

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

The Anomalies in the Epitaphs of the Emperor Claudius' *Familia*

by

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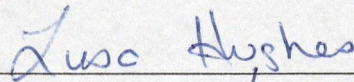
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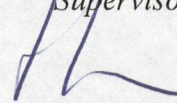
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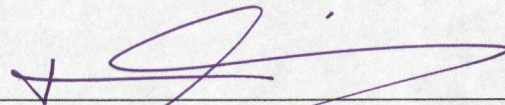
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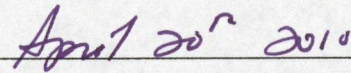
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## **Abstract**

History has marked the emperor Claudius (41-54 CE) as a rather comical figure, ruled by his freedmen and wives. Yet, Claudius was also credited with reforming the imperial administration and undertaking major public works which were considered by both ancient authors and modern scholars as remarkable. To achieve this he turned to the members of his *familia*, particularly his freedmen, and expanded their traditional household roles into a civil service that saw them develop their world beyond the imperial household and into the community. This group has largely been ignored in interpretations of the influence of Claudius' reign on Roman history. However, a statistical analysis of their epitaphs reveals that they, far more than any other in the imperial Julio-Claudian *familia*, changed their perception of themselves from an extension of the imperial household to creators of their own households and legitimate participants in the social world of Rome.



## **Acknowledgements**

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The idea for this thesis would not even exist without Dr Hanne Sigismund-Nielsen introducing me to Latin inscriptions and the Julio-Claudians. Her vast knowledge of inscriptions and how they should be understood has helped me avoid a number of the errors that a rookie tends to make using them.

The greatest debt this thesis owes, however, is to my supervisor Dr Lisa Hughes. She not only gave generously of her time but whenever I lost my way and my focus (too many times to count) she was always there to encourage me with sound advice and keep me on track. She has the rare gift of always finding the gems in the rubble and extracting them. One day Lisa I promise I will learn how to use commas.

Lastly and most importantly, I dedicate this thesis to the men in my life. To my father, William Graham, who always wanted me to pursue a degree and would have been very proud of what I have achieved. To my boys Tomas and Anthony who have been enriching my life ever since their arrival and have taught me what it means to love unconditionally. Finally, to my husband and best mate Craig who has been sharing adventures with me for more than half my life. It was no different with this particular adventure. His love and support made the journey a pleasure. *Ti amo*.

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## Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Epigraphique</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>Clauss/Slaby</i>	<i>Epigraphik datenbank Clauss/Slaby</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>Dio</i>	Dio Cassius. <i>Roman History</i>
<i>Fam</i>	P.R.C. Weaver, <i>Familia Caesaris</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
<i>Plin. HN.</i>	Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i>
<i>Plin. EP.</i>	Pliny the Younger, <i>Epistles</i>
<i>Sen.</i>	Seneca (the Younger)
<i>Apocol.</i>	<i>Apocolocyntosis</i>
<i>Ben.</i>	<i>De Beneficiis</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales</i>
<i>Polyb.</i>	<i>Ad Polybium</i>
<i>Provid.</i>	<i>De Providentia</i>
<i>Nat. Q.</i>	<i>Naturales Questiones</i>
<i>Suet. Claud.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Divus Claudius</i>
<i>Tac. Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>The Annals</i>
<i>URR</i>	Hanne Sigismund-Nielsen, <i>Understanding Roman Relations</i>



## Introduction

οὐ μέντοι καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὅσον ὑπὸ τε τῶν  
ἐξελευθέρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἷς συνήν, ἐκακύνετο.  
Περί φανεστάτα γὰρ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐδουλοκρατήθη τε ἅμα καὶ  
ἐγυναικοκρατήθη

However it was not because of these things, as much as from the freedmen and women whom he associated with, that he behaved badly. For he, most conspicuously of his fellow emperors, was ruled both by slaves and by women.  
Dio. 60.2.4.

This quote from Dio Cassius well sums up the collective opinion contained in the three most influential primary sources, concerning the administration of the Emperor Claudius, who ruled Rome from AD 41 to AD 54.<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, Tacitus and Cassius Dio,<sup>2</sup> helped entrench the view of imperial freedmen as master manipulators whose rise to positions of power under Claudius had a negative impact on the running of the Empire. However, those few imperial freedmen of Claudius', whom the primary literary sources pay more attention to than any other members of the imperial Julio-Claudian *familia*,<sup>3</sup> were only a fraction of the imperial *familia* who lived, worked and grew as a social group after Claudius became emperor. This group is not found in the pages of the primary sources, but in the wealth of inscriptional evidence in the epitaphs that survive from the Julio-Claudian period.<sup>4</sup> These inscriptions tell us that the *Familia Claudiana*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, VII, trans. Ernest Cary (1924; repr. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 60.2.4.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*, ed. Donna W. Hurley. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Tacitus, *Annals*, ed. Henry Furneaux, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).

<sup>3</sup> The term *familia* includes not only blood relations but also all the freedmen and slaves of the house. See the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 586 and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P.G.W. Glare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 674-675; Henceforth referred to as *OCD* and *OLD* respectively; The Julii and Claudii are the two branches of the Julio-Claudian familia. The Julii were the ruling imperial household from 27 BC to 41 AD when Claudius became emperor and the *Familia Claudiana* became the ruling imperial household.

<sup>4</sup> The Julio-Claudian period extends from the time Augustus became Princeps in 27 BC to the death of Nero in AD 68.

<sup>5</sup> The term *Familia Claudiana* encompasses all those who have the *nomen* Claudius. The nomenclature, in general, for either freeborn or freed males consisted of three parts, the *praenomen*, *nomen* and *cognomen*

commemorated themselves more than any others of the *familia* in the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and the number of Claudii freedmen commemorated was far greater than the number of slaves, as was their use of terms to publicize their familial relationships.

Thus far, there has been very little attempt to understand the change found in the epitaphs of imperial freedmen and slaves from Claudius' reign and how Claudius' policies precipitated these changes. Yet, comparing the statistical results, between the epitaphs of the Claudius' *familia* and other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, with information from the primary literary sources, provides an opportunity to go beyond the anecdotal evidence, of a few famous imperial freedmen, and draw a more complete picture of the role the *Familia Claudiana* played in Rome, after Claudius' ascension to emperor. Therefore, the object of this thesis is to quantify the differences found between the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, then determine the possible causes for these differences, using both modern interpretations and the primary literary sources. The hope is to provide a better understanding of Claudius' motivation for utilizing his *familia*, in a far more official capacity than had occurred under previous emperors, and how his utilization affected the way his *familia* perceived themselves.

The thesis will be comprised of four chapters. In chapter one, the modern scholarship dealing with the imperial freedmen of the Emperor Claudius, and freedmen in general, will be outlined and examined. Modern scholars did not focus on the role of slaves of the imperial family, but rather that of the political role of imperial freedmen and

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(e.g. Tiberius Claudius Nero). For women the nomenclature consisted of two parts: the *nomen* and the *cognomen* (e.g. Claudia Octavia). All freedmen of Claudius or Nero would have the *praenomen* Tiberius and *nomen* Claudius, plus a personal *cognomen*. All freedwomen of Claudius or Nero would have the *nomen* Claudia and a personal *cognomen*. For a full description of Latin naming conventions see *OCD*, 1024-1026. The reference here to the *Familia Claudiana* only includes those of the imperial *familia*.

the social world of non-imperial freedmen. They have tended to pursue one of two lines of inquiry. Either they have concentrated on a select group of powerful freedmen, relying almost exclusively on the primary literary texts and their anecdotal evidence, or have used the inscriptional evidence to give a very broad chronological view of freedmen as a social group.<sup>6</sup> The limitation of the first line of enquiry is its reliance on the stories of a few select freedmen, to offer a portrait of the role generally played by imperial freedmen. The limitation of the second line of enquiry is that its view of freedmen is broad and offers few specifics on imperial freedmen themselves. The exceptions to this are the works of Gerard Boulvert and P.R.C. Weaver whose studies deal exclusively with the imperial *familia*. Although they cover the entire time period of the Roman Empire, they do provide evidence for the roles imperial freedmen played in Claudius' administration.<sup>7</sup> The information provided by them, and the two lines of enquiry that I have discussed, do offer insights into Claudius' administration and the possible effects it had on the lives of his *familia*.

Chapter two looks beyond the traditional interpretation of the primary literary sources to see what evidence they provide on Claudius' administration and the social world of Rome at that time. In particular, the works of Suetonius, Tacitus and Cassius Dio will be examined, not for the information they provide on the intrigues of Claudius' *familia*, but for the workings of Claudius' administration and the initiatives Claudius

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<sup>6</sup> Chapter one gives a full account of the scholars who have followed either of these two lines of enquiry.

<sup>7</sup> Gérard Boulvert, *Domestique and Fonctionnaire sous le Haut-Empire Romain: la Condition de l'affranchi et de l'esclave du Prince* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1974) and P.R.C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). Boulvert and Weaver do use inscriptions comprehensively but their studies are focused on the imperial *familia* throughout the life of the Roman Empire and therefore their chronologies and scope are much broader than this thesis.



instigated during his reign.<sup>8</sup> The philosophical treatises of Seneca,<sup>9</sup> where references to freedmen appear, are also reviewed. Seneca, writing in the time of both Claudius and Nero,<sup>10</sup> provides an eyewitness account, and elite perspective,<sup>11</sup> of the place of both imperial and non-imperial freedmen in a world where imperial freedmen exercised power in a way which had never been seen before. The final works discussed are the satires of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and Petronius' *Satyricon*.<sup>12</sup> Seneca's satirical account of the apotheosis of Claudius depicts the emperor as a ruthless murderous ruler, who is nonetheless controlled by his freedmen. It reinforces the elite reaction against the power held by Claudius' freedmen, which is found in the texts of Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio. Petronius' *Satyricon*, on the other hand, while including no imperial freedmen, does offer a portrait of the lives of freedmen outside imperial circles in the Claudian-Neronian period.<sup>13</sup> It also produced a character, in the boorish freedman Trimalchio, who is the paradigm for modern assumptions, and arguments against those assumptions, on the role of the freedman in this time period.

In Chapter three, I turn to the statistical analysis itself, which provides the evidence for the anomalies in the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana*. To this end a

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<sup>8</sup> The works of these authors, used in this thesis, are fully discussed in Chapter two.

<sup>9</sup> The treatises of Seneca's, which I refer to, are also fully discussed in Chapter two.

<sup>10</sup> The period of Claudius and Nero's reigns cover AD 41- AD 68, and is commonly referred to as the Claudian-Neronian period. Seneca's writings span this time period, and his references to freedmen in those writings draw from this time.

<sup>11</sup> See n.161 for the definition of the "elite".

<sup>12</sup> Arnaldo Momigliano, *Claudius, the Emperor and His Achievement* (1934; repr., Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1961), 74-75. Momigliano has no doubt that Seneca was the author, not only because the tradition of Seneca's authorship has never been seriously discredited, but also because he sees similarities of tone between the *Apocolocyntosis* and *Ad Polybium*. Barry Baldwin, on the other hand, in the "Executions under Claudius: Seneca's *Ludus de Morte Claudii*" *Phoenix*, 18, 1 (1964), 48 believes that the piece was not good enough to be a work of Seneca's but he has no firm evidence; John Bodel in "Freedmen in the *Satyricon* of Petronius" (PhD diss. University of Michigan, 1984), 7-10, adheres to the general view that the author of the *Satyricon* was Petronius who was ordered to commit suicide by Nero in AD 66. Bodel also outlines the historical evidence, which supports dating the work to the Claudian-Neronian period.

<sup>13</sup> Petronius can be considered a contemporary of Seneca and his work deals with freedmen in the same time period as Seneca.

database<sup>14</sup> was created to capture the inscriptions of as many freedmen and slaves of the Julio-Claudian emperors as possible into fields that could be quantitatively analyzed.<sup>15</sup>

The epitaphs originally came from two sources: the database of the *Clauss/ Slaby Epigraphik Datenbank*<sup>16</sup> and those collected by Weaver in the *Familia Caesaris*. As well the *CIL* was referenced to confirm the accuracy of the data supplied by *Clauss/ Slaby* and Weaver. There are 4 criteria for the inclusion of an inscription into the database: 1) the inscription is in Latin, 2) the inscription is an epitaph,<sup>17</sup> 3) the inscription includes at least one imperial freedman or slave of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and 4) the inscription is NOT restricted to Rome, but can come from any region of the empire.

The search of the inscriptions yielded 9810 potential records, of which 532 could be positively identified as epitaphs of members of the Julio-Claudian imperial *familia*.<sup>18</sup> While the search includes inscriptions from all regions of the empire, 87% (465/532) of the epitaphs are from Rome.<sup>19</sup> The remaining 13% (77/532) from the other regions do show that Augustus, Claudius and Nero had the highest proportion outside the city of Rome.<sup>20</sup> There were 738 people commemorated in the 532 epitaphs, and their personal information was inputted into the database, which comprises a main data entry form that includes data fields for the inscription ID number, the text of the inscription, the tomb's

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<sup>14</sup> Sigismund Nielsen and her graduate students from the University of Calgary developed the original structure of the database using Microsoft Access software.

<sup>15</sup> A number of inscriptions, which indicated the presence of an imperial freedman or slave in the epitaph, were nonetheless too fragmentary to use.

<sup>16</sup> *Epigraphik datenbank Clauss/Slaby*. <http://compute-in.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/pls/epigr/epigraphik>. Henceforth to be referred to as *Clauss/Slaby*.

<sup>17</sup> It is sometimes difficult to tell if an inscription is an epitaph. For example, some inscriptions may have only a name and the fact that they were given an olla, which may only imply possession, but not commemoration.

<sup>18</sup> The search results from the string searches of "Juli" + "aug" = 4345, "Claudi" + "aug" = 2437, "Tiberi" + "Caesar" = 1479, "Livae" = 238, "Livi" + "aug" = 154, "Antoniae" = 427, "Caius" + "Caesar" = 729.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix I, Table 1, 127

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix I, Table 1, 127

location, and the size of the tomb.<sup>21</sup> Linked to the main data entry form are the two main sub forms: “Commemorated Data” and “Dedicator Data”. These two sub forms house data fields for the personal information of those commemorated and those named as dedicators in the epitaph. The remaining 4 sub forms are “Formulas”, whereby formulas such as *sibi, libertis libertatis posterisque, Dis Manibus* are inputted; “Relationships” whereby the relationship (i.e. father, son) between the commemorated and the dedicator (if one exists) is inputted; “Commemorated Role or Term”, whereby the term of relationship used for the commemorated (i.e. daughter, *alumnus*, home-born slave) is inputted and “Dedicator Role or Term” (i.e. *patronus*, grandfather, client), whereby the term of relationship for the dedicator is inputted.

Also of importance are “other relationships” in the Commemorated Data and “Clan name” in the Dedicator Data. These two fields house the name of the imperial family member, who is the owner or patron of the imperial slave or freedmen. This allows all the personal information under the Commemorated Data and the Dedicator Data sub forms to be sorted by the imperial family member they belong to. Slaves tended to include, in their epitaphs, the praenomen of the emperor they belonged to (e.g. *Tiberi Caesaris*, for Tiberius, and *Claudi Caesaris* for Claudius). Freedmen included both the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the emperor’s name in their own to identify who their patron was (e.g. *Tiberius Julius Onesimus* was a freedman of Tiberius, because only Tiberius’ freedmen could take the name *Tiberius Julius* after he became emperor). Grouping imperial freedmen and slaves by the imperial family member they served allowed their epitaphs to be placed into the two *familia* groups compared in this thesis. These are the

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<sup>21</sup> See Figure 1, page 9.



*Familia Claudiana* and the other *familia* of the Julio-Claudians.<sup>22</sup> However, the grouping by imperial family member does encounter a difficulty when the *praenomen* and the *nomen* of the imperial freedman is the same under two different Emperors. This occurs with both Augustus and Gaius (Caius Julius), as well as with Claudius and Nero (Tiberius Claudius). In some cases there are other indicators which identify the emperor referred to in the epitaph, but where there is ambiguity I have chosen to use the first emperor whom the slave or freedman could have belonged to, as it provides a *tempus post quem*. Hence, freedmen and slaves who could belong to either Augustus or Gaius will be considered as belonging to Augustus, and those who could be either Claudius' or Nero's will be called the *Familia Claudiana*.

In Chapter four, I analyze the changes found in the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana*, using examples which demonstrate these changes along side the conclusions of the modern and primary sources. This will provide some possible reasons for the changes that occurred after Claudius became emperor. As I have noted, the historiography, by concentrating on a very select group of imperial freedmen, tell us very little about the majority of imperial freedmen, but the texts' description of Claudius' policies (e.g. his expansion of the role of the imperial treasury in the financial affairs of the empire) and the works he undertook (e.g. the harbour at Ostia) provide the contextual framework for the changes that took place under Claudius' rule. Modern interpretations of the effects of Claudius' policies, and the role of freedmen, in general, expand on the information provided by the primary sources. This offers possible explanations for the

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<sup>22</sup> See n.5 for the explanation of *Familia Claudiana*. The other *familia* of the Julio-Claudians consists of slaves and freedmen of Augustus, Tiberius, Livia, Gaius, and the few that could definitely be ascribed to Nero, as they identified their role within Nero's household and not Claudius'.

anomalies, which show the *Familia Claudiana* concentrated more on their own familial relationships and less on their role in the imperial household.

Identification Number	AE 1985, 00183	Condition	Fragmentary	
Material		Flag	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Location	Lalume I Campana	Inscription Text:	Belegstelle: AE 1985, 00183 Provinc: Lalume I Campana / Regio I Ort: Orta Antica Orta Antica	
Tomb Type	group	Comments		
Total Number of Peo				
Tomb Size				

Formulas subform		Relationships subform	
None Given		Commemorated	Dedicator
		a	a
		b	b
			Mother

Commemorated Data subform				Dedicator Data subform			
Identification No	AE 1985, 00183	Age - Year		Identification No	AE 1985, 00183		
Sub Number	a	Age - Month		Sub Number	b		
Place	1	Age - Day		Place	4		
Gender	Male	Age - Hour		Gender	Male		
Names	Theotus Clautus Felix	Burial or Death Date		Names	Theotus Clautus (3)	Role / 1	
Clan Name	Clautian	Marriage Length		Clan Name	Clautus		
Nickname		Occupation	Imperial actor	Nickname			
Latin Case	Dat	Other Relationships: Clautus		Latin Case	Acc		
Status English	freed			Status English	Freeborn		
Status Latin	Libertus			Status Latin			
				Occupation	none given		

Figure 1. Database Entry form

## Chapter One: Modern Interpretations of the Primary Literary Sources

Modern scholarship assesses the influence of Claudius' reign on freedmen and slaves from three approaches that contribute to the understanding of the influence these freedmen had on the social world of imperial Rome. The first considers how Claudius' reliance on freedmen impacted those who made up the political and military elite (the senatorial and equestrian classes). This approach relies almost exclusively on the primary literary sources, showing no interest in imperial slaves and little interest in the majority of imperial freedmen. Instead, as Fergus Millar notes, it focuses "only that narrow group which was in the immediate service of the emperor".<sup>23</sup> Advocates of this approach include Theodor Mommsen, Michael Rostovtzeff, Arnaldo Momigliano, Barbara Levick and Millar himself,<sup>24</sup> who purport to a historical analysis of Claudius' reign, while Shadi Bartsch and Paul Veyne<sup>25</sup> promote the psychological impact of imperial rule on both the elites and non-elites.<sup>26</sup>

The second approach relies heavily on evidence from material remains and inscriptions. It is more concerned with the role freedmen played in Roman society and

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<sup>23</sup> Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co Ltd., 1992), 69-70. Millar estimates the number of imperial *familia* measured in the thousands. He cites the work of Boulvert and Weaver as the sources for his numbers, as well as Fairon's "L'organisation du palais impérial à Rome", *Mus. Belge* IV (1900), 5.

<sup>24</sup> Theodor Mommsen, *A History of Rome under the Emperors*, trans. Clare Krojzl (London: Routledge, 1996); M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Vols. I & II, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Rev. P.M. Fraser (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); Arnaldo Momigliano, *Claudius, the Emperor and His Achievement*. This is a reprint of the English translation of Momigliano's work, published by Clarendon press in 1934. Rostovtzeff was aware of both the original Italian edition and the English translation, but comments that he had not seen them: see *The Social and Economic History of Rome*, 570, n.2; Barbara Levick, *Claudius* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1990).

<sup>25</sup> Shadi Bartsch, *The Mirror of the Self* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Paul Veyne, *Seneca: The Life of a Stoic*, trans. David Sullivan (London: Routledge, 2003); Paul Veyne, "Vie de Trimalcion" in *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* (1961) 16, 2, 213-247.

<sup>26</sup> As I stated in the introduction, the elites comprise the Senatorial and Equites classes, while all others can be considered non-elites. This includes the imperial freedmen who may have, in certain cases, been more privileged and powerful, but nonetheless were governed by the same legal restrictions as other freedmen.

does not single out imperial freedmen and slaves as distinct from the rest. This can be seen in the work of Lauren Hackworth-Petersen and Henrik Mouritsen.<sup>27</sup>

The third approach, which is found in the work of Arnold Duff and Susan Treggiari, combines elements of the first two approaches.<sup>28</sup> Duff and Treggiari are both more concerned with the role of freedmen as a status group, but like the first approach, they rely more on anecdotal than inscriptional evidence. Duff's work focuses on freedmen in the imperial period, while Treggiari's focuses on freedmen in the late republic. Duff shows the continuing role imperial freedmen played in the empire and provides anecdotal information about the most influential of them.<sup>29</sup> He also demonstrates how that role changed over the course of the empire. In essence, he provides information on the freedmen of Claudius' "inner circle",<sup>30</sup> and explains why in

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<sup>27</sup> Lauren Hackworth Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Henrick Mouritsen. "Freedmen and Decurions: Epitaphs and Social History in Imperial Italy" in *JRS*, 95 (2005): 38-63; Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Necropolis of Imperial Ostia" in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bd. 150 (2004), 281-304.

<sup>28</sup> Susan Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); A.M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1928, rep. 1958).

<sup>29</sup> Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, 146-147. Duff notes that the role of chamberlain or *cubicularius* did not become powerful until the reign of Domitian. He states, that before Domitian those with power all held a governmental office. He cites the freedmen of Claudius and Nero as being examples of this; Duff also makes the point that for most of the 2nd century AD the power of freedmen was kept in check, but their power again became scandalous under Commodus, who reigned from AD 161-192; 152-153, Duff describes the origins of the centralized bureaux as beginning in Tiberius' reign, where two *libertus a rationibus* are recorded in the epitaphs (*CIL* 06, 8409, 8412). However, he describes the freedmen of Claudius: Narcissus, Pallas and Callistus as the most powerful holders of those offices. He cites Sen. *Apocol.* 15 as evidence for "*a cognitionibus*" under Claudius; 156, Sen. *Polyb.* (addressed to Claudius' freedman Polybius) for the role of "*a libellis*". He uses Stat. *Silvae*. V.I, 83-100 as evidence for the role of "*ab epistulis*", and says that if Pliny had lived in the reign Claudius he would have addressed Book X of his letters to Narcissus and not Trajan. Duff's anecdotal evidence does not include Suet. *Claud.* 28 and his specific reference to the titles of Polybius as "*a studiis*", Narcissus as "*ab epistulis*" and Pallas as "*a rationibus*", which contradicts Duff's assertion that Polybius had the role of "*a libellis*". Still, Duff appears to be using the texts to flesh out the descriptions of these roles, which are only mentioned by name in Suetonius.

<sup>30</sup> The term "inner circle" refers to the imperial freedmen whom the ancient sources of Seneca, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dio describe as closest to Claudius. The most famous are Callistus, Polybius, Narcissus and Pallas; See page 44 for a fuller account of their roles.

they became so powerful.<sup>31</sup> Treggiari's study complements Duff's by providing substantial evidence for the existence and influence of exceptional freedmen in the century before the imperial system replaced the Republic. She demonstrates that influential roles played by the freedmen of powerful political figures did not first occur under imperial rule. Her study, along with Duff's, gives an overview of the continuous, yet evolving role of freedmen in Roman society.

The works of Boulvert and Weaver, which primarily follow the third approach, concentrate solely on imperial freedmen and slaves. They do rely on the inscriptional evidence more heavily than Duff and Treggiari, but they also employ the primary literary texts to flesh out information on the roles of the imperial *familia*. Hence, they have been seminal in bringing to light the role of those thousands in the imperial *familia*.

Each of these approaches has its limits in trying to assess the impact Claudius' reign had on both elites and non-elites. On the one hand, those focusing on his impact on the elite orders tend to overlook the influence of those whose lives seem insignificant in the course of history, namely the vast majority of freeborn, freed, and slaves who belonged to the lower classes. This majority includes those imperial freedmen and slaves who were not part of Claudius' "inner circle". On the other hand, the evidence which comes to us from inscriptions and material remains has been more concerned with studying the role played by the lower classes over a broad timeframe and not at a particular time in the development of Roman society. However, combining these approaches does make it possible to offer some insight into why Claudius' imperial freedmen and slaves changed the way they memorialized themselves.

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<sup>31</sup> Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, 157. Duff describes how, under a "weak willed and impractical antiquarian or a vain songster", freedmen became the defacto rulers of the world.

It is fitting to begin the evaluation of the modern historians' approach with Theodor Mommsen because of his influence over the field of Roman history. Mommsen does not focus on inscriptional evidence in the assessment of Claudius' rule but relies instead on the ancient historians.<sup>32</sup> He describes Claudius as "mildly deranged, an insignificant, apolitical person"<sup>33</sup> whose "regime is of little interest"<sup>34</sup> and "the easiest of the Roman rulers to ridicule".<sup>35</sup> He does, however, believe that Claudius was responsible for a number of positive initiatives, which aided in the running of the empire. He attributes improvements in the workings of the treasury to Claudius, which consolidated the control of the money supply, including the *aerarium*, into the hands of the *Princeps*.<sup>36</sup> He credits the establishment of the *senatusconsulta* in the sphere of private law to Claudius and the regulation of the *fidei commissa*.<sup>37</sup> He sees Claudius' abolition of the restriction on the right of the Gauls to the *cursus honorum*, as a pivotal event in the Romanization of the West,<sup>38</sup> and Vespasian's policy certainly supports Mommsen's view.<sup>39</sup> He also considers Claudius responsible for transferring the right to name people

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<sup>32</sup> Mommsen, *A History of Rome*. 24-30. The book is based on the lecture notes of Sebastian and Paul Hensel, taken between the winter semester of 1882 and the summer semester of 1886. The introduction to this edition says that these lecture notes constitute Mommsen's views on the subject of the emperors, and therefore are useful in presenting his critique of Claudius' reign.

<sup>33</sup> Mommsen, *A History of Rome*, 157.

<sup>34</sup> Mommsen, *A History of Rome*, 159.

<sup>35</sup> Mommsen, *A History of Rome*, 159.

<sup>36</sup> Mommsen, *A History of Rome*, 163; D.W. Rathbone, "The Imperial finances." In *The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.–A.D. 69*, eds. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin and Andrew Lintott. Cambridge University Press, 1996, 321. Rathbone points out that the imperial clerks (*a rationibus*) who administered the imperial finances, already existed under Augustus. However, Claudius' innovation was to formalize these clerks into a department, which Claudius' freedman Pallas controlled.

[http://histories.cambridge.org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/uid=1549/extract?result\\_number=1&search\\_scope=global&query=The+imperial+finances&id=chol9780521264303\\_CHOL9780521264303A009&advanced=](http://histories.cambridge.org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/uid=1549/extract?result_number=1&search_scope=global&query=The+imperial+finances&id=chol9780521264303_CHOL9780521264303A009&advanced=) (Accessed March 29, 2010).

<sup>37</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 163. The *fidei commissa* were bequests in the form of a request to the heir. Claudius formalized these requests, which previously had a vague legal status.

<sup>38</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 163.

<sup>39</sup> Ronald Mellor, "The New Aristocracy of Power." In *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, eds. A.J. Boyle and W. J. Dominick (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 84-85. Mellor credits Vespasian with fostering a new

to the patrician class from the censorship to the *Princeps*.<sup>40</sup> He feels, however, that Claudius' greatest contribution was his public works, which he describes as being not only utilitarian to the general population of Rome but also magnificent.<sup>41</sup> The fact that Claudius undertook these programs was, in Mommsen's mind, a testament to Claudius' ability to stabilize the fiscal management of the empire, after the disastrous reign of Gaius.<sup>42</sup> All these initiatives presented a consolidation of power under imperial control, which would have expanded the role Claudius' freedmen and slaves played in the running of the empire. Yet, despite Mommsen's praise of the achievements of Claudius' reign, he still refers to him as a figure easy to ridicule and dismiss. This is because Mommsen fully accepts the collective opinion of Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio, that Claudius was ruled by "court attendants and women"<sup>43</sup> and that anything praiseworthy was not achieved by Claudius, but by those around him.<sup>44</sup> Mommsen's extensive use of the accounts of Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio, is understandable, but the question is why he agreed that Claudius' freedmen were a negative influence.<sup>45</sup> This appears due to

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aristocracy, which would rule the empire in peace for a century after Domitian's death. Vespasian brought in not only more Italians but also western and even some eastern provincials.

<sup>40</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 163. Mommsen notes that Claudius named people to the patrician class in his role as censor, but that this function was soon assumed completely by the emperor.

<sup>41</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 164. Mommsen does qualify his praise, however, by stating that Claudius' schemes were grand in concept but shoddy in detail, 165; A.J. Boyle argues, in the "Introduction: Reading Flavian Rome" in *Flavian Rome*, 4-6, that Claudius' public works would be emulated by Vespasian. In support of this, Boyle gives an overview of Vespasian's building program, which he considers was designed to distance Vespasian from the reign of Nero and align him with that of Augustus. Boyle also points out that Claudius was an important influence on Vespasian, who showed his loyalty to Claudius by completing the temple honouring him, restoring the aqueducts built by him and following his lead in extending the *pomerium*. Boyle cites Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio, along with Levick for historical background.

<sup>42</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 164.

<sup>43</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 160.

<sup>44</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 160.

<sup>45</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 523-525. These pages contain the notes on the sources used by Mommsen for the reign of Claudius. They show Mommsen's extensive use of Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio. He also uses Frontinus, in relation to Claudius' work on the aqueducts, but he relies most heavily on Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio.



Mommsen's sympathy for their arguments that the use of freedmen was a clear symptom of the corruption and sycophancy inherent in imperial rule. His sympathy can be understood from his comment that those who surrounded Claudius were not statesmen and did their utmost to keep away any one who was.<sup>46</sup> Mommsen does not suggest that Claudius' "inner circle" were incapable, in fact, he was quite prepared to give these individuals credit for their talents (especially Narcissus),<sup>47</sup> but he does not see this as a justification for the power they held. He points out that their position was not only unprecedented, but also demonstrated the danger in the imperial household's habit of educating slaves so well that they could run the state.<sup>48</sup> Mommsen clearly feels that former slaves could never be statesmen, and therefore sees no reason to argue against the position of the primary sources.

