

BOOK LX

Κλαύδιος δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὧδε ἐγένετο. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ Γαίου φύλακας ἐκασταχόσε τῆς πόλεως οἱ ὑπατοὶ διαπέμφαντες τὴν τε βουλὴν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἤθροισαν, καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι γνώμαι ἐλέχθησαν τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοῖς δὲ μοναρχεῖσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ οἱ² μὲν τὸν οἱ δὲ τὸν ἠροῦντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν λοιπὴν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν κατέτριψαν μηδὲν τελειώσαντες. κἂν τούτῳ στρατιῶταί τινες εἰς τὸ παλάτιον, ὅπως τι συλήσωσιν, ἐσελθόντες εἶδον τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐν γωνίᾳ που³ σκοτεινῇ κατακεκρυμμένον (συνῆν τε γὰρ τῷ Γαίῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξερχομένῳ¹ καὶ τότε τὴν παραχῆν φοβηθεὶς ὑπέπτηξε), καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ ὄντα ἢ ἔχοντά τι ἐξείλκυσαν, ἔπειτα δὲ γνωρίσαντες² αὐτοκράτορά τε³ προσηγόρευσαν καὶ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἤγαγον, κἂκ τούτου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷα τοῦ τε βασιλικοῦ γένους ὄντι καὶ ἐπιεικεῖ νομιζομένῳ,³ πᾶν τὸ κράτος αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀνεδέυετο καὶ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐξίστατο καὶ ἀντέκειτο τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον ἀντεφιλονείκουν οἱ στρατιῶται μὴ παρ' ἑτέρων λαβεῖν αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ δοῦναι πᾶσι. διὸ καὶ ἄκων, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὑπέκλυσε.

¹ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐξερχομένῳ Zon., om. Xiph.

² γνωρίσαντες VL, γνώσαντες C. ³ τε Zon., om. Xiph.

BOOK LX

CLAUDIUS became emperor on this wise. After the murder of Gaius the consuls despatched guards A.D. 41 to every part of the city and convened the senate on the Capitol, where many and diverse opinions were expressed; for some favoured a democracy, some a monarchy, and some were for choosing one man, and some another. In consequence they spent the rest of the day and the whole night without accomplishing anything. Meanwhile some soldiers who had entered the palace for the purpose of plundering found Claudius hidden away in a dark corner somewhere. He had been with Gaius when he came out of the theatre, and now, fearing the tumult, was crouching down out of the way. At first the soldiers, supposing that he was some one else or perhaps had something worth taking, dragged him forth; and then, on recognizing him, they hailed him emperor and conducted him to the camp. Afterwards they together with their comrades entrusted to him the supreme power, inasmuch as he was of the imperial family and was regarded as suitable. In vain he drew back and remonstrated; for the more he attempted to avoid the honour and to resist, the more strongly did the soldiers in their turn insist upon not accepting an emperor appointed by others but upon giving one themselves to the whole world. Hence he yielded, albeit with apparent reluctance.

4 Οἱ δ' ὑπατοὶ τέως μὲν ἄλλους τε¹ καὶ δημάρ-
χους πέμποντες ἀπηγόρευον αὐτῷ μηδὲν τοιοῦ-
τον ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ
καὶ τοῖς νόμοις γενέσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ
συνόντες σφίσι στρατιῶται ἐγκατέλιπον, τότε δὴ
καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολόγησαν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα ἐς τὴν
αὐταρχίαν αὐτοῦ² ἦκοντα ἦν αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσαντο.

2 Οὕτω μὲν Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων Γερμα-
νικός, ὁ τοῦ Δρούσου τοῦ τῆς Λιουίας παιδὸς υἱός,
τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, μὴ πρὶν ἐν ἡγε-
μονίᾳ τινὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐξητασμένος, πλὴν ὅτι
μόνου ὑπάτευσεν· ἦγε δὲ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς
ἡλικίας.—Xiph. 173, 8—174, 4, Zon. 11, 8 (p. 23,
19—24, 13 D.).

