>cunarius</i>	cradle rocker	1
• <i>nutrix</i>	wet-nurse	5
<u>children</u>		<u>11</u>
• <i>de paedagogio</i>	in the school?	1

• <i>paedagogus/paedagoga</i>	child attendant	10
○ <i>paedagogus puerorum</i>	child attendant of the slaveboys	2
<u>youths</u>		<u>2</u>
• <i>grammaticus</i>	grammar teacher	1
• <i>magister</i>	instructor	1

Entertainment (23 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>music</u>		<u>6</u>
• <i>acroamatica</i>	musician	1
• <i>cantrix</i>	singer	1
• <i>paianeius</i>	paean singer	1
• <i>scabillarius</i>	player of the <i>scabillum</i>	1
• <i>symphonicus/symphoniaca</i>	concert musician	2
<u>sport</u>		<u>4</u>
• <i>agitator prasinae</i>	driver for the Greens	1
• <i>palaestrita</i>	superintendent of a <i>palaestra</i>	2
• <i>sphaerista</i>	ball player	1
<u>theatre</u>		<u>5</u>
• <i>archimimus</i>	mime	1
• <i>comoedus</i>	comic actor	1
• <i>imitator</i>	mimic	1
• <i>pantomimus</i>	pantomime	1
• <i>parasitus Apollinis</i>	"follower of Apollo"	1
<u>pets</u>		<u>4</u>
• <i>delicium</i>	pet	2
• <i>eunuchus</i>	eunuch	1
• <i>pumilio</i>	dwarf	1
<u>other entertainers</u>		<u>4</u>
• <i>lector/lectrix</i>	reader	3
• <i>lusor</i>	player	1

Finance (45 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>business and provisions</u>		<u>6</u>
• <i>negotiator</i>	business agent	1
• <i>opsonator</i>	provisioner	4
• <i>redemptor operum</i>	contractor of works	1
<u>accounting</u>		<u>36</u>
• <i>accensus</i>	accountant	4
• <i>ad argentum/ab argento</i>	banker	13

○ <i>ab argento corrector</i>	financial commissioner	1
○ <i>supra argentum</i>	supervisor of bankers?	2
• <i>arcarius</i>	treasurer	4
• <i>argentarius</i>	banker? ¹⁴⁶²	7
• <i>coactor argentarius accensus</i>	tax collector and accountant	1
• <i>sumptuarius</i>	manager of luxury expenses	3
• <i>tabularius</i>	clerk	4
<u>coins and banking</u>		<u>3</u>
• <i>aequator monetae</i>	assayer	1
• <i>de moneta</i>	in charge of coinage	1
• <i>nummularius</i>	money changer	1

Food (18 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>poultry farmers and fatteners</u>		<u>4</u>
• <i>altilarius</i>	poultry fattener	1
• <i>fartor avium</i>	poultry fattener ¹⁴⁶³	2
• <i>gallinarius</i>	poultry farmer	1
<u>food preparation</u>		<u>14</u>
• <i>a potione</i>	cup-bearer? ¹⁴⁶⁴	1
• <i>cocus</i>	cook	6
• <i>pistor</i>	baker	7
○ <i>pistor candidarius</i>	baker of white bread	1

Gardens (20 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>management</u>		<u>2</u>
• <i>supra hortos</i>	manager of gardens	1
• <i>vilicus supra hortos</i>	overseer of gardens	1
<u>garden workers</u>		<u>18</u>
• <i>ex hortis Maianis</i>	worker in the Maian gardens	1
• <i>ex hortis Sallustianis</i>	worker in the Sallustian gardens	1
• <i>topiarius</i>	ornamental gardener	16

¹⁴⁶² *Argentarius* can indicate a banker, but it might also indicate a silversmith. There is no way of distinguishing, nor is the distinction between an *ad argentum/ab argento* and an *argentarius*-banker clear.

¹⁴⁶³ The distinction between an *altilarius* and a *fartor avium* is unclear.

¹⁴⁶⁴ The precise duties related to this title are unclear: it appears in two other inscriptions, both from the Imperial household (CIL 6, 01884 = D 01792 = AE 2001, +00169 = AE 2001, +00188 = AE 2002, +00109 and CIL 11, 04657). I have discussed the inscription in which it appears and the potential definition of *a potione* above at p. 357.

Government (9 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>local government</u>		<u>7</u>
• <i>duumvir</i>	one of a pair of magistrates	1
• <i>magister</i>	magistrate	2
○ <i>magister Augustales</i>	magistrate of the Augustales	1
• <i>minister</i>	agent	2
• <i>sexvir</i>	one of a group of six magistrates	2
<u>magisterial assistants</u>		<u>2</u>
• <i>viator</i>	magisterial assistant	2

House (62 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>management</u>		<u>36</u>
• <i>a possessionibus/ad possessiones</i>	in charge of possessions	3
• <i>atriensis</i>	majordomo ¹⁴⁶⁵	21
○ <i>ab atrio</i>	in charge of the atrium	1
○ <i>atriarius</i>	majordomo	1
• <i>insularius/insularia</i>	superintendent of apartments	3
○ <i>ad insulam</i>	superintendent of apartments ¹⁴⁶⁶	1
• <i>ostiarius</i>	doorman	7
○ <i>ostiarius urbanus</i>	urban doorman	1
• <i>supra domum</i>	household manager	1
• <i>tricliniarachus</i>	dining room manager	1
<u>artwork and furniture</u>		<u>22</u>
• <i>a Corinthis</i>	in charge of Corinthian bronzes	2
• <i>a specularibus/speculariarius</i>	in charge of mirrors	5
○ <i>a pigular (?)</i>	in charge of mirrors? ¹⁴⁶⁷	1
• <i>a statuis</i>	in charge of statues	1
• <i>a supellectile</i>	in charge of furniture	9
○ <i>a supellectile Domus Aureae</i>	in charge of furniture in the Domus Aurea	1
• <i>ab marmoribus</i>	in charge of marbles	1
• <i>ad imagines</i>	in charge of images	1

¹⁴⁶⁵ The precise distinction, if there is one, between the very common *atriensis* and the far less common *ab atrio* and *atriarius* is unclear.

¹⁴⁶⁶ It is unclear whether there would have been any difference in duties between an *ad insulam* and an *insularius*. Slaves were certainly used to manage apartment blocks and rent them out: at least one rental notice from Pompeii (CIL 4, 00138 = D 06035 = AE 2004, +00155) gives a slave as the contact person.

¹⁴⁶⁷ The inscription in question (CIL 6, 04248) is fragmentary and apparently misspelled as well; the most likely reconstruction would make this particular instance *a specularibus* (Treggiari 1975b, p. 55).

• <i>politor</i>	glass polisher	2
• <i>supra formas</i>	in charge of images? ¹⁴⁶⁸	1
<u>other household workers</u>		<u>4</u>
• <i>circitor</i>	watchman	1
• <i>diaetarchus/diaetarcha</i>	room manager	2
○ <i>diaetarchus hiberna</i>	manager of winter rooms	1
• <i>mediastinus</i>	menial worker	1

Medicine (40 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>doctors and midwives</u>		<u>35</u>
• <i>medicus/medica</i>	physician	29
○ <i>medicus auricularius</i>	ear physician	1
○ <i>medicus chirurgicus</i>	surgeon	2
○ <i>medicus ludi matutini</i>	physician of a gladiatorial school	1
○ <i>medicus ocularius</i>	eye physician	1
• <i>opstetrix</i>	midwife	6
<u>medical assistants and administrators</u>		<u>5</u>
• <i>ad valetudinarium/a valetudine</i>	medical attendant	4
• <i>supra medicis</i>	supervisor of physicians	1

Military (13 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>administration and command</u>		<u>3</u>
• <i>a cena centurionum</i>	in charge of the centurions' table	1
• <i>procurator praefectus classis</i>	manager and prefect of the fleet	1
• <i>tractator et subpraefectus classis</i>	manager and subprefect of the fleet	1
<u>ships</u>		<u>10</u>
• <i>gubernator</i>	helmsman	1
• <i>nauarchus</i>	naval captain	2
○ <i>nauarchus Tiberianus</i>	Tiberian naval captain	1
• <i>trierarchus</i>	captain of a trireme	7

¹⁴⁶⁸ This seems the most likely translation of this term, which appears only in CIL 6, 08497 (= D 01614) in the epigraphic material.

Religion (29 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>temple management</u>		<u>18</u>
• <i>a sacrario</i>	in charge of a shrine	1
• <i>aedituus</i>	temple attendant	17
○ <i>aedituus a Veste/Vestae</i>	temple attendant of Vesta	2
○ <i>aedituus ab aede</i>	temple attendant of an altar	1
○ <i>aedituus ab Concordia</i>	temple attendant of Concordia	1
○ <i>aedituus aedis Fortunae</i>	temple attendant of Fortuna	1
○ <i>aedituus de aede Iovis</i>	temple attendant of Jupiter	1
○ <i>aedituus Fortunae Reducis</i>	temple attendant of Fortuna Redux	1
○ <i>aedituus templi</i>	temple attendant	1
○ <i>aedituus Veneris</i>	temple attendant of Venus	1
<u>religious officials</u>		<u>11</u>
• <i>ad venerem</i>	in charge of a shrine	1
• <i>minister almae Veneris</i>	manager of the gifts of Venus	1
• <i>sacerdos</i>	priest(ess)	7
○ <i>sacerdos a Bona Dea</i>	priest(ess) of Bona Dea	1
○ <i>sacerdos Matris deum</i>	priest(ess) of the Mother of the gods	1
• <i>victimarius</i>	handler of sacrificial victims	2

Trade (27 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>stones and mines</u>		<u>4</u>
• <i>a lapidinis Carystiis</i>	worker in Carystian stone	1
• <i>marmorarius</i>	marble worker	1
• <i>pavimentarius</i>	paver	1
• <i>vilicus in metallis</i>	overseer of the mines	1
<u>water and waterworks</u>		<u>5</u>
• <i>aquarius</i>	water worker	3
• <i>plumbarius</i>	lead worker	1
• <i>thermarius</i>	bath worker	1
<u>construction and buildings</u>		<u>18</u>
• <i>architectus</i>	architect	3
• <i>faber</i>	carpenter	2
• <i>ensor</i>	surveyor	5
• <i>structor</i>	mason	5
• <i>tector</i>	plasterer	3

Writing (30 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
<u>libraries</u>		<u>14</u>
• <i>a bybliothea</i>	library workers	11
○ <i>a bybliothea Graeca</i>	Greek library worker	2
○ <i>a bybliothea Latina</i>	Latin library worker	3
• <i>ad libros</i>	in charge of books	1
• <i>procurator bybliothecae</i>	manager of library workers	1
• <i>supra bybliotheas</i>	supervisor of library workers	1
<u>scribes and clerks</u>		<u>10</u>
• <i>a memoria</i>	record-keeper	1
• <i>a tabulis</i>	in charge of tablets	1
• <i>actarius</i>	bookkeeper	1
• <i>praesignator</i>	sealer	1
• <i>recognitor</i>	editor? ¹⁴⁶⁹	1
• <i>scriba</i>	scribe	4
○ <i>curator scribiis librariis</i>	manager of the scribes and book copiers	1
○ <i>scriba librarius</i>	scribe and book copier	2
• <i>scrinarius ab epistulis</i>	maker of cases for letters	1
<u>books</u>		<u>6</u>
• <i>glutinator</i>	book-gluer	3
• <i>librarius</i>	book copier	3

Other (4 individuals)

Job title	English translation	Frequency
• <i>Veneria</i> ¹⁴⁷⁰	priestess of Venus?	4
○ <i>Veneria de hortis Servilianis</i>	priestess of Venus in the Servilian gardens?	1
○ <i>Veneria ex hortis Sallustianis</i>	priestess of Venus in the Sallustian gardens?	1

¹⁴⁶⁹ The precise meaning of this term is unclear: in the epigraphic material, it appears only in CIL 6, 04246, which is fragmentary, and it does not appear at all in the literary evidence. I have postulated “editor” based on the root verb *recognosco* as well as the appearance of the phrase *v]olumin(um) Ateim[* in the inscription in question, which would seem to imply that the Imperial slave in question had edited a particular series of volumes.

¹⁴⁷⁰ I have discussed the possible meaning of this term at length above (pp. 146-148).

APPENDIX G: DATA TABLES

Inscription Type	Percentage
<i>Columbarium</i>	24.0
Household	15.2
Single grave	52.7
Honourary	2.1
Votive	2.6
Other	3.4

Table 2. Data table for Figure 2 (Inscription types)

Reign	Percentage
Unknown	19.8
Augustus	17.9
Augustus or Tiberius	0.2
Tiberius	24.6
Tiberius or Caligula	0.2
Caligula	2.3
Caligula or Claudius	1.1
Claudius	5.3
Claudius or Nero	17.7
Nero	8.0
after Nero	3.0

Table 3. Data table for Figure 3 (Chronological distribution)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0.6
Uncertain free	0.7
Imperial freed	41.1
Freed	9.9
Imperial slave	42.0
Slave	5.7
Single name	0.1

Table 4. Data table for Figure 4 (Status ratio)

Gender	Percentage
Male	83.2
Female	16.8

Table 5. Data table for Figure 5 (Gender ratio)

Status	Males (percentage)	Females (percentage)
Freeborn	0.7	0
Uncertain free	0.9	0
Imperial freed	40.1	46.0
Freed	7.4	22.5
Imperial slave	44.9	27.2
Slave	6.0	4.3
Single name	0.1	0

Table 6. Data table for Figure 6 (Status according to gender)

Age at death	Frequency	Age at death	Frequency	Age at death	Frequency
0	2	34	0	68	0
1	1	35	7	69	0
2	2	36	2	70	1
3	1	37	3	71	0
4	1	38	1	72	1
5	3	39	0	73	0
6	2	40	10	74	0
7	0	41	1	75	3
8	1	42	0	76	0
9	1	43	0	77	0
10	2	44	0	78	0
11	1	45	4	79	0
12	3	46	1	80	2
13	0	47	2	81	0
14	3	48	1	82	1
15	4	49	0	83	0
16	2	50	9	84	0
17	1	51	0	85	3
18	4	52	3	86	0
19	6	53	0	87	1
20	14	54	1	88	0
21	2	55	3	89	0
22	5	56	0	90	1
23	3	57	0	91	0
24	4	58	0	92	0
25	16	59	1	93	0
26	1	60	5	94	0
27	5	61	1	95	0
28	2	62	0	96	0
29	0	63	0	97	0
30	25	64	0	98	0
31	3	65	2	99	0
32	3	66	0	100	1
33	3	67	0		

Table 7. Data table for Figure 7 (Age at death)

Age	Male (%)	Female (%)	Age	Male (%)	Female (%)	Age	Male (%)	Female (%)
0	1.4	0	34	0	0	68	0	0
1	0.7	0	35	2.8	5.4	69	0	0
2	0.7	1.8	36	1.4	0	70	0	1.8
3	0	1.8	37	2.1	0	71	0	0
4	0.7	0	38	0.7	0	72	0	1.8
5	1.4	1.8	39	0	0	73	0	0
6	0	3.6	40	6.4	1.8	74	0	0
7	0	0	41	0.7	0	75	2.1	0
8	0.7	0	42	0	0	76	0	0
9	0.7	0	43	0	0	77	0	0
10	0	3.6	44	0	0	78	0	0
11	0.7	0	45	2.8	0	79	0	0
12	1.4	1.8	46	0.7	0	80	0.7	0
13	0	0	47	1.4	0	81	0	0
14	0	5.4	48	0	1.8	82	0.7	0
15	0.7	5.4	49	0	0	83	0	0
16	0	3.6	50	5.7	1.8	84	0	0
17	0	1.8	51	0	0	85	2.1	0
18	2.1	1.8	52	0.7	3.6	86	0	0
19	2.1	5.4	53	0	0	87	0	1.8
20	6.4	8.9	54	0.7	0	88	0	0
21	1.4	0	55	0.7	3.6	89	0	0
22	0.7	7.1	56	0	0	90	0.7	0
23	1.4	1.8	57	0	0	91	0	0
24	1.4	3.6	58	0	0	92	0	0
25	9.9	3.6	59	0.7	0	93	0	0
26	0	1.8	60	3.5	0	94	0	0
27	2.8	1.8	61	0.7	0	95	0	0
28	1.4	0	62	0	0	96	0	0
29	0	0	63	0	0	97	0	0
30	14.2	8.9	64	0	0	98	0	0
31	1.4	1.8	65	1.4	0	99	0	0
32	2.1	0	66	0	0	100	0.7	0
33	2.1	0	67	0	0			

Table 8. Data table for Figure 8 (Gender differences in age at death)

<i>Agnomen</i> origin	Percentage ¹⁴⁷¹
Julio-Claudian	32.3
Elite	22.5
Client king	4.5
Freed slave	36.8
Unknown	3.7

Table 9. Data table for Figure 9 (*Agnomina* types)

¹⁴⁷¹ This is the percentage of those reporting *agnomina* at all (a total of 244 individuals, or 13.6% of the sample) whose *agnomina* fall into each category.

Reign	Julio-Claudian (%)	Elite (%)	Client king (%)	Freed slave (%)	Unknown (%)
Unknown	22.6	25.8	3.2	38.7	9.7
Augustus	27.3	31.8	9.1	30.3	1.5
Tiberius	39.7	26.5	5.9	25.0	2.9
Caligula	27.3	9.1	0	63.6	0
Caligula / Claudius	66.7	0	0	33.3	0
Claudius	17.4	17.4	0	60.9	4.3
Claudius / Nero	30.0	5.0	0	55.0	10.0
Nero	40.0	10.0	0	50.0	0
after Nero	66.7	8.3	0	25.0	0

Table 10. Data table for Figure 10 (Chronological distribution of *agnomina*)

Inscription type	Percentage reporting an occupation
<i>Columbarium</i>	46.3
Household	33.8
Single grave	41.3
Honourary	74.3
Votive	40.5
Other	33.9

Table 11. Data table for Figure 11 (Occupational reporting by inscription type)

Occupational category	Percentage ¹⁴⁷²
Administration	13.5
Agriculture	2.2
Appearance	6.6
Artisan	5.7
Attendant	12.0
Bodyguard	5.8
Civil service	10.0
Education	2.5
Entertainment	3.0
Finance	5.8
Food	2.3
Garden	2.6
Government	1.2
House	8.0
Medicine	5.2
Military	1.6
Religion	3.8
Trade	4.0
Writing	3.9
Other	0.5

Table 12. Data table for Figure 12 (Occupational distribution)

¹⁴⁷² This is the percentage of all those reporting an occupation (43.0% of the sample) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Males (percentage)¹⁴⁷³	Females (percentage)¹⁴⁷⁴
Administration	14.7	0
Agriculture	2.7	1.5
Appearance	4.7	26.9
Artisan	4.7	6.4
Attendant	12.6	6.0
Bodyguard	6.4	0
Civil service	10.9	0
Education	1.8	9.0
Entertainment	2.5	7.5
Finance	6.2	1.5
Food	2.5	0
Garden	2.7	1.5
Government	1.3	0
House	8.5	3.0
Medicine	4.4	13.4
Military	1.8	0
Religion	3.4	7.5
Trade	3.8	0
Writing	4.2	0
Other	0	6.0

Table 13. Data table for Figure 13 (Gender differences in occupational distribution)

¹⁴⁷³ This is the percentage of all those males reporting an occupation (47.2% of the males in the sample) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

¹⁴⁷⁴ This is the percentage of all those females reporting an occupation (22.2% of the females in the sample) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Rome (percentage)¹⁴⁷⁵	Italy (percentage)¹⁴⁷⁶	Provinces (percentage)¹⁴⁷⁷
Administration	12.5	11.5	38.2
Agriculture	1.5	6.5	5.9
Appearance	8.3	0.7	0
Artisan	5.8	6.5	0
Attendant	14.5	4.3	0
Bodyguard	7.5	0	0
Civil service	10.3	5.8	20.6
Education	3.0	0.7	0
Entertainment	3.3	1.4	2.9
Finance	6.7	2.9	2.9
Food	2.8	0.7	0
Garden	1.3	8.6	0
Government	0.2	4.3	5.9
House	6.3	17.3	0
Medicine	5.7	4.3	0
Military	0.8	3.6	8.8
Religion	3.7	3.6	5.9
Trade	2.8	5.8	5.9
Writing	2.7	9.4	2.9
Other	0.2	2.2	0

Table 14. Data table for Figure 14 (Occupational distributions in Rome, Italy, and the provinces)

Inscriptional role	Percentage
Commemorated	58.0
Dedicator	33.2
Other	8.8

Table 15. Data table for Figure 15 (Inscriptional roles)

Inscriptional role	Male (percentage)	Female (percentage)
Commemorated	55.3	71.2
Dedicator	34.8	25.5
Other	9.9	3.3

Table 16. Data table for Figure 16 (Inscriptional role by gender)

¹⁴⁷⁵ This is the percentage of all those reporting an occupation in Rome (43.0% of those in Rome in the sample) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

¹⁴⁷⁶ This is the percentage of all those reporting an occupation elsewhere in Italy (44.0% of those elsewhere in Italy in the sample) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

¹⁴⁷⁷ This is the percentage of all those reporting an occupation outside of Italy (39.5% of those outside of Italy the sample) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Inscriptional role¹⁴⁷⁸	Commemorated (percentage)	Dedicator (percentage)	Other (percentage)
Administration	54.8	30.8	14.4
Agriculture	55.0	35.0	10.0
Appearance	86.3	35.0	10.0
Artisan	63.6	34.1	2.3
Attendant	73.1	23.7	3.2
Bodyguard	66.7	33.3	0
Civil service	56.7	29.9	10.4
Education	84.2	15.8	0
Entertainment	82.6	17.4	0
Finance	55.6	42.2	2.2
Food	61.1	38.9	0
Garden	20.0	75.0	5.0
Government	0	100	0
House	48.4	50.0	1.6
Medicine	75.0	22.5	2.5
Military	69.2	30.8	0
Religion	48.3	48.3	3.4
Trade	33.3	59.3	7.4
Writing	56.7	36.7	6.7
Other	75.0	25.0	0
No job given	55.8	32.5	11.7

Table 17. Data table for Figure 17 (Inscriptional role by occupation)

¹⁴⁷⁸ For each occupational category, all those individuals whose occupations fall into that category are classified according to whether they were commemorated in an inscription, whether they dedicated an inscription, or whether their name appeared in some other capacity; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Reign	<i>Columbarium</i>	Honourary	Household	Single grave	Votive	Other
Unknown	26.2	1.9	14.2	53.8	1.9	1.9
Augustus	42.6	2.1	7.2	45.5	0.9	1.7
Augustus / Tiberius	0	0	0	100	0	0
Tiberius	33.7	2.2	11.8	49.5	0.9	1.9
Tiberius / Caligula	50.0	0	0	50.0	0	0
Caligula	30.0	0	0	56.7	3.3	10
Caligula / Claudius	28.6	0	14.3	50.0	7.1	0
Claudius	10.0	1.4	11.4	55.7	5.7	15.7
Claudius / Nero	5.2	0.9	31.9	56.5	3.4	2.2
Nero	3.8	3.8	17.9	59.4	7.5	7.5
after Nero	2.6	7.7	10.3	66.7	5.1	7.7

Table 18. Data table for Figure 18 (Inscription types throughout the Julio-Claudian period)

Relationship type	Percentage reporting relationship
Marriage	18.3
Children	7.7
Family	8.1
Slavery	46.4
<i>Collegia</i>	12.9

Table 19. Data table for Figure 19 (Relationship types)

Term used to indicate marital relationship	Percentage using term
<i>Coniunx</i>	50.6
<i>Contubernalis</i>	11.9
Possessive genitive	10.7
<i>Uxor</i>	10.1
Shared children	8.5
<i>Vir</i>	4.6
<i>Colliberti or conservi</i>	1.8
Length of marriage	0.6
Shared household	0.6
<i>Mulier</i>	0.3
<i>Concubina</i>	0.3

Table 20. Data table for Figure 20 (Spousal terms)

Status	Percentage
Uncertain free	47.3
Freeborn	2.1
Imperial freed	11.3
Freed	11.9
Imperial slave	9.5
Slave	2.4
Single name	14.6
Unknown	0.9

Table 21. Data table for Figure 21 (Spouses' status)

Status of spouse	Imperial freed household member	Imperial slave household member	Freed household member	Slave household member
Uncertain free	56.4	39.7	34.3	33.3
Freeborn	1.9	3.2	0	0
Imperial freed	17.3	5.6	5.7	11.1
Freed	9.6	7.9	37.1	11.1
Imperial slave	5.1	17.5	2.9	0
Slave	1.9	1.6	2.9	22.2
Single name	5.8	24.6	17.1	22.2
Unknown	1.9	0	0	0

Table 22. Data table for Figure 22 (Status combinations of married couples)

Status of spouse	Imperial freed household member		Imperial slave household member		Freed household member		Slave household member	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Uncertain free	65.6	23.5	46.3	0	39.1	25.0	42.9	0
Freeborn	2.5	0	3.7	0	0	0	0	0
Imperial freed	11.5	38.2	6.5	0	0	16.7	14.3	0
Freed	10.7	5.9	9.3	0	39.1	33.3	14.3	0
Imperial slave	0	23.5	10.2	61.1	0	8.3	0	0
Slave	0.8	5.9	0	11.1	0	8.3	14.3	50.0
Single name	6.6	2.9	24.1	27.8	21.7	8.3	14.3	50.0
Unknown	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 23. Data table for Figure 23 (Gender differences in status combinations of married couples)

Spousal affiliation to the Julio-Claudians	Percentage of married male household members	Percentage of married female household members
Affiliated with the Julio-Claudians	12.2	54.5
Affiliated with the Flavians	1.1	0
Affiliated with a later Imperial dynasty	0	1.5
Slave or freed slave of an Imperial slave or Imperial freed slave	2.7	4.5
Julio-Claudian <i>nomen</i> only	37.8	13.6
No affiliation	46.2	25.8

Table 24. Data table for Figure 24 (Gender differences in spouses' connection to the Imperial household)

Occupational category	Percentage reporting marital relationship¹⁴⁷⁹
Administration	30.8
Agriculture	26.3
Appearance	15.2
Artisan	21.2
Attendant	18.0
Bodyguard	2.2
Civil service	33.8
Education	7.7
Entertainment	0
Finance	13.6
Food	22.2
Garden	0
Government	44.4
House	10.0
Medicine	16.1
Military	30.8
Religion	12.5
Trade	18.5
Writing	20.0

Table 25. Data table for Figure 25 (Men's rates of marriage by occupation)

Status	Percentage¹⁴⁸⁰
Imperial freed	62.6
Freed	7.2
Imperial slave	27.3
Slave	2.9

Table 26. Data table for Figure 26 (Status of parents)

¹⁴⁷⁹ This is the percentage of all those males reporting an occupation (47.2% of the males in the sample) in each category who also report a marital relationship; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

¹⁴⁸⁰ This is the percentage of all those whose data includes a natural child (7.7% of those in the sample) who fall into each status category.