Michael Rostovtzeff, in his comprehensive study of the social and economic history of Rome, agrees with Mommsen that Claudius was a dupe of his wives and freedmen. Yet, he questions how this could be the same man who proved his tact and knowledge in his dealings with administrative organization, and considers this historical opinion of Claudius as a bias of the senatorial class.<sup>49</sup> He credits Claudius with being a driving force in the bureaucratization of the empire and the gradual elimination of the senate in the running of the empire.<sup>50</sup> Rostovtzeff feels the senate welcomed this change,

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<sup>46</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 164.

<sup>47</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 160. Mommsen describes Narcissus as the most outstanding of the freedmen who were close to Claudius, and a highly talented man; 166. Mommsen also had a positive opinion of Polybius and believes he came by his position through his erudition, using Seneca's *Ad Polybium* as proof.

<sup>48</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 166. Mommsen stresses that the role of the freedmen in Claudius' inner circle was unprecedented; he also opines that schooling afforded to slaves was a contamination of education which could no longer be considered the 'liberal arts' that it had once been.

<sup>49</sup> Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, Vol. I. 79-80. Rostovtzeff cite Claudius' edicts on the postal service at Tegea and the letter to the Alexandrians as two prime examples.

<sup>50</sup> Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, Vol. I. 79.

considering the expense of running the empire.<sup>51</sup> He believes Claudius was responsible for the expansion of the bureaucracy, whereby his policies created precedents that would be built on by both the Flavians and the Antonines.<sup>52</sup> Rostovtzeff refers to the work of Otto Hirschfeld and other scholars, whom he cites in his notes, as well as to extant inscriptions and papyri of Claudius' edicts and letters, to substantiate his position.<sup>53</sup> He particularly singles out the fragments of an edict found at Tegea on the organization of the imperial postal system, and Claudius letter to the Alexandrians, as proof of his ability to understand the complexities of a situation and to act with tact.<sup>54</sup> Rostovtzeff believes that it was only in Claudius' later years that he may have been dominated by those close to him, or "Tacitus and other writers of the senatorial class" exaggerated the facts.<sup>55</sup> Regardless, he seems convinced that the Julio-Claudian emperors' administrative policies created a new social class of imperial officials, made up mostly of the emperor's slaves and freedmen, whose influence was nascent under Augustus, but grew rapidly under his successors, especially Claudius.<sup>56</sup> Rostovtzeff, however, does not provide any concrete examples of the growing influence of imperial freedmen and slaves as a social class, so it

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<sup>51</sup> Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, Vol. I, 80. He names Tacitus, in particular, as an example of senatorial class bias.

<sup>52</sup> Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, Vol. I, 79. Rostovtzeff considers that Tiberius, and still more Claudius, played a substantial part in the development of the imperial bureaucracy and the elimination of the senate from the administrative role which the imperial household assumed.

<sup>53</sup> Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, Vol. II, 569-570. Rostovtzeff, in note 2, provides substantial citations for the work of Hirschfeld and other scholars whom he refers to in the text. He also cites two inscriptions, which provide evidence for Claudius' organization of the *fiscus*. The first is from Arcadia and the other from Mauretania.

<sup>54</sup> Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, Vol. I, 80.

<sup>55</sup> Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, Vol. I, 80; Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, Vol. II, 570. Again, note 2, Rostovtzeff cites *CIL* 03, 07251 for the text of the edict from Tegea, and the work of a number of scholars regarding Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians.

<sup>56</sup> Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, 82-83. Rostovtzeff believes this class "existed as a germ under Augustus but increased rapidly in numbers and influence under his successors, especially Claudius"; 104. He also made it clear that the imperial class of slaves and freedmen was a small part of the slaves and freedmen of the Roman world, but a number of these non-imperial slaves and freedmen also became influential through business dealings and memberships in municipal cults and the *Augustales*.

is difficult to assess how valid his conclusion is. His problem, as D'Arms has noted,<sup>57</sup> is that he has tended to intuit his conclusions. This is clear in his assessment that the character of Trimalchio did not represent the freedman in Roman society, but was rather a trope for the *nouveau riche*. Rostovtzeff believes that the *nouveau riche* were a group made up of both freedmen and freeborn who began to flourish in the Augustan period, especially in areas like Campania which provided more opportunities to amass a fortune than Rome.<sup>58</sup> Rostovtzeff bases his theory on evidence found in Italian cities of the Augustan period.<sup>59</sup> This, in D'Arms view, is a difficulty because in presenting Trimalchio as a representative of the *nouveau riche*,<sup>60</sup> Rostovtzeff is using a social model appropriate to an industrial age but not an agrarian one.<sup>61</sup> Thus, even though Rostovtzeff may well be a right to emphasis that the *nouveau riche* were made up of more than one social group, he does not explained why a freedman would be an appropriate trope to satirize the *nouveau riche*. Why then did Petronius particularly stress Trimalchio's freedman status and why were all Trimalchio's associates freedmen?<sup>62</sup> It would seem just as reasonable, using Rostovtzeff's analysis, for Petronius to use a mixture of freed and freeborn characters to represent the *nouveau riche*, but he does not do this. So while

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<sup>57</sup> John H. D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 12.

<sup>58</sup> Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, Vol. I. 57-58. Rostovtzeff cites the villas of the Augustan period in Pompeii, Stabiae and Herculaneum as examples of "a flourishing of the most vigorous, refined and artistic styles of painting". He does add that the leading class of Pompeii in the Augustan period were descendants of Sullan veterans, with very few being freedmen. I can understand Rostovtzeff seeing Trimalchio as a literary trope, but he has not explained why the use of a freedman would be so effective.

<sup>59</sup> Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, Vol. II, 563. Rostovtzeff cites Strabo, Pliny and Pomponius Mela as primary sources, and H. Nissen and A.L. Fotheringham as secondary sources. He particularly praises Fotheringham's work on the material remains, from an architectural point of view, for demonstrating how the fundamental work done on these cities occurred in the Augustan Period.

<sup>60</sup> John D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome*, 98.

<sup>61</sup> John D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome*, 12.

<sup>62</sup> John Bodel, "Freedmen in the *Satyricon* of Petronius", 41. Bodel has calculated that Trimalchio's servile origins are eluded to once every 10 chapters in the *Cena* episode, so while Rostovtzeff does not consider Trimalchio's status of great importance, Petronius certainly did.

Rostovtzeff is prepared to see the creation of a new role for imperial freedmen that, in the rise of the *nouveau riche*, saw the blurring of the lines between the social classes, he himself has not provided concrete evidence to support this.

Arnaldo Momigliano further advances the reconsideration of Claudius' reign, and the effect his *familia* had on the social world of Rome.<sup>63</sup> His central theory is that Claudius' reign was flawed by his irreconcilable views that tradition was the foundation of Rome's greatness and innovation the driving force of that greatness.<sup>64</sup> He considers the lack of understanding of the true nature of Claudius' contribution to the history of the Roman Empire as the real problem in relation to the analysis of Claudius' reign.<sup>65</sup> Momigliano supports the idea that Claudius' upbringing had more positive effects than those admitted to by Suetonius and Dio. He feels Claudius' enforced isolation in childhood allowed him to develop a habit of reflection, which gave him a deep understanding of Roman tradition and a belief in the destiny of Rome.<sup>66</sup> In Momigliano's view, Claudius' respect and adherence to Roman tradition, coupled with his belief in her destiny, would prove to be the "most remarkable features" of his character, and the

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<sup>63</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, xiv- xv.

<sup>64</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 18. Momigliano considers Claudius' love of history led him to the conclusion "that continual progress is the very law of Roman tradition"; 73, Momigliano explains the inherent contradiction in Claudius' policies, of trying to impose a new ideal upon the ideal of loyalty to Roman tradition, stemmed from his belief that Roman history proved new institutions had continually been imposed on the old. However, Claudius ignored the process of conflict that had ensued between the two, which is why his actions were considered inconsistent and irrational.

<sup>65</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, xiii-xiv. Momigliano acknowledges Rostovtzeff as the leading historian of the Roman Empire, and notes that Rostovtzeff himself was already amending his view of Claudius' reign in light of the discovery of the papyri of Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians and other fragments.

<sup>66</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 3; Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. "The imperial court." In *The Cambridge Ancient History: The Augustan Empire*, 43 B.C.–A.D. 69. Eds. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin and Andrew Lintott. Cambridge University Press 1996, 284.

[http://histories.cambridge.org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/uid=1549/extract?id=chol9780521264303\\_CHOL9780521264303A008](http://histories.cambridge.org.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/uid=1549/extract?id=chol9780521264303_CHOL9780521264303A008) (accessed November 05, 2009). Claudius' isolation can be linked to the idea of isolation in general, which is seen by Wallace-Hadrill as a feature of political power under the empire. Decision-making had gone from open spaces (the forum and the senate) to private ones inside the palace.

driving force behind his policies.<sup>67</sup> Momigliano, going against previous scholarship both ancient and modern, explains that it was Claudius' personality, not his wives and freedmen, which was the principal influence on the policies he initiated.<sup>68</sup> How this affected the lives of Claudius' freedmen and slaves is apparent in, what Momigliano refers to as, Claudius' policy of centralization. Momigliano asserts that Claudius was the first emperor to organize a secretariat,<sup>69</sup> increasing the scope and organizational functions of his slaves and freedmen to make the imperial court the headquarters for the administration of the empire.<sup>70</sup> He remarks Claudius managed this by increasing the number of "private secretaries",<sup>71</sup> allotting each a defined task and establishing a special office for each area of administration.<sup>72</sup> So Claudius, in effect, had taken the administrative structure of an aristocratic household and increased its scope to cover the empire. Momigliano sees this particular innovation as giving political power to men who stood "entirely outside the Roman tradition, who represented only the interests of the *Princeps*, and who regarded those interests mainly from the standpoint of their own private advantage".<sup>73</sup> This was a new governing class, which took the steam out of Augustus' belief that the old governing classes were irreplaceable and represented the value of Roman tradition. Unfortunately, Momigliano, in his analysis of Claudius' reign, is really only considering the "inner circle" close to Claudius, and like Rostovtzeff, he

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<sup>67</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 3.

<sup>68</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, xv. Momigliano does concede that Agrippina's successful advancement of Nero did influence the course of history.

<sup>69</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 41-42.

<sup>70</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 42.

<sup>71</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 42. Private secretaries are how Momigliano describes the heads of the departments of administration that he organized.

<sup>72</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 42.

<sup>73</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 42.

intuits his conclusions by taking as evidence the very general references, regarding the roles of these few freedmen, found in the primary literary sources.<sup>74</sup>

Momigliano is not wrong when he considers Claudius' legislation, regarding freedmen and slaves, to be an attempt to strengthen the institution of the *familia*. Claudius' reaffirming of the ties that bind a freedman to his patron,<sup>75</sup> the placing into slavery of a free woman who marries a slave and the automatic manumission of a sick slave abandoned by his patron, were all measures designed to strengthen the institution of the *familia*.<sup>76</sup> However, Momigliano does not provide the historical evidence that would prove Claudius' policies drew their inspiration from the past. Momigliano's argument for Claudius' increased reliance on imperial freedmen and slaves, is in agreement with Rostovtzeff and Mommsen, but his view of Claudius's as a shrewd innovator, who tried to reconcile old institutions with new ideas and new men, is a departure from previous scholarship.

Vincent Scramuzza, in general, adopts Momigliano's view that Claudius centralized the government of the empire.<sup>77</sup> However, Scramuzza sees Claudius' use of freedmen as a necessity, because neither senators, as peers, nor equestrians could be enlisted into the employment of the imperial chancery, which was viewed as a household function. Therefore, to envision Claudius' use of freedmen in this situation as a way to

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<sup>74</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 103. Momigliano only refers to one inscription, *CIL* 06, 8634, to argue whether Claudius created the role of "*a cognitionibus*", but the inscription itself is problematic because it appears to commemorate both a freedman of Claudius and one of Antoninus Pius. See Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 35, for a discussion on the problem with this inscription, which Weaver dates to the reign of Antoninus Pius. See also Boulvert, *Eslaves et Affranchis Impériaux*, 95-96 who argues that the freedman Titius Aelius is tied to the father of Claudius' second wife, Aelia Patina, and therefore is associated with Claudius.

<sup>75</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 71. The *senatus consultum largiarum* rules that the property of Junian Latins passes to the deceased patron's sons. The *senatus consultum ostonianum* rules that a freedman's patronage bequeathed to one son passes on his death to any other sons.

<sup>76</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 71.

<sup>77</sup> Vincent M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 85.

discriminate against the Senate and *Equites* misses the point about whom those roles were traditionally assigned to. Scramuzza also does not accept the ancient authors' view of Claudius' imperial freedmen, stating that as well as being good at their work, they "seem to be men of character".<sup>78</sup> To support his view, he cites Dio's account of Narcissus' loyalty, Seneca's *Ad Polybium*, and the Senate's honouring of Pallas for his creation of the legislation against free women marrying slaves, as proof of the positive moral character of Claudius' "inner circle".<sup>79</sup> In fact, Scramuzza has nothing but praise for Claudius' able administration, and supports Momigliano's view that all decisions taken bore the mark of Claudius personality,<sup>80</sup> which he feels can be seen in Claudius' policies regarding citizenship. Scramuzza sees Claudius' citizenship initiatives as a continuation of Augustus' policy of Romanization,<sup>81</sup> and a continuation of the Roman tradition of absorbing conquered elements: first the Latins, then the Italians and the peoples of other provinces.<sup>82</sup> In this, Scramuzza is echoing the sentiments of Mommsen regarding the importance of Claudius' opening up of citizenship to provincials,<sup>83</sup> and

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<sup>78</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 85.

<sup>79</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 85. Scramuzza sees Narcissus' claim (Dio. 61.10) that he would lay down his life for Claudius as proof of his loyalty. He also sees Seneca's praise, in *Ad Polybium*, of the role Polybius undertook for Claudius, as proof of Polybius' loyalty, and the Senate's honouring of Pallas, not as subservience by the Senate but as proof of Pallas' moderation (Tac. *Ann.* 12.53). Nonetheless, Scramuzza does not mention that Tacitus did not see the senate's honouring of Pallas as proof of Pallas' moderation. Nor does he mention Pliny's negative reaction to Pallas' honour. Pliny, *Letters*, Books VIII-X, trans. Betty Radice (1969; repr., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), VIII.6. Pliny, a contemporary of both Tacitus and Suetonius (see *OCD*, 1198), considered the honors the Senate afforded to Pallas as those offered by slaves to a slave. *Mitto quod Pallanti servo praetoria ornamenta offeruntur (quippe offeruntur a servis)*: "Dismiss the fact that the trappings of a Praetor were offered to Pallas, a slave (obviously they were offered by slaves)."

<sup>80</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 85-89.

<sup>81</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 135. Scramuzza cites Augustus' settling of veterans in colonies along with the creation of purely civilian colonies. Augustus also opened up citizenship to men who joined the legions from free cities. These measures created a stream of new citizens.

<sup>82</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 137.

<sup>83</sup> Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, 163.

those of Momigliano, concerning Claudius' desire to combine tradition and innovation.<sup>84</sup>

He therefore does not give credence to the ancient authors' assertion that citizenship and manumission were a source of revenue for the emperor.<sup>85</sup>

In relation to freedmen, Scramuzza cites the wealth presented in the *Satyricon* and the flow of trade as evidence that Claudius' wives and freedmen's could not have granted monopolies causing scarcity of goods.<sup>86</sup> He also credits Claudius' public works policies for creating a large group of imperial workers to execute them, and uses both textual and inscriptional sources as evidence.<sup>87</sup> Scramuzza sees in Trimalchio, just as Rostovtzeff did, a representation of the businessman who had gained his wealth through the new trade boom brought about by Claudius' shipping policies and his building of the port at Ostia.<sup>88</sup> The transfer of the port's control from the Senate to that of the *Princeps* was just one more example of growing imperial control.<sup>89</sup> All the efforts of Claudius and his freedmen,<sup>90</sup> in Scramuzza mind, put the empire on a stable and prosperous footing, which provided a plethora of new opportunities to both imperial and non-imperial freedmen.

Barbara Levick, on the other hand, challenges Momigliano and Scramuzza's view that Claudius was an innovator and centralizer. She expands on Garnsey and Saller's argument that the imperial administration was developed under Augustus, and

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<sup>84</sup> Momigliano, *Claudius*, 73.

<sup>85</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 140.

<sup>86</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 158.

<sup>87</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 160. Scramuzza offers figures for the reorganization of the water service, using Frontinus and Pliny the Elder as sources, along with inscriptions from *CIL* 06. He also notes that, although it had been a senatorial department, the Senate handed control to the *Princeps*.

<sup>88</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 168.

<sup>89</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 169. Control of the port was transferred from the senatorial post of *Quaestor Ostiensis* to the imperial *procurator portus Ostiensis*.

<sup>90</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 175. Scramuzza does mention that Claudius freedmen were representatives of an acquisitive class, and very influential in the increased work in "the chancery, the courts, the bureaucracy, factories, bank and shop". His terminology has a modern touch but it is used to show the intense level of activity under Claudius.



subsequently followed by his successors.<sup>91</sup> Levick argues against Momigliano's theory, that Claudius created a system whereby his freedmen, who were answerable only to him, controlled the administration of the empire.<sup>92</sup> She believes that the role of Claudius' freedmen is no different from the one which a number of freedmen had traditionally played, and she cites Cicero's Tiro as an example.<sup>93</sup>

Levick's assertion is supported by the work of Duff and Treggiari, who both provide ample evidence for the role of freedmen in public life before Claudius' reign. Duff's study outlines the roles imperial freedmen play in the political life of the empire, and the evolution of those roles, whereby a number of their important functions were turned over to knights.<sup>94</sup> Treggiari's study of freedmen in the late Republic complements Duff's, and demonstrates their active and influential role in the political life of the Republic.<sup>95</sup> Yet, neither of their studies negates the fact that no freedmen before those of

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<sup>91</sup> Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co. Ltd., 1987), 25-26. For Garnsey and Saller, the essentials of the administrative system were adopted from the Republic and refined under Augustus, with imperial freedmen and slaves being the only ones who could be considered administrative professionals. They do not mention that Claudius was responsible for any innovations in the administration of the empire and their premise is that the Roman Empire was governed without a formal bureaucracy; 20. They do concede that the imperial system, for the first time, did employ non-elected officials who included imperial slaves and freedmen.

<sup>92</sup> Levick, *Claudius*, 82. Levick does not name Momigliano here but all the points she refutes can be found on pages 42-43 in Momigliano's book on Claudius, already cited.

<sup>93</sup> Levick, *Claudius*, 82-83.

<sup>94</sup> Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, 158. Duff states that Hadrian gave the three most powerful offices and the role of literary advisor to knights and from then on it was only in exceptional cases that freedmen ever filled them again. However, Weaver, in "Social Mobility in the Early Roman Empire: The evidence of the Imperial Freedmen and Slaves" *Past and Present*, 37 (Jul., 1967), 19, does not agree with the assumption that prominent roles in the imperial bureaucracy were an equestrian victory over freedmen. Weaver cites the many inscriptions recording the careers of imperial officials as proof that the role of freedmen was alive and well in the imperial administration, although he does not give specific examples. He does however concede that the most powerful positions of the secretariat were handed over to the equestrian order, when their size and importance "warranted their inclusion in the equestrian *cursus*".

<sup>95</sup> Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic*, 177. Treggiari describes freedmen as confidential go betweens and administrators; Sulla is said by Cicero in *Pro Roscio* to have given his freedmen license to plunder provinces; 181, 185. Treggiari also notes that Caesar preferred provincial or Roman freeborn to freedmen, although they themselves may have been sons of freedmen; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*. Vol. IX, trans. H. Rackham (1952; repr., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 35.58 names the freedmen under men such as Sulla, Lucullus and Pompey, who became rich and powerful.

Claudius' "inner circle" held public power. Nor does Millar, whom Levick argues has debunked Momigliano's theory of Claudius centralizing the administration of the empire.<sup>96</sup> Contrary to Levick's assertion, Millar concedes that, while there is certainly evidence of secretarial functions being carried out by freedmen of Augustus and Tiberius,<sup>97</sup> it was under Claudius that the influence of these roles reached their height.<sup>98</sup>

Levick's main concern, however, is to demonstrate that there was no formal change in the administration of the empire under Claudius. Hence, she does not explore her own point that imperial secretaries became more important under Claudius' and were more openly acknowledged.<sup>99</sup> The general reform of financial administration,<sup>100</sup> the large expenditure on public works<sup>101</sup> and the increase in the number of men working on the maintenance of the aqueducts<sup>102</sup> are all attributed to Claudius, but Levick does not consider the ramifications that these changes would have on the role of imperial freedmen. They were becoming more and more involved in the financial affairs of the empire, as well as the commercial life of Rome, but their experiences as a group are not considered. Furthermore, Levick, like all the modern scholars previously mentioned, has

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<sup>96</sup> Levick, *Claudius*, 82. Levick does not provide a specific reference. I assume she means Millar's *The Emperor and the World*, although a more precise reference would have been helpful.

<sup>97</sup> Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 73. Millar cites Suetonius' referral to an "*a manu*" and "*a memoria*" of Augustus, as well as *CIL* 06, 8409 which names an "*a rationibus*" of Tiberius. He also mentions two *ab epistulis* found in *CIL* 06, 8596 and 8613, which Hirschfeld places in this time period, but the inscriptions themselves do not clearly indicate which emperor they are referring to.

<sup>98</sup> Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 73-77. Millar describes the rise of the power and influence of freedmen as beginning with the end of Tiberius' reign and ending with Claudius'. His description leaves not doubt that the rise in their power was due to Claudius. He also notes that, by the reign of Trajan, a conscious reaction had set in, whereby Trajan, in a letter to Pliny the younger (*Ep.* 6, 31, 9), could declare that his freedman Eurythmus was no Polyclitus and he no Nero, which in itself shows that even after Claudius' death and that of the freedmen of his "inner circle" there were others to take their place.

<sup>99</sup> Levick, *Claudius*, 83. Levick believes the emperor's upbringing, where he spent time in the company of imperial freedmen, was the main impetus for his desire to give credit where he felt it was due, regardless of social status.

<sup>100</sup> Levick, *Claudius*, 136.

<sup>101</sup> Levick, *Claudius*, 131.

<sup>102</sup> Levick, *Claudius*, 134.

constructed the social world under Claudius from the experiences of the elites, which cannot tell us how the imperial freedmen and slaves, outside of Claudius' "inner circle", responded to his reign. However, the epigraphic and material evidence does provide more clues to their response by offering a record of their memorializations, which shows their greater concern for commemorating their personal relationships rather than their connection to the imperial household.

The first point to consider, in the assessment of the evidence provided by the inscriptions and material remains, is that modern scholars have not made a distinction between the burial practices of imperial freedmen and freedmen in general. Boulvert and Weaver are exceptions, but that is only because their studies centre exclusively on imperial freedmen. Other studies, such as those done in Ostia by Petersen or Mouritsen, do not mention any distinction between the burial practices of imperial freedmen and other non-elite burials, but show imperial freedmen to be buried alongside non-imperial freedmen and freeborn.<sup>103</sup> So, while their epitaphs acknowledge their status as freedmen of the emperor, their tombs show them to be very much a part of their community.

Petersen's work on the tombs of Isola Sacra reveals a sense of social cohesion in the epitaphs of the lower classes.<sup>104</sup> The history of Isola Sacra, located between the cities of Ostia and Portus, begins in the reign of Claudius with the construction of the harbour

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<sup>103</sup> Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*. Peterson has used both funerary monuments and art to show that freedmen were more concerned with memorializing themselves among their peers and prove their ability to assimilate themselves into the citizen body of Rome. Lisa Hughes, in her article "The proclamation of non-defective slaves and the Curule Aediles' edict: some epigraphic and iconic evidence from Capua" *Ancient Society*, 2006, 36, 239-261, has also used a particular funerary monument of slave sellers to show that far from wishing to hide their slave origins they too used their monument to memorialize their legitimate role in Roman society. Petersen and Hughes are interested in using material remains to reassess the assumptions made about how slaves and freedmen viewed their role in Roman society.

<sup>104</sup> Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*, 184-185. Isola Sacra is located 30 kilometres Southwest of Rome, between Ostia and Portus.

at Ostia in AD 42, and continues with the construction of the harbour at Portus, by Trajan, in AD 103.<sup>105</sup> She finds the tombs of Isola Sacra all contained the remains of non-elites, regardless of the wealth inferred by the elaborateness of the tomb.<sup>106</sup> The tomb of Tiberius Claudius Eumenes is one such tomb and stands out, in Petersens's view, for its simplicity and smallness of scale.<sup>107</sup> Eumenes' tomb lies among those of traders, merchants, and craftsmen, some freeborn, some freed and some slaves.<sup>108</sup> This demonstrates that imperial freedmen, non-imperial freedmen, and non-elite freeborn were more intertwined than the portrait of Trimalchio, whose social world seemed to be made up of freedmen alone, would have us believe.<sup>109</sup>

Sandra Joshel's study on Roman occupations also explores the idea of community. She examines evidence from the epitaphs of the *familia* of aristocratic households for the movement of freedmen from these households into the community. It is a movement which Joshel believes established new social connections for these freedmen, even as they maintained their ties to their patron.<sup>110</sup> Her work builds upon Treggiari's study of the occupational inscriptions from the columbarium known as the *Monumentum Liviae*,<sup>111</sup> and Treggiari's observation that the imperial freedmen of

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<sup>105</sup> Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*, 186. Petersen provides a brief description of the Isola Sacra and the building of the harbour at Ostia.

<sup>106</sup> Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*, 189-190. Petersen remarks that it is striking, given the variety of tomb structures in the necropolis at Isola Sacra, that the inscriptional and pictorial evidence shows an unambiguously non-elite population.

<sup>107</sup> Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*, 195-197. The rather humble tomb of Tiberius Claudius Eumenes is intermingled with other freedmen and freeborn tombs; 191, in the plan of the necropolis, Eumenes tomb is number 49 and sits at the end of the necropolis on the Portus side of the necropolis. The photo Petersen provides shows his tomb to be a household like structure, which is modest in size and does not appear to be elaborately decorated.

<sup>108</sup> Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*, 190.

<sup>109</sup> See Chapter 2, pages 71-72 for the discussion on Trimalchio's social milieu.

<sup>110</sup> Sandra Joshel, *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome: A study of the Occupational Inscriptions* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1992), 105-106.

<sup>111</sup> Susan Treggiari, "Jobs in the household of Livia" *Papers of the British School at Rome*. XLIII, 1975, 48.

Livia's household were much less interested in naming their occupation than her imperial slaves.<sup>112</sup> Treggiari's explanation is that the freedmen either had retired by the time of their death, or only those with prestigious jobs bothered to record them.<sup>113</sup> Joshel, on the other hand believes that a number of these freedmen had moved out of the household setting, so while they still did work for the *familia* their epitaphs were not longer in the columbarium.<sup>114</sup> Treggiari's and Joshel's studies, along with Petersen's, indicate that imperial freedmen did establish quite separate households from their imperial patron, which provides a possible explanation for why the statistical evidence shows the *Familia Claudiana* to have the least number of epitaphs from imperial columbaria among the Julio-Claudian *familia*.<sup>115</sup>

Social mobility is another important line of research in the study of freedmen. The positions of Rostovtzeff and D'Arms have already been discussed, but Veyne, John Bodel and, more recently, Andrej Łoś and Mourtisen, have also broached the subject. Bodel focuses on the aspect of Rostovtzeff's argument that Trimalchio was not merely an example of the social mobility of the successful businessmen of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, but that his freedman status was a way for Petronius to make the *nouveau riche* appear as vulgar as possible.<sup>116</sup> To this end, Bodel considers the common traits of Trimalchio and his fellow freedmen<sup>117</sup> in relation to what is known of real freedmen, and concluded that Petronius' intent was not to offer a realistic view of freedmen but rather to "manipulate

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<sup>112</sup> Susan Treggiari, "Jobs in the household of Livia", 59.

<sup>113</sup> Susan Treggiari, "Jobs in the household of Livia", 59-60.

<sup>114</sup> Sandra Joshel, *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome: A Study of the Occupational Inscriptions*, 105. Joshel believes the names of a number of those of uncertain status connect them to the aristocratic households even if they did not record the link.

<sup>115</sup> See Chapter 3, page 83, for the breakdown of the *Familia Claudiana* in columbaria.

<sup>116</sup> Bodel, "Freedmen in the Satyricon", 86-87.

<sup>117</sup> Bodel, "Freedmen in the Satyricon", 75-80. Bodel finds five traits that are common to the freedmen in the *Cena* of Trimalchio: language, profit-making, businessmen engaged in retail and service occupations, eastern origins, no ties to their patron.

his readers' attitudes and prejudices in order to emphasize the freedmen's boorish qualities".<sup>118</sup> Bodel's analysis demonstrates that the characteristics attributed to Trimalchio and his fellow freedmen were not exclusive to freedmen, and, like Petersen, proves a helpful guide in showing that freedmen were a more integrated part of their social milieu than the portrait of them in the *Satyricon* suggests.

Veyne, in contrast, does not accept the view that the freedmen at the *Cena* of Trimalchio represented a socially mobile class. He sees in Trimalchio a representative of a group who, though important in the commercial life of the early empire, was never a true social class, because their class could not be perpetuated through their descendants, who were, of course, freeborn.<sup>119</sup> Trimalchio, along with his fellow freedmen, could never be *parvenu* because they could never actually become members of any other social class but their own.<sup>120</sup> Hence, while the personal lot of the freedmen at the *Cena* of Trimalchio had improved, their status as a social group had not been elevated and they remained stigmatized by their former slave status. Yet, Veyne has also argued that while freedmen could not advance as a social class, slavery could still be a useful tool for individuals looking for personal advancement. His article written with Jacques Ramin on the freeborn who sold themselves into slavery for a chance at greater personal advancement, considers evidence provided by Seneca<sup>121</sup> and Petronius.<sup>122</sup> Veyne wonders

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<sup>118</sup> Bodel, "Freedmen in the Satyricon", 85-88. Having applied the traits that represent the freedmen in the Satyricon to inscriptional evidence, Bodel found that ex-slaves had no monopoly on vulgar speech, nor were they the only members of society who enjoyed making a profit or engaged in small business occupations. However their eastern origins were typical of freedmen in the Claudian-Neronian period. As to their complete independence from their patrons, Bodel states that there is no specific inscriptional evidence to support this.

<sup>119</sup> Veyne, "Vie de Trimalcion", 230.

<sup>120</sup> Veyne, "Vie de Trimalcion", 240.

<sup>121</sup> Jacques Ramin and Paul Veyne, "Droit romain et société: les hommes libres qui passent pour esclaves et l'esclavage volontaire" *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 30, 4 (1981), 472. Seneca (*Ben.*4.13.3) remarks that the slave seller renders a service to those s/he sells. Ramin and Veyne do not think Seneca's

if the freeborn did this to pursue occupations, such as financial managers, doctors or grammarians, which gave them upward social mobility, at a personal level.<sup>123</sup> Veyne offers Pallas, a member of Claudius' "inner circle", as an example of a freeborn who sold himself as a slave<sup>124</sup> to take advantage of the benefits of being a financial administrator.<sup>125</sup> Veyne infers that Pallas, like Trimalchio's fellow freedman Hermeros, saw more potential in being a slave to a member of the Roman elite than remaining an aristocratic provincial.<sup>126</sup> However, the individual success of a man like Pallas or a fictional character like Trimalchio only highlighted the point that a freedman could be "*princeps libertorum*" but he could never be the "*princeps*".<sup>127</sup> Veyne has based his conclusions on the primary literary texts and one inscription (*CIL* 04, 00117), so he, too, is relying much more on the evidence provided by elite authors than any other source. Thus, while Veyne may see the future of freedmen as limited, he has not ascertained if freedmen themselves felt the same way. In essence, he is echoing Petronius' view.