Ἐγένετο δὲ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν οὐ φαῦλος³ ἀλλὰ
ἀεὶ⁴ καὶ ἐν παιδείᾳ ἡσκητο, ὥστε καὶ συγγράφαι
τινά, τὸ δὲ δὴ σῶμα νοσώδης, ὥστε καὶ τῇ
2 κεφαλῇ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ὑποτρέμειν. καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο καὶ τῷ φωνήματι ἐσφάλλετο, καὶ οὐ
πάντα ὅσα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσέφερεν αὐτὸς
ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ταμίᾳ, τὴν γε πρώτην
καὶ παρῶν ὡς γε πλήθει, ἀναλέγεσθαι εἰδίδου.
ὅσα δ' οὖν αὐτὸς ἀνεγίνωσκε, καθήμενος ὡς τὸ
3 πολὺ ἐπελέγετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίφρῳ κατα-
στέγγῳ πρώτος Ῥωμαίων ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου
καὶ νῦν οὐχ ὅτι οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς
οἱ ὑπατευκότες διφροφορούμεθα· πρότερον δὲ ἄρα
ὁ τε Αὔγουστος καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἄλλοι τε τινες ἐν
σκιμποδίῳ, ὁποίοις αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι καὶ νῦν
4 νομίζουσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε ἐφέροντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ

¹ μὲν ἄλλους τε Bk., ἄλλους μὲν Xiph.

² αὐτοῦ om. L'.

The consuls for a time sent tribunes and others A.D. 41
forbidding him to do anything of the sort, but to
submit to the authority of the people and of the
senate and of the laws; when, however, the soldiers
who were with them deserted them, then at last
they, too, yielded and voted him all the remaining
prerogatives pertaining to the sovereignty.

Thus it was that Tiberius Claudius Nero
Germanicus, the son of Drusus the son of Livia,
obtained the imperial power without having been
previously tested at all in any position of authority,
except for the fact that he had been consul. He
was in his fiftieth year.

In mental ability he was by no means inferior,
as his faculties had been in constant training (in
fact, he had actually written some historical treatises);
but he was sickly in body, so that his head and
hands shook slightly. Because of this his voice was
also faltering, and he did not himself read all the
measures that he introduced before the senate, but
would give them to the quaestor to read, though at
first, at least, he was generally present. Whatever
he did read himself, he usually delivered sitting
down. Furthermore, he was the first of the Romans
to use a covered chair, and it is due to his example
that to-day not only the emperors but we ex-
consuls as well are carried in chairs; of course, even
before his time Augustus, Tiberius, and some others
had been carried in litters such as women still affect
even at the present day. It was not these in-

³ ἐγένετο δὲ . . . φαῦλος exc. Val. Zon., οὗτος τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν
οὐ φαῦλος ἐγένετο Xiph.; M resumes with ἀλλὰ.

⁴ ἀεὶ M, om. exc. Val. Xiph. Zon.

διὰ ταύθ' οὕτως, ὅσον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐξελευθέρων
καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἷς συνῆν, ἐκακύνετο.
περιφανέστατα γὰρ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐδουλοκρατήθη
τε ἅμα καὶ ἐγυναικοκρατήθη· ἅτε γὰρ ἐκ παίδων
ἐν τε νοσηλείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ πολλῶν τραφεῖς,¹ καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς ἀληθείας εὐήθειαν προσ-
ποιησάμενος, ὅπερ που καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
5 ὡμολόγησε, καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον τῇ τήθῃ τῇ
Λιουΐᾳ πολὺν δὲ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ Ἀντωνίᾳ τοῖς τ'
ἀπελευθέροις συνδιαιτηθεῖς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν
συνουσίαις γυναικῶν πλείοσι γενόμενος, οὐδὲν
ἐλευθεροπρεπὲς ἐκέκτητο, ἀλλὰ καίπερ καὶ τῶν
Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῶν κρα-
τῶν ἐδεδούλωτο. ἐπετίθεντο δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τε τοῖς
6 πότοις μάλιστα καὶ ἐν ταῖς μίξεσι· πάνυ γὰρ
ἀπλήστως ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι προσέκειτο, καὶ ἦν
ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ εὐαλωτότατος. πρὸς δὲ καὶ
δειλίαν εἶχεν, ὑφ' ἧς πολλάκις ἐκπληττόμενος
οὐδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων ἐξελογίζετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ
καὶ τοῦτο προσλαμβάνοντες οὐκ ἐλάχιστα κατ-
7 ειργάζοντο· ἐκείνόν τε² γὰρ ἐκφοβοῦντες ἐξεκαρ-
ποῦντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοσοῦτον δέος ἐνέβαλλον
ὥσθ', ἵνα συλλαβῶν εἶπω, πολλοὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐν
τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Κλαυδίου καὶ ὑπ'
αὐτῶν καλούμενοι τὸν μὲν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι
παρίεντο, πρὸς δὲ ἐκείνους ἐφοίτων.
8 Τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις, ὡς γε συνελόντι εἰπεῖν,
ὦν, οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ δεόντως ἔπραττεν, ὡς αἰκίς ἔξω