Age at death	Frequency	Age at death	Frequency	Age at death	Frequency
0	1	12	2	24	0
1	4	13	1	25	1
2	6	14	1	26	0
3	4	15	3	27	0
4	2	16	2	28	1
5	6	17	1	29	0
6	2	18	1	30	1
7	5	19	2	31	0
8	2	20	1	32	0
9	0	21	1	33	1
10	0	22	1	34	0
11	1	23	0	35	0

Table 27. Data table for Figure 27 (Ages at death for children of Julio-Claudian household members)

Status	Percentage
Uncertain free	29.8
Freeborn	23.6
Imperial freed	4.5
Freed	6.7
Imperial slave	12.4
Slave	0.6
Single name	20.8
Unknown	1.7

Table 28. Data table for Figure 28 (Status of children)

Origin of child's <i>nomen</i>	Percentage
Father	16.9
Mother	8.4
Patron	11.2
Unknown	29.8
No <i>nomen</i>	33.7

Table 29. Data table for Figure 29 (Origin of children's *nomina*)

Children's affiliation to the Julio-Claudians	Percentage
Affiliated with the Julio-Claudians	16.3
Affiliated with the Flavians	0.6
Affiliated with a later Imperial dynasty	0.6
Slave or freed slave of an Imperial slave or Imperial freed slave	1.1
Julio-Claudian <i>nomen</i> only	46.6
No affiliation	34.8

Table 30. Data table for Figure 30 (Children's connection to the Imperial household)

Family type	Percentage
Nuclear	33.7
Single parent	36.0
Blended	5.6
Extended	5.6
Other combination	19.1

Table 31. Data table for Figure 31 (Family types of children of Julio-Claudian household members)

Relationship type	Percentage
Parent	34.9
Sibling	35.3
Other relative	17.7
In-law	9.3
Quasi-kin	2.8

Table 32. Data table for Figure 32 (Family relationships)

Status	Percentage
Uncertain free	24.2
Freeborn	2.8
Imperial freed	17.7
Freed	14.9
Imperial slave	20.0
Slave	2.3
Single name	16.3
Unknown	1.9

Table 33. Data table for Figure 33 (Status of family members)

Family members' affiliation to the Julio-Claudians	Percentage
Affiliated with the Julio-Claudians	37.2
Affiliated with the Flavians	0.5
Affiliated with a later Imperial dynasty	0
Slave or freed slave of an Imperial slave or Imperial freed slave	3.7
Julio-Claudian <i>nomen</i> only	23.7
No affiliation	34.9

Table 34. Data table for Figure 34 (Family members' connection to the Imperial household)

Slavery relationship	Percentage
Fellow slaves or freed slaves	63.1
Patron	12.8
Owner	5.9
<i>Libertus</i>	11.8
Slave	6.4

Table 35. Data table for Figure 35 (General slavery relationships)

Slavery relationship	Percentage
<i>Conservi</i>	26.3
<i>Colliberti</i>	23.5
<i>Conservus + collibertus</i>	13.3
Patron	12.8
Owner	5.9
<i>Libertus</i>	11.8
<i>Servus</i>	2.3
<i>Verna</i>	1.1
<i>Vicarius</i>	3.0

Table 36. Data table for Figure 36 (Specific slavery relationships)

Inscription type	Percentage of <i>conservi</i>	Percentage of <i>colliberti</i>	Percentage of <i>conservus-collibertus</i> pairs
<i>Columbarium</i>	32.4	19.5	32.0
Household	6.5	37.3	30.4
Single grave	59.5	35.0	29.6
Honourary	0.4	8.2	0
Votive	0.4	0	1.6
Other	0.8	0	6.4

Table 37. Data table for Figure 37 (Inscription types of *conservi* and *colliberti*)

Julio-Claudian	Percentage
Emperor (unspecified)	23.8
Augustus	17.3
Tiberius	16.4
Nero	15.0
Livia	11.7
Claudius	7.0
Antonia Minor	4.7
Caligula	0.9
Statilia Messalina	0.9
Domitia	0.5
Germanicus	0.5
Messalina	0.5
Poppaea Sabina	0.5
Silanus	0.5

Table 38. Data table for Figure 38 (Julio-Claudian patrons of household owners)

Relationship type	Percentage
Marriage	15.0
Children	6.5
Family	7.0
Slavery	93.9
<i>Collegia</i>	4.2

Table 39. Data table for Figure 39 (Relationships of the slaves and freed slaves of Imperial household members)

Status	Percentage of males	Percentage of females
Freed	52.4	86.2
Slave	47.6	13.8

Table 40. Data table for Figure 40 (Gender and status among the households of Imperial slaves and freed slaves)

Occupational category	Percentage ¹⁴⁸¹
Administration	28.5
Appearance	2.4
Artisan	4.8
Attendant	16.7
Civil service	2.4
Entertainment	7.1
Finance	14.3
Food	9.5
Government	2.4
Medicine	7.1
Religion	2.4
Writing	2.4

Table 41. Data table for Figure 41 (Occupational distribution of the slaves and freed slaves of Julio-Claudian household members)

<i>Collegium</i> term	Percentage
Large inscription	42.7
<i>Decurio</i>	21.6
<i>Collegium</i>	14.2
Other	6.0
<i>Donum dedit</i>	5.2
<i>Immunis</i>	4.3
<i>Honoratus</i>	3.9
<i>Quaestor</i>	1.3
<i>Conlega</i>	0.9

Table 42. Data table for Figure 42 (*Collegium* terms)

¹⁴⁸¹ This is the percentage of all those slaves and freed slaves of Imperial slaves and Imperial freed slaves reporting an occupation (19.6% of the sample) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage ¹⁴⁸²
Administration	9.6
Agriculture	20.0
Appearance	2.0
Artisan	20.5
Attendant	12.9
Bodyguard	66.7
Civil service	13.0
Education	5.3
Entertainment	17.4
Finance	8.9
Food	5.6
Garden	65.0
Government	44.4
House	35.5
Medicine	10.0
Military	7.7
Religion	20.7
Trade	33.3
Writing	33.3
Other	0

Table 43. Data table for Figure 43 (Occupational categories and *collegium* involvement)

Gender	Percentage
Male	95.7
Female	4.3

Table 44. Data table for Figure 44 (Household of Augustus)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	1.4
Uncertain free	0.4
Imperial freed	47.0
Freed	1.1
Imperial slave	49.8
Slave	0
Single name	0.4

Table 45. Data table for Figure 44 (Household of Augustus)

¹⁴⁸² This is the percentage of all those within each occupational category who also report involvement with a *collegium*; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁸³
Administration	13.5
Agriculture	0
Appearance	4.5
Artisan	4.5
Attendant	20.7
Bodyguard	1.8
Civil service	9.9
Education	1.8
Entertainment	1.8
Finance	6.3
Food	1.8
Garden	1.8
Government	4.5
House	9.0
Medicine	0.9
Military	3.6
Religion	2.7
Trade	4.5
Writing	5.4
Other	0.9

Table 46. Data table for Figure 44 (Household of Augustus)

Gender	Percentage
Male	93.8
Female	6.3

Table 47. Data table for Figure 45 (Household of Tiberius)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0
Uncertain free	2.3
Imperial freed	35.8
Freed	0
Imperial slave	61.9
Slave	0
Single name	0

Table 48. Data table for Figure 45 (Household of Tiberius)

¹⁴⁸³ This is the percentage of the members of Augustus' household reporting an occupation (39.8% of those in Augustus' household) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage ¹⁴⁸⁴
Administration	8.4
Agriculture	3.6
Appearance	8.4
Artisan	3.6
Attendant	9.6
Bodyguard	2.4
Civil service	6.0
Education	2.4
Entertainment	3.6
Finance	3.6
Food	3.6
Garden	4.8
Government	0
House	14.5
Medicine	4.8
Military	6.0
Religion	3.6
Trade	3.6
Writing	7.2
Other	0

Table 49. Data table for Figure 45 (Household of Tiberius)

Gender	Percentage
Male	91.5
Female	8.5

Table 50. Data table for Figure 46 (Household of Caligula)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0
Uncertain free	0
Imperial freed	10.6
Freed	0
Imperial slave	89.4
Slave	0
Single name	0

Table 51. Data table for Figure 46 (Household of Caligula)

¹⁴⁸⁴ This is the percentage of the members of Tiberius' household reporting an occupation (47.2% of those in Tiberius' household) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁸⁵
Administration	7.7
Agriculture	3.8
Appearance	3.8
Artisan	7.7
Attendant	3.8
Bodyguard	0
Civil service	15.4
Education	0
Entertainment	0
Finance	0
Food	3.8
Garden	7.7
Government	0
House	23.1
Medicine	3.8
Military	0
Religion	0
Trade	7.7
Writing	11.5
Other	0

Table 52. Data table for Figure 46 (Household of Caligula)

Gender	Percentage
Male	93.2
Female	6.8

Table 53. Data table for Figure 47 (Household of Claudius)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	1.5
Uncertain free	2.3
Imperial freed	30.8
Freed	0
Imperial slave	65.4
Slave	0
Single name	0

Table 54. Data table for Figure 47 (Household of Claudius)

¹⁴⁸⁵ This is the percentage of the members of Caligula's household reporting an occupation (55.3% of those in Caligula's household) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁸⁶
Administration	16.9
Agriculture	4.5
Appearance	1.1
Artisan	5.6
Attendant	4.5
Bodyguard	11.2
Civil service	11.2
Education	0
Entertainment	1.1
Finance	1.1
Food	1.1
Garden	6.7
Government	0
House	15.7
Medicine	2.2
Military	0
Religion	4.5
Trade	5.6
Writing	5.6
Other	0

Table 55. Data table for Figure 47 (Household of Claudius)

Gender	Percentage
Male	90.5
Female	9.5

Table 56. Data table for Figure 48 (Household of Nero)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	3.2
Uncertain free	1.6
Imperial freed	34.9
Freed	0
Imperial slave	60.3
Slave	0
Single name	0

Table 57. Data table for Figure 48 (Household of Nero)

¹⁴⁸⁶ This is the percentage of the members of Claudius' household reporting an occupation (66.9% of those in Claudius' household) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁸⁷
Administration	17.8
Agriculture	6.7
Appearance	2.2
Artisan	0
Attendant	6.7
Bodyguard	48.9
Civil service	8.9
Education	2.2
Entertainment	0
Finance	0
Food	0
Garden	0
Government	0
House	2.2
Medicine	2.2
Military	0
Religion	0
Trade	0
Writing	0
Other	2.2

Table 58. Data table for Figure 48 (Household of Nero)

Gender	Percentage
Male	70.4
Female	29.6

Table 59. Data table for Figure 49 (Household of Livia)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0
Uncertain free	1.5
Imperial freed	57.7
Freed	0.5
Imperial slave	40.3
Slave	0
Single name	0

Table 60. Data table for Figure 49 (Household of Livia)

¹⁴⁸⁷ This is the percentage of the members of Nero's household reporting an occupation (71.4% of those in Nero's household) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁸⁸
Administration	7.5
Agriculture	2.2
Appearance	15.1
Artisan	16.1
Attendant	16.1
Bodyguard	0
Civil service	0
Education	2.2
Entertainment	1.1
Finance	9.7
Food	1.1
Garden	0
Government	0
House	8.6
Medicine	11.8
Military	0
Religion	4.3
Trade	3.2
Writing	1.1
Other	0

Table 61. Data table for Figure 49 (Household of Livia)

Gender	Percentage
Male	61.9
Female	38.1

Table 62. Data table for Figure 50 (Household of Antonia the Younger)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0
Uncertain free	0
Imperial freed	38.1
Freed	0
Imperial slave	61.9
Slave	0
Single name	0

Table 63. Data table for Figure 50 (Household of Antonia the Younger)

¹⁴⁸⁸ This is the percentage of the members of Livia's household reporting an occupation (47.4% of those in Livia's household) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁸⁹
Administration	20.0
Agriculture	0
Appearance	12.0
Artisan	8.0
Attendant	12.0
Bodyguard	4.0
Civil service	8.0
Education	0
Entertainment	8.0
Finance	4.0
Food	0
Garden	4.0
Government	0
House	0
Medicine	16.0
Military	0
Religion	4.0
Trade	0
Writing	0
Other	0

Table 64. Data table for Figure 50 (Household of Antonia the Younger)

¹⁴⁸⁹ This is the percentage of the members of Antonia the Younger's household reporting an occupation (39.7% of those in Antonia the Younger's household) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage
Administration	10.2
Agriculture	1.7
Appearance	14.4
Artisan	14.4
Attendant	15.3
Bodyguard	0.8
Civil service	1.7
Education	1.7
Entertainment	2.5
Finance	8.5
Food	0.8
Garden	0.8
Government	0
House	6.8
Medicine	12.7
Military	0
Religion	4.2
Trade	2.5
Writing	0.8
Other	0

Table 65. Data table for Figure 51 (Joint household of Livia and Antonia the Younger)

Gender	Percentage
Male	73.9
Female	26.1

Table 66. Data table for Figure 52 (Households of the Marcellae)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0
Uncertain free	0
Imperial freed	30.4
Freed	0
Imperial slave	69.6
Slave	0
Single name	0

Table 67. Data table for Figure 52 (Households of the Marcellae)

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁹⁰
Administration	9.1
Agriculture	0
Appearance	4.5
Artisan	9.1
Attendant	13.6
Bodyguard	0
Civil service	0
Education	0
Entertainment	4.5
Finance	22.7
Food	13.6
Garden	4.5
Government	0
House	4.5
Medicine	13.6
Military	0
Religion	0
Trade	0
Writing	0
Other	0

Table 68. Data table for Figure 52 (Households of the Marcellae)

Gender	Percentage
Male	90.6
Female	9.4

Table 69. Data table for Figure 53 (Household of Germanicus)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	6.3
Uncertain free	0
Imperial freed	28.1
Freed	0
Imperial slave	65.6
Slave	0
Single name	0

Table 70. Data table for Figure 53 (Household of Germanicus)

¹⁴⁹⁰ This is the percentage of the members of the households of the Marcellae reporting an occupation (47.8% of those in the households of the Marcellae) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁹¹
Administration	0
Agriculture	0
Appearance	12.5
Artisan	6.3
Attendant	0
Bodyguard	18.8
Civil service	0
Education	6.3
Entertainment	0
Finance	12.5
Food	6.3
Garden	12.5
Government	0
House	6.3
Medicine	6.3
Military	0
Religion	6.3
Trade	0
Writing	6.3
Other	0

Table 71. Data table for Figure 53 (Household of Germanicus)

Gender	Percentage
Male	55.6
Female	44.4

Table 72. Data table for Figure 54 (Household of Octavia the Younger)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0
Uncertain free	0
Imperial freed	44.4
Freed	0
Imperial slave	55.6
Slave	0
Single name	0

Table 73. Data table for Figure 54 (Household of Octavia the Younger)

¹⁴⁹¹ This is the percentage of the members of Germanicus' household reporting an occupation (50.0% of those in Germanicus' household) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁹²
Administration	25.0
Agriculture	0
Appearance	0
Artisan	0
Attendant	25.0
Bodyguard	0
Civil service	0
Education	0
Entertainment	25.0
Finance	0
Food	0
Garden	0
Government	0
House	0
Medicine	0
Military	0
Religion	0
Trade	0
Writing	25.0
Other	0

Table 74. Data table for Figure 54 (Household of Octavia the Younger)

Gender	Percentage
Male	83.3
Female	16.7

Table 75. Data table for Figure 55 (Household of Valeria Messalina)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0
Uncertain free	0
Imperial freed	16.7
Freed	0
Imperial slave	83.3
Slave	0
Single name	0

Table 76. Data table for Figure 55 (Household of Valeria Messalina)

¹⁴⁹² This is the percentage of the members of Octavia the Younger's household reporting an occupation (22.2% of those in Octavia the Younger's household) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁹³
Administration	12.5
Agriculture	12.5
Appearance	37.5
Artisan	0
Attendant	0
Bodyguard	0
Civil service	0
Education	25.0
Entertainment	0
Finance	12.5
Food	0
Garden	0
Government	0
House	0
Medicine	0
Military	0
Religion	0
Trade	0
Writing	0
Other	0

Table 77. Data table for Figure 55 (Household of Valeria Messalina)

Gender	Percentage
Male	61.5
Female	38.5

Table 78. Data table for Figure 56 (Household of Statilia Messalina)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0
Uncertain free	0
Imperial freed	23.1
Freed	0
Imperial slave	76.9
Slave	0
Single name	0

Table 79. Data table for Figure 56 (Household of Statilia Messalina)

¹⁴⁹³ This is the percentage of the members of Valeria Messalina's household reporting an occupation (44.4% of those in Valeria Messalina's household) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁹⁴
Administration	14.3
Agriculture	0
Appearance	0
Artisan	14.3
Attendant	14.3
Bodyguard	0
Civil service	0
Education	14.3
Entertainment	14.3
Finance	28.6
Food	0
Garden	0
Government	0
House	0
Medicine	0
Military	0
Religion	0
Trade	0
Writing	0
Other	0

Table 80. Data table for Figure 56 (Household of Statilia Messalina)

Gender	Percentage
Male	81.3
Female	18.8

Table 81. Data table for Figure 57 (Households of the Junii Silani)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0
Uncertain free	0
Imperial freed	0
Freed	50.0
Imperial slave	0
Slave	50.0
Single name	0

Table 82. Data table for Figure 57 (Households of the Junii Silani)

¹⁴⁹⁴ This is the percentage of the members of Statilia Messalina's household reporting an occupation (53.8% of those in Statilia Messalina's household) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁹⁵
Administration	22.2
Agriculture	0
Appearance	0
Artisan	0
Attendant	55.6
Bodyguard	0
Civil service	0
Education	11.1
Entertainment	11.1
Finance	0
Food	0
Garden	0
Government	0
House	0
Medicine	0
Military	0
Religion	0
Trade	0
Writing	0
Other	0

Table 83. Data table for Figure 57 (Households of the Junii Silani)

Gender	Percentage
Male	76.9
Female	23.1

Table 84. Data table for Figure 58 (Households of the Valerii Messalae)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0
Uncertain free	0
Imperial freed	0
Freed	53.8
Imperial slave	0
Slave	46.2
Single name	0

Table 85. Data table for Figure 58 (Households of the Valerii Messalae)

¹⁴⁹⁵ This is the percentage of the members of the households of the Junii Silani reporting an occupation (56.3% of those in the households of the Junii Silani) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁹⁶
Administration	0
Agriculture	0
Appearance	0
Artisan	0
Attendant	0
Bodyguard	0
Civil service	0
Education	0
Entertainment	0
Finance	0
Food	0
Garden	20.0
Government	20.0
House	20.0
Medicine	20.0
Military	0
Religion	0
Trade	20.0
Writing	0
Other	0

Table 86. Data table for Figure 58 (Households of the Valerii Messalae)

Gender	Percentage
Male	84.6
Female	15.4

Table 87. Data table for Figure 59 (Households of the Aemilii Paulli)

Status	Percentage
Freeborn	0
Uncertain free	0
Imperial freed	0
Freed	76.9
Imperial slave	0
Slave	23.1
Single name	0

Table 88. Data table for Figure 59 (Households of the Aemilii Paulli)

¹⁴⁹⁶ This is the percentage of the members of the households of the Valerii Messalae reporting an occupation (38.5% of those in the households of the Valerii Messalae) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage¹⁴⁹⁷
Administration	0
Agriculture	0
Appearance	0
Artisan	0
Attendant	0
Bodyguard	0
Civil service	0
Education	0
Entertainment	0
Finance	0
Food	0
Garden	0
Government	0
House	0
Medicine	0
Military	0
Religion	100.0
Trade	0
Writing	0
Other	0

Table 89. Data table for Figure 59 (Households of the Aemilii Paulli)

Household owner	Percentage of male household members	Percentage of female household members
Male Julio-Claudian	91.3	8.7
Female Julio-Claudian	67.9	32.1

Table 90. Data table for Figure 60 (Gender ratios of male- and female-owned households)

¹⁴⁹⁷ This is the percentage of the members of the households of the Aemilii Paulli reporting an occupation (7.7% of those in the households of the Aemilii Paulli) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

Occupational category	Percentage within households owned by male Julio-Claudians¹⁴⁹⁸	Percentage within households owned by female Julio-Claudians¹⁴⁹⁹
Administration	13.0	11.8
Agriculture	3.2	1.6
Appearance	4.1	13.9
Artisan	3.7	11.8
Attendant	11.1	13.9
Bodyguard	8.2	0.5
Civil service	13.5	1.1
Education	2.0	4.3
Entertainment	2.0	4.8
Finance	3.3	11.2
Food	1.7	2.7
Garden	3.3	1.1
Government	1.5	0
House	9.8	4.8
Medicine	3.0	10.7
Military	2.4	0
Religion	4.3	2.7
Trade	4.1	2.1
Writing	5.0	1.1
Other	0.7	0

Table 91. Data table for Figure 61 (Occupational distributions of male- and female-owned households)

¹⁴⁹⁸ This is the percentage of the members of male-owned households reporting an occupation (46.8% of those in male-owned households) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

¹⁴⁹⁹ This is the percentage of the members of female-owned households reporting an occupation (44.8% of those in female-owned households) whose occupation falls into each category; the full list of occupations in each category is in Appendix F.

APPENDIX H: AGNOMINA

It is not always possible to identify a specific individual or family as the previous owner indicated by the *agnomen*, even when it is possible to make a reasoned argument regarding the type of *agnomen* in question. This is particularly true for those *agnomina* deriving from elite *nomina* and, especially, for those that indicate origins in the households of Imperial freed slaves. Where it is possible – when the former owner appears in the same inscription, for instance, or when the former owner is a prominent Imperial freed slave such as Antonia Caenis or Claudia Acte – I have identified the potential former owner or owners; where it is not possible to draw any further conclusions beyond a bare *cognomen*, I have left the original owner column blank. For the information in the tables below, I am extremely indebted to Chantraine’s thorough catalogue of the *agnomina* of the Imperial household (1967, pp. 293-388).