More recently, the argument for social mobility has moved beyond the primary texts to consider the relationship between the freed and freeborn of the lower classes. Andrej Łoś makes this point, arguing that freedmen and non-elite *ingenui* were actually

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statement would have been considered remarkable. They also note that the character of Hermeros, in the *Satyricon*, is very open about the fact that he sold himself into slavery.

<sup>122</sup> Ramin and Veyne, "Droit romain et société", 488.

<sup>123</sup> Ramin and Veyne, "Droit romain et société", 495.

<sup>124</sup> Ramin and Veyne, "Droit romain et société", 493; Tac. *Ann.* 12.53. Tacitus mentions that Pallas' brother Felix was descended from kings, so it would seem reasonable that Pallas was also; 496, Veyne notes that Trimalchio and the father of Claudius Etruscus both came as young slaves from Asia. Veyne does not claim that they too, chose to become slaves, but he appears, tacitly, to be making this connection.

<sup>125</sup> Ramin and Veyne, "Droit romain et société", 493; 495. Veyne cites Boulvert and Weaver's conclusion that imperial dispensators remained slaves beyond the normal age of manumission because of the lucrative nature of their position.

<sup>126</sup> Ramin and Veyne, "Droit romain et société," 497.

<sup>127</sup> Veyne, "Vie de Trimalcion," 241. Veyne quotes from *CIL* 04, 00117, where the commemorated is referred to as the "*princeps libertinorum*" which Veyne interprets as an understanding, by the freedman, that he had reached the limits of his class.

in competition with each other.<sup>128</sup> The idea that the freedmen were a more integrated part of Roman society, and not marginalized by their status, marks a refreshing change in modern scholarship, and it acknowledges that both imperial and non-imperial freedmen were able to anticipate greater social and political mobility if they had children. Pedro López Barja de Quiroga argues that the inscriptional evidence from Italian cities suggests that the sons of freedmen found opportunities to enter the elite orders.<sup>129</sup> He also suggests that inclusion of sons of freedmen in the political *ordo* of these towns probably began under Claudius or the Flavian emperors, which indicates that Claudius' policies were providing opportunities to non-elites along with his own freedmen.<sup>130</sup> However, in assessing the influence of this group it is necessary to understand the methodology used to evaluate the material and inscriptional evidence. Mouritsen emphasizes this concern in his study of the inscriptions of freedmen and freeborn in Ostia.<sup>131</sup> Mouritsen, by including onomastic data as a criterion for deciding the status of both the commemorated and the dedicators, concludes that 83% of the dedicators in the inscriptions he studied were freed. This indicated to Mouritsen that the evidence of the demolishing, rebuilding, and modification of funerary monuments did not imply social upheaval and the ousting of freedmen from these Ostian necropolises.<sup>132</sup> Rather, their use and reuse by freedmen and

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<sup>128</sup> Andrzej Łoś, "La condition sociale des affranchis privés au Ier siècle après J.-C." *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 50: 5 (1995), 1015.

<sup>129</sup> Pedro López Barja de Quiroga, "Freedmen social mobility in Roman Italy" *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 44: 3 (1995), 347. López Barja de Quiroga considers the vacancies left by those promoted to equestrian status gave the sons of freedmen opportunities in local councils.

<sup>130</sup> López Barja de Quiroga, "Freedmen social mobility in Roman Italy", 332. Evidence is derived mainly from the *CIL* and *AE*, except for the cities of Ostia, Puteoli and Pompeii. For these cities he appears to be relying on data provided by R. Meiggs for Ostia, J.H.D'Arms for Puteoli, and P. Castrén for Pompeii. López Barja de Quiroga suggests that the oligarchy of a few families was replaced over time by a more heterogeneous one.

<sup>131</sup> Henrik Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Necropolis of Imperial Ostia", 283-285.

<sup>132</sup> Henrik Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Necropolis of Imperial Ostia", 283-285. Mouritsen, in his assessment of Michael Heinzelmänn's *Die Nekropolen von Ostia: Untersuchungen zu den*



their descendants, between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, pointed to a continued presence of freedmen in the social world of Ostia.<sup>133</sup> In a separate article, he also argues that epitaphs should not be taken as proof that freedmen made up the bulk of Roman society, but only that they were more concerned with being remembered.<sup>134</sup> Here Mouritsen is focusing on Ostia and Pompeii where he believes the inscriptions are similar to those of inscriptions from Rome.<sup>135</sup> He argues that the evidence from Pompeii demonstrates the elite to be more interested in having their name preserved through their civic roles than in funerary inscriptions. He cites the tomb of Vestorius Priscus, a young aedile from Pompeii, which commemorated his achievements with an inscription placed on an altar and painted scenes of his year in office.<sup>136</sup> The important point to Mouritsen is that the scenes of Priscus' life were placed inside an enclosed wall and were not on public display, while his achievements were made public through the visible inscription. Mouritsen notes that the tomb has been compared to that of Trimalchio,<sup>137</sup> but considers the comparison ignores the fact that scenes from Priscus' life were kept out of the public

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*Graberstraßen vor der Porta Romana und an der Via Laurentina* work on the funerary architecture of the cemeteries at Porta Romana and Porta Laurentina, questions Heizelmann's criteria for judging status, noting that Heizelmann's restricting of a person to either freeborn or freed status led him to conclude that there was a decline in the number of freedman funerary monuments. However Mouritsen, by adding a category for those of uncertain status, who were likely to be of servile origin, found that this was not the case.

<sup>133</sup> Henrik Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Necropolis of Imperial Ostia", 284-285, Heizelmann concluded that the percentage of tombs built by freedmen declined substantially between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD; Mouritsen notes that hardly any monuments from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD have survived but this does not exclude their reuse by descendants of the freedmen who built them originally, 287-288.

<sup>134</sup> Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Decurions", 42. Mouritsen, is elaborating on ideas already considered by Lily Ross Taylor, see page 107, n.383 for Taylor's argument.

<sup>135</sup> Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Decurions," 38- 40. Mouritsen's data is made up of 2,500 inscriptions that range in date from the mid 1<sup>st</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. His criterion for determining the slave origins of dedicators is the use of a status or an onomastic indicator, which is commonly linked to slave origins. He cites the work of Solin, Bellen and Heinen in support of this.

<sup>136</sup> Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Decurions", 49. Mouritsen thinks that Priscus probably held office in the AD 70's.

<sup>137</sup> Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Decurions," 49. Mouritsen does not cite any scholars who have compared Priscus' tomb to that of Trimalchio's. He does, however, compare the tomb of Naevoleia Tyche (*CIL* 10, 1030) to Trimalchio's.

eye. To Mouritsen, this indicated an elite preference for restraint in funerary representation.<sup>138</sup> Mouritsen also cites the funerary inscription of D. Lucretius Valens, again from Pompeii, as another example of elite restraint. He states that Valens was granted a public funeral and given a burial site, yet his remains were buried on his family estate.<sup>139</sup> For Mouritsen, the choice to bury Valens on the grounds of the Lucretii family's country estate, even though a public burial site was provided, is evidence that elite families did not use funerary monuments for the public display of the achievements of the deceased. He does, however, contradict his view of restraint indicating elite behaviour with his analysis of the epitaph of C. Veranius Rufus.<sup>140</sup> Verania Clara, a freedwoman of Rufus' father Quintus, set up the tomb, and Mouritsen's view that the modesty of the tomb demonstrates elite restraint overlooks the fact that it was set up by a freedwoman for herself and those close to her including her elite patron.<sup>141</sup> Nonetheless, Mouritsen's points that there was a strong freedman presence in Ostia, which continued through their offspring and that their epitaphs were a way for freedmen to promote themselves and their families is important to the study of the *Familia Claudiana*. Mouritsen's quantitative epigraphic evidence includes the epitaphs of the freedmen of the *Familia Claudiana*, and his arguments offer a possible explanation as to why they showed a greater concern for being remembered. After all, if freedmen were establishing households independent of the larger aristocratic households they were aligned with, as

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<sup>138</sup> Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Decurions", 49. Mouritsen does give further evidence for this trend in note 59 of his article, where he cites the tomb of M. Obellius M.f. Firmus as another example of elite restraint in the last decades of Pompeii.

<sup>139</sup> Mouritsen, "Freedmen and Decurions", 50-51. Claudius promoted Valens to equestrian rank.

<sup>140</sup> *AE* 1990, 00179a. *C(aio) Veranio Q(uinti) f(ilio) / Rufo Ilvir / Verania Q(uinti) l(iberta) Clara optimo / patrono sibi et suis*, 'To Caius Veranius Rufus, son of Quintus, duovir. Verania Clara, freedwoman of Quintus, [made this] for the best patronus and herself and her family members.'

<sup>141</sup> Although the epitaph is dedicated to Caius Veranius Rufus, Mouritsen does not refer at all to him in his article, and infers that the tomb was set up for Quintus, Caius' father. This is not born out by the inscription itself.

Joshel suggests, then it seems reasonable that they wanted to be remembered as legitimate members of the community where they had lived.

The scholarship dealing with inscriptions and material remains provides a good general analysis of non-elite social patterns and the problems with considering the evidence. How this relates to the experience of imperial freedmen is aided by the works of Boulvert and Weaver, who offer an in depth analysis of imperial freedmen and their place in Roman social history. The scope of their studies, much broader than the scope of this thesis, as they cover the inscriptional evidence of imperial freedmen under all the emperors, is an indispensable guide to the role freedmen played in the imperial system.

Boulvert, while not giving a full quantitative analysis of the inscriptions, does provide a large number of examples, which give a thorough account of the professional and social roles of imperial freedmen.<sup>142</sup> This provides a greater understanding of the extent of the imperial civil service and the various roles of imperial freedmen and slaves. He uses both inscriptions and material remains to create a picture of the social role of imperial freedmen whose lives were not considered extraordinary enough to be mentioned in the primary literary sources. Two examples he uses from the *Familia Claudiana* are helpful in understanding both the social standing of imperial freedmen in this period and their roles. The Stele of *Carpus Pallantianus*,<sup>143</sup> either a freedman of

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<sup>142</sup> Gérard Boulvert, *Esclaves et Affranchis Impériaux sous le Haut Empire Romain: Rôle Politique et Administratif* (Napoli: Jovene, 1970), 2. Boulvert estimates that there are 4,000 inscriptions related to imperial slaves and freedmen.

<sup>143</sup> *CIL* 06, 8470 *Carpus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / Pallantianus / adiutor Claudii / Athenodori praef(ecti) / annonae fecit sibi / et Claudiae Cal(a)e / co(n)iugi piissimae et / Ti(berio) Claudio Quir(ina) / Antonino filio et / Ti(berio) Claudio Romano / verna et libertis / libertab(us) posterisque / eor(um):*

“Carpus Pallantianus, freedman of Augustus, assistant of Claudius Athenodorus prefect of the grain allotments, made for himself and for Claudia Cala his pious wife and for Tiberius Claudius Antonius, his son and for Tiberius Claudius Romanus his home-born slave and his freedmen and freedwomen, and their descendants.”

Claudius or Nero,<sup>144</sup> shows him standing on a ship in a toga, a sign of his citizenship. His declaration of his occupation, as an assistant to the prefect in charge of the grain supply, tells us his role within the imperial administration, and his dedication to his wife and son, as well as his *vernae* and freedmen, shows his concern to acknowledge the legitimacy of his family, particularly the freeborn status of his son. The fact that he made the tomb himself shows it was done while he was still alive, as could be true of his wife and son. Similar information can be derived from another of Boulvert's examples; Tiberius Claudius Januarius, a curator of the grain distribution centre on the Campus Martius,<sup>145</sup> is commemorated, along with his wife Avonia, in an epitaph paid for by the Pituaniani family with their own money. The aspects of Januarius' life deemed to be the most important to commemorate are his occupation and his conjugal relationship with Avonia. These are the details provided by the inscriptions which Boulvert uses to illuminate the lives of imperial freedmen, and the portrait of the lives of these two men and their families is quite different from that given of Narcissus or Pallas in the literary sources.

Weaver, in a somewhat different approach to Boulvert, utilizes a quantitative analysis of the professional roles, marriage patterns and social status of imperial freedmen. Yet, like Boulvert, he uses both inscriptions and the primary texts, to provide a more complete picture of the lives of imperial freedmen than is possible using these

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<sup>144</sup> Boulvert, *Domestique et Fonctionnaire sous le Haut Empire Romain*, 210. Boulvert considers Carpus to be a freedman of Nero and a former slave of Pallas. He does not explain why he considers him to be Nero's slave and not Claudius'. Mommsen does not make this distinction in his commentary in the *CIL*.

<sup>145</sup> *CIL* 06, 10223 *Ti(berius) Claudius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / Ianuarius curator / de minucia die XIII / ostio XLII et / Avonia Tyche uxor eius / Pituaniani Solaria de sua / impe(n)sa [3] fecerunt*: "Tiberius Claudius Januarius, freedman of Augustus, superintendent for the grain quota on the 14<sup>th</sup> day at door 52, and Avonia Tyche his wife. The Pituaniani family made a solarium at their own expense"; Boulvert, *Domestique and Fonctionnaire sous le Haut Empire Romain*, 210. Boulvert interprets the text as Januarius receiving his grain quota on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the month at door 52, however the inscription specifically names Januarius as the curator and *OLD*, 474 defines a curator as one who supervises or administers, so the term seems unnecessary if the intent of the inscription is only to point out his grain quota; *OLD*, 1113, the Minucia is the distribution centre for free corn on the Campus Martius.

sources in isolation from each other. One important example of this is Weaver's analysis of the career of the father of Claudius Etruscus who, unlike Pallas, is presented in the primary texts as virtuous, but like Pallas was elevated to the elite orders.<sup>146</sup> He enjoyed a successful and long career, which began as a slave under Tiberius, proceeded with the granting of equestrian status under Vespasian,<sup>147</sup> and ended with his exile and recall by Domitian in AD 91-92.<sup>148</sup> Although he was a powerful freedman, like Pallas or Narcissus, his life does represent a counterbalance to the consistently negative portrayals of these freedmen presented by Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio. Of course, Weaver's anecdotal analysis of a powerful freedman cannot be taken as representative of the lives of all imperial freedmen, but it does show how a freedman could rise through the imperial ranks and do so leading an honorable life. Weaver proves that there were primary texts which produced a positive role model for an imperial freedman and, therefore, demonstrates that ancient authors could be rather selective in their choice of role models.

The shift in modern scholarship from a reliance on the historical record of the elites to the utilization of material remains and inscriptional evidence, allows us to see the context in which the *Familia Claudiana* began to privilege their own personal relationships over their connection to the imperial family. This reflects, in my opinion, an awareness of themselves as individuals, who maintained a connection to their patron, but saw themselves as more than an extension of his *familia*. The roles created by Claudius'

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<sup>146</sup> Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 284. The primary sources Weaver uses for the life of Claudius' Etruscus' father are: Statius, *Silvae*. i. 5.65; iii. 3; Martial, vi. 83 & vii. 40.

<sup>147</sup> Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 289. The father of Claudius Etruscus, who is never named, was granted the *ius anulorum aureorum* by Vespasian, which restored his *ingenui* status and raised him to equestrian status; 282-283, Weaver notes that this grant was rare but Augustus, Claudius and Galba had given it, with examples being found as late as Elagabalus (AD 218-222).

<sup>148</sup> Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 284. The texts of Statius and Martial place his exile in his 80<sup>th</sup> year and his death in his 90<sup>th</sup> year in approximately AD 92.

reform of the imperial administration and his public works provided both slaves and former slaves with opportunities to create households of their own. This, in effect, gave them a greater sense of the role they played as individuals in their society, which is reflected in their epitaphs.

It is one thing to understand the context for the change that had occurred in the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana*, but it is quite another thing to understand why that manifested into a greater concern by the *Familia Claudiana* for memorializing themselves and their personal relationships. The answer may lie in the explanation that this was their response to the psychological impact of the increased importance of freedmen in Claudius reign, which affected both the elites and non-elites. The loss of real political power by the elite class resulted in a loss of status, and a diminished role within Roman society. Shadi Bartsch and Paul Veyne have found a response to this in the writings of Seneca, who transferred the role of moral authority, once held by the elite, to the individual. This was a reaction to the elites' loss of political authority. At the same time imperial freedmen had gained status through their connection to the imperial household, and their role in Roman society had been enhanced. It is not hard to consider that they too would have responded to this change in their traditional roles and expressed this through their epitaphs.

Shadi Bartsch, in her analysis of the role of the gaze in the Roman world, offers an insightful approach to understanding Seneca's advocating the individual's reliance on himself as a moral authority. Bartsch notes that in the early empire, Roman senators and equestrians lost a safeguard against the "violation of their status and persons at the same

time that they lost their sense of providing a model to their peers".<sup>149</sup> Bartsch believes Seneca would find a defence for this vulnerability by replacing the communal gaze as the judge of virtue with the individual himself.<sup>150</sup> Therefore, he would no longer see himself as a reflection of how society saw him, but would use philosophy to enable him to become a judge of himself. If the old rules of representation no longer applied to the elite then it is perhaps reasonable to consider that they were not as relevant to the non-elite. The *Familia Claudiana* may be reflecting this change in representation by memorializing their personal relationships, since it was these relationships, which defined them and their place in society, not their place within the imperial *familia*.

The idea that the individual must rely on himself as a moral compass is also at the heart of Veyne's consideration of Seneca's stoicism. Veyne sees stoicism's privileging of the power of the individual as the means by which Seneca coped with a menacing world.<sup>151</sup> Veyne is not interested in Seneca's thoughts as a source for understanding history, but rather Seneca's cultivation of his own intellectual and emotional strength to combat fear.<sup>152</sup> But what Veyne does make clear, from his analysis, is that Seneca's practice of stoicism gave him an internal freedom to say that he could not be forced to think what he did not think, even if he was forced at times to do what he did not wish.<sup>153</sup> Veyne's account of Seneca's emphasis on the individual seems congruent with an elite's reaction to the loss of their traditional place in the world. It does not seem as congruent with the imperial freedmen's emphasis on their personal world, but their place in the

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<sup>149</sup> Bartsch, *The Mirror of the Self*, 164.

<sup>150</sup> Bartsch, *The Mirror of the Self*, 196.

<sup>151</sup> Paul Veyne, *Seneca*, ix-x.

<sup>152</sup> Veyne, *Seneca*, x. Veyne is aware of the gap between ancient stoicism and the modern use of it, but he feels that stoicism, by advocating the self reliance of the individual, becomes an immune system against the uncertainty of the human condition; denial is not an illusion but an action.

<sup>153</sup> Veyne, *Seneca*, 47.

traditional social order had been disrupted too, so it is not so difficult to imagine that they began to concentrated on what they had achieved as individuals.

This chapter has sifted through a great deal of evidence to try to understand how the modern interpretations of imperial freedmen and slaves, in the Claudian-Neronian period, were affected by the ancient authors. The first thing which becomes clear is that the freedmen of Claudius' "inner circle" dominated the writings of Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio, because, with Claudius' support, they pushed against the traditional social boundaries and garnered a great deal of influence and wealth in the process. These authors, all members of the elite class, considered this a negative development in the empire's history and a blow to its power and prestige. Seneca and Petronius were no less contemptuous of wealthy or even merely well off freedmen, presenting their focus on the acquisition of wealth as a moral disability that highlighted the gap between them and the elites. However, Statius' and Martial's accounts show another side of powerful imperial freedmen, in their depiction of the lives of the father of Claudius' Etruscus, and thus it is necessary to look beyond the freedmen characters the ancient authors chose to talk about.

Modern scholars who concentrated on the primary literary texts were always going to come up against the limitation of the texts' focus on the elite classes. The use of inscriptions and material remains has allowed scholarship to go beyond the world of the elites and see how the majority of none-elites represented themselves. Still, the primary literary texts cannot be ignored as they provide the historical context and social commentary for the impact of Claudius' reign on the social world of Rome. Without them it would be impossible to understand why the changes in the epitaphs of the *Familia*



*Claudiana* would have occurred. For that reason the following chapter looks critically at those primary texts and what they do say about the role of imperial freedmen and slaves.

## Chapter Two: The Primary Literary Sources

The primary literary sources provide the historical background for understanding the political and social world, of Claudius' time. They are, therefore, the starting point for understanding the changes found in epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana* compared to the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. These changes include the substantial increase in the epitaphs of those belonging to the *Familia Claudiana* in relation to the other *familia* of the Julio-Claudians, even though the reigns of Claudius and Nero, to whom members of the *Familia Claudiana* belonged, were far shorter than other members of the Julio-Claudian emperors. As well, the *Familia Claudiana* has the fewest epitaphs found in the imperial columbaria, which indicated that their burial places had been established elsewhere, and that they were not so closely tied to the imperial household. They also commemorated their personal relationships with twice the frequency of the other *familia* of the Julio-Claudians and were responsible for almost all of the epithets associated with those relationships.<sup>154</sup> With these changes in mind, I review the information from the primary texts to see what each one reveals about the role the imperial *familia* played in Roman society at this time, and how that information can aid in understanding the changes in the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana*.

As mentioned earlier, all the major sources concentrate on the freedmen of Claudius' "inner circle" and react negatively to the increased political and administrative roles given to them. The ancient sources were not interested in the silent majority of imperial freedmen or slaves who worked for the emperor and who made up the bulk of

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<sup>154</sup> Epithets indicate the type of relationship between the Commemorated and the Dedicator; see Sigismund-Nielsen, "Understanding Roman Relations: Evidence from the Pagan and Christian Epitaphs" (Working paper, Faculty of Humanities, University of Calgary, 2008), 83-87. Sigismund-Nielsen provides an overview of epithets on funerary epitaphs. From here on I will refer to this paper as *URR*.

the imperial *familia*. In fact they were not interested in imperial slaves at all. Nonetheless, they still provide information about Claudius' policies and the workings of his administration, which affected his *familia* and their role in Roman society.

The review, in chapter one, of the modern scholarship has shown Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dio to be the major sources for the interpretation of Claudius' reign. They are responsible for the historical reception of Claudius' rule and the role his "inner circle" of freedmen played in it. Along with the historical works I have selected treatises of Seneca's, which include at least one reference to freedmen. These treatises cover the time period of both Claudius' and Nero's reigns, and do not focus on imperial freedmen specifically, but look at the behaviour of freedmen as a social class. As such, they offer an insight into how the Roman elite viewed the role of freedmen in this time period. Finally, I review Seneca's satire of Claudius, the *Apocolocyntosis*, which does directly reference the role of the freedmen of Claudius' "inner circle", and Petronius' satire, the *Satyricon*, because of the social commentary it provides on the life of freedmen under Claudius and Nero. Other works, such as Frontinus' *The Aqueducts of Rome* and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, also provide background information on Claudius' projects, and I do refer to them in the discussion of Claudius' public works.

### ***The Historical Works***

The three main historical sources all consider the role Claudius' freedmen played as a negative influence on his reign. Suetonius, (c. AD 70 -?)<sup>155</sup> describes Claudius as a slothful, gambling drunkard who associated with undesirable companions. He blames

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<sup>155</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 2-4. Hurley cites Suetonius' reference to himself as an *adulescens* in AD 88 or 89, (2, n.5). According to Hurley, nothing more is heard of Suetonius after he left the court of Hadrian, so the date of his death is unknown.

this, however, on the decision by Claudius' family to exclude him from a public role, because it was after Claudius gave up any hope of attaining one that his moral behaviour declined.<sup>156</sup> This sets the stage for Suetonius' later assertion that Claudius always obeyed his freedmen and his wives. He does not implicitly state that Claudius' lack of experience and base behaviour caused this reliance on his freedmen, but the inference that Claudius lacked self-control is there. Thus, Suetonius established a link between Claudius' moral decline and the ease with which Claudius' freedmen and wives manipulated him. Tacitus (c. AD 56 –?)<sup>157</sup> is also concerned with profiling Claudius' weaknesses, but only in so far as his behaviour adds to portrait of tyranny, which began with the shortcomings of Tiberius and continued right through to the end of Nero's reign. The imperial system is presented as the villain, since, by centering power on one man, it created the environment where there were no checks and balances to prevent corrupt wives and freedmen from controlling an empire. Tacitus' method of giving a year by year account of Claudius' reign also provides a more detailed picture of Claudius' policies and their affect on the administration of the empire. Dio Cassius (c. AD 164- after 229)<sup>158</sup> closely follows Tacitus' account in describing the events of Claudius' reign, but is in agreement with Suetonius on Claudius' lack of a public role being the cause of his inability to rule effectively and thus, was susceptible to being ruled by his freedmen. Since Dio appeared

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<sup>156</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 5.1. *tunc demum abiecta spe dignitatis ad otium concessit..., atque ex contubernio sordidissimorum hominum super veterem segnitiae notam ebrietatis quoque et aleae infamiam subiit*: "not till then, with hope for an official office dashed, did he surrender to idleness... and from consorting with the most sordid of men, he, on top of his reputation for sloth, also assumed infamy for drunkenness and gambling"; 83, Hurley believes the *sordidissimi homines* are those like the dinner companions Augustus refers to at 4.5; 79, Hurley conjectures whether the dinner companions are both possibly freedmen, because Flavius is not a cognomen of the Sulpicii gens, but could refer to a freedman tutor and Athenodorus' Greek cognomen indicates he is a former slave.

<sup>157</sup> Tacitus, *The Annals*. Trans. J.C. Yardley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), ix-xiii. Barrett conjectures that the date of Tacitus' death could be anywhere between AD 117- 130.

<sup>158</sup> *OCD*, 299.

less hostile to imperial rule than Tacitus,<sup>159</sup> he places the blame more on the immorality of Claudius' wives and freedmen than on Claudius' position.

All three ancient historians are primarily interested in the influence the politically powerful freedmen of Claudius' "inner circle" had on Claudius' rule and the elite orders.<sup>160</sup> Therefore, none of them provide direct information on the lives of the ordinary members of the imperial *familia* who had little political power. Nonetheless, they do reveal information about the events and policies that shaped the running of the empire. It is from this that we can begin to build a picture of the lives of the less powerful members of the *Familia Claudiana* to help understand why they thrived under Claudius.

An overview follows of Claudius' relationship with his elite freedmen, as seen through the eyes of the three ancient historians. Their interpretation of this relationship is important as it created the most enduring perceptions of Claudius' reign. Next, the laws that were attributed to Claudius, concerning freedmen and slaves, are examined to show whether any legal changes occurred in the rights and obligations of masters, freedmen and slaves under Claudius' rule. Finally, his public works are reviewed to analyze how they created new roles and spheres of influence for his freedmen.

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<sup>159</sup> Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius*, 33. In Scramuzza's view, Dio shows a more objective judgment of Claudius because he is able to view the Julio-Claudians through the lens of 100 more years of imperial rule. I agree that Dio does not paint such a black portrait of Claudius but he definitely follows the tradition that Claudius was controlled by his wives and freedmen.

<sup>160</sup> The term "elite" refers to the members of the equestrian and senatorial orders, which freedmen technically could not aspire to, although exceptions were made. However, the sons of freedmen, as freeborn, were eligible if they met the requirements of wealth and social standing. See *OCD*, 551-552 for *equites* and 1385-1388 for senators.

### *Claudius and the Freedmen of his “inner circle”*

The trope that Claudius was a dupe of his wives and freedmen is the most enduring that has come down to us from the historical texts. Suetonius’ declaration, that Claudius’ wives and freedmen dictated everything Claudius did, throughout his reign,<sup>161</sup> was an opinion echoed by Dio.<sup>162</sup> Their accounts, as does Tacitus’, consistently link the behaviour of the wives and freedmen of Claudius together, however, since Claudius’ wives are not the focus of this thesis I will not dwell on their role, but only on the roles played by the freedmen of Claudius’ “inner circle”.

The most famous of the “inner circle” were Polybius, Callistus, Narcissus and Pallas. Polybius was the head of the “*a studiis*”, Callistus of the “*a libellis*”, Pallas of the “*a rationibus*” and Narcissus of the “*ab epistulis*”.<sup>163</sup> The fact that Suetonius and Dio bothered to record the roles of Claudius’ most powerful freedmen indicates that those offices were a more important part of the imperial bureaucracy under Claudius than his predecessors.<sup>164</sup> Not only did these offices become more important under Claudius, the power they wielded, even after Claudius’ death, was very evident in Tacitus’ account of the forced suicide of Torquatus Silanus. Among other things, Silanus was accused of

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<sup>161</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 25.5. *sed et haec et cetera totumque adeo ex magna principatum non tam suo quam uxorum libertorumque arbitrio administravit*: “but both these matters and all the rest, indeed the greater part of his rule, he administered not so much by his own judgment but rather that of his wives and freedmen”; 29.1 *non principium sed ministrum egit*: “he acted not as an emperor but as a servant”.

<sup>162</sup> Dio’s quote on page 1 of this thesis well sums up his opinion of Claudius.

<sup>163</sup> The “*a studiis*” appears to be a cultural advisor; the “*a libellis*” was in charge of petitions, legal and otherwise; the “*a rationibus*” was in charge of the emperor’s accounts and the “*ab epistulis*” was in charge of the emperor’s correspondence. See Hurley’s commentary on *Divus Claudius* (2001), 193-194; Suet. *Claud.* 5.28. Suetonius also states that both Narcissus and Pallas acquired their wealth by illegitimate means; Dio. 60.3.6. Dio includes Callistus, along with Narcissus and Pallas. He does not refer to Polybius. The only Polybius he refers to is a freedman of Augustus’ 56.32.

<sup>164</sup> Tacitus books covering the first 6 years of Claudius’ reign are lost, so we do not know if he spoke about these offices under Claudius. He does however state at *Ann.* 13.14, that Nero stripped Pallas of the power he held under Claudius, which had virtually given him control of the empire. We can surmise from this, and Tacitus’ comments at *Ann.* 15.35 (see n.166) that these offices were very powerful.

assigning his freedmen to the offices of “*ab epistulis*”, “*a libellis*” and “*a rationibus*”.<sup>165</sup>

In doing so, he was regarded as signaling his intention to assume control of the empire.

Yet, the offices are only mentioned as an aside to the intrigues of Narcissus, Pallas and

Callistus, and neither Suetonius, Tacitus, or Dio provide an in depth coverage of the

scope and duties of these offices. However, the power and the responsibilities of the

office “*a studiis*” was evident in Seneca’s *Ad Polybium* where he outlines the duties

Polybius performed. Statius, too, provides information on the offices of the “*a*

*rationibus*” in his praise of the father of Claudius Etruscus, an imperial freedman who

served under Claudius.<sup>166</sup> Yet, Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio do not offer any positive role

models of imperial freedmen, or any meaningful assessment of the abilities of Claudius’

“inner circle”, in terms of the roles they carried out in Claudius’ administration. But what

can be understood, from the things these three historians do chose to tell us is that under

Claudius the administrative roles that his freedman carried out became synonymous with

the running of the empire. It is not difficult to perceive that his *familia*’s more public role

took them into the community, which enhanced even further the emperor’s influence in

the community.