¹ τραφεῖς cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., στραφεῖς M.

² ἐκείνόν τε Bk., καὶ ἐκείνους τε M.

firmities, however, that caused the deterioration in A.D. 41
Claudius so much as it was the freedmen' and the
women with whom he associated; for he, more con-
spicuously than any of his peers, was ruled by
slaves and by women. From a child he had been
reared a constant prey to illness and great terror,
and for that reason had feigned a stupidity greater
than was really the case (a fact that he himself
admitted in the senate); and he had lived for a long
time with his grandmother Livia and for another
long period with his mother Antonia and with the
freedmen, and moreover he had had many amours
with women. Hence he had acquired none of the
qualities befitting a freeman, but, though ruler of
all the Romans and their subjects, had become him-
self a slave. They would take advantage of him
particularly when he was inclined to drink or to
sexual intercourse, since he applied himself to both
these vices insatiably and when so employed was
exceedingly easy to master. Moreover, he was
afflicted by cowardice, which often so overpowered
him that he could not reason out anything as he
ought. They seized upon this failing of his, too,
to accomplish many of their purposes; for by
frightening him they could use him fully for their
own ends, and could at the same time inspire the rest
with great terror. To give but a single example,
once, when a large number of persons were invited
to dinner on the same day by Claudius and by these
associates, the guests neglected Claudius on one
pretence or another, and flocked around the others.

Though, generally speaking, he was such as I
have described, still he did not a few things in a
proper manner whenever he was free from the afore-

τε τῶν προειρημένων παθῶν ἐγγίγνετο καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκράτει. λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ἐποίησε.

2 Τὰ μὲν ψηφισθέντα οἱ εὐθὺς πάντα, πλὴν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐδέξατο (ταύτην γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα προσέθετο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ παραντίκα ἀλλ' ὄψε καὶ τριακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὴν βουλήν ἐσήλθε. τὸν τε γὰρ Γάιον οὕτως ὁρῶν ἀπολωλότα, καὶ πυνθανόμενός τις αὖς καὶ βελτίονας ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς προβεβλήσθαι, οὐκ ἐθάρσει, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀκριβῶς ἐφυλάττετο,
3 καὶ πάντα τοὺς προσιόντας οἱ καὶ ἀνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐρευνᾶσθαι ἐποίει μῆτι ξιφίδιον ἔχων, ἔν τε τοῖς συμποσίοις πάντως τινὰς στρατιώτας συνόντας εἶχε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔξ ἐκείνου καταδειχθὲν καὶ δεῦρο αἰεὶ γίγνεται, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἔρευνα ἡ
4 διὰ πάντων ἐπὶ¹ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ² ἐπαύσατο. τὸν μὲν οὖν Χαιρέαν καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους, καίπερ πάνν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Γαίου θανάτῳ ἠσθείς, ὅμως ἀπέκτεινεν· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου πρᾶξιν εἰλήφει χάριν αὐτῷ ἦδει, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοκράτορα ἀποσφάξαι ἐδυσχέραινεν, πόνρωθεν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐς ἀσφάλειαν προορώμενος. ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς καὶ τῷ Γαίῳ τιμωρῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς
5 ἑαυτῷ ἐπιβουλευσάντα αὐτὸν λαβῶν. καὶ οἱ ὁ Σαβίνος ἐκὼν ἐπαπέθανε,³ μὴ ἀξιώσας κολασθέντος αὐτοῦ περιεῖναι.

Τοῖς γε μὴν ἄλλοις, οἱ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκφανῶς ἐσπούδασαν ἢ καὶ ἐπίδοξοι λήψεσθαι τὸ κράτος ἐγένοντο, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐμνησικακήσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκεν· ἐκδηλότατα

¹ ἐπὶ Rk., διὰ M Zon.