Agnomina Derived from Foreign Client Kings

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
AE 1923, 00071 (& AE 1923, 00070)	Ti. Iulius Diogenes Remothalcianus	Remothalces, king of Thrace (d. 12 C.E.)	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04035	M. Livius Anteros Amyntianus	Amyntas, king of Galatia (d. 25 B.C.E.)	Livia
CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 1, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)	Apollonius Amyntianus	Amyntas, king of Galatia (d. 25 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 1, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)	Damocrates Amyntianus	Amyntas, king of Galatia (d. 25 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 1, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)	Gaa Amyntianus	Amyntas, king of Galatia (d. 25 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 04776	Dardanus Archelaianus	Archelaus, either father, king of Cappadocia, or son, king of Cilicia (d. 17 and 38)	Tiberius
CIL 6, 05872 (= CIL 6, *00876 = ILMN-01, 00092)	Philotimus Arcelaianus	Archelaus, either father, king of Cappadocia, or son, king of Cilicia (d.	Augustus

		17 and 38)	
CIL 6, 08738 (= D 07866)	Alexander Amyntianus	Amyntas, king of Galatia (d. 25 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 08894 (= ILMN-01, 00117 = AE 2005, 00190)	Epinius Amyntianus	Amyntas, king of Galatia (d. 25 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 09005 (= D 01795)	C. Iulius Coetus Herodianus	Herod, king of Judaea (d. 4 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 09046 (= ILMN-01, 00121)	Chius Iubatianus	Juba, king of Mauritania (d. 23)	Emperor (unspecified)

Agnomina Derived from Elite Nomina and Cognomina

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
AE 1921, 00069	Apollonius Maecenatianus	C. Cilnius Maecenas (d. 8 B.C.E.)	Tiberius
AE 1987, 00068	Felix Nasonianus	P. Ovidius Naso (d. 17)	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Argaeus Censorinianus		Claudius
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Attalus Fulvianus		Caligula
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Favonianus		Livia
CIL 11, 03173	Primigenius Vestinianus	M. Iulius Vestinus Atticus? (cos. 65)	Nero
CIL 11, 05756	C. Iulius Heraclida Cassianus	member of Cassii (various)	Augustus
CIL 14, 03920	Felix Fabianus	member of Fabii (various)	Claudius
CIL 5, 02386 (= CIL 5, *00434,05)	Fronto Lentianus	member of Corneliai Lentuli (various)	Claudius
CIL 6, 01963 (= CIL 6, 05180 = D 01948 = AE 2001, +00110)	C. Iulius Niceros Vedianus	P. Vedius Pollio (d. 15 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 03952	Asia Cascelliana	A. Cascellius (early Augustan jurist)	Livia
CIL 6, 03968	Natalis Licinianus	member of Licinii (various)	Livia
CIL 6, 04016	Cissus Maecenatianus	C. Cilnius Maecenas (d. 8 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 04016	Parmeno Maecenatianus	C. Cilnius Maecenas (d. 8 B.C.E.)	Livia
CIL 6, 04032	Agrypnus	C. Cilnius Maecenas (d.	Augustus

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
	Maecenatianus	8 B.C.E.)	
CIL 6, 04062	M. Livius Hilarus Cornelianus	member of Cornelii (various)	Livia
CIL 6, 04095	Anna Maecenatiana	C. Cilnius Maecenas (d. 8 B.C.E.)	Livia
CIL 6, 04116	M. Livius Dama Cascellianus	A. Cascellius (early Augustan jurist)	Livia
CIL 6, 04124 (= CIL 10, *01089,088 = CIL 11, *00027,08 = IMCCatania 00393)	M. Iulius Eros Maecilianus	member of Maecilii (various)	Livia
CIL 6, 04173	M. Iulius Mima Maronianus	P. Vergilius Maro (d. 19 B.C.E.)	Livia
CIL 6, 04173	M. Iulius Timotheus Maronianus	P. Vergilius Maro (d. 19 B.C.E.)	Livia
CIL 6, 04273	Elenchus Lentlianus	member of Cornelii Lentuli (various)	Livia
CIL 6, 04358	Pelops Scaplianus	P./Q. Ostorii Scapulae	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04402	Antonia Thethis Scaplana	P./Q. Ostorii Scapulae	Antonia the Younger
CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)	Pses Vedianus	P. Vedius Pollio (d. 15 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 05194 (= AE 1995, 00096)	Iulius Ismarus Titianus	member of Titii (various)	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 05226	Stymphalus Scapulanianus	P./Q. Ostorii Scapulae	Tiberius
CIL 6, 05245	Ti. Iulius Fuscus Cornificianus	L. Cornificius? (cos. 35 B.C.E.)	Tiberius
CIL 6, 05858 (= CIL 6, *00838 = ILMN-01, 00090)	Erastus Vedianus	P. Vedius Pollio (d. 15 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 05863 (= CIL 6, *00843 = CIL 11, *00690,1)	Hagius Sallustianus	C. Sallustius Crispus (d. 35 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 05873 (= CIL 6, *00884 = ILMN-01, 00093)	Amaranthus Turranianus	member of Turranii (various)	Augustus
CIL 6, 08688 (= CIL 10, *01088,176 = AE 1997, +00109 = AE 2000, +00068)	C. Iulius Bassus Aemilianus	member of Aemilii (various)	Augustus
CIL 6, 08705 (= ILMN- 01, 00109)	Ti. Iulius Limen Stabilianus		Tiberius
CIL 6, 08726 (= D 07733a = AE 2000, +00132)	Tychicus Crispinillianus	Calvia Crispinilla	None
CIL 6, 08738 (= D 07866)	Titurus Galerianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 08753	Eros Cornuficianus	L. Cornificius? (cos. 35	Augustus

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
		B.C.E.)	
CIL 6, 08781	Cissus Sulleianus	Cornelii Sullae?	Augustus
CIL 6, 08893	Anteros Vedianus	P. Vedius Pollio (d. 15 B.C.E.)	Tiberius
CIL 6, 08911	Apa Pollianus	Vipsania Polla, sister of Agrippa?	Livia
CIL 6, 09066	Philadelphus Scaplianus	P./Q. Ostorii Scapulae	Tiberius
CIL 6, 10267	Hymnus Volusianus	member of Volusii (various)	Augustus
CIL 6, 10302 (= CIL 9, *00427,13 = D 07352) & CIL 06, 09061 (p 3464) = CIL 05, *00429,069	Ti. Claudius Felix Scaplianus	P./Q. Ostorii Scapulae	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 16658 (= CIL 6, *03291)	C. Iulius Photus Cornificianus	L. Cornificius? (cos. 35 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 17265 (= CIL 6, 34107 = D 05452)	Ti. Iulius Eros Lollianus	member of Lollii (various)	Germanicus
CIL 6, 19926	C. Iulius Delphus Maecenatianus	C. Cilnius Maecenas (d. 8 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 19933 (& CIL 6, 08705?)	Ti. Iulius Diocles Stabilianus		Tiberius
CIL 6, 22970	Buzyges Maecenatianus	C. Cilnius Maecenas (d. 8 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 23569	Felix Fabianus	Fabius Maximus? (d. 14 C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 27686	C. Iulius Trypho Sallustianus	C. Sallustius Crispus (d. 35 B.C.E.)	Augustus
CIL 6, 34013 (= D 07868)	Mellax Veidianus	P. Vedius Pollio (d. 15 B.C.E.)	Augustus
LIKelsey 00231	C. Iulius Asinus Poplicolanus	member of Valerii?	Augustus
LIKelsey 00361	Maecentianus	C. Cilnius Maecenas (d. 8 B.C.E.)	Tiberius

***Agnomina* Derived from the *Cognomina* of Freed Slaves**

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
AE 1902, 00078 (= EE-09, 00606)	Ti. Claudius Capito Diodorianus		Emperor (unspecified)
AE 1912, 00183 (= LIHarvard 00007 = AE 1992, 00099)	Secundus Erotianus		Augustus
AE 1951, 00156	C. Iulius Philocalus Leonidianus		Augustus
TPSulp 00051 (= TPN 00043 = AE 1972,	Hesychnus Evenianus		Caligula

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
00086 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1992, +00272 = AE 1999, +00446c = AE 2006, +00135)			
TPSulp 00051 (= TPN 00043 = AE 1972, 00086 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1992, +00272 = AE 1999, +00446c = AE 2006, +00135)	Ti. Iulius Evenus Primianus		Tiberius
AE 1978, 00052 (= MI Roma-04, 00024)	Ser. Sulpicius Epaphroditus Callistianus	C. Iulius Callistus	None
AE 1982, 00199 (= TP Sulp 00094 = TPN 00096)	Amarantus Hyacinthianus		Claudius
AE 1990, 00068 (= CE Capitol 00024) & CIL 6, 04022	Felix Ingenuianus		Augustus
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Agathopus Onesimianus		Claudius
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Epaphroditus Chrestianus		Caligula
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Epaphroditus Tertianus		Caligula
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Euphemus Pallantianus	M. Antonius Pallas	Claudius
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Hymnus Delpianus		Tiberius
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Nymphius Delpianus		Claudius
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Primus Hilarianus		Claudius
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 =	Secundus Euporianus		Claudius

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)			
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Sextioninus		Caligula
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Ti. Claudius Chrysaon Philippianus		Claudius
CIL 10, 06666	M. Antonius Eros Caenidianus	Antonia Caenis	Antonia the Younger
CIL 10, 07980	Claudia Pythias Acteniana	Claudia Acte	Nero
CIL 11, 03199 (= D 03481)	Hermeros Theamidianus		Claudius
CIL 11, 07745	Regillianus		Claudius
CIL 14, 02259	Aesopus Apsyrrianus		Augustus
CIL 15, 00814,1	Ti. Claudius Ionicus Antimachianus		Claudius
CIL 3, 00563 (= CIL 3, 12289)	Domesticus Epagathianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 3, 00563 (= CIL 3, 12289) & CIL 6, 08486 (= CIL 3, 12289a = D 01600)	Ti. Claudius Hymenaeus Thamyrianus	Imperial freedman Thamyrus named in same inscriptions	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 3, 00563 (= CIL 3, 12289) & CIL 6, 08486 (= CIL 3, 12289a = D 01600)	Ti. Claudius Thamyrus Alexandrianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 4, 03340,030 (= Affaires 00030)	Abascantus Philippianus		Nero
CIL 4, 03340,101	Chryseros Narcissianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 5, 06638	Trophimus Dapinidianus		Claudius
CIL 6, 00143 (= D 03896a = AE 1994, 00191)	Carpus Pallantianus	M. Antonius Pallas	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 01859 (& CIL 6, 01860)	Ti. Claudius Secundus Philippianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 03934 (= AE 1992, +00092)	Faustus Tertianus		Livia
CIL 6, 03941	Hilarus Gugetianus		Livia
CIL 6, 03942	Myrtilus Diogenianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 03959 (= AE 1992, +00092)	Nicodemus Sponsianus	Livia Sponsa (CIL 6.04189 & CIL 6.04190)	Livia
CIL 6, 04012 (= D 07887 = AE 1992, +00092)	Philadelphus Potitianus		Livia
CIL 6, 04037	C. Iulius Heliodorus Panerotianus		Augustus

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
CIL 6, 04154	Gamus Damoclianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 04173	Ti. Iulius Meropis Demosthenianus		Tiberius
CIL 6, 04226 (= D 01620) & CIL 6, 04226a	Calamus Pamphilianus		Claudius
CIL 6, 04245	Eros Auctianus		Livia
CIL 6, 04246	Photis Aeneanianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 04472 (= AE 1999, +00173)	Synerotis Pamphilianus		Tiberius
CIL 6, 04558	Dama Dionysianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)	Amianthus Nicanorianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)	Amphio Philotechnianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)	Florus Spendontianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)	Onesimus Isochyrsianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 04741	Ti. Claudius Cosmus Clarianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 05181 (= D 01676)	Faustus Frontonianus		Tiberius
CIL 6, 05188 (= D 01589)	Alexander Pylaemenianus		Caligula
CIL 6, 05197 (= D 01514)	Musicus Scurranus		Tiberius
CIL 6, 05263 (= CLE 00988)	Ingenuus Sponsianus	Livia Sponsa (CIL 6.04189 & CIL 6.04190)	Livia
CIL 6, 05316	Clarus Alexandrianus		Tiberius
CIL 6, 05747 (= D 01743 = ILSanMichele 00005 = GLISwedish 00080 = AE 1997, +00102 = AE 2002, +00171)	C. Iulius Felix Ivatianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 08451	Ti. Claudius Epaphra Atticianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 08470 (= D 01535)	Ti. Claudius Carpus Pallantianus	M. Antonius Pallas	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 08738 (= D 07866)	Salvius Philotianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 08836 (= CIL 10, *00358,6 = ILMN-01, 00114)	Martialis Silvanianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 08843 (= CIL 10, *00836,3)	Thyrsus Halysianus		Claudius

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
CIL 6, 08901	Eros Sposianus	Livia Sponsa (CIL 6, 04189 & CIL 6, 04190)	Livia
CIL 6, 08909	Lyrius Celadianus		Tiberius
CIL 6, 08933 (= D 01689 = AE 1993, 00123) & CIL 6, 08934	Ti. Claudius Ianuarius Gratianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 09060 (= D 01641)	Ti. Claudius Hospes Leonidianus		Claudius
CIL 6, 09465 (= CIL 5, *00429,036)	Gamus Antiochinus		Agrippa
CIL 6, 10245 (= CIL 11, *00026,51)	Gamus Agathoclianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 10245 (= CIL 11, *00026,51)	Priscus Gamianus	Imperial freedman Gamus Agathoclianus named in same inscription	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 12456 (= CIL 10, *01089,042 = IMCCatania 00425)	Artemas Amomianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 12652 (= CLE 00995 = CIG 06268 = IG-14, 01892 = IGUR-03, 01250)	Ti. Claudius Atimetus Anterotianus		Dependent of an Imperial slave or freed slave
CIL 6, 12797	C. Iulius Auctus Amphionianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 13850 (= CIL 6, 34075)	Thalamus Xanthianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 14828	Cinnamus Faustianus		Tiberius
CIL 6, 15027	Ti. Claudius Epictetus Acteanus	Claudia Acte	Nero
CIL 6, 15082	Ti. Claudius Fortunatus Epaphroditianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 15110	Ti. Claudius Hermes Caenidianus	Antonia Caenis	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 15350	Actius Gamianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 15357	Hermes Actianus	Claudia Acte	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 15615	Epaphroditus Agnianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 18358	Flavia Helpis Caenidiana	Antonia Caenis	None
CIL 6, 20201 (= CIG 06695 = IG-14, 01694 = IGUR-02-01, 00618)	C. Iulius Phoebus Rufioninus		Augustus
CIL 6, 20706 (= ICUR-07, 18156)	Agathoclianus		Caligula
CIL 6, 25033	Iulius Princeps Anterotianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 29960	Ilissus Diogenianus		Augustus

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
CIL 6, 33370 (= D 01753)	Philargus Stephanianus		Octavia the Younger
CIL 6, 33788 (= D 01821)	Diognetus Alypianus		Tiberius
CIL 9, 04977 (= D 06558)	Gemellus Primigenianus		Nero
EE-09, 00737	C. Iulius Crescens Clarianus		Augustus
InscrAqu-01, 00466 (= IEAquil 00277)	Bassus Tropianus		Augustus
InscrAqu-01, 00474 (= IEAquil 00153)	Secundus Symphorianus		Claudius

***Agnomina* Derived from Other Julio-Claudians**

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
AE 1923, 00073	Romanus Iulianus	Julia the Elder	Augustus
AE 1973, 00157 (= TPSulp 00069 = TPN 00060)	Phosphorus Lepidianus	Aemilius Lepidus	Claudius
AE 1979, 00033 (= EAOR-01, 00004 = AE 1982, 00049)	Idumaeus Maternus	Livia	Tiberius
AE 1989, 00115	Aphrodisius	Augustus	Tiberius
CIL 10, 06646	Ti. Claudius Maternus	Either Antonia the Younger or Agrippina the Younger	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 11, 02916 (= CIL 14, 02420 = EE-09, p 403)	Chryseros Drusianus	Drusus the Elder	Tiberius
CIL 12, 00257 (= ILN-01, 00013 = D 02822)	Anthus Livianus	Livia	Augustus
CIL 13, 02449 (= ILAin 00009 = CAG-01, p 107)	Ti. Claudius Coinnacus Atticus Agrippianus	Agrippina the Younger	Nero
CIL 14, 02835	Ti. Claudius Phoebus Antonianus	Antonia the Younger	Claudius
CIL 4, 04473	Fructus Atianus	Atia	Augustus
CIL 5, 01067	Amphion Drusianus	Drusus the Elder	Tiberius
CIL 6, 00099	Ti. Claudius Gemellus Poppaeus	Poppaea Sabina	Nero
CIL 6, 00103 (= CIL 6, 30692 = D 01879)	Bebryx Drusianus	Drusus the Elder?	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 02260	Perennus Claudianus	Claudius	None
CIL 6, 02354	Bithus Paullianus	Paullus Aemilius	None
CIL 6, 03935	Primus Maternus	Livia	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04018	M. Livius Antigonus	Antonia the Younger	Livia

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
	Antonianus		
CIL 6, 04026 (= AE 1992, +00092)	Sus Maternus	Livia	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04036 (= CIL 10, *01089,209 = IMCCatania 00390)	Venustus Maternus	Livia	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04180	M. Livius Philomusus Drusianus	Drusus the Elder	Livia
CIL 6, 04336	Felix Germanicianus	Germanicus	None
CIL 6, 04337 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718, & CIL 6, 04338)	Bassus Germanicianus	Germanicus	Drusus Caesar
CIL 6, 04339	Macer Germanicianus	Germanicus	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04341 (= D 01717)	Valens Germanicianus	Germanicus	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04344 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01722)	Nereus Germanicianus	Germanicus	Nero Caesar
CIL 6, 04351 (= CIL 11, *00547a4 = D 01802)	Diocles Germanicianus	Germanicus	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04353	Philonicus Germanicianus	Germanicus	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04357 (= LIKelsey 00394 = AE 2000, +00132)	Nestor Germanicianus	Germanicus	Caligula
CIL 6, 04398	Euhemerus Germanicianus	Germanicus	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04399	Pythion Germanicianus	Germanicus	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04409	Xystus Germanicianus	Germanicus	Tiberius
CIL 6, 04437	Sinnio Drusianus	Drusus the Elder?	Augustus
CIL 6, 04501	Valeria Nama Marcelliana	Marcella the Younger	Valerius Messala
CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)	Eros Antonianus	Antonia (either)	Augustus
CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)	Hermes Iulianus	Julia the Elder	Augustus
CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)	Lucrio Antonianus	Antonia (either)	Augustus
CIL 6, 04808	Philotimus Agrippianus	Agrippa	None
CIL 6, 05202 (= D 01778) & CIL 6, 05203	C. Iulius Cozumus Agrippianus	Agrippa	Augustus
CIL 6, 05206 (= D 01755)	Narcissus Augustianus	Augustus	Tiberius
CIL 6, 05223	Ti. Iulius Castor Agrippianus	Livia	Tiberius
CIL 6, 05248	Ti. Iulius Nereus Paternus	Augustus	Tiberius

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
CIL 6, 05299	Princeps Agrippianus	Agrippa	Augustus
CIL 6, 05358 (= D 01772)	Pinytus Maternus	Livia	Tiberius
CIL 6, 05540 (= D 01789 = Libitina-02, 00083)	Celadio Germanicianus	Germanicus	Tiberius
CIL 6, 05751	Himerus Iulianus	Julia the Elder	Augustus
CIL 6, 05837	Phosphorus Iulianus	Julia the Elder	Augustus
CIL 6, 05849 (= CIL 6, *00828)	C. Iulius Acastus Agrippianus	Agrippa	Augustus
CIL 6, 08012 (= CLE 00134 = D 08436 = AE 1991, 00073)	C. Iulius Philagrus Agrippianus	Agrippa	Augustus
CIL 6, 08665	Epelys Maternus	Antonia the Younger	Claudius
CIL 6, 08738 (= D 07866)	Antigonus Paternus	Julius Caesar?	Augustus
CIL 6, 08820	Atticus Agrippianus	Agrippa	Augustus
CIL 6, 08822 (= CIL 10, *01088,083 = D 01655), CIL 6, 08823 (= CIL 10, *01088,084), CIL 6, 08824 (= CIL 10, *01088,085)	Cinnamus Drusillianus	Julia Drusilla	Claudius
CIL 6, 08822 (= CIL 10, *01088,083 = D 01655), CIL 6, 08823 (= CIL 10, *01088,084), CIL 6, 08824 (= CIL 10, *01088,085)	Secunda Drusilliana	Julia Drusilla	Caligula
CIL 6, 08824 (= CIL 10, *01088,085)	Cinnamis Drusilliana	Julia Drusilla	Caligula
CIL 6, 08880	Dionysia Materna	Livia	Tiberius
CIL 6, 08938 (= D 01690)	Ti. Claudius Thales Vinicianus	M. Vinicius	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 08954 (= D 01782 = AE 2000, +00132)	T. Flavius Parthenopaeus Poppeanus	Poppaea Sabina	None
CIL 06, 10172 (= D 05152 = EAOR-01, 00033 = Gummerus-01, 00116) & CIL 06, 10173 (= EAOR-01, 00034 = Gummerus-01, 00117)	T. Flavius Eutychus Neronianus	Nero	None
CIL 6, 11631	Anicetus Caianus	Caius Caesar?	Augustus
CIL 6, 15314	Ti. Claudius Victor Antonianus	Claudia Antonia or Antonia the Younger	Claudius
CIL 6, 15551 (= D 07933)	Successus Octavianus	Claudia Octavia	None
CIL 6, 15616	Anthus Agrippinianus	Agrippina the Younger	None
CIL 6, 18203	T. Flavius Sedatus	Claudia Antonia?	None

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
	Antonianus		
CIL 6, 18816 (= CIL 6, 27772)	Clemens Claudianus	Claudius	Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 19746	Ti. Iulius Iucundus Augustianus	Augustus	Tiberius
CIL 6, 20112 (= CIL 10, *01045,4 = CIL 10, *01088,188 = CIL 12, *00068,2b)	C. Iulius Lochus Quinctilianus	Quinctilius Varus	Augustus
CIL 6, 22679	Faustus Iulianus	Julia the Elder	Augustus
CIL 6, 24164	Phoebus Agrippinianus	Agrippina the Younger	None
CIL 6, 33737 (= AE 1896, 00092)	Polybius Agrippinianus	Agrippina the Younger	None
CIL 6, 33767 (= CIL 13, *00303 = CIL 14, *00292,1)	Epaenus Augustianus Iulianus	Emperor (unspecified)	Valeria Messalina
CIL 6, 33767 (= CIL 13, *00303 = CIL 14, *00292,1)	Seleucus Germanicianus	Germanicus	Caligula
CIL 6, 33768	Philemo Agrippianus	Agrippa	Augustus
CIL 6, 33768 & CIL 6, 08756 (= ILMN-01, 00112)	Zoilus Agrippianus	Agrippa	Augustus
CIL 6, 36911	Narcissus Agrippinianus	Agrippina the Younger	None
CIL 6, 40415 (= Gordon 00091 = AE 1953, +00024 = AE 1980, 00057b) & CIL 6, 40414 (= Gordon 00090 = AE 1953, 00024 = AE 1980, 00057a)	Iulianus		Claudius
CIL 8, 01816	C. Iulius Saturninus Caligianus	Caligula	None
EE-08-01, 00335 (& EE-08-01, 00336 and EE-08-01, 00337 = EE-08-01, 00863 = D 05798)	Ti. Claudius Diadumenus Antonianus	Antonia the Younger	Claudius

***Agnomina* Derived from Unknown Sources**

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
AE 1998, 01574	C. Iulius Crestus Samianus		Augustus

Inscription	Name including <i>agnomen</i>	Original owner	Julio-Claudian owner
CIL 10, 06318 (= D 02815, & CIL 16, 00001 = CIL 03, p 0844 = CIL 10, 00769 = D 01986 = Stabiae 00016 = EpThess 00021)	Ti. Iulius Optatus Pontianus ¹⁵⁰⁰		Tiberius
CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055)	Alianus		Claudius
CIL 6, 04903	Anthus Sebosianus		Augustus
CIL 6, 08727	Seleucus Lysenianus		Livia
CIL 6, 15062	Ti. Claudius Felix Tadianus		Emperor (unspecified)
CIL 6, 18269	M. Vipsanius Antiochus Sittianus		Agrippa
CIL 6, 18269	M. Vipsanius Troilus Sittianus		Agrippa
ILMN-01, 00635 = CIL 6, *00963 = CIL 6, *00964	Byra Canaciana		Livia

¹⁵⁰⁰ The *agnomen* appears only in the inscriptions, not in either Pliny the Elder (HN 9.62) or Macrobius (Sat. 3.16.10). Cf. p. 261, n. 970.

APPENDIX I: TERMS OF FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIP

Relationship Term	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Alumnus</i>	1	0.5
<i>Avia</i>	2	0.9
<i>Avus</i>	1	0.5
<i>Collactaneus</i>	1	0.5
Cousin	2	0.9
Fosterer	1	0.5
<i>Frater</i>	52	24.2
<i>Gener</i> (son-in-law)	3	1.4
<i>Mamma</i>	1	0.5
<i>Mater</i>	44	20.5
Miscellaneous relative (<i>propinquus, cognatus, agnatus, etc</i>)	18	8.4
<i>Nepos</i>	13	6.0
<i>Nurus</i> (daughter-in-law)	1	0.5
<i>Nutricius</i>	1	0.5
Other in-law	12	5.6
<i>Pater</i>	31	14.4
<i>Socer</i> (father-in-law)	3	1.4
<i>Socrus</i> (mother-in-law)	1	0.5
<i>Soror</i>	24	11.2
Uncle	2	0.9
Pupil	1	0.5

Table 92. Distribution of terms of familial relationship

APPENDIX J: CORRESPONDANCE REGARDING EVENUS AND HESYCHUS

TPSulp 00051 = TPN 00043 = AE 1972, 00086 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1992,
+00272 = AE 1999, +00446c = AE 2006, +00135 (Pompeii)

Chirographum C(ai) Nov//ii Euni HS X(milia) mutuorum / Put(eolis) XIV K(alendas) Iul(ias) // Proculo et Nigrino co(n)sulibus) // Cn(aeo) Acceronio Proculo C(aio) Petronio Pontio co(n)s(ulibus) / XIV K(alendas) Iulias / C(aius) Novius Eunus scrips{s}i me accepisse ob / mutua ab Eueno Ti(beri) C(a)es{s}aris Augusti / liberto Primiano a<b=P>s{s}ente per / Hessucus(!) ser(vum) eius et debere ei sestert(i)a / decem milia nummu(m) qu(a)e ei red(d)am / cum peti{a}erit et ea sestert(i)a decem mi/lia (!) s(upra) s(cripta) s(unt) p(roba) r(ecte) d(ari) stipulatus est Hessucus(!) / Eueni Ti(beri) C(a)es{s}aris Augusti l(iberti) Primiani / ser(vus) sp<o=E>po(n)di ego C(aius) Novius Eunus / pro quem iis sesterti(i)s decem milibus / num(m)u(m) ded<i=E> ei pignoris arr(a)<b=R>onis//ve nomine tri<t=D>ici Al(e)xa(n)drini modium / septe(m) milia plus minus et ciceris far(r)is / monoc(o)pi lentis in sac(c)is ducentis modium / quat(tu)or milia plus minus qu(a)e om{i}nia / pos{s}ita habeo pen<e=U>s me in hor(r)eis Bassianis / vi periculo meo est fateor / actum Put(e)olis // C(ai) Novii / Euni / Q(uinti) Lalerni / [3] / C(ai) Sulpici / [F]austi / C(ai) [3] / [6] / [6] / Helvi / C(ai) Novii / Euni // Cn(aeo) Acceronio Proculo C(aio) Petronio Pontio co(n)s(ulibus) / quartum(!) K(alendas) Iulias / C(aius) Novius Eunus scripsi me accepisse mutua ab Eueno / Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti liberto Primiano a<b=P>sente per / Hesychum servum eius et debere ei sestertium / decem mil{l}ia nummum quae ei reddam cum / petierit / et ea HS X(milia) n(ummum) q(uae) s(upra) s(cripta) s(unt) p(roba) r(ecte) d(ari) stipulatus est / Hesychus Eueni Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti l(iberti) Primiani / ser(vus) spopondi ego C(aius) Novius Eunus pro que(m) / iis sesterti(i)s decem m[il]ibus nummum dedi / ei pignoris arrabonise nomine tritici Alexandrini / modium septem mil{l}ia [plu]s minus et ciceris farris monocopi / lentis in saccis duc[en]tis [mod]ium quattuor mil{l}ia p(lus) m(inus) / quae omnia reposita habeo penes me in horreis / Bassianis publicis Pu[teo]lanorum quae ab omni vi / periculo meo esse fat[e]or act(um) Puteolis

Written in the hand of C. Novius Eunus on the loan of 10,000 sesterces at Puteoli on the 14th day before the Kalends of July under the consuls Proculus and Nigrinus (i.e., 18 June 37). On the 14th day before the Kalends of July under the consuls Cn. Acceronius Proculus and C. Petronius Pontius, I, C. Novius Eunus, have written that I have received this as a loan from Evenus Primianus, freedman of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, in his absence through his slave Hessucus and that I owe to him 10,000 sesterces which I shall return to him when he shall request it and that Hessucus, slave of Evenus Primianus, freedman of Tiberius Caesar Augustus has stipulated that the 10,000 sesterces written above is correctly given. As a pledge for these 10,000 sesterces, I, C. Novius Eunus, have given more or less seven thousand *modii* of Alexandrian wheat and more or less four thousand *modii* of chickpeas, spelt, monocopi, and lentils in two hundred sacks, all of which I have in my storage in the Bassian warehouses at Puteoli, for which I bear all risk.

