Κλαύδιος δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἦλθε ἑγερθεὶς. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀνάρρειαν τοῦ Γαίου φύλακας ἐκαταχώσας τῆς πόλεως οἱ ὑπάται διαπέμψαντες τὴν τε βουλήν ἐκ τοῦ Κασπίου ἦρθασσαν, καὶ πολλὲς καὶ ποικίλαι γραμματοσέληνοι τῶν μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν μορφῳθεὶς ἔδοξαν, καὶ οἱ δὲ τοῦ ἀνεμοῦ. καὶ ὅπως τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς πίθους κατέφθασαν μηδὲν τελεσθεναι, καὶ τῶν τετραδίασι πέντε ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου, ὅπως τι συνήρθωσιν, ἐκεῖθεν εἰρύτων τὸς Κλαύδιος ἐν γασίν ποιοθεὶς.

3 εἰσελθεὶς κατακεκομμένως (φιλοφιλεῖν τε γὰρ τῷ Γαίῳ τὸν ἑπτάρχου ἠρημώρησεν), καὶ τὸν τῆς τραχείας φαθηθεὶς ἐπετήρῃ, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ μέν πράτταν ὡς καὶ ἄλλον τίνα ὑποῦν ἦν εὐοικοδομεῖ περιπετείᾳ, ἐπειδή δὲ γραφεῖται δὲ αὐτοκράτορα τῇ προφητείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ τετραδιάσια τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἰφάγος, εἰς τὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀλλων, καὶ τοῦ ἔναν τῆς βασιλείας γένους ὑπερήφανοι, καὶ ἐπειδή δὲ γραφεῖται καὶ αὐτοκράτορα τῇ περιπετείᾳ, καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ τρισάμενοι ἢ μηδὲν ἀλλὰ ἐναρξαμενοὶ ἢ τετράγωνον λαβὼν ἐν τῷ ἀναπύρητος, ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐναρξαμενοῖς, τοῦ τε ἀνακλαμένοις ὡς ἐδικεῖ ὑπεκείη.

1 τοῦ Αἴγαλην ἠρημώρησεν Ζων., ομ. Χίπρ. 2 γραφεῖται τῇ, γραφεῖται Κ., τῇ Ζων., ομ. Χίπρ. 366

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CLAUDEIUS became emperor on this wise. After the murder of GAIUS the consuls despatched guards 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.

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The consul for a time sent tribunes and others a.d. 91
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 fifteenth 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-

1 έγένετο δὲ τὴν μὲν ψυχήν αὐτοῦ φαίλον εἶκό
2 καὶ ὁ παιδικὸς ἑφαρμένος, ὡς καὶ καταγράφει τι
3 τὸ ἐν ἐνίκαις σεβάσταν, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν
4 τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ τῆς ἰδιότητος παιδείας τῆς,
5 τὴν ἐκπράξεως ἀρχήν ἔφαξε, μὴ πρὶν ἐν ἡμέρα
c
6 τοῦ τοῦ τινος τοῦ παραστάτης ἐξηγαγομένος, πάλαι ὅτι
7 μέσον ὑπάρχωσιν ὢν καὶ παραστάτης ἐν τοῖς τῆς
8 ἡλίκιας.—Χἰπ. 173, 8-174, 4, Ζον. 11, 8 (p. 23,
9-24, 13 D.).
9 Ἐγένετο δὲ τὴν μὲν ψυχήν αὐτοῦ φαίλον ἢ
10 αὐτῶν ἢ ὡς καὶ ὁ παιδικὸς ἑφαρμένος, ὡς καὶ καταγράφει τι
11 τὸ ἐν ἐνίκαις σεβάσταν, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν
12 τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ τῆς ἰδιότητος παιδείας τῆς,
13 τὴν ἐκπράξεως ἀρχήν ἔφαξε, μὴ πρὶν ἐν ἡμέρα
14 τοῦ τοῦ τινος τοῦ παραστάτης ἐξηγαγομένος, πάλαι ὅτι
15 μέσον ὑπάρχωσιν ὢν καὶ παραστάτης ἐν τοῖς τῆς
16 ἡλίκιας.—Χἰπ. 173, 8-174, 4, Ζον. 11, 8 (p. 23,
17 1-24, 13 D.).

1 εἴρηται αὐτῷ τῆς μὲν ψυχῆς, καὶ καταγράφει
2 τὸ ἐν ἐνίκαις σεβάσταν, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν
3 τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ τῆς ἰδιότητος παιδείας τῆς,
4 τὴν ἐκπράξεως ἀρχήν ἔφαξε, μὴ πρὶν ἐν ἡμέρα
5 τοῦ τοῦ τινος τοῦ παραστάτης ἐξηγαγομένος, πάλαι ὅτι
6 μέσον ὑπάρχωσιν ὢν καὶ παραστάτης ἐν τοῖς τῆς
7 ἡλίκιας.—Χἰπ. 173, 8-174, 4, Ζον. 11, 8 (p. 23,
8 1-24, 13 D.).