² Οὐεσπασιανοῦ R. Steph., οὐεσπεσιανοῦ M.

said weaknesses and was master of himself. I shall now take up his acts in detail. A.D. 41

He promptly accepted all the honours that were voted to him, except the title of Father, and this he afterwards took; however, he did not enter the senate at once, but waited until the thirtieth day. For, seeing how Gaius had perished and learning that some others had been proposed by that body for the throne as being better men than he, he was disposed to be timid. Therefore he exercised great caution in everything; he caused all who came near him, men and women alike, to be searched, for fear they might have a dagger, and at banquets he was sure to have some soldiers present. The latter practice, thus established by him, continues to this day; but the indiscriminate searching of everybody came to an end under Vespasian. He put Chaerea and some others to death, in spite of his pleasure at the death of Gaius. For he was looking far ahead to insure his own safety, and so, instead of feeling grateful toward the man through whose deed he had gained the throne, he was displeased with him for having dared to slay an emperor. He acted in this matter, not as the avenger of Gaius, but as though he had caught Chaerea plotting against himself. And soon after Chaerea's death Sabinus took his own life, not desiring to live after his comrade had been executed.

As for the others, however, who had openly shown their eagerness for a democracy or had been regarded as eligible for the throne, Claudius, far from bearing malice toward them, actually gave them honours and offices. In plainer terms than any

³ ἐπαπέθανε Dind., ἀπέθανε M Zon., συναπέθανε L'

γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πάντων πρόποτε οὐ τῷ λόγῳ μόνου τὴν ἀδειάν σφισι, κατὰ τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζῆλον, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ὑπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ 6 παρέσχε. τό τε ἔγκλημα τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁμοίως οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἔπαυσε, καὶ οὐδένα διὰ τοιοῦτό τι οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις οὐτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐκόλασε.

7 τοὺς γε μὴν ἀδίκησαντάς τι ἢ καὶ προπηλακίσαντας αὐτὸν ἰδιώτην ὄντα (πολλοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλως τε ὡς μηδενὸς λόγου ἄξιον, καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷ Τιβερίῳ οἱ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ χαριζόμενοι, ἐπεποιήκεσαν) πλαστῶ καὶ ἐγκλήματι οὐδενὶ μετῆει, εἰ μέντοι τι ἄλλο κακουργούντας εὔρισκε, καὶ δι' ἐκείνα ἐτιμωρεῖτο.

4 τὰ τε τέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου ἐσαχθέντα, καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα ἐπηγορίαν τινὰ τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἶχε, κατέλυσε μὲν, οὐκ ἀθρόα δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκάστῳ πῆ προσέτυχε. καὶ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἀδίκως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς, τὴν τε Ἀγριππῖναν καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν,

2 καταγαγὼν τὰς οὐσίας σφίσιν ἀπέδωκεν. τῶν τε ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος (πλείστοι δὲ ἐδέδεντο) τοὺς μὲν ἐπ' ἀσεβεία τοιούτους τέ τισιν ἑτέροις ἐγκλήμασιν ἐμπεπτωκότας ἀπήλλαξε, τοὺς δ' ὄντως ἀδικούντας ἐκόλασε. σφόδρα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς σφας ἐξήτασεν, ὅπως μὴθ' οἱ κακουργήσαντές τι διὰ τοὺς συκοφαντούμενους ἀφεθῶσι, μὴθ' οὐτοὶ δι' 3 ἐκείνους παραπόλωνται. καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην γε ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡμέραν, ἤτοι μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερουσίας ἢ καὶ ἰδία, τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἥδη δὲ