TPSulp 00052 = TPN 00044 = AE 1972, 00087 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1992, +00272 = AE 1999, +00446c (Pompeii)

Chirographum C(ai) No/vii Euni HS III(milia) mutuor(um) / praeter alia HS X(milia) // ob pignus tritici // C(aio) C(a)es{s}are Germanico Aug(usto) / Ti(berio) Claudio Germanico co(n)s(ulibus) / VI Nonas Iulias C(aius) Novius Eunus / scrips{s}i me accepisse mutua ab / Hessuco(!) Eun{n}i Ti(beri) C(a)es{s}aris Augusti / l(iberti) Primiani ser(vo) [[mut(u)a]] et / debere ei sestertia tr(i)a milia / nummu(m) pr(a)e(ter) alia HS X n(ummum) / qu(a)e alio chirographo meo / eidem debo et ea sestertia / tr(i)a milia num(mum) {nummu} / q(uae) s(upra) s(crupta) s(unt) pr(obe) {r(ecte)} rec{e}te dari // Stipulatus e<st=TS> Hessucus(!) Euni / Ti(beri) C(a)es{s}aris Augusti l(iberti) Primiani / ser(vus) sp<o=E>po(n)di ego C(aius) Novius Eunus / in qua om{i}nis sum(m)a dedi ei / pignoris tri<t=D>i<c=G>i Al(e)xandrini modi/um septe(m) milia quo<d=T> est pos{s}it[um] / in hor(r)eis Bassianis pu<b=P>licis Put(e)ola[n(orum)] / medi(i)s hor(r)eo duode[cimo] et sac(c)os ducen[t]/os lentis c[ice]r[is 3]jissi monocopi / et faris in quibus sunt modium / quat(tu)or milia qui sunt pos{s}iti in / isdem hor(r)eis qu(a)e om{i}nia ab om{i}ni / vi p(e)riculo meo est fat(e)or / actum Put(e)olis // C(ai) Novii E[uni] / A(uli) M[evii] A(uli) f(ilii) / Fal(erna) Iu[li] / Cypaeri / [6] / [C(ai) Novii Euni]

Written in the hand of C. Novius Eunus on the loan of 3,000 sesterces beyond the other 10,000 sesterces for the pledge of wheat. On the 6th day before the Nones of July under the consuls C. Caesar Germanicus Augustus and Ti. Claudius Germanicus (i.e., 2 July 37), I, C. Novius Eunus, have written that I have received a loan from Hessucus, slave of Evenus Primianus, freedman of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, and that I owe to him 3,000 sesterces beyond the other 10,000 sesterces which I owe the same man in another one of my notes and that Hessucus, slave of Evenus Primianus, freedman of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, has stipulated that the 3,000 sesterces written above is correctly given. As a pledge for the whole sum, I, C. Novius Eunus, have given him 7,000 *modii* of Alexandrian wheat which is deposited in the public Bassian warehouses of Puteoli in the twelfth warehouse and two hundred sacks of lentils, chickpeas, monocopi and spelt in which there are 4,000 *modii*, which are deposited in the same warehouses for which I bear all the risk for all of it.

TPSulp 00045 = TPN 00086 = AE 1969/70, 00100 = AE 1971, +00091 = AE 1973, 00143 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1984, 00239 = AE 2006, +00135 (Pompeii)

Chir[ograp]hum Diogne//ti C(ai) Novii Cypaeri servi / co[ndu]ctionis hor//rei XII in Bassianis / in quo triticum est // p[i]gnori accept(um) a C(aio) Novio Euno // C(aio) Caesare Germanico Augusto / Ti(berio) Claudio Nerone Germanico co(n)s(ulibus) / VI Non(as) Iulias / Diognetus C(ai) Novi Cypaeri ser(vus) / scripsi ius(s)u Cypaeri domini / mei cora(m) ipsum me locasse / Hesico Ti(beri) Iulii Augusti liberti / {A}Eueni ser(vo) horreum XII / in horreis Bassianis publicis Put<e=I>olano/rum medi(i)s in quo repositu / est triticum Alexandrini / quod pignori accepit // Hodie ab C(aio) Novio Euno / item in isdem horreis / imis intercolumnia ub<i=E> / repositos habet saccos legu/m<i=E>num

ducentos quos / pignori accepit ab {a}eodem / Eunum / ex K(alendis) Iuli(i)s in menses singulos / sesterti(i)s sing(u)lis nummis / act(um) Put<e=I>olis // C(ai) Novii Cypaeri / A(uli) Mevii A(uli) f(ili) Fal(erna) Iuli / Diogneti C(ai) Novii Cypaeri ser(vi) / C(ai) Novii Cypaeri l(iberti) Euni / Irenaeni C(ai) Iuli Senecionis / ser(vi) / [Dio]gneti / C(ai) Novii Cypaeri ser(vi) // C(aio) Caesare Germanico Augusto / Ti(berio) Claudio Nerone Germanico co(n)s(ulibus) / sextum Nonas Iulias Diognetus C(ai) Novi / Cypaeri servus scripsi iussu Cypaeri domini / mei coram ipso me locasse Hesychus / Ti(beri) Iuli Augusti l(iberti) Eueni ser(vo) horreum / duodecimum in horreis Bassianis publicis / Puteolanorum medi(i)s in quo repositum / est triticum Alexandrinum quod pignori / accepit hac die a C(aio) Novio Euno item / in iisdem horreis {horreis} imis inter/columnia ubi repositos habet saccos / leguminum ducentos quos pignori accepit ab / eodem Euno ex Kal(endis) Iuliis in menses / singulos sestertiis singulis num(mis) act(um) Put(eolis)

Written in the hand of Diognetus, slave of C. Novius Cypaerus, managing the twelfth Bassian warehouse, in which there is wheat, the pledge accepted from C. Novius Eunus. On the 6th day before the Nones of July, when C. Caesar Germanicus Augustus and Ti. Claudius Nero Germanicus were consuls (i.e., 2 July 37), I, Diognetus, slave of C. Novius Cypaerus, have written by the order of my master Cypaerus that I have personally placed this for Hesychus, slave of Ti. Iulius Evenus, freedman of Tiberius Augustus, in the twelfth public Bassian warehouse of Puteoli in which there is Alexandrian wheat, which he has accepted as pledge. Today there is also are the same rear warehouses, between the columns, two hundred sacks of legumes which have been deposited, which he has received as a pledge from the same C. Novius Eunus, from the Kalends of July the same month. Done at Puteoli. Signed: C. Novius Cypaerus, A. Mevius Iulius, son of Aulus, from the Falerna tribe, Diognetus, slave of C. Novius Cypaerus, C. Novius Eunus, freedman of Cypaerus, and Irenaenus, slave of C. Iulius Senecio.

TPSulp 00067 = TPN 00058 = AE 1972, 00088 = AE 1980, +00047 (Pompeii)

Ser(vio) As{s}inio Celere Sex(to) Nonio co(n)s(ulibus) / IV K(alendas) Septe(m)b{e}res / C(aius) Novius E[u]nus scrips{s}i me / debere H[es]uco C(ai) C(a)es{s}aris Aug(usti) / Germ[anic]i ser(vo) Eveniano / sesterti[os] mil(l)e] centum trigin(t)a / numm[os] quos ab eo mutuos / su(m)[p]s{s}i et [reddam] ips{s}i aut / C(aio) Sulpicio [Fausto] cum peti<e=A>rit / eosque sestertios mil(l)e cent(um) // trigin(t)a nu[m]mos q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti) s(unt) / proba(!) rec[te da]ri stipulatus / e<st=TS> He[sucus] C(ai) C(a)es{s}aris Augusti / Germ[anic]i ser(vus) Euenianu[s] / sp<o=E>po(n)di e[go] C(aius) No]vius Eunus / actum Put(e)olis // C(ai) Nov[ii] Euni / L(uci) Mamili In[3] / C(ai) Nummii M[3] / Hesuchi [C(ai) Caesaris ser(vi)] / C(ai) Novii Eu[ni] // [Ser(vio) Asini]o Celere Sex(to) Nonio Quinct[iliano] co(n)s(ulibus) / IIII K(alendas) Septemb[r]es / [C(aius) Novius] Eunus scripsi me debere / [Hesychus] C(ai) Caesaris Aug(usti) German[ici] / [ser(vo) Eveniano] HS MCXXX [n(ummos) qu]os ab e[o] / [mutuos sumps]i et [reddam] ipsi aut] / [C(aio) Sulpicio Fausto] cum / [

On the 4th day before the Kalends of September under the consuls Ser. Asinius Celer and Sex. Nonius (i.e., 29 August 38), I, C. Novius Eunus, have written that I owe to Hesucus Evenianus, slave of C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus, 1,130 sesterces which I have obtained as a loan from him and that I shall return them to him or to C. Sulpicius Faustus when he shall request it and that Hesucus Evenianus, slave of C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus, has stipulated that the 1,130 sesterces written above is correctly given. I, C. Novius Eunus, have given this at Puteoli.

TPSulp 00068 = TPN 00059 = AE 1973, 00138 = AE 1980, +00047 (Pompeii)

*Cn(aeo) Domitio Afro A(ulo) Didio Gal[l]o co(n)s(ulibus) / XVII K(alendas)
 Oct[ob]r[es] / C(aius) Novius Eunus scrips[s]i me debere / Hesuco C(ai) C(a)es[s]aris
 Augusti Germanic(i) / ser(vo) Eveniano s[t]e(s)[r]tertios mil(l)e / ducentos
 qui(n)quaginta nummos / reliquos ratione om[ni] putata / quos ab eo mut(u)os accepi
 qu<a=E>m / sum(m)a iuratus promis[s]i me / aut ips[s]i Hesuco aut C(aio) Sulpicio /
 Fausto red(di)turum K(alendis) No(v)embrib[us] / primis per Io<v=B>e(m)
 Opt<i=U>m(u)m Max<i=U>/mu(m) et nume(n) di<v=B>i Augusti et / Genium C(ai)
 C(a)es[s]aris Augusti / quo<d=T> si ea die non solvero // me non{t} solum peiurio
 tene/ri se<d=T> etiam p<oe=EO>n(a)e nomine / in d(i)e(s) si(n)gulos sestertios
 vi<c=G>[i]enos / nummo(s) obligatum iri et / eos HS |(mille)CCL q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti)
 s(unt) probos recte / dari stipulatus e(s)t Hessucus C(ai) / C(a)es[s]aris ser(vus)
 sp<o=E>po(n)di C(aius) Novi/us Eunus / actum in colonia Iulia / Augusta Put(e)olis //
 C(ai) [Novii Euni] / C(ai) Iulii Myrtili / C(ai) Marcii Diogenis / C(ai) Publilii Theodori /
 C(ai) Novii Euni // Cn(aeo) Domitio Afro A(ulo) Didio Gallo co(n)s(ulibus) / XVII
 K(alendas) Octobres C(aius) N[o]vius Eunus scripsi / me debere Hesych(o) C(ai) Caesaris
 Augusti Germa[n]ici s[er]v(o) [Evenia]no sestertios mille ducentos / quinquaginta
 nummos reliquos ratione / omni putata quos ab eo mutuos accepi / quam summam
 iuratus promisi me a[ut] / ipsi Hesych(o) aut C(aio) Sulpicio Fausto redditu/rum
 K(alendis) Novembribus primis per Iovem Opt<i=U>/mum Max(imum) et numen divi
 Aug(usti) et Geni/um C(ai) Caesaris Augusti quod si ea die non / solvero me non solum
 peiurio teneri / sed etiam poenae nomine in dies sing(ulos) / HS XX nummos obligatum
 iri et eos HS |(mille)CCL / q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti) s(unt) p(robos) r(ecte) d(ari) stipulatus
 est Hesychus C(ai) Caesaris ser(vus) / spo[n]di C(aius) Novius Eunuus act(um) Puteolis*

On the 17th day before the Kalends of October under the consuls Cn. Domitius Afer and A. Didius Gallus (i.e., 15 September 39), I, C. Novius Eunus, have written that I owe to Hesucus Evenianus, slave of C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus, 1,250 sesterces remaining on all accounts, which I have received from him as a loan and which sum I have sworn and promised that I shall return either to Hesucus himself or to C. Sulpicius Faustus by the next Kalends of November, by Jupiter Optimus Maximus and by the spirit of the divine Augustus and by the genius of C. Caesar Augustus and that if I do not resolve the debt by that day, I shall not only be held to have sworn falsely but I shall also be obligated for twenty sesterces for each day and that Hessucus, slave of C. Caesar, has stipulated that the 1,250 sesterces which are written above is given correctly. I, C. Novius Eunus, have given this at the colony of Iulia Augusta Puteolis.

APPENDIX K: INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HOUSEHOLD OF CLAUDIA ACTE

C(aio) Cassio Pal(atina) Blaesiano / dec(urioni) coh(ortis) Ligurum / principi equitum / ipsi familiae posteris / libertis libertabusque eius / Ti(berius) Claudius Actes l(ibertus) Eutyclus / amico optimo ex testamento / eius fecit (AE 1892, 00137 = ILSard-01, 00313 = D 02595)

Tyrannus / Actes l(ibertus) verna / scriba librarius / Tyranni et Geminae f(ilius) / vixit annis XXXIII / decessit Nicomediae / superstite / Claud[io] Vitale (CIL 6, 01867a = CIL 06, 32269)

Diis Manibus / Helio / Actes Aug(usti) l(ibertae) / liberto / a cubiculo (CIL 6, 08760 = D 01742)

D(is) M(anibus) / Claudio Storaci / Actes lib(erto) scr(ibae) / cubiculariorum / v(ixit) a(nnos) LX patri b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit) // D(is) M(anibus) / Moschidi / Actes lib(ertae) / matri b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit) // Claud(ius) Storax et [G]lyptus (CIL 6, 08767)

D(is) M(anibus) / Thallo / Actes n(ostrae) ser(vo) / cub(iculario) vi(xit) an(nos) XXVII / fec(erunt) Diadume(nos) / et Phocion et / Philetus cons(ervi) (CIL 6, 08791)

D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berius) Cla(u)d(ius) / Crescens / Actes l(ibertus) cursor / Musae lib(ertae) / idem coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) / fec(it) et sibi et suis / v(ixit) a(nnos) XXII (CIL 6, 08801 = AE 2000, +00132)

Thelyco / Eutychi / Actes Aug(usti) l(ibertae) l(iberto) / alumno a manu / vixit ann(os) XX (CIL 6, 08890 = D 07396)

D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berio) Cl(audio) Neptunali / filio piissimo fec(it) / Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Thallus / Ti(beri) Cl(audi) Thesei / libertus // D(is) M(anibus) / Stephano / Actes n(ostrae) / pistori vix(it) a(nnos) XXIV / Saturninus / sororis f(ilius?) / consecravit (CIL 6, 09002)

D(is) M(anibus) / Phoebi Actes Aug(usti) l(ibertae) l(iberti) / proc(uratoris) summ(arum) / Demetrius et Pensata / parent(es) optim(o) (CIL 6, 09030 = CIL 6, 34865a = D 07386 = AE 1969/70, +00067)

D(is) M(anibus) / Agathopo / Actes n(ostri) ser(vo) / Felicula / coniux / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit) / v(ixit) a(nnos) XXXVIII // D(is) M(anibus) / Claudiae / Primitivae / Ti(berius) Claudius / Abascantus / coniugi be(ne) / meren(ti) (CIL 6, 11242 = CIL 6, 11243)

Dis Man(ibus) / Bulimioni l(iberto) / Claudiae Actes / fecit Dionysia / co(n)iugi b(ene) m(erenti) / vix(it) an(nos) XL (CIL 6, 13659)

Claudio / Actes lib(erto) / Artemae / Helpis / lib(ertae) (CIL 6, 14942)

Ti(berius) Claudius / Lupercus / Actes lib(ertus) (CIL 6, 15137)

Dis Manibus sacru(m) / Ti(berio) Claudio Onesimo / Actes lib(erto) Claudia / Felicula coniugi suo / bene merenti fecit / vixit cum eo annis XXI (CIL 6, 15176 = CSIR-GB-03-02-02, 00013)

Dis Manibus / Claudiae Actes Aug(usti) l(ibertae) l(ibertae) Auctae / Ti(berius) Claudius Demetrius / uxori et / Ti(berius) Claudius Euplastus / conlib(ertae) optime de se / meritae fecer(unt) (CIL 6, 15366)

D(is) M(anibus) / Claudiae Actes l(ibertae) / Eurydices / Claudius Phoebus / coniugi b(ene) merenti / et Pensata / sorori piissimae / fecerunt (CIL 6, 15410 = CIL 6, 34865b = AE 1969/70, +00067)

D(is) M(anibus) / Festivae Alexandri / et Restitutae Actes n(ostrae) / ser(vae) vernaе / v(ixit) a(nnos) X m(enses) VII d(ies) XII b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit) (CIL 6, 17898)

Ti(berius) Claudius Sp(uri) f(ilius) / Gemellus / vixit annis VIII / mensibus III diebus XV / Ti(berius) Claudius Actes l(ibertus) / Herma et Claudia / Ianuaria materte/ra fecerunt (CIL 10, 07640)

Hospitae Acrabae / co(n)iugi vix(it) ann(os) XXX / hic sita est / Ti(berius) Claudius Actes lib(ertus) / Acrabas fecit / bene merenti et / sibi suisque posteris (CIL 10, 07984)

Former members of the household of Claudia Acte:

Dis Manibus / Ti(beri) Claudi Aug(usti) lib(erti) / Epicteti Acteani / vixit annis LXXXV / Cl(audia) Zosime pat(rono) / bene merenti fecit (CIL 6, 15027)

Dis Manibus // Claudiae Callistes / Claudia Aug(usti) l(iberta) Pythias Acteniana / filiae karissimae / v(ixit) a(nnos) XXI m(enses) X d(ies) XIII (CIL 10, 07980)

**APPENDIX L: INSCRIPTIONS BELONGING TO JULIO-CLAUDIAN
HOUSEHOLDS**

In some cases, the same individual appears in several different inscriptions. I have only entered these individuals in the database once; the additional inscriptions appear in brackets with an ampersand after the primary inscription number under which the individual was entered into my database.

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Aemilia Lepida, wife of Drusus	none	CIL 6, 09449 (= CIL 5, *00592 = CLE 00994 = D 01848 = AE 1999, +00024)
Aemilia Lepida, wife of Silanus	CIL 6, 27034 (= CIL 5, *00429,126)	none
Agrippa	CIL 6, 05679 (= CIL 10, *01088,144 = D 01739), CIL 6, 05731 (= CIL 10, *01088,377 = D 07888b), CIL 6, 06184, CIL 6, 08871 (= CIL 5, *00429,041), CIL 6, 09465 (= CIL 5, *00429,036), CIL 6, 18269, CIL 6, 39051, IK-59, 00019 (= IK-13, 00851)	CIL 6, 04808, CIL 6, 05202 (= D 01778, & CIL 6, 05203), CIL 6, 05299, CIL 6, 05849 (= CIL 6, *00828), CIL 6, 08012 (= CLE 00134 = D 08436 = AE 1991, 00073), CIL 6, 08820, CIL 6, 33768 (& CIL 6, 08756 = ILMN-01, 00112)
Agrippa Postumus	CIL 6, 18548, CIL 10, 00924 (= D 06381)	none
Agrippina (either)	CIL 6, 04098, CIL 6, 05563, CIL 6, 08879, CIL 6, 24084, CIL 6, 26790 (= Statili-3, 00035)	none
Agrippina the Elder	CIL 6, 04387 (= CIL 14, *00175), CIL 6, 05186, CIL 6, 05206 (= D 01755), CIL 6, 05772 (= ZPE-156-308), CIL 6, 17146	none
Agrippina the Younger	CIL 6, 08720, CIL 6, 08834, CIL 6, 20384 (= CIL 11, *00026,34), CIL 6, 37591 (= AE 1910, 00050)	AE 1927, 00002 (= Corinth-08-02, 00068), CIL 6, 15616, CIL 6, 24164, CIL 6, 33737 (= AE 1896, 00092), CIL 6, 36911, CIL 13, 02449 (= ILAin 00009 = CAG-01, p 107)
Antonia (either)	none	CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 1, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023)
Antonia the Elder	CIL 6, 04702, CIL 6, 37758	none
Antonia the Younger	AE 1975, 00025 (= AIIRoma-11, 00005), CIL 3, 00560 (= InscrAtt 00014), CIL 6, 04100, CIL 6, 04148, CIL 6, 04327, CIL 6, 04332, CIL 6, 04350 (= D 07811), CIL 6, 04361 (= CIL 14, *00175), CIL 6, 04365, CIL 6, 04383, CIL 6, 04387 (= CIL 14, *00175), CIL 6, 04402, CIL 6, 04434, CIL 6, 04451, CIL 6, 04487 (= D	CIL 6, 04018, CIL 6, 04057, CIL 6, 08665, CIL 6, 08900, CIL 6, 11965 (= CIL 6, 34048), CIL 14, 02835, EA-08-01, 00335 (& EE-08-01, 00336 and EE-08-01, 00337 = EE-08-01, 00863 = D 05798)

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Antonia the Younger (continued)	07882c), CIL 6, 04537, CIL 6, 04562, CIL 6, 04563, CIL 6, 04609, CIL 6, 04689, CIL 6, 04693, CIL 6, 06867, CIL 6, 08418, CIL 6, 08817, CIL 6, 08947 (= D 01840 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 09043 (= CIL 11, *00156,16), CIL 6, 09065, CIL 6, 09097 (= D 01790), CIL 6, 09726, CIL 6, 10360 (& CIL 6, 04037, CIL 6, 04224 and CIL 14, 00581), CIL 6, 11958, CIL 6, 12037, CIL 6, 14051, CIL 6, 14897, CIL 6, 16057 (= ZPE-151-223 = AE 2005, +00106), CIL 6, 19475, CIL 6, 22868, CIL 6, 22895, CIL 6, 24944, CIL 6, 29624 (= CIL 5, *00429,137), CIL 6, 33368 (= D 01754), CIL 6, 33370a (= D 01785 = AE 1971, 00052), CIL 6, 33762 (= D 01695), CIL 6, 33774 (= D 01663 = CECapitol 00336), CIL 6, 33794 (= D 01696 = CECapitol 00262), CIL 6, 35849, CIL 6, 37451 (= AE 1907, 00086 = AE 1909, +00063), CIL 8, 07075 = ILAlg-02-01, 00783), CIL 10, 06666, CIL 10, 06804, CIL 14, 00581, CIL 14, 02833 (= CIL 5, *00429,038 = D 01538)	
Asinia Agrippina	CIL 6, 09901 (= D 07444 = ILMN-01, 00148), CIL 6, 09901b	CIL 6, 09901a (= D 08540)
Atia	none	CIL 4, 04473
Augustus	AE 1890, 00086 (= EE-08-01, 00316 = D 06387), AE 1912, 00183 (= LIHarvard 00007 = AE 1992, 00099), AE 1913, 00216 (= AE 1923, +00103), AE 1913, 00221, AE 1923, 00073, AE 1925, 00020, AE 1935, 00047b (= Philippi 00282 = AE 2004, +01334), AE 1939, 00149 (= AE 1939, +00071), AE 1945, 00113 (= RSK 00596 = IKoeln 00266), AE 1951, 00156, AE 1964, 00255 (= AE 1980, 00046 = AE 1987, 00103 = AE 1991, +00063 = AE 1994, 01815), AE 1965, 00335, AE 1974, 00230, AE 1977, 00779 (= ILGR 00083), AE 1979, 00656, AE 1982, 00765 (= CIA 00023 = LIA 00021 = AE 2008, +00057, & CIA 00024 = LIA 00022 = AE 1982, 00766 = AE 2008, +00057), AE 1984, 00664 (= AE 2004, +00958 = AE 2004, 00969a), AE 1984, 00951, AE 1985, 00229, AE 1987, 00260, AE 1990, 00068 (= CECapitol 00024, & CIL 6, 04022), AE 1995, 00137 (= ILSard-01, 00313 = D 02595), AE 1995, 00254, AE 1998, 01574, AE 2000, 00438 (= SupIt-18-R, 00042 = AE 2004, +00503), AE 2001, 00377 (= CEACelio 00163), AE 2003,	AE 1985, 00183, AE 1989, 00115, CIL 6, 05206 (= D 01755), CIL 6, 05909, CIL 6, 08887 (= CIL 6, 14399 = CIL 6, 33754), CIL 6, 19588 (& CIL 06, 08894 = ILMN-01, 00117 = AE 2005, 00190), CIL 6, 19746, CIL 14, 02302 (= D 07462)