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7 ἡλίκιας.—Χἰπ. 173, 8-174, 4, Ζον. 11, 8 (p. 23,
8 1-24, 13 D.).
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firmities, however, that caused the deterioration in Claudius so much as it was the freedmen and the women with whom he associated; for he, more conspicuously 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 himself 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 their own 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 pretext 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-
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said weaknesses and was master of himself. I shall now take up his acts in detail.

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 Chrestes 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 dispossessed by 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 Chrestes plotting against himself. And soon after Chrestes'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

1 De Rui, ed M Zon.
2 Oeconomiae R. Steph., oeconomic M.

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ruler that ever lived he promised them immunity, and therein imitating the example of the Athenians,1 as he said, and it was so mere promise, but he afforded it in actual fact. He abolished the charge of moeitas not only in the case of writings but in the case of overt acts as well, and punished no one on this ground for offenses 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 excluded, 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 moeitas 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, not 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

in the Forum, but sometimes elsewhere; for he re-
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,
indeed, 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 Proteogeneus (who was put to death),
together with the paper 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 respon-
sibility caused all his predecessor's images to disap-
pear 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
ετήσιως ἄλλα καὶ ἀντιδίκαμεῖν, ἁγιάμα τῇ τῷ αὐτῶν τῇ Διόγνης ἱερόσυνῃ καὶ τὰς θυσίας ταῖς διαμεταδοθέν τις ποιητικῶν προτάσεις, ταῖς τε γεναιδίας ῥωκον τῷ ἄνωμα αὐτῆς πολεοδόμου εὐελπίζει. 3 σας, οὕτω δὲ δή τοῖς πατράσις ἀποσευφόμην αὐτῶν οὕτων ἐξον τῶν ὕψωμασ τῶν ὡς τῷ ἄρχονθη παράκαιντο ἐκεῖνον ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ τῷ Διόγνης ἱερομάρτυρε, ἐν γὰρ εἰργάζεται, έγκειμενία μὲν ἔπεσεν, οὗ δὲ εἴδον τὸ ἄλλο ἄλλως ὡς τῷ ἄρεις ναὸν ἔγραφη καθαρίζοντο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπερίσσει ἄγονυν 4 ἐπετήρημα, ἐν τῇ οὖν τούτων ἐμετρίαξε καὶ προσεκινήσατε τοῦτο προκειμένων παντὸς αὐτῶν μήτε θυσίας οἱ μυθισμένοι ποιεῖτε, τὰ τοῦ ἐπιβλητικοῦ τῶν πολλά καὶ ὑπάρχοντα ἐπαινεῖτε καὶ εἴποντα μῖαν, καὶ ταυτόν ἀργηθείς, ἀνεκάθιστας τοῖς ἐκεῖ χαλεπῶς τε καὶ λίθων ψυχίσταις αὐτῆς τὰ 5 πρώτα ἔλαβε, μεταίχα τῇ πίπτῃ τὰ τουαλά καίνωμα ἕως, καὶ προσετε πολλὴν μὲν ἰδίων πολῶν δε καὶ ἀντὶ τῇ γε 1 πόλει παρέχει ἐλπείς οἷς ταῦτα μὲν ἀληθῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔργα καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθραμμάτων ἐπεκλήρῳ, διότι καὶ περὶ εἴκονον βουλεύσατος 2 ἐφή 6 ὃ χρή πράξαι, τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἔδεικνυσι τοῖς ὁπλομαχεῖσι ἐγγυάζεσθαι μὲν ποιεῖτε, καὶ εἴ δὲ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐπισκέψασθαι εἴπετε, ἄλλα ἐμῆς 3 γε ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦτο συμπαθείας ἐξωσμοῦς αὐτῶν ἢ γράφεσθαι ή 6 καὶ ἄλγεσθαι ἐξελλέναι, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πίπτῃ ταῦτα κρίσει καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπηρεάσεσθαι ἐπηρεάσασθε διότι καὶ ἄλλα ἔργον·

1 τοῦ R. Steph., τοῦ M. 2 Βουλεύσατο R. Steph., Βουλεύσατο M. 378

1 τοῦ R. Steph., τοῦ M. 2 Βουλεύσατο R. Steph., Βουλεύσατο M. 378

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equestrian contests but also deified; and he set up a 5,6 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 contests, but they were not given on his account; it was rather because the temple of Mars had been dedicated on that day and this event had been celebrated thereafter by annual contests. Besides his moderation 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 furthermore 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 practors 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
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