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<sup>165</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 15.35. *quin inter libertos habere quos ab epistulis et libellis et rationibus apellet, nomina summae curae et meditamenta*: “since he has among his freedmen those whom he names to the office of the secretaries, the office of appeals and the office of accounts, titles of the highest duties and training.” Henry Furneaux comments that the restriction of these titles to the imperial household was probably due to Claudius, a point he feels is worth noting, as freedmen of any great household would normally have held these titles; 16.8. The same charges of creating offices of the “*rationibus et libellis et epistulis*”, brought against Torquatus Silanus, were also brought against his nephew Silanus in AD 65.

<sup>166</sup> Statius, *Silvae*. Trans. J.H. Mozley (1928; repr., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), III.3.57-58. Statius writes that the elderly Emperor Claudius raised the father of Claudius Etruscus to the highest offices: *praecipuos sed enim merito surrexit in actus nondum stelligerum senior dismissus in axem Claudius*: “but indeed through merit, elderly Claudius, not yet sent to the starry heaven, raised him to the highest offices.” Statius also praises him for having borne, unharmed, the yoke of different rulers (III.3.83-84) and carrying out his duties with diligence (III.3.106-108). For more on freedmen in the imperial bureaucracy see A.D. Winspear and L.K. Geweke, *Augustus and the Reconstruction of Roman Government and Society* (1935; repr., New York: Russell & Russell, 1970), 113-123.

The ancient historians' emphasis on the freedmen of Claudius' "inner circle" provides evidence of how powerful they were, and in turn how powerful the imperial bureaucracy was under them. The imperial *familia*, who are the subject of this study, were an integral part of that bureaucracy, and as such, were affected by the influence these powerful freedmen had over the running of the empire. For Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio, this elevation of freedmen into the public life of Rome was a travesty, which they had no intention of downplaying with a balanced historical analysis. Nonetheless their work is important in understanding the reaction of the elites to freedmen with political power and how that clouded their ability to understand the influence the imperial *familia* had on other levels of Roman society.

### ***Claudius, the Law, and Freedmen and Slaves***

Dio remarked that Claudius punished the freedmen of others but was lenient to his own.<sup>167</sup> Yet in reality, Claudius' laws regarding freedmen and slaves appeared to walk a line between humane treatment and an adherence to tradition, revealing his concern for social boundaries being respected between freeborn, freedmen and slaves. He instituted a law, which penalized free women involved in conjugal relations with slaves, a law instigated by his freedman Pallas.<sup>168</sup> As well, any freedman trying to pass himself off as

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<sup>167</sup> Dio. 60.29.2-3. Dio bases his remark on an incident that involved one of the freedmen of Claudius' "inner circle", Polybius. Polybius' was reacting to an actor's recitation of a line that said, "a well fortunate slave can hardly be endured". Polybius, with all eyes upon him, did not miss a beat in replying that the same poet (Menander) had also said "who once were goatherds now have royal power". This showed both Polybius' literary knowledge as well as his wit. Dio's point, however, is that Claudius did not punish Polybius for his outburst.

<sup>168</sup> Tac. *Ann*, 12.53.1 *refert ad patres de poena feminarum quae servis coniungerentur*: "He brought the proposal to the Senate concerning the punishment of women who were married to slaves." Tacitus cites the year as AD 52; Richard J.A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 441. See number 44, on page 441, of the list of the laws attributed to Claudius and Nero and the sources regarding this law.



an Equites would have his property confiscated.<sup>169</sup> When a tribune beat a slave of Claudius', he was lenient with the tribune, but sent another of his own slaves to the forum to be flogged for insulting a prominent man.<sup>170</sup> Claudius also demanded loyalty from slaves and freedmen. Suetonius reports that if a freedman proved disloyal to his master, Claudius ruled that he be put back into slavery.<sup>171</sup> This was also confirmed by the story that when Claudius came to power he used gladiatorial battles to punish slaves and freedmen who, in the reigns of Tiberius and Gaius, had been disloyal to their masters.<sup>172</sup> Claudius also punished a freedman who had asked for assistance against his former master, and forbade anyone to give assistance to a slave against his or her master.<sup>173</sup> Yet, he was concerned for the welfare of slaves, decreeing that all sick slaves abandoned by their masters on the island in the Tiber, would be granted freedom. As well he ruled that those who recovered did not have to return to their master,<sup>174</sup> and that any master who killed a sick slave would be charged with murder.<sup>175</sup>

Claudius did provide unprecedented opportunities for the freedmen of his "inner circle". His urging of the senate to give *quaestor* and *praetor* honours to his powerful freedmen Narcissus and Pallas,<sup>176</sup> does demonstrate his openness to the idea of freedmen

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<sup>169</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 25.

<sup>170</sup> Dio. 60.12.2. Dio repeats this story at 60.31.5a; at least it is not clear that he is referring to another incident.

<sup>171</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 25.

<sup>172</sup> Dio. 60.13.2.

<sup>173</sup> Dio. 60.28.2. Claudius was praised for this measure, although Dio reports that the people were vexed that he was a slave to his own freedmen.

<sup>174</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 25; Dio. 60.29.7; Ann Major, "Claudius' edict on sick slaves" *Scholia* 3 (1994), 84-90. Major cites Suetonius, Dio and the *Digest* 40.8.2 as sources for the existence of this law. She also provides a good overview of the interpretations concerning the motivations behind the law. These interpretations see the law as evidence of perhaps a more humane attitude towards slavery, or the ever increasing role of the *Princeps* in the life of the state, or even a measure designed to maintain public order.

<sup>175</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 25. Dio does not mention this law.

<sup>176</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 28. Suetonius mentions Claudius asking that honours be given to both Narcissus and Pallas, while Tacitus only states that Pallas received a *praetor insignia* (*Ann.* 12.53). The honour to Pallas is also commented on in Plin. *NH.* 35.58, Plin. *Ep.* 7.29 and *Ep.* 8.6.

attaining admission to the upper orders, although there is no indication in the texts that this occurred frequently. His willingness, also, to give a freedman's son the rank of Senator, if a member of the equestrian order would adopt him,<sup>177</sup> showed his desire to both adhere to tradition and encourage the social mobility of the children of freedmen. Claudius' support for these various enactments made it clear that, while he encouraged the social boundaries and duties between masters, freedmen and slaves to be respected, he also advocated fair treatment for slaves and opportunities for freedmen to advance in social standing. These laws strengthened the bond between a master and his slave or freedman, which also meant that the ties and obligations between Claudius and his *familia* were strengthened.

### ***Claudius' Public Works***

The ancient historians' dismissal of Claudius' use and support of freedmen as a personal weakness, does not really explain his motivation in increasing the size and influence of his *familia*. Yet, it is not hard to see that in his *familia* he found a human resource that would increase both his influence in the administration of the empire, and his economic standing. If Claudius' increased use of his *familia* was done to consolidate his control over the administration of the empire, then there should be some tangible evidence of this and it is provided by the primary literary sources' accounts of the public initiatives undertaken by Claudius.

Suetonius and Dio both record that Claudius took steps to stabilize the grain supply by offering guarantees and providing incentives for merchants to bring in supplies in winter. These winter shipments would prevent the seasonal shortages, which occurred

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<sup>177</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 24. Claudius referred to the precedent of his ancestor Appius the Blind, the founder of the Claudian household.

in the grain supply.<sup>178</sup> The building of the harbour at Ostia was a major component in bringing this about. The port thrived and was regarded by Dio as a worthy achievement for Rome and Claudius.<sup>179</sup> The other major building projects were the aqueducts known as the Aqua Nonia and Aqua Claudia.<sup>180</sup> Both Frontinus and Pliny the elder praised these works highly, although they barely rate a mention in Tacitus.<sup>181</sup> Pliny states the aqueducts cost 350,000,00 sesterces,<sup>182</sup> and Frontinus says that the building of the *Aqua Claudia* prompted Claudius to add 460 slaves to the imperial *familia*, who at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD were still 'Caesar's' and paid by the *fiscus*.<sup>183</sup> The one project regarded as a failure was the draining of the Fucine Lake, which is recorded by all three historians as a debacle, although with differing emphasis. Suetonius claims that it took 11 years and 30,000 men,<sup>184</sup> and that Claudius undertook the task because a group of businessmen offered to shoulder the expense, if they were awarded the reclaimed land.<sup>185</sup> Tacitus and Dio emphasize that the project's failure was due to the corruption of Narcissus, in

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<sup>178</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 18-19 and Dio 60.11.1. Tacitus' account of this time is lost. The incentive mentioned by Suetonius is that the ship owner would be exempt from the Papian-Poppaeian Law designed to discourage celibacy.

<sup>179</sup> Dio, 60.11.3-4.

<sup>180</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 20. Suetonius lists all of Claudius' public works together. These included an aqueduct begun by Gaius, as well as one named after Claudius himself, the draining the Fucine lake and the building of the harbour at Ostia.

<sup>181</sup> Frontinus, *The Stratagems and The Aqueducts of Rome*, trans. Charles E. Bennett (1925; repr., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), *The Aqueducts of Rome*, I.13. Frontinus describes the works as the most magnificent accomplishment; Plin. *NH.* 36.24. Pliny's assessment agrees with Frontinus', with Pliny stating that there was nothing more worthy of admiration than these works; Tac. *Ann.* 11.13. Tacitus mentions the aqueducts, but only briefly with no comment concerning their value.

<sup>182</sup> Plin. *NH.* 36.24.

<sup>183</sup> Frontinus. *The Aqueducts of Rome*, II.116-117; Frontinus was *praetor urbanus* in AD 70 and elected consul 3 times in AD 73, 98, 100 (see xi-xii in the Loeb introduction); Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 193. Millar interprets Frontinus as saying that Claudius doubled the imperial *familia*, to maintain the aqueducts, but the Latin refers only to the *familiae* associated with the maintenance of the aqueducts, of which the public *familiae* numbered 280 and Claudius' 460.

<sup>184</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 20.

<sup>185</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 20.

relation to the construction.<sup>186</sup> Pliny the Elder also states that the cost of the project was astronomical and that it employed countless workmen for many years. But rather than accusing Narcissus of corruption, in relation to the project, he described it as memorable in scope.<sup>187</sup> Regardless, the ancient historical texts' inclusion of these projects proved that Claudius was undertaking major public works, and also show that a great deal of manpower was needed to carry out these tasks. In the case of the aqueducts this required a doubling of the existing manpower and the control of the aqueducts being taken over by the imperial administration.

This overview of the work of Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio does affirm their image of Claudius as an erratic emperor, manipulated by his freedmen and wives. But beneath this image, the texts have provided a great deal of secondary information to show what actions of Claudius' affected the lives of freedmen and slaves. They have also established, by focusing on Claudius' relationship with his closest freedmen, that their role was a defining characteristic of his administration. His unprecedented reliance on his *familia* to carry out the financial administration of the empire and public projects, gave his freedmen opportunities to create roles for themselves outside the immediate household of the emperor.

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<sup>186</sup> Dio. 60.11.5 & *Roman History*, VIII, trans. Ernest Cary (1925; repr., Cambridge University Press, 1968), 60.33.6 ; Tac. *Ann.* 12.57. Tacitus describes the construction as *incuria operis manifesta fuit...Simul Agrippina trepidatione principis usa ministrum operis Narcissum incusit cupidinis ac praedarum*: "the defectiveness of the construction became clear...at the same time Agrippina, taking advantage of the Emperor's fright, accused Narcissus, the agent for the construction, of avarice and profiteering."

<sup>187</sup> Plin. *HN.* 36.24.

The following sections now turn to Seneca and Petronius whose writings are dated to the Claudian-Neronian period.<sup>188</sup> Both authors offer an elite view of evidence of the growing influence, not only of imperial freedmen, but freedmen in general. Seneca experienced first hand the effects of Claudius' policies and the power of his freedmen.<sup>189</sup> His philosophical treatises look at freedmen as both a social group, and as individuals. They make no distinction between imperial freedmen and freedmen outside of the imperial *familia*, which indicates that, apart from the freedmen closest to the emperor, imperial freedmen were not viewed as a separate social group. In contrast, his satire, the *Apocolocyntosis*, deals primarily with Claudius' freedman Narcissus. The satire highlights Claudius' failure as a leader and Narcissus' manipulation of Claudius to his own advantage. Neither emperor nor freedman is presented in a positive light.

Petronius' portrayal of the wealthy freedman, Trimalchio, is still the most influential portrait of a Roman freedman and his social circle. The chapter on the modern sources has shown how often Trimalchio is referred to in constructing a portrait of the freedmen's world. How much this caricature resembles the actual experiences of Roman freedmen, in the Claudian-Neronian period, is still a topic much debated in the modern sources, but regardless of which side scholars takes in relation to Trimalchio's importance, none ignore him.

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<sup>188</sup> Tacitus names Petronius as Nero's *arbiter elegantiae* (Tac. *Ann.* 16.17-20) which is considered evidence that the man described by Tacitus is the same Petronius who wrote the *Satyricon*. See the *OCD*, 1149-1150 for background on Petronius.

<sup>189</sup> *OCD*, 96-98. Seneca was born at Cordoba, in modern Spain, between 4 BC and AD 1. He was exiled by Claudius around AD 41, for an alleged affair with Julia Minor, Gaius' sister, but was recalled in c. AD 49 to become the tutor of Nero. He was a strong influence on Nero for the first five years of his reign, but his influence declined after the death of Nero's mother Agrippina. He was accused of conspiring against Nero and forced to commit suicide in AD 65.

### *The Treatises of Seneca*

*Nulli praeclusa virtus est; omnibus patet, omnes admittit, omnes invitat,  
et ingenuos et libertinos et servos et reges et exules; non eligit domum nec censum, nudo  
homine contenta est*

Virtue precludes no one; it is accessible to all, it admits all, it invites all, freeborn, freedmen, slaves, Kings and exiles; it selects neither family connection, nor wealth – it contents itself with the human stripped bare. Sen. *Ben.* 3.18.2.

The above quote from Seneca would lead the reader to believe that Seneca considers birth, social class and wealth as meaningless in the pursuit of the virtuous life. In a number of his treatises,<sup>190</sup> as the quote shows, he does include the social class of freedmen<sup>191</sup> as equals in this pursuit, yet in other treatises, they become Seneca's vehicle to represent base behaviour. This incongruity makes it difficult to understand exactly how Seneca viewed freedmen and their role in society, but he does seem to make a distinction between freedmen as a social group, and an individual who happens to be a freedman. In this regard, an individual freedman is presented as being capable of virtue, while the behaviour of freedmen as a group is used as an example of base behaviour.

Seneca's writings cover the reigns of both Claudius and Nero, so they offer first hand observations of how freedmen, both imperial and non-imperial, were viewed by a member of the elite. Unlike Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio, Seneca did not have the security of voicing opinions against those who could no longer do him harm. Seneca, therefore,

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<sup>190</sup> I refer to Seneca's writings here as treatises because, although they come in the form of letters, essays and consolations, they all offer a systematic discourse on Seneca's stoic philosophy.

<sup>191</sup> Seneca uses the term *libertinus* to refer to freedmen in the context of a social class, and he does not distinguish between imperial and non-imperial freedmen. The term, according to the *OLD*, 1025, refers to the social and legal class, to which the freedman belonged; in contrast, Suetonius (Suet. *Claud.*24) uses the term to describe the son of a freedman, but it was generally used to refer to freedmen as a social class. For more on the term see *OCD*, 609.

drew on freedmen, a traditional trope in Roman literature,<sup>192</sup> to represent the corrupting influence of wealth in the hands of those who do not have the capacity to use it wisely. His references to freedmen, while not numerous, can be found across his works (excluding his tragedies) and they are used as a rhetorical device to win over Seneca's elite audience, precisely because they are not one of them.<sup>193</sup> However, when Seneca concentrates on the individual, he considers their social origins as irrelevant to their ability to access true freedom, which was indifferent to the vagaries of fortune. As I will show below, Seneca's writings continually juxtapose the trope of the boorish freedmen against the possibility for the individual to attain virtue. In doing so, Seneca redefines the elite ideal from one that was represented by a social class (the elites) to one represented by the individual.

Since Seneca addresses the role of freedmen in a number of genres, it can be difficult to see the systematic consistency of his thought. However, a chronological review of his writings, in which he refers to freedmen, does make it possible to see that, when they are treated as a social group, they are presented negatively. It is not that he does not criticize some members of his own class for their behaviour, but he balances this

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<sup>192</sup> Pedro López Barja de Quiroga, "Freedmen Social Mobility in Roman Italy", 327. López Barja de Quiroga cites Juvenal and Quintilian among other primary sources for the use of freedmen, along with publicans and soldiers, as popular tropes "whenever a particular social group was needed as a target for their irony"; Elaine Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture: From Cicero to Apuleius* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 143-145. Fantham posits that Seneca felt literature in his time was studied, not for moral enlightenment, but as a form of intellectual snobbery. Fantham feels Trimalchio exemplifies the kind of ignorance that this snobbery appeals to.

<sup>193</sup> Paul Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque: sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique*. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1976), 578. Veyne points out that there are two rhetorical truths; the first is that is not enough to know something, you must win over the listener, the second is that you should begin with what the listener knows, or thinks they know, otherwise they will not listen. Seneca's audience was the upper classes from which the majority of freedmen were excluded and therefore used as a target for the upper orders to judge themselves favourably against.

out with praise of other members for their virtue.<sup>194</sup> This is something he does not do with freedmen.

*Ad Polybium*, the earliest of Seneca's works dealing with freedmen, is one where he never uses the term for a freedman (*libertus*), even though or perhaps because the work is addressed to Polybius, the powerful freedman of the Emperor Claudius discussed above.<sup>195</sup> It is a consolation to Polybius, on the death of his brother, and was written after Seneca's exile in AD 41.<sup>196</sup> It served not only as a consolation to Polybius, but also as a panegyric to the Emperor Claudius, since any hope Seneca held for a recall rested entirely in Claudius' hands.

Seneca's praise of Polybius not only reveals the power Polybius had in the court of Claudius, but also the important role that he played. Seneca lauds Polybius, as a positive role model, for not using his political influence for financial gain and commiserates that it has not shielded him from the grief of losing his brother.<sup>197</sup> Seneca's words emphasize that Polybius' position did not prevent misfortune, a reality that all humans share, but they also indicate that Polybius' virtue was noteworthy and alerts the reader to Seneca's tacit implication that his behaviour was not typical of Claudius' rule. Further on in the dialogue, Seneca returns to the shared experience of

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<sup>194</sup> Seneca. *Moral Essays*, Vol. I, trans. John W. Basore (1928; repr., Cambridge: University of Harvard Press, 1963), *De Providentia*. 3.10. Seneca describes Maecenas as a man exhausted with pleasure and struggling with excessive luck (*voluptatibus marcidum et felicitate nimia laborentem*); Seneca. *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*, Vol. I, trans. Richard Gummere (1917; repr., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 65.1-4. In contrast to Maecenas, Seneca praises his old classmate Claranus for his virtue and says that nature acted unfairly, and poorly located an excellent soul (*inique enim se natura gessit et talem animum male conlocavit*). Seneca is referring to Claranus's soul being more beautiful than the body it came in.

<sup>195</sup> See Claudius and the freedmen of his "inner circle", page 44.

<sup>196</sup> Seneca's exile was ostensibly due to his adultery with Julia Livilla, Gaius' sister (Dio. 60.8).

<sup>197</sup> Sen. *Polyb.* 3.5 *nihil ergo prodest ... felicitatis summae potentia summa conservata abstinentia*, 'therefore does restraint, consistently maintained, in the face of the greatest power for the greatest good fortune, benefit nothing'.



slaves, freedmen and freeborn when he describes all mortals as having cause for sorrow, regardless of their status.<sup>198</sup>

Seneca's point throughout the treatise is that the fortunes of slaves, freedman and elites have nothing to do with their status but are a rational outcome of the scales of fortune.<sup>199</sup> What this reveals about the relationship between freedman and a member of the elites, under Claudius, is that one of its members openly acknowledges the power of an imperial freedman and pursues his support. Yet in *Ad Polybium*, Seneca has presented Polybius as an individual who has virtue, regardless of his social status, and, who therefore, represents proof that virtue is open to any individual. Of course, it can be argued that Seneca is merely being obsequious in the hope that Polybius would exert influence on Claudius' to have Seneca recalled from exile. Regardless of Seneca's motive for writing *Ad Polybium*, it shows one of the tenets of Seneca's philosophical thought, that virtue lies within the individual.

Freedmen continue to be individuals worthy of virtue in *De Vita Beata*, which was written in AD 58 or 59.<sup>200</sup> In the dialogue, Seneca treats freedmen, along with slaves, as equals in an examination of the happy life. It is also a defence of wealth, when it is used wisely and not for pointless displays, because for Seneca, wealth acquired by the generosity of fortune<sup>201</sup> allows the wise man the opportunity to help those who deserve it.<sup>202</sup> Seneca's defence of wealth is important in relation to freedmen because, in other

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<sup>198</sup> Sen. *Polyb.* 4.2.

<sup>199</sup> Sen. *Polyb.* 18.3.

<sup>200</sup> Seneca, *Moral Essays*, Vol. II, trans. John W. Basore (Cambridge: University of Harvard Press, 1951), ix.

<sup>201</sup> Sen. *De Vita Beata*, 7.23.3. *magnas opes, munus fortunae fructumque virtutis, non repudiabit nec excludet*: "great wealth, the munificence of fortune, and the fruits of virtue, he will not repudiate nor exclude."

<sup>202</sup> Sen. *De Vita Beata*, 7.24.3.

treatises, he uses freedmen as an example in the misuse of wealth. Here, Seneca's specific reference to freedmen comes in *De Vita Beata*.7.24.3, where he pronounces that nature bids him to do good to all mankind, whether they are slaves or free men, freeborn or freed.<sup>203</sup> That he considers social class irrelevant to the behaviour of a man, is attested to at the beginning of the dialogue, where he explicitly states that the thing a man must fear most is the crowd, because the crowd pits itself against reason,<sup>204</sup> and by the crowd he means the members of the upper orders as much as the slave class.<sup>205</sup> Mixing freedmen in with the other status groups emphasizes Seneca's point that the individual can only find happiness by detaching himself from others, regardless of his place in society, because the happy life is one in which the individual is in harmony with his own nature.<sup>206</sup> This need for introspection is another constant in Seneca's thoughts on the role of the individual in society. However, it is difficult to say whether Seneca's introspection will ultimately provide a basis for understanding the increased emphasis on personal relationships found in the epitaphs of the imperial freedmen after Claudius. It could well be, as Bartsch argues, symptomatic of an identity crisis among the elite orders, which are no longer seen as a social role model.

While *De Vita Beata* included freedmen as equals in the quest for the good life, *Naturales Quaestiones* uses the behaviour of freedmen as a trope against which the

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<sup>203</sup> Sen. *De Vita Beata*, 7.24.3. *Hominibus prodesse natura me iubet. Servi liberini sint hi, ingenui an libertini, iustae libertatis an inter amicos datae*: "Nature orders me to benefit mankind. These men could be slaves, free men, either freeborn or freed, whether freedom was given by the laws or between friends."

<sup>204</sup> Sen. *De Vita Beata*, 7.1.5. *Nunc vero stat contra rationem defensor mali sui populus*: "Now, truly the people stand against reason, a defender of its own evil."

<sup>205</sup> Sen. *De Vita Beata*, 7.2.2. *Vulgum autem tam chlamydatos quam coronatos voco*: "Nevertheless, I call vulgar the wearers of elegant finery just as much as those who wear the crown of slavery." Basore explains *chlamydatos* as a Greek word referring to a garment of elegance and distinction, while *coronatos* refers to slaves who wear crowns when they are put up for sale. Basore cites Tac. *Ann.*13.39.7. as evidence for this.

<sup>206</sup> Sen. *De Vita Beata*, 7.3.3. *Beata est ergo vita conveniens naturae suae*: "The happy life is therefore being in harmony with one's own nature."

behaviour of society as a whole is measured.<sup>207</sup> The *Naturales Quaestiones* were published in AD 62-63,<sup>208</sup> at a time when Seneca had withdrawn from public life and his hopes for Nero, as a remedy to the abuses of Claudius' reign, had vanished. The first reference to freedmen comes in *Nat. Q.* 1.17.9 where Seneca notes that the dowry the Roman people proudly gave the daughters of their impoverished Generals would, in his time, not amount to the cost that freedmen expended on one mirror for their young daughters.<sup>209</sup> The freedmen are a trope for the pointless acquisition and display of wealth, which has no virtue. Seneca is emphasizing that it is slavish behaviour, and any who act in this manner must be slavish too.

The mirror, besides representing conspicuous consumption, is also an allegory for self-reflection, and with self-reflection, each individual is given the opportunity to assess his natural traits and use them in his quest for virtue.<sup>210</sup> Therefore, a handsome man learns from his reflection that he must not allow his looks to lead him into infamy,<sup>211</sup> while a homely man must cultivate other strengths to show the worth of his character.<sup>212</sup> The freedman's actions show just the opposite, instead of using his wealth to pursue virtue, he wastes it on trifles. Again, the freedman is Seneca's rhetorical device to show how pointless wealth is without a noble end.

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<sup>207</sup> Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*. Vol I & II, trans. Thomas H. Corcoran (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

<sup>208</sup> Miriam Griffin, *Seneca: A Philosopher in Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 2. Griffin's dating is based on Seneca's mention of the Campania earthquake, in *Nat. Q.* 6.1.

<sup>209</sup> Sen. *Nat. Q.* 1.17.9. *Iam libertinorum virgunculis in unum speculum non sufficit illa dos quam dedit populus Romanus animose*: "Now, that gift, which the Roman people gave proudly, would not be enough for one mirror for the little girls of freedmen."

<sup>210</sup> Sen. *Nat. Q.* 1.17.4. *Inventa sunt specula ut homo ipse se nosset, multa ex hoc consecuturus*: "Mirrors were invented so that man would know himself, to achieve many things from this."

<sup>211</sup> Sen. *Nat. Q.* 1.17.4. *formosus, ut vitaret infamiam*: "the handsome, so that he would avoid infamy."

<sup>212</sup> Sen. *Nat. Q.* 1.17.4. *deformis, ut sciret redimendum esse virtutibus quicquid corpori deesset*: "the ugly, so he would learn that he must redeem by virtue whatever he lacks in his body."

The second reference to freedmen in the *Naturales Quaestiones* comes in the preface of *Nat. Q.* 4a. The work ostensibly concerns the flooding of the Nile, but its preface is devoted to the avoidance of flattery. It is addressed to Seneca's close friend Lucilius, who like Seneca was from the equestrian class and showed an interest in philosophy.<sup>213</sup> Freedmen enter the dialogue after Seneca has pointed out the dangers of flattery, which he describes as an art used by those skilled in it to conquer their superiors.<sup>214</sup> Seneca relays the story, told by Demetrius the cynic,<sup>215</sup> that wealth was easy to acquire, just by putting aside one's principles and learning to flatter men. Demetrius stated that he was willing to teach this art to any who sought after wealth,<sup>216</sup> and Seneca pointedly notes that the remark was made to a powerful freedman, who is not identified.<sup>217</sup> That Demetrius, a man who scorned 200,000 sesterces from Gaius,<sup>218</sup> was willing to teach someone how to profit from flattery must be seen as ironic, and Seneca's use of a powerful freedmen, as the addressee of Demetrius' story, must also be seen as marking the freedman out as the inferior who is interested in this skill. The inference is that the powerful freedman would willingly put aside his principles for profit. The freedman may be a convenient trope to highlight the moral failure of desiring wealth, but Seneca's negative assessment of flattery here, seems hypocritical in light of his use of it

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<sup>213</sup> Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*. Vol.1, ix-x. Gummere writes that from the evidence provided in the letters, Lucilius was a Roman knight who came from Campania. He held a number of prominent positions and was procurator to Sicily when the letters are believed to be written, between AD 63-65.

<sup>214</sup> Sen. *Nat. Q.* 4a.3.3. *Artifices sunt ad captandos superiores*: "They are craftsmen at capturing those superior to them."

<sup>215</sup> Tac. *Ann* 16.34, 502. Demetrius is described as a philosopher, much admired by Seneca, who was exiled by Vespasian; See also Dio. 66.13.

<sup>216</sup> Sen. *Nat. Q.* 4a.7.1.

<sup>217</sup> Sen. *Nat. Q.* 4a.7.1.

<sup>218</sup> Sen. *Ben.* 7.11. Demetrius commented that if Gaius had really wanted to tempt him, he should have tested him by offering up his whole kingdom.

in *Ad Polybium*. However, Seneca praised Polybius as an individual and not as a member of his social class.

While freedmen may have been a trope for moral failure in the *Nat. Q.*, they are treated as individuals in *De Beneficiis*, equals in the opportunity to access virtue. The treatise is considered to have been written over a span of time, ranging from a few years after Claudius' death in AD 54, to the last years before Seneca's death in AD 65,<sup>219</sup> and it concerns the giving and receiving of benefits. Seneca only refers to freedmen once when he proclaims that virtue closes the door to no man;<sup>220</sup> the freeborn, freed, slaves, Kings and exiles can all attain virtue, which the vagaries of fortune cannot destroy.<sup>221</sup> His remark here that virtue is open to all men is consistent with his assertion in *De Vita Beata*. Again the happy life is open to all men, and the emphasis is placed on the behaviour of the individual and not the behaviour of a particular status group.

Seneca's final treatise where freedmen appear is his collection of letters, again addressed to Lucilius. The letters, taken as a whole, add up to be as much a philosophical treatise as his other essays and, as Marcus Wilson points out, "are predominantly introspective".<sup>222</sup> The letters are dated to the last years of Seneca's life,<sup>223</sup> and have been described as offering "the earliest surviving extended (even if not systematic)

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<sup>219</sup> Seneca, *Ben.* vii-viii. Basore's dating of the work is due partly to internal evidence. He cites Duff for the dating of Books 5 and 6. He believes books 1-4 probably appeared a few years after Claudius' death, books 5 and 6 at around AD 62, and book 7 very near to the end of his life in AD 65.

<sup>220</sup> Sen. *Ben.* 3.18.2. *Nulli praeclusa virtus est; omnibus patet, omnes admittit, omnes invitat, et ingenuos et libertinos et servos et reges et exules; non eligit domum nec censum, nudo homine contenta est:* "virtue precludes no one; it is accessible to all, it admits all, it invites all, freeborn, freedmen, slaves, Kings and exiles; it selects neither family connection, nor wealth – it contents itself with the human stripped bare."

<sup>221</sup> Sen. *Ben.* 3.18.2-3.

<sup>222</sup> Marcus Wilson, "Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius" In *Seneca*, ed. John G. Fitch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 61.