ruler that ever lived he promised them immunity, A. D. 41 therein imitating the example of the Athenians,¹ as he said, and it was no mere promise, but he afforded it in actual fact. He abolished the charge of *maiestas* not only in the case of writings but in the case of overt acts as well, and punished no one on this ground for offences committed either before this time or later. As for those who had wronged or insulted him when he was a private citizen,—and there were many who had behaved thus toward him, both because he had been held in no esteem, and also, more especially, in order to please either Tiberius or Gaius,—he did not prosecute them on any fictitious charge, but if he found them guilty of some other crime, he would take vengeance on them at the same time for their former abuse. The taxes introduced in the reign of Gaius and any other measures that had led to denunciation of that ruler's acts were abolished by Claudius,—not all at once, to be sure, but as opportunity offered in each case. He also brought back those whom Gaius had unjustly exiled, including the latter's sisters Agrippina and Julia, and restored to them their property. Of the persons in prison—and a very large number were thus confined—he liberated those who had been put there for *maiestas* and similar charges, but punished those who were guilty of actual wrongdoing. For he investigated all the cases very carefully, in order that those who had committed crimes should not be released along with those who had been falsely accused, nor the latter, on the other hand, perish along with the former. Almost every day, either in company with the whole senate or alone, he would sit on a tribunal trying cases, usually

¹ The return of the "Party of the Piræus." Cf. xliv. 26.

καὶ ἄλλοθι, ἐπὶ βήματος ἐδίκασε· καὶ γὰρ τὸ
κατὰ τοὺς συνέδρους, ἐκλειφθὲν ἐξ οὗ ὁ Τιβέριος
4 ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐξεχώρησεν, ἀνενώσατο. πολλάκις
δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς, καὶ
μάλιστα τοῖς τὴν διοίκησιν ἔχουσι, συνεξητά-
ζετο, καὶ ὀλίγα παντελῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις δικα-
5 στηρίοις ἐπέτρεπε. τὰ τε φάρμακα ἃ πολλὰ ἐν
τοῦ Γαίου εὐρέθη, καὶ τὰ βιβλία τὰ τοῦ Πρωτο-
γένους, ὃν καὶ ἀπέκτεινε, τὰ τε γράμματα ἃ
ἐπλάσσετο μὲν ὁ Γάιος κεκαυμένοι εὐρέθη δὲ ἐν
τῷ βασιλικῷ ὄντα, τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ἐπέδειξε,
καὶ ἔδωκε καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τοῖς τε γράφασιν
αὐτὰ καὶ καθ' ὧν ἐγγράπτο ἀναγνῶναι, καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο κατέφλεξε. τῆς τε γερουσίας ἀτιμῶσαι
τὸν Γάιον ἐθελησάσης ψηφισθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸς
ἐκόλυσεν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς
6 ἀπάσας ἠφάνισε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ὄνομα
αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν αυτοκρα-
τόρων ὧν μνήμην ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ὄρκοις καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς
εὐχαῖς ποιούμεθα, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου,
οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκ δόγματος ἀτιμίαν οὐδέτερός¹
σφῶν ὄφλε.
7 Τὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Γαίου καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρων
δι' ἐκείνον οὐκ ὀρθῶς γενόμενα ἀνέτρεψε, τῷ δὲ δὴ
Δρούσῳ τῷ πατρὶ τῇ τε Ἀντωνίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ
ἵπποδρομίας ἐς τὰ γενέσια ἔδωκε, τὰς πανηγύ-
8 ρεις τὰς ἐς ταῦτον αὐταῖς συμβαινούσας μεταθεῖς
2 ἐς ἑτέρας ἡμέρας, ὅπως μὴ ἅμα ποιῶνται. τὴν
τε τήβην τὴν Λιουίαν οὐ μόνον ἵππων ἀγῶσιν

¹ οὐδέτερός R. Steph., οὐδετέροις M.

in the Forum, but sometimes elsewhere; for he re- A.D. 41
newed the practice of having advisers sit with him,
a practice that had been abandoned from the time
that Tiberius withdrew to his island. He also
frequently joined the consuls and the praetors,
especially those who had the oversight of the
finances, in their investigations, and very few, in-
deed, were the cases that he turned over to the
other courts. He destroyed the poisons which were
found in abundance in the residence of Gaius;
and the books of Protogenes (who was put to death),
together with the papers which Gaius pretended he
had burned, but which were actually found in the
palace, he first showed to the senators and then gave
them to the very men most concerned, both those
who had written them and those against whom they
had been written, to be read by them, after which
he burned them up. And yet, when the senate
desired to dishonour Gaius, he personally prevented
the passage of the measure, but on his own responsi-
bility caused all his predecessor's images to disappear
by night. Hence the name of Gaius does not occur
in the list of emperors whom we mention in our
oaths and prayers any more than does that of
Tiberius; and yet neither one of them suffered
disgrace by official decree.