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Augustus (continued)	00986 (= ZPE-143-271 = HEp-10, 00301), AE 2007, 00228, AIIRoma-05, 00016, AIIRoma-07, 00004 (= AE 1966, 00034), CIL 3, 00256 (= Bosch 00050), CIL 3, 02097 (= CIL 3, 08585), CIL 4, 04473, CIL 5, 00236 (= CIL 5, *00582,50 = InscrIt-10-01, 00053), CIL 5, 01251 (= InscrAqu-01, 00470), CIL 5, 01319 (= InscrAqu-01, 00472), CIL 5, 03404, CIL 6, 01957, CIL 6, 01963 (= CIL 6, 05180 = D 01948 = AE 2001, +00110), CIL 6, 02240 (= CIL 6, 04003), CIL 6, 02368 (= CIL 6, 04690), CIL 6, 03942, CIL 6, 03950, CIL 6, 03956 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03958 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03963, CIL 6, 03970, CIL 6, 03975, CIL 6, 04016, CIL 6, 04019, CIL 6, 04020 (= CIL 11, *00027,04 = IMCCatania 00388), CIL 6, 04023, CIL 6, 04024 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04025, CIL 6, 04032, CIL 6, 04037, CIL 6, 04038, CIL 6, 04053 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04058, CIL 6, 04068, CIL 6, 04086, CIL 6, 04089, CIL 6, 04154, CIL 6, 04185, CIL 6, 04199, CIL 6, 04214, CIL 6, 04225 (= AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 04230 (= IDRE-01, 00074), CIL 6, 04233, CIL 6, 04239, CIL 6, 04240, CIL 6, 04246, CIL 6, 04247, CIL 6, 04274, CIL 6, 04370, CIL 6, 04427, CIL 6, 04430, CIL 6, 04437, CIL 6, 04440, CIL 6, 04479, CIL 6, 04558, CIL 6, 04589, CIL 6, 04636, CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 06, 10395 = CIL 01, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023), CIL 6, 04771, CIL 6, 04775, CIL 6, 04777, CIL 6, 04793, CIL 6, 04884 (= D 07917a), CIL 6, 04903, CIL 6, 05202 (= D 01778, & CIL 6, 05203), CIL 6, 05254 (= CLE 00086), CIL 6, 05263 (= CLE 00988), CIL 6, 05289, CIL 6, 05299, CIL 6, 05351, CIL 6, 05352, CIL 6, 05359, CIL 6, 05747 (= D 01743 = ILSanMichele 00005 = GLISwedish 00080 = AE 1997, +00102 = AE 2002, +00171), CIL 6, 05751, CIL 6, 05813 (= CIL 5, *00429,052 = D 05169 = AIIRoma-08, 00044), CIL 6, 05837, CIL 6, 05849 (= CIL 6, *00828), CIL 6, 05858 (= CIL 6, *00838 = ILMN-01, 00090), CIL 6, 05863 (= CIL 6, *00843 = CIL 11, *00690,1), CIL 6, 05866 (= CIL 6, *00847), CIL 6, 05870 (= CIL 6, *00864 = CIL 6, 33081 = AE 2000, +00021), CIL	

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Augustus (continued)	6, 05871 (= CIL 6, *00865), CIL 6, 05872 (= CIL 6, *00876 = ILMN-01, 00092), CIL 6, 05873 (= CIL 6, *00884 = ILMN- 01, 00093), CIL 6, 07503 (= AE 2001, +00169), CIL 6, 07793, CIL 6, 08012 (= CLE 00134 = D 08436 = AE 1991, 00073), CIL 6, 08436a (= AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 08465, CIL 6, 08491 (= D 01610), CIL 6, 08497 (= D 01614), CIL 6, 08560, CIL 6, 08563, CIL 6, 08574 (= D 01501 = AE 1999, 00204), CIL 6, 08592 (= D 01566, & CIL 6, 08593), CIL 6, 08596, CIL 6, 08656, CIL 6, 08687, CIL 6, 08688 (= CIL 10, *01088,176 = AE 1997, +00109 = AE 2000, +00068), CIL 6, 08703 (= CLE 01028), CIL 6, 08714, CIL 6, 08724 (= D 07733), CIL 6, 08738 (= D 07866), CIL 6, 08739, CIL 6, 08742, CIL 6, 08743, CIL 6, 08753, CIL 6, 08781, CIL 6, 08785 (= CIL 6, 33750 = CIL 11, *00101,004 = CIL 11, *00134a2), CIL 6, 08820, CIL 6, 08836 (= CIL 10, *00358,6 = ILMN-01, 00114), CIL 6, 08846, CIL 6, 08893, CIL 6, 08894 (= ILMN-01, 00117 = AE 2005, 00190), CIL 6, 08918, CIL 6, 08929 (= D 02820), CIL 6, 08963, CIL 6, 08980, CIL 6, 08995 (= D 01819), CIL 6, 09005 (= D 01795), CIL 6, 09044 (= D 07355), CIL 6, 09050 (= D 01787), CIL 6, 09094, CIL 6, 09099, CIL 6, 10267, CIL 6, 10410, CIL 6, 11320, CIL 6, 11377, CIL 6, 11381 (= ILMN-01, 00176), CIL 6, 11543 (= CIL 11, *00026,14), CIL 6, 11631, CIL 6, 12456 (= CIL 10, *01089,042 = IMCCatania 00425), CIL 6, 12595, CIL 6, 12797, CIL 6, 13456 (= CIL 11, *00101,038), CIL 6, 14776 (= CIL 10, 02254 = CIL 10, 02914 = AE 1988, +00295), CIL 6, 16586, CIL 6, 16658 (= CIL 6, *03291), CIL 6, 17323, CIL 6, 19060 (& CIL 6, 01261 = AE 2002, +00180?), CIL 6, 19784, CIL 6, 19863, CIL 6, 19926, CIL 6, 19968, CIL 6, 20042 (= CIL 5, *00429,097), CIL 6, 20109, CIL 6, 20112 (= CIL 10, *01045,4 = CIL 10, *01088,188 = CIL 12, *00068,2b), CIL 6, 20173, CIL 6, 20201 (= CIG 06695 = IG-14, 01694 = IGUR- 02-01, 00618), CIL 6, 20216 (= CIL 6, 34128a = AE 1995, 00107), CIL 6, 20252, CIL 6, 20335, CIL 6, 20375 (= CIL 11, *00101,093), CIL 6, 20432, CIL 6, 20497, CIL 6, 20551, CIL 6, 20572, CIL 6,	

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Augustus (continued)	20666, CIL 6, 22679, CIL 6, 22970, CIL 6, 23569, CIL 6, 24191, CIL 6, 24223, CIL 6, 25033, CIL 6, 26254, CIL 6, 26608 (= D 00846), CIL 6, 26678, CIL 6, 27073, CIL 6, 27469, CIL 6, 27686, CIL 6, 28398, CIL 6, 29047, CIL 6, 29069 (= AE 2006, +00221), CIL 6, 29681 (= SupIt-04-T, 00042 = EAOR-03, 00023 = AE 1962, 00169 = AE 1991, 00606), CIL 6, 29960, CIL 6, 33270, CIL 6, 33555, CIL 6, 33733 (= D 01611 = GLIStone 00016), CIL 6, 33768 (& CIL 06, 08756 = ILMN-01, 00112), CIL 6, 33789, CIL 6, 33966 (= CIL 6, *03217 = D 05182), CIL 6, 34013 (= D 07868), CIL 6, 35559, CIL 6, 35612 (= AE 1999, 00234), CIL 6, 36049, CIL 6, 37761a, CIL 6, 38419, CIL 6, 38489, CIL 6, 38494, CIL 9, 04057 (= D 01903), CIL 10, 00710 (= SIPSurrentum 00032), CIL 10, 03357 (= D 02817), CIL 10, 05808 (= D 06267 = Aletrium 00015), CIL 10, 06499, CIL 11, 03083 (= CIL 14, *00409 = D 05373 = SupIt-01-FN, 00010), CIL 11, 03200 (= D 00089), CIL 11, 03806 (= CIL 06, 10399, & CIL 11, 03805 = D 06579 = Gordon 00061), CIL 11, 05756, CIL 11, 07804 (= CIL 1, 02643 = D 09039 = AE 1899, 00094), CIL 12, 00257 (= ILN-01, 00013 = D 02822), CIL 14, 02259, CIL 14, 03539 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00041), CIL 15, 04618, D 02703 (= Pais 00185 = InscrAqu-02, 02864 = IEAquil 00090), D 09007 (= SupIt-05-S, 00007 = AE 1902, 00189 = AE 1912, 00219 = AE 1977, +00241 = AE 2001, +01551), EE-08-01, 00671, EE-09, 00737, IK-16, 02272b (= IK-59, 00013), ILMN-01, 00639 (= CIL 6, *03044), InscrAqu-01, 00466 (= IEAquil 00277), IViaSalaria 00004, LIKelsey 00231	
Britannicus	CIL 6, 14642 (= D 08414), CIL 14, 02769 (= CIL 15, 07149 = D 01639)	CIL 6, 08873 (= D 01750)
Caius Caesar	none	CIL 6, 11631
Caligula	CIL 5, 06641 (= D 00191), CIL 6, 03991, CIL 6, 03996, CIL 6, 04094, CIL 6, 04119, CIL 6, 04331 (= CIL 11, *00547a2), CIL 6, 04357 (= LIKelsey 00394 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 05188 (= D 01589), CIL 6, 05196, CIL 6, 05822 (= CIL 5, *00429,040), CIL 6, 08655a (= CIL 14, 04120,3 = CIL 15, 07142 = ILMN-01, 00572 = D 01702 = AE 2006, +00034), CIL 6, 08663 (= AE 1997,	AE 1978, 00052 (= MIRoma-04, 00024), CIL 8, 01816

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Caligula (continued)	+00160), CIL 6, 08823 (= CIL 10, *01088,084), CIL 6, 08824 (= CIL 10, *01088,085), CIL 6, 09061 (= CIL 5, *00429,069), CIL 6, 17177, CIL 6, 19785, CIL 6, 20706 (= ICUR-07, 18156), CIL 6, 21162, CIL 6, 27135, CIL 6, 33767 (= CIL 13, *00303 = CIL 14, *00292,1), CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055), CIL 14, 02519, CIL 14, 03644 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00179 = D 01942), CIL 15, 01404, ILMN-01, 00656 (= CIL 10, *00343), TPSulp 00051 (= TPN 00043 = AE 1972, 00086 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1992, +00272 = AE 1999, +00446c = AE 2006, +00135)	
Claudia Antonia	AE 1996, 00419 (= AE 2001, +00604), CIL 6, 09802 (= D 07466), CIL 6, 14959 (= CIL 3, *00239,23), CIL 6, 15517	CIL 6, 02329 (= D 04992), CIL 6, 15314, CIL 6, 18203
Claudia Octavia	CIL 6, 05539 (= D 01786 = Libitina-02, 00082), CIL 6, 08741 (= CECapitol 00193), CIL 6, 08827 (= CLE 00162), CIL 6, 09015 (= CIL 6, 29847a = D 08120 = AE 1991, 00074 = AE 2002, +00180), CIL 6, 09037	CIL 6, 08943 (= D 01838 = AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 15551 (= D 07933)
Claudius	AE 1921, 00070, AE 1946, 00099 (= AE 1946, +00173), AE 1968, 00032 (= AIIRoma-09, 00071), AE 1971, 00459 (= IK-13, 00703a), AE 1973, 00157 (= TPSulp 00069 = TPN 00060), AE 1982, 00199 (= TPSulp 00094 = TPN 00096), CIL 10, 00527 (= InscrIt-01-01, 00172 = D 01671), CIL 3, 02097 (= CIL 3, 08585), CIL 3, 04808 (= ILLPRON 00379 = AEA 2007, +00016 = AEA 2007, +00060), CIL 5, 02386 (= CIL 5, *00434,05), CIL 5, 06638, CIL 6, 00064 (= D 03502, & CIL 6, 08719 (= CIL 3, *00275,06), CIL 6, 00138 (= D 03969), CIL 6, 01921 (= AE 1999, +00024), CIL 6, 03964, CIL 6, 04226 (= D 01620, & CIL 6, 04226a), CIL 6, 04236, CIL 6, 04305 (= D 01732), CIL 6, 04334 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01719 = EAOR-01, 00065), CIL 6, 04348 (= AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 04376, CIL 6, 04487 (= D 07882c), CIL 6, 04923, CIL 6, 05011, CIL 6, 05239, CIL 6, 05884 (= CIL 6, *00921 = ILMN-01, 00098), CIL 6, 08554 (= D 01765), CIL 6, 08636 (= CIL 5, *00072 = CIL 9, *00223,5 = CIL 10, *01089,067 = CIL 11, *00027,05 = D 01682 = IMCCatania 00400 = AE 1997, +00160 = AE 2000, +00019), CIL	CIL 6, 02260, CIL 6, 08711 (= D 07803), CIL 6, 08719 (= CIL 3, *00275,06), CIL 6, 18816 (= CIL 6, 27772), CIL 6, 32775 (= CIL 6, 33131 = D 02816), CIL 6, 41266 (= AE 1960, 00026 = AE 1969/70, 00022), CIL 14, 03644 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00179 = D 01942)

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Claudius (continued)	6, 08662 (= CIL 10, *00836,2 = CIL 14, *00291,2 = D 01631), CIL 6, 08665, CIL 6, 08708 (= D 05000), CIL 6, 08740, CIL 6, 08804, CIL 6, 08807 (= D 01725), CIL 6, 08809 (= D 01726), CIL 6, 08810 (= D 01724), CIL 6, 08822 (= CIL 10, *01088,083 = D 01655), CIL 6, 08839 (= CIL 11, *00295,3), CIL 6, 08843 (= CIL 10, *00836,3), CIL 6, 08873 (= D 01750), CIL 6, 09047 (= D 01810), CIL 6, 09060 (= D 01641), CIL 6, 10090, CIL 6, 12167, CIL 6, 14897, CIL 6, 14909, CIL 6, 15314, CIL 6, 15455, CIL 6, 16707, CIL 6, 25028, CIL 6, 25556, CIL 6, 34909 (= ICUR-02, 06002 = ILCV 04233b), CIL 6, 37754a, CIL 6, 40415 (= Gordon 00091 = AE 1953, +00024 = AE 1980, 00057b, & CIL 6, 40414 = Gordon 00090 = AE 1953, 00024 = AE 1980, 00057a), CIL 8, 05384 (= CIL 8, 17500 = ILAlg-01, 00323), CIL 9, 00321 (= ERCanosa 00170), CIL 9, 01456 (= D 03806 = EE-08-01, 00090 = AE 1995, 00361), CIL 10, 00696, CIL 10, 05188, CIL 10, 06475, CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055), CIL 10, 07536, CIL 10, 08042,082, CIL 11, 03199 (= D 03481), CIL 11, 07745, CIL 14, 00489, CIL 14, 00821, CIL 14, 02835, CIL 14, 03920, CIL 15, 00814,1, CIL 15, 07444, CIL 15, 07500a-c (= D 01666), CIL 15, 07544, EA-002368, EE-08-01, 00335 (& EE-08-01, 00336 and EE-08-01, 00337 = EE-08-01, 00863 = D 05798), IK-54, 00024, IK-59, 00156 (= AE 1990, 00935 = AE 1996, 01466c), InscrAq-01, 00474 (= IEAquil 00153), SIPSurrentum 00026, TPN 00080 (= TPSulp 00089), TPSulp 00049 (= TPN 00101), TPSulp 00119 (= TPN 00114)	
Domitia	CIL 14, 02886	none
Drusilla	CIL 6, 24074	CIL 6, 08822 (= CIL 10, *01088,083 = D 01655), CIL 6, 08823 (= CIL 10, *01088,084), CIL 6, 08824 (= CIL 10, *01088,085)
Drusus Caesar	CIL 6, 04337 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718, & CIL 6, 04338), CIL 6, 08848, CIL 15, 07383	CIL 6, 01964, CIL 6, 05201 (= D 01837)
Drusus the Elder	CIL 6, 03999	CIL 5, 01067, CIL 6, 00103 (= CIL 6, 30692 = D 01879), CIL 6, 04180, CIL 6, 04437, CIL 11, 02916 (= CIL 14, 02420 = EE-09, p 403)

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Drusus the Younger	CIL 6, 04234, CIL 6, 08711 (= D 07803)	none
Emperor – unspecified	<p>AE 1902, 00078 (= EE-09, 00606), AE 1913, 00091 (& CIL 4, 09406), AE 1914, 00261 (= D 09504 = CMRDM 00160), AE 1924, 00118 (= AE 1964, +00186a), AE 1929, 00152 (= SIPSurrentum 00024), AE 1929, 00153 (= SIPSurrentum 00028), AE 1929, 00154 (= SIPSurrentum 00022), AE 1929, 00155 (= SIPSurrentum 00021), AE 1939, 00150 (= AE 1939, +00071), AE 1941, 00071 (= AE 1949, 00192), AE 1946, 00213 (= AE 1949, 00191), AE 1968, 00035 (= AIIRoma-09, 00117), AE 1971, 00032, AE 1971, 00055, AE 1977, 00028 (= RICIS-02, 00501/0131), AE 1979, 00182 (& AE 1989,00183a = AE 2001, 01086), AE 1982, 00120, AE 1983, 00064 (= LMentana 00055), AE 1985, 00183, AE 1987, 00068, AE 1988, 00068 (= ViaImp 00176), AE 1988, 00153, AE 1988, 00339 (= AE 2001, +00775), AE 1988, 00359 (= SupIt-23-B, 00005), AE 1990, 00072 (= CECapitol 00028), AE 1991, 00309, AE 1993, 00175, AE 1995, 00248, AE 1995, 00249 (= AE 1999, 00412), AE 1996, 01477, AE 2001, 00374 (= CEACelio 00160 = AE 2007, +00100), AE 2001, 00441 (= CEACelio 00227), AE 2004, 00209 (= Libitina-01, 00004), AE 2004, 01015 (& AE 2004, 01016 = AE 2007, 00148), AE 2005, 00328, AE 2007, 00230, AE 2007, 00424, BCAR-51-1923-124, CECapitol 00070, CIL 2, 04183 (= RIT 00040), CIL 2, 04185 (= RIT 00247), CIL 3, 00422 (= IK-59, 00047), CIL 3, 00456 (= CIL 10, *00357a = CIG 02241 = IK-59, 00062), CIL 3, 00563 (= CIL 3, 12289, & CIL 6, 08486 = CIL 3, 12289a = D 01600), CIL 3, 02022, CIL 3, 04987 (= ILLPRON 00290 = AEA 1999/00, +00019), CIL 3, 12131 (= TAM-02-02, 00486), CIL 4, 03340,101, CIL 4, 05814, CIL 4, 10677, CIL 5, 01167 (= InscrAqu-01, 00467), CIL 5, 02411 (= CLE 00998), CIL 5, 07209 (= AE 2002, +00125 = AE 2007, 00889), CIL 6, 00070 (= LMentana 00015), CIL 6, 00103 (= CIL 6, 30692 = D 01879), CIL 6, 00143 (= D 03896a = AE 1994, 00191), CIL 6, 01859 (& CIL 6, 01860), CIL 6, 01959 (= CIL 6, 04013 = D 07886 = AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 02260, CIL 6, 03986,</p>	<p>AE 1951, 00156, CIL 6, 25033, CIL 6, 33767 (= CIL 13, *00303 = CIL 14, *00292,1), CIL 6, 34005 (= CIL 11, *00314,1)</p>

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Emperor – unspecified (continued)	CIL 6, 04017, CIL 6, 04018, CIL 6, 04021, CIL 6, 04058, CIL 6, 04117, CIL 6, 04306, CIL 6, 04433 (& CIL 6, 04434), CIL 6, 04545, CIL 6, 04741, CIL 6, 04887, CIL 6, 05091 (= AE 1949, 00211), CIL 6, 05093, CIL 6, 05189 (= D 01588), CIL 6, 05194 (= AE 1995, 00096), CIL 6, 05264, CIL 6, 05318, CIL 6, 05349 (= CIL 6, 05486 = CIL 6, 33077), CIL 6, 05645, CIL 6, 05654, CIL 6, 05693 (= CIL 10, *01088,088), CIL 6, 05773 (= AE 1997, +00102), CIL 6, 06187, CIL 6, 06189 (= CIL 6, 36108 = CLE 00997 = CLE 02120), CIL 6, 08411 (= D 01473), CIL 6, 08412, CIL 6, 08413 (= D 07859), CIL 6, 08419 (= CIL 10, *00785 = D 01479), CIL 6, 08426 (= D 01642), CIL 6, 08443 (= D 01546), CIL 6, 08450a, CIL 6, 08451, CIL 6, 08470 (= D 01535), CIL 6, 08501 (= D 01487), CIL 6, 08506, CIL 6, 08526 (= CIL 10, *00948,13 = D 01704 = ILMN-01, 00102), CIL 6, 08538, CIL 6, 08551 (= D 01758), CIL 6, 08583 (= D 01578 = EAOR-01, 00008), CIL 6, 08600, CIL 6, 08601 (= AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 08603 (= D 01670), CIL 6, 08649 (= D 01775), CIL 6, 08659 (= D 01779, & CIL 6, 08660), CIL 6, 08660, CIL 6, 08670 (= D 01619), CIL 6, 08685, CIL 6, 08706 (= D 03717 = AE 1994, 00192), CIL 6, 08748 (= CIL 10, *01089,069 = IMCCatania 00402), CIL 6, 08761 (= D 01736), CIL 6, 08782, CIL 6, 08811 (= D 01731), CIL 6, 08816, CIL 6, 08829, CIL 6, 08872, CIL 6, 08889 (= CIL 11, *00026,50), CIL 6, 08898, CIL 6, 08907 (= D 01846), CIL 6, 08912, CIL 6, 08933 (= D 01689 = AE 1993, 00123, & CIL 6, 08934), CIL 6, 08938 (= D 01690), CIL 6, 08957, CIL 6, 08969 (= D 01829), CIL 6, 09003 (= D 01796, & Schillinger 00090 = AE 1976, 00504 = AE 1989, 00564), CIL 6, 09014, CIL 6, 09015 (= CIL 6, 29847a = D 08120 = AE 1991, 00074 = AE 2002, +00180), CIL 6, 09016, CIL 6, 09025, CIL 6, 09034, CIL 6, 09046 (= ILMN-01, 00121), CIL 6, 09068, CIL 6, 09079, CIL 6, 09083 (= CIL 11, *00297,4 = ECortonese 00044), CIL 6, 09151 (= AE 1965, +00262), CIL 6, 09183 (= D 07501), CIL 6, 10061, CIL 6, 10089 (= D 01766 = EAOR-01, 00006), CIL 6, 10163 (= D 05155 = EAOR-01, 00041), CIL 6,	

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Emperor – unspecified (continued)	10223 (= D 06071), CIL 6, 10245 (= CIL 11, *00026,51), CIL 6, 10302 (= CIL 9, *00427,13 = D 07352, & CIL 6, 09061 = CIL 05, *00429,069), CIL 6, 11824, CIL 6, 11853, CIL 6, 12776 (= CIL 10, *01088,053, & CIL 6, 12777), CIL 6, 13850 (= CIL 6, 34075), CIL 6, 14883, CIL 6, 14892, CIL 6, 14913, CIL 6, 14913, CIL 6, 14917, CIL 6, 14927 (= AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 14932 (= AE 1907, 00209), CIL 6, 14945, CIL 6, 14950, CIL 6, 14952 (= CIL 14, *00180a08), CIL 6, 14954, CIL 6, 14978, CIL 6, 14990, CIL 6, 15002, CIL 6, 15015, CIL 6, 15017, CIL 6, 15035, CIL 6, 15041 (= CIL 11, *00101,052), CIL 6, 15062, CIL 6, 15082, CIL 6, 15092, CIL 6, 15110, CIL 6, 15130, CIL 6, 15131, CIL 6, 15132, CIL 6, 15135 (= ZPE-156-308), CIL 6, 15138, CIL 6, 15153, CIL 6, 15180, CIL 6, 15190, CIL 6, 15194 (= CIL 11, *00156,24), CIL 6, 15207, CIL 6, 15228, CIL 6, 15235, CIL 6, 15243, CIL 6, 15266, CIL 6, 15290, CIL 6, 15302 (= ILMN-01, 00227), CIL 6, 15350, CIL 6, 15357, CIL 6, 15365, CIL 6, 15418, CIL 6, 15478, CIL 6, 15489, CIL 6, 15526, CIL 6, 15545, CIL 6, 15573 (= CSIR-GB-03-02-02, 00021 = AE 1987, 00055), CIL 6, 15579, CIL 6, 15580, CIL 6, 15589, CIL 6, 15598, CIL 6, 15615, CIL 6, 15648 (= AE 1999, +00024), CIL 6, 15862 (= CIL 11, *00101,061), CIL 6, 16810 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 18816 (= CIL 06, 27772), CIL 6, 19919, CIL 6, 20216 (= CIL 6, 34128a = AE 1995, 00107), CIL 6, 20389, CIL 6, 20588, CIL 6, 20601a, CIL 6, 20669, CIL 6, 21492, CIL 6, 22423, CIL 6, 23398 (= CIL 5, *00182), CIL 6, 28269 (= ILMN-01, 00387), CIL 6, 28699 (= LMentana 00350), CIL 6, 29012, CIL 6, 29569, CIL 6, 30855 (= D 01621), CIL 6, 31295a, CIL 6, 32468 (= CECapitol 00247), CIL 6, 33194 (= D 07297), CIL 6, 33467, CIL 6, 33738 (= CSIR-POL-02-01, 00022 = D 09027), CIL 6, 34005 (= CIL 11, *00314,1), CIL 6, 34855, CIL 6, 34859, CIL 6, 34886 (= CIL 6, 37900), CIL 6, 34888, CIL 6, 34909 (= ICUR-02, 06002 = ILCV 04233b), CIL 6, 35609, CIL 6, 37583 (= AE 1910, 00049), CIL 6, 37745, CIL 6, 37752 (= AE 1910, 00071), CIL 6, 37755 (= AE 1903, +00118 = AE	