<sup>223</sup> Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*, Vol I, ix. Gummere places the letters between AD 63-65 due to internal evidence; Miriam Griffin, "Imago Vitae Suae" in *Seneca*, 53. Griffin believes most of Seneca's works belong to his mature years, but that most of his works can only be dated within broad limits.

engagement with ideas of the self from a Stoic perspective”.<sup>224</sup> The first letter containing a reference to freedmen is *Ep.* 27, where Seneca tells the story of a certain Calvisius Sabinus, whom he describes as having the nature and fortune of a freedman.<sup>225</sup> Seneca’s description of Calvisius’ attributes makes it clear that this is not a compliment. He notes that there was never a man less deserving of his good fortune, whose pretentiousness shows through in his desire to appear learned.<sup>226</sup> Rather than learn the verses of the Greek masters, Calvisius either paid a fortune for trained slaves, who could recite Homer, Hesiod and the nine lyric poets by heart, or had slaves trained to do so. He would then bore his guests with a recitation of verses, which his slaves had to repeat to him, and which he nonetheless stumbled over.<sup>227</sup> Seneca’s moral in this letter is that no man can buy or borrow a good mind; he must toil for it himself.<sup>228</sup> There is nothing startling in that conclusion, but the portrait of Calvisius bears a striking resemblance to the fictional character Trimalchio, to whom modern scholarship has referred so often as the paradigm of the boorish freedman. Seneca’s portrait is revealing in the demonstration it provides of the attitude towards wealthy freedmen by an elite in this period. Seneca equates Calvisius’ desire to cover up his lack of erudition, and his pronouncements concerning his wealth, as typical of a freedman’s behaviour, although he never makes it clear

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<sup>224</sup> Catherine Edwards, “Self-scrutiny and Self-transformation” In *Seneca*, 87. I see a more systematic approach in his letters than Edwards does. While the letters may not follow a linear approach, they do show, as do Seneca’s essays, a remarkable consistency in his reflections of moral problems.

<sup>225</sup> Seneca. *Ep.* 27.5. *Calvisius Sabinus memoria nostra fuit dives. Et patrimonium habebat libertini et ingenium; numquam vidi hominem beatum indecentius*: “Calvisius Sabinus had been a wealthy man in our time. He had both the inheritance and nature of a freedman; never have I seen a man more unfittingly blessed.”

<sup>226</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 27.5.

<sup>227</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 27.6.

<sup>228</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 27.4.

whether Calvisius is a freedman himself.<sup>229</sup> Again the freedman is used as a rhetorical device, easily recognized by Seneca's elite audience, to highlight the vice of wealth without the knowledge to use it. But to what end? Is Seneca warning his audience that virtue lies in the pursuit of learning, not in the mere appearance of it, or is he merely pandering to his elite audience's egos, comforting them with the image of a freedman parvenu who can only ever mimic the practices of their class but never belong there?

Freedmen again become the convenient trope in *Ep. 86*, where Seneca praises the simplicity of the private bath of Scipio Africanus, a man he admires for his moderation and sense of duty.<sup>230</sup> He compares Scipio's bath to the excessively opulent baths of his fellow Romans.<sup>231</sup> He comments that the ordinary bathing establishments are over the top, but that is nothing compared to those of the freedmen's, which have a vast number of statues and columns designed to support nothing, but are there to show the amount of money spent.<sup>232</sup> Although Seneca is mocking the habits of all Romans, he is particularly singling out the excesses of freedmen and using them as the trope for the misuse of wealth. This behaviour is in stark contrast to the behaviour of Scipio, an illustrious

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<sup>229</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 27.5. Gummere in his notes on the text likens Calvisius, not only to the freedman Trimalchio, but also to the character Nasidienus, from Horace's *Sat.* 2.8. However both Calvisius and Trimalchio are described as taking pains to display their wealth, whereas Nasidienus is described as a miser who is feigning extravagance. This is a fundamental difference and may reflect that in Horace's time the upper orders were feeling the pinch (he wrote at the time of Rome's transition from Republic to Empire and died in 8 BC), while Seneca and Petronius' works, written over 70 years later, reflect a new economic reality. Although a comparison of the two time periods is outside the scope of this thesis, the common theme of excessive banquets indicates the continuation of a genre tradition by Seneca and Petronius and not an innovation.

<sup>230</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 86.1. *ob egregiam moderationem pietatemque*: "because of (his) extraordinary moderation and piety."

<sup>231</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 86.6. Seneca remarks that Romans of his time consider themselves poor if the walls do not gleam with large and expensive mirrors, if the marbles from Alexandria are not distinguished with Numidian mosaics.

<sup>232</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 86.7. *Et adhuc plebeias fistulas loquor; quid, cum ad balnea libertinorum pervenero? Quantum statuarum, quantum columnarum est nihil sustinentium, sed in ornamentum positarum inpensae causa*: "And I speak to this point about the plebian plumbing; what do I say when I come to the freedmen's baths? So many statues, so many columns that hold up nothing, but are merely ornaments, for the sake of extravagance."

member of the elite classes, and a traditional exemplum of virtue.<sup>233</sup> But the puzzle here is whether Seneca is using freedmen to dissuade his audience from behaving like them, or equating his audience with them, or both.

While *Ep.* 27 and *Ep.* 86 used freedmen as a trope, the following 3 letters concentrate on the individual's capacity for virtue, regardless of their social status. *Ep.* 31 is a short letter concerned with the need for the soul to break free from the confines of fate and time, to become good and great.<sup>234</sup> Seneca revisits the idea, laid out in *Ep.* 27, of the necessity of labor to build noble minds.<sup>235</sup> He emphasizes to Lucilius the need to understand that toil is a tool, which is only of value when used in the pursuit of honorable things.<sup>236</sup> He declares that a person, who pursues what is virtuous, can make themselves happy through their own efforts,<sup>237</sup> since whatever is virtuous is good, and the good is what makes men happy.<sup>238</sup> Seneca continues that neither wealth, nor reputation, nor ostentatious displays are necessary to rise to the level of God, since God has none of these things,<sup>239</sup> and this is possible for the soul of a knight or freedman or slave.<sup>240</sup> *Ep.* 44 continues the theme set out in *Ep.* 31, with Seneca beginning with the statement that, if

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<sup>233</sup> Peter Garnsey, "Introducing the Hellenistic and Roman periods." In *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought*, ed. Christopher Rowe and Malcolm Schofield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 409. Scipio Africanus is a traditional exemplum of statesmanship, as seen in Cicero's *De Re Publica*, who represents piety, patriotism and self-denying poverty.

<sup>234</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 31.11.2-3. "*Animus, sed hic rectus, bonus, magnus*: "the soul, but one which is upright, good, great."

<sup>235</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 31.5.1.

<sup>236</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 31.4.4.

<sup>237</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 31.5.5. *Fac te ipse felicem*: "make yourself happy by yourself."

<sup>238</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 31.5.6. *si intellexeris bona esse, quibus admixta virtus es*: "if you understand that the good is whatever has been mixed with virtue."

<sup>239</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 31.10.1-5. *Parem autem te deo pecunia non faciet; deus nihil habet. Praetexta non faciet; deus nudus est. Fama non faciet nec ostentatio tui et in populos nominis dimissa notitia; nemo novit deum*: "Money will not make you equal to God; God has nothing. The toga will not make you equal to God; God is naked. Neither will your reputation nor your ostentatious behaviour, or the celebrity of your name spread throughout the populations of the world; no one knows God."

<sup>240</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 31.11. *Hic animus tam in equitem Romanum quam in libertinum, quam in servum potest cadere*: "This soul is able to fall just as much into a Roman knight as into a freedman or slave."



there is any good in philosophy, it is that it does not examine a person's family background.<sup>241</sup> He makes the point that all men can trace their origin back to the gods and can therefore consider their genealogy the same.<sup>242</sup> This does not mean that Seneca dismisses the value of the Roman social order in providing a ladder for ambition, because in the very next statement he chides Lucilius for belittling himself<sup>243</sup> and praises him for having, through his own merits, become a Roman Knight.<sup>244</sup> He emphasizes Lucilius' achievement by noting that the knighthood, like the Senate and the army, is not open to all.<sup>245</sup> However, this is merely a segue into his main idea that a good mind is open to all and all have the potential to be nobles in this regard.<sup>246</sup> To emphasize this, Seneca makes the claim that a noble mind could make a freedman the only free man among the freeborn.<sup>247</sup> Seneca's use here of a freedman is interesting; after all, he could just as well have made his point using a slave as the example. Yet, I think Seneca is incorporating the freedmen as both a trope to highlight the irony of a former slave, who in reality cannot ever be free of his slave origins, being freer than freeborn men, and as an individual, able to achieve virtue, regardless of his status. Seneca's words highlight that the quest for virtue is an individual one which needs to remove itself for the constraints of society to achieve its aim.

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<sup>241</sup> Sen. Ep. 44.1.5. *Si quid est aliud in philosophia boni, hoc est, quod stemma non inspicit*: "if there is anything good in philosophy, it is this, that it does not examine the family tree."

<sup>242</sup> Sen. Ep. 44.1.5-2.1 *Omnes, si ad originem primam revocantur, a dis sunt*: "All, if they are called back to their original source, are from the Gods."

<sup>243</sup> Sen. Ep. 44.1.1 *"Interim tu mihi te pusillum facis"* From time to time you belittle yourself to me.

<sup>244</sup> Sen. Ep. 44.2.2.

<sup>245</sup> Sen. Ep. 44.2.5.

<sup>246</sup> Sen. Ep. 44.2.6-7. *Bona mens omnibus patet, omnes ad hoc sumus nobiles*: "The good mind is open to all, we are all noble according to this."

<sup>247</sup> Sen. Ep. 44.6. *Putas, itaque te non equitem Romanum esse, sed libertinum; potes hoc consequi, ut solus sis liber inter ingenuos*: "Consider thus that you are not a Roman knight but a freedman; you could acquire this, so that you alone would be free among the freeborn."

In *Ep.* 47 Seneca focuses on the condition of slavery and how it affects all men, regardless of their social status. As in the *Ad Polybium*, the term for a freedman never appears in the letter,<sup>248</sup> but Callistus, one of Claudius' "inner circle", is used as an example of how a master and slave can become the mirror images of each other. This is useful for the historical background it gives into how one particular slave became a very powerful imperial freedman. Seneca's begins his story of Callistus by stating that the saying "*totidem hostes esse quot servos*"<sup>249</sup> is right for the times, as masters have turned their slaves into enemies.<sup>250</sup> Callistus' story is a demonstration of how easily the master can become the slave. Seneca relates how the former master of Callistus sent him off to be sold with the "*reicula*" slaves,<sup>251</sup> and his action resulted in Callistus becoming the freedman of Gaius, and subsequently Claudius. Callistus did not forget his former master's actions, and when he became a favorite of Gaius', he exacted revenge and cut his former master from the list of those deemed worthy of imperial favour. Their roles had been reversed, "*Dominus Callistum vendidit; sed domino quam multa Callistus*".<sup>252</sup> The moral of this story is not that a freedman with power will automatically abuse it, but rather that all men are equal, and it is just as possible for the master to see the freeborn man in the slave, as it is for the slave to see the slave in the master.<sup>253</sup> Callistus' behaviour is not on trial here as much as his former master's is. Still, his vengeful behaviour towards his former master does not portray Callistus as a virtuous man either.

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<sup>248</sup> Neither the terms *libertus* nor *libertini* appear in this letter, in any form.

<sup>249</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 47.5. "There are as many enemies as there are slaves."

<sup>250</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 47.5.

<sup>251</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 47.9. The Latin term "*reicula*" means worthless.

<sup>252</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 47.9. "The master sold Callistus, but how much Callistus has made from the master!"

<sup>253</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 47.10. *Vis tu cogitare istum, quem servum tuum vocas, ex isdem seminibus ortum eodem frui caelo, aequae spirare, aequae vivere, aequae mori! Tam tu illum videre ingenuum potes quam ille te servum:* "Understand that man you see, whom you call a slave, sprung from the same seed, enjoys the same sky, breathes lives and dies the same as you. So, just as you are able to see the freeborn in him, so he is able to see the slave in you."

Seneca's use, in his treatises, of the wealthy freedman with no understanding of virtue was a trope that his elite audience recognized and responded to. Yet, he also makes it clear that freedman, along with slaves, had the same capacity for virtue as any other human being, although he never provides examples of this in the way that he does for the boorish freedman. How then did he view the role of imperial freedmen in Roman society? He had been witness to the rise in power of the freedmen of Claudius' "inner circle" and, as *Ad Polybium* demonstrates, could both praise and condemn them. In this regard, Seneca, like Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio, was only concerned with freedmen who challenged the status of the elites, either through the powerful positions they held as imperial freedmen, or through their great wealth.

It is important to consider the two views of freedmen found in Seneca's treatises. He may say that he considers freedmen, or slaves, capable of virtue, but his examples of freedmen behaviour as a social class never demonstrate this. Since he only uses freedmen with wealth as exempla, it is obvious that he is not relaying the experiences of the majority of freedmen, imperial or otherwise. Still, the picture he paints of freedmen in the treatises allows a point of comparison for what is found in the epitaphs of the majority of imperial freedmen. Do the epitaphs reflect a tendency towards ostentatious displays or do they reflect a broader social spectrum than one alluded to by Seneca?

Historically, the influence of freedmen had always been feared in Roman society,<sup>254</sup> but under Claudius, they seemed to have flourished in economic life, with a select few gaining political influence, the likes of which had not been seen before.

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<sup>254</sup> Susan Treggiari, *Roman freedmen during the late Republic*, 38-40. In 304 BC, Appius Claudius' encouragement of the advancement of freedmen and their sons shows just how long the presence of freedmen and their role has been a concern in Roman society.

Seneca's essays not only show their growing wealth and influence, but also the upper class response to them. At the same time, his reflections on the importance of the individual<sup>255</sup> over that of any social group and the need for the individual to become his/her own role model for virtue provides a context, albeit an elite one, for considering how Claudius' freedmen represented themselves in their epitaphs.

From Seneca's treatises the discussion now turns to the only two extant Menippean satires, both written in the Claudian-Neronian period. The first is Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, which we have in its entirety,<sup>256</sup> and deals exclusively with Claudius and his imperial court. The other is Petronius' *Satyricon*, which as I mentioned, has provided us with the famous stereotype for the wealthy boorish freedman, Trimalchio. No imperial freedmen are represented in this work of fiction, but it does offer a vivid portrait of how another member of the elite classes viewed the everyday world of freedmen and the lower classes.

### ***The Satires***

The satire the *Apocolocyntosis* is generally, but not universally, accepted as the work of Seneca, and is dated to shortly after the death of Claudius.<sup>257</sup> The premise of the

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<sup>255</sup> Edwards, *Seneca*, 90. Edwards' comments that it was not until the first century AD that this focus on self-examination occurred. She considers this search for identity a response to the upheaval in social relationships in the empire at this time.

<sup>256</sup> Edward Courtney, *A Companion to Petronius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 21-22. Courtney explains that the use of "*prosimetrum*", a mixture of prose and verse, is the mark of Menippean satire. It was supposedly first used by Menippus of Gadara in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, then introduced into Rome by Varro and revived by Seneca in the *Apocolocyntosis*.

<sup>257</sup> Dio. 60.5.3. Dio specifically states that there was a work of Seneca's by this name and it is generally accepted that the work is Seneca's, but this is not universal. See n.11 for Momigliano's and Baldwin's views; Jocelyn Toynbee, "The Apocolocyntosis reconsidered" in *CQ.* 36, 3 (1942), 83-93. Toynbee does not doubt Seneca's authorship but she believes the work was not written just after Claudius' death but later because the references to Nero indicate a later stage of his reign; Edward Champlin "Nero, Apollo and the poets" in *Phoenix*, 57, 3 (2003), 276-283. Champlin disagrees with Toynbee's dating, arguing her evidence was based on interpolations in the text.

satire is the judgment of Claudius by the Gods, and its aim is to condemn Claudius' reign and present Nero as the dawn of a new era.<sup>258</sup>

Far from being mild, Claudius is presented as a murderer who killed with the same ease as he played dice.<sup>259</sup> Seneca outlines all of Claudius' shortcomings, both physical and moral, to present a damning picture of Claudius as a ruler. He describes him as one who drags his foot, has a head that shakes incessantly, slurs his speech, and is monstrous in appearance.<sup>260</sup> When Claudius demands that the goddess of fever be killed for her negative words,<sup>261</sup> Seneca notes that no one paid attention to him, so that "*putares omnes illius esse libertos: adeo illum nemo curabat*".<sup>262</sup> This is similar to an anecdote of Dio's, where people flocked to Claudius' freedmen instead of to him,<sup>263</sup> and it reinforces the idea that Claudius' freedmen were the true source of power and not Claudius. But it will be Claudius' murders of his family<sup>264</sup> and his penchant for hearing only one side of a trial<sup>265</sup> that will be used by Augustus, to dissuade the Gods from admitting Claudius into heaven.<sup>266</sup> He is sent, instead, to the underworld<sup>267</sup> and the first person he happens upon is his freedman Narcissus, who died shortly after Claudius.<sup>268</sup> Narcissus, while alerting

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<sup>258</sup> Sen. *Apocolocyntosis*, trans. W.H. Rouse (1969; repr., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 4. After the thread of Claudius' life has been snapped, a new life thread of gold is spun for Nero, who will lead Rome as a new era dawns.

<sup>259</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 10.12. *hic, p.c., qui vobis non posse videtur muscam excitare, tam facile homines occidebat, quam canis excidit*: "this man who to you does not seem to be able to irritate a gadfly, killed men as easily as the lowest roll of the dice falls out."

<sup>260</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 5.

<sup>261</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 6.

<sup>262</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 7. "You would think that all were his freedmen, by the way no one took heed of him".

<sup>263</sup> Dio. 60.2.7. Dio writes that when people received both an invitation from Claudius and his powerful freedmen, they accepted the invitation of his freedmen over Claudius.

<sup>264</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 10-11. To make clear how murderous Claudius could be, Seneca has Augustus list the names of all the family members Claudius had ordered killed.

<sup>265</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 10.

<sup>266</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 10-11.

<sup>267</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 11. The term "*inferos*" is used for the underworld.

<sup>268</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 13. The reference to Narcissus getting to hell before Claudius highlights that he arrived there first, even though he died after Claudius.

the Gods of the underworld to Claudius' arrival, encounters Cerberus, the 100-headed dog,<sup>269</sup> which Narcissus compares with his previous pet, an off white dog which he had been accustomed to keeping in luxuries.<sup>270</sup> This is considered to be a direct reference to Claudius<sup>271</sup> and it emphasizes Claudius' subservient relationship to Narcissus. The text then lists all those present in the underworld whose death Narcissus had caused, and reiterates all the deaths Claudius was responsible for.<sup>272</sup> Surrounded by all these souls, Claudius is tried for his crimes and ends up as the servile law clerk of a freedman.<sup>273</sup> Seneca is making it clear that Claudius' role in hell will reflect his role in life, that of a slave to a freedman.

The negative portrait Seneca paints of Claudius and his freedman Narcissus, in the *Apocolocyntosis* is quite different from the one he paints of Claudius and Polybius, in *Ad Polybium*, and is best explained by timing. At the time he wrote *Ad Polybium*, Claudius and Polybius were very much alive, however by the time of the *Apocolocyntosis* Claudius and Narcissus were dead, and Seneca was as powerful a member of the imperial court as any of Claudius' freedmen had ever been. Seneca's description here of Claudius and his freedmen, is consistent with that found in the accounts of Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio and it focuses on Narcissus, who was considered, alongside Pallas, the closest to Claudius.<sup>274</sup> Placing the blame for the excesses of Claudius' rule at the feet of Claudius and Narcissus allowed Seneca to present the dawning of a new era under Nero. This is

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<sup>269</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 13. Seneca makes a specific reference to this description being used by Horace. Warmington has provided the reference to the particular text, which is Hor. *Odes* 2.13.35.

<sup>270</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 13.

<sup>271</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* See note 6 on page 475 of the 1997 Loeb edition.

<sup>272</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 13.

<sup>273</sup> Sen. *Apocol.* 14.

<sup>274</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 28.

made clear by the imagery he uses of Nero as the new Apollo.<sup>275</sup> The emphasis on the culpability of Narcissus also deflects criticism away from Pallas, who is still highly influential within the court and protected by Agrippina. However, the message, which comes through quite clearly, is that Claudius' close association with and reliance on his freedmen was detrimental. Seneca never makes it clear how it was detrimental to anyone else other than the elite orders.

If Seneca's satire has concentrated on the dangers of allowing freedmen too much political power, then Petronius' *Satyricon* highlights how little real power freedmen had. It is the one text referenced in this thesis which uses freedmen as spokespersons for their own experiences, even though a member of the Roman elite is credited with writing it. Petronius, whom Tacitus describes as Nero's "arbiter of good taste",<sup>276</sup> is cited as the author, and the work is dated to the Neronian period.<sup>277</sup> It is a complex piece, which incorporates a number of literary models,<sup>278</sup> and takes the form of a rollicking adventure that centres on the escapades of three men. One of its most famous and complete passages is the dinner party or *Cena* of Trimalchio, which deals directly with the experiences of freedmen. The passage's main character is Trimalchio, an extremely

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<sup>275</sup> Sen. Apocol. 4. *talem iam Roma Neronem aspiciet. Flagrat nitidus fulgore remisso vultus, et adfuso cervix formosa capillo*: "now Rome beholds great Nero. His shining face blazes with reflected radiance and his locks fall round his shapely neck."

<sup>276</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 16.18; 499, Barrett in the notes to Book 16, comments that the title *Arbiter Elegentiae* should not be seen as an official title but a playful one and the identification of Petronius as the author of the *Satyricon* is largely based on this description.

<sup>277</sup> John Bodel, "Freedmen in the *Satyricon* of Petronius", 7-10. Bodel notes that evidence relating to trade, descriptions of coins and the naming of historical characters points to the work being from the Neronian period, along with Tacitus' description. Since Nero's reign succeeded Claudius', the portrait of freedmen life it draws is representative of both.

<sup>278</sup> Costas Panayotakis, "Petronius and the Literary Tradition" in *Petronius: A Handbook*. Eds. Jonathan Prag and Ian Redpath (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009), 48-64. Panayotakis gives a thorough breakdown of the literary models used in the work, ranging from Virgil and Horace to Seneca. He also provides a useful list of references for further reading.

wealthy freedman<sup>279</sup> who, as an *Augustales*, has reached the pinnacle of freedman success in the public life of the empire.<sup>280</sup> It is the description of Trimalchio's dinner party, as well as his elaborate plans for his own memorial, which has captured the interest of scholars, marking him as the paradigm for the behaviour of successful freedmen. But while the larger than life character of Trimalchio dominates the story, he is not the only freedmen represented. In fact, nearly all his guests are freedmen as well, although none are imperial freedmen,<sup>281</sup> and their characters give a broader view of the collective experiences of freedmen than the one presented by Trimalchio. But the one thing that they all share is the defining experience of slavery and belonging to the same social class, that of the *libertini*. It is how Petronius perceived their experience as *libertini*, which helps the modern reader understand the role freedmen played in the Claudian-Neronian period, and the elite response to that role.

Petronius' portrayal of Trimalchio highlights the intermingling of his servile origins and his wealthy lifestyle. His shaven head, a mark of a slave or newly freed man, is covered by a robe of scarlet, and inserted into the robe is a napkin, with a broad stripe and fringes, while one finger is adorned with an enormous gilt ring, and another with what appears to be a solid gold ring, but one that has iron stars set around it.<sup>282</sup> All these accoutrements, along with Trimalchio keeping his first beard trimmings in a gold casket

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<sup>279</sup> Petronius, *Satyricon*, trans. Michael Heseltine. (1969; repr., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997) 37.15-21. These lines provide a vivid description of Trimalchio's wealth.

<sup>280</sup> Petron. *Sat.* See page 49, note 2. The note gives a brief description of the role of an *Augustale*; *Sat.* 30. The inscription over the door to the dining room is the first reference in the text to Trimalchio's appointment as an *Augustales*; *Sat.* 71, Trimalchio's epitaph mentions his appointment to the *Augustales* and the opportunity to become an attendant to any magistrate in Rome, which he turned down. For an overview of the *Augustales* see *OCD*, 215.

<sup>281</sup> There is no reference to the imperial household in the *Cena* of Trimalchio.

<sup>282</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 32.5-6.



(just as Nero did)<sup>283</sup> have been interpreted as an attempt by a wealthy man of the lower orders to emulate the habits of the elites.<sup>284</sup> But if Petronius was only interested in using Trimalchio as a convenient trope to highlight the impossible gap between the elites and the lower classes, then he would not have bothered to include the experiences of Trimalchio's fellow freedmen. Trimalchio would have served the purpose. But how his fellow freedmen describe their lives, at least for this elite author, shows that they did not concern themselves very much with those outside their social milieu, including the elites.

The first glimpse into their lives comes after a discussion between Encolpius and another guest, Hermeros, concerning Trimalchio's vast wealth. The guest describes Trimalchio as a landowner, who has so many estates that he can produce anything he needs from them and therefore does not need to buy anything.<sup>285</sup> This confirms the extent of Trimalchio's wealth, but it also signifies his independence, because being a landowner and profiting from one's own estates is, as Cicero tells us, the mark of a free man.<sup>286</sup> So while Trimalchio cannot claim to be freeborn he can claim to be a *homo liber*.<sup>287</sup>

Trimalchio's *collibertus* Hermeros shows that the acquisition of wealth is a defining experience for the freedmen at the *Cena*.<sup>288</sup> In warning Encolpius not to be

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<sup>283</sup> Courtney, *A Companion to Petronius*, 79. Courtney does believe Petronius is presenting Trimalchio as a caricature of Nero, but one of a lower social order aping imperial behaviour.

<sup>284</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 32.3-5. Heseltine notes the incongruity of Trimalchio's hair cut with that of his clothes and jewellery; Courtney, *A Companion*, sees the description as Trimalchio's attempt to hint at but not actually claim the status of a senator.

<sup>285</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 38.1. *Nec est quod putes illum quicquam emere. Omnia domi nascuntur*: "Do not think that he buys anything. Everything is produced in the household."

<sup>286</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, trans. Walter Miller (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912, rep. 2001) 1.151. "*Omnium autem rerum ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agri cultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius*": "However, of all things by which something is acquired, there is nothing better than the cultivation of the land, nothing more fruitful, nothing sweeter, nothing more worthy of a free man."

<sup>287</sup> The term translates to "free man".

<sup>288</sup> The term translates to "co-freedman" and signifies that Trimalchio and Hermeros were freed by the same master and hence from the same *familia*.

contemptuous of Trimalchio's co-freedmen, who have also done very well for themselves,<sup>289</sup> he describes the wealth of each of them. One is described as worth 800,000 sesterces, being a man who grew from nothing,<sup>290</sup> while another showing the mark of his master's fingers, has just purchased his own home.<sup>291</sup> Another guest, however, one who lies in the freedman's dining place, and once had his million, has been done in by "*liberti scelerati*",<sup>292</sup> and now has debts to worry about.<sup>293</sup> The man himself is described as a decent fellow,<sup>294</sup> who makes his living as an undertaker.<sup>295</sup> Rather than publicize his bankruptcy,<sup>296</sup> he advertised a sale for items that he purportedly had no use for.<sup>297</sup> Yet another guest, Ganymede, complains about the drought, the price of food, and the fact that the magistrates are in league with the bakers.<sup>298</sup> This slice of freedman life showed that, in Petronius' mind, their social world was limited to the world of commerce, and their idea of success or failure rested on the acquisition of wealth.

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<sup>289</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 38.13. *Reliquos autem collibertos eius cave contemnas*: "Avoid scorning the rest of his co-freedmen however." Heseltine equates "*collibertos*" with friends who are also freedmen, but it technically means that they had the same Patronus; see *OLD*, 351.

<sup>290</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 38.15. *hodie sua octingenta possidet. De nihilo crevit*: "today he possesses 800,000. He grew from nothing."

<sup>291</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 38.20-23. Note 2 on page 69, of Heseltine's text, explains the mark as a reference to the master's slapping the hand of the slave upon the slave's manumission as a symbol of his former power over him.

<sup>292</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 38.28.

<sup>293</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 38.23. *Quid ille qui libertini loco iacet, quam bene se habuit... Sestertium suum vidit decies, sed male vacillavit. Non puto illum capillos liberos habere*: "that man, who lies in the freedmen's spot, held himself rather well...he appeared to have a million sesterces, but was badly shaken. I do not think that he has free hairs." Heseltine translates the reference to free hairs as "he cannot say his hair is free from mortgage". This is also the only time the term *libertini* is used, which means that it is the only time in the *Cena* that freedmen are referred to as a social class and not as individuals.

<sup>294</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 38.28.

<sup>295</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 38.32.

<sup>296</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 38.34. The Latin reads *Inclinatis quoque rebus suis* ("when his circumstances grew worse").

<sup>297</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 38.38.

<sup>298</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 44.3-7.

The elite do receive a passing mention in the *Cena*, when Ganymede complains that the upper orders are acting as though the festival of Saturnalia was endless.<sup>299</sup> Since the Saturnalia was celebrated with masters and slaves changing places, this remark could be a comment on the role the elite now played in the political life of Rome.<sup>300</sup> Especially so, when Ganymede immediately follows his comment with praise of a senator from earlier times, who is described as a man who stood up in the Senate house and spoke his mind.<sup>301</sup> This is a rare reference to both the elites and political life, since in general the freedmen of the *Satyricon* do not express much interest in political life.

Up to this point we have learned that the main concerns and activities of freedmen are limited to commerce. Now Hermeros, offended by Ascyltos'<sup>302</sup> sense of superiority,<sup>303</sup> shows that they have a certain pride in their status. He explained how he had voluntarily become a slave, because Roman citizenship was, in the end, worth more than being a tax-paying provincial.<sup>304</sup> He was a slave for 40 years,<sup>305</sup> but became a "*homo inter homines*",<sup>306</sup> owing nothing and never finding himself in the courts. He acquired some property and money, fed twenty bellies, bought both his and his

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<sup>299</sup> Petron, *Sat.* 44.8; *Cena Trimalchionis*, ed. Martin S. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 108. According to Smith this is a play on a proverb *non semper Saturnalia erunt* ("it won't always be Saturnalia"), which he says was used, by both Seneca and Lucian, to hint at a day of reckoning.

<sup>300</sup> Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome. Vol. 1: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 50.

<sup>301</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 44.13-18.

<sup>302</sup> Ascyltos is one of the three protagonists around who the adventures of the *Satyricon* are based. His status is never made clear.

<sup>303</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 57.3. Hermeros is described here as *unus ex conlibertis Trimalchionis* ("one of Trimalchio's co-freedmen"), and Ascyltos as a *latifuga nescio quis, nocturnes, qui non valet lotium suum* ("a fly by night, who is not worth his own piss").

<sup>304</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 57.17. *malui civis Romanus esse quam tributarius*: "I preferred to be a Roman citizen rather than one who pays tribute."

<sup>305</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 57.34.

<sup>306</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 57.19. "A man among men."

*contubernalis*' <sup>307</sup> freedom, and became an *Augustale*.<sup>308</sup> In short, he appears to be a more modest version of Trimalchio, but he is definitely not like Claudius' influential freedmen. His defence of freedmen delights Trimalchio, but Trimalchio then proves Ascylos' point when he takes the opportunity to show off his very poor understanding of Greek myth,<sup>309</sup> an episode designed to show Trimalchio's lack of erudition and reinforce the trope of the wealthy but boorish freedman.