Claudius, accordingly, undid the unjust acts per-
formed by Gaius and by others at his instigation.
To his father Drusus and to his mother Antonia he
granted games in the Circus on their birthdays,
postponing to different days the festivals which
normally occurred at the same time, in order that
there should not be two celebrations at once. His
grandmother Livia he not only honoured with

ἐτίμησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθηανάτισεν, ἀγαλμά τέ τι
 αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ Αὐγουστείῳ ἰδρύσας καὶ τὰς θυσίας
 ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ἱεροποιεῖν προστάξας, ταῖς τε
 γυναιξίν ὄρκον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι κελεύ-
 3 σας. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τοὺς πατέρας ἀποσεμνύνας
 αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἕξω τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν
 φερόντων ἐδέξατο· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
 νομηνίᾳ, ἐν ἣ ἔγεγέννητο, ἠγωνίζοντο μὲν ἵπποι,
 οὐ δὲ ἐκείνους δὲ ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ἐν
 ταύτῃ καθιέρωτο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτησίους ἀγῶσιν
 4 ἐτετίμητο. ἐν τε οὖν τούτοις ἐμετρίαζε, καὶ
 προσαπηγόρευσε μήτε προσκυνεῖν τινα αὐτὸν
 μήτε θυσίαν οἱ μηδεμίαν ποιεῖν. τὰ τε ἐπιβο-
 ῆματα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα ἔπαυσε· καὶ
 εἰκόνα μίαν, καὶ ταύτην ἀργυρᾶν, ἀνδριάντας τε
 δύο χαλκοῦ τε καὶ λίθου ψηφισθέντας αὐτῷ τὰ
 5 πρῶτα ἔλαβε. μάταια γὰρ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα
 ἀναλώματα εἶναι, καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν μὲν ζημίαν
 πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ὄχλον τῇ γε¹ πόλει παρέχειν ἔλεγε·
 πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ναοὶ πάντα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
 ἔργα καὶ ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἐπεπλή-
 ρωτο, ὥστε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων βουλευέσθαι² ἔφη
 6 ἂ χρῆ πρᾶξαι. τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς τοὺς ἀγῶνας
 τοὺς ὀπλομαχικοὺς ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ ποιεῖν, καὶ εἰ
 δὴ τις ἄλλος αὐτοὺς ὀπουδήποτε ἐπιτελοίη, ἀλλὰ
 μῆτι³ γε ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας
 γιγνομένων σφῶν ἢ γράφεσθαι ἢ καὶ λέγεσθαι
 ἐκέλευσε. καὶ οὕτω γε πάντα ταῦτα κρίσει καὶ
 οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσει ἔπραπτεν ὥστε καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοίως

¹ γε R. Steph., τε M.

² βουλευέσθαι R. Steph., βουλευσασθαί M.

equestrian contests but also deified; and he set up a A.D. 41
 statue to her in the temple of Augustus, charging
 the Vestal Virgins with the duty of offering the proper
 sacrifices, and he ordered that women should use
 her name in taking oaths. But, though he paid
 such reverence to his ancestors, he would accept
 nothing for himself beyond the titles belonging to
 his office. It is true that on the first day of August,
 which was his birthday, there were equestrian con-
 tests, but they were not given on his account; it was
 rather because the temple of Mars had been dedi-
 cated on that day and this event had been celebrated
 thereafter by annual contests. Besides his moder-
 ation in this respect, he further forbade any one
 to worship him or to offer him any sacrifice; he
 checked the many excessive acclamations accorded
 him; and he accepted, at first, only one image, and
 that a silver one, and two statues, of bronze and
 marble, that had been voted to him. All such
 expenditures, he declared, were useless and further-
 more caused great loss and embarrassment to the
 city. In fact, all the temples and all the other
 public buildings had become filled with statues and
 votive offerings, so that he said he would consider
 what to do even with them. He ordered the praetors
 not to give the customary gladiatorial exhibitions,
 and also commanded that if any one else gave them
 in any place whatsoever, it should at least not be
 recorded or reported that they were being given
 for the emperor's preservation. He became so used
 to settling all these matters by his judgment, and
 not by precedent, that he arranged other affairs in

³ μῆτι Dind., μήτοι M.

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