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Emperor – unspecified (continued)	1903, 00156), CIL 6, 37769, CIL 8, 21008 (= CLE 00125 = AE 1946, +00048), CIL 8, 21025 (= D 02914), CIL 10, 00582 (= InscrIt-01-01, 00133), CIL 10, 00692, CIL 10, 00693, CIL 10, 00697, CIL 10, 00698, CIL 10, 00699 (= CIL 10, 00700), CIL 10, 00701, CIL 10, 00702, CIL 10, 00703 (= SIPSurrentum 00027), CIL 10, 00704, CIL 10, 00707 (& CIL 10, 00708), CIL 10, 00709, CIL 10, 00711 (= D 01712), CIL 10, 00712, CIL 10, 00713, CIL 10, 01549, CIL 10, 01728, CIL 10, 01732, CIL 10, 01739 (= D 01587, & CIL 10, 01810), CIL 10, 01748, CIL 10, 01750 (= D 07368), CIL 10, 01917, CIL 10, 02037, CIL 10, 06144 (= AE 1978, 00091), CIL 10, 06646, CIL 10, 07979, CIL 10, 08042,036d-h (& CIL 15, 02399,1-3), CIL 11, 03612 (= D 01567 = EAOR-02, 00001 = AE 1890, 00116), CIL 11, 03851, CIL 11, 03885 (= D 01643), CIL 11, 07112 (= MNursina 00029 = AE 2000, 00557), CIL 11, 07767, CIL 13, 02106, CIL 13, 02969, CIL 13, 03542, CIL 14, 00163 (= IPOstie-B, 00378 = D 01533, & CIL 15, 07146), CIL 14, 00483, CIL 14, 00815, CIL 14, 02690, CIL 14, 02833 (= CIL 05, *00429,038 = D 01538), CIL 14, 03474, CIL 14, 03565 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00066 = CLE 01504), CIL 14, 03647 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00236 = D 04979), CIL 14, 03743 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00295), CIL 14, 03762 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00321), CIL 14, 04221, CIL 15, 00941,1, CIL 15, 00919 (= CIL 14, 05308,12b), EA-002157, EA-002191, EA-002192, EA-002377, EE-08-01, 00319, EE-09, 00936, InscrIt-10-01, 00592, InVaticano 00023, IPOstie-A, 00060 (= ISIS 00050), LIKelsey 00349, RIT 00244, SIPSurrentum 00023, SIPSurrentum 00025, SIPSurrentum 00029, SIPSurrentum 00030, SIPSurrentum 00031, SIPSurrentum 00033, SIPSurrentum 00034, SIPSurrentum 00035, SIPSurrentum 00036 (= AE 1929, 00151), SIPSurrentum 00037, SIPSurrentum 00038	
Germanicus	AE 1941, 00064 (= Gummerus-02, 00415 = Gummerus-04, 00447 = Sinn 00087 = BCAR-1939-24 = AE 1989, 00093), AE 1971, 00129, AE 2005, 00254 (= CEPini 00032), CIL 6, 04328 (= D 07694a), CIL 6, 04338, CIL 6, 04340 (= CIL 14,	CIL 6, 01963 (= CIL 6, 05180 = D 01948 = AE 2001, +00110), CIL 6, 03998 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04336, CIL 6, 04337 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718, & CIL 6, 04338), CIL 6, 04339, CIL 6, 04341 (= D 01717), CIL 6, 04344 (= CIL

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Germanicus (continued)	*00175), CIL 6, 04345 (= D 01723 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 04346 (= CIL 14, *00175), CIL 6, 04356 (= AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 04359, CIL 6, 04362 (= AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 04363 (= CIL 14, *00175), CIL 6, 04372, CIL 6, 04401 (= CIL 14, *00175), CIL 6, 04428, CIL 6, 04451, CIL 6, 04562, CIL 6, 04603, CIL 6, 04634, CIL 6, 05201 (= D 01837), CIL 6, 06152, CIL 6, 08877, CIL 6, 09095, CIL 6, 10368 (= CIL 6, 34009), CIL 6, 17265 (= CIL 6, 34107 = D 05452), CIL 11, 07431 (= AE 1911, 00184), ILJug-01, 00174	14, *00175 = D 01722), CIL 6, 04351 (= CIL 11, *00547a4 = D 01802), CIL 6, 04353, CIL 6, 04357 (= LIKelsey 00394 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 04398, CIL 6, 04399, CIL 6, 04409, CIL 6, 05540 (= D 01789 = Libitina-02, 00083), CIL 6, 33767 (= CIL 13, *00303 = CIL 14, *00292,1)
Iulia Germanici filia (any)	CIL 6, 03998 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 10563	none
Julia the Elder	AE 1975, 00289 (= SupIt-05-RI, 00016 = AE 1995, 00367)	AE 1923, 00073, CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 1, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023), CIL 6, 05751, CIL 6, 05837, CIL 6, 22679
Iullus Antonius	AE 2007, 00425 (= SupIt-23-G, 00051), CIL 6, 12010 (= CIL 6, 34051)	none
Lepidus	AE 1971, 00058, CIL 6, 04500, CIL 6, 08602 (= AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 09350 (= IGLFriuli 00063), CIL 6, 09449 (= CIL 5, *00592 = CLE 00994 = D 01848 = AE 1999, +00024), CIL 6, 11056, CIL 6, 11092, CIL 10, 06433, IGLS-03-01, 00834	AE 1973, 00157 (= TPSulp 00069 = TPN 00060)
Livia	AE 1926, 00052 (= AE 1991, 00127), AE 1930, 00066 (= GLIStone 00014), AE 1941, 00105 (= SupIt-02-TM, 00004 = AE 1945, +00024 = AE 1947, 00039), AE 1964, 00173, AE 1972, 00147, AE 1975, 00289 (= SupIt-05-RI, 00016 = AE 1995, 00367), AE 1993, 00175, AE 1996, 00122 (= Anagni 00005), AE 1999, 00700, AE 2002, 00336, CECapitol 00143, CIL 4, 03123, CIL 6, 00496 (= ILMN-01, 00013), CIL 6, 01815 (= CIL 6, 32266 = D 01926), CIL 6, 01964, CIL 6, 03927 (& CIL 6, 03941 and CIL 6, 04200), CIL 6, 03934 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03936, CIL 6, 03937, CIL 6, 03938 (= AE 2000, +00132, & CIL 06, 03940 = AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03939 (= D 07548, & CIL 6, 03940), CIL 6, 03941, CIL 6, 03942, CIL 6, 03945 (& CIL 6, 03946, CIL 6, 03947, CIL 6, 03948), CIL 6, 03949 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03952, CIL 6, 03953, CIL 6, 03959 (= AE	AE 1913, 00076, AE 1979, 00033 (= EAOR-01, 00004 = AE 1982, 00049), AE 1990, 00068 (= CECapitol 00024), AE 2001, 00259 (= CEACelio 00043), CIL 6, 03879 (= CIL 6, 32450), CIL 6, 03935, CIL 6, 03940 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04026 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04036 (= CIL 10, *01089,209 = IMCCatania 00390), CIL 6, 04200, CIL 6, 04214, CIL 6, 04358, CIL 6, 04717, CIL 6, 04770, CIL 6, 04776, CIL 6, 05181 (= D 01676), CIL 6, 05215, CIL 6, 05223, CIL 6, 05226, CIL 6, 05243, CIL 6, 05248, CIL 6, 05316, CIL 6, 05358 (= D 01772), CIL 6, 08880, CIL 6, 08913, CIL 6, 08989 (= CIL 06, 24079 = D 01827), CIL 6, 09066, CIL 6, 14843 (= CIL 5, *00429,081), CIL 6, 19857, CIL 6, 26674, CIL 6, 33275, CIL 6, 37661, CIL 6, 40415 (= Gordon 00091 = AE 1953, +00024 = AE 1980, 00057b, & CIL 6, 40414 = Gordon 00090 = AE 1953, 00024 = AE

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Livia (continued)	1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03960, CIL 6, 03965, CIL 6, 03966 (= CIL 6, 03967), CIL 6, 03968, CIL 6, 03970, CIL 6, 03973, CIL 6, 03976 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03978, CIL 6, 03980 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03981, CIL 6, 03982 (= D 01844), CIL 6, 03985, CIL 6, 03988 (& CIL 6, 04244), CIL 6, 03993 (= CIL 10, *01089,045), CIL 6, 03994, CIL 6, 03995, CIL 6, 03999, CIL 6, 04001, CIL 6, 04005, CIL 6, 04006 (= D 07888), CIL 6, 04008, CIL 6, 04012 (= D 07887 = AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04015, CIL 6, 04016, CIL 6, 04018, CIL 6, 04027, CIL 6, 04028, CIL 6, 04029, CIL 6, 04030, CIL 6, 04033 (= CIL 10, *01089,044 = IMCCatania 00389), CIL 6, 04035, CIL 6, 04040 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04042, CIL 6, 04043 (& CIL 6, 07110), CIL 6, 04045 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04053 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04062, CIL 6, 04072 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04079, CIL 6, 04095, CIL 6, 04107, CIL 6, 04116, CIL 6, 04124 (= CIL 10, *01089,088 = CIL 11, *00027,08 = IMCCatania 00393), CIL 6, 04134, CIL 6, 04135 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04136, CIL 6, 04154, CIL 6, 04158, CIL 6, 04159, CIL 6, 04160, CIL 6, 04168 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04169, CIL 6, 04171 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04173, CIL 6, 04175, CIL 6, 04180, CIL 6, 04183, CIL 6, 04187 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04189 (& CIL 6, 04190), CIL 6, 04192, CIL 6, 04193, CIL 6, 04199, CIL 6, 04222 (= D 04995 = AE 1992, 00071), CIL 6, 04231, CIL 6, 04234, CIL 6, 04237, CIL 6, 04242, CIL 6, 04244, CIL 6, 04245, CIL 6, 04248, CIL 6, 04250 (= CIL 6, 09064 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 04251 (= CIL 10, *00947,5), CIL 6, 04252 (& CIL 6, 04046), CIL 6, 04273, CIL 6, 04390, CIL 6, 04448, CIL 6, 04608, CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 1, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023), CIL 6, 05184, CIL 6, 05200, CIL 6, 05249, CIL 6, 05263 (= CLE 00988), CIL 6, 05294, CIL 6, 05357, CIL 6, 05436, CIL 6, 05745 (= D 05001), CIL 6, 05749, CIL 6, 05821, CIL 6, 05848 (= CIL 06, *00827 = ILMN-01, 00088), CIL 6, 08656, CIL 6, 08722, CIL 6, 08727, CIL 6, 08766 (= D 01741, &	1980, 00057a), ILMN-01, 00640 (= CIL 6, *03046), CIL 10, 03358 (= D 02818), CIL 10, 07489 (= IGLLipari 00756), CIL 12, 00257 (= ILN-01, 00013 = D 02822), CIL 14, 03524

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Livia (continued)	CIL 6, 03955), CIL 6, 08888, CIL 6, 08901, CIL 6, 08903, CIL 6, 08904, CIL 6, 08911, CIL 6, 08944, CIL 6, 08945, CIL 6, 08948, CIL 6, 08949, CIL 6, 08955, CIL 6, 08958 (= CIL 10, *01089,086 = D 01784 = IMCCatania 00405), CIL 6, 08964, CIL 6, 09038, CIL 6, 09084, CIL 6, 09085 (= CIL 10, 02846), CIL 6, 09096, CIL 6, 11541, CIL 6, 12095 (= CIL 5, *00672,13), CIL 6, 13179 (= CIL 1, 01258 (p 972) = ILLRP 00413), CIL 6, 14802, CIL 6, 17350, CIL 6, 18038, CIL 6, 20130, CIL 6, 20216 (= CIL 6, 34128a = AE 1995, 00107), CIL 6, 20237 (= D 08052), CIL 6, 21418, CIL 6, 22970, CIL 6, 23338 (& CIL 14, 03524), CIL 6, 25260, CIL 6, 27637, CIL 6, 30350, CIL 6, 33787 (= D 01828), CIL 6, 34668 (= ILMN-01, p 187), CIL 6, 35074 (= CIL 11, p 1335), CIL 10, 01076, CIL 10, 05881, CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055), CIL 10, 08042,041a, CIL 10, 08042,041b, CIL 10, 08042,060a, CIL 15, 01473,1, IGUR-02-01, 00635 (= SEG-13, 00623), ILJug-02, 00525, ILMN-01, 00635 (= CIL 6, *00963 = CIL 6, *00964)	
Livia Julia	CIL 6, 04119, CIL 6, 05198 (= D 01752), CIL 6, 19747 (= CIL 5, *00429,096 = CLE 00987 = D 08522)	CIL 6, 16057 (= ZPE-151-223 = AE 2005, +00106)
Livia Medullina	CIL 10, 06561 (= D 00199 = AE 1987, 00228, & CIL 10, 06562 and CIL 6, 09741?)	none
Livilla	CIL 6, 04349 (= D 01751), CIL 6, 05226, CIL 6, 08711 (= D 07803), CIL 6, 08786, CIL 6, 08899 (= D 01843), CIL 6, 15502 (= CIL 11, *00101,053 = D 08054), CIL 6, 38204	CIL 6, 20237 (= D 08052), CIL 6, 33787 (= D 01828)
Lucius Caesar	CIL 6, 05353, CIL 6, 08730 (= ILMN-01, 00110)	none
Marcella – either	CIL 6, 04423, CIL 6, 04424, CIL 6, 04425, CIL 6, 04438, CIL 6, 04439, CIL 6, 04441, CIL 6, 04452, CIL 6, 04458, CIL 6, 04467 (= D 07882b, & CIL 6, 09039), CIL 6, 04469, CIL 6, 04470 (= AE 1995, 00095), CIL 6, 04471, CIL 6, 04477, CIL 6, 04481, CIL 6, 04514, CIL 6, 04537, CIL 6, 04541, CIL 6, 04612, CIL 6, 04687, CIL 6, 04701, CIL 6, 09001, CIL 6, 09892 (= D 07600 = AE 2001, +00169), CIL 6, 11372, CIL 6, 11420, CIL 6, 15091 (= AE 1997,	none

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Marcella – either (continued)	+00160), CIL 6, 15497, CIL 6, 24149	
Marcella the Elder	CIL 6, 04436 (= AE 1999, +00173), CIL 6, 04655, CIL 6, 27237, CIL 11, 04109 (= CIL 11, 07812a)	none
Marcella the Younger	CIL 6, 04421 (= D 07879), CIL 6, 04422, CIL 6, 04450, CIL 6, 04500, CIL 6, 04564, CIL 6, 04637, CIL 6, 08755 (= D 01799 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 09000, CIL 10, 05981	CIL 6, 04422, CIL 6, 04450, CIL 6, 04500, CIL 6, 04501
Marcellus	CIL 6, 15033, CIL 6, 33376, CIL 6, 33382	none
Messala (either)	CIL 6, 04446, CIL 6, 04475, CIL 6, 04480 (= D 07882a), CIL 6, 04493, CIL 6, 04501, CIL 6, 04635, CIL 6, 04699, CIL 6, 04703, CIL 6, 09472 (= D 07373), CIL 6, 28118a, CIL 6, 32307 (= D 04977)	none
Valeria Messalina	CIL 6, 04426, CIL 6, 04468, CIL 6, 04474, CIL 6, 05537, CIL 6, 08840 (= D 01664 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 08943 (= D 01838 = AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 08952 (= D 01781 = Statili-3, 00006), CIL 6, 08953 (= CIL 15, 07148 = ILMN-01, 00119), CIL 6, 25556, CIL 6, 33767 (= CIL 13, *00303 = CIL 14, *00292,1), CIL 6, 35700, CIL 14, 02751, CIL 14, 02813, CIL 15, 06476	none
Nero	AE 1909, 00061, AE 1914, 00128 (= IK-43, 00055 = AE 1966, 00472 = AE 2005, +01534), AE 1927, 00002 (= Corinth-08-02, 00068), AE 1952, 00145, AE 1952, 00146, AE 1952, 00147, AE 1952, 00148, AE 1952, 00149, AE 1959, 00145 (= AE 1959, 00299), AE 1959, 00300 (= AE 1959, +00145), AE 1983, 00058 (= LMentana 00045), AE 1995, 00136, CIL 3, 07047 (= MAMA-04, 00053 = IK-59, 00061), CIL 3, 12131 (= TAM-02-02, 00486), CIL 4, 03340,030 (= Affaires 00030), CIL 6, 00099, CIL 6, 00194 (= CIL 14, 02861), CIL 6, 00630 (= D 01699 = D 03541), CIL 6, 00927 (= D 00236), CIL 6, 03719 (= CIL 6, 31033 = D 01774), CIL 6, 06031 (= CIL 06, 12297), CIL 6, 08578, CIL 6, 08712, CIL 6, 08783 (= D 01735 = AE 1997, +00160), CIL 6, 08802 (= D 01729), CIL 6, 08803 (= D 01730), CIL 6, 08806 (= D 01727), CIL 6, 08808 (= D 01728), CIL 6, 08864 (= ILMN-01, 00116), CIL 6, 08889 (= CIL 11, *00026,50), CIL 6, 10171, CIL 6, 14647 (= CIL 06, 34085), CIL 6, 15027,	AE 1892, 00137 (= ILSard-01, 00313 = D 02595), AE 1946, 00099 (= AE 1946, +00173), CIL 3, 07107 (= IK-24-01, 00619 = IK-59, 00133), CIL 6, 01867a (= CIL 06, 32269), CIL 6, 08693, CIL 6, 08726 (= D 07733a = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 08760 (= D 01742), CIL 6, 08767, CIL 6, 08791, CIL 6, 08801 (= AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 08847 (= D 07409), CIL 6, 08890 (= D 07396), CIL 6, 09002, CIL 6, 09030 (= CIL 6, 34865a = D 07386 = AE 1969/70, +00067), CIL 6, 09047 (= D 01810), CIL 6, 10172 (= D 05152 = EAOR-01, 00033 = Gummerus-01, 00116, & CIL 6, 10173 = EAOR-01, 00034 = Gummerus-01, 00117), CIL 6, 11242 (= CIL 6, 11243), CIL 6, 13659, CIL 6, 14942, CIL 6, 14987, CIL 6, 15137, CIL 6, 15176 (= CSIR-GB-03-02-02, 00013), CIL 6, 15347, CIL 6, 15366, CIL 6, 15410 (= CIL 6, 34865b = AE 1969/70, +00067), CIL 6, 17898, CIL 10, 05188, CIL 10, 06475, CIL 10, 07640, CIL 6, 07984, CIL 14, 00821, IK-59, 00156 (= AE 1990, 00935 = AE 1996,

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Nero (continued)	CIL 6, 22977, CIL 6, 37752 (= AE 1910, 00071), CIL 6, 37754, CIL 8, 05383 (= ILAlg-01, 00324), CIL 9, 04977 (= D 06558), CIL 10, 01903 (= CIL 15, 07835,2), CIL 10, 01971 (= ILCV 04880 = D 08193 = JIWE-01, 00026 = AE 2005, +00016), CIL 10, 06324 (= D 01734), CIL 10, 06599, CIL 10, 07980, CIL 11, 01753 (= CIL 06, 08500 = D 01490 = AE 2004, +00042, & CIL 6, 08499 = CIL 10, *01089,123 = D 01489 = IMCCatania 00399), CIL 11, 03173, CIL 13, 02449 (= ILAin 00009 = CAG-01, p 107), CIL 14, 02780, CIL 14, 02832 (= D 01760), CIL 15, 07271, IK-13, 00852 (= IK-59, 00122 = AE 1972, 00574 = AE 1982, +00862 = AE 1990, +00901), IK-13, 00862	01466c)
Nero Caesar	CIL 6, 03971 (= D 01625), CIL 6, 04342 (= D 01720), CIL 6, 04343 (= CIL 11, *00547a3 = D 01721), CIL 6, 04344 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01722), CIL 6, 08815	none
Octavia the Younger	CIL 6, 04492, CIL 6, 04714 (= CIL 6, 10395 = CIL 1, p 0069 = InscrIt-13-01, 00023), CIL 6, 08697a (= CIL 10, *01088,275), CIL 6, 08881 (= D 01877), CIL 6, 11450, CIL 6, 23280 (= D 07982), CIL 6, 33364, CIL 6, 33366, CIL 6, 33370 (= D 01753), CIL 6, 33372, CIL 6, 33378, CIL 6, 33383, CIL 6, 33385, CIL 6, 33386, CIL 9, 00156, CIL 10, 02367	none
Paullus	CIL 6, 02292 (= CIL 6, 04497), CIL 6, 02354, CIL 6, 04457, CIL 6, 04499, CIL 6, 04509 (& CIL 6, 04696), CIL 6, 04510, CIL 6, 04695, CIL 6, 11025, CIL 6, 11060 (= ICUR-03, 07210), CIL 6, 11088, CIL 6, 11123, CIL 6, 34282, CIL 6, 37940	CIL 6, 02368 (= CIL 6, 04690)
Poppaea Sabina	CIL 6, 08946, CIL 6, 16001, CIL 10, 01906, CIL 10, 06787 (= D 03873), CIL 11, 05418 (= D 05459 = ERAssisi 00064), CIL 11, 05609	CIL 6, 00099, CIL 6, 08954 (= D 01782 = AE 2000, +00132)
Quinctilius Varus	none	CIL 6, 20112 (= CIL 10, *01045,4 = CIL 10, *01088,188 = CIL 12, *00068,2b)
Regillus	CIL 6, 04422, CIL 6, 04447, CIL 6, 04450, CIL 6, 04688, CIL 6, 09507	none
Scribonia	AE 1975, 00286 (= SupIt-05-RI, 00015 = AE 1995, 00368), CIL 6, 04649 (= AE 1999, +00173), CIL 6, 07467 (= D 07429 = AE 2001, +00169)	none
Silanus	CIL 6, 02187 (= CIL 6, 07445 = D 04973 = AE 2001, +00169), CIL 6, 07603, CIL 6, 07604, CIL 6, 07605, CIL 6, 07606, CIL 6, 07608, CIL 6, 07612 (= EAOR-01,	none

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Silanus (continued)	00037), CIL 6, 07613, CIL 6, 07618, CIL 6, 07627, CIL 6, 07635, CIL 6, 20763, CIL 6, 20809, CIL 6, 20817, CIL 14, 02466 (& CIL 14, 02467 = ILMN-01, 00570)	
Statilia Messalina	CIL 6, 06300 (= D 07434), CIL 6, 06327, CIL 6, 06335, CIL 6, 06596, CIL 6, 06619, CIL 6, 06620, CIL 6, 06625, CIL 6, 09191 (= Statili-3, 00007), CIL 6, 09842 (= D 07411 = Statili-3, 00009), CIL 6, 19754 (= Statili-3, 00013), CIL 6, 26915 (= ILMN-01, 00364 = Statili-3, 00019), CIL 6, 38303 (= Statili-3, 00021 = AE 1908, 00115)	CIL 6, 04459
Tiberius	AE 1913, 00076, AE 1913, 00194 (= Gordon 00112 = NSA-1912-379 = MNR-01-02, p 46), AE 1921, 00069, AE 1923, 00071 (& AE 1923, 00070), AE 1923, 00072, AE 1930, 00066 (= GLIStone 00014), AE 1948, 00141, AE 1972, 00083, AE 1975, 00097, AE 1979, 00033 (= EAOR-01, 00004 = AE 1982, 00049), AE 1989, 00115, AE 2001, 00259 (= CEACelio 00043), AE 2001, 00303 (= CEACelio 00087), AE 2001, 00883b (& CIL 6, 21203), CIL 3, 07107 (= IK-24-01, 00619 = IK-59, 00133), CIL 5, 01067, CIL 5, 01304 (= InscrAqu-01, 00471), CIL 5, 02931 (= CLE 00996 = AE 2000, 00616), CIL 5, 06884 (= InscrIt-11-01, 00083 = D 04850b), CIL 6, 03935, CIL 6, 03951 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03956 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03972, CIL 6, 04014 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04026 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 04036 (= CIL 10, *01089,209 = IMCCatania 00390), CIL 6, 04173, CIL 6, 04281, CIL 6, 04312 (= ILMN-01, 00082 = D 01733), CIL 6, 04339, CIL 6, 04341 (= D 01717), CIL 6, 04351 (= CIL 11, *00547a4 = D 01802), CIL 6, 04352, CIL 6, 04353, CIL 6, 04354, CIL 6, 04358, CIL 6, 04398, CIL 6, 04399, CIL 6, 04409, CIL 6, 04472 (= AE 1999, +00173), CIL 6, 04733 (= CIL 6, 04734), CIL 6, 04770, CIL 6, 04776, CIL 6, 04886 (= D 05225), CIL 6, 04949, CIL 6, 04950, CIL 6, 05121, CIL 6, 05181 (= D 01676), CIL 6, 05185, CIL 6, 05189 (= D 01588), CIL 6, 05193 (= D 01757), CIL 6, 05197 (= D 01514), CIL 6, 05200, CIL 6, 05206 (= D 01755), CIL 6, 05215, CIL 6, 05223, CIL 6, 05226, CIL 6,	AE 1941, 00105 (= SupIt-02-TM, 00004 = AE 1945, +00024 = AE 1947, 00039), AE 1984, 00664 (= AE 2004, +00958 = AE 2004, 00969a), CIL 6, 09061 (= CIL 5, *00429,069), CIL 6, 10302 (= CIL 9, *00427,13 = D 07352)