The arrival of Habinnas, the maker of tombstones, ushers in the subject of death,<sup>310</sup> which prompts Trimalchio to give an elaborate description of how he wants his tomb built, decorated and inscribed. He is particularly concerned that his accomplishments be memorialized. These include his membership in the order of the *Augustales*,<sup>311</sup> his eligibility to belong to any of the clubs in Rome, his rising from nothing to amass a fortune of 30 million sesterces, and finally, his refusal to listen to a philosopher.<sup>312</sup> With these words Trimalchio has shown us the limits of his world, at least as it appears to Petronius. It is worth noting, at this point, that none of the epitaphs in this study ever refers to wealth, so Trimalchio's decision to include his wealth in his epitaph could not be considered typical.

The *Cena* of Trimalchio reveals the social world of the freedmen to be insular. No resentment is voiced at being denied the opportunity to enter the elite orders of the

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<sup>307</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 57.23. "*contubernalis*" literally means fellow tent dweller, and was a term for a spouse, although it did not always indicate the marriage was legal.

<sup>308</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 57.20-25; For a description of the role of the *Augustales* see H.H.Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome from 133 BC to AD 68* (London: Methuen & Co., 3<sup>rd</sup> edition 1959, rep. 1972), 240; Courtney, *A companion to Petronius*, 79 states that "nowhere else in Roman literature is there any mention of the *Augustales*, abundantly attested by inscriptions as a vital ingredient in small town life in Italy".

<sup>309</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 59.

<sup>310</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 65.13.

<sup>311</sup> H.H.Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, 240.

<sup>312</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 71.46-49.

Equites and the Senate. Nor is there any talk of children who may themselves aspire to this. Again, this is not reflected in the epitaphs of the imperial *familia*, where children are the second most common term of relationship found. But, for the freedmen of the *Cena*, ambition is directed to the one area where they are not limited: making money. In this regard they have done well, particularly so in the case of Trimalchio who finally became so wealthy that he retired and began financing other freedmen instead, while he pursued a life of leisure.<sup>313</sup> Yet, unlike Cicero or Seneca who equate leisure with the opportunity to pursue philosophy and therefore virtue, Trimalchio's life is one of utter tedium and endless banquets where he sits passively counting how much longer he has to live, while others work and entertain him.<sup>314</sup>

Petronius' characters recall the ones painted by Seneca in his treatises, who, though wealthy, show no capacity for moral growth, a traditional quality ascribed to an elite mind. But is the behaviour of the majority of elites in this period any different? If to be one of the elites is to be a vigorous part of public life and present oneself as a moral exemplum, then how do the equestrians and senators measure up themselves? Have they, like the freedmen in the *Satyricon*, become, under imperial rule, passive bystanders?

The satires of Seneca and Petronius present an interesting dichotomy. On the one hand, the *Apocolocyntosis* portrays the most powerful man in Rome as a passive puppet, who allowed freedmen, his social inferiors, to gain and exercise political power to the detriment of Roman society. On the other hand, the *Satyricon* presents freedmen as powerless actors, regardless of their wealth, trapped in the confines of their social class. Does either one present a realistic portrait of the majority of freedmen, imperial or

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<sup>313</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 76.25-26.

<sup>314</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 77.6-7. Trimalchio states that he has 30 years 4 months and 2 days to live.

otherwise, who lived, worked and died in the same empire as the members of the upper orders and powerful freedmen? There is no way of knowing from the texts because their authors, not being freedmen, only present an elite perspective. Seneca's satire is concerned with the unsuitability of freedmen in political life and the negative effect that had on the elites. Petronius' portrayal of freedmen life, consumed with commerce and the trappings of success, seems intent on showing their inability to see beyond their own world and engage in public life. However, what both the *Apocolocyntosis* and the *Satyricon* do make clear is that freedmen in both political and economic life were influential enough to be used by these elite authors as a reflection of the social tenor of their times.

The one unifying feature of the historical works, the treatises and satires is their general depiction of freedmen as a negative influence on public life. The historical works focus only on the few imperial freedmen whom Claudius promoted to levels of political influence, and their main concern is the impact those freedmen had on the elite classes. Seneca treats freedmen as a cliché to reinforce that their servile origins limited their ability to become truly virtuous and therefore truly elite. That he also presents them as equal members of the human race, and therefore equal in their ability to lead a life of virtue, seems just as cliché, since they are always presented as an abstract idea. Petronius, while giving colour and a real sense of character to the freedmen in the *Satyricon*, still follows the ancient historians and Seneca in only presenting an elite view of freedmen and slaves. This view paints them as confined to a world from which they really do not have the capacity to escape from.

However, while Suetonius, Tacitus, Dio, Seneca and Petronius may have concentrated on the reaction of the elite orders to the influence of freedmen, this is not all that they had to tell us about the influence of the *Familia Claudiana*. The information Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio, along with Pliny the Elder and Frontinus, provided on the public works undertaken by Claudius, and his transformation of his freedmen's household roles into a civil service that oversaw the administration of the empire, offered an explanation for the changes found in the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana*. Seneca and Petronius added to this picture by offering an elite perspective on the behaviour of freedmen in their society, and while they do not offer an unbiased view of freedmen and their world, they do show that the impact of both imperial and non-imperial freedmen was strong enough to garner an elite response. Statius,<sup>315</sup> in his praise of the father of Claudius Etruscus, provides another view, and presents an imperial freedman as a positive role model and also an example of an imperial career that survived 5 emperors. It is also important to remember that this elite response to the role of imperial freedmen only began after Claudius came to power, and must be considered as one response to what he set out to accomplish. The changes in the epitaphs of his *familia* can be considered the other response, and are the focus of the next chapter.

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<sup>315</sup> See n. 166.

### Chapter Three: The Statistical Analysis

As the previous chapters have revealed, the majority of modern scholars who dealt with the Emperor Claudius' reign, were content to follow the focus of the primary literary sources and concentrate on the lives of those few imperial freedmen who appeared in them. Consequently, the scholars provide little evidence for the social role of the majority of freedmen and slaves, imperial or otherwise. Other modern scholars who concentrated on the evidence from inscriptions and burial sites, have shown that imperial freedmen and slaves were more integrated into the community at large. As I have noted, however, their studies are very broad in scope and cover a much longer time period than mine. Therefore, it is only by concentrating on the epitaphs of the Julio-Claudian *familia* that the anomalies in the *Familia Claudiana* have come to light. Quantifying the differences between the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* in the demographic data, which includes the name, gender, status, occupation, age and the terms of relationship recorded, demonstrates that there is a shift in what the *Familia Claudiana* considered important to inscribe on their epitaphs. Their substantially greater number of epitaphs, the greater proportion of freedmen, and the greater use of terms to describe their personal relationships all point to a growing interest by the *Familia Claudiana* in establishing a record of themselves and their own families.

To show the areas where the anomalies occur, I break the *familia* into two categories: the *Familia Claudiana*, which includes only those who could possibly have been freedmen or slaves of Claudius, and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*



that includes all the remaining members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*.<sup>316</sup> This enables a comparison between two sizable groups. The possible reasons for the differences will not be discussed in this chapter, but will be covered in the following chapter, in conjunction with what modern scholarship and the primary sources have revealed about the effect of Claudius' reign on his *familia* and their place in Roman society.

Two main sources were utilized to compile a database of the epitaphs belonging to the freedmen and slaves of the Julio-Claudian *familia*: the on-line database of *Clauss/Slaby*,<sup>317</sup> and the epitaphs cited by Weaver.<sup>318</sup> After searching for all the freedmen and slaves, among the imperial Julio-Claudian epitaphs in *Clauss/Slaby*, I compared my findings with Weaver's list of epitaphs pertaining to the Julio-Claudian *familia*, and added any that my initial search had overlooked. In total, the database includes 738 people commemorated in 532 epitaphs.<sup>319</sup> In order to track any changes, which occurred through the reigns of the Julio-Claudian emperors, the 738 commemorated, and their dedicators, were grouped by the imperial family member whose name appeared on their epitaph.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>316</sup> I have also placed those who are definitely freedmen and slaves of Nero, and who account for only 2% (37/738) of those commemorated, into the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, so that the *Familia Claudiana* includes only those that could possibly be part of Claudius' *familia*. See Appendix I, Table 2, page 127, for the breakdown of the Commemorated.

<sup>317</sup> *Clauss/Slaby* is a searchable online database that houses facsimiles of all the inscriptions from the *CIL*, *AE* and other sources of epigraphic material. The database negated the need for time consuming manual searches, but since the inscriptions have been manually recorded, typing inconsistencies do occur e.g. a person with a female name being commemorated as a *maritus* instead of a *marita*. When I come across these inconsistencies I cross check them with the original epigraphic source wherever possible. I have not found this to be a major concern.

<sup>318</sup> Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 301-303. Weaver lists 267 epitaphs that he can definitely date to a particular Julio-Claudian emperor. The total of the epitaphs provided by Weaver is half of the number I have, but he does not include any that are ambiguous, such as those who could be either Claudius' or Nero's'.

<sup>319</sup> For the breakdown of the Commemorated and the Dedicators see Appendix I, Table 2, 127. For the breakdown of epitaphs see Appendix I, Table 1, 127.

<sup>320</sup> See pages 6-7 for the methodology for grouping the epitaphs.

The epitaphs also include freedmen who were known to be freed under one emperor, but went on to serve other emperors. This helps establish the possible lifespan of members of the *Familia Claudiana* and how long they served the imperial *familia*. Marcus Antonius Pallas or Antonia Caenis are examples of this, since they were both freed by Claudius' mother, Antonia Minor, but served under Claudius and Nero.<sup>321</sup> In Pallas' case, he died under Nero in AD 62, but must have been manumitted sometime before AD 37, when Antonia died. If he had been manumitted in adherence to the *Lex Aelia Sentia*,<sup>322</sup> he would have been no less than 30 when he was manumitted and therefore older than 55 when Nero ordered his death. In Caenis' case, she was manumitted sometime before AD 37 and died in AD 75, under the reign of Vespasian. For freedmen about whom the primary literary sources provide no information, Weaver posits that they can be estimated to have survived around 40 years after the death of an emperor if they were manumitted around the age of 30 (see n.323 on the *Lex Aelia Sentia*). In the case of a freedman of Claudius, this would mean that he/she would not have lived much past AD 94. Of course there are exceptions,<sup>323</sup> but these examples show that the changes, which occur within a particular emperor's *familia*, could have occurred from the beginning of the emperor's reign till 40 years after his death. They, at least, provides some chronological limits for the period when changes in the epitaphs occurred, and allows a time frame in which to consider who, or what, precipitated the changes.

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<sup>321</sup> For the time line of Pallas' life and the date he was freed (manumitted) see Oost, "The Career of M. Antonius Pallas" *The American Journal of Philology*, 79, 2 (1958), 114-115; For the dates of Antonia Minor's birth and death see *OCD*, 113; For Antonia Caenis' role in Antonia Minor's household, and the date of her death, see Mellor in *Flavian Rome*, 71.

<sup>322</sup> W.W. Buckland. *A Textbook of Roman Law: from Augustus to Justinian*. Revised by Peter Stein (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1963), 78-80. Buckland provides a good overview of the *Lex Aelia Sentia* as it related to freeing of slaves.

<sup>323</sup> Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 33-34. Weaver notes the exceptions, like Ti. Cl. Abascantus, who died at 45 years of age, and the father of Claudius Etruscus, who died in AD 92 at the age of 90.

In the majority of cases, the epitaphs were not found *in situ* which means it is not possible to know the physical context for the epitaph and whether it was connected to other epitaphs. For example, an epitaph commemorating a single person could have originally been part of a household tomb and was really commemorating that person as part of a family and not as an individual.<sup>324</sup> The exception is those epitaphs ascribed to the large imperial and aristocratic columbaria in Rome, which have been compiled together in a particular range of numbers in *CIL* 06.<sup>325</sup> These are important because, as the results for the Commemorated demonstrate, very few of the *Familia Claudiana* were found in them, and this shows a change in burial location. Therefore, the statistical results for those in columbaria will be reviewed in areas where they show a marked difference between the two *familia* groups. However, aside from those in columbaria, the epitaph itself must suffice in determining the information considered most important by those commemorated and their dedicators (the definition of these two groups is given below). For both groups, the information gathered includes the geographical location of the tomb (e.g. Rome), the name of the individuals, the grammatical case the name is written in,<sup>326</sup> the gender, the status of the individual (slave, free or freeborn), and their occupation. In addition, those who were commemorated may also have information about their age at death, length of marriage, and their relationship with whoever established the tomb. This information, once captured in the database, allows for an analysis of the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*.

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<sup>324</sup> The epitaphs of the family of Tiberius Claudius Secundus are a case in point. See pages 112 -113 for the discussion on this tomb.

<sup>325</sup> The number range for epitaphs in columbaria is *CIL* 06, 3926 through to *CIL* 06, 8210.

<sup>326</sup> This helps determine whether those named in the epitaph are the commemorated or the dedicators. If the name is in the nominative case, for example, then it is most likely the dedicator (e.g. Tiberius Claudius Abascantus); if it is in the dative case (e.g. Tiberio Claudio Abascanto), it means the epitaph is dedicated to that person.

The examination of the changes begins with the commemorated, and then continues with the dedicators, the general demographic factors (gender, age, occupation, status), and finally the terms of relationship. For each factor that I analyze, whether it is gender or status, I give the total number commemorated and the total number of dedicators, as well as the breakdowns by gender, status and terms of relationship for both the commemorated and the dedicators. Included in these breakdowns is the proportional representation of the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. I also show the proportional representation of each factor within the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. For example, the *Familia Claudiana* accounts for 54% (212/389) of the total number commemorated with a dedicator, but within the *Familia Claudiana* itself, the commemorated with a dedicator account for 80% (212/266).<sup>327</sup> This approach shows not only the influence of both groups of *familia* on a particular factor, but also the influence of the particular factor on each *familia*.

### ***The Commemorated***

The commemorated are those who are being honoured in the epitaphs. There can be, and frequently is, more than one person commemorated on the epitaph. The commemorated may be an imperial *liberti* or *servi*,<sup>328</sup> or a person commemorated by an imperial *liberti* or *servi*. Among the 738 commemorated, the *Familia Claudiana* represent 36% (266/738) and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* account for the remaining 64% (472/738), which means the *Familia Claudiana* has the highest

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<sup>327</sup> See Appendix I, Table 2, page 127, for the breakdown of the Commemorated, Dedicators and Self-commemorated.

<sup>328</sup> From here on I will use the Latin word for freedmen which is *liberti* and the Latin word for slaves which is *servi*.

percentage of commemorated among the Julio-Claudian *familia*. This is surprising since it would be expected that the longer the reign of an emperor, the greater the number of his *liberti* and *servi* would be found among the epitaphs. Yet the *familia* of Augustus, who reigned between 27 B.C. and A.D. 14, has less than half the number of the *Familia Claudiana*, as does the familia of Livia, whose position as the first lady of Rome spanned 27 BC to AD 29.<sup>329</sup>

The other important consideration, in relation to the high representation of the *Familia Claudiana* among the commemorated, is their low representation among columbaria epitaphs. The results show that 34% (252/738) of the commemorated are housed in columbaria,<sup>330</sup> while only 12% (30/252) of those commemorated there are from the *Familia Claudiana*: their gender breakdown is 27% (8/30) female and 73% (22/30) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* account for the remaining 88% (222/252) and their gender breakdown is 35% (77/222) female and 65% (145/222) male. This means that the proportional representation of the *Familia Claudiana* in columbaria is 24% lower than the 36% (266/738) representation they have in the total number of commemorated.<sup>331</sup> Among the *Familia Claudiana* itself, the percentage of those commemorated in columbaria is 11% (30/266), while for the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* it is 47% (222/472). These percentages demonstrate that very few of the *Familia Claudiana* were commemorated in columbaria, or very few of their epitaphs survived, certainly in comparison to the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*.

<sup>329</sup> For the chronology of Livia's life see *OCD*, 876.

<sup>330</sup> See Table 6, page 128 for the breakdown of the Commemorated in columbaria epitaphs.

<sup>331</sup> See Table 3, page 127, for the gender breakdown of the Commemorated.

Knowing how many people were commemorated on the epitaph is only one part of the puzzle. It is also necessary to know how many dedicators were actually named on the epitaph. A number of those commemorated had no dedicator, but the identification of a dedicator demonstrated that it was important for the person/s who established the epitaph to acknowledge the relationship between themselves and those commemorated. Comparing the number of dedicators in the two *familia* groups establishes whether the practice of naming a dedicator differed between the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. An increase of dedicators among the *Familia Claudiana* indicates a growing interest by them in publicizing relationships other than their ties to the imperial household.

### ***The dedicator***

The dedicator is the person, or persons, identified as providing the tomb for those commemorated. Again, the dedicator could be an imperial *liberti* or *servi*, or someone commemorating an imperial *liberti* or *servi*. A particular type of dedicator, who must be treated separately, is the self-commemorator. As Sigismund Nielsen points out, self-commemorators could be placed in both the group of commemorated and the group of dedicators,<sup>332</sup> but this would mean a duplication of the information for every self-commemorator. Therefore, I have chosen to count the self-commemorator as a dedicator, and since I can analyze them as a separate group, I am able to show how numerous they were in comparison to other dedicators. I can also track whether they dedicated to others besides themselves, which makes it possible, not only to see whether there was any

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<sup>332</sup> Sigismund-Nielsen, *URR*, 56.

difference in their numbers, among the Julio-Claudian *familia*, but also whether there was a difference in the relationships they commemorated.

There are 389 dedicators in this study, which means 53% (389/738) of those commemorated have a dedicator, and 26% (101/389) of the dedicators are self-commemorators.<sup>333</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* make up 54% (212/389) of the dedicators and 65% (66/101) of the self-commemorators. Within Claudius' own *familia*, 80% (212/266) of their commemorated have a dedicator, and 31% (66/212) are self-commemorators.<sup>334</sup> By comparison, the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up 46% (177/389) of the dedicators, while within their own *familia* 38% (177/472) have a dedicator, and 20% (36/177) of those are self-commemorators.

The story is somewhat different in the columbaria where 24% (92/389) of the dedicators are found.<sup>335</sup> The percentage of commemorated with a dedicator in columbaria is 37% (92/252). This is substantially lower than the average of 53% (389/738) for the total number commemorated with a dedicator. The gender breakdown is 16% (15/92) female and 84% (77/92) male. The percentage of the *Familia Claudiana* with dedicators in columbaria is 21% (19/92), with a gender breakdown of 26% (5/19) female and 74% (14/19) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* account for the remaining 79% (73/92) and has a gender breakdown of 14% (10/73) female and 86% (63/73) male. Within the *Familia Claudiana* itself, dedicators from columbaria account for 9% (19/212) of their dedicators, while among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* they make up 41% (73/177) of their dedicators. These results show that the other members of

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<sup>333</sup> See Appendix I, Table 2, page 127 for the breakdown of the Commemorated, Dedicators and Self-commemorators.

<sup>334</sup> Again see Table 2, page 127.

<sup>335</sup> See Appendix I, Table 7, page 129, for the breakdown of Dedicators in columbaria epitaphs.

the Julio-Claudian *familia* have a far greater number of dedicators from columbaria than the *Familia Claudiana*. The percentage of the *Familia Claudiana* dedicators from columbaria is 33% less than the 54% (212/389) share they have of the total number of dedicators. Correspondingly, dedicators from columbaria among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* show a 33% increase compared to the 46% (177/389) share they have in the total number of dedicators. The only area where the *Familia Claudiana* has a greater proportional presence than the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* is in female dedicators, but the numbers for both are low. Hence the most significant difference is the lack of *Familia Claudiana* dedicators in columbaria.

The statistical results for the dedicators demonstrate that, except for columbaria epitaphs, the commemorated of the *Familia Claudiana* have proportionally far more dedicators than the commemorated of the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. These differences reinforce the fact that the *Familia Claudiana* was not in columbaria. However, to understand the influence of this change, it is necessary to consider where anomalies occur in other factors, such as gender, age, status and the relationships recorded on the epitaphs. Gender is the first of these factors to be examined.

### ***Gender***

Tracking the gender, of both the commemorated and their dedicators, highlights any substantial differences in the gender ratios between the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. The gender breakdown for the commemorated is 34% (250/738) female, 65% (484/738) male, and 1% (4/738) uncertain.<sup>336</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* accounts for 36% (266/738) of the commemorated,

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<sup>336</sup> Appendix I, Table 3, page 127, show the gender breakdown of the Commemorated. These figures differ somewhat from Sigismund-Nielsen's figures in *URR*, 63. Her data sample, from *CIL* 06, shows the



with a gender breakdown of 30% (79/266) female, 69% (184/266) male, and 1% (3/266) unknown. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 64% (472/738), with a gender breakdown of 36% (171/472) female, 64% (300/472) male, and 0% (1/472) unknown. The gender breakdown is not significantly different in the columbaria either, with the *Familia Claudiana* having a gender breakdown of 27% (8/22) female and 73% (22/30) male, while the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* have a gender breakdown of 35% (77/222) female and 65% (145/222) male. Therefore, although there are slightly fewer females commemorated in the *Familia Claudiana*, the percentages do not reveal any significant differences in the gender of the commemorated between the two *familia* groups.

The gender breakdown for the dedicators is 29% (113/389) female and 71% (276/389) male.<sup>337</sup> It is almost the same for self-commemorators, with a breakdown of 30% (30/101) female and 70% (71/101) male. The *Familia Claudiana* accounts for 66% (212/389) of the dedicators, with a gender breakdown of 35% (75/212) female, and 65% (137/212) male, while among the self-commemorators they represent 65% (66/101) of the total, with a gender breakdown of 39% (26/66) female and 61% (40/66) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* makes up the remaining 34% (177/389), with a gender breakdown of 21% (38/177) female and 79% (139/177) male, and they account for 35% (36/101) of the self-commemorators, with a gender breakdown of 11% (4/36) female and 89% (32/36) male. Here, a difference between the percentage of female dedicators in the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*

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commemorated sex ratio to be 44% (1654/3773) females and 56% (2119/3773) males. Tables 4 and 5 on page 128, show the gender breakdown of the Dedicators and the Self-commemorators.

<sup>337</sup> See Appendix I, Table 4, page 128, for the gender breakdown of the Dedicators.

is evident. There is a 14% increase in the proportion of female dedicators in the *Familia Claudiana* compared to the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, and female self-commemorators come almost exclusively from the *Familia Claudiana*.<sup>338</sup>

The results from the gender analysis show that there is not a substantial difference between the two *familia* groups among the commemorated, but there is definitely a greater presence of female dedicators in the *Familia Claudiana*. Yet, a difference in gender among the commemorated does emerge when it is linked to status. Status also reveals more about the differences between the female dedicators of the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. However, before the results of status are reviewed, the analysis will examine another of the demographic factors: the age at death of the commemorated.

#### ***Age at Death of the Commemorated***

The total number of commemorated with an age at death is 20% (150/738); 35% (53/150) are female and 65% (97/150) are male.<sup>339</sup> This makes the gender breakdown for the commemorated with an age indicator consistent with the gender breakdown of the total number commemorated. The *Familia Claudiana* make up 42% (63/150) of the total, with a gender breakdown of 33% (21/63) female and 67% (42/63) male. The members of the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* account for the remaining 58% (87/150) of the total, with a gender breakdown of 37% (32/87) female

<sup>338</sup> Female Self-commemorators from the *Familia Claudiana* account for 87% (26/30) of all the female self-commemorators. See Table 5, page 128 for the gender breakdown of Self-commemorators.

<sup>339</sup> Table 18, page 135, has the breakdown for those Commemorated with an age of death. The 20% (150/738) for those with an age of death in this study is noticeably less than the 34% that Sigismund-Nielsen (*URR*, 119) gives for those with an age of death in *CIL* 06 as a whole. However, my result is the same as that found by Janette McWilliam in "Children Among the Dead: The influence of urban life on the commemoration of children on tombstone inscriptions" in *Childhood Class and Kin in the Roman World*, ed. Susan Dixon (London: Routledge, 2001), 75. McWilliam examined 13,587 inscriptions of both adults and children from the regions of Latium (includes Rome and Ostia), Apulia, Etruria and Aemilia. She found 20% (2,747/13,587) had an age of death.

and 63% (55/87) male. Within the *Familia Claudiana*, the percentage with an age of death indicator is 24% (63/266), while the percentage for the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* is 18% (87/472). Therefore, even though the *Familia Claudiana* has 6% more commemorated with an age of death, it is not significant enough to be considered a major difference, and not an influence on the change in their epitaphs. The next factor to be considered is the breakdown of status, which as I mentioned, does show gender differences between the status groups in the two *familia*.

### ***Status of those Commemorated and their Dedicators***

There are 5 status designations presented in this study: *incerti* (free as indicated by the *nomina*), *ingenui* (freeborn, as indicated by the use of the term *filia* or *filius*), *liberti* (freed), *servi* (slave), and “unknown” (the designation used when there is no status or filial indicator, and the name does not provide enough information to determine that the person is free). Since the study deals with the imperial *familia*, at least one person commemorated, or one dedicator, is either a *liberti* or a *servi*.

The commemorated *incerti* represent 17% (124/738) of the total commemorated, with 69% (85/124) female and 31% (39/124) male. The gender breakdown for the *incerti* is almost the polar opposite of the gender breakdown found in the total number of commemorated.<sup>340</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* accounts for 40% (50/124) of the commemorated *incerti*, with a gender breakdown of 72% (36/50) female and 28% (14/50) male. The commemorated *incerti* among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 60% (74/124), with a gender breakdown of 66% (49/74) female and 34% (25/74) male. These results indicate that commemorated females were

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<sup>340</sup> See Table 3, Page 127, for the gender breakdown of the Commemorated, and see Table 8, page 129, for the breakdown by status of the Commemorated.

much less likely to declare whether they were freeborn or freed, but this is true for both *familia* groups. Nor is there a major difference in the percentage of *incerti* found within the *familia* groups themselves. *Incerti* within Claudius' own *familia* account for 19% (50/266) of the commemorated, which is very similar to the 16% (74/472) found for the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. So while commemorated females are more likely to have *incerti* status, there is no significant difference between the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*.

The *incerti* dedicators represent 25% (96/389) of the total number of dedicators, with a gender breakdown of 60% (58/96) female and 40% (38/96) male. Here again there is a reversal of the gender breakdown found in the total number of dedicators.<sup>341</sup> The *incerti* dedicators of the *Familia Claudiana* account for 78% (75/96) of the total number of *incerti* dedicators, with a gender breakdown of 64% (48/75) female and 36% (27/75) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 22% (21/96), with a gender breakdown of 48% (10/21) female and 52% (11/21) male. So it is clear that the *Familia Claudiana* dominate the percentage of *incerti* dedicators. This is confirmed by the results found within the *Familia Claudiana* itself, where *incerti* dedicators make up 35% (75/212) of the dedicators, and female *incerti* account for 64% (48/75) of all the female dedicators.<sup>342</sup> Among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, the *incerti* dedicators make up 12% (21/177), with female *incerti* accounting for 26% (10/38) of their female dedicators. These findings show that the difference between the percentage of female *incerti* dedicators in the *Familia Claudiana* and the other

<sup>341</sup> See Table 4, page 128, for the gender breakdown of the Dedicators.

<sup>342</sup> The fact that there are 75 *incerti* dedicators, both male and female among the *Familia Claudiana*, as well as 75 female dedicators is a coincidence. Hence the percentage of *incerti* females among the female dedicators is not an error. Appendix I, Table 4, page 128, provides the gender breakdown for the Dedicators, and Table 10, page 130, provides the status breakdown of the Dedicators.

members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* is significant enough to warrant an investigation. It also shows that *incerti* status was one of the factors which influenced the difference found in the percentage of female dedicators between the two *familia* groups.

The commemorated *ingenui* (freeborn) represent 6% (41/738) of those commemorated, with a gender breakdown of 37% (15/41) female and 63% (26/41) male.<sup>343</sup> Their numbers are small but their gender breakdown is consistent with the gender breakdown for the total number of commemorated.<sup>344</sup> The commemorated *ingenui* of the *Familia Claudiana* account for 54% (22/41) of the total, with a gender breakdown of 50% (11/22) female and 50% (11/22) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 46% (19/41), with a gender breakdown of 21% (4/19) female and 79% (15/19) male. Within Claudius' own *familia*, *ingenui* represent 8% (22/266) of the commemorated, while among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* they account for 4% (19/472) of the commemorated. These small percentages indicate that commemorated *ingenui* are not a major influence.

The *ingenui* dedicators represent 5% (18/389) of the total number of dedicators, with a gender breakdown of 38% (7/18) female and 62% (11/18) male.<sup>345</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* make up 61% (11/18) of the total, with a gender breakdown of 45% (5/11) female and 55% (6/11) male number. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* account for the remaining 39% (7/18), with a gender breakdown of 29% (2/7) female and 71% (5/7) male. Within the *Familia Claudiana*, *ingenui* dedicators make up 5% (11/212) of their dedicators, while among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* they

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<sup>343</sup> See Appendix I, Table 8, page 129, for the breakdown by status of the Commemorated.

<sup>344</sup> Again see Appendix I, Table 8, page 129.

<sup>345</sup> See Appendix I, Table 10, page 130, for the breakdown by status of the Dedicators.

make up 4% (7/177). Here again, the numbers are small but consistent for both groups.

The *Familia Claudiana* does have a greater percentage of female *ingenui* dedicators than the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, but with such small numbers, it cannot be concluded that the difference had a real impact.

*Liberti* status accounts for 48% (356/738) of the total commemorated, with a gender breakdown of 27% (96/356) female and 73% (260/356) male.<sup>346</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* represent 42% (151/356) of the total, with a gender breakdown of 16% (24/151) female and 84% (127/151) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 58% (205/356), with a gender breakdown of 35 % (72/205) female and 65% (133/205) male. Here the difference between the two groups is substantial and shows the *Familia Claudiana* to have a significantly higher proportion of males. They also have a higher percentage of commemorated *liberti* among their own *familia*, where their *liberti* account for 57% (151/266) of the commemorated, with *liberti* males making up 69% (127/184) of the commemorated males.<sup>347</sup> Among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, those with *liberti* status account for 43% (205/472) of the commemorated, with *liberti* males making up 44% (133/300) of their commemorated males.<sup>348</sup>

*Liberti* commemorated in the columbaria are far less than in the overall total. They represent 28% (100/356) of the commemorated, and have a gender breakdown of 34% (34/100) female and 66% (66/100) male.<sup>349</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* accounts for only 13% (13/100) of this number, and has a gender breakdown of 8% (1/13) female and

<sup>346</sup> See Appendix I, Table 8, page 129, for the breakdown by status of the Commemorated.

<sup>347</sup> See Appendix I, Table 3, page 127, for the gender breakdown of the Commemorated.

<sup>348</sup> See Appendix I, Table 3, page 127, for the full gender breakdown of the Commemorated.

<sup>349</sup> Again see Table 9, page 130, for the breakdown by status of the Commemorated in columbaria epitaphs.

92% (12/13) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 87% (87/100) and have a gender breakdown of 38% (33/87) female and 62% (54/87) male. As was found in the results for *liberti* in general, the commemorated *liberti* females of the *Familia Claudiana* have a much lower representation than the commemorated *liberti* females of the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. What these results from the columbaria demonstrate is that the commemorated *liberti* from the *Familia Claudiana* are buried elsewhere.