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Tiberius (continued)	05245, CIL 6, 05248, CIL 6, 05316, CIL 6, 05357, CIL 6, 05358 (= D 01772), CIL 6, 05381, CIL 6, 05436, CIL 6, 05540 (= D 01789 = Libitina-02, 00083), CIL 6, 05745 (= D 05001), CIL 6, 05746 (= D 01817), CIL 6, 05854 (= CIL 06, *00834), CIL 6, 06040, CIL 6, 06088, CIL 6, 06132, CIL 6, 06520, CIL 6, 08409 (= AE 1995, 00100), CIL 6, 08653, CIL 6, 08654 (= D 01773), CIL 6, 08655 (= D 01629), CIL 6, 08656, CIL 6, 08705 (= ILMN-01, 00109), CIL 6, 08790, CIL 6, 08849, CIL 6, 08856, CIL 6, 08880, CIL 6, 08887 (= CIL 6, 14399 = CIL 6, 33754), CIL 6, 08893, CIL 6, 08909, CIL 6, 08913, CIL 6, 08927 (= D 02823), CIL 6, 08928 (= D 02821), CIL 6, 08956 (= ILMN-01, 00120), CIL 6, 08967, CIL 6, 08989 (= CIL 6, 24079 = D 01827), CIL 6, 09066, CIL 6, 09647 (= D 07670 = AE 1997, +00160), CIL 6, 10383, CIL 6, 10449 (= D 07909), CIL 6, 12652 (= CLE 00995 = CIG 06268 = IG-14, 01892 = IGUR-03, 01250), CIL 6, 12697, CIL 6, 13628 (= ILMN-01, 00202), CIL 6, 14828, CIL 6, 14843 (= CIL 5, *00429,081), CIL 6, 16663, CIL 6, 17869 (& CIL 6, 17900?), CIL 6, 19623, CIL 6, 19746, CIL 6, 19784, CIL 6, 19816, CIL 6, 19857, CIL 6, 19860, CIL 6, 19870, CIL 6, 19919, CIL 6, 19922, CIL 6, 19933 (& CIL 6, 08705?), CIL 6, 20139 (= CIL 6, 37874 = CIL 5, *01121 = CIL 11, *00105,9 = D 05181), CIL 6, 20148, CIL 6, 20259 (= ILMN-01, 00297), CIL 6, 20310, CIL 6, 20497, CIL 6, 22396, CIL 6, 26674, CIL 6, 32775 (= CIL 6, 33131 = D 02816), CIL 6, 33099, CIL 6, 33104, CIL 6, 33121, CIL 6, 33130, CIL 6, 33275, CIL 6, 33777, CIL 6, 33779, CIL 6, 33788 (= D 01821), CIL 6, 33799, CIL 6, 34005 (= CIL 11, *00314,1), CIL 6, 37661, CIL 6, 37752 (= AE 1910, 00071), CIL 6, 41266 (= AE 1960, 00026 = AE 1969/70, 00022), CIL 10, 01735, CIL 10, 03358 (= D 02818), CIL 10, 06318 (= D 02815, & CIL 16, 00001 = CIL 3, p 0844 = CIL 10, 00769 (p 1006) = D 01986 = Stabiae 00016 = EpThess 00021), CIL 10, 06638 (= InscrIt-13-01, 00031 = InscrIt-13-02, 00026 = AE 2000, +00055), CIL 10, 07489 (= IGLLipari 00756), CIL 11, 02916 (= CIL 14, 02420 = EE-09, p 403),	

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Tiberius (continued)	CIL 13, 01550 (= AE 1892, 00023 = AE 1999, +00071), CIL 13, 01820 (= D 01639), CIL 14, 02671 (= CIL 06, 10547), CIL 14, 03787 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00356), EA-002144, EA-050110 (= AE 1998, 00577 = SupIt-16-FI, 00012), ILMN-01, 00637 (= CIL 6, *00968), ILMN-01, 00640 (= CIL 6, *03046), InscrIt-07-01, 00129, LIKelsey 00361, TPSulp 00051 (= TPN 00043 = AE 1972, 00086 = AE 1980, +00047 = AE 1992, +00272 = AE 1999, +00446c = AE 2006, +00135), TPSulp 00101 (= TPN 00102)	
Tiberius Gemellus	none	CIL 6, 09095
Torquatus	CIL 6, 07636	none
M. Vinicius	none	CIL 6, 08938 (= D 01690)
Vipsania	CIL 6, 09901a (= D 08540)	none
Dependents of Imperial slaves or Imperial freed slaves	AE 1892, 00137 (= ILSard-01, 00313 = D 02595), AE 1913, 00216 (= AE 1923, +00103), AE 1926, 00052 (= AE 1991, 00127), AE 1929, 00154 (= SIPSurrentum 00022), AE 1946, 00099 (= AE 1946, +00173), AE 1965, 00335, AE 1972, 00083, AE 1982, 00199 (= TPSulp 00094 = TPN 00096), AE 1984, 00951, AE 1985, 00183, AE 1985, 00229, AE 1996, 00122 (= Anagni 00005), AE 2001, 00441 (= CEACelio 00227), AE 2007, 00230, CECapitol 00143, CIL 3, 00256 (= Bosch 00050), CIL 3, 02022, CIL 3, 02097 (= CIL 3, 08585), CIL 3, 04808 (= ILLPRON 00379 = AEA 2007, +00016 = AEA 2007, +00060), CIL 4, 05814, CIL 5, 00236 (= CIL 5, *00582,50 = InscrIt-10-01, 00053), CIL 5, 01251 (= InscrAqu-01, 00470), CIL 5, 01319 (= InscrAqu-01, 00472), CIL 5, 06884 (= InscrIt-11-01, 00083 = D 04850b), CIL 6, 00064 (= D 03502), CIL 6, 00070 (= LMentana 00015), CIL 6, 00138 (= D 03969), CIL 6, 01867a (= CIL 6, 32269), CIL 6, 03879 (= CIL 6, 32450), CIL 6, 03939 (= D 07548, & CIL 6, 03940), CIL 6, 03940 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03941, CIL 6, 03956 (= AE 1992, +00092), CIL 6, 03960, CIL 6, 03966 (= CIL 6, 03967), CIL 6, 03994, CIL 6, 04057, CIL 6, 04117, CIL 6, 04200, CIL 6, 04237, CIL 6, 04250 (= CIL 6, 09064 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 04281, CIL 6, 04332, CIL 6, 04401 (= CIL 14, *00175), CIL 6,	see <i>agnomina</i> in Appendix H for further details

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Dependents of Imperial slaves or Imperial freed slaves (continued)	04409, CIL 6, 04545, CIL 6, 04717, CIL 6, 04741, CIL 6, 04793, CIL 6, 05184, CIL 6, 05197 (= D 01514), CIL 6, 05202 (= D 01778), CIL 6, 05243, CIL 6, 05245, CIL 6, 05264, CIL 6, 05289, CIL 6, 05294, CIL 6, 05693 (= CIL 10, *01088,088), CIL 6, 05749, CIL 6, 05909, CIL 6, 06625, CIL 6, 08470 (= D 01535), CIL 6, 08526 (= CIL 10, *00948,13 = D 01704 = ILMN-01, 00102), CIL 6, 08551 (= D 01758), CIL 6, 08656, CIL 6, 08685, CIL 6, 08688 (= CIL 10, *01088,176 = AE 1997, +00109 = AE 2000, +00068), CIL 6, 08693, CIL 6, 08719 (= CIL 3, *00275,06), CIL 6, 08760 (= D 01742), CIL 6, 08761 (= D 01736), CIL 6, 08767, CIL 6, 08791, CIL 6, 08801 (= AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 08829, CIL 6, 08847 (= D 07409), CIL 6, 08890 (= D 07396), CIL 6, 08900, CIL 6, 08912, CIL 6, 08938 (= D 01690), CIL 6, 09002, CIL 6, 09005 (= D 01795), CIL 6, 09030 (= CIL 6, 34865a = D 07386 = AE 1969/70, +00067), CIL 6, 09044 (= D 07355), CIL 6, 09060 (= D 01641), CIL 6, 09061 (= CIL 5, *00429,069), CIL 6, 09068, CIL 6, 09079, CIL 6, 10302 (= CIL 09, *00427,13 = D 07352), CIL 6, 10360, CIL 6, 10383, CIL 6, 11242 (= CIL 6, 11243), CIL 6, 11377, CIL 6, 11381 (= ILMN-01, 00176), CIL 6, 11541, CIL 6, 11853, CIL 6, 11965 (= CIL 6, 34048), CIL 6, 12037, CIL 6, 12652 (= CLE 00995 = CIG 06268 = IG-14, 01892 = IGUR-03, 01250), CIL 6, 13659, CIL 6, 13850 (= CIL 06, 34075), CIL 6, 14843 (= CIL 05, *00429,081), CIL 6, 14942, CIL 6, 14950, CIL 6, 14987, CIL 6, 14990, CIL 6, 15027, CIL 6, 15137, CIL 6, 15176 (= CSIR-GB-03-02-02, 00013), CIL 6, 15190, CIL 6, 15302 (= ILMN-01, 00227), CIL 6, 15366, CIL 6, 15410 (= CIL 6, 34865b = AE 1969/70, +00067), CIL 6, 15580, CIL 6, 15598, CIL 6, 16586, CIL 6, 17323, CIL 6, 17869, CIL 6, 17898, CIL 6, 17900, CIL 6, 19060, CIL 6, 19588, CIL 6, 19816, CIL 6, 20148, CIL 6, 20173, CIL 6, 20252, CIL 6, 20335, CIL 6, 20375 (= CIL 11, *00101,093), CIL 6, 20588, CIL 6, 20817, CIL 6, 22423, CIL 6, 22970, CIL 6, 24191, CIL 6, 24223, CIL 6, 25033, CIL 6, 32775 (= CIL 6, 33131 = D 02816), CIL 6, 33130, CIL 6, 33738 (=	

Name	Primary reference	Secondary reference
Dependents of Imperial slaves or Imperial freed slaves (continued)	CSIR-POL-02-01, 00022 = D 09027), CIL 6, 35559, CIL 6, 35700, CIL 6, 37745, CIL 6, 40415 (= Gordon 00091 = AE 1953, +00024 = AE 1980, 00057b, & CIL 06, 40414 = Gordon 00090 = AE 1953, 00024 = AE 1980, 00057a), CIL 9, 00321 (= ERCanosa 00170), CIL 10, 06144 (= AE 1978, 00091), CIL 10, 07640, CIL 10, 07984, CIL 11, 05418 (= D 05459 = ERAssisi 00064), CIL 13, 02106, CIL 13, 03542, CIL 14, 00483, CIL 14, 02302 (= D 07462), CIL 14, 02671 (= CIL 06, 10547), CIL 14, 02780, CIL 14, 02833 (= CIL 5, *00429,038 = D 01538), CIL 14, 02886, CIL 14, 03524, CIL 14, 03539 (= InscrIt-04-01, 00041), CIL 15, 01404, EA-002157 (& EA-002158), EA-002191, EE-08-01, 00335 (& EE-08-01, 00336 and EE-08-01, 00337 = EE-08-01, 00863 = D 05798), InscrAqu-01, 00466 (= IEAquil 00277), InscrAqu-01, 00474 (= IEAquil 00153), InVaticano 00023, SIPSurrentum 00037, TPSulp 00049 (= TPN 00101)	
No primary Julio-Claudian	AE 1978, 00052 (= MIRoma-04, 00024), CIL 6, 02260, CIL 6, 02329 (= D 04992), CIL 6, 04336, CIL 6, 04808, CIL 6, 08726 (= D 07733a = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 08954 (= D 01782 = AE 2000, +00132), CIL 6, 10172 (= D 05152 = EAOR-01, 00033 = Gummerus-01, 00116, & CIL 6, 10173 = EAOR-01, 00034 = Gummerus-01, 00117), CIL 6, 15347, CIL 6, 15551 (= D 07933), CIL 6, 15616, CIL 6, 18203, CIL 6, 18358, CIL 6, 24164, CIL 6, 33737 (= AE 1896, 00092), CIL 6, 36911, CIL 8, 01816	not applicable

APPENDIX M: EXCLUDED INDIVIDUALS

Juba, king of Mauritania

Eclogae / regis Iubae / mimae quae / vixit a(nnos) XVIII [m(enses)] (CIL 6, 10110 = D 05216)

Aeschinus Iu[b]ae / regis l(ibertus) Ant[3]us / (h)ic sit(us) <e=I>st t(ibi) s(it) t(erra) l(evis) (CIL 8, 09344)

JA Aunigae / [regis] Iubae l(iberti) fil(ia) / [an]norum XIII / [hic s]ita est s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) (CIL 8, 09348)

JS / regis [Iu]bae l(iberto) Caelaeto / hic situs est (CIL 8, 09349)

Laetus Accepti regis Iubae l(iberti) f(ilius) / iniquitate factorum raptus anno I die(bu)s / VIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) praeterie(n)s tuum est dicere / ossa tibi bene adquiescant (CIL 8, 09350 = CLE +01455)

Alypias Iu[bae] li[b(ertus)] / Alypiadi fil(io) / fecit / vixit anno uno mens(ibus) V / diebus XVIII (CIL 8, 21085)

Iulia(e) Clita(e) Epap(h)ra(e) / li(berti) regis Iuba(e) libert(a)e / vixit an(n)os L Dinam(is) mater eius po(suit) {a}e sua / impe(n)sa (CIL 8, 21086)

Iulia Fastila / Iuba(e) l(iberta) hic / sita (e)s(t) annoru(m) / fuit XXII (CIL 8, 21087)

Iulia Phiale / Iubae l(iberta) / vixit an(nos) XXX / h(ic) s(ita) est (CIL 8, 21088)

Iuliae reg[is] Iubae? l(ibertae) Calloni / C(aius) Iulius regis [Iubae? l(ibertus) 3] / hospes qui tumulum hun[c vides] / si non forte grav(e) est d[isce] / hic Callo iaceo tellure as[pera] / finibus Italiae lucis ad[olesco] / coniunxs(!) ad superos rem[3] / et frater quorum est luct[us] / ignotis cara et nulli non gr[ata] / quis obitus noster est sin[ister] / nunc hospes hoc titulo lecto [dic] / discedens Callo sit tibi te[rra levis] (AE 1995, 00956)

Ptolemaeus, king of Mauritania

Iuliae Hymni / regis Ptolemaei / l(iberti) l(ibertae) Charidi / concub(inae) (CIL 6, 20409)

Philocalus Pyladis / regis Ptole{e}maei l(ibertus) {L} / vixi(t) annu(m) minus diebus / XV h(ic) s(itus) e(st) (CIL 8, 09351)

Amar[antus] / reg(is) Pto[lemaei] / ser(vus) M[] (CIL 8, 21091)

C(aio) Iulio regis / Ptolemaei lib(erto) / Montano / Iulia Prima coniu(n)x / fecit (CIL 8, 21093 = AE 1891, 00168 = AE 1892, 00112)

[C(aius) Iuli]us regis Ptolemaei [libertus] / [Ia]nuarius vixit an[nos(?) 3] / [I]mmunis et Cinnamu[s fecerunt] / [ob mer]itis (CIL 8, 21094)

Iulia Pieris / regis Ptolemaei l(iberta) / M(arco) Casineio / Serpullo c[oni]/[ugi] (CIL 8, 21095)

[Iulius] Narcissus / [Ptolem]ai l(ibertus) cubu/[cularius] Sotalu[s (AE 1971, 00519)

Junia Torquata, Vestal Virgin

Iuniae C(ai) Silani f(iliae) / Torquatae vir(gini) Vest(ali) / maximae / Iuvenio l(iberto) (CIL 6, 02127 = CIL 6, 32403 = AE 2006, +00118)

Iunoni / Iuniae C(ai) Silani f(iliae) / Torquatae / sacerdoti Vestali / annis LXIII / Caelesti patronae / Actius l(ibertus) / (CIL 6, 02128 = D 04923 = AE 2006, +00118)

C(aio) Iunio Torquatae / v(irginis) V(estalis) lib(erto) Felici / Iunia Phyllis colliberto / carissimo fecit et sibi / posterisque suis et eorum / in fronte p(edes) XIII in agro p(edes) XIII (CIL 6, 20788)

Iunia / Torquatae / v(irginis) V(estalis) l(iberta) Alce / fecit sibi et / carissimo / C(aio) Iunio Epapho / conliberto et / viro optimo (CIL 6, 20852)

Rufrius Crispinus, first husband of Poppaea Sabina

Staphilo P(ubli) Rufri / Crispini ser(vo) / vix(it) an(nos) XXV / Rufria Commodit(as) / filio f(ecit) b(ene) m(erenti) (SupIt-09-A, 00158 = AE 1992, 00483)

L. Aelius Sejanus, praetorian prefect

Jigus L(uci) Aeli / Seiani a manu / Montanus A(uli) Caecinae / [3] Gigantis (CIL 6, 06030 = D 07394)

[L(ucius) A]elius Seiani l(ibertus) / Ponticus (CIL 6, 10769)

[B]ath[y]llus / L(uci) Aelii / Seiani // Cn(aeus) Acci[us] / Mahes / dedi[t] / M(arco) Livio Fausto (CIL 6, 13532)

C. Stertinus Xenophon, physician to Claudius

Cosmia / *C(ai) Stertini Xenophontis* / *medici Augusti* / *vix(it) ann(os) XVIII* / *Blastus conservos d(e) s(uo) et* / *Iuliae* / *Thymele* / *matri* (CIL 6, 08905 = D 01841 = Gummerus-01, 00053 = Manacorda 00047 = AE 2000, +00132)

Sex. Afranius Burrus, praetorian prefect

P(ublius) Flavius [3] / *vixit annis* [3] / *Flavia P(ubli) l(iberta) Celadem[a]* 3] / *Sex(to) Afranio Burri l(iberto) I*[3] / *P(ublio) Flavio P(ubli) f(ilio) Primo* [3] / *Sex(to) Afranio Burri* [l(iberto) 3] / *fidelissimo et Sex(to) [Afranio 3] / et Afrania(e) Ili l(ibertae) Fidae et Ti(berio) Cla[udio]* (SupIt-12-At, 00005 = AE 1994, 00593)

T(ito) Flavio Aug(usti) lib(erto) / *Crescenti tabular(io)* / *Burriano Acceptus* / *et Lochius fratres et* / *Fortunata et Eustatus* / *patrono et sibi* (CIL 6, 09059 = AE 2000, +00132)

Cn(aeus) Domitius Primigenius / *et Afrania Burri lib(erta) C[a]jenis* / *coniuges vivi fecerunt sibi et* / *libertis libertabusq(ue) suis poste/risque eorum* / *in fronte p(edes) XXXV h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)* (CIL 6, 16963)

L. Annaeus Seneca, advisor to Nero

Cottai{i}o / *Anni Sene/cae ser(vus) v(ivus) f(ecit)* / *s(ibi) et Iustae* / *coni(ugi) opt(imae)* (CIL 3, 05067 = ILLPRON 01436 = RIS 00261)

C. Nymphidius Sabinus, praetorian prefect

Diis Manibus / *Iuliae Masuetae* / *et Graecini filii* / *Martialis Abascanti* / *C(ai) Nymphidi Sabini* / *praef(ecti) pr(aetorio)* / *ser(vi) vicarius* / *coniugi et filio* (CIL 6, 06621 = MNR-01-07-01, p 26)

D(is) [M(anibus)] / *T(ito) Fl[avio]* / *Verec[undo]* / *Nymphidi[ano]* / *qui vix(it) [* (CIL 6, 18241)

APPENDIX N: SMALL JULIO-CLAUDIAN HOUSEHOLDS

Small Households: Between Six and Ten Members Known

Between six and ten individuals identify their master or patron as Agrippa (9),¹⁵⁰¹ Lepidus (9),¹⁵⁰² Livilla (9), Poppaea Sabina (7), Agrippina the Elder (7), Claudia Octavia (6), or Claudia Antonia (6).

As Agrippa was in charge of Rome's waterworks, his household also contained the slave workers (*familiam propriam aquarum*) necessary to administer and maintain the aqueducts, reservoirs, and basins;¹⁵⁰³ Augustus inherited these particular slaves from him, and he in turn bequeathed them to the public.¹⁵⁰⁴ Agrippa's household also included – at least temporarily – the grammarian Q. Caecilius Epirota,¹⁵⁰⁵ a freedman of Cicero's friend Atticus and the instructor (and apparently lover) of Agrippa's first wife, Atticus' daughter Caecilia Attica.¹⁵⁰⁶ The epigraphic evidence includes five freed slaves and four slaves, of which all are male except one freedwoman; these include a bedroom attendant (*cubicularius*), a worker in charge of monuments (*ex monumentis*), a stone worker (*lapidarius*), and a warehouse manager (*horrearius*).¹⁵⁰⁷ There is also an inscription

¹⁵⁰¹ Fabre and Roddaz 1982.

¹⁵⁰² This could include several different individuals affiliated with the Julio-Claudian dynasty; I have not included the slaves and freed slaves of Paullus Aemilius Lepidus in this count, as they generally identify themselves with his praenomen rather than his cognomen, and are discussed separately at pp. 339-343.

¹⁵⁰³ Frontin. Aq. 98.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Frontinus seems to suggest that they became public slaves (*hanc Augustus hereditate ab eo sibi relictam publicavit*), but those water workers (*aquarii*) known from inscriptions are largely Imperial slaves or freed slaves (CIL 6, 02467 = Epigraphica-2007-341 = AE 2007, 00210, CIL 6, 03935, CIL 6, 03936, CIL 6, 07973, CIL 6, 08491 = D 01610, CIL 6, 33733 = D 01611 = GLISone 00016), rather than public slaves (CIL 6, 02345 = D 01975, IIBrindisi 00093 = AE 1964, 00138 = AE 1966, 00099).

¹⁵⁰⁵ Suet. Gram. 16.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Suet. Gram. 16, Nep. Att. 12.2, 19.4, Cic. Att. 12.33.

¹⁵⁰⁷ CIL 6, 05679 = CIL 10, *01088,144 = D 01739 (*cubicularius*), CIL 6, 05731 = CIL 10, *01088,377 = D 07888b (*ex monumentis*), CIL 6, 08871 = CIL 5, *00429,041 (*lapidarius*), CIL 6, 09465 = CIL 5, *00429,036 (*horrearius*).

dedicated to the “*collegium Agrippianum*,” which might once have indicated the location of Agrippa’s own *columbarium*.¹⁵⁰⁸

The nine individuals who cite their patron or owner as “Lepidus” probably belonged to either M. Aemilius Lepidus, the son of Paullus, or his homonymous son, the husband of Julia Drusilla. In either case, there is no difference in *praenomen* that could aid in identification; although one inscription has been transcribed with the *praenomen* Lucius,¹⁵⁰⁹ the *praenomen* is fragmentary and has been probably been reconstructed incorrectly. Of the one slave, one freedwoman, and seven freedmen affiliated with the Aemilii Lepidi,¹⁵¹⁰ only one can be securely assigned to either father or son: the grammarian (*grammaticus*) who instructed Aemilia Lepida,¹⁵¹¹ wife of Drusus Caesar,¹⁵¹² must be a freedman of her father rather than her brother.

From the household of Livilla, daughter of Antonia the Younger and Drusus the Elder, the literary sources identify only her physician, Eudemus. He was privy to her affair with Sejanus and was himself implicated in the murder of Drusus the Younger;¹⁵¹³ his confession under torture, eight years after the fact, contributed to the downfall and execution of Sejanus and the death of Livilla.¹⁵¹⁴ Inscriptions add another nine

¹⁵⁰⁸ CIL 6, 10255: *Dis / Manibus / collegio / Agrippia/no*. The *ex monumentis* (CIL 6, 05731 = CIL 10, *01088,377 = D 07888b) further supports the idea that Agrippa’s household had its own *columbarium*, which is no longer extant.

¹⁵⁰⁹ CIL 6, 04500: [*L(ucius)*] *Aimilius Lepidi l(ibertus) / [3] Apella // Sestos / Marcellae*.

¹⁵¹⁰ Other than the *grammaticus*, only two provide occupational titles, a steward, or *dispensator* (CIL 6, 09350 = IGLFriuli 00063) and a name-caller, or *nomenclator* (CIL 6, 08602 = AE 2000, +00132).

¹⁵¹¹ CIL 6, 09449 (= CIL 05, *00592 = CLE 00994 = D 01848 = AE 1999, +00024).

¹⁵¹² Son of Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder.

¹⁵¹³ Tac. Ann. 4.3, Plin. HN 29.20, Cass. Dio 57.22.2-4. Pliny the Elder further suggests an affair (*adulteria*) between Eudemus and Livilla, while Tacitus calls him her friend (*amicus*).

¹⁵¹⁴ Tac. Ann. 4.11.

individuals, three men and six women, of whom four were freed slaves and five were slaves. These include two attendants, two physicians, and a reader (*lectrix*).¹⁵¹⁵

The accounts of Claudia Octavia's divorce feature two of her slaves, who stand in strict opposition to one another as stereotypes of servile character, one easily corruptible, the other steadfastly loyal. In Poppaea's attempts to secure a divorce, she bribed one of Claudia Octavia's servants to accuse of adultery with her slave, an Alexandrian flute-singer named Eucærus.¹⁵¹⁶ Claudia Octavia's slavewomen were tortured in order to provide proof of the accusation, but the majority remained loyal and refused to slander their owner.¹⁵¹⁷ One slave in particular – anonymous in Tacitus, named Pythias in Cassius Dio – retorted to the praetorian prefect Tigellinus that Claudia Octavia's private parts were cleaner than his mouth.¹⁵¹⁸ Inscriptions survive for six individuals, three men and three women, only one of who is a freed slave. Nearly all report their occupation, and these include a hairdresser (*ornatrix*), a goldsmith (*aurifex*), a steward (*dispensator*), a banker (*ab argento*), and a seamstress (*sarcinatrix*).¹⁵¹⁹ Claudia Octavia's half-sister Claudia Antonia also has six household members in the inscriptional evidence, all but one of whom are women, and including five freed slaves and one slave: these include a baker (*pistor*) and a pet-child (*delicium*).¹⁵²⁰

¹⁵¹⁵ CIL 6, 04349 = D 01751 (*lecticarius*, or litter-bearer), CIL 6, 08786 (*cubicularius*, or bedroom attendant, and *lectrix*, or reader), CIL 6, 08711 = D 07803 (*medica*, or physician), CIL 6, 08899 = D 01843 (*medicus*, or physician).

¹⁵¹⁶ Tac. Ann. 14.60.

¹⁵¹⁷ Tac. Ann. 14.60. Cassius Dio (62.13.3-4) claims instead that only one slave remained loyal.

¹⁵¹⁸ Tac. Ann. 14.60 (*castiora esse muliebra Octavia ... quam os eius*), Cass. Dio 62.13.4 (*καθαρώτερον, ὃ Τυγελλίνε, τὸ αἰδοῖον ἢ δέσποινά μου τοῦ σοῦ στόματος ἔχει*).

¹⁵¹⁹ CIL 6, 05539 = D 01786 = Libitina-02, 00082 (*ornatrix* and *ab argento*), CIL 6, 08741 = CECapitol 00193 (*aurifex*), CIL 6, 08827 = CLE 00162 (*dispensator*), CIL 6, 09037 (*sarcinatrix*).

¹⁵²⁰ CIL 6, 09802 = D 07466 (*pistor*) and CIL 6, 14959 = CIL 3, *00239,23 (*delicium*).