The *liberti* dedicators represent 38% (149/389) of the total number of dedicators, with the gender breakdown of 19% (29/149) female and 81% (120/149) male.<sup>350</sup> Males are even more prevalent among *liberti* dedicators than they were among the commemorated *liberti*, which again demonstrates the trend for males to declare their *liberti* status much more than females. The *liberti* dedicators of the *Familia Claudiana* account for 57% (85/149) of that total, with a gender breakdown of 16% (14/85) female and 84% (71/85) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 43% (64/149), with a gender breakdown of 23% (15/64) female and 77% (49/64) male. Within the *Familia Claudiana*, *liberti* dedicators make up 40% (85/212) of all the dedicators, with male *liberti* accounting for 52% (71/137) of their male dedicators.<sup>351</sup> Among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, *liberti* dedicators account for 36% (64/177) of their dedicators, with male *liberti* making up 35% (49/139) of the male dedicators. The greater presence of male *liberti* dedicators in the *Familia Claudiana*, coupled with the greater presence of commemorated male *liberti*, proves that

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<sup>350</sup> See Appendix I, Table 10, page 130 for the status breakdown of the Dedicators.

<sup>351</sup> See Appendix I, Table 4, page 128, for the gender breakdown of the Dedicators.

there has been a significant increase of male *liberti* in the *Familia Claudiana* compared to the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*.

The commemorated *servi* make up 25% (185/738) of the total commemorated, with a gender breakdown of 19% (35/185) females and 81% (150/185) males.<sup>352</sup> The commemorated *servi* of the *Familia Claudiana*, represent 20% (36/185) of that total, while the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* account for 80% (149/185). The gender breakdown is close for both, with the *Familia Claudiana* having a breakdown of 14% (5/36) female and 86% (31/36) male, while the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* have a breakdown of 20% (30/149) female and 80% (119/149) male. However, there is a distinct difference between the percentage of commemorated *servi* found within the *Familia Claudiana* compared to the percentage found among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. Commemorated *servi* account for only 14% (36/266) of the total commemorated in the *Familia Claudiana*, while the commemorated *servi* of the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* account for 32% (149/472). The low percentage of *servi* from the *Familia Claudiana* also occurs in the columbaria. Those commemorated with *servi* status in the columbaria accounts for 55% (102/185) of the total commemorated *servi* and have a gender breakdown of 19% (19/102) female and 81% (83/102) male.<sup>353</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* make up 12% (12/102) of that number, and their gender breakdown is 17% (2/12) female and 83% (10/12) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* account for the remaining 88% (90/102) and have a gender breakdown of 19% (17/90) female and 81% (73/90) male. Therefore the gender

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<sup>352</sup> See Appendix I, Table 8, page 129, for the status breakdown of the Commemorated.

<sup>353</sup> See Appendix I, Table 9, page 130 for the status breakdown of the Commemorated in columbaria.



breakdown is consistent for both *familia* groups. Nonetheless, the lack of *servi* commemorated in the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana* is evident.

The *servi* dedicators represent 26% (100/389) of the total number of dedicators, with the gender breakdown of 10% (10/100) females and 90% (90/100) males.<sup>354</sup> The *servi* dedicators of the *Familia Claudiana* account for 27% (27/100) of the total, while the *servi* dedicators of the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up 73% (73/100). Given that the *Familia Claudiana* account for 54% (212/389) of the total number of dedicators, the proportion of *servi* dedicators from the *Familia Claudiana* is markedly smaller than would be expected. Within the *Familia Claudiana* itself, *servi* dedicators account for only 13% (27/212) of their dedicators, while among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* they account for 41% (73/177). Gender is not a factor in this difference, as the breakdown for the *servi* dedicators of the *Familia Claudiana* is 7% (2/27) female and 93% (25/27) male, while for the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* it is 11% (8/73) female and 89% (65/73) male. Yet, the low proportion of *servi* dedicators in the *Familia Claudiana*, along with the results for the commemorated *servi*, show the *Familia Claudiana* to have significantly far fewer slaves in their epitaphs than the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*.

The final status group is those with “unknown” status. Those commemorated with unknown status represent 4% (32/738) of the total number of commemorated, with 60% (19/32) females, 28% (9/32) males, and 12% (4/32) whose gender is uncertain.<sup>355</sup> The numbers are indeed small, but they show a dominance of commemorated females

<sup>354</sup> See Appendix I, Table 10, page 130, for the status breakdown of the Dedicators.

<sup>355</sup> See Appendix I, Table 8, page 129, for the status breakdown of the Commemorated, and Table 3, page 127, for the gender breakdown of the Commemorated.

and a reversal of the gender ratio found in the total number commemorated, which was also a trend found in the *incerti* status groups. The *Familia Claudiana* accounts for 22% (7/32) of those with unknown status, with a gender breakdown of 43% (3/7) female, 14% (1/7) male and 43% (3/7) with gender unknown. The commemorated of the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 78% (25/32), and their gender breakdown is 64% (16/25) females, 32% (8/25) males and 4% (1/25) whose gender is unknown. The gender difference between the two *familia* groups points to there being more females of unknown status among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. Still, the representation of those with unknown status is so small within the groups — they account for 3% (7/266) of the *Familia Claudiana* and 5% (25/472) of the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* — that it cannot be seen as a significant influence on any change found in the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana*.

The dedicators with “unknown” status are, like the commemorated with unknown status, small in number. They represent 7% (26/389) of the total number of dedicators, with a gender breakdown of 37% (9/26) female and 63% (17/26) male.<sup>356</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* make up 54% (14/26) of the total, with a gender breakdown of 43% (6/14) female and 57% (8/14) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 46% (12/26), with a gender breakdown of 25% (3/12) female and 75% (9/12) male. There is a consistency in the proportional representation within the two *familia* groups. Dedicators of unknown status account for 7% (14/212) of the dedicators in the *Familia Claudiana*, and 7% (12/177) of the dedicators among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. There is, however, a difference in the gender breakdown

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<sup>356</sup> See Appendix I, Table 10, page 130, for the status breakdown of the Dedicators.

between the two groups, with the *Familia Claudiana*, once again, having more female dedicators with “unknown” status. So, although the sample size is not significant enough to influence any change found in the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana*, it does confirm the greater presence of female dedicators.

The most significant differences revealed in the analysis of the status groups are the large proportion of commemorated male *liberti*, the small proportion of *servi* and the greater presence of female dedicators in the *Familia Claudiana*. The remaining factors now to be reviewed are occupation and the terms of relationship.

### ***The Occupations of the Imperial Julio-Claudian Familia***

The occupation of the person commemorated indicated the role they played in both the imperial household and Roman society.<sup>357</sup> The percentage of people commemorated with an occupation is 29% (217/738).<sup>358</sup> There are 146 different occupations, with 121 occurring only once among those commemorated. Females account for 13% (29/217) of those commemorated with an occupation, and males make up the remaining 87% (188/217). The *Familia Claudiana* represents 32% (69/217) of this number, with a gender breakdown of 4% (3/69) female and 96% (66/69) male. The other

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<sup>357</sup> Joshel, *Work, Identity and Legal Status*, 60. Joshel believes that because a *libertus/a*, imperial or otherwise, was denied the opportunity to run for public office, or gain admittance into the equestrian or senatorial classes, he or she used their occupation to shift the attention from their slave origins to their occupational accomplishments; Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 227-281. In the pages cited, Weaver gives a breakdown of the occupations of the members of the imperial *familia*, starting from the non-professional, who served as purely domestic staff and whose chances of promotion were small, and ending with the senior clerical grades and procurators who held the highest rank among the occupations of the imperial *familia*. Weaver's study shows very clearly how the levels of prestige, power and monetary rewards differed from the lowest to the highest.

<sup>358</sup> See Appendix I, Table 19, page 138, for a breakdown of the occupations of the Commemorated and Table 21, page 145 for the breakdown of the number of occupations for the Commemorated. See Table 20, page 143, for a breakdown of the occupations of the Dedicators and Table 22, page 145, for the breakdown of the number of occupations for the Dedicators.

members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* account for the remaining 68% (148/217), with a gender breakdown of 18% (26/148) female and 82% (122/148) male. Within the *Familia Claudiana* itself, the percentage of commemorated with an occupation is 26% (69/266), while for the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* it is 31% (148/472). These figures show the *Familia Claudiana* to record their occupations slightly less often than the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, but not dramatically so. The greatest difference lies in the percentage of females commemorated with an occupation. Even though their numbers are low in both *familia* groups, there are noticeably fewer in the *Familia Claudiana*, which indicates that the *Familia Claudiana* was less concerned with the occupational role females played in the imperial household.

The numbers for the dedicators with an occupation tells a similar story, with 26% (102/389) recording their occupation. There are 81 listed occupations with 68 occurring only once. There is only 1 (1/102) female dedicator with an occupation, a slave *sacinatrix* (dressmaker) of *Livia*.<sup>359</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* accounts for 35% (36/102) of the dedicators with an occupation, while the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 65% (66/102). Considering the *Familia Claudiana* represents 54% (212/389) of the total number of dedicators, it is surprising that they do not make up a greater portion of the dedicators with an occupation.<sup>360</sup> Within the *Familia Claudiana* itself, the percentage of dedicators with an occupation is 17% (36/212), while for the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* it is 37% (66/177). This demonstrates

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<sup>359</sup> CIL 06, 4209 *Damalis Liviae / sarcinatrix dat / Alexandro / viro suo ollam*: “Damalis, dressmaker of Livia, gave an ollam to her man Alexander.”

<sup>360</sup> See Appendix I, Table 4, page 128, for the breakdown of the Dedicators.

the dedicators of the *Familia Claudiana* to be considerably less concerned with recording their occupations.

### ***Terms of Relationship***

A term of relationship describes the relationship that was considered the most important to commemorate, both for the person being commemorated and for the dedicator. This could include familial terms such as *coniunx*, *pater*, *filia* and *frater* but also terms such as *alumnus*, *vicarius*, *verna* and *patronus*.

The percentage of those commemorated with a term of relationship is 44% (324/738), with a gender breakdown of 44% (143/324) female, 55% (177/324) male and 1% (4/319) whose gender is uncertain.<sup>361</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* represents 51% (165/324) of the total, with a gender breakdown of 34% (57/165) female, 64% (105/165) male and 2% (3/165) uncertain. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* account for the remaining 49% (159/324), with a gender breakdown of 54% (86/159) female, 45% (72/159) male, and 1% (1/159) uncertain. These figures demonstrate the *Familia Claudiana* to have a greater than expected share of those commemorated with a term of relationship, which means they were more concerned with publicizing their relationships.<sup>362</sup> The numbers for the *Familia Claudiana* show that those commemorated with a term of relationship account for 62% (165/266) of their commemorated. The

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<sup>361</sup> See Appendix I, Table 11, page 131, for the breakdown by gender of the Commemorated with a term of relationship.

<sup>362</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* account for 36% (266/738) of the total commemorated, thus for them to have 51% (165/324) of the total commemorated with a term of relationship shows a higher than expected result. See Appendix I, Table 14, page 132 for the breakdown of the terms of relationship for the Commemorated.

percent of females of the *Familia Claudiana* commemorated with a term of relationship is 71% (57/79). The percentage of males commemorated in the *Familia Claudiana* with a term of relationship is 57% (105/184).<sup>363</sup> In comparison, the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* have 34% (159/472) commemorated with a term of relationship. The percent of females from the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* commemorated with a term of relationship is 50% (86/171). The percent of males among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* commemorated with a term of relationship is 24% (72/300). These figures show the commemorated females and males in the *Familia Claudiana* to have a significantly higher percentage with a term of relationship than the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. The commemorated females, of both *familia* groups, have a higher percentage with a term of relationship than the commemorated males, but the difference is greater between the commemorated males. So while it can be said that females are much more likely to be commemorated with a term of relationship than males, the gap between the commemorated females and males is substantially smaller in the *Familia Claudiana*.

The most common term of relationship for the commemorated is spousal. It represents 36% (116/324) of the terms, with a gender breakdown of 62% (72/116) female and 38% (44/116) male.<sup>364</sup> The commemorated of the *Familia Claudiana* account for 58% (67/116) of the spousal terms, with a gender breakdown of 49% (33/67) female, and 51% (34/67) male. The commemorated among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 42% (49/116) of the spousal terms, with a gender breakdown of 80% (39/49) female and 20% (10/49) male. This highlights the small

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<sup>363</sup> To compare the numbers, see Table 3, page 127, and Table 11, page 131.

<sup>364</sup> See Table 14, page 132, for the breakdown of the terms of relationship for the Commemorated.

gender gap found in the *Familia Claudiana* and large one found in the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. Within the *Familia Claudiana*, spousal terms account for 41% (67/165) of the terms, while among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* they account for 31% (49/159), which is not a dramatic difference.<sup>365</sup> There is a substantial difference, though, between the two *familia* groups, in the proportion of males who are spouses. The male spouses within the *Familia Claudiana* account for 32% (34/105) of the male terms of relationship, while among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* they account for 14% (10/72).<sup>366</sup> By comparison, female spouses account for 58% (33/57) of the female terms in the *Familia Claudiana*, and 45% (39/86) of the female terms among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*.<sup>367</sup> So, while female and male spouses make up a higher percentage of the terms of relationship in the *Familia Claudiana* than they do among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, the difference between the males of the two *familia* groups is even greater. The next most common terms are filial, making up 24% (78/324) of the total. Daughters account for 33% (26/78) and sons 67% (52/78) of that total.<sup>368</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* makes up 50% (39/78), with a gender breakdown of 33% (13/39) female and 67% (26/39) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* have exactly the same representation, so there is no difference in the proportion of children commemorated.

The percentage of dedicators with a term of relationship is 64% (250/389), with a gender breakdown of 33% (83/250) female and 67% (167/250) male. The *Familia*

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<sup>365</sup> Again see Table 14. Adding the numbers for the female and male spouses of the *Familia Claudiana* together, then subtracting them from the total number of female and male spouses, gives the totals for the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*.

<sup>366</sup> See Appendix I, Table 11, page 131 for the breakdown by gender of the Commemorated with a term of relationship.

<sup>367</sup> Again see Table 11, page 131.

<sup>368</sup> Again see Appendix I, Table 11, page 131.

*Claudiana* represents 57% (143/250) of that number, with a gender breakdown of 43% (61/143) female and 57% (82/143) male.<sup>369</sup> The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 43% (107/250), with a gender breakdown of 21% (22/107) female and 79% (85/107) male. Within the *Familia Claudiana* itself, 67% (143/212) of the dedicators have a term of relationship, while among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* 60% (107/177) do. The breakdowns for both groups of *familia* are close, but the *Familia Claudiana* has a significantly higher percentage of female dedicators with a term of relationship. Another factor, which must be considered, is the percentage of self-commemorators who have a term of relationship. They represent 33% (82/250) of dedicators with a term of relationship, and their gender breakdown is 34% (28/82) female and 66% (54/82) male. The *Familia Claudiana* account for 68% (56/82) of that number, and has a gender breakdown of 43% (24/56) female and 57% (32/56) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up the remaining 32% (26/82), with a gender breakdown of 15% (4/26) female and 85% (22/26) male. Again, the *Familia Claudiana* has a significantly higher percentage of female self-commemorators with a term of relationship, just as it has with all the female dedicators.<sup>370</sup>

Not surprisingly, just as spousal was the most common term of relationship for the commemorated, it is also the most common term for the dedicators. It accounts for 42% (106/250) of the total, with a gender breakdown of 46% (49/106) female and 54%

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<sup>369</sup> See Appendix I, Table 12, page 131, for the breakdown by gender of the Dedicators with a term of relationship.

<sup>370</sup> See Appendix I, Table 13, page 132, for the breakdown by gender of the Self-commemorators with a term of relationship.



(57/106) male.<sup>371</sup> Self-commemorators make up 45% (48/106) of the total, with a gender breakdown of 37% (18/48) female and 63% (30/48) male. Non self-commemorators account for the remaining 55% (58/106), with a gender breakdown of 53% (31/58) female and 47% (27/58) male. Here, the gender breakdown shows female non self-commemorators to outnumber the male non self-commemorators, while for the self-commemorators it is the opposite. The *Familia Claudiana* accounts for 64% (68/106) of the spousal dedicators and has a gender breakdown of 56% (38/68) female and 44% (30/68) male. They also make up 62% (30/48) of the spousal self-commemorators, with a gender breakdown of 50% (15/30) female and 50% (15/30) male. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* make up 36% (38/106) of the spousal dedicators, with a gender breakdown of 29% (11/38) female and 71% (27/38) male. Their share of the spousal self-commemorators comes to 38% (18/48), with a gender breakdown of 17% (3/18) female and 83% (15/18) male. Thus, the results from both *familia* groups demonstrate that there is a substantially higher proportion of female spousal dedicators, both non self-commemorators and self-commemorators, in the *Familia Claudiana*. The next most common term is paternal, with fathers accounting for 10% (24/250) of the dedicator terms of relationship.<sup>372</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* accounts for 58% (14/24) of the fathers and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* account for 42% (10/24). After paternal dedicators come *vicarii* (slave helpers) who accounts for 8% (21/250) of the

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<sup>371</sup> The total combines the numbers for both non Self-commemorators and Self-commemorators. The non Self-commemorators account for 55% (58/106) of the spousal terms, and the Self-commemorators account for 45% (48/106). See Table 15, page 133, for the breakdown of the terms of relationship for the Dedicators, where the numbers for non-spousal Self-commemorators are, then see Table 16, page 133, for the breakdown of the terms of relationship for the Self-commemorators. This is somewhat complicated but it is necessary to show the influence of Self-commemorators on the terms of relationship.

<sup>372</sup> Of the 24 fathers, 11 are Self-commemorators. See Appendix I, Tables 15, page 133 and 16, page 133, for the breakdown of fathers in the terms of relationship for both Dedicators and Self-commemorators.

terms, but this is an anomaly caused by three epitaphs.<sup>373</sup> Following the *vicarii* are sons, who account for 6% (17/250) of the terms, with the *Familia Claudiana* accounting for 41% (7/17) and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* making up the remaining 59% (10/17). The results show paternal dedicators to be more common in the *Familia Claudiana*, and dedicating sons to be more common among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, but their percentages are far less than the spousal dedicators, which is where the major differences lie.

The final point to consider is the epithets associated with these terms of relationship. Epithets were used to characterize the commemorated, and were quite often formulaic.<sup>374</sup> Those commemorated with an epithet represent 21% (157/738) of the all those commemorated.<sup>375</sup> The *Familia Claudiana* accounts for 80% (126/157) of that total, with the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* making up the remaining 20% (31/157). The most common epithet was *bene merens*, which represents 37% (58/157) of the epithets, and was a term that characterized relationships based on obligation.<sup>376</sup> The next most common is *carissimus/a*, which accounts for 17% (26/157) of the epithets. These were the two most common epithets found on epitaphs.<sup>377</sup> However, the fact that the *Familia Claudiana* began using them more extensively supports the idea that commemorating their personal relationships was becoming more important to them.

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<sup>373</sup> The three epitaphs are *CIL* 5197, from the *Monumentum Erudatum* columbarium in Rome, where 16 *vicarii* are commemorating their master, a dispensator for Tiberius; *CIL* 33788, from Rome, where a *vicarius* is commemorating a slave of Tiberius; *InscrAqu-01*, 00474 from *Aquileia*, where 4 *vicarii* are commemorating a slave of Claudius.

<sup>374</sup> Sigismund-Nielsen, *URR*, 83-87. See Sigismund-Nielsen's overview of the use of epithets on funerary epitaphs.

<sup>375</sup> See Table 17, page 134, for the breakdown of the Epithets used for the Commemorated.

<sup>376</sup> Sigismund-Nielsen, *URR*, 93-94. Sigismund-Nielsen found that *bene merens* was used commonly in patronage relationships but also frequently with spousal relationships as well. Its use indicated that the patron or spouse had done what was expected of them in the relationship and deserved recognition for that.

<sup>377</sup> See Sigismund-Nielsen, *URR*, 91 for a discussion on the use of *bene merens*, and 94 for the use of *carissimus/a*.

The statistics for the analysis of the terms of relationship all point to the *Familia Claudiana* showing a proportional increase in commemorated males, and female dedicators. The increase is largely due to a proportional increase in female spouses commemorating male spouses. This is the reversal of the trend found among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, where more male dedicators were commemorating their spouses.

The review of the terms of relationship brings the statistical analysis to a close. Moreover, it provides the opportunity to summarize the major differences found between the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. The differences begin with the greater number of epitaphs belonging to the *Familia Claudiana* compared to the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. As I noted in the analysis of those commemorated, this is surprising given the combined length of Claudius and Nero's reigns, which was far shorter than Augustus' reign and not much longer than Tiberius'. It would therefore appear that after Claudius became emperor the number of epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana* increased substantially. In association with having the majority of the commemorated, the *Familia Claudiana* had proportionally far more dedicators, than the commemorated among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. There was also a significant increase in the percentage of female dedicators in the *Familia Claudiana*, the majority of whom had *incerti* status. This coincided with a substantially higher percentage of commemorated male *liberti* and a much lower percentage of commemorated *servi* in the *Familia Claudiana* compared to the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. The *Familia Claudiana* were also less concerned with recording their occupations and much more concerned with recording a

term of relationship, for both commemorated females and males. This was even more pronounced for commemorated males, where the gender gap for those with a term of relationship was much smaller than was found among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. The terms of relationship most responsible for this situation were spousal terms and the increase in females dedicating to spouses. This is the reversal of the trend found among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, where more male dedicators were commemorating their spouses.

However, the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana* were not being created in columbaria. The absence of the *Familia Claudiana* from columbaria, despite an increase in their epitaphs, indicates a shift away from the imperial household into the wider community. This appears to be marked by a greater emphasis on their familial relationships and a greater desire to demonstrate the establishment of their own families through memorialization. In the next chapter, the expansion of the *Familia Claudiana*, along with their greater number of *liberti* males and female dedicators, will be examined in relation to the interpretations of modern scholars and information provided by the primary sources. Select epitaphs, which demonstrate the anomalies found in the *Familia Claudiana*, will also be used to bring personal perspectives to the statistical findings. Combining all this information will allow a consideration of the possible reasons why Claudius' actions could have precipitated the changes found in the *Familia Claudiana* and why that caused them to focus more on their familial relationships.

## Chapter Four: The Social Realities of the *Familia Claudiana*

Neither the modern scholars nor the ancient sources were concerned with the increase in the size of the *Familia Claudiana* and what that meant.<sup>378</sup> Yet, they do provide the information that explains why this may have occurred. The size and cost of the initiatives undertaken by Claudius, whether it was the harbour at Ostia or the aqueducts, have all been attested to by the ancient authors.<sup>379</sup> The scope of these projects alone would certainly require an administrative system that was geared to cope with much large public undertakings than the daily running of a household, no matter how large. The emphasis Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio place on the power of the offices held by Claudius' "inner circle" demonstrates that this was an aspect of Claudius' rule that set it apart from the reign of previous emperors.<sup>380</sup> This was not because the roles of the "inner circle" were an innovation, but because it was the first time these roles were openly accorded a great deal of political and administrative power. The ability to actually carry this off and find the money to do so was noted by Mommsen, Rostovtzeff and Momigliano as proof that Claudius had centralized the administration of the empire using members of his *familia* and had done so successfully.<sup>381</sup> The occupations recorded by the *Familia Claudiana* on their epitaphs also demonstrate that an emphasis was placed on administration, for while they do not record their occupations much more frequently than

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<sup>378</sup> See pages 82-84 for the results of the numbers Commemorated in each *familia*.

<sup>379</sup> See pages 48-49 on the numbers associated with these projects.

<sup>380</sup> See pages 44-46 for Claudius and the freedmen of his inner circle.

<sup>381</sup> See Mommsen page 13, Rostovtzeff page 15 and Momigliano page 18.

the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*,<sup>382</sup> they do record more administrative roles.<sup>383</sup>

Yet, while the evidence for the expansion of the *Familia Claudiana* is credible, it does not necessarily follow that this alone caused the increase in the number of epitaphs produced by the *Familia Claudiana*. However, the view, presented by Mouritsen,<sup>384</sup> that epitaphs were a way for freedmen to commemorate their legitimacy as citizens and hence the legitimacy of their families, does seem a reasonable explanation for not only the proliferation of epitaphs, but also the larger number of commemorated males, female dedicators and terms of relationship. The lack of *Familia Claudiana* commemorated in the columbaria indicates that they were buried elsewhere, and that their social world had perhaps moved beyond the imperial household and into the community. Once there, to expand on Joshel's argument, they carried out their work for the emperor, no longer attached to the imperial household itself, but in the community where they lived and where they were also buried.<sup>385</sup>

The desire to record the establishment of their own households may also be the reason significantly more dedicators are found in the epitaphs of the *Familia Claudiana*. The naming of a dedicator immediately established that there was a relationship between the person commemorated and the dedicator, and the *Familia Claudiana* did this with far

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<sup>382</sup> See pages 97-99 for the statistical analysis of occupations. The total number recorded by the *Familia Claudiana* was 26% (69/266), while for the other members of the Julio-Claudian familia it was 31% (148/472).

<sup>383</sup> Lily Ross Taylor, "Freedmen and Freeborn in the epitaphs of imperial Rome" *AJP* 82 (1961): 122. In n. 25 Taylor refers to the steady increase, from the Claudii to the Aurelii, of the use of *Augusti libertus* (which occurs after the cognomen, often followed by an official title, such as, "*a rationibus*"), as a title, rather than a status designation. Her numbers of Julii 2; Claudii 9; Flavii 17 are small but the increase is there; See also Appendix I, Table 19, page 138, which has the occupations of the Commemorated and shows the *Familia Claudiana* to have more clerical positions recorded.

<sup>384</sup> See pages 30-32 for the arguments by Mouritsen, which expand on the observation made by Taylor.

<sup>385</sup> See pages 26-27 for Joshel's argument.

more frequency than the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*,<sup>386</sup> except of course in columbaria.<sup>387</sup> The rise in the number of dedicators was accompanied by a surge in the number of terms of relationship in the *Familia Claudiana*,<sup>388</sup> and the statistical results have revealed that the most common relationship recorded for the *Familia Claudiana* was spousal.<sup>389</sup> It was also the most common among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, but not to the same extent, thus, while there was no substantial difference in the type of relationships commemorated by the *Familia Claudiana*, there was a greater frequency in the practice of doing so. Along with the greater use of a term of relationship, the *Familia Claudiana* dramatically increased their use of an epithet to emphasize the nature of the relationship between the commemorated and the dedicator.<sup>390</sup> The most plausible explanation for this, is again, that these epitaphs were in places where they were visible to other members of the community, just like the necropolis at Isola Sacra described by Petersen, and their use conveyed to the community a sense of the relationship between the dedicator and the commemorated.<sup>391</sup>

The swell in spousal dedications was also marked by a change in the gender of the dedicator, as more women in the *Familia Claudiana* were creating these epitaphs to

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<sup>386</sup> See pages 84-85 for the breakdown of the statistical results for Dedicators. 80% (212/266) of the commemorated in the *Familia Claudiana* have a dedicator, and 31% (66/212) are self-commemorators. Among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, 38% (177/472) have a dedicator and 20% (36/177) of those are self-commemorators.

<sup>387</sup> See pages 85-86 for the number of Dedicators in columbaria.

<sup>388</sup> See pages 98-100 for the statistical analysis of the terms of relationship. The Commemorated of the *Familia Claudiana* with a term of relationship account for 62% (165/266) of their commemorated: females account for 71% (57/79) of the commemorated females, males account for 57% (105/184) of the commemorated males, and the other 3 with a term of relationship are of unknown gender. The other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia* have 34% (159/472) commemorated with a term of relationship: 50% (86/171) of their commemorated females having a term of relationship, 24% (72/300) of their males, and 1 of unknown gender.

<sup>389</sup> See pages 100-102 for the statistical analysis of the use spousal terms.

<sup>390</sup> See pages 103-104 for the statistical breakdown of the epithets. The breakdown shows that 47% (126/266) of the commemorated in the *Familia Claudiana* had an epithet compared to 7% (31/472) in the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*.

<sup>391</sup> Again see pages 103-104 for a discussion about the use of epithets.

commemorate their spousal relationships and perhaps the legitimacy of those relationships.<sup>392</sup> This also explains the greater number of male *liberti* commemorated in the *Familia Claudiana* and the greater number of female dedicators. It is also evident that these increases were not due to the *servi* of the *Familia Claudiana*, who had a much smaller presence in the *Familia Claudiana* than among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*.<sup>393</sup> What these results indicate is a greater desire by the *Familia Claudiana* to record the legitimacy of their spousal relationships and that more women were responsible for setting up a tomb for their families. The following epitaphs provide examples of the type of dedications by women that were more prolific in the *Familia Claudiana* and bring a personal aspect to the statistical results.

*CIL* 06, 8411

*Dis Manibus / Ti(beri) Claudi / Aug(usti) l(iberti) Abascanti / a rationibus / vix(it) ann(os) XLV / Claudia Epicharis / uxor coniugi / bene merenti f(ecit)*

To the immortal shades of Tiberius Claudius Abascantus, freedman of Augustus, from the office of imperial accounts. He lived 45 years. Claudia Epicharis, his wife, made the tomb for her well deserving spouse

In *CIL* 06, 8411, Claudia Epicharis is both publicizing her husband's role in the imperial administration and their marital relationship. Only Abascantus is commemorated, but since the provenance of the tomb is unknown there is no way of determining if his was once part of a family tomb like Secundus' (see below), or an individual tomb.<sup>394</sup> Epicharis has the same nomen as her husband, and may well be his freedwoman, but like many females from the *Familia Claudiana* she does not provide a

<sup>392</sup> See pages 100-102 for the statistical results for spousal terms of relationship

<sup>393</sup> See pages 93-95 for the statistical results for *servi* status.

<sup>394</sup> *CIL* 06, 8411. Mommsen remarks that epitaph is from a fragment of a sarcophagus.



status indicator and is therefore of *incerti* status.<sup>395</sup> The inclusion of an occupation in Abascantus' epitaph is no more common in the *Familia Claudiana* than among the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*, but the clerical nature of his occupation is. The office of fiscal accounting became very powerful under Claudius; being a part of it may well have been prestigious and something his widow wished to publicize.

*CIL* 06, 14913

*Ti(berio) Claudio Aug(usti) lib(erto) Alessandro(!) / et Pinniae Septimae / Claudia Successa et Claudia Olimpias / parentibus pientissimis fecerunt et sibi libertis / libertabus posterisq(ue) eorum*

To Tiberius Claudius Alexander, freedman of Augustus, and to Pinnia Septima. Claudia Successa and Claudia Olympia made this tomb for their most pious parents and for themselves, their freedmen and freedwomen and their offspring

In *CIL* 06, 14913,<sup>396</sup> Claudia Successa and Claudia Olympia are commemorating their parents. Since they hold the same *nomen* as their father, it can be assumed that their father had been freed before they were born, which makes them freeborn or *ingenui*. While it seems obvious that Pinnia Septima is the mother of Successa and Claudia, it cannot be categorically stated that she is Alexander's wife, as there is no term of relationship given, although it is quite likely that she is. Nor is it possible to know if she is freeborn or freed as there is no status indicator. She, therefore, like the majority of females, has *incerti* status.<sup>397</sup> The use of the epithet "*pientissimus*" reinforces the familial ties emphasized in the epitaph, as it occurs almost exclusively with blood kin and denotes

<sup>395</sup> For the percentage of *incerti* females in the *Familia Claudiana* see pages 89-90 in the statistical results.