As for Poppaea Sabina, some aspects of her household can be reconstructed from the literary references. As early as her marriage to Otho, Poppaea Sabina kept astrologers attached to her household, including one named Ptolemaeus, who encouraged Otho to seize power from Galba.¹⁵²¹ Poppaea's extensive beauty regimen included bathing only in asses' milk,¹⁵²² which may seem like a minor detail, but such details in fact provide information about the composition of her staff, provided that the information is in fact correct. Juvenal, Pliny, and Cassius Dio all agree that, no matter where she resided, she was always accompanied by five hundred asses,¹⁵²³ so that her permanent staff would have included workers to care for and milk the animals. The inscriptions name two women and five men, of whom two are freed slaves and five are slaves; their occupational titles reflect only the need for household and financial management, with two stewards (*dispensatores*) and a provisioner (*opsonator*).¹⁵²⁴ As both *dispensatores* are located in Umbria,¹⁵²⁵ this may indicate property somewhere in the vicinity of Perugia, in addition to the well-known villa at Oplontis.¹⁵²⁶

Finally, Agrippina the Elder's household members do not appear in the literary sources at all, but six of her household members do appear in the epigraphic material.¹⁵²⁷

¹⁵²¹ Tac. Hist. 1.22-23. They seem to have become part of the Imperial household upon her marriage to Nero – Tacitus calls them *pessimum principalis matrimonii instrumentum* – but retained their original connection to Otho.

¹⁵²² Juv. 6.468-469, Plin. HN 11.238.

¹⁵²³ Juv. 6.469-470, Plin. HN 11.238, Cass. Dio 63.28.1.

¹⁵²⁴ *Dispensatores*: CIL 11, 05609 & CIL 11, 05610, CIL 11, 05418 (= D 05459 = ERAssisi 00064).

Opsonator: CIL 6, 08946.

¹⁵²⁵ CIL 11, 05609 and CIL 11, 05610 name the same individual at Arna, while CIL 11, 05418 (= D 05459 = ERAssisi 00064) names another man at Asisium.

¹⁵²⁶ De Franciscis 1979, Thomas and Clarke 2009.

¹⁵²⁷ There are probably others among the five individuals who only identify their owner or patron as "Agrippina," without specifying mother or daughter.

There are three men and three women, and only one is a freed slave. Three report occupations, including a banker (*ab argento*) and two clothing attendants.¹⁵²⁸

Smaller Households: Between Three and Five Members Known

Between three and five individuals name the following Julio-Claudians as their master or patron: Agrippina (5),¹⁵²⁹ Nero Caesar (5), Regillus (5), Livia Julia (4), Agrippina the Younger (4), Asinia Agrippina (3), Drusus Caesar (3), Marcellus (3), and Scribonia (3).

Of these, the most is known about the household of Agrippina the Younger. When Caligula exiled his sisters Agrippina the Younger and Julia Livilla in 39, he proceeded to confiscate all their household goods, including their jewelry, furniture, slaves, and freed slaves.¹⁵³⁰ This property was restored by Claudius two years later.¹⁵³¹ Phlegon of Tralles¹⁵³² adds an estate for Agrippina the Younger at Mevania, in Umbria, on which a Syrian woman turned into a man in 53.¹⁵³³ However, as with Claudia Octavia, Agrippina the Younger's household is known primarily from the reports of their personal loyalty to their mistress in the events leading to her death.¹⁵³⁴ Her freedman Agerinus, sent to Nero to report her survival of the manufactured shipwreck, was

¹⁵²⁸ CIL 6, 05206 = D 01755 (*supra veste*, or clothing supervisor, and *vestifica*, or clothing folder), CIL 6, 05186 (*ab argento*).

¹⁵²⁹ These use only the *cognomen* without Maior or Minor and cannot be assigned to either mother or daughter with any certainty, so I have categorized them separately.

¹⁵³⁰ Suet. Calig. 39.1: *In Gallia quoque, cum damnatarum sororum ornamenta et suppellectilem et servos atque etiam liberos immensis pretiis vendidisset*. The latter are not technically property: perhaps he ended his sisters' patronal rights over their freed slaves.

¹⁵³¹ Cass. Dio 60.4.1, Suet. Ner. 6.4.

¹⁵³² Only two minor works of his are extant: he was a freedman of Hadrian and, as such, may have had access to the Imperial archives.

¹⁵³³ Mir. 7.

executed for his trouble.¹⁵³⁵ Some of Agrippina the Younger's slaves fled in her final hours, but enough remained that Anicetus was forced to drag them away before he could kill her.¹⁵³⁶ Agrippina the Younger's remaining servants immediately set up a funeral pyre and took care of her burial, with one, a freedman named Mnester, going so far as to kill himself on her pyre.¹⁵³⁷ Four household members are named in inscriptions: two slave stewards (*dispensatores*) and two freedwomen.¹⁵³⁸ In addition, there are five individuals, all but one slaves, who do not specify whether "Agrippina" refers to mother or daughter.¹⁵³⁹

Suetonius' list of eminent grammarians includes a Scribonius Aphrodisius, who had been the slave and pupil of the grammarian Orbilius,¹⁵⁴⁰ but was purchased and manumitted by Scribonia,¹⁵⁴¹ the first wife of Augustus. Two freedmen and a slave woman are attested in inscriptions:¹⁵⁴² one of the freedmen, whose inscription appears in the *Monumentum Marcellae*, worked as a mime (*archimimus*), while the slave woman was a clothing folder (*vestifica*). The final freedman's inscription is so fragmentary that only his *praenomen*, *nomen*, and status indicator survive,¹⁵⁴³ but its location is revealing nonetheless. It was found at Regium Iulium, where Julia the Elder spent the last decade

¹⁵³⁴ Nero rejected poison as an option for precisely this reason (Tac. Ann. 14.3). Such loyalty might also explain the Trajanic slave (CIL 6, 36911) with an *agnomen* linking him to Agrippina the Younger (cf. p. 127, n. 491).

¹⁵³⁵ Tac. Ann. 14.4-8, Suet. Ner. 34.3, Cass. Dio 61.12-13.

¹⁵³⁶ Tac. Ann. 14.8.

¹⁵³⁷ Tac. Ann. 14.9.

¹⁵³⁸ CIL 6, 08720, CIL 6, 08834, CIL 6, 20384 (= CIL 11, *00026,34), CIL 6, 37591 (= AE 1910, 00050).

¹⁵³⁹ CIL 6, 04008, CIL 6, 05563, CIL 6, 08879, CIL 6, 24084, CIL 6, 26790 (= Statili-3, 00035).

¹⁵⁴⁰ Suet. Gram. 9.

¹⁵⁴¹ Suet. Gram. 19.

¹⁵⁴² CIL 6, 04649 (= AE 1999, +00173), CIL 6, 07467 (= D 07429 = AE 2001, +00169), AE 1975, 00286 (= SupIt-05-RI, 00015 = AE 1995, 00368).

of her exile and to which Scribonia accompanied her;¹⁵⁴⁴ it serves as confirmation that Scribonia was indeed present throughout Julia the Elder's exile. In addition, Scribonia is still identified as "*Scribonia Caesaris*," probably close to fifty years after her divorce.¹⁵⁴⁵

A freedman named Didymus attempted to reveal the poor treatment Drusus Caesar had received during his imprisonment;¹⁵⁴⁶ he may have been a freedman of the latter, but the text is unclear, and Tiberius (or the Imperial household in general) remains a possibility. Drusus Caesar and Nero Caesar, the eldest sons of Germanicus, appear with three and five household members respectively, all slaves.¹⁵⁴⁷ The majority of these are bodyguards: two or three of Nero Caesar's slaves are bodyguards, as is one of Drusus Caesar's slaves.

Regillus, the son of Marcella the Younger, is known only from the inscriptional evidence. He appears in his own right in an honorary inscription from Hispania recording the offices of *praefectus urbis* and *quaestor*, as well as in the dedicatory inscription for an additional columbarium belonging to his mother's household.¹⁵⁴⁸ Five slaves identify him as their owner,¹⁵⁴⁹ four of whom come from the *Monumentum Marcellae*. All five list their occupations, which vary widely.¹⁵⁵⁰

¹⁵⁴³ AE 1975, 00286 (= SupIt-05-RI, 00015 = AE 1995, 00368): *L(ucius) Scribo[nius] / Scribon[iae] / Caesaris [l(ibertus) 3]*.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Vell. Pat. 2.100.5, Cass. Dio 55.10.14. Cf. Tac. Ann. 1.53, Cass. Dio 55.13.1, Suet. Aug. 65.2-3.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Suet. Aug. 62.2, Cass. Dio 48.34.3.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Tac. Ann. 6.24.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Drusus Caesar: CIL 6, 04337 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01718), CIL 6, 08848, CIL 15, 07383. Nero Caesar: CIL 6, 03971 (= D 01625), CIL 6, 04342 (= D 01720), CIL 6, 04343 (= CIL 11, *00547a3 = D 01721), CIL 6, 04344 (= CIL 14, *00175 = D 01722), CIL 6, 08815.

¹⁵⁴⁸ AE 1996, 00253.

¹⁵⁴⁹ CIL 6, 04422, CIL 6, 04447, CIL 6, 04450, CIL 6, 04688, CIL 6, 09507.

¹⁵⁵⁰ CIL 6, 04422 (*sumptuarius*, or manager of luxury expenses), CIL 6, 04447 (*lector*, or reader), CIL 6, 04450 (*villicus*, or farm overseer), CIL 6, 04688 (*librarius*, or book copier), CIL 6, 09507 (*lecticarius*, or litter-bearer).

Small households are also known for Marcellus, the son of Octavia the Younger, Asinia Agrippina, the granddaughter of Vipsania, and Livia Julia, the daughter of Livilla and Drusus the Younger. Two freedmen and a slave are attested for Marcellus; both freedmen use the *praenomen* Marcus, despite the fact that modern sources sometimes give Marcellus' *praenomen* as Caius.¹⁵⁵¹ Asinia Agrippina's household appears in two fragmentary inscriptions,¹⁵⁵² including her wet-nurse (*nutrix*), a groom (*strator*), and a clothing folder (*vestiplica*).¹⁵⁵³ Livia Julia appears under both of her names, as "*Livia Drusi Caesaris filia*"¹⁵⁵⁴ and as "*Iulia Drusi Caesaris filia*":¹⁵⁵⁵ her household consists of three slaves and a freedwoman, although it must once have included sufficient litter-bearers to warrant a supervisor of litter-bearers (*supra lecticarios*).¹⁵⁵⁶

Smallest Households: Only One or Two Members Known

A total of sixteen Julio-Claudians appear with only one or two slaves or freed slaves in the inscriptional material (see Table 1 for the full list). For a few of them, the literary evidence provides supplementary information, although by no means enough to conduct any sort of analysis.

Suetonius supplements his list of grammarians with information about their prominent students. The grammarians themselves are largely freedmen, although most often not of their students or their students' families, they seem to have been manumitted,

¹⁵⁵¹ This is probably a conflation with his father, whose *praenomen* was Caius: Marcellus appears as Marcus in the literary sources as well (Suet. Tib. 10.1, Cass. Dio 48.38.3, Vell. Pat. 2.93.1).

¹⁵⁵² CIL 6, 09901 (= D 07444 = ILMN-01, 00148) and CIL 6, 09901b.

¹⁵⁵³ The former is freed (CIL 6, 09901b) and the latter two are slaves (CIL 6, 09901 = D 07444 = ILMN-01, 00148).

¹⁵⁵⁴ CIL 6, 19747 (= CIL 5, *00429,096 = CLE 00987 = D 08522).

¹⁵⁵⁵ CIL 6, 04119 and CIL 6, 05198 (= D 01752).

¹⁵⁵⁶ CIL 6, 05198 (= D 01752).

established their careers, and then acquired aristocratic pupils. Two in particular, both from the Augustan period, taught young men of the Julio-Claudian dynasty: L. Crassicius Pansa instructed Iullus Antonius,¹⁵⁵⁷ while M. Verrius Flaccus instructed Caius Caesar and Lucius Caesar.¹⁵⁵⁸ Flaccus even moved himself and his entire school into the Imperial complex for the purpose.¹⁵⁵⁹ Of the three young men, household members are attested only for Iullus Antonius and Lucius Caesar: there are two freedmen belonging to Iullus Antonius¹⁵⁶⁰ and two slaves belonging to Lucius Caesar, both of whom report financial occupations necessary in the management of his property at Rome.¹⁵⁶¹

Slightly more detail is available for Clemens, a slave of Agrippa Postumus.¹⁵⁶² He was approximately the same age as Postumus and, when a plan to free Postumus after Augustus' death failed, he instead pretended to be Postumus himself,¹⁵⁶³ spreading rumours and gathering supporters. Tiberius was eventually forced to action: he had Clemens brought to Rome, tortured, and finally executed. Two additional household members appear in inscriptions:¹⁵⁶⁴ a freedwoman in Rome and a slave in Pompeii. The

¹⁵⁵⁷ Suet. Gram. 18.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Suet. Gram. 17. Pansa and Flaccus were roughly contemporaries, notwithstanding the age difference between their students (Iullus was born in 43 B.C.E., while Gaius and Lucius were born in 20 and 17 B.C.E. respectively).

¹⁵⁵⁹ Suet. Gram. 17.

¹⁵⁶⁰ CIL 6, 12010 (= CIL 6, 34051) and AE 2007, 00425 (= SupIt-23-G, 00051).

¹⁵⁶¹ CIL 6, 05353 (*opsonator*, or provisioner) and CIL 6, 08730 = ILMN-01, 00110 (*ad argentum*, or banker).

¹⁵⁶² Tac. Ann. 2.29-40, Suet. Tib. 25.1, Cass. Dio 57.16.3-4.

¹⁵⁶³ Clemens was far from alone in such a ruse. Valerius Maximus (9.15) gives a few Republican examples, but the Julio-Claudians were particularly liable to imposters, probably because so many of them died young. One imposter claimed to be Drusus Caesar (Tac. Ann. 5.10, Cass. Dio 58.25.1) and as many as three different men claimed to be Nero in the decades following his death (Tac. Hist. 1.2, 2.8-9, Cass. Dio 64.9, Suet. Ner. 57.2). For more detailed examinations of these incidents, see Gallivan 1973, Jones 1983, Tuplin 1987, and Devilliers and Hurler 2007.

¹⁵⁶⁴ CIL 6, 18548 and CIL 10, 00924 (= D 06381). Agrippa is not identified as "Postumus" in the inscriptions, but rather as "Pupus" or "Pupillus" (Fabre and Roddaz 1982, pp. 87-88).

latter inscription bears a consular date of 7 B.C.E., making Postumus no older than five; one presumes the slave in question was inherited from his father.

We know some minor facts about the household arrangements of Julia the Elder both before and after her banishment. Prior to her banishment, her retinue included fashionable young men and even freedmen, and her vanity must have demanded numerous hairdressers (*ornatrices*);¹⁵⁶⁵ this ties perfectly with Macrobius' account of her inability to forget that she was the emperor's daughter. Furthermore, the accounts of her disgrace even name a freedwoman, Phoebe, who committed suicide as a result of the banishment, leading Augustus to remark that he would rather have been Phoebe's father.¹⁵⁶⁶ Julia the Elder was first exiled to the island of Pandateria, and her mother Scribonia voluntarily accompanied her; her living arrangements were highly restricted, with no wine permitted in the household and no men allowed into her presence unless Augustus received a detailed description first.¹⁵⁶⁷ A few years later, these conditions were relaxed:¹⁵⁶⁸ Julia the Elder (and thus Scribonia) moved to Regium Iulium, on the mainland, and until Augustus' death, Julia the Elder was merely confined to the town rather than to the house.¹⁵⁶⁹ The only inscription referring directly to Julia the Elder's household, naming two freedmen, comes from Regium Iulium and was clearly erected decades after her death.¹⁵⁷⁰

¹⁵⁶⁵ Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.5.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Suetonius, *Aug.* 65.2, Cassiodorus, *Dio* 55.10.16.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.53, Cassiodorus, *Dio* 55.10.14, Suetonius, *Aug.* 65.2, Velleius Paterculus, *Vell. Pat.* 2.100.5, Seneca, *Ben.* 6.32.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.53, Cassiodorus, *Dio* 55.13.1, Suetonius, *Aug.* 65.3.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Suetonius, *Tib.* 50.1.

¹⁵⁷⁰ AE 1975, 00289 (= SupIt-05-RI, 00016 = AE 1995, 00367). Cf. pp. 189-192.

The households of Domitia and Domitia Lepida, the daughters of Antonia the Elder, both appear in the literary sources. Two freedmen of Domitia, Atimetus and Paris, play key roles in Tacitus' narrative of the Julio-Claudian period. When Agrippina the Younger was barred from the Imperial household in 55,¹⁵⁷¹ her rival Junia Silana¹⁵⁷² took the opportunity to further discredit her by passing rumours through Atimetus, knowing that Domitia's dislike for Agrippina the Younger would ensure that the rumours reached Nero's ears.¹⁵⁷³ Agrippina the Younger was permitted to defend herself,¹⁵⁷⁴ so that Silana was banished and Atimetus was executed.¹⁵⁷⁵ Paris, an actor (*histrion*) and a great favourite of Nero,¹⁵⁷⁶ was pardoned and, soon afterward, was assigned freeborn status.¹⁵⁷⁷ Despite this, he was put to death late in Nero's reign for his dancing prowess – or, more specifically, for the fact that it surpassed Nero's own ability.¹⁵⁷⁸ Paris also appears in the epigraphic material, the only member of Domitia's household to do so, in an inscription dedicated to his own freedman.¹⁵⁷⁹ As for Domitia Lepida, her slaves and freed slaves do not appear in the epigraphic material, although a few details are known about her household. When her brother Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus died during Agrippina the Younger's exile, she took his son Nero into her own household, using a dancer and a

¹⁵⁷¹ Tac. Ann. 13.18.

¹⁵⁷² Her parentage is uncertain, but she may be the daughter of M. Junius Silanus (cos. 19) and thus the sister of Caligula's first wife Junia Claudilla. She was married to C. Silius prior to his affair with Messalina (Tac. Ann. 11.12, 13.19).

¹⁵⁷³ Tac. Ann. 13.19-22.

¹⁵⁷⁴ This, in part, consisted of an accusation that Atimetus was Domitia's lover (*concupinus*).

¹⁵⁷⁵ Tac. Ann. 13.21-22.

¹⁵⁷⁶ *Histrion*: Tac. Ann. 13.21. Nero's love of Paris: Tac. Ann. 13.20 (*solitus aliquin id temporis luxus principis intendere*), 13.22 (*validiore apud libidines principis Paride*).

¹⁵⁷⁷ Tac. Ann. 13.27. He may also appear at D.12.4.3.5, where he is described as *pantomimus*.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Cass. Dio 63.18.1, Suet. Nero 54.

¹⁵⁷⁹ CIL 14, 02886.

barber as his paedagogues (*sub duobus paedagogis saltatore atque tonsore*).¹⁵⁸⁰ As for her personal property, she inherited property at Pompeii from her first husband, M. Valerius Messala Barbatus, which included warehouses.¹⁵⁸¹

Britannicus' instructor (*educator*), Sosibius, appears twice: once in Tacitus,¹⁵⁸² serving as a go-between to Claudius in one of Messalina's schemes, and again in Cassius Dio,¹⁵⁸³ executed by Agrippina the Younger in order to promote Nero's claim on the throne and isolate Britannicus. His status is unclear, although he was likely either a freedman or a slave of Messalina or Claudius.¹⁵⁸⁴ Two slaves are known for Britannicus from inscriptions,¹⁵⁸⁵ including one who managed apartment blocks which the young prince must have owned.¹⁵⁸⁶

Only one slave of Julia Drusilla appears in the epigraphic material.¹⁵⁸⁷ However, there are several more who bear her *agnomen*, in both the epigraphic material and in the literary sources.¹⁵⁸⁸ In the section concerning Claudius' household, I have already discussed Rotundus Drusillianus, dispensator of Hispania Citerior.¹⁵⁸⁹ I include him

¹⁵⁸⁰ Suet. Nero 6.3. Cf. p. 286.

¹⁵⁸¹ Two inscriptions – AE 1973, 000167 (13 March 40) and AE 1978, 00139 (15 March 40) – refer to goods placed in those warehouses (*in praediis Domitiae Lepidae horreis Barbatianis superioribus*)

¹⁵⁸² Tac. Ann. 11.1.

¹⁵⁸³ Cass. Dio 60.32.5. Tacitus probably refers to the same incident (Ann. 12.41), but without naming Sosibius: in 51, Agrippina gradually eliminated those who favoured Britannicus over Nero, replacing them with her own choices, and convinced Claudius to either exile or execute his son's instructor (*optimum quemque educatorem filii exilio aut morte adficit*).

¹⁵⁸⁴ Messalina is perhaps more likely, given his involvement in her plotting. The names in CIL 6, 08943 (= D 01838 = AE 1992, +00092) strongly suggest that Claudia Octavia's *nutrix*, Valeria Hilaria, was provided by her mother from her own household. Cf. pp. 331-331.

¹⁵⁸⁵ CIL 6, 14642 (= D 08414) and CIL 14, 02769 (= CIL 15, 07149 = D 01639).

¹⁵⁸⁶ *Supra insulas* (superintendent of apartments): CIL 14, 02769 (= CIL 15, 07149 = D 01639).

¹⁵⁸⁷ CIL 6, 24074.

¹⁵⁸⁸ An entire nuclear family (CIL 6, 08822 = CIL 10, *01088,083 = D 01655, CIL 6, 08823 = CIL 10, *01088,084, CIL 6, 08824 = CIL 10, *01088,085) passed intact from Drusilla to Caligula (pp. 193-195).

¹⁵⁸⁹ Plin. HN 33.145. Cf. pp. 280-281.

again here because of his *agnomen*, which indicating that he entered the Imperial household via Julia Drusilla,¹⁵⁹⁰ passing to Caligula upon Julia Drusilla's death in 38 and then to Claudius in 41.

Drusus the Younger appears twice in the epigraphic sources, with a slave in the *Monumentum Liviae* and with a freed temple attendant (*aedituus*).¹⁵⁹¹ Livilla's physician Eudemus, who was involved in Drusus the Younger's murder, would have formed part of his household as well.¹⁵⁹² Along with Eudemus, a eunuch named Lygdus, who had been one of his master's favourites and his primary waiter,¹⁵⁹³ confessed to involvement in the murder.¹⁵⁹⁴

However, for the majority of the Julio-Claudians in this group, the only surviving evidence of their household is an inscription or two. Two slaves report their owner as Antonia the Elder, and one adds that he worked as a surveyor (*ensor*).¹⁵⁹⁵ Another inscription names two slaves of Aemilia Lepida, daughter of Julia the Younger, who traded *ollae* within a *columbarium* between them.¹⁵⁹⁶ Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa and the first wife of Tiberius, appears in connection with the freed milk-sibling (*conlactaneus*) of Ser. Asinius Celer, a son of her second marriage to C. Asinius

¹⁵⁹⁰ In fact, while only one slave appears as Julia Drusilla's in the epigraphic material, three more bear the *agnomen* Drusillianus/a (CIL 6, 08822 = CIL 10, *01088,083 = D 01655, CIL 6, 08823 = CIL 10, *01088,084, CIL 6, 08824 = CIL 10, *01088,085, cf. pp. 193-195), and she might also be the owner of two slaves who describe their owner as *Iulia Germanici filia* (CIL 6, 03998 = AE 1992, +00092, CIL 6.10563).

¹⁵⁹¹ CIL 6, 04234 and CIL 6, 08711 (= D 07803).

¹⁵⁹² Tac. Ann. 4.3, 4.11; Plin. HN 29.20; Cass. Dio 57.22.2-4.

¹⁵⁹³ Tac. Ann. 4.10: *aetate atque forma carus domino interque primores ministros erat*.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Tac. Ann. 4.8, 4.10-11.

¹⁵⁹⁵ CIL 6, 04702 and CIL 6, 37758. Both inscriptions have additional, circumstantial connections to the Julio-Claudians: the first comes from the *Monumentum Marcellae*, while the second includes the slave's mother, sister, and niece, all freedwomen of an Aufidia.

¹⁵⁹⁶ CIL 6, 27034 (= CIL 05, *00429,126).

Gallus.¹⁵⁹⁷ An inscription to “*Drusi paedagogus*” in the *Monumentum Liviae* could refer to either Drusus the Elder or Drusus the Younger,¹⁵⁹⁸ although the inclusion of a freedwoman of Livia as well as the seemingly-early date would suggest the former rather than the latter. Claudius’ erstwhile fiancée Livia Medullina, who died on the day of their wedding,¹⁵⁹⁹ was commemorated by her freed paedagogue (*paedagogus*), Acratus;¹⁶⁰⁰ the same paedagogue appears in two other inscriptions, once alone and once commemorating another unfortunate student.¹⁶⁰¹ Finally, two inscriptions name slaves of “*Iulia Germanici filia*,” without specifying whether the daughter in question is Agrippina the Younger, Julia Drusilla, or Julia Livilla;¹⁶⁰² these inscriptions probably predate the girls’ first marriages,¹⁶⁰³ as otherwise they would be differentiated by use of their husbands’ names.

¹⁵⁹⁷ CIL 6, 09901a (= D 08540). She probably also owned the brother who commemorated him, as well as their absent mother.

¹⁵⁹⁸ CIL 6, 03999.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Suet. Claud. 26.1.

¹⁶⁰⁰ CIL 10, 06561 (= D 00199 = AE 1987, 00228).

¹⁶⁰¹ CIL 6, 09741 and CIL 10, 06562.

¹⁶⁰² CIL 6, 03998 (= AE 1992, +00092) and CIL 6, 10563.

¹⁶⁰³ Agrippina the Younger, as the eldest, married in 28 (Tac. Ann. 4.75, Cass. Dio 58.20.1, Plut. Ant. 87.4, Joseph. AJ 20.8.1), while Julia Drusilla and Julia Livilla married in 33 (Tac. Ann. 6.20, Cass. Dio 58.21.1, Suet. Calig. 24.1).