<sup>396</sup> *CIL* 06, 14913. Mommsen describes the epitaph as written on a marble tablet, but there is no information about its original setting.

<sup>397</sup> The majority of both the Commemorated females and female Dedicators were of *incerti* status. See the statistical results for *incerti* status on pages 89-90.

that the commemorated had done their duty.<sup>398</sup> Yet, the epitaph is not only commemorating the dutiful parents, and the fact that their daughters have themselves been dutiful in providing a tomb for their parents. It is also publicizing the freeborn status of the daughters and the fact that this *libertus* has *liberti* of his own, who have a right to use the tomb along with their offspring. The emphasis is on memorializing the family name and the establishment of their household, which also marks the legitimacy of the members of the household as Roman citizens.

The same emphasis on family is seen in the final four epitaphs, which offer a rare glimpse of epitaphs in their original locations. The epitaphs come from two tombs, in two very different settings, and can be considered to be at the opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of their elaborateness. Both tombs were established when Secundus and Eumenes were alive. The pre-recorded names of their children and spouses announced the legitimacy of the family and their potential to rise further in the Roman social world. It is obvious that neither Secundus nor Eumenes were ashamed of their former slave status, but, like the two other epitaphs discussed, were concerned with commemorating their relationships and showing that their families were Roman citizens.

CIL 06, 1859

*[Ti(berius) Claudius A]ug(usti) lib(ertus) Secundus / [Philippianus] / [coactor] ar[gentarius(?)] / [3 acce]nsus [velatus] / scriba librar(ius) viat[or 3] / Flaviae Irene uxori op[timae et] / Ti(berio) Claudio Secundin[o filio et] / Claudiae Secundina[e filiae // ] / A[3] / V[ // ] / C[3] / EE[ // ] VI[ // ] OR[ // ] AV[*

Tiberius Claudius Secundus Philippianus, freedman of Augustus, collections officer, magistrate's agent, records clerk. To Flavia Irene, the best wife, and to Tiberius Secundinus, his son, and Claudia Secundina, his daughter...

CIL 06, 1860

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<sup>398</sup> Sigismund-Nielsen, *URR*, 83. Sigismund-Nielsen's analysis of *CIL* 06 found that the epithet *pientissimus/piissimus* was used predominantly between blood kin.

*Ti(berio) Claudio / Aug(usti) lib(erto) / Secundo / Philippiano / coactori /  
Flavia Irene / marito / indulgentissimo*

To Tiberius Claudius Secundus Philippianus, freedman of Augustus and financial agent. Flavia Irene to her most indulgent husband

*CIL 06, 1605*

*Ti(berio) Claudio / Ti(beri) filio Pal(atina) / Secundino / an(nos) nat(o) IX  
m(enses) IX / d(ies) XII equo pub(lico) / f(ilio) dulcissimo / Flavia Irene /  
mater*

To Tiberius Claudius Secundinus, son of Tiberius, from the Palatine tribe who lived 9 years, 9 months, and 18 days, a member of the equestrian order. Flavia Irene, his mother, did this for the sweetest son.

The three epitaphs, which appear above are all on the reconstructed tomb of Secundus that is visible today on the Via Appia in Rome. It is a monument to Secundus' success as an imperial freedman and the social mobility of his family. Perhaps Seneca would see Secundus, with his impressive tomb and cataloguing of his imperial roles, as the well off freedman with pretensions, while Petronius could claim him as a parvenu, like a Trimalchio. Scramuzza would disagree and see in Secundus one of the able bodied *familia* to whom Claudius could turn to carry out his initiatives. Mouritsen would also see the inclusion of Secundus' son in the equestrian order as further evidence of the opportunities and social mobility available to freedmen. But what did Secundus and his wife hope to achieve with their tomb? It would seem they hoped to show their family's social success, just as Mouritsen has suggested. They certainly seem proud of Secundus' roles in the imperial administration, and while Secundus is not attested to in the primary literary texts, he appears to have had a measure of success. His career path, while perhaps not as illustrious, seems no different than that of the father of Claudius Etruscus, whose service for the emperor is so praised by Statius.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>399</sup> See Weaver's commentary on page 35.

The epitaphs on Secundus' tomb offer as snapshot of his life: his achievements, his relationship with his wife and children, and the death of his son are all memorialized. In *CIL* 06, 1859, Secundus is both publicizing his achievements in the imperial administration and dedicating the tomb to his wife and children. He may well have others listed but the epitaph is fragmentary. His listing of his imperial posts is consistent with the practice of the *Familia Claudiana*, in that if they did provide their occupation, it was more likely to be an administrative one. The recording of the terms of relationship for Secundus' family (*uxor*, *filius* and *filia*) is also consistent with what the majority of the *Familia Claudiana* did, which marks one of the substantial differences between the *Familia Claudiana* and the other members of the Julio-Claudian *familia*. As does the use of an epithet (*optima*), which, as I have already mentioned, is a practice almost exclusively found in the *Familia Claudiana*. In the second epitaph, *CIL* 06 1860, Secundus' wife Flavia is now dedicating to him and illustrating one of the traits found much more commonly in the *Familia Claudiana*: a female dedicator commemorating her spouse. Along with repeating his imperial role, Flavia uses an epithet to describe her husband as indulgent. The epithets used by Secundus and Flavia for each other, on their two epitaphs, reinforce the bond between them. Secundus is a most indulgent husband and Flavia is the best wife.<sup>400</sup> The third epitaph, *CIL* 06 1605, commemorates Secundus' son Secundinus, yet does not name Secundus as a dedicator, perhaps because he is dead. His wife and Secundinus' mother, Flavia Irene, is the sole dedicator, and the epitaph makes a point of publicizing Secundinus' membership into the equestrian class, which

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<sup>400</sup> Alison Jeppesen-Wigelsworth "The Portrayal of Roman Wives in Literature and Inscriptions" PhD. Diss. University of Calgary, 2010, 332. Jeppesen's statistical results found that *uxor* was a term used when the tomb was in a public place and the husband had a higher status; Her statistical graphs show a correlation for the use of the epithet *optima* with the term *uxor*.

allowed him the opportunity to enter into the political life in Rome. This was not an opportunity afforded to Secundus. So it is poignant that even in the son's death, at less than 10 years of age, his mother publicizes his membership in the equestrian order, marking the family's rise in social status. This is the only epitaph in the database where this occurs. As a matter of fact, the terms and epithets used on Secundus' tomb are quite uncommon and are there to highlight that Secundus was a man of reasonably higher social standing. Nonetheless, even though Secundus' tomb was not typical of the *Familia Claudiana*, his epitaphs do show that his desire to publicize his own household was typical.

*IPOstie-A, 00060 = ISIS 00050 Ostia Antica*  
*Diis(!) Manibus / Ti(berius) Claudius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Eumenes / sibi et*  
*Claudiaae Phoebe et / Fadiaae Tethidi f(iliabus) et Claudio / Phoebos f(ilio) et*  
*Iuliae Heuresi / coniugi posterisque eius*

To the immortal shades. Tiberius Claudius Eumenes, freedman of Augustus, [made this tomb] for himself and Claudia Phoebe and Fadia Tethis his daughters, and Claudius Phoebus his son, and Julia Heures his spouse, and his offspring.

If Secundus' tomb was intended to publicize the successful career of an imperial freedman and the ascension of his family into the elite orders, then the tomb of Eumenes can be said to have less lofty ambitions. It is a simple house tomb, and certainly not as lavish as Secundus' tomb. Nor is there anything to suggest, in either the appearance of the tomb or Eumenes' epitaph, that he would earn Seneca's scorn, as being a parvenu like Calvisius.<sup>401</sup> Eumenes' tomb, in fact, is modest and has nothing in common with Trimalchio's tomb, so he, at least, contradicts the image found in Seneca and Petronius.

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<sup>401</sup> See page 60-61 for Seneca's remarks on Calvisius; See also the description of Trimalchio's tomb on page 74.

Eumenes' tomb is one of a number of house tombs in the necropolis at Isola Sacra which, as Petersen has shown, was a snapshot of the community it served, a community Eumenes was part of.<sup>402</sup> Eumenes publicizes his status as an imperial freedman but, like the majority of *Familia Claudiana*, he does not elaborate on the role he performed for the imperial household. Rather, he emphasizes his familial relationships, which reveal that while his daughter Phoebe and son Phoebus are freeborn, his daughter Fadia is not, as she does not have his *nomen*. Unless Eumenes adopted Fadia, the most likely explanation is that she was born while he was still a slave. This could mean her mother was a freedwoman and Fadia took her name, or Fadia herself was a slave freed by the Fadii family. It is also not possible to know if Julia Heures was the mother of Eumenes' children, but her inclusion at the end of the epitaph suggests that she may not have been. Hence, while the relationships recorded on the tomb are all blood relations, it seems that Eumenes' children do not all have the same mother, as one appears to be a half-sister, and the wife Eumenes' commemorates may not even be the mother of any of his children. The epitaph is an important contrast to the other epitaphs that have been discussed, as it shows the diversity of relationships that can occur in one family group. Regardless, they are still a family, as the epitaph makes clear in its place over the doorway of the entrance to the tomb which, as Petersen notes, is conceived as a house.<sup>403</sup> Being members of a household is what Eumenes' epitaph shares in common with the epitaphs of Abascantus', the sisters Successa and Olympia, and the family of Secundus. They all commemorate their legitimacy and their citizenship in Roman society.

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<sup>402</sup> See Petersen's remarks on the tomb on page 26.

<sup>403</sup> Petersen, *The Freedmen in Roman Art and Art History*, 199.

## Conclusion

Claudius' policy of centralizing the administration of the empire and undertaking major public works increased his reliance on his *familia*. The expansion of the *familia* itself and the increase in the scope of their responsibilities did not merely give them better day jobs; it actually turned their focus outward into the community. Once there, as agents of the imperial administration under Claudius, they changed its face from a domestic to a civil service. Through his *familia* he both broadened and consolidated the influence of the imperial court in the running of the empire. However, in changing the face of the imperial administration, the *Familia Claudiana* also experienced a change in their perception of their place in Roman society. The epitaphs they left behind reflect this change in the emphasis that they placed on their own familial relationships. It is this common thread, which distinguished them from the remainder of the Julio-Claudian *familia*.

Modern scholars who have dealt with Claudius and his *familia* did not see the role of his entire *familia* as important in the understanding of his influence. They were understandably limited to what the ancient authors themselves deemed relevant to their analysis of Claudius as an emperor. These authors, all members of the elite classes, did not concern themselves with recording the changing social world of the imperial *familia* under Claudius, but rather with the changing world of their own class. Their emphasis on those few freedmen of Claudius' "inner circle" who attained incredible wealth and power was a reaction to what they felt their class had lost. Thus scholars like Mommsen, Rostovtzeff, Momigliano and Scramuzza have assessed the role of the imperial *familia* in relation to the effect it had on the elite orders, but not how that role may have affected the

*familia* itself. Still, as noted in chapter two, the ancient authors are indispensable in the ancillary evidence they provide on Claudius' public works, and on the growing importance of the imperial *familia* under Claudius. This influence is seen in the portraits offered by Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dio of the freedmen of Claudius' "inner circle", and those given by Seneca on Polybius, as well as in Statius' and Martial's praise of the father of Claudius Etruscus. Even though their opinions are subjective, they have provided the evidence for the power the imperial freedmen enjoyed under Claudius. Petronius, too, supplies evidence for the role of freedmen in Rome's social world, at this time, in his depiction of not only Trimalchio but the daily lives of his fellow freedmen and their slaves. Seneca's treatises, as well, show that the social world of his time was in flux and both the elite and lower classes were grappling with the change. Without these ancient sources it would be impossible to understand the underlying causes behind Claudius' actions and the impact they had on his *familia*.

The ability to understand the increased fluidity of the social world of Rome, and the opportunities for social advancement by the lower classes under Claudius, was enhanced by the improved access to the wealth of inscriptional evidence. Work in this area has allowed scholarship to go beyond the world of the elites and see how the majority of non-elites represented themselves. The studies in community necropolises, by scholars like Petersen and Mourtsen, have shown that the imperial *familia* were as much a part of the community of non-elites as those with no connection to the imperial household. The presence of the *Familia Claudiana* in these necropolises, and their absence from the columbaria, has helped explain their privileging of their own families over their connection to the imperial household.



The combined interpretations by modern scholars of the ancient authors, along with the inscriptions and material remains, have been able to supply a more complete picture of the *Familia Claudiana* and why their familial relationships became far more prominent in their epitaphs. As they took up these expanded roles in the community and spread the influence of the imperial household, they themselves began to achieve a separate identity through the development of their own households, and they recorded that identity on their epitaphs. Far from the closed world of Petronius' Trimalchio, these men and women were an integral part of their community whose epitaphs not only memorialize their place with their community but also publicize what they hoped their families might yet achieve as Roman citizens.

The story of the *Familia Claudiana* is only one small part of the record left behind by members of the imperial *familia*. Still, the changes found in their epitaphs are perhaps a beginning that can be built upon. A continued examination of the epitaphs of the *Familia Caesaris* after the Julio-Claudians would demonstrate whether these changes were a phenomenon of the Claudian-Neronian period, or whether they ushered in systemic change that saw those of the imperial *familia* involved in the administration of the empire as a publicly recognized civil service and no longer an extension of the emperor's household.

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## Appendix I

**Table 1. The Breakdown of Epitaphs from All regions and from Rome**

	Number from all regions	%	Number from Rome	% from Rome	% of Family member from Rome
Augustus	54	10	43	9	78
Livia	82	15	82	18	100
Antonia minor	17	3	17	4	100
Tiberius	78	15	73	16	94
Gaius	15	3	14	3	93
Claudius	219	41	175	38	80
Nero	27	5	21	4	77
Remaining	40	8	40	8	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>532</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>

**Table 2. The Breakdown of the Commemorated, Dedicators and Self-Commemorators**

	Commemorated	Dedicators	Self-commemorators among the Dedicators
Augustus	111	29	12
Livia	125	36	4
Antonia minor	22	6	0
Tiberius	102	65	13
Gaius	22	9	0
Claudius	266	212	66
Nero	37	18	1
Remaining	53	14	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>738</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>101</b>

**Table 3. The Gender Breakdown of the Commemorated**

	Female	Male	Uncertain	Total
Augustus	42	68	1	111
Livia	54	71	0	125
Antonia minor	8	14	0	22
Tiberius	23	79	0	102
Gaius	9	13	0	22
Claudius	79	184	3	266
Nero	11	26	0	37
Remaining	24	29	0	53
<b>Total</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>484</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>738</b>

**Table 4. The Gender Breakdown of the Dedicators**

	Female	Male	Total
Augustus	4	25	29
Livia	9	27	36
Antonia minor	2	4	6
Tiberius	16	49	65
Gaius	3	6	9
Claudius	75	137	212
Nero	2	16	18
Remaining	2	12	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>389</b>

**Table 5. The Gender Breakdown of the Self-Commemorators**

	Female	Male	Total
Augustus	1	11	12
Livia	0	4	4
Antonia minor	0	0	0
Tiberius	2	11	13
Gaius	0	0	0
Claudius	26	40	66
Nero	0	1	1
Remaining	1	4	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>101</b>

**Table 6. The Breakdown of the Commemorated in Columbaria Epitaphs**

	Female	Male	Total
Augustus	8	23	31
Livia	38	50	88
Antonia minor	7	8	15
Tiberius	9	37	46
Gaius	3	6	9
Claudius	8	22	30
Nero	0	3	3
Remaining	12	18	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>252</b>

**Table 7. The Breakdown of Dedicators in Columbaria Epitaphs**

	Dedicators			Self-Commemorators		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
Augustus	1	4	5			
Livia	5	23	28		3	3
Antonia minor	2	4	6			
Tiberius	2	24	26		2	2
Gaius		2	2	1		1
Claudius	5	14	19			
Nero		1	1			
Remaining		5	5		2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>

**Table 8. The Breakdown by Status of the Commemorated**

	Female						Male						
	Incerti	Ingenui	Liberti	Servi	Uncertain	Female Total	Incerti	Ingenui	Liberti	Servi	Uncertain	Male Total	
Augustus	15	3	18	1	5	42	8	7	45	3	5	69	111
Livia	8	0	31	12	3	54	5	2	40	21	3	71	125
Antonia minor	0	0	5	2	1	8	0	0	1	13	0	14	22
Tiberius	13	0	5	4	1	23	6	5	28	40	0	79	102
Gaius	4	0	0	5	0	9	2	0	2	9	0	13	22
Claudius	36	11	24	5	3	79	14	11	127	31	4	187	266
Nero	3	1	3	2	2	11	2	1	8	15	0	26	37
Remaining	6	0	10	4	4	24	2		9	18		29	53
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>488</b>	<b>738</b>

**Table 9. The Breakdown by Status of the Commemorated in Columbaria Epitaphs**

	Female						Male					
	Incerti	Ingenui	Liberti	Servi	Uncertain	Total Female	Incerti	Ingenui	Liberti	Servi	Uncertain	Total Male
Augustus	4		3	1		8	6	1	15	1		23
Livia	7		19	9	3	38	2	2	27	18	1	50
Antonia minor			5	1	1	7				8		8
Tiberius	6		1	2		9	5		5	27		37
Gaius	1			2		3			1	5		6
Claudius	3	2	1	2		8			12	10		22
Nero						0				3		3
Remaining	5		5	2		12	1		6	11		18
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>167</b>

**Table 10. The Breakdown by Status of the Dedicators**

	Incerti		Ingenui		Liberti		Servi		Uncertain		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Augustus	1	3	0	4	3	13	0	2	0	3	29
Livia	1	0	1	0	5	15	1	11	1	1	36
Antonia Minor	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	6
Tiberius	7	2	1	1	4	18	3	25	1	3	65
Gaius	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	6	0	0	9
Claudius	48	27	5	6	14	71	2	25	6	8	212
Nero	1	5	0	0	0	1	1	10	0	0	18
Remaining	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	8	1	2	14
<b>Gender Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>389</b>
<b>Status Total</b>		<b>96</b>		<b>18</b>		<b>149</b>		<b>100</b>		<b>26</b>	<b>389</b>

**Table 11. The Breakdown by Gender of the Commemorated with a Term of Relationship**

	Female	Male	Uncertain	Total
Augustus	25	18	1	44
Livia	19	15		34
Antonia Minor	5	3		8
Tiberius	12	23		35
Gaius	5	3		8
Claudius	57	105	3	165
Nero	10	7		17
Remaining	10	3		13
<b>Total</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>324</b>

**Table 12. The Breakdown by Gender of the Dedicators with a Term of Relationship (including self-commemorators)**

	Female	Male	Total
Augustus	1	15	16
Livia	2	11	13
Antonia Minor	2	0	2
Tiberius	12	37	49
Gaius	2	2	4
Claudius	61	82	143
Nero	1	12	13
Remaining	2	8	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>250</b>

**Table 13. The Breakdown by Gender of Self-Commemorators with a Term of Relationship**

	Female	Male	Total
Augustus	1	9	10
Livia	0	2	2
Antonia Minor	0	0	0
Tiberius	2	7	9
Gaius	0	0	0
Claudius	24	32	56
Nero	0	1	1
Remaining	1	3	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>82</b>

**Table 14. The Breakdown of the Terms of Relationship for the Commemorated**

	Spouse Female	Spouse Male	Son	Daughter	Mother	Brother	Father	Patronus	Verna	Other Terms	Total
Augustus	11	2	8	7	3	2	3	0	0	8	44
Livia	8	2	3	1	4	4	1	1	2	8	34
Antonia Minor	2	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	8
Tiberius	5	2	8	1	2	1	2	2	3	9	35
Gaius	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	8
Claudius	33	34	26	13	1	6	7	10	3	32	165
Nero	7	2	4	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	17
Remaining	5	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>324</b>

**Table 15. The Breakdown of the Terms of Relationships for the Dedicators**

	Spouse Female	Spouse Male	Vicarius	Son	Father	Brother	Mother	Female Self Commemorator	Male Self Commemorator	Other Terms	Total
Augustus		1		2	2			1	9	1	16
Livia	1	5	0	2	1	1			2	1	13
Antonia Minor										2	2
Tiberius	6	1	16	4	2	2	0	2	7	9	49
Gaius	1				2		1				4
Claudius	23	15	5	5	6	3	5	24	32	25	143
Nero		3				2	1	0	1	6	13
Remaining		2		1				1	3	3	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>250</b>

**Table 16. Breakdown of Terms of Relationship for Self-Commemorators**

	Spouse Female	Spouse Male	Father	Mother	Daughter	Son	Other Terms	Total
Augustus	1	6				1	2	10
Livia		2						2
Antonia Minor								0
Tiberius	1	3	3	1			1	9
Gaius								0
Claudius	15	15	8	3	4	2	9	56
Nero		1						1
Remaining	1	3						4
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>82</b>

**Table 17. The Breakdown of the Epithets used for the Commemorated**

	<i>Bene Merens</i> Female	<i>Bene Merens</i> Male	<i>Carissima</i>	<i>Carissimus</i>	<i>Pissima</i>	<i>Pissimus</i>	Other Epithets	Total
Augustus	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Livia	0	0	1	0	0		2	3
Antonia Minor	1	0	0	0	0		1	2
Tiberius	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	5
Gaius	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Claudius	13	36	8	9	6	7	47	126
Nero	2	1	1	2	0	0	4	10
Remaining	1	2	2	1	0	1	0	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>157</b>



**Table 18. The Age of Death Breakdown of the Commemorated**

Age In Years	Augustus		Livia		Antonia Minor		Tiberius		Gaius		Claudius		Nero		Remaining		Total	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
1	1							1				1					1	2
2								1			1						1	1
4								1								1		2
5				1				1	1		1	2					2	4
7	1										1	2					2	2
8								1				1						2
9				1														1
10											1	1					1	1
11												1		1				2
12																1		1
16											1	1			1		2	1
17		1			1									1			1	2
18								1			1	1			1		2	2
19		2									1	2					1	4
20	1		1		1	1	1	1			1	1		2	2		7	5
22	1						1		1		1					1	4	1
23												1	1	1			1	2

Age In Years	Augustus		Livia		Antonia Minor		Tiberius		Gaius		Claudius		Nero		Remaining		Total	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
24		1														1		2
25			1				1	2		1	4	2		2	1		7	7
26											1							1
27											2	1		1			2	2
28	1										1	2					2	2
29			1														1	
30	1						1	1		2		3	1	2		1	3	9
31						1	1										1	1
32								1										1
33											2		1					3
35		1						2					1	1			1	4
36											1		1					2
37							1				1						1	1
38											1						1	
40							1			1	1			3			2	4
43											1						1	
45											1							1
47											1							1

Age In Years	Augustus		Livia		Antonia Minor		Tiberius		Gaius		Claudius		Nero		Remaining		Total	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
48							1										1	
50								1										1
53												1						1
54												1						1
55		1																1
57		1																1
59												1						1
60		1										3						4
70												2						2
72											1						1	
75												1						1
80								1										1
83															1		1	
85												2						2
87												1			2		2	1
90								1										1
100												1						1



Occupations of the Commemorated	Augustus	Livia	Antonia Minor	Tiberius	Gaius	Claudius	Nero	Remaining	Total
Imperial ab bybliothea Graeca templi Apollinis					1				1
Imperial ab epistulis						2			2
Imperial ab ornamentis					1				1
Imperial ab ornamentis sacerdotalibus		1							1
Imperial ab superlectile		1							1
Imperial ab thermutario		1							1
Imperial accensus	1	1				1			3
Imperial acceptor				1					1
Imperial actarius						1			1
Imperial ad argentum				1					1
Imperial ad valetudinarium		1							1
Imperial aedituus		1				3		1	5
Imperial aedituus templi Serapei						1			1
Imperial agitator						1			1
Imperial argentarius								1	1
Imperial atriensis		1		1					2
Imperial aurifex		2		1					3
Imperial calciator		1							1
Imperial cantrix			1						1
Imperial capsaria		1							1
Imperial cerealis			1						1
Imperial cistarius a veste forense				1					1
Imperial coactor						1			1
Imperial cocus					1	1			2
Imperial colorator		1							1
Imperial cornificianus				1					1
Imperial corpus custos						5	10		15
Imperial cubicularius	2	2			1	1	1		7
Imperial cunarius							1		1
Imperial curator de minucia						1			1
Imperial curator spoliari						1			1
Imperial de paedagogio						1			1
Imperial dispensator			1	1		3		3	8
Imperial dispensator ab tobis				1					1



Occupations of the Commemorated	Augustus	Livia	Antonia Minor	Tiberius	Gaius	Claudius	Nero	Remaining	Total
Imperial procurator						3			3
Imperial procurator a regionibus urbis						2			2
Imperial procurator accensus Nero							1		1
Imperial procurator bybliothechia						1			1
Imperial procurator formis fundis Caietae						1			1
Imperial procurator hereditatium Achaiae						1			1
Imperial procurator praegustatorum						1			1
Imperial puer a pedibus		1							1
Imperial redemptor operum quinquennalis						1			1
Imperial retiario						1			1
Imperial rogator			1						1
Imperial sacerdos		1							1
Imperial saltuarius							1		1
Imperial sarcinator		1							1
Imperial sarcinatrix		2						1	3
Imperial scriba cubiculariorum							1		1
Imperial scriba librarius								1	1
Imperial spatarius			1						1
Imperial speculariarius	2					1			3
Imperial speculator	2								2
Imperial structor domnioni						1			1
Imperial supra bybliothecha				1					1
Imperial supra cubicularios		1							1
Imperial supra medicis		1							1
Imperial tabularia		1							1
Imperial tabularius		1	1	1		2			5
Imperial tabularius a rationibus						1			1
Imperial tabularius a veste scaenica						1			1

Occupations of the Commemorated	Augustus	Livia	Antonia Minor	Tiberius	Gaius	Claudius	Nero	Remaining	Total
Imperial tabularius fisci						1			1
Imperial tabularius rationis patrimoni						1			1
Imperial tabularius vectigalis						1			1
Imperial tonsor						1			1
Imperial tractator				1					1
Imperial trierarchus				1					1
Imperial trierarchus Liburna						1			1
Imperial unctor				1					1
Imperial unctrix		1	1						2
Imperial ungentarius		1							1
Imperial vesta castrensis								1	1
Imperial viator principi officii						1			1
Imperial vicarius dispensator			1						1
Imperial victimarius						1			1
Imperial vilicus ex horreis						1			1
Marmorius	1								1
Medica				1					1
Medicus			1						1
Nutrix	1								1
Ornatric		1							1
Paedagogus								1	1
Pedisequus		1							1
Procurator et Praefect				1					1
Sarcedos		1							1
Sarcinatrix		1							1
Tabularius					1				1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>217</b>



**Table 20. Breakdown of Occupations for the Dedicators**

OCCUPATIONS of the Dedicators	Augustus	Antonia Minor	Livia	Tiberius	Gaius	Claudius	Nero	Remaining	Grand Total
A Manu			1						1
Agitator						1			1
Aquarius			1						1
Architectus						1			1
Aurifex								1	1
Dispensator Imperatorii liberti						1			1
Dispensator Imperial Liberti			1						1
Imperial a biblioteche				1					1
Imperial a bibliotheca				1					1
Imperial a commentariis rationis						1			1
Imperial a commentariis rationum hereditatum						1			1
Imperial a copiis militaribus						1			1
Imperial a cubicularius				1					1
Imperial a manu	1			3					4
Imperial a rationibus						2			2
Imperial a rationibus accenso				1					1
Imperial a veste decurioni			1						1
Imperial ab aedificis voluntariis						1			1
Imperial ab argento			1	2				1	4
Imperial ab epistulis						1			1
Imperial ab veste				1					1
Imperial ad agentum			1						1
Imperial aedituus				1			1		2
Imperial apparitor	1								1
Imperial arcarius						2			2
Imperial architectus						1			1
Imperial atriensis						1			1
Imperial aurifex			1						1
Imperial avium fartor								1	1
Imperial caeltor								1	1
Imperial calciator			1						1
Imperial coactor argentarius						1			1
Imperial cocus				2					2
Imperial cubicularius				2					2
Imperial dispensator					1	2			3
Imperial fartor avium				1					1

OCCUPATIONS of the Dedicators	Augustus	Antonia Minor	Livia	Tiberius	Gaius	Claudius	Nero	Remaining	Grand Total
Imperial gallinarius				1					1
Imperial lanipendus						1			1
Imperial librarius				1					1
Imperial mammorius	1								1
Imperial margaritarius			1						1
Imperial medicus				1		1			2
Imperial medicus a bybliothecis						1			1
Imperial medicus chirugia		1							1
Imperial mensor								1	1
Imperial ministrator								1	1
Imperial museiarius				1					1
Imperial nauarchus	1								1
Imperial negotiator				1					1
Imperial opsonator /caterer			1						1
Imperial ostiarius			1						1
Imperial paedagogus	1								1
Imperial pedisequus				2					2
Imperial pedisequus decurio			1						1
Imperial praepositus velariorum domus Augustianae						1			1
Imperial procurator				1		2			3
Imperial rogator			1						1
Imperial saltuarius							1		1
Imperial scaplianus tabularius								1	1
Imperial sumptuarius				1					1
Imperial supra domum						1			1
Imperial supra lectiacarios								1	1
Imperial symphoniacus				1					1
Imperial tabularius							1		1
Imperial tabularius a rationibus						1			1
Imperial tabularius a rationibus patrimonii						1			1
Imperial tabularius castrensis						1			1
Imperial tabularius mensorum aedificiorum						1			1
Imperial toparius		1							1
Imperial tricliniarchus						1			1
Imperial trierarchus				1					1

OCCUPATIONS of the Dedicators	Augustus	Antonia Minor	Livia	Tiberius	Gaius	Claudius	Nero	Remaining	Grand Total
Imperial viator sodalium augustalium						1			1
Imperial vicaria				1					1
Imperial vicarius						4			4
Magister						1			1
Paedagogus			1	2					3
Pedisequus			1						1
Sarcinatrix			1						1
Tabularius apparitorum sacris omnis immunis						1			1
Vicarius				1					1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>102</b>

**Table 21. The Breakdown of the Number of Occupations for the Commemorated**

Imperial Family Member	Female	Male	Total
Augustus	1	13	14
Livia	14	33	47
Antonia minor	2	9	11
Tiberius	2	29	31
Gaius	0	8	8
Claudius	3	66	69
Nero	0	18	18
Remaining	7	12	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>217</b>

**Table 22. The Breakdown of the Number of Occupations for the Dedicators**

Imperial Family Member	Female	Male	Total
Augustus	0	5	5
Livia	1	13	14
Antonia Minor	0	2	2
Tiberius	1	30	31
Gaius	0	1	1
Claudius	0	36	36
Nero	0	3	3
Other	0	8	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>102</b>